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THE

ANNUAL REGISTER

A

REVIEW OF PUBLIC EVENTS AT HOME
AND ABROAD

FOR THE YEAR

1922

EDITED BY

M. EPSTEIN, M.A., PH.D.

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ONCE again the Editor of the ANNUAL REGISTER desires to acknowledge his great indebtedness to *The Times* for permission to make use of matter published in its columns, and also to *Ross's Parliamentary Record* for its parliamentary reports.

MR. BONAR LAW'S CONSERVATIVE MINISTRY

(TOOK OFFICE OCTOBER 24.)

Cabinet Ministers.

Prime Minister and First Lord of the Treasury	Mr. A. Bonar Law.
Lord President of the Council	The Marquess of Salisbury.
Lord Chancellor	Viscount Cave.
Chancellor of the Exchequer	Mr. Stanley Baldwin.
Secretaries of State:—	
Home	Mr. W. C. Bridgeman.
Foreign	Marquess Curzon.
Colonies	The Duke of Devonshire.
War	The Earl of Derby.
India	Viscount Peel.
Scotland	Viscount Novar.
Presidents:—	
Board of Trade	Sir Philip Lloyd-Greame.
Board of Education	Hon. E. F. L. Wood.
First Lord of the Admiralty	Lt.-Col. L. S. Amery.
Minister of Health	Sir Arthur Griffith-Boscawen.
Minister of Agriculture and Fisheries	Sir Robert Sanders.
Minister of Labour	Sir Montague Barlow.

Ministers not in the Cabinet.

Attorney-General	Sir Douglas Hogg.
Secretary for Air	Sir Samuel Hoare.
Minister of Pensions	Mr. G. C. Tyron.
Postmaster-General	Mr. Neville Chamberlain.
First Commissioner of Works	Sir John Baird.
Solicitor-General	Sir T. W. H. Inskip.
Civil Lord of the Admiralty	The Marquis of Linlithgow.
Financial Secretary to the Treasury	Mr. J. W. Hills.
Secretary for Mines	Mr. G. R. Lane-Fox.
Under-Secretaries of State:—	
Air	Duke of Sutherland.
Colonies	Hon. W. Ormsby-Gore.
Foreign	Mr. Ronald McNeill.
Home	Hon. G. F. Stanley.
India	Earl Winterton.
War	Hon. Walter Guinness.
Parliamentary Secretaries;—	
Admiralty	B. M. Eyres-Monsell.
Agriculture and Fisheries	Earl of Ancaster.
Health	Earl of Onslow.
Labour	Mr. A. Boyd Carpenter.
Transport and Works	Mr. Wilfrid Ashley.
Treasury	Lt.-Col. Leslie Wilson.
Board of Trade	Lord Wolmer.
War	Hon. F. S. Jackson.
Overseas Trade	Sir William Joynson-Hicks.

Scotland.

Secretary	Viscount Novar (*in the Cabinet*).
Lord-Advocate	Hon. William Watson.
Solicitor-General	Mr. D. P. Fleming.

MR. LLOYD GEORGE'S COALITION MINISTRY.

(TO OCTOBER 19.)

Cabinet Ministers.

Prime Minister and First Lord of the Treasury	Mr. Lloyd George.
Lord Chancellor	Lord Birkenhead.
Lord Privy Seal and Leader of the House of Commons	Mr. Austen Chamberlain.
Lord President of the Council	Earl of Balfour (created Earl April 13).
Chancellor of the Exchequer	Sir Robert S. Horne.
Secretaries of State:—	
Home	Mr. Edward Shortt.
Foreign	Marquess Curzon.
Colonies	Mr. Winston S. Churchill.
War	Sir L. Worthington-Evans.
India	Mr. Edwin Montagu (to March 19). Viscount Peel (from March 20).
Scotland	Mr. Robert Munro.
Presidents:—	
Board of Trade	Mr. Stanley Baldwin.
Board of Education	Mr. H. A. L. Fisher.
First Lord of the Admiralty	Lord Lee of Fareham.
Minister of Health	Sir Alfred Mond.
Minister of Agriculture and Fisheries	Sir A. Griffith-Boscawen.
Minister of Labour	Dr. T. J. Macnamara.
Secretary for Ireland	Sir Hamar Greenwood.
Attorney-General	Sir Gordon Hewart (to March 6). Sir Ernest Pollock (from March 6).
First Commissioner of Works and Minister of Transport	The Earl of Crawford (Member of Cabinet from April 8).

Ministers not in the Cabinet.

Secretary for Air	Captain F. E. Guest.
Minister of Pensions	Mr. Ian Macpherson.
Postmaster-General	Mr. F. G. Kellaway.
Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster	Viscount Peel (to March 19). Sir W. Sutherland (from April 8).
Solicitor-General	Sir E. M. Pollock (to March 5). Mr. Leslie Scott (from March 6).
Paymaster-General	Sir J. Tudor-Walters.
Financial Secretary of the Treasury	Lt.-Commander E. Hilton Young.
Joint Parliamentary (Patronage) Secretaries	Mr. Charles A. McCurdy. Lt.-Col. Leslie Wilson.
Director of Overseas Trade Department	Sir P. Lloyd-Greame.
Under-Secretaries of State:—	
Air	Lord Gorell.
Colonies	Hon. E. F. L. Wood.
Foreign	Mr. Cecil Harmsworth.
Home	Sir J. L. Baird.

India	The Earl of Lytton (to March 20). Earl Winterton (from March 21).
War	Sir R. Sanders.
Parliamentary Secretaries:—	
Admiralty	Lt.-Col. L. C. M. S. Amery.
Agriculture and Fisheries	Earl of Ancaster.
Education	Mr. J. H. Lewis.
Health	Earl of Onslow.
Labour	Sir M. Barlow.
Pensions	Major G. C. Tyron.
Board of Trade	Sir W. Mitchell-Thomson.
War	Hon. G. F. Stanley.

SCOTLAND.

Secretary	Mr. Robert Munro (*in the Cabinet*).
Lord-Advocate	Mr. T. B. Morison.
Solicitor-General	Mr. C. D. Murray (to March 16). Mr. A. H. B. Constable (from March 17 to June 28). Hon. William Watson (from July 10).

IRELAND.

Lord-Lieutenant	Viscount Fitzalan.
Lord Chancellor	Sir John Ross.
Chief Secretary to Lord-Lieutenant	Sir H. Greenwood (*in the Cabinet*).

ANNUAL REGISTER

FOR THE YEAR

1922.

PART I.

ENGLISH HISTORY.

CHAPTER I.

DECAY OF THE COALITION.

THE social and political problems which attained the most prominence in the year 1922 showed a further departure from those which had chiefly occupied public attention during the war, and the country had by now almost returned to its normal condition. Prices continued to fall during the early part of the year, but very slowly as compared with the previous decline, and in the latter half of the year the fall ceased almost entirely, prices becoming comparatively stabilised at about 80 per cent. above the level of July, 1914. Labour problems, which had occupied so much attention during and after the war, were less constantly in the public eye. The principle of inevitable reductions in wages had been accepted by the working classes as a whole, and there were few strikes on a large scale, the worst being that in the engineering trade, which will be described later. Unemployment continued to be very great, but it was recognised that little more could be done by Government measures for its alleviation, and the subject was much less prominent in the political world than it had been in the previous year. A further indication of the return to normal conditions was in the gradual decay of the Coalition Government; the combination of parties which had been brought about in the presence of a common danger was no longer found to work satisfactorily when the normal problems of peace were at issue. Very early in the year signs of disintegration became manifest in the Coalition. On several occasions the two wings threatened

to fall apart, but the Government was successfully held together by the personality of Mr. Lloyd George until the last quarter of the year, when the internal dissensions which had made themselves felt for so many months past reached a bursting-point, and the Coalition was finally rent asunder in a day.

The forces of discontent were already so strong at the beginning of the year that *The Times* spoke of a dissolution of Parliament as being a certainty at the end of January. The anticipated General Election was averted, however, largely through the opposition of the Unionist Party, the spokesman of which was Sir George Younger, who was the head of the Unionist organisation. He denounced an immediate General Election as a complete betrayal of the Unionist Party, which he pointed out was the strongest section of the Coalition. In point of fact the Coalition Unionists were nearly three times as numerous as the Coalition Liberals, the exact figures being 359 Unionists and 126 Liberals. The opposition of the Unionist Party to an immediate General Election was largely based upon the view that the Government were under an obligation to take in hand the reform of the House of Lords before relinquishing office, and also on the inexpediency of meeting the Labour Party in a General Election at a time of severe industrial depression. It was feared that a hotly contested election, which would be in the main a conflict between the Coalition and Labour, would be likely, under existing circumstances, to raise the issue of capital *versus* labour in an acute form, and to create feeling which would take many months to abate. At length it became apparent that the Unionist disaffection was so profound and widespread that a united appeal to the country by the Coalition would be impossible, and Mr. Lloyd George accordingly decided to abandon the project. At the same time the meeting of Parliament, which was due for January 31, was postponed for a week to February 7.

It was generally believed that this postponement was due to dissensions in the Cabinet between the Unionist and Liberal sections of the Coalition. This belief was, however, denied by Mr. Chamberlain, Leader of the Unionist Party in the House of Commons, in a speech to Scottish Unionists at Glasgow on January 19. Mr. Chamberlain said that there could be no thought of dissolution until the Irish legislation was completed. That was the unanimous decision of the Prime Minister and of the colleagues whose opinion he had asked. No decision to dissolve had either been taken or sought by the Prime Minister, who was described by Mr. Chamberlain as the biggest influence in Europe. The reform of the House of Lords had got to be carried through, and although there were differences, they did not run on the old party lines. Both sections of the Coalition agreed, he said, that some reform was necessary in the constitution of the House of Lords. Their powers must be revised and their relations with the House of Commons reviewed. No one desired to challenge the old-established control of the House

of Commons over the finance of the country, but laws should not be made which would interfere in any matter of high trade policy. The task before the Government was to reduce expenditure by something between 150 and 200 millions in order to make both ends meet. Mr. Chamberlain expressed the opinion that the Unionist Party would be false to its duty and false to its own cause if it allowed disunion to creep into its ranks. He deprecated any attempt wantonly to break the alliance with the Liberals which had steered the country through the perils of war, and brought it safely through the scarcely lesser difficulties of peace, and in the continuation of which he saw the greatest hope for our national recuperation and our imperial position.

The attitude of the Coalition Liberals was expressed at the same time by Captain Guest, who affirmed that the Socialist menace was being realised and would bring all the sections together which believed in the main principles of private enterprise.

Mr. Asquith expressed the views of the Independent Liberals at a meeting of business men in the City of London on January 19. He pointed out that, although three years had passed since the cessation of hostilities, the country was still paying taxation on a war scale. The Income Tax at its present rate, he said, was a capital levy of the worst kind. In finance there were only two ways of making both ends meet, by taxation, or by borrowing, or by cutting down outgoings, and the last way was the best. If economy had been begun three, or even two, years before, hundreds of millions of pounds would have been saved. The axe should strike at all forms of unremunerative expenditure and at the policies of which they were the consequences. He warmly condemned the Safeguarding of Industries Act, and insisted that real economic restoration was impossible until the question of reparations and allied indebtedness had been fully adjusted. There must be an immediate lowering and an ultimate removal of all tariff barriers. There must be no entangling engagements but an effective prosecution of a universal policy of disarmament on sea, on land, and in the air.

The position of the Coalition Liberals was further defined in speeches by Mr. Churchill and Sir Gordon Hewart in a conference of that Party on January 20. Mr. Churchill stated that the central fact in the political situation was the Irish settlement, which had been achieved by the co-operation of both historic parties. Stability was the main interest of the nation at the present time; recuperation required national co-operation and not party strife. The trader and manufacturer must feel assured that a period of labour tranquillity lay before them, and that the burdens of taxation would be speedily reduced. The workman must know that earnest effort would reap its reward, and that the cost of living would fall under a free trade system. In Europe the need was for confidence and continuity; the national need was for a strong and durable instrument of

government affording to all classes guarantees against either revolution or reaction. He said that we could not afford to return to party warfare; the organised propaganda of Socialism was a political danger of the gravest kind.

Sir Gordon Hewart, at the same conference, said that they were seeking to form, not a new party, but a new organisation. They were out, uncompromisingly, for a policy of free trade. It was a primary part of their policy to cut down expenditure, and they looked forward with confident hope to an early remission of taxation.

Mr. Lloyd George himself addressed a National Liberal Conference on January 21. He asked who had started the talk about a General Election, saying that he had not, nor had he made up his mind upon the matter. The Coalition Liberals were as much pledged to reform of the House of Lords as any other Liberals. No single conference had settled European entanglements, but each conference was a rung in the ladder that led to ultimate peace. There were some who would go back to the old diplomacy, but he contended for meetings face to face. If men of all nations would go to Genoa determined to remove difficulties and not to create them, there would be a great pact of peace. He referred to the report of the Geddes Committee (see ANNUAL REGISTER, 1921, pp. 85 and 150), which, he said, would involve drastic and ruthless cutting down, and would provoke resistance, but it was necessary to take risks if they were to avoid the greater risk of bankruptcy. In an appeal for national unity he said that more depended on Britain than on any other land if Europe were to be restored.

Further speeches were delivered on January 23 by Mr. Asquith and by Lord Grey of Fallodon, who had now definitely emerged from his long retirement from the political arena. Lord Grey affirmed that the Supreme Council had undermined the trust and confidence which existed between ourselves and France for so many years. The re-establishment of good relations with France was the most vital thing in European politics at the present time. The old confidence restored between the two nations would be the starting-point for the security of peace and reconstruction in Europe. He believed it was absolutely essential to restore wholesome, straightforward politics in this country, and the most important thing to do was to resuscitate and strengthen the Liberal Party. But he welcomed the co-operation of anyone outside the Liberal Party who felt, as they did, the necessities of the situation. There was a difference between co-operation arising from agreement, and agreement arising from a desire to co-operate. The Prime Minister's speech had no relation to facts. Who was going to vote for the Government? Business men, labour, farmers, Ulster, the Diehards did not trust them. Did they trust each other? There would be no difficulty about an alternative Government; more than one was in sight.

At the same meeting Mr. Asquith stated that out of about 400 representative Liberal organisations in England 320 had openly declared themselves with the Independent Liberal Party. Free Liberals could afford to regard a dissolution, whenever it came, with perfect equanimity; no protest would come from them. To represent the Irish settlement as a triumph for men who acquiesced in reprisals until it was no longer possible, and who then claimed to have carried out the Gladstone tradition, was a piece of political effrontery. The Government, which was now for ruthless economy, had been guilty of profligate expenditure, and vast, top-heavy, lopsided, and hopelessly incompetent bureaucratic experiments. Let the electors ask Coalition Liberals at the election if they would vote for the immediate repeal of the Safeguarding of Industries Act. The country needed a real Government that it could trust, with settled and coherent principles, and a vigilant and well-organised opposition. The first thing was to get rid of the Coalition. He concluded by saying that the Liberals were pledged to attempt a better constituted Second Chamber, but it must not be allowed to usurp the authority of the directly elected House.

Another important speech was delivered by Mr. Winston Churchill on January 25. He insisted that, as regards Ireland, the Government had not only got as good a record, but a better record than either Mr. Gladstone or the present Liberal Leader. Referring to the Geddes Report, he said that it was a fine, massive, comprehensive piece of work. He was satisfied that there would be, during the present year, reductions in expenditure on an enormous scale. This task must be executed in a relentless spirit, and Liberals and Conservatives must co-operate in it. No doubt it was much harder to co-operate with the Government than to criticise, but because a Liberal chose the more difficult path he should not be considered inferior to the Liberal who chose the easier. The five years since Mr. Lloyd George had assumed office had been a period of stupendous and unexampled difficulty. Mr. Asquith and Lord Grey simply sought in their speeches to excite partisanship on worn-out party lines by means of fault-finding against a Government confronted with world events of prodigious and unprecedented complexity. While the whole world was infected by the doctrines of Russian Bolshevism, efforts were made to seize political power in this country through the agency of a general strike. The Government had succeeded in breaking up that formidable confederacy. He appealed for union with their Conservative allies so long as the country extended to them its confidence and support.

Irish affairs occupied an important place in politics throughout the year. On January 3 Dail Eireann resumed the debate adjourned from December 22, 1921, which was to end in acceptance or rejection of the Anglo-Irish Treaty. It was soon apparent that the unanimity which had been hoped for would

not be realised. The debate proceeded placidly, speeches for the Treaty alternating with speeches against the Treaty. Mr. Michael Collins suggested that a division might be avoided if opponents of the Treaty would allow the motion before them to go through, permit the establishment of the Provisional Government, and then, if they wished, fight the Provisional Government. The suggestion brought no response, however, Mr. de Valera remarking that if the Treaty were ratified the line of policy proposed was that which could be followed in any case. On the following day Mr. de Valera issued an impassioned proclamation to the people of Ireland, including a vigorous attack on the Irish Press. At the same time he gave notice of an amendment to the motion for approval of the Treaty.

When it became apparent that the parties in the Dail were still sharply divided, nine deputies, realising the danger of so complete a split, formed themselves into an unofficial committee to see if they could find some common ground of agreement. They did succeed in reaching substantial agreement over a number of vital points, but the leaders on either side found themselves unable to accept the committee's report. It was decided, however, that the committee should meet again in the hope that an acceptable basis of agreement might be established, and the Dail suspended its session so as to afford an opportunity for so desirable an event. The efforts of the committee, however, were futile. On the morning of January 6 the Dail met privately, but as soon as it resumed in public Mr. de Valera tendered the resignation of his office as President. The resignation was offered in order that Mr. de Valera might seek re-election, with power to reconstruct his Cabinet and replace Ministers who supported the Treaty by other deputies who shared his own views. This re-election would, of course, have meant the end of the Treaty. Another very important matter was also at issue. If he was to have the responsibility of office, Mr. de Valera declared, he must have all the powers of government to be able to execute the duties of his office properly. Not only must he have a Cabinet which would think with him, but he would "have to have the full use of all the resources of the Republic to defend the Republic." The effect of Mr. de Valera's procedure in asking the Dail to accept his resignation, and proceed to a new election of an Executive head was fully realised by Mr. Arthur Griffith, who submitted that the motion before the House was for the approval of the Treaty, and that until a vote had been taken they could not discuss the tendered resignation. After some discussion Mr. de Valera withdrew from the position that he had taken up, saying that he was sick and tired of politics, so sick that no matter what happened he was going back to private life. Thereupon the consideration of the Treaty was resumed. The vote was taken on January 8, when the Treaty was approved by 64 votes against 57. The majority of seven was small, but there was no doubt that it repre-

sented an immense majority of the people of Ireland, and the Treaty was therefore regarded as safe and the foundations of the Irish Free State as secure.

As soon as the result was announced Mr. de Valera rose to resign his office as Chief of the Executive. There were cries of dissent, and Mr. de Valera added that he wished to say a word to the country and to the world. The Irish people, he continued, established the Irish Republic. The present vote simply approved of a certain resolution, and the Republic could only be disestablished by the Irish people. He submitted that whatever happened the Republic was the supreme sovereign body of the nation and must remain until the nation had dissolved it. Mr. Collins, who followed, made it plain that he did not regard the passing of the motion as being any sort of triumph over the other side, and the only request he had to make was that, whatever contention there might be about the Republic and the Government in being, they should unite and do their best to preserve the public safety. In times of change, he said, in all countries that were passing from peace to war or from war to peace there were elements that made for disorder and chaos, and this was as true of Ireland as of any other country. He suggested that the vote should be regarded as determining a majority and a minority, and that it might be possible to form some sort of joint Committee to tide them over a difficult period. Mr. de Valera, rising again, asked those who voted against the motion and supported the Republic to meet him on the following day at the Mansion House. He spoke of a glorious record of four years, of magnificent discipline in the nation, and was proceeding with a speech on those lines when he broke down and resumed his seat. Sympathetic applause from the deputies gave way to a scene of excitement, when a man in the public part of the hall called for three cheers for the President of the Republic. Mr. de Valera made no attempt to speak again, but walked out of the Chamber, and the Speaker then declared the Dail to be adjourned.

It resumed on January 9. Mr. de Valera resigned his office as President, but accepted nomination for re-election. After a prolonged discussion, which was in effect a fresh debate on the Treaty, associated with an appeal that the Republic and all its resources should be kept intact during the period preceding the definite establishment of the Irish Free State, a vote was taken on the motion that Mr. de Valera be re-elected as President of the Irish Republic. This motion was defeated by 60 votes to 58. There was no doubt that the motion was intended by the Republican group to be an instrument to wreck the Treaty. They relied on the personal popularity of Mr. de Valera to attract votes which would have led to a situation in which the head of a minority would have been placed in a position to nominate his own Cabinet and to assume control of the Republican Army and the Sinn Fein funds. Mr. Barton, and

another deputy who voted for the Treaty, supported the re-election of the President. Two private members did not vote, and Mr. de Valera himself took no part in the division. Mr. Griffith made it clear that the vote was not taken against Mr. de Valera, but that it was a vote to help the Treaty, adding that no man thought more highly of Mr. de Valera than he did himself. Mr. de Valera, speaking before the vote was taken, said that he allowed his name to go forward because he believed it was the right thing to do, and because it would tend to keep up the unity and discipline of the nation. He referred to suggestions of fratricidal strife as being nonsense. The other side had work to do for Ireland, and to get through a portion of that work they would need the help of his side, and he would be with them against any outside enemy. In the meantime, he added, "you must simply regard us as an auxiliary army with an objective which is the complete independence of Ireland. In every step you take on that road we shall feel it our duty to be behind." The approval of the Treaty by Dail Eireann was warmly welcomed throughout Ireland, and there were few discordant notes outside the Dail itself.

On January 10 Mr. Arthur Griffith was elected President of Dail Eireann, and he appointed the following Ministers chosen from supporters of the Treaty:—

Finance	Mr. Michael Collins.
Foreign Affairs	Mr. Gavan Duffy.
Home Affairs	Mr. Duggan.
Local Government	Mr. Cosgrave.
Economic Affairs	Mr. K. O'Higgins.
Defence	Mr. R. Mulcahy.

Mr. de Valera and the minority party in the Dail, with the knowledge that the motion to elect Mr. Griffith would be carried, refused to vote, and walked out of the Chamber before the division was taken.

The debate was opened by Mr. de Valera, who asked Mr. Griffith whether, in the event of his election as President, he intended to act and function as the Executive of the Republic. The Government of Dail Eireann, he asserted, was the Government of the Irish Republic and nothing else. Mr. Griffith replied that he would use his position to give effect to the constitutional vote of the assembly approving of the Treaty. He would use the resources at their disposal for keeping public order and security until they had an election for the Free State Parliament, and then let the will of the people decide whether they would have the Free State. This did not satisfy Mr. de Valera, and he told Mr. Griffith that if he wanted to be elected as President of the Dail he would have to act as chief Executive officer of the Republic. The Republic of Ireland, Mr. Griffith replied, remained in being until the Free State came into operation. If he was elected he would occupy the position that Mr. de Valera occupied. The position was not that of Presi-

dent of the Republic but of Dail Eireann. Mr. de Valera submitted that, as President, Mr. Griffith would have to undertake not to use his power for any purpose except the maintenance of the Republic until the other Government was set up. When the motion was about to be put, Mr. de Valera declared that, as a protest against the election as President of the Irish Republic of the chairman of the delegation who was bound by the Treaty conditions to set up a State subversive to the Republic, and who in the meanwhile would of necessity have to take action tending to its destruction, he would have to leave the Chamber while the vote was being taken. The Republicans thereupon left the room in the midst of a passionate scene. When the vote for Mr. Griffith's election was taken it was unanimously carried, and Mr. Griffith proceeded to announce the nominations for his Cabinet already mentioned.

When the Dail reassembled later in the day, Mr. de Valera said he could not congratulate the President on his election, but he promised him a certain measure of assistance and every respect. Mr. Griffith in reply asked for nothing more than freedom from obstruction until they could go to the Irish people and ask them for a decision. Answering various questions, Mr. Griffith said that he had received only one communication from the British Government in connexion with the Treaty, and this was unofficial. The legislation which the British Government would pass to carry into effect the articles of agreement would be a Free State Act. He himself would summon the members of the Southern Parliament, and the Provisional Government would be elected from these members. If it was necessary to use the Lord-Lieutenant as they used liaison officers, they would use him. The Dail then adjourned until February 14.

The Irish Free State came officially into existence on January 15 at a meeting of elected members of the Southern Parliament convened by President Griffith. In less than an hour the Treaty was unanimously approved by the members present. A Provisional Government was appointed and the last meeting of members of the Southern Parliament came to an end. The members of the Provisional Government were: Mr. M. Collins, Mr. W. Cosgrave, Mr. E. J. Duggan, Mr. P. Hogan, Mr. F. Lynch, Mr. J. McGrath, Mr. J. McNeill, and Mr. K. O'Higgins. The absence of the name of Mr. Griffith came as a surprise and was the subject of much comment and speculation. The Provisional Government was charged with carrying out the terms of the Treaty and the taking over of the powers of the machinery hitherto held by the British Government in Ireland. When this work had been accomplished it was the intention to dissolve Dail Eireann and to decree a General Election for the first Parliament of the Irish Free State. The movers and seconders of the motion approving the Treaty and appointing the Provisional Government, contented themselves with few words, and neither motion was debated. In each case there was neither

amendment nor objection, and the Chairman declared both motions to be carried unanimously.

On January 16 the Irish people were informed by the Provisional Government that Dublin Castle had that day been "surrendered" to them. The members of the Provisional Government went in a body to the Castle, where they were received by Lord FitzAlan, the Lord-Lieutenant. Mr. Michael Collins produced a copy of the Treaty, on which the acceptance of its provisions by himself and his colleagues was endorsed. The existence and authority of the Provisional Government were then formally and officially acknowledged, and they were informed that the British Government would be immediately communicated with in order that the necessary steps might be taken for the transfer to the Provisional Government of the powers of the machinery requisite for the discharge of its duties. The Lord-Lieutenant expressed the earnest hope that under the new regime the ideal of a happy, free, and prosperous Ireland would be attained.

The transfer of Dublin Castle, which for centuries had been the symbol as well as the citadel of British rule in Ireland, was hailed in Dublin with profound satisfaction. It was regarded as the supreme outward and visible sign that British rule was indeed at an end, and that Ireland had at last come into her own. On January 19 control of the Irish postal services was formally taken over on behalf of the new Government. On the same day a meeting of Unionists from the South and West of Ireland was held, at which a resolution was unanimously passed to the effect that the meeting, recognising that a Provisional Government had been formed, desired to support their fellow-countrymen in that Government in order that peace might be brought about and the welfare of the country secured.

On January 21 it was announced by Mr. Michael Collins and Sir James Craig, representing respectively the Irish Free State and Northern Ireland, that they had come to an agreement on various controversial issues. The first point of the agreement was for the alteration of the Boundary Commission as outlined in the Treaty. The Governments of the Free State and of Northern Ireland were to appoint one representative each to report to Mr. Collins and Sir James Craig, who would mutually agree on behalf of their respective Governments on the future boundaries between the two. The second point in the agreement included an undertaking by Mr. Collins that the Belfast boycott should be discontinued immediately. Sir James Craig undertook to facilitate in every possible way the return of Catholic workmen without tests to the shipyards as soon as a trade revival enabled firms to absorb the present unemployed. In the meantime a system of relief on a large scale was being arranged to carry over the period of distress. Other points in the agreement had reference to a settlement of the railway dispute and to the devising of a scheme more suitable than that

provided by the Council of Ireland for dealing with problems affecting all Ireland.

This agreement was acclaimed both in Dublin and Belfast, where it was considered to offer a new and substantial hope of real unity in Ireland. The southern boycott of Belfast was formally lifted on January 24, on which date free trade with Ulster was resumed.

The problem of the boundaries of Northern Ireland was not destined, however, to be settled so easily, and early in February it was announced that a critical position had arisen on the Boundary Commission. Mr. Michael Collins and Sir James Craig found themselves unable to agree, and measures were suggested which would, in effect, have been a declaration of war by the Provisional Government upon North-east Ulster. The scene of the negotiations was then shifted to London, and important conferences took place on February 5 between Mr. Churchill and Mr. Michael Collins and his colleagues.

Outrages continued to occur from time to time during January. On the 11th a man and his wife were shot dead at Belfast. A number of men, believed to be Sinn Feiners, threw a bomb at a tramcar conveying workmen to the shipyards and opened fire upon it with revolvers. On January 12 it was announced from Dublin Castle that the King would grant a general amnesty in respect of all offences committed in Ireland from political motives prior to the operation of the truce on July 11, 1921. There were at the time more than 1,000 prisoners of this class in Irish and English prisons. Preparations were also being made throughout Ireland for the removal of the Crown Forces.

On February 8 a series of extraordinary raids was carried out by Sinn Feiners on the border of the Northern area, and a number of prominent Fermanagh and Tyrone Unionists were kidnapped. The Northern Government at once took measures to prevent further outrages of this character, armoured cars with special police being despatched to the scene of the outrages. All strangers and travellers in the southern portion of the Northern area were subjected to the closest scrutiny. On February 9 four or five special police and some soldiers were captured by the Irish Republican Army in Monaghan. Further incidents continued to be recorded from the frontier of Ulster and Southern Ireland. A party of armed men fired into houses at the village of Clady and attacked a party of special constables, one of whom was shot dead. Continued activity by the Irish Republican Army was reported from County Monaghan. On February 10 an artillery officer attached to the Kildare barracks was shot dead. On the 11th four special constables were shot dead and many wounded by men of the Irish Republican Army at Clones. The Northern Government promptly submitted proposals to the British Government that the danger points on the boundary should be garrisoned by British troops, and

the departure of British soldiers from Ireland, which had been in progress, was immediately stopped. On the 12th and 13th shooting broke out again in Belfast and a heavy death roll was reported. Mr. Collins, Chairman of the Free State Provisional Government, expressed the view that a *coup d'état* was being planned against the new Government. Further outrages continued to take place in Belfast, and after five days the casualty list exceeded 100, including over 30 dead.

The kidnapped Ulstermen were not imprisoned for long, their release being speedily secured by the efforts of Mr. Michael Collins. Mr. Collins and the Northern Government agreed to the appointment of two impartial *liaison* Commissions to operate on each side of the frontier and exchange information in order to allay mutual suspicion. The Commissions included several British officers and officers from the Irish Forces on each side of the border. The situation on the border was indeed very acute. On the Northern side the concentration of special constabulary had established a chain of armed camps fully equipped for war. Every road crossing the boundary was strongly held; strategic posts were elaborately wired and sandbagged. On February 20, while a party of military were travelling along a road near Dublin, they were attacked by about twenty men, and an officer of the Royal Army Service Corps was shot through the heart and killed instantly, while a Quartermaster-Sergeant was wounded in the head and subsequently died. On February 21 a meeting was held of the Ard Fheis, or convention of the Sinn Fein organisation. The meeting, which was held in Dublin, was a trial of strength over the Anglo-Irish Treaty, and developed first into an endeavour to prevent a definite split in the movement, and later into an attempt, under the plea of preserving unity, to secure a postponement of an election in Ireland until the Constitution of the Free State could be submitted to the people. Eventually the conference decided to adjourn to enable the leaders of the two parties to confer, with a view to bringing before the delegates proposals to maintain unity in a form which might command general agreement. Mr. de Valera asked for an undertaking that during three months there should be no appeal to the people, and that the Republicans should not be debarred from endeavouring to bring about a defeat of the Treaty supporters in the Dail. When the Assembly resumed, appeals for an understanding became insistent, but the attitude of the leaders of the rival groups gave slender hope that a basis of agreement could be formulated. A conference was held between the leaders, however, and at length an undertaking was signed, which the convention unanimously and enthusiastically endorsed. The agreement was to the effect that there should be no General Election in Ireland for three months. When the election was held, the draft constitution of the Irish Free State was to be put before the people as well as the

articles of agreement signed in London. During the three months no vote in Dail Eireann was to be regarded as a party vote requiring the resignation of Mr. Griffith and the Cabinet. The decision of the conference caused general surprise and disappointment among the supporters of the Peace Treaty.

The chief interest in English politics at the beginning of February was the report of the Geddes Committee, which was issued on the 10th of the month. The Lord Chancellor delivered an important speech on February 1 dealing with this report and the future of the Coalition. Referring to Ireland, he said that it was premature to sound any note of jubilation, but he believed that the settlement would be a permanent cure for the follies and crimes of centuries. He said that the Geddes report was one of the most remarkable State papers that had ever been presented to any Government. The Government would be guided by the advice of the Committee on every point which did not come into plain collision with national security. He denied that the Coalition Government had the slightest intention of expiring. The Party which constituted the gravest menace to the Coalition was the Labour Party, and he described the part played by the leaders of the Labour Party since the war as one of consistent and abject poltroonery. Lord Grey and Lord Robert Cecil had every advantage from the point of view of forming a Government, except that they had no support in the country. The diplomatic record of Lord Grey was that we went into the war with a diplomacy that never suspected it and with an Army wholly unprepared. The vice of party politics might have plunged us into civil war if the European war had not intervened. Every consideration of political decency and gratitude made it impossible to have a breach with the men who had fought the battles with them in the last four years. He stated his intention to march on with them until a divergence of principle emerged. If there was any justification for the Coalition five years ago, there was the same justification now.

On the following day Mr. Austen Chamberlain spoke at the annual dinner of the Primrose League. Referring to the position of the House of Lords, he said that the Government desired no party triumph but a national settlement. Economic and financial issues demanded the concentrated effort and attention of the nation. New political programmes were out of place. Great advances in social reform could only be undertaken when the purse was full. The task of the Government was to consolidate peace in Europe and restore order and stability at home, concentrating on the elimination of those disputes which had so ruinously aggravated distress. The first necessity was for a reduction of expenditure and the strictest economy in administration and policy.

The first and second sections of the Geddes report were published on February 10. The members of the Committee

were: Sir Eric Geddes, Lord Inchcape, Lord Faringdon, Sir J. P. Maclay and Sir Guy Granet. The savings recommended in this report totalled 75,061,875*l.* towards the 100,000,000*l.* which the Chancellor of the Exchequer asked the Committee to find, in addition to the savings of 75,000,000*l.* suggested by the departments. The report showed that the Committee had gone with great thoroughness into the expenditure of the departments, but it reiterated again and again that the detailed economies suggested were not exhaustive, and that the recommendations gave the minimum economies which should be made. Savings to the following amounts were recommended:—

Navy	£21,000,000
Army	20,000,000
Air	5,500,000
Education	18,000,000
Health	2,500,000
War Pensions	3,300,000
Trade Group	538,000
Export Credits	500,000
Agricultural Group	855,000
Police and Prisons	1,595,000
Minor Services	102,000

The recommendations included the creation of a Ministry of Defence to co-ordinate the three fighting services and prevent overlapping and duplication. Economies suggested in the Navy affected altogether 35,000 officers and men. Work in the Royal Dockyards should be greatly reduced, and a judicious substitution of air power should further reduce Navy estimates. As regards the Army, a reduction of 50,000 officers and men was recommended. Increases made in auxiliary services were to be drastically reduced. As regards the Air Force, units allotted to Navy and Army should be reduced by 8½ squadrons. Economies were suggested in administration and policy, and a reduction of the provision for reconditioning of old machines and purchase of new ones.

As regards education, the Report recommended the exclusion from school of children under six. The cost of teaching should be brought down and an alteration made in the grant system. State-aided or free secondary education for a class that could afford to pay should be reviewed. Free secondary education was not to be seriously reduced, but to be confined to children whose mental calibre justified it and whose parents could not afford to pay for it. The superannuation of teachers was to be put on a contributory basis. Turning to health and housing, the Report recommended a vigorous policy of sale of subsidised houses, a revision of burdens of the National Health Insurance scheme to reduce the liability of the State, and a limit to the expenditure on tuberculosis, maternity, and child welfare. As regards unemployment, it was proposed that a Committee of experts should be appointed to simplify the Unemployment Insurance scheme, amalgamating Unemployment and Health

Insurance cards, records, and, as far as possible, administration, and exploring the possibility of developing Unemployment Insurance by industries. The abolition of Employment Exchanges and the Ministry of Labour was also suggested for consideration. As regards pensions, Old Age Pensions could not be altered until 1923, but reductions might be made in the Ministry of Pensions, both as regards Parents' Pensions and administration, without inflicting undue hardship.

The proposals further included the abolition of the Ministry of Transport and the transference of its functions to the Board of Trade. The Road Department and Electricity Commissioners were also to come under the President of the Board of Trade. The abolition of the Overseas Trade Department was recommended. The Mines Department and Petroleum Department were similarly to be discontinued. It was stated that economies could be effected in connexion with surveys of ships and general registered shipping, so that in future these services should be placed on a self-supporting basis. Dealing with agriculture and fisheries, the amount for this service was to be reduced from 364,760*l.* to 250,000*l.*, the system of percentage grants being abolished. Economies were recommended in expenditure on reduction of disease, improvement of livestock, and light-horse breeding. In view of the costliness of land settlement under the Act of 1919, further acquisition of land was to be restricted as far as possible to holdings that could be provided on an economic basis. The total expenditure under this heading was to be limited to 17,000,000*l.* instead of 20,000,000*l.* In Scotland the cost of education and research was to be reduced by 50,000*l.*, and land settlement was to be kept within the limit of 3,000,000*l.* instead of 3,500,000*l.* The Scheme of afforestation by the State was to be discontinued, the vote of 275,000*l.* for the ensuing year to be disallowed, and steps taken to cancel the power to spend the remaining 2,822,000*l.* of the total of 3,500,000*l.* authorised under the Forestry Act, 1919.

Turning to the police, the Report recommended the discontinuance of the percentage grant system. An immediate investigation was to be undertaken of the strength of all Police Forces in England and Wales, and economies were to be effected forthwith in connexion with the Metropolitan Police totalling 700,000*l.* The obligation to pay the Metropolitan Police scale of remuneration in County and Borough Police Forces was to be cancelled. Immediate economies were recommended in connection with County and Borough Police Forces corresponding with those in the Metropolitan Force, reducing the estimates by 1,687,500*l.* Similar recommendations were made with regard to the Scottish Police Forces. Reductions were recommended in the number of warders in prisons and reformatories, and also in cost of maintenance. The Report stated that the cost per head in reformatories and industrial

schools had risen unreasonably, and recommended the closing of certain schools.

This Report was no sooner published than the Admiralty issued a critical reply to that section of it which dealt with the Navy. In this reply the Board of Admiralty recognised that the Report contained several valuable suggestions, but affirmed that its major recommendations were based on a serious misconception of the character and requirements of our experience in the late war. The misconception was so complete as greatly to diminish the value of the Report as the basis of practicable suggestions for economy. The very large reduction proposed by the Committee in the Navy estimates could not actually be carried out without affecting naval policy, and the Admiralty considered that even if viewed in the most liberal and unpractical light, the recommendations would not achieve a reduction of more than 14,000,000*l.* The other 7,000,000*l.* had no other apparent foundation than the general desire to obtain a striking result. In regard to the question of manning, the Admiralty stated that the Geddes Committee had never grasped the essential requirements of the system which they criticised. Having started on a wrong basis, the Committee had fallen into almost every possible error in the series of calculations, leading them to the conclusion that only 86,000 men were required for the service of the fleet. Relying on agreements entered into at Washington, the Admiralty had themselves proposed large reductions, and they believed that these alternative reductions, amounting to a total very little short of the quite unsubstantial round figure asked for by the Committee, would prove greater than could have been actively secured under the recommendations of the Committee.

The Geddes Report and the reply of the Admiralty were discussed in Parliament on February 13, and the discussion will be dealt with later.

The King opened the new session of Parliament on February 7. In his Speech he referred to the Disarmament Conference at Washington, saying that a Treaty had been designed to maintain peace in the Pacific, signed by the representatives of the British Empire, the United States, France, and Japan, and was awaiting ratification. Agreement had also been reached on the question of disarmament, and a Treaty had been signed providing a large measure of relief from the burden of armaments. The problem of securing the payment of reparations by Germany in the manner most conformable to the general interest was engaging the continuous consideration of the Government and our Allies. The German Government had themselves submitted proposals which were now under consideration. Discussions had recently been initiated, and were now proceeding, between the British Government and the Governments of France and Belgium with a view to the conclusion of agreements for common action in the event of un-

provoked attack by Germany. Referring to the estimates, the King's Speech said that every effort had been made to reduce public expenditure to the lowest possible limit, regard being had alike to the security and efficiency of the State, to public obligations, and to the necessity of relieving our citizens to the utmost extent from the burdens which now rested heavily on them. Retrenchment upon so great a scale must necessarily involve hardship to individuals and postponement of public hopes, but in a time of great industrial depression such as that through which the world was at present passing, it was a necessity of the situation that economy should be practised by all and in every direction. The Speech then went on to sketch a programme of legislation for the coming session. A Bill would be submitted at an early date to give effect to the Irish Agreement, and a Bill of Indemnity would also be introduced. Reference was made to the great and continued volume of unemployment. The only remedy for this distressing situation was to be found in the appeasement of international rivalries and suspicions, and in the improvement of the conditions under which trade was carried on all over the world. Proposals would be submitted for the reform of the House of Lords, and for the adjustment of differences between the two Houses. Among other Bills to be introduced was one for establishing a new International Trade Corporation, one to enable the Government to give effect to the policy of co-operation in Empire settlement and migration, one to amend the Criminal Law Amendment Acts, and one relating to allotments.

In the House of Commons speeches on the Address were delivered by Sir Donald Maclean on behalf of the Free Liberals, and by Mr. Clynes for the Labour Party. The former was in favour of a General Election as soon as possible, but the latter made it clear that the Labour Party shrank from taking over the reins of government in the present state of affairs at home and abroad.

In reply Mr. Lloyd George declared that, if the Labour Party did not want the Government to go, the whole value of their criticism was destroyed. Turning to the policy of the Government with regard to France, he affirmed that it was one of friendship and co-operation in the interests of peace. Friendship did not mean subordination or subservience; it meant candour and co-operation for common ends. Their purposes were alike although their methods might not always agree. He doubted whether even Germany would regard the pact with France with an unfriendly eye. France felt that she was isolated. The pact would give her confidence and calmness, and calm judgment was vital in the present disturbed state of the world. On the other hand, there was a danger that the young people of Germany would be brought up with thoughts of vengeance and of recovering her position and prestige. Mr. Lloyd George said that he was trying to deal seriously with a

very serious problem. Germany must be made to feel that such a policy would not pay, that a war of revenge would bring not merely France but other lands in as well. Moreover, this was an undertaking given at Versailles to counteract the policy of those who advocated the annexation of territory on the left bank of the Rhine, which would have been disastrous to the peace of Europe.

The Prime Minister concluded his speech by referring to Egypt, India, and Ireland. On Egypt he spoke with reserve, having regard to the approaching conversations with Lord Allenby. Complete self-determination could not be accorded without reference to external conditions. Egypt was the corridor country to India, the highway between the Eastern and Western parts of the Empire. Over a million troops from Australia, India, and New Zealand passed through Egypt during the war, and if it had been an independent country it would have been overrun by Turkish armies led by Germans. It had also to be remembered what Great Britain had done for the prosperity of Egypt, and that the British arms and name over Egypt had given every one who went there a sense of complete security. Referring to the procedure on Ireland, he said that legislation would be introduced to frame the constitution of the Free State and to equip the Provisional Government with the necessary authority to carry on the government of the country in the meantime. It might be found desirable to seek the opinion of the Irish people upon the Treaty, and the body which would be elected would be a provisional assembly which would create the Constitution. He appealed to the House not to take too serious a view of the difference of opinion between Sir James Craig and Mr. Collins. The question of boundaries could only arise a month after the Act of Constitution had been passed. Why take up a quarrel that had not yet arisen? Answering questions, the Prime Minister said that the Government proposed to advance two millions to Austria out of the balance of ten millions already voted for Central Europe.

On February 8 news arrived of the crossing of the Ulster frontier by armed men from the South, and of the attacks upon leading citizens which have already been described. During the debate on the Address Captain Craig referred to this incident, and warned the Government of the possibility of a long-drawn-out war over the boundary dispute between North and South. Territory, he said, might be exchanged by agreement, but Ulster would never agree to the loss of any portion of her territory without her consent. Mr. Chamberlain, in reply, said that immediately on the receipt of the news the Government had sent telegrams to the officer commanding the troops in Ireland, ordering him to give all necessary aid to the Northern Government in defence of the Northern boundaries, and to ask for reinforcements if necessary, and to Mr. Collins as head of the Provisional Government, informing him that the

British Government took the gravest view of what had happened, asking for the immediate release of the prisoners, and urging that immediate steps should be taken to provide against a repetition of these serious outrages. Mr. Chamberlain insisted on the urgency of passing a Bill to invest the Provisional Government with authority to control disorderly elements within their boundaries. Turning to the boundaries dispute, he warmly repudiated the suggestion that the rights and privileges of Ulster had been abrogated. They had, he declared, been left intact, and would not be altered without her consent. He did not admit that the establishment of a Boundaries Commission was prejudicial to Northern Ireland, and he was loath to believe that Sir James Craig and Mr. Collins had spoken the last word.

Lord Londonderry called attention to the border raid in the House of Lords, and Lord Carson asked whether their Lordships had become the handmaid of Sinn Fein outrage. Had all English feeling for justice and humanity vanished? The Government had shown that the way to get what one wanted in Ireland was to murder, kidnap, and burn houses. These, he declared, were the methods employed in order that Southern Ireland might get Tyrone and Fermanagh. He demanded that contention on this boundary question should be put an end to at once.

The Lord Chancellor deprecated the use of provocative expressions, and refused to believe that these acts of violence proceeded from anyone under the control of the Provisional Government. He had not abandoned hope of a settlement of the boundary question. The amendment moved by Lord Londonderry, urging the maintenance of the integrity of the area given to the Government of Northern Ireland by the Act of 1920, was defeated by 46 votes to 39.

During the debate on the Address the question of unemployment was raised on an amendment proposed by Mr. Hayday, regretting that there was no indication that the Government were prepared to deal effectively with the causes of unemployment or to provide productive work for the people. The amendment was seconded by Mr. Naylor, who charged the Government with having no policy on the problem of unemployment. Trade was being hampered and unemployment caused by increased postal rates. The Postmaster-General was making his department pay, but the money that went into the Post Office came out of the Ministry of Labour in doles to the unemployed. The Coalition Government were not prepared to use capital for starting productive work. A Labour Government, he declared, would have no such scruple.

Dr. Macnamara rose at once to reply. Since the autumn of 1920, he said, the Government and the Local Authorities had spent 40,000,000*l.* for productive work. Under the export credit scheme credits had been sanctioned up to 3,647,000*l.* up

to October last, and in the last three months that figure had been practically doubled. They had guaranteed loans amounting to 2,100,000*l.* to stimulate trade and provide early employment, and 563,000*l.* was provided in the estimates last year for the acceleration of certain Government contracts. As the result of these various schemes productive employment had been found for 126,000 men.

Mr. Clynes expressed disappointment, saying that what the Government were doing was clearly inadequate to the needs of the terrible situation which existed. He welcomed the prospect of the Genoa Conference. It was indeed such a Conference as the Labour Party had suggested years ago. They wanted revival of trade more than a General Election, and the revival of trade depended upon a recognition of the Russian Government. It was for the Russian people to decide how they should be governed. It was for us to lose no opportunity of doing business with the Russian people. The Prime Minister intervened in the debate to rebut a suggestion that unemployment was the result of the Government's reparations policy. Was Mr. Asquith committed, he asked, to a reduction of reparations? The Labour Party would cancel Germany's debt. Lord Grey backed up France, and said that she was being pressed too hard.

Sir Alfred Mond, replying to the debate, reminded the Labour Party, who blamed the Treaty of Versailles for the present distress, that unemployment was due to war exhaustion and not to the conclusion of peace. It was futile to talk of trade with Russia. How could they trade with a country where the right to private property was repudiated and debts were not recognised, and where if people sold their goods they could never find out in what way they would receive anything for them? He reproached the Labour Party with withholding from the Government the credit due to them for the work they had done in providing revenue-producing work. There were still large schemes which would give work throughout the country which were on the eve of being carried out, and he looked hopefully for the provision of work to overseas settlement and the creation of a great self-sufficing Empire. At the end of the debate the amendment was rejected by 270 votes to 78.

The next important amendment to the Address was moved by Mr. Asquith on February 13. It humbly regretted "that the extravagance of your Majesty's Ministers has imposed upon the country a crushing burden of taxation." After criticising the action of the Government in keeping the Geddes Report secret for two months, he commented upon the remarkable document which, as we have already described, had been issued by the Board of Admiralty. The Admiralty memorandum, he said, accused the authors of the Report of gross ignorance and abject incompetence, and he predicted that this was but the advanced guard of similar counterblasts. Mr. Asquith asserted

that the facts and figures contained in the Report were not capable of being seriously impeached. Our pre-war expenditure on defensive purposes was 80,000,000*l.* a year, whereas the estimate for the present year was 170,000,000*l.* The situation in Europe presented no parallel to the pre-war conditions. There were only two nations which had large armies. These were France with 800,000 men, and Poland with 600,000. The outlook was totally different, and they ought to budget having regard to the new conditions. In the proposals with regard to education Mr. Asquith saw a very real danger. Admitting that our expenditure on education was colossal, and that there was room for real economy at the right end, he warned the House that there was an economy that might prove to be waste of the worst kind. Mr. W. Graham, speaking on behalf of the Labour Party, declared that they were strongly in favour of the most drastic economy provided it would fit in with the admitted needs of the country. He asked if we could afford to spend 150,000,000*l.* on armaments in view of the present condition of international affairs.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer replied to Mr. Asquith by asserting that, while the latter accused the Government of extravagance, the most important part of his speech was devoted to defending extravagance in the realm of education. He pointed out that the amendment ignored the most important factor in public expenditure to-day—the expenditure which went to meet our obligation under the War Debt. Whether we were saving or not, said Sir Robert Horne, we did not err very greatly on the side of extravagance. While our expenditure was 5½ times what it was before the war, that of France last year was 10 times, that of Italy 9½ times, and that of the United States 5 times. In comparison with other countries we had done very well. As regards the Geddes Report, he said it was perfectly obvious that not all of the recommendations could be accepted in their entirety. There were very difficult and grave questions of policy involved in the Report, and the recommendations regarding education were under the consideration of the Government. On the question of the Navy, too, he said, it was also obvious that there were very grave questions of high policy. The Secretary for War and the Army Council had made a very notable contribution to the cause of economy in their suggestions in regard to the Army estimates for next year, and the Pensions Ministry offered even greater economy of administration than the Geddes Report suggested. The cuts that had been made by the Cabinet in the expenditure on other matters were of a drastic order.

Dr. Addison complained that the Government had not yet decided upon a policy, citing the condition of affairs in Constantinople, Egypt, and Mesopotamia as examples. Mr. Chamberlain reiterated the statement that the Admiralty

manifesto was issued in pursuance of a general decision of the Government, but he said that the view expressed must not be taken as the considered decision of the Government on the whole question, for they had not yet reached a decision.

On a division the amendment was defeated by 241 votes against 92.

The last day of the debate on the Address in the House of Commons was devoted to an attack upon the administration of the Secretary for India. An amendment was moved calling on the Government to take immediate steps to restore law and order in India, and establish security of life and property in the country. Sir William Joynson-Hicks, who moved the amendment, asserted that the present position of unrest and lawlessness, leading to constant breaches of the peace, was the direct result of Mr. Montagu's administration. He complained that the Secretary for India had made use of his position as a Liberal Minister in a Coalition Government to govern India according to Liberal and Home Rule ideas. Mr. Montagu believed, said the speaker, that bad government, if free, was better than good government if it was autocratic. Reforms had been brought in which had encouraged the extremist party in India. Quoting Lord Curzon's statement that the situation was anxious and menacing, he said that respect for the law ought to have been enforced during the past three years. Tracing the growth of the extremist movement, he described the Ali brothers and Lajpat Rai as its evil geniuses, and he expressed astonishment that Ghandi had not been arrested. He recalled, however, that the Secretary for India had declared that he was proud to call Ghandi his friend.

The amendment was seconded by Mr. Rupert Gwynne, who claimed that during the last three years there had been greater loss of life and destruction of property than in the previous sixty years. Mr. Montagu's continuance in office, he declared, constituted a grave peril to this country.

In reply Mr. Montagu admitted that the condition of affairs in India was grave, but said that the causes were not so simple as his critics suggested. There was first a steady growth of what was called race consciousness. That was a growth of centuries, but it had received new inspiration during the war. The discussions which had raged round the questions of Poland, Silesia, and Ireland had played their part, for they could not keep the world in watertight compartments. Another cause was the economic situation of the world. India was highly taxed, prices were high, and the population was very poor. Hope lay in the development of the agricultural and industrial resources of the country. Another factor in the present unrest was the Treaty of Sèvres and the continued hostilities between Greece and Turkey. Replying to criticisms of his administration, he said that India could not be governed from London, and the Government in India had recognised their prime

responsibility for maintaining order. Referring to the case of Mr. Ghandi, he mentioned that he had learnt a few days before from India that orders had been issued for his arrest, but Mr. Ghandi had decided not to pursue his policy of civil disobedience, and consequently the Government of India had decided to postpone proceedings in order to ascertain how far this meant the complete cessation of illegal and dangerous activities. Outlining the policy of the Government, he declared that its object was the maintenance of the integrity of the British Empire, coupled with the grant of self-government and opportunity for development within the Empire. He did not think there would be any question of going back on the Government of India Act, but Parliament would not be justified at the present moment in extending the scope of that Act. The Act, which was the first instalment, was conditional on its use, and that criterion would not be departed from.

Towards the close of the debate the Prime Minister delivered a speech in which he warned those Indians who believed that Britain was contemplating abandoning the country that they were labouring under a delusion. There was much in the situation, he said, that justified grave concern, but there was certainly no cause for panic. The situation was well within the compass of our strength without adding to our burdens, but it demanded examination at the hands of Parliament. The education of Indian youths in this country was putting new wine into old bottles, with the result that the bottles burst and the intoxication swept over the East. Another cause of unrest was that, as a result of the war, we had been manœuvred into fighting the greatest Islamic Power in the world; that was an undoubted triumph for German diplomacy. It would be an enormous advantage if peace could be made with the Turkish Empire, and the Foreign Secretary hoped in the course of the next few days to take up the matter again with our Allies, with a view to seeing whether it would not be possible to arrange a satisfactory peace. But it must be a just peace. There was nothing to be gained by unjust concessions to force. We must be fearlessly just to both religions: otherwise, in the end, no good would be done. Regarding Home Rule, the Government meant to give the experiment a chance, but further reforms must await the result of that experiment. The impression had been created by propaganda that we meant to give up India. There ought to be no doubt in the mind of anyone upon that. His Majesty's Government did not, under any circumstances or conditions, propose to withdraw or impair the full sovereignty of the King Emperor. The British Empire, although it had come out of a great trouble exhausted, was not so exhausted that it could discuss such a proposal or anything that would lead to it.

The amendment was then defeated by 248 votes to 64, and the motion for an address to His Majesty was agreed to.

On February 15 the vote for the Civil Services and Revenue Departments was passed in Committee of Supply. On the report of this vote on February 21, the Government had to face a revolt on the part of their supporters in connexion with a proposal to include 75 per cent. of the War Bonus of Civil Servants as a permanent part of their pensions. The opinion held by many of the supporters of the Government was that the professions of a desire for economy could not be reconciled with the proposals made in this matter. Lord Eustace Percy pointed out, for example, that the bargain made with the Civil Service would make a difference of 360,000*l.* in the supplementary estimates. Sir Donald Maclean considered that the Government were doing an injustice to the taxpayers of the country, and urged that the Treasury should take advantage of their power under the statute to review the whole situation. Sir F. Banbury inquired if the present was a proper time to be over-generous to anybody. Why pick out the present time, he asked, when they had appointed a Committee to reduce expenditure, and everybody was groaning under the burden of taxation, to stretch a point and do something they were not pledged to do by contract, implied or otherwise?

In reply, Mr. Hilton Young pointed out that the maximum pension a person could get, who had served the State well for forty years, included only three-eighths of the bonus, but this declaration did not placate his critics. Only the Labour Party promised support, Mr. Walsh contending that the Civil Servants had the same right as other employees to expect consideration owing to the increased cost of living. Both he and Colonel Wedgwood promised the Government the support of their Party. Lord Wolmer observed that it was only when the Government embarked upon extravagance that they could count on the support of the Labour Party. What right had the Government, he asked, to tax the agricultural labourer, who had only 35*s.* a week, and when he retired got no pension, in order to give a pension of over 2*l.* a week to a man who had a wage of 88*s.* a week? Following further criticism, Mr. Hilton Young announced that he would undertake that, before any further estimates were introduced in the House of Commons dealing with these pensions, he would investigate the possibility of a scheme for making pensions vary in accordance with the cost of living by periodical reassessments. The debate was then adjourned until the following day, when, after further discussion, the vote was passed.

The future of the Government was discussed in a speech by Mr. Austen Chamberlain at Westminster on February 21, when he made a powerful appeal to his supporters of the Unionist Party for co-operation with the National Liberals at the next General Election. He pointed out that, for the first time in our political history, a considerable majority of the electors were unattached by tradition, study, or conviction to any of

the great parties, and a new attack was being launched against the very basis of our society and the economic system upon which our prosperity depended. In these changed conditions, he said, it was the duty of Unionists to maintain our great imperial and foreign interests, and at home to defend Unionist principles, and to secure those economies in administration and that reduction in expenditure which our financial position demanded, in order that we might re-assume our great place in the economic, industrial, commercial, and financial system of the world. He did not contemplate a coupon election, nor did the Prime Minister and himself contemplate that they would issue a joint election address, but there would be an understanding between them as to what they wanted to do and as to the method by which it should be accomplished.

Lord Birkenhead, speaking two days later, also warned the Unionist Party that there was not the slightest chance in existing circumstances of an Independent Unionist Government obtaining an adequate working majority in the country. He said that all the nations of Europe, with their instabilities and uncertainties, had felt that in Great Britain at least there was a stable Government. It was said that the time had come to dissolve the Coalition, and that the Conservative Party should make an independent appeal to the electors. He took the view that this was a counsel of insanity, and so far as he knew there was no responsible Unionist leader in the Government or out of it who took a different view. There was not the least hope of an Independent Unionist Government obtaining an adequate working majority in this country. There was no other formidable enemy to their cause than Labour and Socialism, and there was no other means by which they could defeat the Unionists than if, at that moment, the Unionists split and dissipated themselves. He put to Mr. Clynes and Mr. Henderson a plain question, which he invited them to answer at the earliest opportunity. Were they, or were they not, in favour of the socialisation of all the means of production, distribution, and exchange? Unless this disunion, which had recently manifested itself in one branch of the Coalition, developed to such an extent as to drive from the Coalition their Liberal colleagues, he would continue to give them his support because he thought that they were indispensable allies. If, on the other hand, a new situation was created, if the growing humiliations, the threats of abstentions and of hostility drove them from the Coalition, he would himself carefully consider where, as an individual, he stood, but if the Coalition Parties went together, as he was persuaded they must, for the salvation of the country, to the next election, he would speak throughout the election on behalf of all his Unionist friends.

The Irish Free State (Agreement) Bill was introduced by Mr. Churchill in the House of Commons on February 16. Although he did not seek to disguise the present dangers of the

situation, he said that he looked beyond the immediate present and saw a vision of a new and resurgent Ireland, a nation indeed, and the friend of Britain. The situation, he said, was grave. Was not the best thing, therefore, to clothe the Provisional Government with lawful authority? Was it not fatal to peace, to social order and good government, to have power wielded by men who had no legal authority? A Provisional Government not sanctioned by law yet recognised by the Crown was an anomaly unprecedented in the British Empire, and its continuance for a day longer than was necessary was derogatory to Parliament, the nation, and the Crown. What wonder was it, he asked, that in the circumstances the Provisional Government should be set at defiance by the more turbulent among its followers? Not only would the Bill clothe the Government with authority, but it would enable an election to be held in Ireland at an early date under favourable conditions, or under less unfavourable conditions. The first object to be sought at that election was a national decision upon the Treaty by the Irish people. The election would also secure an adequate constituent assembly. What if Mr. de Valera won the election? He did not think there was any advantage in speculating upon that hypothesis, in which case the position of Southern Ireland would be one of the greatest weakness. He discounted the suggestion that there was a prospect of a *coup d'état* and the establishment of a Soviet Republic in Southern Ireland; such a development would ruin the Irish cause for a hundred years, but he declared his confidence that there were no people less likely to turn Bolshevist than the Irish. Further, the men at the head of the Provisional Government were not men who would sit still and suffer the fate of Kerensky.

Reviewing the situation on the frontier, he expressed the opinion that it had improved as the result of the appointment of the Liaison Commission, and the decision to hold an impartial inquiry into the Clones affair. He trusted that in the near future there would be some sort of parley between the representatives of the two Governments, and he announced that the Southern Government had definitely asked for such a meeting. Turning to the boundary question, he said there was an amendment which definitely challenged the whole position of the Government on the Treaty, and in particular on the boundary question. Nothing that was said, however, could affect the Treaty. There was only one weak point in the position of Ulster. Certain of the districts in Fermanagh and Tyrone might be districts in which a majority of the inhabitants would prefer to join the Irish Free State. If that were true the arguments which protected the freedom of Protestant Ulster lost their application to those districts. He said that if Britain saw Ulster maltreated or mutilated by the Boundary Commission, so that she was no longer an Irish economic entity, Britain would be bound to consider her whole economic and financial

position. Not only would Britain defend every inch of Ulster's soil under the Treaty as if it were Kent, but she would be committed to take special measures to secure that Ulster was not ruined by her loyalty to Britain.

Captain Charles Craig, who moved an amendment declining to proceed with the Bill until a pledge was forthcoming that the boundary question should be eliminated from the agreement, or that any decision of the Boundary Commission should only take effect after the approval of the Northern Parliament, contended that Ulster was led to believe that the boundary fixed by the 1920 Act was the last word on the subject. The only hope of a successful issue was to submit the question to a tribunal of two representatives, who should report to the respective heads of the two Governments.

The debate ran into two days. Mr. Moles declared that the Prime Minister was personally and directly responsible for the difficulties that had arisen. The Prime Minister immediately denied that there had been any dubiety in the attitude of the Government, but his explanation did not satisfy Mr. Moles. Sir James Craig, he said, asserted that he had positive assurances from the Ministers co-operating with the Prime Minister that what was meant was only a slight rectification of frontier, and that Mr. Collins had said that he had assurances from the Prime Minister that large areas were involved. Mr. Lloyd George immediately retorted that he had made no such statement, and his denial was afterwards confirmed by Mr. Chamberlain. Sir John Butcher suggested that the Government should approach Mr. Collins and explain that their intention was only to have small adjustments of the frontier of Ulster, that they were pledged to do nothing further, and ask his assistance in averting a great danger which threatened Ireland and this country. Lord Hugh Cecil was also opposed to the inclusion of the boundary clause and condemned the action of the Unionist leaders. Mr. Asquith urged the passing of the Bill into law with the least possible delay, and Mr. Thomas announced that the Labour Party would vote with the Government.

Mr. Chamberlain then took up the challenge which had been thrown down, and declared that he was under no misapprehension as to the responsibility he took and the risks he ran when he signed the Treaty. He staked his whole political life and reputation, and also, what was more to him, the respect of his friends and colleagues. A leader owed great obligations to his supporters, and first and foremost he owed to them courage and truth. Incidentally he mentioned that he had heard from Mr. Collins that he had secured the release of forty-two of the kidnapped citizens. Turning to the question of the boundaries, he said that the decision they wished the House to make was a decision in favour of the Treaty as it stood and with the Boundary Commission. Their interpretation of the

document was not conclusive; it rested with the Commission; and their only share in regard to the Commission was that they would be called upon to appoint the chairman. They would secure some man of high standing, of unimpeachable reputation, of known sagacity—one who would command the confidence of all parties.

The amendment, which had been moved to the Bill, sought to delay the passing of the Act until an undertaking had been forthcoming that the boundary clause would not be proceeded with. This amendment was, however, eventually defeated by 302 votes against 60.

The third Report of the Geddes Committee was issued on February 24. It recommended a number of economies over and above those embodied in the first two Reports. As regards Colonial administration, provision for free passages for overseas settlement was to be 500,000*l.* instead of 750,000*l.* Assistance to African Dependencies was to be limited to the most urgent requirements. Grant in aid to Tanganyika was to be reduced from 800,000*l.* to 600,000*l.* The Middle-Eastern services were to be reduced by 3,000,000*l.*

As regards legal services, a reduction of 61,000*l.* could be made in the office of the Public Trustee, and the provision of 20,000*l.* for divorce interventions by the King's Proctor could be reduced to 12,000*l.* Dealing with the Post Office, the Report recommended a regular and systematic check of traffic and staff. The cost of the indoor force could be reduced by 150,000*l.*, and the outdoor force by 200,000*l.* The cost of telegraph and telephone staff could be reduced by 40,000*l.* A 5 per cent. increase was recommended in the scale of judicial fees in the House of Lords, and in the fees for private Bills. The Report also recommended the abandonment of the proposed provision for erection of further inland wireless stations. Fresh economies were suggested on public works, on the Foreign Office and Diplomatic Service, and on stationery and printing. Finally, the Report pointed out that the State employed directly about 891,000 persons, and to a very large extent paid the salaries of 211,000 teachers and 60,000 police. The total cost as at September, 1921, was 257,000,000*l.*, of which 227,000,000*l.* was drawn from the National Exchequer. The total of the corresponding salaries before the war was 90,000,000*l.*, and a thorough investigation was suggested.

A discussion of the Geddes Report took place in the House of Commons on a motion for the adjournment of the House on March 1. The Chancellor of the Exchequer took the opportunity to announce the reductions in national expenditure which the Government was prepared to make. The Geddes Committee recommended in all a reduction of 86,000,000*l.*, but the Government could only see their way to adopt the suggestions to the extent of 64,000,000*l.* He pointed out that, whereas the Opposition a few months ago were denouncing the Govern-

ment for setting up a Committee, that Committee was now hailed as having performed a service to the country such as had been performed by no other Committee. He expressed high praise of the Reports of the Committee, but claimed that many of the economies suggested had been spontaneously offered by the departments themselves. The Committee had suggested an economy of 18,000,000*l.* in the Education Department, their suggestions including a reduction in the salaries of teachers and the exclusion of children from school until the age of six years. The Chancellor of the Exchequer announced that the Government were not prepared to put into operation either of these proposals. The salaries of teachers, he said, were for the most part the result of the contracts entered into by the local authorities and the teachers. As to the age for admitting children to school, there was no doubt that the health of the country had immensely improved by the effect of the medical attention received. He intimated that a change would be made in the system of providing for the superannuation of teachers. This year teachers would have to contribute 5 per cent. of their salaries, which would provide a sum of 2,000,000*l.* Economies on education would therefore amount to 6,500,000*l.* instead of the 18,000,000*l.* suggested.

Turning to the Navy, the Geddes Committee had recommended a reduction of 21,000,000*l.*, without regard to the savings effected as a result of the Washington Conference, and the Admiralty had offered 20,000,000*l.*, including the savings effected as a result of that Conference. The Chancellor stated that the comparable figures could be put at 10,000,000*l.* against 21,000,000*l.* Out of the amount recommended by the Committee only 14,000,000*l.* was specified. If the specified reductions were compared with the reductions offered by the Admiralty, there was only a difference of 4,000,000*l.* The Geddes Committee proposed a reduction of personnel next year to 88,000, whereas the Admiralty suggested 121,600. The figure of 98,000 men had now been agreed to, the Government being of opinion that there could not be a reduction below that figure. That compared with the figures of 129,000 in the United States. Had it not been for the decisions of the Washington Conference, it would have been necessary to make greater provision. He believed that in the course of the next year there might be further investigation and agreement leading to a still greater reduction in the expenditure on the Navy.

The saving recommended on the Army was 20,000,000*l.*, and the amount proposed by the War Office was 17,000,000*l.* As against the reduction of 54,000 men proposed by the Geddes Committee the War Office proposed a reduction of 33,000. This included twenty-four battalions of the line, five cavalry regiments, and 40 per cent. of the artillery. The result of this economy would be that, instead of being able to send six divisions overseas at the beginning of a war, it would only be possible to

send two in the first month. Dealing with the Air Force reductions, he said it might be questioned whether they were not running great risks in making a reduction of 43 per cent.

Coming to the Departments of Labour, Health, and War Pensions, he mentioned that the former department was reducing expenditure from 22,000,000*l.* to 14,000,000*l.* next year. The proposed amalgamation of Health Insurance and Unemployed Insurance was a matter for investigation. The cut of 2,100,000*l.* in the Ministry of Health had been accepted by the Government, but would be operative in different ways. The Government also agreed with the suggestion that the houses erected by the Ministry of Health should be sold, and instructions had been given for steps to be taken to remove the statutory restrictions upon sale. Health Insurance contributions would be increased ½*d.* per week. Six million pounds reduction had been suggested by the War Pensions Committee, and this had been accepted. This saving was entirely effected by departmental economies, and did not affect the amount of the pensions granted. On the trade group, consisting of the Ministry of Transport, the Department of Overseas Trade, the Department of Mines, and the Department of Forestry, the expenditure was being reduced by 495,000*l.* as compared with the suggested 538,000*l.* In conclusion, Sir Robert Horne dwelt on the way in which our financial system was proving its soundness and stability. Of all the countries in Europe we were in the best position to take advantage of any revival of trade that might occur. Our currency had been steadily rising in value, with the result that we had more power to-day to purchase all the food and raw material we required for our own need. Altogether the situation was more hopeful and more favourable than could have been anticipated a few months ago, and in spite of the burdens and anxieties which still remained as a result of the war and its consequences, he was confident that when those anxieties were no longer so menacing we should emerge from them with success.

The result of the conferences between Lord Allenby and the Government with regard to Egypt was announced in the House of Commons on the last day of February. The result of these conversations was that Egypt was to become independent. The British Government would abolish the Protectorate and leave Egypt free to work out the national institutions best suited to the aspirations of the people. Certain reservations were made to the grant of independence: the security of communications of the British Empire in Egypt, the defence of Egypt against foreign aggression or interference, the protection of foreign interests in Egypt, the protection of minorities, and the question of the Soudan: all these matters were reserved to the discretion of the British Government.

Further outrages occurred in Ireland during March. On the 3rd Mr. Max Green, Chairman of the Irish Prisons Board,

was shot dead in Dublin by one of three armed men who had just committed a robbery. On the 6th there was a renewal of shooting and robbery in Belfast, and from an early hour sniping and bomb-throwing took place in various districts. A rebellious section of the Irish Republican Army invaded Limerick on March 5. On the 13th a bomb was thrown in Belfast among a crowd of people, injuring about thirteen, including several children.

The Parliament of Northern Ireland entered on a new session in Belfast on March 14, and Sir James Craig then announced that Field-Marshal Sir Henry Wilson was engaged in the preparation of a scheme for the restoration of order. Sir James Craig added that he had pledged his word that Sir Henry Wilson's scheme should be carried out to the full, regardless of cost and consequences. On the 16th three more bomb outrages were perpetrated in Belfast, as the result of which fifteen persons were seriously injured. On the same day two policemen and a civilian were shot dead and another policeman was seriously wounded in Galway. Further bomb outrages continued to take place in Belfast, and the tension on the Ulster frontier became worse, raids for arms being carried out and attacks made on the police by the Irish Republican Army in Ulster until the situation on the border developed into a state of guerilla warfare. Buildings were fired, farmers attacked, and special constables shot. The opinion was held that these events were part of a concerted plan to precipitate a conflict between the Northern and Southern Governments. At length the position became so acute that it was announced on March 22 that the British Government was considering the question of occupying a zone between the contending forces. On the 24th many murders were committed in Belfast, and the Colonial Office took the initiative in dealing with the situation by inviting Mr. Michael Collins and Sir James Craig to come to London for a conference with British Ministers on the dangerous position in Ireland. On the 27th Mr. Churchill stated that the Government were considering placing a portion of the city of Belfast under martial law, a course greatly desired by the Roman Catholic population. He insisted that the real way to stabilise the position was through a friendly agreement between the Governments of Northern and Southern Ireland.

The invitation to a conference in London was accepted by both parties, and on March 30 an agreement was reached between the Provisional Government and the Government of Northern Ireland. Under this agreement peace was declared from that day. The two Governments undertook to co-operate in every way in their power, with a view to the restoration of peaceful conditions in the unsettled areas. The police in Belfast were to be reorganised so that the special police should consist half of Catholics and half of Protestants. A Court was to be constituted for the trial without jury of persons charged

with serious crime. A Committee was to be set up in Belfast of equal numbers Catholic and Protestant to investigate complaints as to intimidation, outrages, etc. The activity of the Irish Republican Army was to cease. The return to their homes of persons who had been expelled was to be secured by the respective Governments. The British Government were to submit to Parliament a vote not exceeding 500,000*l.* for the Ministry of Labour of Northern Ireland, to be expended exclusively on relief work.

Meanwhile the Irish Free State Bill was carried through the House of Commons. The uncompromising Conservatives attacked it in force on March 2 during the Committee stage. The Government was accused of treachery to Ulster, and the Prime Minister of dishonourable conduct. Various amendments were moved, the most important of which were defeated by majorities of 221 and 189.

In the House of Lords the Bill passed its second reading on March 16 without a division. Lord Carson bitterly attacked the Government, and Lord Birkenhead replied on behalf of the Government. The Bill was read a third time on March 27 and passed into law.

The conflict of opinion in the Unionist Party as to remaining part of the Coalition became acute once more in the month of March. On the 3rd Mr. Austen Chamberlain dealt with the subject in a speech at Oxford. He admitted that there had been a good deal of small bickering, and asked whether that should deflect the Unionist leaders from their considered policy. Mr. Lloyd George had told him that if at any time he or his Unionist colleagues thought that the national interests would be better served by his retirement, he would gladly resign in their favour, and would loyally and cordially co-operate with them in carrying through the policy which they had hitherto pursued in common. The Prime Minister could not help observing the wave of unrest and the differences of opinion which were distracting the Unionist Party at the present moment. A few days ago he had repeated his offer to Mr. Chamberlain. He had declined to take Mr. Chamberlain's answer, and had asked him formally to consult his colleagues in the Cabinet and collect their views. Mr. Chamberlain said that he had consulted them, and that they had unanimously replied to Mr. Lloyd George that they thought that national interests, and even the interests of the Unionist Party itself, would not be served, but would be injured by the Prime Minister's resignation.

Speeches were also made on March 5 by Mr. Churchill at Loughborough, and by Mr. Fisher on the education policy of the Government. Mr. Churchill said that both the great historic Parties were united against the rapidly growing Socialist or semi-Socialist Party, whose doctrines were as harmful to the principles of Liberalism as they were pernicious to the

interests of the Empire. He declared that he was for unity and coalition, and he looked forward to the day when out of coalition there should arise a strong, united, permanent national party. The Coalition Government was the best Government he had ever seen.

Mr. Fisher confined his speech to the subject of education, saying that the large economy suggested by the Geddes Committee was a quite impossible proposal. It would be an improvement in our educational law to give parents the option either to send or not to send their children to school up to the age of six. Legislation to enlarge the powers of the Board of Education for the closing of small schools would be hotly resisted, as the small school was very often a church school. He deeply regretted the necessity for suspending the further development of secondary education, for they could easily fill many more secondary schools with young people competent to derive benefit from them. The Government had resolved that nothing should be done to imperil the future of national education.

In the middle of the month a political crisis of the first magnitude arose owing to the publication of a message addressed by the Government of India to Mr. Montagu. The message stated that the Government of India felt it to be their duty again to lay before His Majesty's Government the intensity of feeling in India regarding the necessity for a revision of the Sèvres Treaty. The Government of India were fully alive to the complexity of the problem, but India's services in the war entitled her—so ran the message—to claim the utmost fulfilment of her just and equitable aspirations. The points specially urged by the Government of India were: the evacuation of Constantinople, the suzerainty of the Sultan over the holy places, and the restoration of Ottoman Thrace and Smyrna.

The publication of such a message naturally caused a widespread sensation, more particularly when it became known that the publication had been sanctioned by Mr. Montagu without reference to his colleagues in the Cabinet. Almost immediately following on the publication of this message came the announcement of Mr. Montagu's resignation. The resignation was announced by Mr. Chamberlain in the House of Commons on March 9. He pointed out that the publication raised an important question of principle, all the more important because a conference was just about to meet at Paris, and there seemed to be a fair prospect that in concert with our Allies we should be able to lay the basis for peace between Turkey and Greece. He declared that the Government were unable to reconcile the publication of the telegram of the Government of India on the sole responsibility of the Secretary of State with the collective responsibility of the Cabinet, or with the duty which all the Governments of the Empire owed to each other in matters of Imperial concern. Such independent declarations,

he said, destroyed the unity of policy which it was vital to preserve in foreign affairs, and gravely imperilled the success of the impending negotiations. The announcement of Mr. Montagu's resignation was greeted with an outburst of cheering in the House of Commons. Mr. Chamberlain was pressed to set apart a day for a general debate on the subject, but he deprecated such a discussion before the Paris Conference took place.

Mr. Montagu defended his action in a speech at Cambridge on March 12. He said that he had been accused of outraging the doctrine of collective Cabinet responsibility, but he never thought, and he still did not think, that the question of publication was a matter for discussion in the Cabinet. The head of the Government, he said, was a Prime Minister of great but eccentric genius. He had demanded the price, which it was in the power of every genius to demand, and that price had been the complete disappearance of Cabinet responsibility; but he had now brought out this doctrine at a convenient moment and made Mr. Montagu the victim of his new creed. He asked what had happened to the doctrine of Cabinet responsibility in the Admiralty Memorandum on the Geddes Report. Cabinet responsibility, he said, was a joke. The country had been governed by a dictator. The real cause of the commotion was the dislike of the Diehard Conservatives for Mr. Montagu himself. The Prime Minister had done for them what they could not do for themselves, and had presented them with Mr. Montagu's head on a charger. Mr. Montagu dealt with the particular circumstances in which he authorised the publication of the telegram of the Government of India. He stated that the telegram had been circulated to the members of the Cabinet along with the request for publication, and that at the last Cabinet meeting he had informed Lord Curzon of the fact that he had authorised publication. If Lord Curzon had then objected, and had laid his objection before the Cabinet, there would have been time for the authorisation to be countermanded. Lord Curzon, Mr. Montagu added, "maintained silence in the Cabinet, and contented himself that evening with writing to me one of those plaintive, hectoring, bullying, complaining letters which are so familiar to his colleagues and friends, which ended with a request not to discuss the matter in the Cabinet, but in future not to allow publication of such documents without consultation with him."

Lord Curzon replied to Mr. Montagu in the House of Lords on March 14. He expressed the view that it was intolerable that he should have to go to the Conference at Paris while a subordinate branch of the British Government 6,000 miles away dictated to the British Government what lines it ought to pursue in Thrace. Lord Curzon spoke of the surprise which he felt when he learned from Mr. Montagu's speech that he was deemed to have connived in some way at the

injury which had been done to the public interest. Referring to the conversation in the Cabinet with Mr. Montagu, he said that he was so dumbfounded at Mr. Montagu's avowal that he closed the conversation forthwith. He assured the House that had Mr. Montagu given the slightest hint that there was still time to cancel or postpone publication, or had he regarded such a suspension as possible, he would at once have brought the matter before the Cabinet. Lord Curzon complained that he had received no reply to his letter, and that Mr. Montagu, instead of following the ordinary procedure of making his explanation in Parliament, had gone to his constituents and publicly referred to and travestied both his private conversation and private letter, vilifying a colleague whose advice he had not ceased to solicit and receive in unstinted measure in recent years.

Some difficulty was experienced in finding a successor to Mr. Montagu as Secretary for India. The Unionist Party was so sharply divided in its support of the Coalition that prominent Unionists hesitated to accept the post, and there was no question of its being held by anyone but a Unionist. The office was declined in turn by Lord Derby and the Duke of Devonshire, and ultimately accepted by Lord Peel, with Lord Winterton for Under-Secretary in succession to Lord Lytton.

Sir L. Worthington-Evans, the Secretary for War, referred on March 20 to the crisis in the Coalition in a speech at Wandsworth. He hoped that the Coalition would continue in existence, and that if the Prime Minister were forced by doctor's orders to retire or take a prolonged holiday, the Coalition Liberal members of the Cabinet might still give their assistance under a different leader. He regarded Mr. Lloyd George as one of the greatest assets that the State possessed. There was no reason for Conservatives to throw over the Coalition Liberals when they agreed with them on main issues of policy. The Government were still reducing expenditure, and by the time the next Budget came they might look forward to some relief from taxation.

Mr. Churchill likewise pleaded strongly for continued co-operation between Liberals and Conservatives in a speech at Northampton on March 25. He said that it would be a great disaster to the country if the Conservative Party were broken up as the Liberal Party had been. We must preserve a strong national unity. He could not see why Liberals and Conservatives could not continue to work together as they had done during the last seven years. He had no patience with the doctrine that the Labour Party were to be calmly allowed to go about the country attacking 400 seats.

Lord Carson, on the other hand, speaking at Burton, made a strong attack on the Coalition, saying that it was time to return to the party system. This speech called forth a rebuke from the Lord Chancellor in the House of Lords. He laid it

down firmly that no judge had the slightest right to go on a platform in the country and make political speeches. Lord Carson expressed his dissent from this view. Speaking in the House of Lords on March 29, he denied that he had consciously or unconsciously broken any rule or any tradition of the House of Lords. The relation of judicial members to party politics raised many more questions than the alleged breach of conduct on his part. He did not object to inquiry nor to a change in the law, and he was willing to retire if he had done anything wrong. The Lord Chancellor then declared that the claim made by Lord Carson that the judges had the right to intervene whenever they chose in party politics in the House and on public platforms was a doctrine as novel as it was revolutionary. The result would be that, when a Prime Minister had to make an appointment as judge, he would have to consider the question of a man's political opinions and not his ability. Lord Dunedin expressed himself against judges taking part in politics, but Lord Finlay said it was not competent for the Lord Chancellor to lay down a rule, and he did not believe there was any convention such as had been suggested.

The Army estimates were dealt with in the House of Commons on March 15. Sir L. Worthington-Evans, in presenting them, said that they would total 62,300,000*l.* for the year, and represented a saving of 16,500,000*l.*, against the Geddes recommendation of 20,000,000*l.* The net result would be that, exclusive of the Indian establishment, the Army would number 152,000 of all ranks, against 172,000 in 1914. In the latter year there was a reserve of 146,000 and a militia of 55,000. At present there was a reserve of 65,000 and no militia. He proposed to strengthen the Reserve by the enlistment of key men and the restoration of the militia.

Both the Minister for War and Sir Donald Maclean dwelt upon the improved situation in Europe as compared with 1914, but Sir Henry Wilson, formerly Chief of the Imperial General Staff, expressed the view that the situation was not more hopeful but more threatening. Europe had now been broken into a number of small States, and the change had not lessened the military danger. In spite of the reduction of the German and Austrian Armies, there were as many armed men in Europe now as there had been in 1913. The way to preserve peace was to have an Army sufficiently strong to prevent war. If the estimates placed before the House and the reductions in the fighting troops contemplated were carried out, we should have an Army not sufficiently strong either to prevent or win a war.

The debate was resumed on March 22, and the Minister of War had to face considerable criticism regarding the reductions which he proposed to make in the strength of the Army. He announced that, on reconsideration of the estimates, he had

found it possible to confine the infantry cut to twenty-two battalions. No regiments, except those associated with Southern Ireland, would be destroyed, but regiments of four battalions would be reduced to two. These, however, could expand again when the emergency arose. The North Irish regiments and the English county regiments would be preserved. Ulster would have four battalions instead of six. He said he thought also that he had found a plan to avoid the destruction of any cavalry regiments, thus bringing back the four cavalry regiments which had been disbanded in 1921, one squadron representing each regiment.

The Navy estimates were dealt with on March 16. They showed a contemplated reduction in expenditure of 15,348,000*l*. The Geddes Committee had suggested a further reduction on those estimates of 21,000,000*l*. Mr. Amery, defending the Admiralty Memorandum, vindicated the administration of the Board from a charge which was either one of gross incompetence or complete indifference to the national need for economy. The Geddes Committee thought they had discovered an excess of 35,000 officers and men. That meant to say that more than a quarter of the whole Navy was not needed at all. The whole of this alleged excess, he said, was a statistical delusion. After quoting some of the economies effected, he said that the total administrative savings to be carried out in compliance with the Geddes Report amounted to nearly 3,000,000*l*. Further savings, due to the continued fall in prices and wages, amounted to 1,600,000*l*. This was the utmost by which the estimates could be reduced before the Washington Conference. The Washington economies were still contingent upon the ratification of the Naval Treaty by all the powers concerned, and might have to be reconsidered if the Treaty miscarried. The Admiralty, however, had felt justified in re-interpreting the one-power standard on a definitely lower plane, and they had carried out a further scheme of drastic reduction, carrying economy to the utmost limit. They could not go further unless they were to abandon the one-power standard and drop to the rank of a second- or third-class naval power.

The question of the future of the Air Service was raised by Rear-Admiral Sir Reginald Hall on March 16, who moved a resolution calling the attention of the House of Commons to the serious position of the Admiralty in not being in control of their own Air Service, and asking that the Naval Air Services should be put under the command of the Board of Admiralty, for the full development of the efficiency of those services, for their better co-operation with the Navy, and for the most economical administration and expenditure. The present system, he contended, was not in the interests of efficiency.

Mr. Chamberlain then announced that the subject of co-operation and co-ordination of the services had been carefully investigated by the Standing Committee of the Committee of

Imperial Defence. The following recommendations had been made:—

1. The Air Force must be autonomous in matters of administration and education.

2. In the case of defence against air-raids the Army and Navy must play a secondary rôle.

3. In the case of military operations by land or naval operations by sea, the Air Force must be in strict subordination to the General or Admiral in supreme command.

4. In other cases the relations between the Air Force and other services should be regarded as a matter of co-operation rather than of strict subordination, which was necessary when aeroplanes were acting merely as auxiliaries to other arms.

Mr. Chamberlain said that the Government had not yet found time to consider the recommendation of the Geddes Committee for the creation of a Ministry of Defence. They had decided, however, to appoint a Committee to examine carefully into the system of naval and air co-operation, and advise how we could best secure that the Air Force should be enabled to render to the Navy, in connexion with the Army, all the services that the country might require.

The Air estimates were considered on March 21. Captain Guest, Secretary of State for Air, said that aircraft was powerful enough, if sufficient in quantity, to defend our shores from invasion. He believed that in the next few years powerful aircraft would progressively expand the areas in which enemy ships could not move with impunity. As those controlled sea areas increased in size and number, so the remaining ocean areas in which fleet action could take place would become more and more restricted, thus bringing forward the possibility of further economies in ships of war. One bomb could sink the most powerful battleship in a few minutes. As to gunnery, whereas the range of a ship's gun was 20 miles, there was a range of 200 miles with the aeroplane bomb. He prophesied that in ten years' time the combat between the forces of the air and the sea would become entirely one-sided. It would also be possible to transport by aeroplane small forces of artillery and infantry for minor operations.

On March 29 Dr. Macnamara moved the second reading of the Unemployed Insurance Bill, the object of which was to continue the present benefit insurance, and the benefit given under the provisions of the Dependants Act of the preceding November up to June, 1923; also to extend the borrowing powers of the Minister of Labour from 20,000,000*l.* to 30,000,000*l.* Dr. Macnamara contended that the Bill was necessary to mitigate the present distress. He was hopeful that the slight improvement would continue, but he warned the country that industrial disputes would throw us back into the gloom from which we were emerging. Mr. J. H. Thomas protested, on behalf of the Labour Party, against this method of dealing

with unemployment. Mr. A. Hopkinson, who moved the rejection of the Bill, claimed that the Government were adopting the policy of Labour of relieving suffering by borrowing. He declared that such a measure took money out of industry, and further increased unemployment. After a short discussion the debate was closured by 167 votes to 69, and the second reading was then agreed to.

The shipbuilding and engineering industries passed through a critical period during March. Workers in the shipyards and engineers in the shops both offered opposition to proposals from the Employers' Federation. As regards shipbuilding, the proposal was to withdraw, in two instalments, the bonus of 26*s.* 6*d.* a week. Conditions in the industry were so stagnant that shipbuilding firms were by no means certain that they could secure orders for new vessels even if the bonus was abolished, but the men strongly resented yielding up, one after another, the gains they had achieved in recent years. As regards the engineering industry, the question in dispute was chiefly concerned with the regulation of overtime. The employers insisted that they must have the initiative in deciding when overtime was necessary. The open difference between the two sides was not of essential importance, as there was already agreement on main principles, but the employers were determined to get free from any interference with managerial functions by representatives of the men.

On March 8 a conference was held between the Engineering and the National Employers' Federations and the Amalgamated Engineering Union, but after a prolonged sitting it broke down, and the hopes of agreement were disappointed. Fresh conferences, however, were held on March 10, but they failed to produce any solution to the deadlock, and on the 11th a lock-out began of members of the Amalgamated Engineering Union by firms belonging to the Engineering and National Employers' Federations. The union had a total membership exceeding 400,000, but of this a substantial proportion were already idle owing to trade depression. The shipbuilding unions, however, continued their conferences with the engineering employers. Eventually the latter suggested that these unions should be allowed fourteen days to ballot their members on the endorsement or otherwise of the memorandum of agreement on the employers' managerial control, which the Amalgamated Engineering Union had rejected. The employers stated that after March 25 lock-out notices would be given to the members of any unions which had not by that date accepted the proposal, and they declined to suspend the notices to the Amalgamated Engineering Union while the ballot of the other unions was being taken. After a long discussion the unions concerned decided to accept this offer of the employers.

On March 20 the matter was discussed in the House of Commons by the Minister of Labour, who urged all parties in

the engineering dispute to get together again and see if they could not compose their differences. Mr. Clynes, who initiated the discussion of the lock-out, criticised the Government for not taking action. He complained that the Minister of Labour, whom he complimented on having been active, helpful, and impartial in bringing the parties together, had not had the courage to use the extraordinary means at his disposal. He asked for what purpose the Industrial Courts Act existed. Dr. Macnamara pointed out that he could not bring the machinery of the Act into operation while there were ballots proceeding, and emphasised the fact that the court which could be set up could only make recommendations and not issue an award. Sir Allan Smith, the chairman of the Engineering Employers' Federation, declared that if those who were balloting agreed to say that in principle the employers still had the right to manage their factories, the employers would be more than pleased to sit down in conference, while the men were at work, in order to try to come to an agreement with them as to the manner in which the managerial functions were going to operate. He disclaimed any intention on the part of employers of attacking Labour. There was no desire on their part to interfere with collective bargaining, but if they were attacked from the point of view of any communistic spirit, they were not going to tolerate it for one moment. Mr. Clynes and other Labour speakers accused the employers of seeking to take advantage of the weakness of the Trade Unions. Mr. J. C. Gould said that even if the lock-out had not occurred, the engineering trades were faced with practically a total cessation of work within the next six or nine months, and gave illustrations of the enormous increase in the cost of material.

On the following day a deputation from the Joint Labour Council met Sir Allan Smith, desiring a more explicit statement on the question of the employers' rights of management than that which he had made in the House of Commons. At length a basis was found for the renewal of the negotiations between the engineering employers and their men. The agreement admitted the right of employers to manage their own works, and the right of the unions to exercise proper Trade Union functions. The agreement was scarcely reached, however, before it broke down on the question of the reinstatement of members of the Amalgamated Engineering Union who were locked out. The representatives of the union insisted that these men should be given an opportunity of returning to work as a first condition of the renewal of discussions on the main question at issue in the dispute, but the employers refused to accede to the request that the lock-out notices should be withdrawn. The forty-seven unions outside the Amalgamated Engineering Union were thereupon faced with the position of a decisive adverse ballot against the employers' terms. The vote against acceptance was 164,759, and in favour of acceptance

was 49,503, giving a majority of 115,256 against acceptance. On March 28 the employers decided to post lock-out notices to the members of these forty-seven unions. The notices were due to take effect on April 6. At the end of March the numerous conferences which had endeavoured to find a settlement had all failed, and a complete deadlock existed in the engineering industry.

CHAPTER II.

END OF THE ENGINEERING LOCK-OUT.

At the beginning of April the outlook in the engineering and shipbuilding disputes was very dark. On the 4th the result of the ballot of shipyard workers was announced, and the proposed reductions of the war bonus were rejected by 37,026 votes against 26,451 votes. It was noticeable that not more than one-third of the members of the unions recorded their votes. As regards the engineering dispute, a difference of opinion arose between the Amalgamated Engineering Union and three important groups represented by the Federation of Engineering and Shipbuilding Trades, the Federation of General Workers, and the National Union of Foundrymen. The latter groups, comprising forty-seven unions, accepted proposals made to them by the Prime Minister for a resumption of negotiations with their employers, and the lock-out notices which affected the members of these unions were suspended. The Amalgamated Engineering Union, on the other hand, maintained its determination to stand aloof. The unions outside the Amalgamated Engineering Union formed a joint Negotiating Committee, which then carried on negotiations for several days with the employers. On the 14th, however, these negotiations broke down on the fundamental issue of managerial rights, and the claim of the unions to prior notice and consultation in the event of material changes being introduced in workshop conditions. The main point of controversy was the question as to whether the management or the unions should have the right of deciding what were material changes. A week later, as a result of the mediation of the National Joint Labour Council, a conference was held between representatives of the Engineering Employers' Federation and of the Amalgamated Engineering Union, but hopes of progress towards a settlement were disappointed. In the case of the other unions, it became clear that no agreement could be reached, and the lock-out notices, which had been suspended, were again renewed. This lock-out threatened to affect about 1,000,000 men in addition to those already unemployed through the lock-out of the Amalgamated Engineering Union.

Whereas at the end of April the engineering dispute was thus more threatening than it had been at the beginning of the month, a move towards peace was made in the shipbuilding trade by a conference of the Executives of the unions concerned, which decided to recommend their members to agree to an immediate wage reduction of 10*s.* 6*d.* a week, to be followed by a further reduction of 6*s.* in two instalments of 3*s.* each, to take effect on May 17 and June 7. It was agreed that these terms should be submitted to a ballot, the result of which should be declared early in the month of May.

As regards Ireland, the agreement reached at the end of March between the representatives of the Dublin and Belfast Governments was welcomed by men of all creeds and classes except extremists. The royal assent was given, on the last day of March, to the Irish Free State Bill, but the hopes that were now entertained of peace in Ireland were destined to be quickly disappointed. At the beginning of April Belfast experienced another week-end of murder. A Protestant policeman was shot dead in the street, and afterwards four men, all Roman Catholics, were killed and three children wounded. On the 2nd the rebel section of the Irish Republican Army held a big parade in Dublin. It soon became clear that the Republican Party were endeavouring to prevent the Free State from coming into existence, and speeches were made by persons who claimed to represent a majority of the Irish Republican Army virtually declaring war on the Free State. In County Mayo Mr. Michael Collins was prevented from speaking, and his meeting was "proclaimed" by disaffected members of the Republican Party. At Dundalk Mr. de Valera denied the existence alike of the Provisional Government and of the Northern Government, and ridiculed the London agreement. Acts of violence and lawlessness continued to be reported from many different parts of Ireland, and the authority of the Southern Government began to wane under the vigorous challenge of the Republican extremists. On April 6 five disbanded policemen were shot dead in Clare and Kerry. On the same day Ulster police suffered four casualties in a border ambush, and the trade boycott of Belfast, carried on by the rebels, was enforced by the burning of goods seized from trains. On the 10th special police discovered a land mine buried in a road in County Armagh.

Further efforts to secure peace were now instituted by a conference between Mr. Michael Collins and Mr. Arthur Griffith on behalf of the Southern Provisional Government, and Mr. de Valera and Mr. Cathal Brugha, representing the section of Sinn Fein which was opposed to the Treaty. The conference was arranged for April 14, and after a discussion of three hours adjourned until the 18th without reaching any agreement. Meanwhile religious war continued to be carried on in the North. In Belfast on April 13 sniping took place between Catholics and Protestants, and police were fired at from the housetops. In

Dublin a raid was made by a large force of armed men on the Four Courts, the Law Courts of Dublin, which was captured and successfully held by the insurgents. Shortly afterwards Kilmainham Gaol, famous in the history of Irish nationalism, was seized by the irregular troops. An attempt was made to prevent Mr. Griffith, President of Dail Eireann, from carrying out his intention to make a speech at Sligo on April 16. He was warned by the Mayor of that town that all public meetings had been "proclaimed." He replied that the Dail had not authorised any interference with the rights of public meeting and free speech, and in defiance of the proclamation he succeeded in addressing a crowd without interruption, though guarded by armoured cars and Free State troops. On the 16th Mr. Collins was attacked by armed men in Dublin, but escaped injury. He returned the fire of the attackers and captured and disarmed one of them, on whom a live bomb was afterwards found. Other disturbing events of the middle of April included a midnight attack on the barracks in Dublin where the Free State Army had their headquarters. The sniping, which continued in Belfast, necessitated the use of machine guns by the police, but there was no further sign of trouble on the Ulster border.

The Peace Conference, which had arranged to resume on April 18, postponed its meeting till the following day: after sitting for about an hour and a half it again adjourned without reaching any agreement. The campaign of violent interference with free speech continued unabated. Mr. Michael Collins, head of the Provisional Government, was prevented by armed men from speaking in the Market Place at Killarney on April 22, though he succeeded in making two speeches elsewhere in the town. On the 23rd Mr. Collins went to Tralee, but the train in which he travelled was stopped by the line having been torn up in several places. Mr. Collins, however, succeeded in reaching Tralee by road, and addressed a large meeting without disturbance. On April 24 a strike, called by the Irish Labour Party as a protest against militarism, took place in the twenty-six counties of the Irish Free State. There was a general cessation of labour, no trains or tramcars being run; postal services were suspended, and all places of entertainment were closed. On that day Brigadier-General Adamson, of the Irish Free State Army, was mortally wounded while holding up his hands in response to a challenge in the streets of Athlone. In County Clare a retired sergeant of the Royal Irish Constabulary was murdered. On the 26th rifle and revolver firing took place at Dunmanway, in West Cork, and three prominent citizens were shot dead in their homes. A land mine was also discovered on a road near Newry. A number of further shootings were reported from West Cork on April 28. Armed men visited the homes of various people in the dead of night and shot them. Meanwhile the situation became further complicated by an

expression of belief, on the part of the Provisional Government, that the Northern Government did not intend to keep the agreement which had been signed in London. At the end of April, therefore, there was little encouragement for those who desired to see peace finally established in Ireland.

At the beginning of April the Prime Minister returned to the House of Commons after an absence of three weeks, and submitted a motion of confidence in the policy pursued by the Government at Genoa. The motion was to the effect that the House approved of the resolutions passed by the Supreme Council at Cannes as a basis of the Genoa Conference, and would support his Majesty's Government in endeavouring to give effect to them. In the course of his speech to the House Mr. Lloyd George said that the Conference at Genoa had been summoned to find the best means of restoring order in Europe. The difficulties of the present time were due, not to exacting reparations, but to the fact that there was something to repair. If we were to insist upon payments beyond the power of a war-exhausted country, it would precipitate a crisis by no means confined to Germany. He warned the country that it was a mistake to believe that a conference had failed if it did not achieve everything it set out to achieve. He proceeded to justify his proposed action in recognising Russia. The conditions of such recognition were that they in their turn should recognise their national obligations, should restore the property of nationals, paying compensations where it had been destroyed, should establish impartial tribunals, and should undertake that there should be no aggressive action against the frontiers of their neighbours. He warned those who objected to dealings with the Soviet Government that if they waited for it to disappear it might be replaced by a worse Government. He warned the critics of the Government that the movement of opinion, as revealed in the bye-elections, was not in their direction.

Mr. Clynes moved an amendment as an act of opposition to the Prime Minister going to Genoa. He declared that Mr. Lloyd George had ceased to be a Prime Minister and had become a mere party prisoner. The party conflicts of a Government which was clearly crumbling, he said, had revealed to the Prime Minister that he had not that confidence in a mission which might have led to a promising highroad to trade revival and the gateway to a General Election campaign. Mr. Clynes was followed by Mr. Bonar Law, who said that with regard to Russia he had been afraid of two things—(1) that recognition might be given when it ought not to be given, and (2) that some quixotic scheme of lending money to other countries might be brought forward. His fears on these points had now been removed. He would do nothing to attempt to overthrow the Soviet Government, but he would do nothing to strengthen that Government as recognition would do. Ultimately the Labour amendment was lost by 295 votes, and the Government motion was carried by 372 votes against 94.

The spirit of discontent prevailing within the Coalition ranks led to a challenge by the Independent Conservatives of the whole principle of Coalition Government. This challenge took the form of a motion by Sir William Joynson-Hicks on April 6, to the effect that, in view of the lack of definite and coherent principle of the present Coalition Government, a Ministry should be established composed of men united in political principle. Sir William Joynson-Hicks, in moving his resolution, disclaimed any intention of conducting a personal attack either on the Prime Minister or any member of the Government. He objected to the application of Liberal principles to the policy of a Government of which he was a supporter. He expressed his belief that the Prime Minister was a perfectly honest Liberal, but he and his friends held that the old policy of the Conservative Party was more beneficial to the State. Sir William Joynson-Hicks appealed to the Conservative leaders in the Cabinet to come out and lead the Conservative Party, which was the finest instrument the country had ever known.

An amendment was moved by Colonel Hurst, asserting that the best solution of our national difficulties was the co-operation of well-affected citizens of all political parties in working for the common good. The true and traditional Conservative principles, he said, were attachment to liberty and Empire, and devotion to the Crown and Constitution. There was nothing in the record of the present Government that in any way offended any single one of those principles. He characterised the "diehards" as representative of that type of mediæval Toryism which regarded all change and all reform as revolution.

Mr. Chamberlain subsequently spoke, referring to the critics of the Government as men who were going counter to the great mass of the Unionist Party throughout the country. He pointed to Sir William Joynson-Hicks as the alternative Prime Minister, saying that he and his supporters had been engaged for eleven days in seeking to draw up a resolution which would secure support from every discordant element within the House. He sought in vain for some hint of policy in the resolution, and he had turned to a speech delivered by the mover of the resolution at Twickenham. The only policy he had been able to note was something with regard to Canadian store cattle. He criticised the attempt to make the present difference of opinion between a small fraction of the Unionist Party and the leaders a subject for public and formal discussion.

Mr. Chamberlain was followed by Lord Hugh Cecil, who said that the motive underlying the resolution was that the present Government, or rather the present Prime Minister, was ruining the country. He was sure that no Prime Minister could be so bad as the present Prime Minister, and that so long as he was Prime Minister the condition of the country would get worse and worse, as it had done ever since the Armistice.

The House divided on Colonel Hurst's amendment, which was carried by 288 votes to 95.

An effort was made in the beginning of April to obtain some facilitation of the conditions under which Old Age Pensions were granted. Mr. Myers moved a resolution in the House of Commons, declaring that the old age provisions ought to be modified so as to enable old age pensioners to derive the full benefit of their thrift, and to receive assistance from friends, employers, and organisations without reduction of their pension. Mr. Hannon moved an amendment declaring that, in view of the financial exigencies of the country, this proposal could not at present be entertained. After Sir R. Horne had stated that the proposal would add to our annual expenditure a sum of 15,000,000*l*., the amendment was agreed to by a majority of 43 and the resolution thus amended was carried by a majority of 64.

Both Houses of Parliament adjourned on April 12 for Easter, the House of Lords until May 2 and the House of Commons until April 26.

On April 8 Mr. Churchill, speaking at Dundee, gave a broad general survey of British national politics. He said that the keynote of our foreign policy in Europe was to bring about a good understanding between France and Germany, while giving France the assurance that she would not be left unaided if she were again to be the victim of an unprovoked aggression by Germany. The offer to France had become a factor which no French Government could treat other than as a matter of the highest consequence. The interests of Britain could only be safe when they were coincident with the interests of civilisation and of peace. We could not contemplate in any circumstances reducing the British Navy below the level of the one-power standard. The Irish Treaty stood for all time as the measure and the symbol of the relationship which should exist between the two islands. Further than the Treaty we could not go. The supreme issue at the next election would be that of a Socialist organisation of society versus individual enterprise. Socialism, he said, was the negation of every principle of British Liberalism and of every sentiment of the British heart.

As the Budget drew near pressure continued to be put more insistently on the Government to reduce taxation. The demand especially was for a reduction of the Income Tax, and on April 24 an important speech was made by Lord Inchcape at the Mansion House on this subject. He said that if expenditure and taxation were not reduced we should land ourselves in national and individual bankruptcy. If practically the whole results of individual effort, hard work, and frugality were to be handed over to the spending departments, all incentive to saving disappeared. One of the most extraordinary anomalies of taxation was that we paid super-tax on income that never reached us. The Government had whittled down the considered recom-

mendations of the Geddes Committee by 30 per cent. If this vital issue of economy should be made the football either of party politics or of departmental pride and intrigue, and if the nation as a whole did not insist upon drastic reductions in public expenditure, the country would be ruined. Borrowing to reduce taxation would simply give the spending departments an excuse to continue their extravagance, and would seriously affect the credit of Great Britain throughout the world. The wealth of the country did not belong to the Government; it was the property of the people who had worked and saved. He said that we were at the parting of the ways. We must reduce our expenditure and cease borrowing or we should come to grief. If the country were rolling in wealth we might be justified in launching out into great philanthropic schemes, but being at death's door financially, it was madness to go on as we were going, multiplying and maintaining State functionaries and State enterprises at the expense of industries, to the visible impairment of our old and hardy spirit of individualism. We had got into a position where many could only pay rates and taxes by realising assets and so diminishing the funds needed for the expansion of business. If this went on our whole social and industrial fabric would go to pieces. The revival of foreign trade was being retarded by the present level of taxation. In a reduction of taxation lay the Chancellor's only road to a wholesome and economically sound maintenance of revenue, just as in a drastic reduction of national expenditure lay his only hope of reducing taxation.

The first business of the House of Commons on resuming its sittings after Easter was to deal with the second reading of the Empire Settlement Bill, the object of which was to give effect to the resolution passed by the special conference of Empire Prime Ministers on the subject of co-operative schemes of emigration, and based upon the work of Lord Long's Committee. Mr. Amery, who moved the second reading, recounted the valuable work done by Lord Long's Committee in assisting Ex-Service men to emigrate. A hundred thousand people, he said, had been sent out, and there had only been a small percentage of failures. With reference to land settlement, there were individual settlement schemes under which men without sufficient capital would be enabled to set up as farmers after the preliminary period for gaining farming experience, and development schemes for opening up large areas to cultivation by the clearing of forests, building roads and railways, and works of irrigation. He emphasised the fact that it was not the intention to create any elaborate new machinery or administration either in this country or overseas. It was not proposed to spend in the present year more than 1,500,000*l.* The normal expenditure was fixed at 3,000,000*l.*, and of that amount he estimated that about a million would be required for schemes of assisted emigration. The basis of contribution would be normally half

and half as between this country and the Dominions, so that the total amount available for that purpose would be 2,000,000*l.* a year, which would enable between 60,000 and 80,000 people to be assisted in the course of the year. The remaining 2,000,000*l.* of United Kingdom money would be available for land settlement and development. It had been agreed at the conference that the British contribution to schemes of individual settlement should not exceed an advance of 300*l.* a settler, which was about a third of the amount required. Thus it would be possible to settle 3,000 heads of families for the expenditure of 1,000,000*l.* He recommended the Bill as a measure outside party, but at the same time in the true line of our national traditions and our historic Imperial policy.

The Bill met with no opposition, though several speakers expressed the view that Mr. Amery had been too sanguine as to the wide-reaching results which would follow its passage. Mr. Clynes was anxious to know to what extent Labour organisations in the Dominions had been consulted, for the success of the scheme would depend on securing the goodwill of Labour, organised and unorganised, overseas. The Bill was subsequently passed by both Houses of Parliament, and received the royal assent at the end of May.

In no public department were the recommendations of the Geddes Committee so widely departed from as in that of education. The Committee had recommended an economy of 18,000,000*l.* for the United Kingdom, but on April 27 the Minister of Education, in Committee of Supply on the vote for education, declared that the total saving to be effected on the current year's estimates would be 6,104,653*l.* Of this sum 1,205,683*l.* was due to the diminution of services resulting from the war, and would have no prejudicial effect on the education of the children; and 2,300,505*l.* was derived from the contributions of teachers in respect to pensions. Further, there was a saving of 3,000,000*l.* on the estimates for the previous year, although the expenditure was 2,500,000*l.* higher than in the preceding year.

The Budget was introduced into the House of Commons by the Chancellor of the Exchequer on May 1. He began his statement by a survey of the previous year, pointing out that the industrial trouble experienced in the first three months had had a serious effect on trade and on the revenue of the year. Summarising what had been done in the reduction of debt, he said that the External Debt had been reduced by 170,000,000*l.*, the Floating Debt by 246,000,000*l.*, the Maturing Debt by 260,000,000*l.*, and 88,000,000*l.* had been added to the reduction of the Deadweight Debt. He pointed out that the expenditure for the year was less than the estimated expenditure by about 57,000,000*l.*, but the revenue was also less by 91,000,000*l.*, and the surplus of revenue over expenditure to go towards reduction of debt was 45,693,000*l.* Customs and Excise showed a sur-

plus of 1,343,000*l.* over the sum anticipated in the estimates. Beer, Tobacco, Tea and Sugar and the Motor Tax all realised more than had been expected, but the Entertainment Tax and Spirits had fallen below the estimated sum. The Inland Revenue Duties as a whole fell below the original Budget estimate by 110,726,000*l.*, chiefly owing to the shortage of Excess Profits Duty, of which, however, there were still unpaid arrears. To the surplus of 45,000,000*l.* to be applied to the reduction of debt had been added a sum of 25,000,000*l.*, which was included for debt reduction on the expenditure side of the Budget. The estimated expenditure for 1922-23 was 910,069,000*l.*, and the estimated revenue was 956,625,000*l.*, leaving a surplus of 46,556,000*l.* When, however, the proposed changes had been made, it was estimated that the revenue would be 910,775,000*l.*, and while the expenditure would be the same the surplus would only be 706,000*l.* The chief changes proposed were: the reduction of the minimum charge for letters from 2*d.* to 1½*d.*; of the postcard rate to 1*d.*, and of the minimum charge for printed papers to ½*d.*, subject to certain conditions; also reductions in telephone charges; a reduction of the duty on tea from 1*s.* to 8*d.*, and of the duty on coffee and cocoa by one-third. The standard rate of Income Tax was to be reduced from 6*s.* to 5*s.* in the £. The final Balance Sheet was as follows (see p. 50).

In the debate which followed Mr. Asquith criticised the wisdom of remitting taxes out of what he stigmatised as a remarkably short surplus. Mr. Clynes declared that the War Debt would eventually have to be liquidated by a graduated levy on accumulated wealth.

The debate was resumed on May 2 by Sir Donald Maclean, who specially criticised the decision to suspend the reduction of debt. He said that the only remedy for the present state of affairs was reduction of expenditure, which should have been applied two and a half years ago. Had retrenchment taken place at that time there could have been a reduction of 2*s.* in the Income Tax, lesser taxes on sugar and tea, and the country would have been placed in a position of which it might have been proud.

Mr. Bonar Law dissented from much of this criticism. He retorted that if Mr. Asquith had been Chancellor of the Exchequer he would have presented a Budget very similar to the one under consideration. One must not think too much of precedents, he said, but look on facts as they were and deal with them in the best way possible. He laid down the principle that it would be quite wrong to fix a certain time within which the debt must be paid off. He contended that the only real principle was that when trade was good and revenue expanding they should give every penny they could give without disturbing trade in order to meet the debt; but when trade was bad it was their duty to take into account what had been done and

slacken their efforts in meeting the burden. The right course for the Government to adopt, he held, was that when trade was as it was at present, expenditure should be met without adding to or deducting from the debt. Looking ahead, Mr. Bonar Law predicted that there were bad times in store, though perhaps not immediately. So far as human foresight could tell, there would be no world war for a very long time, and his belief was that the real strength of this country to meet the difficulty when it came would be found in a strong financial position far more than in anything else.

ESTIMATED REVENUE.

	£
Customs	112,250,000
Excise	160,750,000
Motor Vehicles Duties	10,600,000
Estate, etc., Duties	48,000,000
Stamps	18,250,000
Land Tax, House Duty, and Mineral Rights Duty	3,000,000
Income Tax (including Super Tax)	329,000,000
Excess Profits Duty, etc.	27,800,000
Corporation Profits Tax	19,750,000
Postal Service	35,667,000
Telegraph Service	5,230,000
Telephone Service	13,728,000
Crown Lands	750,000
Interest on Sundry Loans	14,000,000
Miscellaneous—	
Ordinary Receipts	22,000,000
Special Receipts	90,000,000
Total	£910,775,000
Borrowings to meet Expenditure chargeable against Capital	£10,050,000

ESTIMATED EXPENDITURE.

	£
National Debt Services	335,000,000
Payments for Northern Ireland Residuary Share, etc.	2,500,000
Road Fund	10,000,000
Payments to Local Taxation Accounts, etc.	9,788,000
Land Settlement	3,500,000
Other Consolidated Fund Services	2,650,000
Army	62,300,000
Navy	64,884,000
Air Force	10,895,000
Civil Services	317,455,000
Customs and Excise, and Inland Revenue Departments	12,275,000
Post Office Services	53,822,000
Provision for Supplementary Estimates	25,000,000
Surplus	706,000
Total	£910,775,000
Expenditure chargeable against Capital	£10,050,000

Mr. J. H. Thomas commented upon the admission by the Chancellor that money from Germany was regarded as a windfall. He refrained from adding his congratulations, especially

in regard to relief in indirect taxation, the burden of which on the working classes he described as appalling. He calculated that a working man with a wage of 3*l.* 10*s.* a week, and having a wife and three children, paid 8*s.* or 10*s.* a week in indirect taxation. Additional relief in this direction would have been a greater stimulus to trade than 1*s.* off the Income Tax.

Colonel Gretton and Lieut.-Commander Kenworthy complained of the absence of relief for beer drinkers. The former said that the utmost amount which the Chancellor of the Exchequer would risk by reducing the duty on beer by 30*s.* a standard barrel, thus allowing 1*d.* to be taken off the price of a glass of beer, would be 20,000,000*l.* Mr. Neil Maclean advised the reduction of interest on Government securities, stating that anything from 75,000,000*l.* to 100,000,000*l.* could be saved in that way, and 3*s.* taken off the Income Tax.

On May 9 Sir Eric Geddes, speaking at Sheffield, stated that the cuts in expenditure adopted by the Government amounted to only 52,000,000*l.* of the 100,000,000*l.* recommended by the Economy Committee, of which he was chairman. He urged that the full economies must be carried out and taxes reduced, or trade could not recover. He said that the sweeping allegations of inaccuracies made by the Admiralty in its notorious Memorandum against the Report were untrue, and that the Chancellor of the Exchequer stated that he could see no error in the calculations. The Report recommended means of reducing an expenditure of 500,000,000*l.* by 100,000,000*l.* He congratulated the Chancellor of the Exchequer on what he had been able to do, and firmly believed he was determined to act in the spirit of his Budget speech. The reductions in the coming year were bound to fall in the two great groups which the Committee called the Defence Force and Social Services. They believed that full economies could not be made until one Minister was responsible for the whole expenditure on defence. As regards the Navy, they proposed a reduction of 21,000,000*l.* in addition to any savings from the Washington agreement. The Navy had given a reduction of 16,000;000*l.*, including those savings, and so far as he could see the real naval economy was only some 4,000,000*l.* per annum, and was a very remote possibility. A reduction of 20,000,000*l.* was recommended for the Army in addition to the revisions of garrisons abroad. The Army had given approximately half that sum, including garrison adjustments. In the Air Force they proposed cuts of 5,500,000*l.*, of which about half had already been made. As to education, they proposed economies amounting to 18,000,000*l.*, and the actual cut was 7,500,000*l.* They strongly urged the evils of the percentage grant system. He said that the country was not getting the best value for its expenditure on education. Until some alternative recommendations were found they looked to the Government to give effect to the Report of the Committee, which were the only proposals before the country.

The Post Office vote was taken in the House of Commons on May 4. Mr. Kellaway then announced that, whereas in 1920-21 there had been a loss on the previous year's working of the Post Office of 7,300,000*l.*, at the end of 1921-22 the deficit had only been 1,800,000*l.*, and it was estimated that in the current year there would be a surplus of over 9,000,000*l.*, 7,500,000*l.* of which would be applied to reducing postal and telephone charges. The Sunday collection of letters would also be restored. The charge for inland letters and letters to the United States and to all parts of the Empire, weighing not more than one ounce, would be reduced to 1½*d.*; the postcard rate would be reduced to 1*d.*; the printed paper rate would go down to ½*d.*; the telephone rental for private users would be reduced by 1*l.* 10*s.* a year; local message fees, extra mileage charges, and trunk calls made between certain hours would also be reduced. It had been decided to allow the establishment of a limited number of radio-telephone broadcasting stations in this country. These stations would be limited to a power of 1½ kilowatts, and furnished with wave lengths which would not interfere with other services. As regards air mails, the aerial parcels post to Paris effected a saving of from five to six days.

Advantage was taken by Mr. Stanley Baldwin of the vote for the Privy Council for trade and subordinate departments to review the position with regard to the markets of the world. With regard to England, he explained that our great difficulty was to find employment for an increased population in a country already industrialised up to the limit of safety. The coal trade was the only one of our staple trades which had reached an economic level; it had already got back something like its pre-war average in export trade, though the demand for industrial coal at home was low. The iron and steel trades and the cotton trade were going through a difficult time, but the wool trade was doing fairly well. The leather trade and the electrical trades, and the trade in textile machinery were busy. London was, he said, still the financial centre of the world, and there was every prospect of our being able to recover, retain and improve on the position in industry which we had always held in the world.

In the middle of May an effort was made by the Labour Party to secure legislation for the benefit of the unemployed. Mr. T. Griffiths introduced a Prevention of Unemployment Bill, the second reading of which was taken on May 12. The Bill proposed to transfer to the Minister of Labour the power to frame and carry into effect a co-ordinated national policy. He would from time to time advise the Treasury how to organise and spread over the different seasons of the year the various national works and services. The Bill made provision for the appointment of local unemployed committees, representative of employers and workers, to keep in touch with economic condi-

tions in their various areas, and it also gave power to the Minister of Labour to regulate late hours and conditions of labour. After a short debate an amendment for the rejection of the Bill was carried by a majority of 90.

The discussions on the Budget again brought to the fore the problem of economy, and on May 15 Mr. Chamberlain explained to the House of Commons the steps that were being taken by the Cabinet to that end. He said that the Treasury had already taken up with the departments the question of what immediate and prospective reductions could be made in their votes for the current year, and, as soon as their answers were received, would be engaged in discussing with them all possible means of effecting economy. He also announced that committees were being appointed to investigate (1) the practicability of a Ministry of Defence as recommended by the Geddes Committee; (2) the amalgamation and co-ordination of services common to the various fighting forces; (3) the advisability of introducing a system of making lump sum instead of percentage grants to local authorities. Sir W. Joynson-Hicks pointed to the failure of the Treasury in 1921 to effect economies, and to the fact that the Geddes Committee had to be appointed because it could not control the departments, and asked if the Treasury could be assured that they had the Cabinet behind them. Mr. Chamberlain characterised the question as unfair to the departments and the Treasury. Reductions of 70,000,000*l.* had been made by the departments and the Treasury in combination before any proposals were submitted by the Geddes Committee. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Treasury, and the other departments knew, he said, that the Government were behind them in the efforts they were making.

On the same day a discussion took place on the Turkish outrages which had been reported in *The Times* ten days earlier. Mr. Chamberlain said that the Turks appeared to be working on a deliberate plan to get rid of minorities. Their method was to deport Ottoman Greeks, large numbers of whom died on the road from hardship and exposure. For preference the Turks chose winter weather for driving the deportees into the mountains, children being driven forward with the rest. So severe were the conditions of deportation that the roads along which the unfortunate victims were compelled to march were scattered with dead bodies. Mr. Chamberlain stated that the Turks had been repeatedly warned that these atrocities, which had now been going on almost continuously for over seven years, would adversely affect Allied public opinion and Allied policy, but these warnings and protests had been entirely without effect. The details received showed such an appalling tale of barbarity and cruelty, practised as part of a systematic policy of extermination of Christian minorities in Asia Minor, that the British Government—which had in the proposed terms of peace assumed a serious responsibility for the protection of

minorities—could not allow such reports to remain uninvestigated, or such incidents to continue unchecked. It had been proposed, therefore, to the French, Italian, and American Governments that they should each send a carefully selected officer to Trebizond or other Black Sea port, as might be most suitable, for the purpose of proceeding to the interior in order to make the necessary investigation.

In the middle of May the Government experienced a defeat in the House of Commons on the second reading of the School Teachers (Superannuation) Bill. This measure provided for the payment by school teachers of a contribution towards their superannuation fund. It will be remembered that one of the recommendations of the Geddes Economy Committee was that full inquiry should be held with a view to placing the superannuation of teachers on a sound contributory basis, under which the teachers and the authorities employing them would each bear a due proportion of the burden. Pending such an inquiry, the Geddes Committee recommended that a 5 per cent. levy should be paid by the teachers, and the present Bill was designed to give effect to this recommendation.

The objectors to the Bill in the House of Commons urged that a revision of the terms of the pension scheme would constitute a breach of faith. They said that the expectation of a non-contributory pension was one of the Government considerations which had induced teachers to accept the Burnham scale of salaries. Accordingly Mr. S. Walsh moved to postpone the second reading for six months. The debate proceeded for some time, and its adjournment was then moved by Lord Robert Cecil and opposed by the Government, but the motion was agreed to by 151 votes to 148, a majority of three.

On the following day Mr. Chamberlain stated, in reply to a question from Mr. Clynes, that the Government had decided to appoint a small Select Committee to ascertain and report whether any undertaking was given or implied by the Government or Parliament that the provisions of the Teachers (Superannuation) Act, 1918, should not be altered while those scales remained in force. Mr. Chamberlain at the same time pointed out that the decision of the House involved a charge, and added that the Government thought that the House should make provision for this charge at the earliest possible moment. Accordingly a supplementary estimate for a sum of 575,000*l.* was introduced in the House of Commons on May 22. Opponents urged that the money should not be voted until the amount required was known. Mr. G. Locker-Lampson moved to reduce the vote by 200,000*l.* This amendment was accepted by Mr. Chamberlain, and the vote was then agreed to.

On May 19 Colonel Meysey-Thompson moved the second reading of a Trade Union Act (1913) Amendment Bill, the object of which was to provide that the application of Trade Union funds for certain political purposes should be endorsed

by a majority in a ballot in which at least 50 per cent. of the members must take part; that all moneys intended for political purposes should be raised by a separate levy, and that every year contributing members should be given the opportunity of declaring whether or not they would go on contributing. This Bill was opposed by the Labour members, and the second reading was carried, but the Bill did not succeed in progressing beyond the report stage.

Another Bill which passed its second reading during May, but did not get beyond the report stage, was the Separation and Maintenance Orders Bill moved by Sir R. Newman. It proposed to add to the grounds upon which a man could claim a separation order from his wife, and would enable the Court to grant a maintenance order whether the parties were living together or were separated, and would strengthen the powers of the Court to enforce an order relating to maintenance or to the custody of the children or to access to them.

The second reading of the Finance Bill was taken at the end of May. Colonel Wedgwood moved to postpone it for six months, pointing out that the only reduction by which the workers would benefit was that made in the tea duty. Mr. Asquith took the opportunity to criticise the financial policy of the Government, and Sir P. Sassoon urged that the Treasury should be empowered to make special grants to enable the National Gallery to acquire art treasures from private collections.

The Genoa Conference was referred to in the House of Commons on several dates in the course of May. A statement had appeared in various newspapers attributing to the Prime Minister a declaration that the entente between France and Britain was at an end. Mr. Lloyd George denied that he had ever made such a declaration, and he wrote a letter to M. Barthou requesting him also to deny it. On May 9 Mr. Chamberlain read M. Barthou's reply to the House of Commons categorically denying the allegations.

Mr. Lloyd George took advantage of the vote for the Foreign Office on May 25 to make a statement as to the results of the Genoa Conference. He made it plain that the main concern was the problem of Russia. The representatives of Russia were present at the Conference, and they represented more poverty, wretchedness, desolation, hunger, and despair than all the other nations. Without the assistance of the other nations it was hopeless for Russia, whatever its Government, to expect to raise itself from the pit of squalid misery. There were three possible courses with regard to Russia: the first was force, which had not been suggested at Genoa; the second was the policy of leaving Russia to her fate until a more benevolent and acceptable Government was in power. That course, said Mr. Lloyd George, was one which they might be compelled to adopt. The third

Government should not preclude relations with the Russian people.

Mr. Asquith expressed scepticism with regard to the armed forces which were said to be massing on the frontiers, but the Prime Minister said that he received his information from the Prime Ministers of Poland and Rumania. Mr. Clynes commented upon the disinclination of the Prime Minister to go deeply into our relations with France. The question, in his view, was whether we had reached the stage when we could boldly say that we had guaranteed more goods by the Treaty of Versailles than we could deliver. In reply to criticism by Lord Robert Cecil, Mr. Lloyd George then affirmed that disagreement with France was one of the most disastrous things that could happen to the peace of the world. He expressed the desire that France and Great Britain should work together, but they must work together for peace in Europe; and upon that principle the Government would work as whole-heartedly with the French democracy as they had worked together to defend Europe against the aggression of their common enemy. After a speech by Sir L. Worthington-Evans, the Government policy was endorsed by 235 to 26 votes.

The state of Ireland showed no improvement during May. On the first day of the month it became known that the rival Sinn Fein leaders, representing the Southern Provisional Government and the Anti-Treaty Party, led by Mr. de Valera, had failed to find a basis of agreement. The Peace Conference at the Dublin Mansion House thereupon broke up, and the Provisional Government decided to proceed with the elections in June in order that the people might vote for or against the Treaty. The day for the polling was fixed for June 16.

Outrages continued to occur at the beginning of the month. The occupation of various buildings in Kilkenny by Irregulars of the Irish Republican Army led to sharp fighting between them and Free State troops, who ultimately succeeded in dislodging the raiders from their positions and taking a large number of prisoners. The Irregular Forces had concentrated at the castle, and severe fighting took place before this stronghold was captured.

In the meantime the Dail appointed a Committee, representing both the Free State Party and the Anti-Treaty Party, to consider the possibility of bringing about a truce and reuniting the Army. Another Committee appointed at the same time agreed upon a four days' truce from May 4 to May 8, with a view of giving time to ascertain a basis on which the Army might be unified. This truce was subsequently extended by the Dail until May 6, and afterwards for still longer. Nevertheless lawlessness continued to prevail in many parts of the south and west of Ireland.

On May 10 it was announced in the Dail that the Committee appointed to find a basis for peace negotiations had failed to

agree and had broken up. The Dail thereupon adjourned till May 17, the Peace Committee being desired again to endeavour to find some formula for agreement which might be placed before the House. Further outbreaks of disorder occurred in Belfast in the middle of the month, and a new Curfew Order was issued. At the same time a number of creameries and milk factories in the south of Ireland were seized by branches of the Transport Workers' Union, who hoisted the red flag over the buildings.

When the Dail met on May 17 the reports of the two factions of the Peace Conference were read, showing that no agreement had been reached. A further adjournment and a further effort to find a basis of agreement also miscarried, and hopes of peace had been universally abandoned when the Dail was surprised, on May 20, by an announcement that Mr. Collins and Mr. de Valera had arrived at an agreement providing for a coalition of both parties.

The campaign of outrage showed no signs of subsiding. Murders and shootings took place in Belfast with little intermission. In Down and Antrim a number of mansions were burned down, police barracks and post offices were attacked, a bank was robbed and burned, and a railway bridge blown up. On May 22 Mr. W. J. Twaddell, a Unionist member of the Northern Parliament and city councillor, was waylaid on his way to business and shot.

The agreement reached between the Provisional Government and the Republicans was received with some misgiving in London, and Mr. Winston Churchill promptly asked the Sinn Fein leaders who had signed the Irish Peace Treaty to meet him in London to explain the effect of the new coalition agreement. Speaking in Parliament, Mr. Churchill said that there were nineteen battalions of Imperial troops in the six north-east counties, and any further reinforcements considered necessary by the military authorities would be sent.

The conference between Mr. Churchill and the Irish leaders began on May 26. Its object was to clear up the question as to whether the Sinn Fein coalition compact was or was not compatible with the due fulfilment of the Irish obligations under the Treaty. At the conclusion of the conference Mr. Churchill made an important statement as to the position in the House of Commons. He explained that the pact between Mr. Collins and Mr. de Valera would give the Anti-Treaty men 57 seats in the new Parliament of Southern Ireland, leaving 64 for the supporters of the Treaty. If Mr. de Valera and his Ministers became members of the Government without signing the declaration of adherence, the Treaty would be broken and the Imperial Government would resume such liberty of action as the case might require. The Northern Government had declared that, now that Mr. Collins and Mr. de Valera were to be members of the same administration, they

could not have such dealings with them as were contemplated in the agreement previously reached. Before the Constitution of the Irish Free State was adopted, it must be submitted to the Imperial Parliament. At the end of the month Ireland thus seemed no nearer to a settled condition than it had been at the beginning.

The engineering dispute continued throughout the month of May. On the 3rd Sir William Mackenzie opened an inquiry, under Part 2 of the Industrial Courts Act, into the causes and circumstances of the dispute. An attempt was made to bring the men and the employers together, but it failed owing to the refusal of the employers to discontinue the lock-out while negotiations were in progress.

The shipyard dispute, on the other hand, was settled during the first week in May. It will be remembered that the trouble in the shipbuilding industry arose over the decision of the employers to abolish the war bonus of 26*s.* 6*d.* per week. As the negotiations proceeded the proposal was modified to the withdrawal of 10*s.* a week on March 29, and of 6*s.* at the end of April. The unions balloted, and the men ceased work on March 29, when the notices to enforce the reduction expired. At the beginning of May the employers again amended their terms by splitting the reduction of 6*s.* into two—3*s.* on May 17 and 3*s.* on June 7. On this proposal the unions again balloted; only about 30 per cent. of those entitled to vote did so, and the vote gave a majority against acceptance of 5,034. Since, however, the rules of the Federation required a two-thirds majority for the continuance of a dispute, the negotiating committee decided that they were obliged to bring it to an end, and members of the unions were instructed to resume work on May 8 on the terms stated above. The stoppage had lasted for nearly six weeks.

On May 10 Sir William Mackenzie issued his Report on the inquiry which he held under the Industrial Courts Act into the engineering dispute. The Report stated that the present difference was concerned, not with the men's right to contest or object to any change or innovation that the employers might desire to make, but with the question of what should be done in the interval which must elapse between the raising of the objection and its determination under the method of procedure provided. In his statement of conclusions Sir William Mackenzie said that the question of necessity in regard to overtime was related to the requirements of the work to be done and the business in hand, and as to this necessity the management alone were in a position to judge. The employers were willing that the kind of question which had been under discussion during the disputes should be settled by general national agreement, or determined in accordance with procedure set up by such agreement. To this view the unions did not take exception. As to information with regard to a proposed change

in working conditions, Sir William Mackenzie said that it should be available to the workpeople directly concerned, or their representatives in the shop, before it was decided that the change should be made. The final opinion expressed was that the matter was one in which no agreement, however carefully devised, could fully take the place of good sense and goodwill between the parties, and the appreciation by either side of the difficulties and point of view of the other.

The issue of this report led to a new attempt to reach an agreement. On May 16 a joint negotiating committee, representing all the unions involved in the dispute, met the Engineering Employers' Federation in conference at Westminster. At first the spokesmen for the Amalgamated Engineering Union did not find themselves in accord as to procedure with the representatives of the forty-seven other unions, but after a short delay matters were arranged and agreement was reached on a united course of action on the part of the workers. At the first sitting of the conference the employers undertook to submit definite proposals to the negotiating committee of the united unions. When these proposals were submitted some hope was entertained of their acceptance. They provided for the application of the provisions for avoiding disputes to all sections and unions without distinction, and also suggested arrangements by which there would be reasonable notice given and prior consultation made possible in respect of contemplated changes in workshop management. The prospects of a prompt settlement, however, were dashed to the ground by the action of the Executive of the Amalgamated Engineering Union, which declined to proceed with negotiations on the lines suggested by Sir William Mackenzie and adopted by the employers. The proposals were thereupon separately considered by the Executives of the forty-seven unions apart from the Amalgamated Engineering Union, and after a long discussion it was announced that the conference had decided to submit the proposals to a ballot vote of the members of the unions.

As soon as the Amalgamated Engineering Union perceived that they were likely to be left alone in their struggle with the employers, they began to regard the position very seriously. Their members had already been unemployed for eleven weeks, and although the union had been relatively rich, their resources had become gravely depleted. Accordingly they decided to call a national conference of delegates at the beginning of June to consider the position.

The result of the ballot of the unions other than the Amalgamated Engineering Union was announced on June 2, when the forty-seven unions concerned voted, by a majority of more than 50,000, in favour of accepting the employers' terms. As soon as this decision had been communicated to the delegate conference of the Amalgamated Engineering Union at York, they in their turn arranged to submit the proposals of the

employers to a vote of the rank and file. Mr. J. T. Brownlie, chairman of the union, at the same time addressed a letter to its members strongly urging acceptance of the terms. The result of this ballot was announced on June 13, the employers' terms being accepted by a majority of nearly two to one. Arrangements were made forthwith for a return to work, and the lock-out came to an end shortly afterwards.

The position in Ireland continued to worsen during June, and at the beginning of the month a series of conferences was held in London. Sir James Craig and Lord Londonderry, representing the Northern Irish Government, discussed the position with a committee of the Cabinet at Downing Street, and later the Irish signatories of the Peace Treaty had a similar conference. At this time shooting was going on continuously in the streets of Belfast, and many fires caused by incendiaries broke out. On June 2 the negotiations very nearly broke down. The chief concern of British Ministers was as to the effect of the agreement between Mr. Collins and Mr. de Valera on the observance of the Peace Treaty of the previous December. When they had examined the draft of the Irish Constitution brought to London by Mr. Collins and Mr. Griffith, these doubts were further intensified. They reached the conclusion that the proposed Constitution violated the Irish Treaty, and claimed to establish for the Irish Government powers that it was impossible to concede. It will be remembered that, at the time the Treaty was under discussion, the Canadian Constitution was generally regarded as a model on which the Constitution of the Irish Free State was to be formed, but British Ministers believed that the draft of the Constitution for Ireland as submitted by the Irish delegates would give Ireland powers greater than those possessed by any of the self-governing Dominions of the Empire. It provided, for instance, for complete freedom in foreign affairs and independence in Imperial matters—which the British Government found it impossible to concede.

The decision of the Cabinet Committee on Irish Affairs that the proposed Constitution was unacceptable, was confirmed at a Cabinet Council on June 2. A series of six questions was drawn up and sent to Mr. Griffith and his colleagues. These questions embodied in their terms the objections of the British Government to the proposed Constitution, and were so direct in their character as to indicate that a failure to reply, or an unsatisfactory reply, might mean the complete breakdown of the negotiations and the end of the state of affairs established in Ireland by the Treaty of the previous December. As the hours passed by and no reply was received, it was decided to summon an emergency meeting of all the Ministers in London in view of the grave decision that might have to be taken. This meeting assembled in the evening in Downing Street. At length a reply was handed in and turned out to be of a conciliatory character, bearing witness to the fact that the Free

State Government was genuine in its wish to reach an agreement with the British Government, and to avoid a return to the state of affairs that existed in Ireland before the Treaty. Mr. Collins was understood to have again assured the British Government that the Free State Government had no part in, and indeed strongly condemned, the menacing attitude of Sinn Fein Irregulars on the Ulster border.

On June 4 an encounter took place between British soldiers and the Irish Republican Army. The rebels were given twenty-four hours' notice to evacuate northern territory, and the British Forces then occupied Pettigo. They were fired upon and replied vigorously, artillery coming into action, the entire village being soon occupied by the soldiers. The Commandant of the Irish Republican Army and a number of his soldiers were taken prisoners, and a quantity of war material was captured. In all, seven rebels were killed and sixteen taken prisoners, the British having only one man killed. On the same day a British sloop intercepted in Tralee Bay a United States steamer and seized a quantity of arms and ammunition found hidden in her cargo of maize.

The conversations in London between British Ministers and Sinn Fein leaders were resumed on June 7, when Mr. Griffith arrived back from Dublin with undertakings by the Irish Provisional Government confirming the assurances that he personally had given to the British Cabinet. The Provisional Government sent a comprehensive assurance that it was prepared to alter the draft Constitution of the Irish Free State in every particular in which it was shown to be at variance with the Treaty of December. Thereupon a re-drafting took place of the clauses to which exception was taken. This re-drafting was specially directed to ensure that the Viceroy should have his proper status, and that measures passed by the Free State Parliament should be submitted for the royal assent. The authority of the Privy Council in the final determination of constitutional questions had also to be definitely admitted, as well as the control of foreign relations by the Imperial Government. The final conference between the British and Irish signatories to the Treaty took place on June 15, and the text of the draft Constitution of the Irish Free State was then issued. Its main features were as follows:—

The Irish Free State was to be a co-equal member of the community of nations forming the British Commonwealth of Nations, all government and authority being derived from the people. Irish citizenship was defined, and a proviso was inserted that a citizen of any other State might elect not to accept Irish citizenship. The national language was to be Irish, but English would be equally recognised as an official language. No titles or honours could be conferred for services in relation to the Irish Free State except with the approval of the Executive Council of the State. Freedom of conscience,

free profession of religion, and freedom of expression of opinion were declared. The rights of the State as regards national resources were not to be alienated, and private exploitation was to be under State supervision.

As regards the legislative provisions, a legislature, to be known as Oireachtas, was created, consisting of the King and two Houses, namely, the Chamber of Deputies (Dail Eireann) and the Senate (Seanad Eireann). Adult suffrage was provided. The Senate was to be on an elective basis, the electors being over thirty. The oath prescribed by the Treaty was to be taken by members of Oireachtas. It must be taken and subscribed by every member before taking his seat and in the presence of the representative of the Crown. Payment of members of Oireachtas was provided for. Election was to be according to the principles of proportional representation, and the constituencies were to be revised every ten years. Each University was to elect two representatives to the Senate, which was to be composed of citizens who had done honour to the nation by public service, or who, by virtue of special qualifications, represented important aspects of the nation's life. A panel of qualified senators was to be formed. Dail Eireann was to have authority in money Bills, exclusive of the Senate. A joint session of both Houses was provided in the case of disagreement, for the purpose of debating Bills other than money Bills. Bills that had passed both Houses were to be presented for the royal assent, which might be either withheld or reserved, providing that the representative of the Crown should act in accordance with Canadian precedent. The Irish Parliament might create subordinate legislatures, but was to retain the exclusive right to raise and maintain the armed forces mentioned in the Treaty. Provision was made for a referendum of Bills passed by both Houses, on a resolution of the Senate assented to by three-fifths of its members, or by a petition signed by not less than one-twentieth of the voters on the register of voters. The decision of the people on such a referendum was to be final. This, however, did not apply to money or emergency Bills. The Irish Free State was not, except in the case of actual invasion, to be committed to active participation in any war without the consent of its Parliament. Constitutional amendments could not be made without a referendum.

As regards the Executive, authority was vested in the King, and was to be exercised according to Canadian precedent. There was to be an Executive Council to advise the Government responsible to Dail Eireann, and consisting of not more than twelve members, eight of whom were not to be members of the Irish Parliament. The President and Vice-President were to be members of Dail Eireann, and the representative af the Crown was to be appointed in the same manner as the Governor-General of Canada. As regards finance, all revenues

were to form one fund and Dail Eireann was to appoint a controller and auditor-general.

The section dealing with the judiciary provided for the right of any person to petition His Majesty for special leave to appeal from the Supreme Court of the Free State to His Majesty in Council. Judges were to be appointed by the representative of the Crown on the advice of the Executive Council. The jury system was to be retained in criminal matters, save in the case of summary jurisdiction by law for minor offences.

Polling took place on June 16 all over the twenty-six counties of Southern Ireland for the election of the Provisional Government, which had been summoned to meet on July 1. The result was a large majority in favour of the Treaty. The position of the various Parties as a result of the election was as follows:—

Pro-Treaty, 58; Anti-Treaty, 36; Labour, 17; Farmers, 7; Independents, 6; and the 4 representatives of Dublin University. The election was regarded as a notable triumph for the Treaty, especially in districts which had been expected to vote almost solidly Republican.

The first result of the election was the issue of an official statement on June 27 by the Irish Government. This statement said that since the close of the General Election, on which the will of the people of Ireland had been ascertained, further grave acts against the security of person and property had been committed in Dublin and in some other parts of Ireland by persons pretending to act with authority. It was the duty of the Government, the statement continued, to which the people had entrusted their defence and the conduct of their affairs, to protect and secure all law-respecting citizens without discretion, and that duty the Government would resolutely perform. The statement went on to refer to the raid on a garage in Dublin under the pretext of a Belfast boycott—a boycott which had no legal existence—and to the seizing of General O'Connell by some of those responsible for plundering the garage. It was announced that outrages such as these against the nation and the Government must cease at once and cease for ever. For some months past all classes of business in Ireland had suffered severely from the feeling of insecurity engendered by reckless and wicked acts which had tarnished the reputation of Ireland abroad. The statement concluded that the country should no longer be held up from the pursuit of its normal life and the establishment of its free national institutions. It called, therefore, on the citizens to co-operate actively with the Government in the measures which it was taking to ensure the public safety, and to secure Ireland for the Irish people.

The General O'Connell referred to was Assistant Chief of Staff in the Free State Army. He had been captured that morning, and the Republicans had sent a message to the effect that he was being detained as a hostage pending the release of

some of their own men who had been arrested recently in Drogheda.

The attitude of the Free State Government was probably due in large part to the pressure which the British Government had brought to bear upon them for the maintenance of the Treaty intact. Indeed, on June 26, Mr. Churchill made a speech in the House of Commons which was interpreted as an ultimatum to Mr. Griffith and Mr. Collins. Mr. Churchill said that firmness was needed as much in the interests of peace as was patience. The Constitution, which had been published, satisfactorily conformed to the Treaty. It had now to be passed through the Irish Parliament, and there was no room for the slightest diminution of the Imperial and Constitutional safeguards and stipulations contained in that Constitution. He pointed out that the resources at the disposal of the British Government were various and powerful. There were military, economic, and financial sanctions which were available and which were formidable. The more closely these were studied, the more clearly it was seen that these measures would be increasingly effective in proportion as the Irish Government and State became more fully and more solidly organised. Having explained that the leniency of the British Government towards the Irish Government was on account of its weakness, he said that the Irish Government was now greatly strengthened, and it was its duty to give effect to the Treaty in the letter and the spirit and without delay. He pointed to the ambiguous position of the so-called Irish Republican Army, intermingled with the Free State troops, as an affront to the Treaty, while the presence in Dublin in forcible occupation of the Four Courts of a band of men styling themselves the headquarters of the Republican Executive was a grave breach and defiance of the Treaty. From this nest of anarchy and treason, he said, murderous outrages were stimulated and encouraged. Mr. Churchill declared that if this sort of thing did not come to an end it would be the duty of His Majesty's Government to regard the Treaty as having been formally violated; no further steps would in that case be taken to carry out or legalise its further stages. Mr. Churchill renewed the pledge to defend Ulster from coercion from the South. He went further, and stated what steps had been taken to supply Ulster with the means of defence; but at the same time he declared that there could be no further excuse for acts of lawless reprisals against the Catholics in their midst.

Much interest was aroused by the intervention of Mr. Bonar Law in the debate which followed. He said that he had been anxious for many months about the situation in Ireland. He had agreed to the Treaty, but if he had seen the position exactly as it was now he would not have voted for it. He said that he had assumed that the men who had signed the Treaty not only meant to keep it in good faith, but to run risks in carrying it out.

Later in the debate Mr. Lloyd George spoke, claiming that the negotiations and the Treaty were justified, whatever might befall. They had to consider the alternative, and they might yet have to face it. At present there were 60,000 men engaged in Ulster in repressing rebellion. Before the Treaty the opinion of the civilised world was, on the whole, against us; after the Treaty, if it were to be broken by Irishmen, the whole civilised world would say that England was blameless. After a reference to the inexperience of the Irish leaders, he admitted that he had been disappointed at the way in which they were gripping their problem; they could have afforded more protection both to life and property. The Prime Minister announced that the Government had communicated their views to the Provisional Government. The Government were not asking the House to sanction a policy of indefinite acquiescence in defiance of the Treaty. While they were pressing the North to deal impartially with all religions, they were insisting upon adherence by the South to every particular of the Treaty which its leaders had broken.

A division was taken on a reduction of the vote for the Irish Office, and resulted in a majority of 267 for the Government.

The Government of the Irish Free State followed up their manifesto by prompt action against the rebels, and on June 28 attacked their headquarters in Dublin—the Four Courts—which had been seized by rebel forces on April 14. An ultimatum was sent to the Four Courts in the early hours of the morning, and the building was surrounded by Free State troops. The rebels gave no reply to the ultimatum, and a siege was immediately begun. Firing was maintained by both sides throughout the day, the Free State troops using 18-pounder guns. A stubborn defence, however, was put up, and on the 29th the position was worse than when the attack opened. All day long a duel raged for possession of the Four Courts, where Rory O'Connor and the headquarters of the rebels continued to resist the almost incessant bombardment by the Free State troops. Fighting, moreover, was not confined to the Four Courts, for the rebels extended the scope of their activities and proceeded to occupy a considerable number of buildings scattered extensively in the centre of the capital. These positions were, for the most part, such as commanded open spaces or points at which important thoroughfares converged. They had been heavily armed and fortified, and each of these positions constituted a centre of revolt and a rallying point for the insurgent army. Another sinister form of activity was the development of guerilla street warfare on lines similar to that directed at the British Forces in the days before the Treaty. Barricades were erected at some points, and a whole network of streets was converted into an armed camp.

While this fight was in progress the wire between Dublin

Castle and the Colonial Office was cut. On June 29, in the House of Commons, Mr. Churchill and the Lord Chancellor paid tribute to the way in which the Provisional Government were endeavouring to realise the responsibility which now lay upon them. Mr. Churchill said that there had been a certain amount of disorder in the city of Dublin by persons who sympathised with the insurgents, and that this created a difficult situation which was not free from anxiety. The Free State Government, however, had declined any assistance from British troops. In this he thought they were well advised; it was an Irish quarrel, in which the Free State Government were acting on the mandate they had received from the Irish people.

The Lord Chancellor also referred in the House of Lords to events in Ireland, saying that the Provisional Government had realised the responsibilities which the elections recently declared in Ireland had reimposed upon them.

On the last day of June the entire rebel garrison of the Four Courts, including their leader, Rory O'Connor, surrendered unconditionally to the Free State forces. The insurgent stronghold fell some hours after a great explosion had occurred in the Four Courts which shook the whole city, seriously damaging the building and destroying valuable legal records. It was caused by a mine sprung by the rebels, by means of which thirty Free State troops were killed or injured. The rebels, about 130 in number, were marched out and interned in Mountjoy Prison.

The climax of Irish murders was reached when Field-Marshal Sir Henry Wilson, M.P., late Chief of the Imperial General Staff, was murdered at the door of his London residence by two men, who fired at him at close range when he was about to enter his house. After the murder the assailants made desperate efforts to escape; armed with large service revolvers they kept up fire on their pursuers until they were overpowered, which was not until two police constables and another man had been wounded.

The news was received with universal consternation, and both Houses of Parliament adjourned for the day as a mark of their respect. Questions were asked later as to whether proper police protection was given to men likely to be attacked by Irish outlaws. Mr. Chamberlain said that this protection, which had been given for some time, had lately been removed from Ministers and certain other persons owing to what were thought to be improved relations between England and Ireland. Police protection had, in fact, been withdrawn from everybody except the Chief Secretary for Ireland. The trial of the two murderers and their ultimate fate will be referred to later.

An important discussion arose in the House of Commons on the vote for the salaries and expenses of Cabinet officers and the Committee of Imperial Defence. The discussion was initiated

by Sir Donald Maclean, who moved a reduction of £100 on the item for the Cabinet Secretariat. Sir Donald Maclean did not base his objection to the Secretariat on the ground that it was new, but questioned whether it was useful. He expressed apprehension at the way in which the power of the Prime Minister was being repeatedly increased, and contended that it was not in the interests of the nation that more power should pass into his hands.

Mr. Chamberlain, in reply, contrasted past and present Cabinet methods, and declared that he would not like to go back to the old unbusinesslike system when no record was kept of the Cabinet proceedings. Mr. Asquith, on the other hand, saw no necessity for this innovation in the Constitution. He said that in times past Cabinet proceedings were only recorded by notes of the Prime Minister. That system, he said, had worked perfectly well for Beaconsfield, Salisbury, and their successors.

The Prime Minister then predicted that the next administration would utilise the services of the Secretariat. If they did not, they would find that they had committed a vital error and would be glad to revert to the practice which had been initiated. He made light of the criticisms which saw in the department a new means of developing a system of personal government to usurp the functions of departments, and to enable the Prime Minister to override the decisions of old and established departments. In the vote at the end of the debate on Sir Donald Maclean's amendment the Government obtained a majority of 94.

The India Office vote gave opportunity to Lord Winterton to make a review of Indian affairs on June 15. He claimed that there had been an improvement in the internal condition of India since the arrest of Mr. Ghandi. He admitted that the criticism might be brought that this arrest had been delayed, but the policy of waiting for his failure to produce constructive results, and thus disillusioning the more intelligent of his supporters, had succeeded. The country had become progressively quiet, and genuine grievances had been investigated and dealt with by the local governments. He described the efforts of the Government to obtain equal citizenship for Indians throughout the Empire, and also said that the feeling of Indians regarding Turkey was realised. He gave recognition to the grave difficulties in regard to the position of Indian Civil Servants, but while sympathising with native impatience for the Indianisation of the Civil Service, he declared that race hatred would never hasten the era of responsible government.

On the following day the Postmaster-General made a statement on the telephone system of the country. Tracing the history of Government control of the system, he said that it was not until 1919 that the engineering department had been able to devote its attention to real development. A five years' pro-

gramme had now been decided upon, involving an expenditure of 35,700,000*l*. The three considerations which had to be kept in view in arriving at that figure were: the rate of development, the level of prices both for labour and material, and the extent to which the automatic system would be introduced. He confessed that the automatic system would not solve all our troubles. He had been informed by the head of the telephone system in the United States that the demand for the automatic system had not come from the subscribers but from the companies, as a means of reducing charges. He claimed that the telephone system of this country had greatly improved, and that the system in London reached as high a standard of efficiency as could be found in any great city of the world. The motion to issue out of the Consolidated Fund a sum not exceeding 15,000,000*l*. for the further development of the telephone system was then approved.

Attention was directed on June 20 to the serious position of the aerial defence of the country by Major-General Seely, who inquired of the Prime Minister in the House of Commons whether his attention had been called to the fact that the reserve for the Royal Air Force to be provided by civil aviation had almost entirely disappeared, and that, as a consequence, our defensive power in the air had fallen to a dangerously low level in comparison with other countries, and in relation to the other arms of our own service. He further asked what action the Prime Minister proposed to take.

When the Minister for Air rose to reply Major-General Seely protested, calling the Speaker's attention to the fact that the question was addressed to the Prime Minister. Mr. Chamberlain at once disclaimed any intentional discourtesy and himself read the reply. This constituted an assurance that the Government were alive to the bearing upon national security of the development of aviation in all its various aspects, and were giving the present position their very careful consideration. He added, however, that it must not be assumed that our defensive power was necessarily dependent, to more than a limited degree, upon the condition of civil aviation. Captain Guest subsequently stated that the number of civil aircraft on French, Belgian, and Dutch registers was respectively 598, 39, and 15. He believed that the number of these fit for modern warfare would be small. In Germany there were 225 aeroplanes available for air traffic, but none of these would be of value for war purposes. In America the estimated number of civil aircraft in operation in 1921 was 1,200. Of that number approximately 600 were employed by civil air transport companies.

On the following day an important debate took place in the House of Lords on the Palestine mandate by the Council of the League of Nations. Lord Islington moved that the acceptance of the mandate should be postponed until such modifications

had been effected as would comply with the pledges given. He referred to the Rutenberg concession, and said that the scheme, unless subjected to enormous modifications, would give to a Jewish citizen wide powers over the Arab population in connexion with social, economic, and industrial conditions. He declared that the scheme was based on a deliberate policy of economic preference to Zionists. The Zionist Commission was going a long way to usurp the position of Government in Palestine, and unless it was checked it would have very serious consequences.

The reply to Lord Islington was made by Lord Balfour, and was notable as his first speech in the House of Lords. He said that the mandatory system contemplated the mandate of Palestine, and he expressed surprise that although the policy was formulated in 1915, had been before the world in detail in 1918, had been approved by the Allied and Associated Powers and endorsed by the League of Nations, and although America had declared that the establishment of a Jewish home would be for the benefit of the world, there had been no challenge until 1922. A Jewish Government, he said, was not necessarily a consequence of the establishment of a Jewish home. He could conceive of no political interest enjoying greater safeguards than the interests of the Arab population, for every act of the Palestine Government would be jealously watched. These were fantastic fears. Under the British mandate no form of tyranny, racial or religious, would ever be permitted. Lord Balfour did not enter into the question of the Rutenberg concession in detail, but stated that the whole scheme had been examined in the most critical way by the experts of the Colonial Office, and that the latter were quite unanimous that the terms and the character of the undertaking were such that they could hope for no better contract being made than that offered by Mr. Rutenberg. Under the scheme there could be no undue favouritism, but if it were carried into effect, as he hoped it would be, it would give great economic advantages to Palestine which could be obtained in no other manner. He denied that there was favouritism in the giving of the contract, or that there would be favouritism in carrying it out between different sections of the population; but that the great scheme sanctioned by the Government was to be used as a method of oppression by those who found the money against those on whom the money was to be spent was one of the most fantastic accusations ever heard. He also ridiculed the suggestion that the British Government had been unjust to the Arabs.

On a division the Government were defeated, the motion of Lord Islington being carried by 60 votes to 29.

A fortnight later the subject was raised in the House of Commons on the Colonial Office vote, when Sir W. Joynson-Hicks moved a reduction in the salary of the Colonial Secretary

in order to call attention to the Rutenberg concession. His contention was that Lord Balfour's pledge to the Zionists was in opposition to the pledge previously given to the Arab King, Hussein. Denying that he was an Anti-Semite, he declared that the burden of his complaint was the way in which Zionists had been permitted, with the connivance of the Government, practically to control the whole of the government of Palestine. Zionists, he insisted, held the view that the Jewish national home was to lead up to a Jewish commonwealth. The Rutenberg scheme, which he described as the most astounding concession that he had ever heard or read of, meant that the development of the whole country had been handed over to Mr. Rutenberg. The real scheme for Palestine should have been an agricultural and not a commercial scheme.

Mr. Churchill, in his reply, recognised that there were two issues involved: (1) Were we to keep our pledges to the Zionists, made in 1917, that we should use our best endeavour to facilitate the achievement of a national home for the Jewish people? (2) Were the measures taken by the Colonial Office to fulfil the pledge reasonable and proper? Mandatory responsibility for Palestine had been approved by the country. Mr. Churchill described the improvement which had taken place in the condition of Palestine, and said he had to approach the Rutenberg concession by the only path open to him—the endeavour of the Colonial Office to secure the establishment of the Jewish national home. He asked what better steps could have been taken than to entrust to the Zionists the creation of this new Palestine wealth without doing injustice to a single individual. No one believed that the Arabs could have done the work.

Left to themselves, continued Mr. Churchill, the Arabs would not, in a thousand years, have taken effective steps towards the irrigation and electrification of Palestine. He denied that there had been streams of applications for the concession, and said that when the Rutenberg concession was granted there was no other application before them. Sir John Norton-Griffiths thereupon intervened with the statement that he had been offered the concession twice, and that it had been hawked round the city and refused by house after house. Mr. Churchill said that Rutenberg was a man of exceptional ability and personal force, and his application was supported by the influence of the Zionist organisations. He did not believe that the concession was one which would secure the necessary funds were it not for sentimental considerations. Rutenberg was a Jew and a Russian, but he was not a Bolshevist. As an official of the Government of Kerensky he had advised his chief to hang Lenin and Trotsky. He had rendered great assistance to the French at Odessa. In conclusion Mr. Churchill informed the House that the Government had to regard the decision on

that matter as a vote of confidence. In the division which followed the Government obtained a majority of 257.

At the end of June Lord Midleton, in the House of Lords, moved for papers in connexion with the Genoa Conference. In the course of the debate Lord Derby introduced the subject of Anglo-French relations. They wanted, he said, to know the terms upon which France went half-heartedly to Genoa, why Russia went, as well as why America refused to go. He dwelt on the misunderstanding between France and Great Britain on the question of the pact, and asked whether it had been offered by the Prime Minister to M. Briand in writing, and whether it had been accompanied by any condition such as that of sending delegates to Genoa. He also inquired whether the offer of the pact was renewed to M. Poincaré, whether any despatch had been sent in reply making conditions or suggestions, and if so what were those conditions or suggestions. He believed that there had been a concrete case of misunderstanding, which could be cleared up by a frank statement.

Lord Balfour replied that, in conversation at Cannes, the Prime Minister and M. Briand had discussed the subject of the pact, and had agreed that there were three or four outstanding questions between France and this country which it would be desirable to settle first. These subjects were still under discussion between the two Governments, and until a settlement had been reached it would not be worth while to enter into further details.

Lord Grey then referred to the anxiety felt during the Conference of Genoa, when from time to time it seemed that the entente with France was strained almost to the breaking point. Anyone listening to Lord Balfour, he said, would imagine that there had been no strain and that anxiety had been misplaced. He could not see that the Genoa Conference had made any substantial progress towards the reconstruction of Europe; if it had not, it was a very serious matter. His complaint against the Government and other Governments was, that while they were all agreed that the reconstruction of Europe was the most important and urgent problem, they did not seem to have settled down to any clear perspective of the methods by which that process could be brought about. The first thing necessary was the co-operation of the Government and resources of the United States. That America was not sounded as to the conditions upon which it would attend Genoa was a fatal mistake. So long as there was difference between Great Britain and France the United States would not co-operate. Without a good understanding with France he did not think they could make a real beginning, and without the co-operation of the United States they could make no progress.

Lord Grey then came to the question of German reparations. That had been excluded from the Genoa Conference

because the French Government had demanded that it should be so. He thought that they were right. Genoa was not a suitable place to discuss reparations, but so long as that problem remained unsettled he did not believe progress was possible. The prime object of Genoa appeared to be to secure agreement with the Bolshevist Government, and he considered that a mistake. He did not believe such an agreement was of the first practical importance to the reconstruction of Europe. In securing reconstruction he placed co-operation with the United States first. At Genoa the Government had begun at the wrong end—the Bolshevist end instead of the United States end.

Towards the end of June great interest was taken in both Houses of Parliament in the question as to the principles followed in the award of Honours. In the House of Commons Mr. Godfrey Locker-Lampson put down a motion for a Select Committee, representative of Lords and Commons, to consider the existing methods of submitting the names of persons for Honours for the consideration of His Majesty, and what changes, if any, were desirable in order to secure that such Honours should only be given as a reward for public service. Especial interest had been occasioned by the peerage conferred on Sir Joseph Robinson of Wynberg, and the Prime Minister of South Africa had publicly stated that his Government was not responsible for recommending this Honour. Discussions took place in the House of Lords on June 22 and 29 relative to the grounds on which Sir J. Robinson's peerage had been given. The interest taken in the question of Honours was mainly due to the suspicion—which was not a new one—that contributions to party funds as well as public services might influence the inclusion of a name in the list submitted to the King.

In the House of Lords on June 29 the Lord Chancellor sought to placate criticism by reading a list of additions to the House during the present and preceding administration, asserting that this included a very remarkable period of English history. As regards the particular case of Sir Joseph Robinson, he admitted that the Secretary for the Colonies had not been consulted. He agreed that it was essential that a citizen of one of the self-governing Dominions should not be recommended for Honour except with the assent and approval of his Government, and said that that rule would undoubtedly guide action in future. It had been upon the recommendation of General Botha that he had received a Baronetcy. The Lord Chancellor then announced that Sir Joseph Robinson had declined the peerage offered to him.

Lord Lansdowne, while expressing appreciation of Sir Joseph Robinson's action, said that it would not remove the cloud of uneasiness which still hung over the House. He said that the question of corruption did not arise in considering the case of Sir Joseph Robinson, but it was idle to pretend that the

grant of an Honour had not been in certain cases associated with a payment to party or political funds.

As a result of this debate the demand for an investigation of the methods by which persons were recommended for Honours gathered fresh strength. In the House of Lords Lord Salisbury intimated that he would bring forward the matter for consideration at an early date. In the House of Commons also the Prime Minister agreed to a discussion of the matter. These debates took place during July and will be described in the following chapter.

CHAPTER III.

CIVIL WAR IN IRELAND.

THE beginning of July found Ireland in a state of civil war. The surrender of the Four Courts did not end the resistance of the rebels, and heavy fighting began again in Dublin on July 2. The Irregulars, with Mr. de Valera among their leaders, fortified themselves in a square of commandeered hotels and other buildings in the Sackville Street area, barricading the streets with commandeered vehicles. After sporadic firing during the day the National troops concentrated late in the evening and an intense bombardment of the stronghold in Sackville Street was opened. A number of small positions were captured and two of the hotels surrendered, but fighting continued, and on the next day a close ring was drawn by the Free State troops round the fortified positions which still held out in Sackville Street. Many Irregulars were captured with their arms while endeavouring to escape from the enclosed district. On July 4 the National troops made a vigorous attack on the remnant of the Irregular stronghold in Upper Sackville Street, and bombarded it with heavy guns, but it was not till the evening of July 5 that the rebels finally surrendered. They left the hotel which they had made their headquarters under a white flag after it had burst into flames. Cathal Brugha, who was the last to leave, refused to surrender and advanced towards an outpost with a revolver in his hand; machine-gun fire was opened and he was wounded in the leg and captured; Mr. de Valera, however, was not among the prisoners. By this time the east side of Upper Sackville Street was on fire; many hotels and other buildings were burned out and an enormous amount of damage was done.

While the fighting was in progress stories of outrage were reported in England of a character worse than had hitherto been reported in the whole of the disturbances in Ireland. On July 3 the House of Lords was shocked by a horrible story by

Lord Carson of crime in Tipperary, in which the victim was a young married woman. After reading an affidavit of the man and his wife Lord Carson demanded to know how such a state of things was going to be stopped. What, he asked, did the Government do for the Loyalists, and what did they advise them to do? Lord Crawford, in reply, said that the Provisional Government had had the facts of the case communicated to them. They had reason to suspect a particular individual as being the ringleader of the band of ruffians, but he appeared to have left the neighbourhood of the outrage and an active search was being pursued. The district where the outrage took place was in the hands of people who were fighting the Provisional Government and where the power of the latter was at its lowest. It was a sinister and atrocious affair which had no excuse or pretext of politics. It involved collective discredit on the country as a whole, and if such crimes continued unchecked the foul disease would spread, and the consequences on the moral status of the nation would be incalculable. That particular horror, he said, was alien to the records of Irish crime, and on that account he was confident that the Government and the community as a whole would do their utmost to stamp it out.

Lord Salisbury said that the British Government had a responsibility in the matter which they could not be said to have discharged. History might be searched in vain for a parallel of the proceedings of the Government in handing over Ireland to anarchy. They had taken no precautions whatever to ascertain that there was settled government. There was no proper provision of courts of law, or of armed forces, or of police. They had withdrawn the protection of the Imperial Government, and left part of Ireland to welter in disorder. They ought to recognise the depth of their blunder and do the utmost in their power to see that the Provisional Government did justice in avenging the wrongs of loyal British subjects.

Lord Long, who said that he had supported the action of the Government as the result of the Irish Conference, thought that we had reached a period in the history of Ireland which demanded some different treatment and fresh consideration. The great blunder made had nothing to do with the Treaty, but was to be found in the removal of the natural guardians of the people before there were men actually ready to enter the sentry boxes they had vacated. When the civil war that was now raging in parts of Ireland was over—as he hoped it would be very shortly—they had only reached the first stage of the journey towards the goal of good government in Ireland. He implored the Government to give advice to the Loyalists as to whether they should leave the country or remain. The reputation of the Government was at stake, and it was their bounden duty to consider the question without delay.

The fighting at the Four Courts in Dublin resulted in an almost complete destruction of the public records that were kept there. Not only did it become necessary to establish new courts, but also new records and a new system, amounting altogether to a new era in Irish jurisprudence. The burnt records included documents illustrative of Irish history from the earliest times, such, for instance, as a Papal grant of 916 creating the Chapter of Christ Church. The chief practical inconvenience resulting from the destruction of the records was that the orders and decrees of judges were no longer available for reference. Those lost from the Chancery office concerned the title of lands and money in cases, for example, where property was ordered to be sold and the money lodged in court. In the Land Registry all titles to Irish land purchased under the Land Acts perished. All original wills were lost, and in part-heard cases the judges' notes were destroyed. The fighting round this area caused casualties of about 50 killed and 200 wounded.

The civil war was carried on in other parts of Ireland. Strong positions were held by the Irregulars in County Donegal, and in that county large numbers of recruits rushed to join the Free State forces. In Sligo and Leitrim a state of disorganisation existed. South of Sligo a large body of National troops and Republicans were concentrated and frequently came into collision; large numbers of people left the district, and the telegraph and telephone instruments in Sligo were destroyed. The police barracks, recreation rooms, military barracks, and coastguard station were burned, and other buildings were also destroyed.

As soon as the chief revolt in Dublin had been crushed, the Provisional Government addressed itself to the task of restoring order throughout the country. It placed the volunteers on an active service basis, and on July 6 issued a proclamation to the people stating its intention of dealing drastically with the element of anarchy. This proclamation stated that the valour and patriotism of the National Army had broken the conspiracy to override the will of the nation and subject the people to despotism based on brigandage regardless of life, liberty, and security.

The call of the Government for volunteers met with a large response. All members of the volunteer service were urged to accept service for six months. At the same time recruits were enlisted from all other citizens who desired to join the National ranks. On July 6 the Lord Chancellor was able to state in the House of Lords, not only that the rebellious movement in Dublin had been crushed, but that the situation in Ireland was more hopeful than it had been at any time since the Treaty was signed. The operations of the Irish National troops were, indeed, attended with success. Rebels in the neighbourhood of Dublin were driven into Blessington by an encircling movement

of the Irish National troops on July 8. In that town over a hundred prisoners were captured with most of their arms and ammunition; the others disappeared south-eastwards into the mountains. Successes were also reported in dispersing Irregulars in the provinces. In County Wexford, where formidable musters had taken place, there was an extensive drive on July 8. At one place thirty-one prisoners were captured, while at Wexford itself the entry of National troops was welcomed by a procession of townspeople with bands and lighted torches. The situation in County Donegal also began to clear up. One party of rebels surrendered near Londonderry after an attack lasting several hours, and Irregulars were expelled from many other places in the south and west of Ireland. Roving bands of outlaws still continued to infest many parts of the country, blowing up railway bridges and suspending social life. One of these bands, on July 10, seized Glenveagh Castle in County Donegal and conscripted a dozen young girls from the surrounding district to act as servants for them. These girls were all Roman Catholics.

The measures of the Provisional Government to restore order included nomination of a Supreme War Council, whereby Mr. Collins became Commander-in-Chief, Mr. Mulcahy Chief of Staff, and General O'Duffy took over the command of the South-Western division. Other appointments included a Director of Intelligence, a Director of Organisation, and an Assistant Adjutant-General.

In the middle of July Lord Stuart of Wortley moved in the House of Lords that it was the duty of His Majesty's Government to advise Loyalists in the South and West of Ireland as to the course they should follow in order to protect themselves and their dependants against attacks on life, limb, and property, and to state what steps it was proposed to take to give protection and relief. The Lord Chancellor said that the Government had come to the conclusion that the course they had adopted in dealing with Ireland was the right course to adopt. Lord Carson declared that the cases were numberless of Loyalists who, since the Armistice or Treaty, had been dispossessed of every particle of property they had then owned. Lord Long urged that a time limit should be given to the Irish Government, and Lord Stuart's motion was then agreed to.

During the middle of July the National forces, under the direction of the new War Council, gradually got to grips with the rebel bands. In a communication to General Michael Collins, Commander-in-Chief of the National Army, the Government stated that their action in appointing a War Council was dictated by the determination that the splendid valour of the Army should be so directed as to yield full fruit. They declared that the Army was fighting for the right of the Irish people to be masters in their own country, while Irregulars, by sheer brigandage, were doing their best to ruin the country. It was

also announced that Mr. de Valera, who had made good his escape during the fighting at Dublin, was with the director of operations at the headquarters of the Irregulars. On July 16 fighting began in Limerick City, which was mainly held by the National troops, and successful actions against Irregulars took place in other parts of Ireland. By July 18 Sligo was in the hands of the National forces, and other districts were gradually cleared of Irregulars.

The fighting at Limerick soon developed into a battle. This town marked the left flank of the rebel front, the right flank of which was at Waterford where heavy fighting also took place. Free State forces advanced from Kilkenny and began a siege of Waterford with an artillery bombardment lasting twenty-four hours. This attack was successful, for on July 21 Waterford City was occupied by the Free State forces after a surprise night attack by companies ferried across the River Suir. Limerick was also captured on the same day by Irish National troops after an artillery attack. Severe fighting took place and many casualties were inflicted on the Irregulars. Much damage was done by shell fire and by the burning of buildings by the rebels when they retreated.

While these battles were in progress the Irish Government issued a fresh statement which announced a strong and uncompromising policy. It expressed the intention of the Government to suppress armed revolt, and to establish conditions which would enable Parliament to meet and to do the business of the country without danger or disturbance. It declared that the safety and future welfare of the nation depended upon the suppression of the Irregulars, and that a peace built upon any compromise with them would be too costly. At that time the National forces were supreme in all the twelve counties of Leinster, in Monaghan and Cavan, and in Roscommon, Leitrim and Clare. They were confronted with opposition in Donegal and Sligo, and on a larger scale in Galway, Limerick and Tipperary, while Waterford, Cork, Kerry and Mayo were in the hands of the Irregulars.

The battle at Limerick was not very severe if measured by the casualties incurred. An official statement regarding the losses of the National troops named 8 killed or died of wounds, and 20 wounded. The Irregulars were believed to have lost 4 men killed and about 50 wounded, while 200 were taken prisoners. The calamity suffered by the city itself was chiefly the heavy material loss in the destruction of many fine public buildings, the suspension of business, the requisitions and robberies suffered by private citizens, the loss of employment by the workers, and the burning of a number of business premises.

By the capture of Limerick and Waterford the main body of the rebels was driven into the South-Western portion of the country, and the task of the National troops was that of round-

ing them up. On July 30 Tipperary town was captured by the National troops. The attack was carried out without artillery, and for some time little progress was made, as the defenders had fortified themselves very thoroughly and commanded the main roads with machine-guns. Eventually the positions of the Irregulars were turned; some sharp house-to-house fighting took place, and the town was won and 44 prisoners taken.

During July the murderers of Field-Marshal Sir Henry Wilson were tried and convicted. They turned out to be two young men named Reginald Dunn and Joseph O'Sullivan. The trial only lasted three hours. The judge refused to allow Dunn to read a statement from the dock on the ground that it was not a defence but a political manifesto attempting to justify the right to kill. The prisoners were condemned to death and executed at Wandsworth Prison on August 10.

The endeavour of the Government to achieve economy in the public services was represented by the introduction during July of the Economy (Miscellaneous Provisions) Bill. The second reading was moved by the Chancellor of the Exchequer on July 10. It contained several educational clauses, the chief one of which made it permissible to keep a child from school until the age of six. Other clauses dealt with the Board of Trade fees as provided for in the Merchant Shipping Act, admission fees at the British Museum, Registrars' fees, the consolidation of the Police Force, and other matters. During the debate Sir Donald Maclean expressed the wish that the Bill had provided for the abolition of the Ministry of Transport. After some discussion the closure was agreed to by a majority of 141, and the second reading was carried. The Bill was referred to a Standing Committee but made no further progress.

It will be remembered that on May 16 the Government had suffered a defeat during the second reading of the School Teachers (Superannuation) Bill (see p. 54). The question which then arose was whether any undertaking existed that the provisions of the Teachers Superannuation Act, 1918, should not be altered while those scales remained in force. After the defeat of the Government on this point a small Select Committee was appointed to ascertain and report upon the matter. The second reading of the Bill was in the meanwhile postponed. On July 3 it was resumed, and Mr. Acland said that the Select Committee were agreed that no undertaking had been given that the provisions of the Superannuation Act, 1918, should not be modified so long as the Burnham scale of salaries remained in force, but that they were not unanimous on the question whether such an undertaking had been implied. He suggested that the Bill should be amended. Mr. Fisher stated that the Government were willing to limit the operation of the Bill to two years, and it was then read a second time and referred to a Standing Committee.

During the report stage on July 19, the Chancellor of the

Exchequer moved an amendment to provide that the 5 per cent. to be deducted from the teachers' salaries should be paid as from June 1 instead of July 1 as decided by the Select Committee. Mr. Fisher moved an amendment providing that the contribution of a teacher should not exceed the amount (if any) by which his salary exceeded four-fifths of the full salary which the Board would be prepared, in his case, to recognise for the purposes of grant. These amendments were both carried and the Bill was passed, and received the royal assent on August 4.

On the motion for the third reading of the Finance Bill on July 14, Mr. Asquith raised the question of Allied indebtedness, and declared that it was essential to the general economic development, both of Europe and the rest of the world, that the question should be put on a stable and equitable foundation. Whatever settlement was made care should be taken, both in the interests of debtor and creditor, that the mode of liquidation was consistent with the easiest possible development of industry and the interchange of wealth.

In reply the Chancellor of the Exchequer gave the amount of the debt to the United States as 938,000,000*l.*, which was less than when the £ sterling was worth 3.20 dollars. After referring to the reduction of the Floating Debt and Internal Debt, he said these figures were of very great significance as showing the increasing financial stability of the country. The request recently made by the United States that the Government should consider funding the amount of the debt, and placing it on a stable and equitable foundation, would be completely met. He said that there was no question at all about the attitude of this country. No one had any doubts as to the complete and absolute necessity of our fulfilling our debts to the very utmost. Sir Robert Horne was optimistic also as to the possibility of reducing expenditure during the coming year. He intimated that the Cabinet had appointed two committees, one presided over by himself, to deal with civil expenditure, and the other, presided over by the Colonial Minister, to deal with the fighting services, and it was his anticipation that they would be able to effect economies, not merely in next year's estimates, but in actual expenditure. Sketch estimates were being submitted much earlier in the present year in order that those committees might be able to guide and advise departments. In conclusion he declared that, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, he looked forward to the future with much less apprehension and anxiety than was the case a year ago. There was no reason, he said, for looking on the present situation with any kind of despair.

During the middle of the month much interest was taken in the question of the principles followed in nominations for Honours, and debates took place in both Houses of Parliament. In the House of Commons the subject was introduced by Mr.

Godfrey Locker-Lampson, who suggested that public suspicion and disquietude had been aroused which could only be allayed by a proper inquiry. A small committee appointed by the Prime Minister, he said, would not be sufficient to restore public confidence, and he regarded such restoration as essential. He insisted that there must be a properly constituted body to recommend the best way of dealing with this question in future. He moved that a Select Committee of seven members of the House of Commons be appointed to join with a Committee of the House of Lords to consider the present methods of submitting names of persons for Honours for the consideration of His Majesty, and to report what changes (if any) were desirable, in order to secure that such Honours should only be given as a reward for public service.

The motion was seconded by Sir Samuel Hoare, who alleged that unknown and apparently undeserving persons seemed to be included in the Honours list in increasing numbers; that for no apparent reason individuals were constantly advanced from one dignity to another, and from one grade in the peerage to a higher grade, and that the resolutions of the House of Lords had been flouted by the Government. While disclaiming any intention to bring about the end of party Honours, he maintained that party service should not receive an exaggerated reward, and that no kind of reward should be given simply and only for money payment.

The Prime Minister then defined the position of the Government. He pointed to the exceptional circumstances of recent years as justifying the increase of Honours. He was not prepared to say that no mistakes had been made, but he claimed that the percentage of mistakes was as low as in any previous period. He doubted whether there was a genuine desire to investigate the question of Honours, or whether it was a mere pretext for attacking the administration. Political Honours were only a comparatively small percentage of Honours. He denied that contribution to funds was a chief element or decisive consideration. He said that no Prime Minister knew, when names were submitted to him, who had contributed to political funds. He wished to throw upon the House the responsibility of deciding whether the system of awarding party Honours should be abandoned, but he warned members to reflect gravely what would happen. In particular he warned the Labour Party against the danger which awaited them when they assumed office, for he contended that a nation politically organised was twice as safe as one which was not. He did not believe that there was any disagreement in the House as to the impropriety of trafficking in Honours, and he had no desire to defend it. If the House of Commons wished for reassurance then the Government were in favour of re-examining the methods of submitting names, but the responsibility of the chief Minister must remain. He then undertook to appoint a Royal Commission to consider

and advise upon the procedure to be adopted in future to assist the Prime Minister in making recommendations to His Majesty.

Mr. Asquith agreed with Mr. Lloyd George that contributions towards party funds should not be a disqualification. He went even farther, and declared that it was the duty of those people who took politics seriously, and had adequate resources, to contribute to the limit of their power to party funds. He welcomed the inquiry promised by the Prime Minister.

Mr. Clynes interpreted the Prime Minister's speech as meaning that the stability of this country depended upon secretly-secured sums of money from men of large means. If the party system had to depend on the traffic which had been impugned, then, he said, the party system had better go. The granting of Honours in perpetuity could not be defended. Mr. Ronald McNeill referred to the case of Lord Waring, who, he said, was Managing Director of a large business which went into bankruptcy in 1910. There had been a reconstruction, and if his information was correct a very large figure was put down in the balance sheet as assets representing the value of stock. He expressed the opinion that that stock must have been very much over-valued, since the debenture holders holding 100,000,000*l.* in debentures were obliged, in the reconstruction, to take 75 per cent. of their holding in preference shares in the new concern, and these preference shares of 1*l.* now stood at the value of 10*s.* a share. Subsequently, when the war came on and Lord Waring, who was the head of the business, made a very considerable fortune in constructing and turning out equipment for aeroplanes on Government contracts, no part of that fortune went to paying the shareholders or making up the deficiency for the debenture holders in the concern of which he was the head and the Managing Director. For what reason, Mr. McNeill asked, was this particular business man singled out at this time for this very high honour? Mr. McNeill then turned to the case of Sir Archibald Williamson, who had now become Lord Forres. He said that this gentleman was head of a large and important firm of merchants doing business in South America. He alleged that during the war the laxity of the firm in relation to trading with the enemy was notorious. It became so notorious that a statement was drawn up in the Foreign Office containing twenty-four different heads of accusations against the firm. The statement, he added, had been confirmed by the Consul-General in Chile. He also alleged that this firm sold fuel oil to certain German nitrate factories in 1915-16 at the very time when out there our Minister and Consuls were devoting all their energies to strangling as far as possible the German nitrate trade. He wanted to ask the Government whether or not, when these transactions were going on during the war, the Law Officers of the Crown were ever consulted as to whether this member of the House was or

was not liable to prosecution for breach of the regulations for trading with the enemy. He asked whether it was not strange that this gentleman was subsequently given office in the Government and singled out for Honours.

The accusations of Mr. McNeill were not allowed long to remain unanswered. On the day following the debate in the House of Commons a similar debate took place in the House of Lords, when the Lord Chancellor disclosed the fact that four years previously a peerage had been offered to Lord Forres, and that thirteen years previously he had been offered the chairmanship of the Port of London Authority with a seat in the House of Lords. The charge which had been made was one which could not be misunderstood. It was pointless to object that Lord Forres was trading with the enemy unless it was meant that he traded with the enemy in circumstances which were improper and discreditable, making him a traitor to this country. If it were a fact that at every stage in the transaction he invited counsel from those very people in the Government who had to decide those delicate matters, and received guidance and advice under which he acted, then he had been cruelly wronged on a charge of the kind made.

Lord Forres himself said that his firm were pioneers in the oil fuel business on the west coast of South America. At the outbreak of war they had numerous contracts for the supply of fuel oil for nitrate works and railways. Among these were two with important German companies. These had been made in Chile and were expressly declared to be subject to the jurisdiction of the Chilean courts. In 1915 his firm approached the Government, informing them fully of the position, pointing out at the same time that quite a large section of the trading community in Chile were Germans or half-Germans, and that in a neutral country the firm would have to implement their contracts. They asked for approval for their continuing to deliver oil to these German nitrate companies, and pointed out that if they did not do so they would be subject to claims for damages, and they were informed in reply that no objection would be taken. At a later date a system of licences was introduced, and the firm received official authority to transact the business of supplying oil. At a still later date the attitude of the Government changed, and further delivery of oil to the Germans was stopped by his firm on instructions from the British Government. Throughout no step had been taken without the cognisance of the British Government. He then described the lawsuit which was entered against his firm in consequence of the stoppage of deliveries. Lord Forres concluded by saying that he was entitled to complain of the reckless nature of charges which reflected not only upon him and upon his partners but upon the good name of British commerce generally.

In the House of Commons on the same day Sir Robert

Balfour made a statement on similar lines, and Mr. McNeill reiterated his statement that an indictment of the proceedings of the firm was prepared in the Foreign Office, was sent to South America for confirmation, was confirmed, and sent back to this country, and he further threw suspicion on the *bona fides* of the legal proceedings which had taken place in Chile.

Lord Waring replied to Mr. McNeill on the following day on taking his seat for the first time in the House of Lords. He called upon Mr. McNeill to repeat the statements he had made in the House of Commons in an unprivileged place so that he might at once take legal proceedings against him. Lord Waring gave an unqualified denial to the statements of Mr. McNeill. He said that the profits made in constructing equipment for aeroplanes had not come to him but to the shareholders of Messrs. Waring & Gillow.

On July 21 Mr. Ronald McNeill made another statement in the House of Commons on this subject. He apologised to Lord Forres for the statements he had already made during the debate on the question of the granting of Honours, but refused to withdraw anything he had said in regard to Lord Waring. He declared that he could not subscribe to the doctrine that a member of the House of Commons who conceived it to be his duty, when exposing abuses, to mention the names of individuals was under any obligation to waive Parliamentary privilege, and invite litigation to test the accuracy of his statements. If such a course were regarded as an honourable obligation there would be an end of that complete freedom of criticism in Parliament which it was essential in the public interest to protect and maintain. Mr. McNeill, on the other hand, recognised that it would be an abuse of Parliamentary privilege if a member were to make reckless charges in that House against other people. He was bound to exercise the utmost caution and satisfy himself to the best of his judgment that any charges he might feel it his duty to make were based on cogent and trustworthy evidence.

The House of Lords was occupied during a considerable part of July in discussing resolutions for the reform of the House, which were brought forward by Lord Crawford on behalf of the Government, as a basis on which a Bill should be founded. These resolutions were as follows:—

1. That the House should be composed, in addition to peers of the blood royal, law lords, and lords spiritual, of members elected either directly or indirectly from the outside; of hereditary peers elected by their order, and of members nominated by the Crown, the numbers in each case being determined by statute.

2. That, with the exception of Peers of the Blood Royal, and the Law Lords, every other member of the reconstituted and reduced House of Lords should hold his seat for a term of

years to be fixed by statute, but should be eligible for re-election.

3. That the reconstituted House of Lords should consist approximately of 350 members.

Two other resolutions dealt with the powers of the House with regard to Money Bills and the application of the Parliament Act of 1911.

These proposals found little favour in the House of Lords itself. Lord Selborne complained that they ignored the recommendations of the Bryce Committee. He emphasised the necessity for the repeal of the Parliament Act, which had not been worked for eight years. Under that Act this country might become a Republic within two years. By the Parliament Act a constitution had been framed under which things could easily be done even though the majority of the people of England were against them. In all quarters of the House the resolutions met with strong opposition.

A long debate took place on July 20, when Lord Crawford defended the proposals of the Government. He pointed out that the Crown might nominate Labour Peers. If a Labour Government came into power it could not be properly represented in the House of Lords as it was at present, and it was very important to have some constitutional means by which the Crown might nominate members of the House. Lord Crawford admitted that the resolutions did not cover the whole ground, but they did not pretend to do so. He observed that few members had attacked any one of them individually, although a strong opinion existed against any change. He pointed out that 120 members of the House had not taken their places since the opening of Parliament; some were minors, some were too infirm, and others did not wish to attend. There was a danger in excessive numbers because in moments of danger and crisis the additional Peers who attended did not add to the wisdom of their deliberations. They were a determining factor on questions of crucial importance without possessing that profound sense of responsibility which governed the action of every Peer who made it his business to attend regularly.

Defending the retention of the Parliament Act he said that the stability of Britain did not depend on its constitution; it was on the good sense of the British electorate that we had depended against the dangers of revolutionary movement. There could be no repeal of the Parliament Act unless they had an entirely elected House and the hereditary system was wiped out.

The debate was continued on July 25 and 31. Lord Stuart of Wortley welcomed the arrival of an elected element, and of a nominated element. Lord Long objected to the Speaker of the House of Commons deciding whether a Bill was a Finance Bill or not, and he held that the age when a Peer could take his seat should be fixed. Lord Islington considered that the first aim

should be a reduction in the numbers of the House. Lord Salisbury said that the essential object was to put right the Parliament Act by modifying those parts which militated against the interests of the country. After a reply by the Lord Chancellor the House went into committee on the resolutions.

Great interest was aroused during July by an effort, instigated by *The Times* and other newspapers, to abolish the embargo on Canadian cattle. The policy adopted for many years past had been that imported cattle should be slaughtered at the port in order to avoid the introduction of pleuro-pneumonia. The subject was first raised in the House of Lords, and it was urged that a Royal Commission had concluded that Canada was free from pleuro-pneumonia, and therefore that there was no further objection to admitting cattle from the Dominions, subject to precautions being taken by means of quarantine. The debate was introduced by Lord Chaplin, who urged the House to decline to remove the embargo which had increased our herds and added to the value of our stock, because purchasers knew that it was free from pleuro-pneumonia. Lord Ernle referred to the pledge which had been given at the Imperial Conference of 1917, which was generally understood to mean a promise by the Government to remove the embargo, or at least to recognise the exceptional health of Canadian cattle. The Duke of Devonshire emphatically affirmed that there was no danger in allowing free admission of Canadian cattle into this country. Lord Long said that he maintained that an absolute pledge had been given, and was understood by the Canadian Government as such. Had not such a belief existed the Canadian representatives would have raised it at the Imperial Cabinet. If the decision of the Conference had been reversed either by the Imperial Cabinet or Parliament he would have placed his resignation in the hands of the Prime Minister. The question must be dealt with as an imperial and not a domestic one.

Discussion in the House of Commons took place on July 24, when the Minister of Agriculture maintained that a pledge had only been given to remove the stigma on Canadian cattle. He contended, moreover, that even if a definite pledge to admit these cattle as stores had been given, it had been given by an individual Minister who was not in the Cabinet, and who had not consulted the Cabinet, and therefore could not be binding on the House of Commons. Mr. Asquith, after reading declarations by Lord Long and Lord Ernle, declared that he could not see how it could be seriously maintained that the Government were not bound in honour to implement the solemn promises given at the Imperial Conference. The House could only repudiate the pledge by casting discredit and implying censure on the Government that gave it. It was all the more impossible to go back on the pledge when the Royal Commission had reached findings which showed that the pledge was based on

reason, experience, and public policy, and he warned the House of the responsibility it would take upon itself if it repudiated the pledge.

The Minister for Agriculture, however, opposed the removal of the embargo, saying that it was essentially an agricultural question, and that in this matter he represented the great bulk of the agriculturists in England and Wales. He denied that there was any real stigma on Canada, as the regulations applied to every other country. He described how stock-breeding had been fostered and become a great industry, and the success which followed the exclusion of animals from overseas in freeing the herds at home from disease. He asked what was the good of stamping out disease by slaughtering and then running the risk of importing it from outside. The policy pursued in the past had given traders a confidence that they never had before, and if that confidence was maintained we could produce all the stores we wanted in this country. He opposed the removal of the embargo on the further ground of the necessity for preserving the purity of our herds. He asked whether Canadian cattle were free from tuberculosis, and what was the good of taking steps to stamp out tuberculosis if animals were to be admitted without any test. He insisted that there must be quarantine. He poured contempt on the cry of cheap meat, and suggested that the Labour Party had been caught in a scheme which was preparing the way for a Meat Trust. On a division being taken the removal of the embargo was carried by a majority of 76.

Since Canadian cattle were at present excluded by the Diseases of Animals Act, effect could not be given to the resolution without special legislation, and the Government offered no prospect of such legislation being introduced in the present session. On July 27 the Prime Minister declared that the Government accepted the decision of the House as a mandate to deal at their earliest convenience with the problem.

The Navy Estimates were dealt with in the House of Commons on July 18. Viscount Curzon said that the Government had only nine flying aeroplanes in contrast to eighty-five possessed by the United States Government. Mr. George Lambert referred to the alleged differences between the Admiralty and the Air Ministry, and asked if these departments quarrelled who was to decide. He said that expenditure on the Navy would be useless without an efficient Air Service. We were going to spend 16,000,000*l.* on new battleships, but it was futile to spend money on capital ships unless there was sufficient aircraft for the ships we already possessed.

Mr. Amery assured the House that there was not the slightest idea of challenging the general position laid down by the Leader of the House in March as to the existence of a separate independent Air Force. The only question was how naval control for the air units that actually worked with the

fighting fleet could be most effectively secured, consistently with the fullest training of the personnel of those units in every aspect of air work, and how co-operation could be secured most effectively, economically, and in such a way as to encourage to the greatest extent the development of that aspect of the Navy. The question was at present under discussion by the Committee of Imperial Defence, by the Chief of the Air Staff, and the First Lord, together with the help and advice of the Colonial Secretary. He made reference to the tests recently made in the Channel. Torpedo-carrying aeroplanes were sighted fifteen minutes before they discharged their torpedoes, they were caught by fighting aeroplanes, and they were under dummy gunfire. He thought it would be realised and agreed that there was a great deal of difference in the *morale* and steadiness of a flier under dummy fire as compared with what it would be with real fire directed against him. Dummy gunfire was opened by light cruisers and destroyers before the torpedoes were fired.

One of the Government Bills which excited opposition during July was the War Services Canteens Bill, which provided for the disposal of sums in respect of the carrying on of the Expeditionary Force Canteens and the Navy and Army Canteen Board. When the second reading was introduced Colonel Nall asserted that the measure was nothing short of an attempt to defraud the ex-service men and the widows and orphans of the men who fell in the war of certain funds which, by moral and legal right, were theirs. He protested against balances due to the men who contributed to the profits of the Expeditionary Force Canteen being applied to the liquidation of debts created by an entirely different organisation. In reply Colonel Stanley explained that the Bill was necessary to legalise payments already made to the troops and others. The Secretary for War then admitted that the accounts of the organisations which had a turnover of 150,000,000*l.* were complicated. Disclaiming any pretensions to being a financial man, he said he went for advice to Sir William Plender and asked whether the sum that was being paid over was the right sum, or whether the ex-service men were entitled to something more. Sir William Plender's report was that the payments already made to Lord Byng's Committee and its successor, the United Services Fund, amounted to 3,729,554*l.*, and that it was proposed that a further sum of 3,471,000*l.* should be handed over in cash, making a total of 7,200,554*l.* Sir William Plender added that in his opinion that was a fair and equitable settlement. In view of the persistent allegations that, owing to trade losses which ought not to have been incurred, the profits were less than they otherwise would have been, and suggestions that there had been fraudulent practices, the Secretary for War said that he would grant a committee in order that the ex-service men might have the satisfaction of knowing whether the sum they were to receive was the right sum or not. Regarding allegations

that canteen managers had remitted home large sums to their private accounts, the Secretary for War said that if any member would bring forward a *prima facie* case against any official of the canteens he would at once have an investigation made. The second reading was then carried. No amendments were made either in the House of Commons or the House of Lords, and the Bill received the royal assent on August 4.

The anxiety which was felt on many sides about alleged deficiencies in the Air Service gave rise to a debate in the House of Lords on July 27. The debate arose on a question by Lord Londonderry as to whether the Government realised the fact of this anxiety. For some days before, many questions upon the subject had been brought forward in the House of Commons, and the Prime Minister had announced that the whole subject was under the consideration of the Committee of Imperial Defence. Lord Londonderry, who was formerly Under-Secretary for Air, expressed the view that it was imperative that real co-ordination between the three arms of the Service should be established, and that the combined as well as the separate functions of each and all should be fully understood and clearly defined. He therefore asked whether there was any serious menace to this country from the air, and whether that menace was as great as, or greater than, the menace from the sea. Less than one-tenth of our expenditure on the Services was devoted to the Air Force. The financial provision should, in his view, follow the degree of importance which was attached to the services rendered.

Lord Montagu of Beaulieu referred to the recrudescence of jealousy between the Navy and Army and the Air Force. The two former, however brave and skilful, would not be able, he said, to ward off the attack which would come, in the first instance, by air. Lord Sydenham, on the other hand, considered that the anxiety expressed in the Press was fully justified. We had already lost the strong position we had won in the war, and the present position was a dangerous one. He held that the Navy should have control of its own Air Forces. Lord Long said that he had held that the proposal to set up a separate Air Ministry with control of the Air Forces of the Army and Navy was foredoomed to failure. Lord Selborne said he was wholly incredulous that the Navy was a back number. The Navy had its work to do in maintaining sea communication in the future. He did not believe that either aircraft or submarines would drive battleships from the seas, much less cruisers and destroyers. If the Navy was to fulfil its function it could not be dependent on any ministry for what was, and must be, an essential part of its training. He hoped the Government would reconsider the whole position and on a wider scale.

Lord Gorell, the Under-Secretary for Air, complained that in certain quarters there had been deliberate misrepresentations

of the Air Ministry's work, and he thought the common sense of the British people would react against such animus. A separate Ministry was less costly than expenditure spread over the other two Services. There was undoubtedly, he said, a great potential menace from the air, and they could confidently rely that in the next war the air would play a much greater part than it did in the last war. Raiding on a much larger scale would take place. Personally he refused to believe that there was a menace from France. It was neither just, generous, nor statesmanlike to put up comparisons of air strength with a country beside whose soldiers our soldiers had fought, and in which so many of the people of this country died. The whole subject of the reassessment of air power was being considered by the Committee of Imperial Defence, and they might hope that they would come to a decision in a few days whether more funds and more squadrons should be brought into existence. The total number of machines with the Navy was 358, and with the Army 111, and in addition there were 60 as first reserve, and 6 more available for field training. The question of how best to secure co-operation between the Air Force and the Army and Navy was also under consideration of the Committee of Imperial Defence. He pointed out, however, that there were more squadrons allotted for co-operation with the Navy than there were for independent work. The Government had taken a definite decision in regard to the Air Ministry from which they had no intention of departing. The Government believed that to abolish the Air Ministry would be a retrograde step. The policy of the Ministry had been to build up the nucleus of a very efficient organisation which would be capable of extension when the time for reconsideration came.

The progress made in wireless telegraphy gave considerable importance to the question of the broadcasting of messages throughout the country. The Government had granted to a combine the right of broadcasting for a period of two years, with the condition that the apparatus to be used for the transmission or the reception of messages must be of British manufacture. This action caused a protest from Captain Wedgwood Benn in the House of Commons on July 28. He took the view that broadcasting would be a supplement to the newspapers, and would be the biggest development in the dissemination of information since the invention of the printing press. It was not right that the development of this great invention in this country should be left in the hands of a combine. In the sale of its receiving instruments it would be free from foreign competition. What arrangements, he asked, had the Postmaster-General made for the copyright of messages?

Mr. Kellaway contended that there was no monopoly under the scheme. Every one of the manufacturers of apparatus could become a member of the broadcasting company. The Post Office had been pressed to undertake the work itself and

had declined. He said that the Post Office had neither the audacity nor the ingenuity to perfect new inventions, and if it had agreed to carry on the work loud objection would have been taken to any proposal for buying German or American instruments. He said that we had to keep this new form of communication in this country in the hands of our own people. Whether in the matter of broadcasting or reception, our manufacturers had a technical skill and capacity in production equal to any in the world. He stated that he was advised that in the two years 6,000,000*l.* would be spent in the purchase of receiving apparatus and broadcasting stations, and of that sum 80 per cent. would go in wages. To have German or other foreign firms controlling the communications of this country was unthinkable; we could look after our own communications. He asserted that an attempt had been made to score political capital in the interests of free trade, but it had met with no response in the country.

At the end of July Lord Grey of Fallodon made a speech at Newcastle dealing with the policy of the Government at home and abroad. Referring to unemployment, he said that the only real remedy was better trade. The one thing on which any Government ought to concentrate, as far as its home policy was concerned, was to take the burden of taxation off the springs of industry by reducing unnecessary and wasteful expenditure. Dealing with our foreign policy, he said that if an agreement with the Bolshevists meant approaching the European question from the wrong end, in his opinion the right end from which to approach that question was by beginning with the question of reparations, but it would be a vital mistake if the French and British Governments attempted to discuss the question of reparations without also discussing the question of inter-Allied debts. As to maintaining peace, Lord Grey said that the main thing in the minds of the French at the Peace Conference was security for the future. If peace was to be secured for the future there should be a pact, but not exclusive, beginning with France, securing France against aggression, but in a form in which other nations could join. It was not enough to assure France of security against German aggression; they must also assure Germany, if Germany fulfilled her Treaty obligations, that she too would be secure against aggression from outside.

On the last day of July an important debate took place in the House of Commons on a motion to exclude fabric gloves and glove fabric from an order under the Safeguarding of Industries Act. This order, which the Board of Trade proposed to make, required the approval of the House. If this approval was given it was to come into force on August 8.

In the course of the debate Mr. Asquith denounced the policy of the Government in applying the Safeguarding of Industries Act to fabric gloves and other articles. He described this policy as little short of political and fiscal insanity, and

claimed that no case had been made out for this petty and disastrous interference with the free course of trade. Mr. Bonar Law, on the other hand, supported the order, referring to Mr. Asquith as one of those people who regarded the fiscal question as a religion. He claimed that the Government was simply carrying out the pledge that had been given at the Paris Economic Conference. The present proposal appeared to him to be of small importance; it had only assumed greater importance by the opposition of Lancashire. If Germany intended to increase the number of her fine spinners, he said, we should not stop her by this small duty, and however small this industry was it would be a certain market for Lancashire yarn if it could be kept here.

Mr. Baldwin, President of the Board of Trade, then pointed out that the Safeguarding of Industries Act was already on the Statute Book, and necessitated orders being made. Admitting that there had been no importation of goods affecting the great staple industries of the country which had caused them to seek assistance of the Act, he said that there had been importation of goods of other kinds which had caused anxiety among manufacturers. No fewer than 120 trades had made preliminary inquiries at the Board of Trade, but a large number of these applications had not proceeded further. Of the cases which had proceeded further, and been subjects for investigation, 23 were rejected. There were 12 cases in which further information was awaited and 15 had been referred to committees. Of the latter 4 appeared in the order now before the House; 4 were adversely reported on by the committees, and 7 had not yet been reported upon. He denied that he desired as a protectionist to tax fabric gloves. In this industry employment had shown very wholesome improvement, but this was not sufficient to relieve it from the category in which it was placed by the Committee as one in which there existed serious unemployment. The Lancashire case in regard to fabric gloves, he said, was the weakest he had ever read. He had a conviction that in three months time all Lancashire except politicians would have forgotten that there ever was such a thing as fabric gloves.

Sir Henry Norman, who moved an amendment to exclude fabric gloves and glove fabric from the Act, declared that Lancashire was thoroughly aroused. If Germany was to be able to pay reparations and return to industrial prosperity she must send something abroad. To tell her we would only allow her to sell what she could not sell in competition with our own factories was the logic of protection and the canonisation of inefficiency. Sir Ryland Adkins, who seconded the amendment, declared that the Government by this order were flouting the judgment and knowledge of the most important part of the country. Colonel Hurst said that the Lancashire Conservative members regarded themselves as pledged to protect British industries against dumping, and they would not be deflected

in their duty by a passing local outcry. Captain Ainsworth, another Lancashire Unionist member, said he voted against the Act and should vote against the order. Mr. Greenwood claimed that it was not true to say that the whole of the industry was against the order. He said that the agitation started in letters from German agents saying that if this duty were imposed they would not be able to do any business. At the end of the debate a division took place and the Government obtained a majority of 164. Among those who voted against the Government was Sir William Edge, one of the Coalition-Liberal Whips. Sir William Edge was member for Bolton, the origin of an agitation which had delayed the presentation of the draft order to Parliament for nearly six months. His opposition to the policy of the Government in enforcing the order led to his resignation on the day on which the debate took place in order that he might be free to vote against the Government.

On August 1 Mr. Horatio Bottomley, member for Hackney, was expelled from the House of Commons. He had been convicted, during May, of fraudulent conversion of funds entrusted to him, and sentenced to seven years penal servitude. On July 25 a motion was agreed to in the House of Commons that Mr. Bottomley should be brought from Wormwood Scrubs Prison to the House of Commons to defend himself if he desired to do so. It was stated that he did wish to attend the proceedings, but it was considered advisable, on medical grounds, that he should not leave the prison hospital. The proceedings in the House were short. After the official communication to the House of Mr. Bottomley's conviction, Mr. Chamberlain moved that he be expelled the House, and the motion was passed without comment except for a short speech by Colonel John Ward, who said that he could not allow him to be expelled without at least expressing his personal regret at the necessity. A long letter was read from Mr. Bottomley himself, in which he emphasised his love of the House and his regret that he had brought a slur upon it.

The second reading of the Consolidated Fund Bill was taken by the House of Commons on August 2, when Sir S. Hoare raised the question of the present position and prospects of the Indian Civil Service. Sir W. Joynson-Hicks declared that the Indianisation of the British Services in India was proceeding apace, and that under present arrangements it was proposed that 48 per cent. of the Civil Service should be Indianised. Our offices in India had now to work in very difficult circumstances. Mr. Lloyd George said that, while it was true that the co-operation of Indians had been invited in all the public services, the Government had no intention of interfering with, or crippling in any way, the functions and privileges of the British Civil Service.

During August the Government were greatly occupied with the problem of reparations and of inter-Allied indebtedness.

On the latter point hopes had been expressed in France that Great Britain would agree to the cancellation of the large war debt owed by France. The attitude taken up by the Government on this matter was made clear by a Note which Lord Balfour addressed to the French Ambassador and to the diplomatic representatives of Italy and other States in Europe. This Note pointed out that the war debts, exclusive of interest, due to Great Britain, amounted in the aggregate to about 3,400,000,000*l.* On the other hand, Great Britain owed the United States about a quarter of this sum, that is to say, about 850,000,000*l.*, together with interest accrued since 1919. The Note then went on to declare that the British Government could not consider the cancellation of the debts owed to Great Britain independently of the question of the British debt to the United States.

The whole question was discussed in the House of Commons on August 3 on the motion for the third reading of the Consolidated Fund Bill. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, who initiated the debate, gave an account of the payments which had been made by Germany since the Armistice. These were as follows:—

Paid in cash to the Reparation Commission	77,000,000*l.*
Paid in paper marks the equivalent of	30,000,000*l.*
Ships, coal, and payments in kind	160,000,000*l.*
Properties in ceded territory	125,000,000*l.*
Saar mines to France	23,000,000*l.*

Of the total of 415,000,000*l.* Britain had obtained 56,000,000*l.*, but practically the whole of this had been spent on the Armies of Occupation. The cost of the British Army of Occupation at the present time was not, however, more than 2,000,000*l.* a year.

Turning to inter-Allied indebtedness, the Chancellor said he wished to make it clear beyond all possibility of misapprehension that this country realised and recognised to the full our obligations to pay our war debt to the United States, and that we did not mean, in any shape or form, to evade that obligation. The foundation of Lord Balfour's Note was the payment of our debt to the United States. We had never been blind, he said, to the colossal burden imposed upon the nations of the world by the indebtedness of one nation to another, and the Government held the view that there was no greater impediment to the recovery of the world than the existence of that debt. To get rid of this indebtedness would be to give a new impetus to world reconstruction. We could not expect to stand alone, however; we had got a burden of debt as a result of sacrifices in the war greater than that of any other nation. Our debt of 7,766,000,000*l.* compared with a debt of 5,147,000,000*l.* in the United States, and 6,340,000,000*l.* in France. Our debt was 181*l.* per head of the population as compared with 163*l.* in the case of France, and 47*l.* in the case of the United States.

We were taxed at 17 guineas a head as compared with 9*l.* a head in France. Taxation was twice as heavy here as in the United States.

In these circumstances it was impossible to ask the British taxpayer alone to shoulder the burden of the payment of war debts. We must turn our back with regret upon things which perhaps all the world was waiting for, reflecting if only it had been possible that the nations who fought in the war side by side, who shared the same privations, faced the same trials, endured the same agonies, had the same losses—if only they had been willing to regard their subscriptions to the cause of the war as contributions to our common success, we might have been able to rid the world of many causes of irritation and planted in the heart of humanity a new and inspiring hope.

Mr. Asquith then expressed grave misgiving as to the issue of the Balfour Note, doubting whether it was politic or opportune. He earnestly hoped that those misgivings might be falsified by the result. Reparations, he said, must be scaled down to what was really payable. We ought to be ready to forego our share and to remit what was due to us.

The Prime Minister then announced the attitude of the Government on the question of reparations. While realising that it was possible to press Germany too hard and drive her to despair, he uttered a warning as to under-estimating her capacity to pay. World recovery would come sooner or later, and he emphasised the folly of permitting Germany to be in a better position under the new conditions than this country or our Allies. He announced that, at the forthcoming International Conference on the subject, he would resist any proposals which would simply have the effect of increasing the disintegration of Europe without securing anything for ourselves. He expressed a doubt as to whether the matter could be settled at the Conference since there were too many difficulties and complications. They had to judge the capacity of Germany to transmit wealth across her frontier, but whatever was done he trusted that we should be able to march together, France, Belgium, and ourselves, and he undertook that the British Government would give reasonable and sympathetic consideration to every claim put forward by devastated France. But, he added, when the taxpayers of this country were bearing such a crushing burden we could not go there and say we would look after the interests of everybody, and see that everybody got fair play except the people of our own land. Dealing with the possibility of driving Germany to despair, the Prime Minister said that, whether she threw herself into the hands of the reactionaries or the communists there was little to choose. There would be lots of trouble but no cash. A revolutionary Germany right in the centre of Europe was a very different thing from a revolutionary Russia. It had been a blessing to Europe that the first outburst of communism had taken place in Russia. In that respect

Lenin and Trotsky had been the saviours of society. In the case of Germany it would be a revolution in a well-organised country, with a highly trained intelligent population, and would constitute a real peril to the world.

The International Conference on reparations referred to above opened on August 8 at No. 10 Downing Street. After the usual welcome the Prime Minister said he thought there would have been some advantage in awaiting the report of the Reparation Commission on the present situation in Germany, and that the British Government would, in some respects, have preferred to do so, but inasmuch as other Governments had thought an immediate meeting necessary they had complied.

M. Poincaré, the French Prime Minister, said he thought the meeting important on account of two new facts, namely, the German demand for a complete moratorium and the Balfour Note. He gave a general review of the position from the point of view of France. He said that the Treaty of Versailles was being less and less executed. With regard, for instance, to trials of war criminals, France felt that the measures taken by Germany were most inadequate. With regard to disarmament, they had reports of a very unsatisfactory character, and with regard to reparations they were having difficulties of many kinds owing to the fact that Germany—who was called upon under the Treaty to pay war pensions and reparations for material damage—was not actually paying anything. The assessment of Germany had been constantly reduced by the Reparation Commission, a partial moratorium had already been granted to her, and she was now asking for a complete moratorium to the end of 1924. The position of France, said M. Poincaré, was that she was getting nothing at all. She had actually spent eighty milliards of francs upon reparations which should have been paid by Germany, the interest on this huge sum creating a deficit on the ordinary French Budget, and the result was a critical financial situation for France. He defended France from the charge of being imperialist or desiring to deal unfairly with Germany. Replying to the question as to why France did not reduce her armaments, he said that she was not yet satisfied regarding her security, and the guarantees originally given to her were lacking. Taxation could not be increased since the ten devastated Departments were unable to pay anything, and as regards direct taxation there was not a large number of very great fortunes to draw upon. He insisted that Germany's position was due to her own fault. She had gone in for reckless expenditure on waterways, railways, and subsidies, and had inflated her currency without scruple. The French view was that a moratorium should not be accorded to Germany unless productive guarantees were given to the Allies.

Mr. Lloyd George, who spoke next, said that the question could not be dealt with fairly if it were regarded as affecting only one or two Allies and not the whole of them in almost

equal measure. He admitted that France had suffered more grievously than any of the original Allies except Russia, but they had all suffered greatly, and he gave figures to show that the cost of the war had been heavier to Great Britain than to any other belligerent. As to devastation, no one underestimated the injuries done to France, but our trade had also been completely devastated. Our burden, continued Mr. Lloyd George, had been very great unemployment, the total population affected by it in this country being four or five millions, who had to be supported by the Exchequer and by local grants. The failure of Germany, therefore, did not concern one or two Allies alone. We had the heaviest taxation, the heaviest debt, and our burden was at least equal to that of the most heavily burdened of our Allies.

The next two or three days were spent in a detailed examination of the proposals of M. Poincaré, the terms of which, however, were not made public. A committee of experts studied them from the point of view of deciding whether they would produce cash, and a majority of the committee calculated that they would produce no extra cash from Germany at all. With regard to the suggestion that the Allies should establish a control over State coal mines and forests, the Italians and Japanese agreed with the British that such measures would produce no cash and would be useless except as sanctions. The suggestion to establish a Customs line between the occupied area and the rest of Germany was regarded by all the Allies, except France, as undesirable. This was the case also with a suggestion that the Allies should take a 60 per cent. share in factories. It was considered that such a guarantee would produce no cash at all, since the only manner of taking over a 60 per cent. share would be to compel the German Government to buy out the present proprietors, and that could only be done by printing fresh paper money, with a resulting aggravation of the currency situation in Germany.

Owing to the difference of opinion in the committee of experts as to the practicability of M. Poincaré's proposals, British counter-proposals were formulated and subsequently modified in the course of conversations between the Prime Ministers. These counter-proposals included a moratorium for Germany up to the end of 1922, and the fixing of the annual payments thereafter at such an amount not exceeding 26 per cent. of German exports as the Reparation Commission might think proper, with a view to an early loan by Germany. But the committee of experts were no more able to agree on the proposals of the British Government than they had been on those of the French.

When the Conference resumed on August 14, and it was clear that agreement could not be reached, M. Poincaré said that he was prepared to accept a suggestion that the whole discussion should be adjourned until the various countries had

carried out their funding negotiations with the United States, and their delegations had returned, provided that no moratorium were granted to Germany in the meanwhile. Mr. Lloyd George thereupon said that he saw no necessity for them to decide whether there should be a moratorium or not. He was quite prepared to leave it to the Reparation Commission, and he repeated the proposals of the British Government as follows: (1) to adopt the Italian suggestion of an adjournment until the latter part of the year; (2) to leave the question of whether there should be a moratorium or not to be decided by the Reparation Commission; (3) to agree that the guarantees already demanded by the Committee of Guarantees, and accepted by the German Government, should be applied immediately; (4) Great Britain would undertake to make no claim of interest or capital on the Allied debtors pending the meeting at the end of the year.

These proposals were accepted and supported strongly by all the Allies except M. Poincaré. The position taken up by France was that there could not be any moratorium granted to Germany without fresh guarantees. Mr. Lloyd George said that he could not agree to an adjournment without a moratorium, which would mean giving the Reparation Commission instructions that no moratorium was to be granted. The whole reason of the meeting of the Allies at the present moment was the general belief that Germany could make no more immediate payments. They had been discussing fresh guarantees on the assumption that a moratorium was necessary, and it seemed quite idle to go back now and settle upon an adjournment with the moratorium absolutely barred. Great Britain disapproved of the fresh guarantees suggested, not out of any tenderness for Germany, but because she was convinced that these guarantees would defeat their own object. Failing agreement the British Government stood by the Treaty of Versailles, and had therefore suggested that the question of the moratorium should be referred to the Reparation Commission as laid down in Article 234 of that Treaty; or, failing any agreement as to that, the whole subject should be referred to the League of Nations. As all these proposals had failed to secure assent, he was afraid that they must agree to disagree. All the others present took the same view, and M. Poincaré said that he would have to consider the situation with his Government. After the discussion of one or two other matters the Conference then broke up. The immediate result of this disagreement was a sudden renewed collapse of the Exchange in Berlin; the mark, which stood at 862, rapidly went down to 920, and then fluctuated wildly between 1,000 and 1,100.

The subject was not again discussed by the House of Commons before the adjournment. The only remaining subject of political importance to be recorded was the announcement, on August 3, that the Government had decided to adopt a scheme

submitted by the Air Ministry providing a force of 500 machines for home defence at an increased cost of 2,000,000*l.* per annum. The Prime Minister explained that 900,000*l.* of the 2,000,000*l.* would be found by economies in the estimates of the Air Ministry. He added that the inquiries of the Cabinet Committee on economy in the fighting Services had advanced sufficiently far to enable him to state that the addition to the Air estimates would not prevent a reduction in the total estimates of the three fighting Services for the year 1923-24. These decisions would not prejudice a further expansion of the Royal Air Force if later on this should be found to be necessary to our national security. The question would be considered in the light of the financial situation next year and of the air policy adopted by other Powers.

On the motion for the adjournment of the House of Commons on August 4, Mr. Lloyd George surveyed the Near-Eastern situation, making a pronouncement strongly in favour of the Greeks. He claimed that Turkey had done the worst disservice any country could have done to the cause of the Allies in 1914. She had brought about the collapse of Russia and Rumania and had prolonged the war by about two years. He argued that the responsibility for the defeat of Turkey was ours, and therefore the supreme responsibility for peace must be ours. We had the right to say that we would make no peace that would place hundreds of thousands of poor helpless persons at the mercy of people who had been guilty of the outrages and deportations of Pontus. There must be some guarantee and an effective guarantee.

He took the line that Great Britain could not be accused of giving the Greeks preferential treatment because we were defending Constantinople, which otherwise could be taken by the Greeks in a few hours, and were therefore preventing an immediate decision which the Greeks could force if they were allowed to wage war at their full strength. He said that all this country wanted was a just peace, and that whatever happened there must be efficient and adequate protection of the minorities as an essential part of any settlement Great Britain could accept. Our business was to hold the balance justly and fairly between both parties. It was not a question of Mussulman and Christian. Supposing the Armenians had had control of that sector of Asia Minor, and had committed those atrocities, we should have been bound to intervene. It was our desire to bring about peace. About a year before the end of the war a definite offer to Turkey was made and it was refused, and now that she had been completely beaten she could not receive the same terms. The position was this: there was a war between Greece and Turkey and we were defending the capital of one of the parties which would otherwise be promptly captured by the other. The only way by which Greece could now arrive at a decision was by marching through

almost impenetrable defiles hundreds of miles into the interior. He did not know of any other army that could have gone as far as the Greeks had gone. They had established their military superiority in every encounter, and had only been beaten by the combination of the country and the long lines of communication that had to be maintained. The House then adjourned until November 14 for the Autumn recess. It was not then realised that this was the last time that the old Parliament was destined to meet.

Meanwhile the civil war continued to be carried on in Ireland. At the beginning of August the Irish National troops made advances both in the South-East and South-West. Carrick-on-Suir was occupied, and National troops who landed at Fenit on the Kerry coast advanced to Tralee and captured that town. Tarbert and Ballylongford were taken on August 4, and the troops advanced on Listowel. A band of Irregulars with an armoured car entered Sligo and exploded a mine at the Ulster Bank, almost completely wrecking the building. The car was engaged by a machine-gun post and retired. At the end of the first week in August the position seemed promising. The Irregulars in Munster were pressed both on the flank and in the rear and were abandoning town after town. On August 8 the capture of Newcastle West by the National troops broke the resistance of the Irregulars in almost the whole of County Limerick. They were driven from all the principal towns in the county, and although they still occupied some villages they were unable to offer further serious opposition to the advance of the troops. Newcastle West was strongly held and the Irregulars did not retreat until ten of their men had been killed and their headquarters shelled.

The next step of the Irish Army was directed to the relief of Cork, which for many weeks had been groaning under the tyranny of the rebels. It was officially announced in Dublin on August 10 that troops had landed at two places in County Kerry whence they immediately advanced towards the town, which was captured soon afterwards, the Irregulars putting up only a poor resistance. The National troops lost about eight men killed, and the Irregulars were believed to have lost about the same number. They seemed to have had no ordered plan of defence and were taken by surprise by the landing of their opponents. Although the fighting was slight, damage to property was considerable. Cork military barracks was set on fire and almost entirely destroyed, as well as the other barracks occupied by the Irregulars. With the capture of Cork the back of the rebellion was definitely broken.

On August 13 the Irish Government suffered a grave loss in the death of Mr. Arthur Griffith, President of Dail Eireann. When this news became known in Dublin it caused a profound feeling of sorrow. Flags were lowered to half-mast on many of the principal buildings, and on the shipping at the quays. A

message of sympathy was sent by the King to his widow. He was buried in Dublin on August 16, when all work was suspended in the city, and the people flocked into the streets to view the procession.

The Irish rebels soon showed that they had no intention of resigning without a struggle. On August 14 a large body of them entered the town of Dundalk in the early morning and took the National troops completely by surprise. The latter made a stout resistance, and for a considerable period fierce fighting took place, but the Irregulars soon had full control of the town. Two days later a large number of Irregulars invaded Greenore and seized the police barracks and the harbour. These successes, however, were short-lived. The town of Dundalk was recaptured on August 16 from the Irregulars, who were closely pursued across the country by the National troops. Greenore was also evacuated after a brief stay.

On August 17 Dublin Castle finally passed out of the hands of the British Government, and the new Civic Guard, or Police Force established by the Irish Government, took charge of it.

In the latter half of August the rebels made several attempts on the life of General Michael Collins, the Commander-in-Chief of the Irish Army. On the 18th his car was ambushed and fired upon and a bomb thrown, though he happened not to be in it at the time. Shortly afterwards he was killed in an ambush in County Cork where he had been carrying out an inspection of the outposts of the National troops. The ambush took place on August 22 in wild country, and the General died fighting, receiving a fatal wound in the head after the attacking party had been practically driven off. His body was taken by sea to Dublin, where it was embalmed and laid in state under the central dome of the City Hall, where, during the day or two before his burial, many thousands passed by it in slow procession. The funeral took place on August 28, and was notable for a more profound demonstration of national feeling than had occurred within living memory. General Collins had become the hero of the people because he stood, even more than President Griffith, for actual achievement, and was its active and visible embodiment. General Richard Mulcahy was appointed his successor as Commander-in-Chief.

On August 29 Irish Irregulars, led by the Englishman Erskine Childers, endeavoured to cut the trans-Atlantic cables in Valentia Harbour, County Kerry, when National troops arrived and put them to flight. At the end of the month many ambushes were reported. The Irregulars appeared to have abandoned all idea of fighting in the open, and had fallen back upon the policy of ambushing, the destruction of road bridges, the cutting of the surfaces of the roads, and the tearing up of railway lines. On the last day of the month heavy firing took place in the streets of Dublin, a military post at the Four Courts Hotel being attacked with guns and revolvers. Troops at the

ordnance survey quarters in Phœnix Park were also attacked, one man being wounded. At the same time an attempt was made to cut the railway communication between Dublin and Cork, a portion of the line being blown up.

The troubles of Southern Ireland were increased by a general strike of postal workers which began on September 10, as a protest against the withdrawal of increases of pay granted on the recommendation of the Irish Postal Commission on the reduction of bonuses. The Government offered to spread over a period of three months the reductions which they had resolved upon, but this proposal was rejected by the workers' representatives at a conference on September 9.

The postal strike soon became general throughout the south and west of Ireland, and although the Government endeavoured to maintain a restricted service of letters and telegrams, the paralysis was virtually complete.

The first meeting of the Parliament of the Irish Free State was held on September 9, no member of the Anti-Treaty Party being present except Mr. Ginnell. The Irish Cabinet was constituted as follows:—

Mr. William Cosgrave -	President of Dail Eireann and Chairman of the Provisional Government.
Mr. Ernest Blythe - -	Local Government.
Mr. Desmond Fitzgerald -	Foreign Affairs.
Mr. P. J. Hogan - -	Agriculture.
Mr. Joseph McGrath -	Trade and Commerce (including Labour and Economics).
General Richard Mulcahy	Minister of Defence and Commander-in-Chief.
Mr. J. H. Walsh - -	Postmaster-General.
Professor John MacNeill -	Education.
Mr. Kevin O'Higgins -	Home Affairs.

Guerilla warfare continued throughout September. On the 9th the town of Kenmare, in County Kerry, was captured by Irregulars, but soon retaken by National troops, who made many of the rebels prisoners. In the middle of the month it was reported that Ballina, in County Mayo, had been taken at a time when most of the Free State troops were at Mass for a dead comrade. On the night of the 14th firing took place in Dundalk with rifles, revolvers, and machine-guns, the electric lights being switched off and the streets left in darkness. It was afterwards discovered that the Republicans had seized the electric power stations, but in the morning they disappeared, leaving the Free State troops in possession of the town. On September 17 an audacious outburst of rebel activity took place in Dublin. A party of National troops was attacked and two of them wounded. An attack was also made on the military guard of a newspaper office. At the same time four men entered the headquarters of the Criminal Investigation Department, shot one of the detectives dead and made good their escape. During the middle of the month the campaign of ambush in the south also became intensified, and one patrol in

County Cork was waylaid three times in the course of a single journey. Sharp fighting occurred between Free State troops and Irregulars in County Mayo, while in County Tipperary National troops were ambushed on their way to Mass, losing two of their officers and four men.

It was in this disturbed state of affairs that the Free State Parliament began its discussions of the Constitution. It soon became clear that majorities for the essential terms of the Treaty were assured. The conduct of the Constitution Bill was entrusted to Mr. Kevin O'Higgins, and on September 19 a resolution was passed in favour of adult suffrage. The second reading of the Free State Constitution Bill was introduced on September 21, and the speech with which Mr. O'Higgins introduced it gave much satisfaction to the minority, which still passed under the name of the Southern Unionists.

The second reading was duly passed, and the Provisional Government entered on the committee stage on September 26. Most of the articles of the Treaty dealing with "fundamental rights" were passed with a few small amendments, and in the one case when the Government were seriously challenged they succeeded in obtaining a satisfactory majority. This case had reference to Article 12, to which Mr. Gavan Duffy proposed an amendment which amounted to an invitation to proclaim a Republic. The proposal was to leave out the King, but the Ministry were determined to accept the King because they had a mandate from the people in favour of the Treaty, and it was impossible to draft a Constitution without the King that would be within the terms of the Treaty. President Cosgrave said that there had been much talk about republicanism in the country, but he insisted that the position of the country under the Constitution was far superior to that of those who armed themselves, seized property, and followed the example of the Czars. Mr. Duffy's amendment was ultimately rejected by 43 votes to 16. The final passage of the Bill will be referred to in the following chapter.

Meanwhile the Provisional Government decided to equip the National Army with military courts, which would have large sanctions for the maintenance of public order and the punishment of crime. On September 27 it moved in Parliament a resolution which stated that it was acting on the initiative of the Army authorities, who deemed the possession of such military courts essential to the effective discharge of their duties and responsibilities. The resolution was introduced by the President, Mr. Cosgrave, who denounced the methods of the Irregulars as those of highwaymen. He said that the Irregulars were maintaining a condition of terrorism throughout the country. The Army was being exposed to enormous risks, and the Government had determined that it must be endowed with more far-reaching powers. The Irregulars could have peace at any moment on the condition of surrendering their

arms, but if they did not want peace sterner methods must be employed against them. The resolution was seconded by Mr. Desmond Fitzgerald, Minister for Foreign Affairs, and opposed by Mr. Thomas Johnson, Leader of the Labour Opposition. His chief point was that Parliament should not be asked to confer any new powers on the Army until the Government had made a full and frank statement on the military situation.

The resolution, which was duly approved by the Dail, provided for the setting up of military courts for inquiring into charges against persons in respect of taking part in any attack upon the National Forces, looting, arson, unlawful possession, or damage to public or private property, having possession without proper authority of any bomb or dynamite, firearm or ammunition, and breaking any general order or regulation made by the Army authorities. The military courts set up had power to inflict the punishment of death, of imprisonment for any period, or a fine of any amount on any person found guilty. The Army authorities were further empowered to remove any person taken prisoner by the National Forces to any place within or without the area of jurisdiction of the Government. Provision was also made for the regulation and control of the sale, possession, and transfer of revolvers, rifles, guns, and other firearms.

The last event to be recorded in Ireland during September is an attempt that was made to destroy an Irish Government transport in Kingstown Harbour on the 28th. The vessel was boarded by ten armed men, who intimidated the crew of eight men, and then proceeded to sink the ship. Shortly afterwards the watch on board a British destroyer moored a few hundred yards away noticed that the vessel was sinking. A naval party went on board, closed the valves, and emptied the vessel of the water that had poured into her hold.

The fifty-fourth annual Trades Union Congress began at Southport on September 4 under circumstances which were more depressing than the organised labour movement had known for many years. Exhaustion created by widespread unemployment, and by a succession of industrial disputes, was reflected in a substantial set-back in the membership of the Congress, the loss since the previous year amounting to 1,250,000. Mr. R. B. Walker of the Agricultural Workers' Union presided. His address was concerned with the Trade Unions as distinct from the political situation, but he ranged himself with those who stood for further pursuit of an aggressive policy. He deprecated efforts to promote goodwill by round-table conferences with employers on the ground that the advantage was with the employers, and that to give up aggressive methods would imply acceptance of the present system and its philosophy of greed and competition. They were warring, he said, against wrong ideas, and needed to carry on that war with courage and resolution. By that means alone, in his opinion, could they rally their members.

The first business of the Congress was to deal with the question of reparations. An appeal had recently been made to British labour by the General Federation of German Trade Unions. This appeal had received the consideration of the Joint International Committee of the Congress and the Labour Party, and the outcome was the presentation of an emergency resolution, moved by Mr. J. H. Thomas, M.P., which called for the abandonment of the occupation of the Rhine territory, urged that time and facilities for payment should be given to Germany, and appealed to the French people to give encouragement to the new Republican democracy of Germany. The vote in favour of these proposals was practically unanimous.

Sitting in private session, the Congress afterwards decided to share with the Labour Party financial responsibility for the continued publication of the *Daily Herald*, which thus became the official organ of the Labour movement. Funds to meet the cost of running the paper were to be provided by an increase of the annual Congress affiliation fee to 3*d.* for each member.

One of the most important debates during the meeting of the Congress was on a proposal to create a Labour headquarters by extending the powers of the General Council. The resolution provided that the Council should be kept informed of all disputes by the affiliated Unions, but that it should not intervene so long as there was a prospect of the differences being amicably settled by negotiation. In the event of a breakdown, or of large bodies of workmen being involved in a stoppage of work, or a standard wage or hours or conditions of work being imperilled, it was proposed that the General Council should take the initiative by calling representatives of the Unions into consultation, and should use its influence to bring about a just settlement. The scheme further provided that where the Council intervened, and the Unions concerned accepted their assistance, and notwithstanding their efforts the policy of the employers enforced a stoppage of work by strike or lockout, the Council should organise all such moral and material support as the circumstances of the dispute justified. For this purpose the General Council should, if deemed necessary, raise funds by a call upon the affiliated Unions proportionately to membership to meet expenditure in relation to the dispute.

The report of the Council on the scheme generally showed that 73 Unions agreed with the principles of reporting to the Council and of consultation, 4 Unions were opposed to the whole scheme, and there was a majority in favour of the principle of nearly two millions. Most of the Unions who favoured the creation of a defence fund, however, made reservations to their agreement, while a still larger number of Unions refused to accept the defence fund at all. The report stated that, in view of these opinions, the most that could be provided for at the present time was that the General Council should be enabled to create an emergency fund if found necessary for the purpose

of carrying on extensive propaganda for organising resistance in connexion with any dispute in which they intervened. After considerable discussion at the Congress the previous question was moved and carried on a card vote by a large majority; the whole scheme was, therefore, shelved. The Congress closed on September 9.

In the latter half of September much anxiety was expressed with regard to the advance of the Kemalist Army in Turkey [*v.* Turkey], and an important statement on British policy was issued. It declared that the approach of the Kemalist Forces to Constantinople and the Dardanelles, and the demands put forward by the Angora Government, had clearly created a situation which had been continuously under the attention of His Majesty's Government for some days past. These demands, if assented to, involved nothing less than the entire loss of the whole results of the victory over Turkey in the late war. The channel of deep salt water that separated Europe from Asia and united the Mediterranean and the Black Sea, affected world interests, European interests and British interests of the first order. The British Government regarded the effective and permanent freedom of the Straits as a vital necessity, for the sake of which they were prepared to make exertions. They had learnt with great satisfaction that, in this respect, their views were shared by France and Italy.

The question of Constantinople, the statement continued, stood somewhat differently. For more than two years it had been decided that the Turks should not be deprived of Constantinople, and in January, 1921, the representatives of the Constantinople and Angora Turkish Governments had been informed of the intention of the Allies to restore Constantinople to the Turks subject to other matters being satisfactorily adjusted. The wish of the British Government was that a conference should be held as speedily as possible in any place generally acceptable to the other Powers involved, at which a resolute and sustained effort should be made to secure a stable peace with Turkey. But such a conference could not embark upon its labours while there was any question of the Kemalist forces attacking the neutral zones by which Constantinople, the Bosphorus, and the Dardanelles were now protected. The British and French Governments had instructed their High Commissioners at Constantinople to notify the Angora Government that these neutral zones must be respected. It was futile, however, to trust simply to diplomatic action; adequate force must be available to defend the line between Europe and Asia against a violent and hostile Turkish aggression. That the Allies should be driven out of Constantinople by the forces of Mustapha Kemal would be an event of the most disastrous character, producing far-reaching reactions throughout all Moslem countries and throughout all the States defeated in the late war. Moreover, the reappearance of the victorious Turk

on the European shore would provoke a situation of the gravest character throughout the Balkans, and very likely lead to bloodshed on a large scale. It was the duty of the Allies, therefore, to prevent this great danger, and His Majesty's Government were prepared to bear their part in the matter. The Government were also addressing themselves to the three Balkan Powers with a view to their taking part in the effective defence of the neutral zone. The Dominions had likewise been placed in possession of the facts and invited to send contingents in the defence of interests for which they had already made enormous sacrifices. Finally the statement announced the intention of the Government to reinforce immediately the troops at the disposal of Sir Charles Harington, the Allied Commander-in-Chief at Constantinople, and orders had been given to the British Fleet in the Mediterranean to oppose, by every means, any infraction of the neutral zones by the Turks, or any attempt by them to cross to the European shore.

The immediate result of this semi-official statement was a diplomatic remonstrance from France upon the enunciation of an apparently bellicose policy without previous consultation with the French Government. At the same time Ministers were somewhat surprised to hear of the withdrawal of the French troops which had recently been sent to Chanak on the Dardanelles, and it began to appear very doubtful whether a common policy could be arranged between the Allies. This apprehension was, however, removed as the result of a visit by Lord Curzon to Paris at which complete agreement was arrived at with the French Government. It was decided that a note of invitation to attend a Peace Conference should be sent to Mustapha Kemal. The note was favourable to the Turkish claim to Thrace, but the Angora Government was required to undertake not to send, either before or during the conference, troops into the zone which had been declared provisionally neutral, and not to cross the Straits or the Sea of Marmora. The delimitation of this zone was to be fixed by the Allied Generals in agreement with the Turkish and Greek authorities before the conference. The Allied Governments proposed that in the peace the liberty of the Dardanelles, the Sea of Marmora and the Bosphorus, as also the protection of minorities of races and religions, should be assured efficaciously under the auspices of the League of Nations. On these conditions the three Allied Governments—Great Britain, France, and Italy—undertook to support the admission of Turkey to the League of Nations.

On September 27 the news arrived of the revolution in Greece and the abdication of King Constantine. The position was further complicated by the refusal of Mustapha Kemal to withdraw from the neutral zone by the evasive excuse that he had no knowledge of a neutral zone. British Ministers thereupon requested General Harington to secure a personal interview with Mustapha Kemal in order to concert measures for the

avoidance of a collision. General Harington sent a note in accordance with this instruction, and received a reply from Mustapha Kemal, who undertook to move no further troops into the neutral zone, and expressed a wish to meet General Harington at the earliest opportunity. At the end of September war was hanging in the balance. General Harington sent a demand to the Kemalist forces to evacuate the neutral zone, and though no time-limit was fixed the demand was regarded as an ultimatum. The British Cabinet despatched an urgent telegram to General Harington assuring him of the full support of the Government in any action he might undertake to secure the withdrawal of the Turks, and it was generally believed that war was imminent.

CHAPTER IV.

THE FALL OF THE COALITION.

AT the end of September the majority of Ministers were of opinion that a conflict with the Turks was inevitable, and at Cabinet meetings they were believed to have advocated the adoption of forcible measures by Sir Charles Harington against the Turks in the neutral zone. The feeling in the country against war was so strong, however, that the Government determined to exhaust every possible method of averting the threatened catastrophe, and Sir Charles Harington was given an entirely free hand in his efforts to promote a peaceful arrangement. The Labour Party were especially vigorous in their protests against war. As early as September 21 the Labour Leaders had had an interview with the Prime Minister on the subject, the result of which was not published. This interview was followed by strong speeches in various parts of the country, which at least served to bring out the fact that the nation was strongly opposed to war if war by any means could be prevented.

The diplomatic efforts of Sir Charles Harington soon began to bear fruit, for at the beginning of October the Turks withdrew from certain points on the Dardanelles and their bearing became less disquieting. On October 2 the Liberal Party leaders—Mr. Asquith, Lord Grey of Fallodon, Lord Crewe, Lord Gladstone, and Sir Donald Maclean—had a meeting and issued a unanimous statement urging that every support be given to a policy pursued in concert with our Allies to secure the freedom of the Straits, but declaring that more than once since September 12 the Government had contemplated separate action which would have committed the country to war. The Liberal leaders expressed their conviction that the nation would rightly condemn such action and refuse to support it.

On October 3 Sir Charles Harington met the Turkish leaders

at Mudana, as recorded elsewhere [*v.* Turkey]. Ismet Pasha demanded an almost immediate Turkish occupation of Eastern Thrace, and the establishment there of a Turkish administration uncontrolled by the Allies. The attitude of the French General was less definite, though it appeared that he felt unable to support Sir Charles Harington. In these circumstances the Allied Generals returned to Constantinople to consult their Governments. Sir Charles Harington sent a despatch to London, the result of which was that Lord Curzon left London for Paris on October 6 for the purpose of ascertaining definitely whether or not the French Government adhered fully to the terms of the joint Allied Note of September 23 to the Angora Government. Lord Curzon succeeded in reaching an agreement with M. Poincaré, according to which Allied co-operation was maintained in harmony with the Note of September 23, including the occupation of the neutral zones and of Constantinople during the Peace Conference. The Allies agreed that Eastern Thrace should be evacuated by the Greek troops as early as possible, and that for one month after the evacuation the control of Eastern Thrace should be in Allied hands. Subsequently a Turkish civil administration with Turkish gendarmerie would be established, but the Turkish military occupation would not take place until peace was signed. Owing to the united front which the Allied representatives were thus able to present, the Turkish General signed the Convention at Mudana in the early morning of October 11, thus accepting the demands which were made upon him. The Convention stipulated that the Turks should respect a neutral zone consistent with the safety of the Allied troops and the freedom of the Straits. It provided for the evacuation of Thrace by the Greek Army within fifteen days, and agreed that the Allied forces, which would provisionally replace the Greeks, should not exceed seven battalions. The Turks were called upon not to transport troops to Eastern Thrace, nor to raise or maintain an army there until after the ratification of the Peace Treaty. With this agreement the threat of immediate war passed away.

In Ireland the postal strike came to an end at the beginning of October. On October 4 the Provisional Government issued an important proclamation offering full amnesty and pardon to all rebels who surrendered their arms to the National Forces on or before October 15. It appeared that the Government had been encouraged to make this order on account of the increasing unpopularity of the rebellion in Southern Ireland. The proclamation coincided with the announcement of the most striking victory which the National troops had yet achieved in the most difficult theatre of the war. Four days previously the Irregulars, emboldened by a series of recent successes, had made a strong attack on the National garrison at Killorglin in Kerry, and had been repulsed with heavy loss. A garrison of sixty soldiers withstood for twenty-seven hours an attack by at least 500 well-

armed men, killed from ten to fifteen of their opponents, wounded an unknown number, and finally drove back their attackers in confusion just as the relief column approached the town.

The Church Congress opened at Sheffield on October 10. The Congress was welcomed to Sheffield by the Lord Mayor and the President of the Free Church Council. An animated discussion took place on the subject of conversion. Dr. Inge, the Dean of St. Paul's, made assertions which were afterwards criticised directly by Dr. Brown of Oxford, and indirectly by the Bishop of Chelmsford and the Archbishop of York. The controversy was vigorous and was followed with close interest by a large gathering whose sympathies in the main seemed to be against the Dean.

Dr. Inge expressed doubts as to whether sudden conversion was a normal experience at all, and said it was certain that suggestion played a very important part in the matter. Sudden conversion as a conscious experience was very rare, he submitted, in the Church of England. He found, however, that the Puritan and Methodist teaching about conversion contained two important truths. The first was the Christian doctrine that we had all to make a choice, and the second was the expectation of a crisis during adolescence which, he said, was psychologically sound. Dr. Brown sharply challenged the Dean's view that conversion was not a necessary and natural constitution of religious experience, and described conversion as a process of acquiring the mystical experience or feeling of the reality of God. Dr. Brown also characterised as hollow psycho-analytical theories which attributed conversion to a regression to childhood. The Archbishop of York took the view that conversion was a natural process.

At the various meetings of the Congress the essential purpose which had been agreed upon was faithfully followed, namely, that of getting back to the fundamentals of the Christian religion, and restating the unchanging truths of the Eternal Gospel. Throughout the Congress there was no deviation from the dominating subject of "The Eternal Gospel," but as the Gospel was considered in its relation to home life, to business, to politics, to the spiritual life, to the Bible, and to the creeds, discussion ranged over a very wide ground. Some of the addresses appealed almost exclusively to the intellectual theologian, but in several of the papers there was a warm outpouring of humanity, and in others there was plain speaking. The last official meeting of the Congress was held on October 13, when a number of speakers dealt in widely contrasted ways with "The Coming of the Kingdom." Lord Astor attempted an international survey, and traced the progress of new ideas of duty in regard to the position of women, the single moral standard, class distinctions, the relation of capital and labour, and the brotherhood of man. What the world most needed

now, he urged, was fearless leadership and honest thinking. His call for an awakening from materialism and thoughtlessness was warmly welcomed. The Congress equally approved the appeal of Mr. Sheppard, the Vicar of St. Martin-in-the-Fields, for greater sincerity in the Church. Mr. Sheppard was particularly severe in his condemnation of professional but unreal demonstrations of love by Church workers for their fellow-men. "Official love" was his term for this form of show, and he denounced it as an abomination. The week closed with an important non-official meeting in which the Free Churches joined with the Church of England in a survey of the Congress subject.

Clergy and laymen who had known many previous Congresses were convinced that the Sheffield meetings had been more helpful and had aroused more interest than any gathering of Church people in recent years. The choice of a purely religious subject, that of "The Eternal Gospel," for discussion was fully justified, and apart from the large attendances at the Congress sessions, the attention and space given by the Press to the proceedings led to grateful comment, and helped to dispel an idea that the interest of newspapers in Church conferences was strictly governed by the extent to which secular topics found admission to the programme.

Towards the middle of October it appeared that there existed among Unionists a growing estrangement from the Coalition, grounded partly in a loss of confidence in the Prime Minister, and partly in a widening opinion that a Coalition mainly supported by Unionist votes should have a Unionist head. For many months past the discontent among the Unionists had been steadily growing. Although at first it had been confined to a small minority, the growth was so steady that by the middle of October it began to appear that they outnumbered the supporters of the Coalition. Mr. Chamberlain endeavoured to defend the Coalition in a speech at Birmingham on October 13, which caused widespread discussion. In the course of this speech he denied that any question of principle divided the Coalition, or was likely to divide it in the near future. He said that it was their duty to rally all the constitutional and conservative elements in the country to the defence of the social and economic order. If through their differences the Labour Party obtained a majority at the next election, heavy would be the responsibility of those who had failed to take a broad view of their duties at a moment of national danger. Union in face of the common foe should be the first consideration. In the new Parliament no Government could possibly be formed except by a Coalition drawn from more than one of the old Parties. With much earnestness Mr. Chamberlain insisted on the necessity for the continued co-operation of the Unionists with the Lloyd-Georgian Liberals. He was careful to point out that in all he had done as Leader of the

Party he had acted with the full assent of his Unionist colleagues in the Cabinet, and had spoken their mind. He declared that the harmony of political aim between himself and the Prime Minister was perfect and that no difference of political principle had separated them. He reminded Unionists that no small part of the Party's success in the 1918 election was due to the influence and prestige of the Prime Minister. Since then Mr. Lloyd George had acted with perfect loyalty to his Unionist allies, scrupulously observing the agreement made with Mr. Bonar Law, and apparently going beyond it in strengthening the Unionist influence in the Cabinet.

Having thus dealt with the past working of the Coalition, Mr. Chamberlain turned to the future with the assertion that no question of principle divided the Unionist and Liberal members of the Coalition at the present time, nor was it likely that there would be any such division in the future. On the contrary, he saw in the political issues which more and more clearly were dividing the country a new bond between the Coalition Parties. Perils lay ahead in the possibility of the advent to power of a Labour Government, and it was in this connexion that Mr. Chamberlain spoke of the present as a moment of national danger. This was the argument by which he supported his insistence on continued co-operation with the Coalition Liberals and with Mr. Lloyd George.

Mr. Lloyd George himself replied to his critics in a long speech delivered at the Manchester Reform Club on October 14. He denied that the Government had been warmongers; he said that they had been peacemakers. With regard to the Near East, they had taken the only road to peace, and they had reached it. Their objects in this matter had been three-fold: (1) to secure the freedom of the Straits for the commerce of all nations; (2) to prevent war from spreading into Europe; (3) to prevent the repetition in Constantinople and in Greece of the scenes of horror enacted in Asia Minor in recent years. We could not have the Straits barred without giving away the biggest prize we had won by our victory over Turkey in the war.

Mr. Lloyd George said that Liberals had been pleading that it was not the business of Great Britain to interfere between the Turks and their victims. That was not the old Liberal doctrine. Lord Gladstone had denounced the Government because they were trying to protect Christian minorities against the Turks. He had given himself airs such as his great father never took upon himself. It was because the Government not merely threatened but meant it, and the Turks knew that they meant it, that there was peace now. The Prime Minister insisted that he did not improvise the policy of securing the freedom of the Straits and removing Christian populations from Turkish rule; he came into it. It was the policy of Mr. Asquith and Lord Grey, approved by Liberal and Conservative

Leaders. As a Minister he approved of it, but it was not his policy. Turkey had been almost completely partitioned by agreements with the various powers before he became Prime Minister. The policy failed owing to the collapse of Russia and other events abroad over which the Government had no control. If there was to be a change of Government, said Mr. Lloyd George, no man would welcome it more than he. He had never sought his present position, but had begged Lord Balfour or Mr. Bonar Law to become Prime Minister. Three years ago he had begged Mr. Bonar Law to take charge. Early in the present year he had asked Mr. Chamberlain to take the position. In spite of those who dissociated themselves from him, he had many friends, Conservatives, Liberals and multitudes attached to no Party. He cast himself on the people, whose cause he had never betrayed. He would support with all his might any Government, neither revolutionary nor reactionary, that devoted itself with energy, single-mindedness, fearlessness and resolution to the pacification of the nations. He would play no personal or party game; he placed the national interests above the interests of any Party.

This speech failed to achieve the end aimed at, for it did not turn the tide of Conservative independence. A meeting of the Unionist Party was arranged to take place at the Carlton Club on October 19, at which a decision should be taken as to whether the Party would continue to support the Coalition Government. The meeting was summoned by Mr. Chamberlain and was restricted to Unionist members of the House of Commons. The division of opinion had now become so acute that, whatever decision was taken, resignations were certain to be involved on one side or the other. The leader of the new Conservative and Unionist movement was Lord Salisbury, and on October 16 he defined the attitude of the organisation towards the present crisis. He said that the Coalition, which the Prime Minister and Mr. Chamberlain advised Unionists to support, was profoundly and increasingly unpopular in the country. It was perfectly clear that, in many respects, the policy of the Coalition Government had not been in accord with the wishes of the Party. A new method of Cabinet government had been introduced into the country which seemed to him and his friends to have shown itself to be disastrous. There was, apparently, an interference with the freedom of the Departments and the Departmental Ministers, an exaltation of one-man rule in Government which had produced very deplorable results. He said that repeated crises were not a credit to a foreign policy but a discredit. So far as he could make out there was only one ground put forward for continuing the Coalition, and that was what was known as the Bolshevist bogey. To say that the mass of the working classes, our fellow-countrymen, were Bolshevist was absurd; such an argument was inconsistent when it came from a Government which

had utterly failed to restore what was admitted to be the great bulwark against Bolshevism, viz., the effective action of the House of Lords. Lord Salisbury denied that his friends had any hostility whatever to Labour. They trusted Labour, they believed in the good sense of the working classes, and intended to appeal to them to give the country not a worse Government nor a bad Government, but to give the country a good Government. He demanded the freedom of the Unionist Party. The whole standard of public life had been lowered and he attributed it to the Coalition. He said respectfully to Mr. Chamberlain that it was no use trying to force an artificial system upon a great democracy. When once it was clear that the people, the electors, Mr. Chamberlain's own friends, his own supporters, the Conservatives and Unionists of the country, desired to stand upon their own principles, and to fight for all that they believed in, then it was to undertake a most grave responsibility to oppose them.

Two or three days before the meeting at the Carlton Club it had been a doubtful question whether the Conservatives would carry their resolution and succeed in breaking up the Coalition, but opinion hardened rapidly as the time of the meeting drew near, and the movement for independence derived much encouragement from the declaration of the result of a by-election at Newport, where a Conservative was elected by a majority of 2,090 for a seat that had been won by a Coalition-Liberal by a large majority in 1918. From the first it was anticipated that the decision would be in great part determined by the attitude of Mr. Bonar Law, who had for some time past withdrawn himself from politics on medical grounds.

The meeting on October 19 was opened by Mr. Chamberlain, who recapitulated those parts of his speech already reported which bore upon the maintenance of the Coalition. When he asserted that there was no divergence of policy between the two wings of the Government there were protesting cries in which Ireland, Egypt, India, and Newport were included, and which showed that the speaker had not the assent of the meeting. Mr. Chamberlain was followed by Mr. Stanley Baldwin, who dissented from his chief, and pointed out that there could be no enthusiasm in the Conservative Party if it were to go to the country without an honest resolve to win. He said that the Prime Minister had destroyed the Liberal Party and was in the course of destroying the Conservative Party. Mr. Pretyman followed with the main resolution of the day, namely: "That this meeting of Conservative members of the House of Commons declares its opinion that the Conservative Party, whilst willing to co-operate with the Liberals, should fight the election as an independent party, with its own leader and with its own programme." The resolution was seconded by Mr. George Lane-Fox, and then Mr. Bonar Law set forth the issues and appealed to his audience not to disunite the Party,

but to uphold it as a great instrument for the maintenance of Conservative principles. He expressed himself as opposed to its combination with either Liberals or Labour, and in favour of an appeal by the Conservatives to the country as an independent body.

Lord Balfour, on the other hand, spoke in defence of Mr. Chamberlain, maintaining that it was a principle of the Conservative Party to act on the advice of its leaders. Colonel Leslie Wilson supported Mr. Bonar Law, and as Mr. Chamberlain could not accept Mr. Pretyman's resolution it was put to the vote and carried by a majority of 100, there being 187 votes in favour of it to 87 against. Thus the policy of continued Coalition under the leadership of Mr. Lloyd George was overwhelmingly defeated.

Mr. Chamberlain at once reported the result to Mr. Lloyd George, and three hours after the Unionist Party had declared for political independence, the Coalition Government had resigned. Mr. Lloyd George tendered his resignation to the King that afternoon, and advised His Majesty to send for Mr. Bonar Law.

Mr. Lloyd George lost no time in defending the policy of the late Government in a speech at Leeds on October 21. He emphasised the immense services rendered to the State by Mr. Austen Chamberlain, Sir Robert Horne, Lord Balfour, and Lord Birkenhead. He described the Treaty of Versailles as "a great human charter." He spoke warmly of the League of Nations, and insisted that the present state of British finances was another sign of courage and high statesmanship. He declared that we were the only people in Europe who were completely balancing their Budget and receiving enough to meet their expenditure. We could now look the dollar in the face on equal terms. He pointed to the tremendous economies which had been effected in administration. He referred to housing, saying that 181,000 houses had been completed, and when those dwellings still in course of construction were completed, the total provided would be 250,000.

After reciting the achievements of the Coalition Government, Mr. Lloyd George said that the Carlton Club had smashed the combination that had pulled through our trade, our commerce, and our credit throughout the world. He declared that it was a crime against the nation. Personally he had no reproach; he had received much kindness, consideration, and indulgence from men who differed from him entirely, and he went on to explain that he had never concealed from the country that his sympathies were always democratic and progressive. The revolt, he said, began in Mayfair and Belgravia, but the most distinguished men of the Conservative Party were against it, and were still against it. He referred to the lack of talent among the revolting Conservatives. He regretted that Mr. Bonar Law had allowed his judgment to be rushed, not by the

best brains of the Party, not by the wiser members of the Party, but by the least in experience and ability. Mr. Bonar Law had put himself in the position, as a horseman, of not holding the reins but of holding on by the tail. The impelling motive of the revolt was that a section of the Conservative Party (the so-called "Diehards") thought an opportunity had come for snatching a pure Party advantage. He said that the reactionary mutiny which had culminated at the Carlton Club would, if it received a majority of votes, want to carry out the Diehard programme. The result, he prophesied, would be to strengthen those subversive elements which were deep down, and which, if they could not be kept within bounds by reasonable, sane, sound, progressive legislation, would in the end win the mastery in the country. Mr. Lloyd George said that he stood for sane, sound progress. He promised that, whatever the future might bring forth, he would do nothing mean, nothing paltry.

On October 23 Mr. Bonar Law was elected Leader of the Unionist Party. His election was unanimous in a meeting composed of 152 members of the House of Lords, 220 members of the House of Commons, and 67 candidates. The resolution in favour of Mr. Bonar Law was moved by Lord Curzon and seconded by Mr. Baldwin. In his reply Mr. Bonar Law announced that the Treaty with Southern Ireland must be carried out, and hinted at the need for providing financial assistance. He reserved his general statement of policy for a meeting which he was due to address at Glasgow two days later. He satisfied himself for the moment with setting up for his ideal Burke's standard of a statesman, "a disposition to preserve, and an ability to improve." The country, in Mr. Bonar Law's opinion, desired tranquillity and freedom from adventures and commitments both at home and abroad. It would be necessary, he said, to abstain from attempts at improvements which, at another time, would be very desirable and very necessary. What we wanted was quiet and as little interference as possible, either by legislation or administration. The meeting concluded with a resolution of heartfelt appreciation of Mr. Chamberlain's services to the party, the country, and the Empire.

After Mr. Bonar Law had been formally elected Leader of the Unionist Party, he went to Buckingham Palace and was appointed Prime Minister and First Lord of the Treasury.

The new Prime Minister set forth his policy to the electors of his constituency, Central Glasgow, on October 26; the following being its main outlines. He said that a policy of tranquillity and stability was essential to give free scope to initiative and enterprise. He proposed to revise the machinery of central government, and to transfer to the Foreign Office a large part of the work of the Cabinet Secretariat. Obligations undertaken in foreign relations must be loyally fulfilled, but there must be

no extension of commitments, and as opportunity offered there must be curtailment. He stood for frank and full co-operation with France and our other Allies; for whole-hearted and practical support of the League of Nations; for maintenance of friendship and good understanding with the United States, and for close and continuous consultation with the Governments of the Dominions and of India. He said that the ratification of the Irish Treaty would be the first task of the Government, and he gave a pledge to safeguard the freedom of choice and the security of the Parliament and Government of Northern Ireland. He would promote the development of India under the Constitution of 1919. Emergency measures would be taken to deal with unemployment; expenditure would be reduced to the lowest attainable level; an Economic Imperial Conference would be called to consider developments of trade within the Empire, and assistance would be given to agriculture.

In addition to the Unionist programme thus outlined by Mr. Bonar Law, three other policies were placed before the country respectively by Mr. Lloyd George, by the Independent Liberals, and by Labour. Mr. Lloyd George advocated a policy of peace, working with our Allies to the best of our power, but "not tied behind the chariot of any other land." He stood for reparations within Germany's capacity to pay; for a renewal of the pact with Russia; for a league of all nations; for co-operation with the United States to ensure a just and lasting peace. His policy included stern economy and no tariffs, industrial co-operation, generous encouragement of agriculture, and the employment of State credit for Imperial developments.

The programme of the Independent Liberals advocated peace and disarmament through the medium of the League of Nations. The problem of reparations and inter-Allied debts was to be revised. Drastic economy was to be undertaken and the policy of military adventures abroad abandoned. Workers were to be secured against the hardships of unemployment. There was to be co-operation between capital and labour, and honest and fair treatment of organised labour. The programme included a policy of unqualified free trade and the repeal of the Safeguarding of Industries Act. Social services, such as education, housing, and public health were to be defended; there was to be political and legal equality for men and women, a comprehensive reform of the land system, with taxation and rating of land values. A democratic reform of the licensing system was also included, as also the principle of proportional representation.

The Labour programme advocated a revision of the Peace Treaties, and reparations within the capacity of Germany to pay. The League of Nations should be all-inclusive. The real independence of Egypt and self-government for India should be recognised, and the Constitution of the Irish Free State accepted. A graduated levy on fortunes exceeding 5,000*l.*

was proposed to form a War Debt Redemption Fund. Death Duties and Super Tax were to be increased. There was to be no taxation on incomes below 250*l.*, and a reduced taxation on incomes below 500*l.* The Labour programme included taxation of land values, the revision of national grants to secure reduction of rates in severely pressed districts, work or maintenance for the unemployed, and the reorganisation of agriculture. Landlords must sacrifice rents rather than ask workers to accept starvation wages, and the Wages Board must be restored. The Labour policy also included nationalisation of mines and railways with increased share of control for the workers and no interference with Trade Boards. A national housing scheme was advocated. The programme also included larger Old Age Pensions for widowed mothers, and complete supersession of the Poor Law. Pensions of ex-service men were to observe the rule "Fit for service, fit for pension." All disabilities were to be removed affecting women as citizens, voters, and workers, and the liquor traffic was to be controlled according to the people's will.

Parliament was dissolved by Royal Proclamation on October 26. The elections were fixed to take place on November 15 in order that the new Parliament might assemble on November 20. The new Parliament was to consist of 92 fewer members than the old in consequence of the representation of Southern Ireland ceasing, and that of Northern Ireland being reduced to 13. England had to return 492 members, Scotland 74, and Wales 36. It was estimated that the electorate exceeded 21 millions.

Mr. Asquith opened the election campaign of the Liberals on October 27 in a speech at Peterborough. He attributed the downfall of the Coalition Government, not to Belgravia or to the Carlton Club, but to the methods of Downing Street itself, which, he declared, had in the Near East brought Great Britain dangerously near to the verge of a single-handed war. He claimed that none of the Parties now seeking the suffrages of the country could show a record comparable with that of the Liberal Party either before or since the war, and upon that record he appealed for the support of the electors.

On November 2 the new Prime Minister addressed a large and appreciative gathering at a women's meeting in London called by the National Unionist Association. He announced himself as having been, since boyhood, in favour of woman's suffrage. He stated that he was making changes in the Cabinet secretariat, and emphasised the need of getting back to the old machinery. In reply to the accusation that his outlook was a negative one, he expressed the belief that what the country wanted was freedom from disturbances at home and abroad. Our foreign policy, he said, was most important;—to bring back our troops and to cease spending money in distant enterprises, and make it plain to France that we were her friends,

He expressed his pleasure that he had just received a friendly message from the new head of the Italian Government, and his statement that we must maintain our naval position was received with loud cheers.

Meanwhile the Labour Party found that its policy of a capital levy was not going well in the country. Mr. Clynes announced that the Labour Party was not wedded to the idea of a capital levy, and a general instruction was given to Labour candidates to the effect that the capital levy was only a suggestion and not a definite proposal. At the beginning of November the results were declared of the Borough Council elections in London, where the Labour Party suffered a severe defeat, losing over 300 seats.

The nomination of candidates took place on November 4. The strongest Party entering the contest was the Unionist Party with 444 candidates. There were in addition 11 Independent Unionists, some of whom were opposing official Unionists. The second largest Party was Labour with 408 candidates, with whom also were classified 4 Co-operative candidates, and 1 Independent Labour candidate. Liberal candidates numbered 339, while the National Liberals, or followers of Mr. Lloyd George, amounted to only 138. In 242 out of the total of 615 seats there were 3 or more candidates. On nomination day 57 members were returned to the House of Commons through the absence of any opposition. These included 42 Unionists, 6 Liberals, 4 National Liberals, 4 Labour candidates and 1 Nationalist. Mr. Lloyd George was elected, this being the first time that he had been unopposed in the course of his parliamentary career. The Speaker and Deputy Speaker of the last Parliament were also returned unopposed.

Many election speeches were made on the day of nomination. Mr. Bonar Law addressed a meeting at Leeds, and defending the constitution of his Ministry said that there was going to be a change in the method of carrying on the Government. He could not undertake to deal with every difficult question, whether at home or abroad, as Mr. Lloyd George had attempted to do. After expressing the determination of the Government loyally to carry out the Treaty with Ireland, Mr. Bonar Law turned to foreign policy. The Government would take as their fundamental basis, with regard to the Turkish question, that the root of their policy must be to work with France and Italy; otherwise there would be chaos in Europe, and nobody could tell what would be the result. He repeated his intention of leaving the main direction of foreign policy in the hands of the Foreign Secretary. He announced that he would summon a conference of representatives of the Dominions to discuss the development of trade. He contradicted the assertion that he was in favour of a capital levy. During the war he had been prepared to think that the capital levy might become an absolute necessity, but in the changed conditions

since the war a proposal to institute a capital levy would be absolute lunacy. He referred to the demand which had been made that the Government should promise to withdraw from Mesopotamia and Palestine. How, he asked, could he give such a pledge? All he could say was that the Government would examine the question carefully, but in examining it they could not—with our record as a nation behind them—consider merely what it would pay us to do; they must consider to what extent we were bound by obligations.

Mr. Lloyd George spoke in London on the same day. He surveyed the policy of his Government since the war, and stated that the duty of patriotic citizens was to steer between two extremes, first the Socialist Party with their challenge to private enterprise, and their attack upon capital; and, secondly, the danger that a Parliament might be elected which might be forced by a powerful minority to a course of reaction. This latter was the real and imminent danger.

Lord Grey of Fallodon also spoke in London on the same day. He maintained that any historian of the future, who read all the documents incidental to the outbreak of war, would be convinced that the British Government did its utmost to work for peace up to the last moment, and that on our hands there was no blood-guiltiness for the war. When people accused the Government, or Mr. Asquith, of muddling into war, they should remember that the Coalition Government had, a few days back, brought the country to the very brink of war, a war in the Near East, single-handed, without the support of any Allies.

On the day before the election the Prime Minister replied to a request from the National Farmers' Union to define his attitude towards existing and prospective conditions of agriculture. In a letter addressed to the Union he expressed his regret that it had not been possible, in the short time available, for the Government to come to a final decision as to what measures could be taken to assist the agricultural industry. The Government fully realised the grave difficulties with which agriculture was faced, but such remedies as subsidies or protective duties on food-stuffs were out of the question under present circumstances. At the same time there were certain directions along which, in the opinion of the Prime Minister, the Government might explore the possibility of helping this great industry. These were, an inquiry with all possible despatch into the subject of agricultural rating, and the removal of any unfairness which might be found to exist; the promotion of co-operation in the transport and sale of agricultural produce; the encouragement of improved credit facilities to agriculturists, and the promotion of education and research. The letter went on to state that useful results might also be obtained from an inquiry into the causes of the great disparity between the price received by the farmer for his produce, and that paid by the consumer for food. All these questions were being carefully

examined, and there would be no avoidable delay in coming to a decision as to the form in which assistance on such lines could best be given.

Polling took place on November 15. On the whole the campaign throughout the country excited little passion, but was quietly and soberly conducted. The electorate exceeded 20,000,000, and a contested election on strict Party lines was a new experience to fully half of them. The main surprise, during the voting itself, was the large number of women who appeared to vote immediately after the polling booths were opened. The results began to be announced the same evening, and on the following day it became clear that Mr. Bonar Law had obtained the working majority which he sought for his Unionist Government. The strength of the Parties in the new House of Commons was as follows:—

Unionists	344
Labour	138
Liberals	60
National Liberals	57
Independents	5
Co-operators	4
Independent Unionists	3
Nationalists	2
Communists	1
Sinn Fein	1
Total	615

The result was regarded as a striking success for the Unionist Party, which was thus enabled to carry on the Government without being dependent on any of the Parties of the Opposition. Next to the success of Mr. Bonar Law stood the great gain of strength by the Labour Party, which nearly doubled its representation and became the second strongest Party at St. Stephen's. Gains of a sweeping character were secured in Scotland, Northumberland and Durham, and Lancashire. Mr. Arthur Henderson was defeated; Mr. Ramsay Macdonald and Mr. Philip Snowden, however, returned to the House of Commons, together with Mr. Sidney Webb. Mr. Lloyd George's National Liberals came to disaster. Mr. Churchill was rejected by Dundee, which elected Mr. Scrymgeour, a Prohibitionist, and Mr. E. D. Morel. Other ex-Cabinet Ministers to lose their seats were Sir Hamar Greenwood, Captain Guest, and Mr. Kellaway.

Mr. Asquith's Liberals made far fewer gains than were expected, although they improved on their position in the last Parliament. Sir John Simon won his election, but Mr. Runciman lost his, and Sir Donald Maclean was at the bottom of the poll in Peebles. Only two of the women candidates were elected, Lady Astor and Mrs. Wintringham, both of whom had been members of the last Parliament. Among well-known politicians to lose their seats were Mr. Montagu and Dr.

Addison. Comparatively few defeats were suffered by members of Mr. Bonar Law's new Government. Sir A. Griffith-Boscawen, Minister of Health, was defeated at Taunton, and Major Hills, Financial Secretary to the Treasury, succumbed to a Labour attack at Durham. One of the few Liberal victories deprived Mr. W. Watson, the Lord Advocate, of a seat for Galloway. Colonel Leslie Wilson, the Chief Whip, was defeated by an unofficial Unionist in the St. George's Division of Westminster, and Colonel Stanley, Under-Secretary at the Home Office, also suffered a defeat at Preston.

On November 21 the new Labour Party held a meeting for the purpose of electing officers, and considering the position of the Party in the House of Commons. Mr. Ramsay Macdonald and Mr. Clynes were nominated for the position of Chairman of the Party, but Mr. Macdonald was elected by a majority of five, and Mr. Clynes was appointed Deputy-Chairman. Mr. Ramsay Macdonald thus became the virtual Leader of the Opposition, for the Party put forward the claim that since it was by far the strongest body of members in opposition to the Government it was entitled to be recognised as the official Opposition, with all the rights and privileges accorded to it.

The new Parliament assembled on November 20. In the House of Lords His Majesty's Commission opening Parliament was read in the presence of the members of the House of Commons, who were directed to return and elect a Speaker in the Commons. Mr. J. H. Whitley, the Liberal member for Halifax, was again elected Speaker, being proposed by Mr. T. P. O'Connor and seconded by Mr. Pretyman. The Speaker intimated his acceptance of the office, and speeches by Mr. Bonar Law, Mr. Clynes, and Mr. Asquith followed. The King formally opened Parliament on November 23. In his speech he said that Parliament had been summoned in order that the legislation necessary for giving effect to the Constitution of the Irish Free State might be at once submitted for approval. The King expressed his deep concern at the state of trade and employment. The ameliorative measures prepared by the late Government were being examined afresh, and Parliament would be asked to make provision for their continuance and extension, and to guarantee a loan in accordance with the League of Nations scheme for the restoration of Austria. Negotiations for the settlement of difficulties in the Near East were proceeding, and it was the King's hope that at the Conference at Lausanne the efforts of his Ministers, acting in whole-hearted co-operation with the representatives of our Allies, might result in the re-establishment of peace and the restoration of security to the inhabitants of the regions which had recently been the scene of so much suffering.

The Labour Party, which had established its right to be regarded as the official Opposition, put down one amendment only to the Address. This amendment expressed regret that, in

Zealanders to the threat which followed the attack upon the American Fleet in Pearl Harbour in December, 1941, was anxiety lest the danger to the British Dominions in the Southern Hemisphere should be overlooked in the general stress of a world conflict. An unhappily worded cablegram from Britain was taken by some New Zealanders to imply that the Japanese advance in the Pacific could only be countered seriously after Germany and Italy had been defeated. Mr. Fraser, the New Zealand Prime Minister, was quick to deny the suggestion. Speaking on January 26, he said that his Government had been in constant communication with Mr. Churchill, and he could say that there had not been a hint that such an attitude was even being considered by the War Cabinet in London. On the contrary, he was assured that Mr. Churchill fully appreciated the danger in the Pacific. Mr. Fraser added that New Zealand's requirements in respect of war equipment had been emphasised both in the United Kingdom and the United States and the response had been satisfactory.

Nevertheless, the need for unity of effort in New Zealand became very plain as the year advanced and, on June 25, Mr. Fraser announced the formation of a War Ministry, including Mr. Holland, Leader of the Opposition. The Coalition followed upon urgent representations by the Returned Services Organisation, which deplored the continuation of party strife in a time of national crisis. The new War Administration included seven representatives of the Labour Party and six Opposition members. Speaking in the House of Representatives, Mr. Fraser explained that New Zealand was facing a grim war situation, and the merging of the Labour and National parties in a united war effort was the best possible evidence of New Zealand's determination to win.

Previously, Mr. Coates and Mr. Hamilton had been included in the New Zealand War Cabinet as representatives of the Opposition. In the new Government the Opposition had a full share in the portfolios and thus took complete responsibility for all decisions connected with the war, though members of the Labour Government retained their positions in the domestic Cabinet, which had no responsibility for business connected with the war effort. This was judged essential lest the Labour Party should seem to be holding up its schemes for social reform. The War Administration included :

From the Labour Party.

Mr. FRASER	Prime Minister and Chairman of the War Administration.
Mr. SULLIVAN	Minister of Supply and Munitions (Deputy Prime Minister).
Mr. JONES.	Minister of Defence.
Mr. SEMPLE	Minister of Transport.
Mr. NORDMEYER	Minister of Health.
Mr. PAIKEA	Minister for the Maori War Effort.
Mr. MCLAGAN	Minister for Industrial Man-power.

From the National Party.

Mr. HOLLAND	Minister for War Expenditure (Deputy Chairman of War Administration).
Mr. HAMILTON	Associate Minister of Supply and Munitions.
Mr. COATES	Minister for the Armed Forces and War Co-ordination.
Mr. BROADFOOT	Minister for National Service.
Mr. BODKIN	Minister of Civil Defence.
Mr. POLSON	Minister for Primary Production for War Purposes.

The New Zealand War Cabinet included Mr. Fraser, Mr. Sullivan, Mr. Jones, and Mr. Nash, who at the time was in America, with the addition of Mr. Holland, Mr. Hamilton, and Mr. Coates, representing the National Party. Mr. Fraser also held the Portfolio of Minister of Finance, while Mr. W. J. Jordan, High Commissioner in London, represented New Zealand on the British War Cabinet. At the time of Mr. Jordan's appointment (Jan., 1942), Mr. Fraser admitted that anomalies existed, as Mr. Jordan would not have a completely free hand and would have to consult his Government, but such difficulties could be overcome. So far as the war in the Pacific was concerned, New Zealand favoured a War Council meeting in Washington, which would include delegates from the United Kingdom, the United States, Australia, New Zealand, the Netherlands, and China.

Unhappily, the union between Labour and the National Party did not prove lasting. In September there was a strike in the Waikato coal-field, and when efforts at settlement failed, the Government decided to take control of the mines for the duration of the war, 180 miners being sentenced to a month's imprisonment apiece for taking part in an illegal strike. When the miners returned to work, Mr. Fraser announced the Government's decision to suspend the sentences of imprisonment passed upon the miners. The caucus of the Opposition Party at once met and decided to withdraw its six representatives from the War Cabinet, on the ground that it was intolerable that an administration should be unable or unwilling to enforce its own laws. In this connexion it is to be remembered that, earlier in the year, another body of trade unionists had been sentenced to short terms of imprisonment in connexion with a strike in a freezing factory at Auckland. In this case, too, Mr. Fraser's Government intervened and the sentences were cancelled. The Opposition, therefore, had some grounds for believing that a principle was at stake. Mr. Hamilton and Mr. Coates, having been in office before the united War Administration was formed, were in a somewhat different position from Mr. Holland, Mr. Polson, Mr. Broadfoot, and Mr. Bodkin, who resigned immediately. When portfolios in the War Administration were re-allocated Mr. Hamilton became Minister-in-Charge of War Expenditure, while Mr. Barclay was placed in charge of primary production, Mr. McLagan being in charge of national service, and Mr. D. Wilson of civil defence. In December, Mr. H. T. Armstrong, Minister

the effect of absorbing much unskilled labour. In addition, a further programme of arterial roads was being considered.

The late Government had authorised 30,000,000*l.* for loans to local authorities. Of that sum 23,000,000*l.* had been sanctioned. The Unemployment Grants Committee was to be authorised to revert to the system of making grants of 60 per cent. of the wages bill, and a further 600,000*l.* was being allocated. That would enable additional work to the extent of 2,000,000*l.* being put in hand, and it was work of such a character as could be started without any preliminary delay.

Turning to agriculture, he pointed out that the sum of 300,000*l.* with a corresponding grant for Scotland which was provisionally allowed by the late Government, had been exhausted in connexion with land drainage and improved water supply schemes, etc. It was therefore proposed to make a further grant of 150,000*l.* with a corresponding grant for Scotland. It was estimated that this additional grant would enable twenty weeks' work to be provided for a further 6,000 men. A further grant of 100,000*l.* was expected to give work for another 2,000 men for twenty to twenty-five weeks. The sum of 375,000*l.* was to be allotted to the Office of Works to enable arrears of work to be overtaken. This was anticipated to provide employment for 3,500 men over a period of twenty weeks. An acceleration of Post Office work would be assisted by a grant of 1,000,000*l.*

The Government would renew the Trade Facilities Act for twelve months, and the amount of capital which might be guaranteed was to be increased from 25,000,000*l.* to 50,000,000*l.* It was proposed that the existing limits of 26,000,000*l.* of export credits should be extended if it was found necessary. In regard to Unemployment Insurance, a new special period, which started at the beginning of November, would continue until the following July. Benefit might be drawn for at least twelve weeks, but four-fifths of those now taking benefit would be eligible for the full twenty-two weeks' benefit during the period, during which time 35,000,000*l.* might be paid out. The Minister then informed the House of the outcome of the consultations between the Prime Minister and the Directors of the Railway Companies. The latter were to expedite their programmes of development, and a number of schemes had already been notified. There were also to be fresh developments in connexion with electricity supply schemes. A number of new power stations, or extensions of existing ones, were to be proceeded with to the total amount of 10,000,000*l.*

The opinion of the Labour Party on these schemes was expressed by Mr. Patrick Hastings, K.C., who said that they would be considered pitifully inadequate. He dwelt upon the growing feeling of intense bitterness in the country at the long period during which the tragedy of unemployment had continued. The proceedings of Governments in the past, he contended, had

been based upon a fallacy; they had not realised that the problem was economic and not political.

Sir Alfred Mond, in reply, asked why, if unemployment was due to the National Debt, there was no unemployment in France where the National Debt was greater. The cause of unemployment, he said, was that there was not the surplus capital abroad from which we could draw orders for our export trade. As regards out-of-work pay, he made the suggestion that men who had drawn the dole should assign it to an employer on condition that they were given a job at Trade Union rates. It was in the direction of Empire development that Sir Alfred Mond looked for improvement, and he thought that our national credit might be used more boldly in this connexion than it had hitherto been. He advocated that credit should be pledged to the extent of 100,000,000*l.* for this purpose.

The debate was continued on December 1, when Mr. Philip Snowden, dealing with the internal aspect of the problem, suggested that every firm should put to reserve each year a proportion of its profits, which could be used to maintain wages and provide employment during periods of exceptional depression. As regards the land, he insisted that the deterioration of the agricultural population was not merely a national weakness and a national folly, but a national scandal. The State, in conjunction with the County Councils, should devote itself to extensive production, and the principle of co-operation should be more extensively applied. Bound up with the question of agriculture and industry generally was the development of our means of transport. His demand was that the expenditure should be reproductive. Transport schemes, for instance, would bring an immediate or early return, and so would housing. There was no trade in the country that would not be stimulated by the building of more houses, and he viewed it as a disgrace that, with an acute shortage of houses, there should be 100,000 men out of work in the building trade. He traced the present situation to the failure to establish peace in Europe. Reparations, he said, were twice cursed; they cursed those who paid them and those who received them. We might frankly abandon the idea of getting reparations from Germany; if Germany could pay, it would not be to our advantage that she should pay.

Major Astor then said that, while no one would grudge the money which was necessary to maintain the unemployed worker at the present time, it was due both to the unemployed and the taxpayer that every pound so spent attained its full value and was properly distributed. It would be a betrayal of the interests of both if a sum were spent on two men which, by better organisation, might maintain three. He asked, therefore, if the Government could not consider the question of calling together representatives of the bodies who were concerned in

out-door relief, with a view to forming a central authority equipped with power to deal with the situation.

Mr. Asquith referred to the scheme of the Government as a "melancholy instalment." Until international trade, including markets and currencies, he said, was put on a stable foundation, we should continue to be, of all the nations of the world, the chief sufferers. The last four years, from an economic point of view, had been a period of progressive unsettlement. He expressed the hope that the Government would not be trammelled by the fetters of the Balfour Note, which he described as the most unhappy diplomatic adventure of the last four years.

The Prime Minister said it did seem to him a curious result of the war, for which we had sacrificed so much, that we should be the only one of the nations that should pay an indemnity. The Government would try to carry out what had been the universal practice of the British Empire, that when war was over we should keep peace with our enemies. He traversed the arguments of the Labour Party with regard to the land, and denied that the Government wanted low wages. He said that it was an admitted fact that the money taken by the Excess Profits Duty was the reason why the industries of the country were unable to expand, because they had not got the money or the credit. What was wanted, he said, to restore trade was confidence, and one of the conditions necessary for an improvement was to get the idea into the business men of the country that there were not going to be any surprises, and in this sense he believed the new Government would help. They all desired to see Europe on her feet again, but nothing could be worse for trade than to give it the impression that there could be no improvement until Europe had been put right. He said that he was not afraid of the little inflation which would be caused by advancing money for work in this country, the payment for which would be extended over a long period, and in that kind of measure lay the only real hope of getting out of the present terrible position.

In the division which ensued the Government vote was 303 and the Opposition vote 172, but since the amendment included the National Liberals in the scope of its censure, these were obliged to support the Government. Thirty-four of them went into the division lobby, and the Government majority was 131. If the National Liberals had voted against the Government the majority would have been 63.

The position in the Near East remained serious during November, and on November 8 Lord Curzon, Minister for Foreign Affairs, made a statement as to the foreign policy of the new Government. He said that a Prime Minister of the peculiar gifts and temperament of Mr. Lloyd George must exercise an unusual and illegitimate influence upon foreign affairs. Mr. Bonar Law had decided that the work of the

Foreign Office should be done by the Department itself subject to the control of the Cabinet and the personal supervision of the Prime Minister. If foreign affairs were to be above and outside Party, as Lord Grey had suggested and hoped, the Foreign Minister should remember that he was speaking, not for a Party or for a section, but for the country as a whole. He had tried to remember that since he had been Foreign Minister. The foreign policy of Great Britain was no longer the foreign policy of this country alone, but was the foreign policy of the British Empire. The cardinal principle was that peace could only be recovered by the common action of the principal Allies who achieved victory in the war. Such questions as reparations and the Near East could only be settled if Great Britain, France and Italy acted loyally towards and with each other. In the continued co-operation of Great Britain and France lay the best guarantee and the security and stability of both. The position in the Near East constituted the most definite menace to the peace of the world. The pretentions of the Nationalist Turks could not be tolerated. They were an affront to the Allies and a challenge to Europe. There was absolute accord between the Allied Generals and High Commissioners on the spot. He trusted that this unity, which had been ratified by the respective Governments, would be maintained. If it was broken we should not be able to support the burden alone.

In Ireland the event which attracted most attention during November was the capture of Erskine Childers who, ever since the peace negotiations in London in 1921, had been one of the most prominent and subtle opponents of the Free State. When the Republicans decided to take up arms against the State he joined their army as a Staff Captain, but it was generally known that he had occupied a far more important position in the Republican Councils of War. When captured, he was found to have in his possession an automatic pistol; a very serious infringement of the Army Regulations, for which he was promptly put on his trial before a Military Court in Dublin. On the first day of his trial his Counsel withdrew. They stated that Childers did not recognise the legality of the Provisional Government, nor, therefore, the legality of the Court before which he was brought. He recognised only the authority of the Irish Republican Government and Army. He had been taken prisoner of war, he was an officer of the Irish Republican Army, and he claimed that if he were detained at all by an Army whose authority he repudiated, he should receive the treatment of a prisoner of war.

The Military Court sentenced him to death, but efforts were still made by his friends to save his life. The Counsel who had retired from his case applied before the Master of the Rolls for writs of Habeas Corpus both in the case of Erskine Childers and in that of eight other men who had been tried at the same time. After several days occupied with legal arguments,

however, the applications were refused, and on November 24 Childers was executed, fourteen hours after the failure of his Counsel to secure a reprieve. His death disembarrassed the cause of Irish settlement of one of its ablest and most relentless enemies. Childers had to a great extent supplied the brains of the insurrection movement, and had lost no opportunity of trying to defeat the Treaty when it was being discussed by the Dail.

The Bill to set up the Constitution of the Irish Free State came before the House of Commons for second reading on November 28. Its preamble, like the preamble of the Act passed by the Provisional Parliament of the Free State, based the Constitution on the Treaty of December, 1921, between Great Britain and Ireland. The first clause of the Bill declared the Constitution adopted by the Provisional Parliament to be the Constitution of the Irish Free State. Its adoption was to be announced not later than December 6 by Royal Proclamation, and the Constitution was to come into operation on the issue of such Proclamation. The Constitution provided for the continuance, within the Irish Free State, of existing taxation in respect of the current financial year. Clause 2 of the Bill made a corresponding provision with respect to taxation within the rest of the United Kingdom. It was further provided that, during the current financial year, goods transported from or to the Irish Free State, to or from any other part of the United Kingdom, should not be treated as goods imported or exported. These financial arrangements might be continued for a further period. There was a saving clause reserving to the Parliament of Great Britain the power to make laws affecting the Irish Free State in any case where, in accordance with constitutional practice, Parliament would make laws affecting other self-governing Dominions. There were two schedules to the Bill, the first of which consisted of the Constitution of the Irish Free State in the form in which it was passed by the Provisional Parliament [see below, Public Documents], and the second of which contained the articles of agreement for a Treaty between Great Britain and Ireland [see ANNUAL REGISTER, 1921, p. 86].

Mr. Bonar Law also introduced into the House of Commons the Irish Free State (Consequential Provisions) Bill. The Government of Northern Ireland had, it will be remembered, the right to decide within one month of the ratification of the Free State Constitution, whether Northern Ireland should be part of the Free State or should continue to govern itself according to the provisions of the 1920 Act. The Bill provided that if the North declined to enter the Free State, as indeed was certain to happen, there should be a Governor of Northern Ireland with a salary of 8,000*l*. A Privy Council of Northern Ireland would be established, and there would also be a separate Great Seal. The contribution from Northern Ireland towards Imperial liabilities and expenditure was to remain at 7,920,000*l*., subject to periodical adjustment by a Joint Exchequer Board.

carrying out a deliberately "scorched earth" policy in the oil-fields. In such circumstances Mr. Gandhi, using his unrivalled influence in the Congress Party against a settlement, could talk contemptuously of the draft Declaration as a "post-dated cheque upon a crashing bank."

The first public rejection of the offer came on April 1 from the Hindu Mahasabha, and the second from the Sikh All-Parties Committee—both based on the main ground that it did not close the door to the possibility of the partition of India by the Moslem League scheme of Pakistan. Later, following the adverse Congress decision, the Moslem League refused acquiescence on the exactly opposite ground that the principle of the Pakistan plan was not unequivocally accepted. On April 10, after much lobbying and frequent talks between the leaders and Sir Stafford Cripps, the Congress Working Committee rejected the offer, declaring that the self-determination proposed was for an "uncertain future," and was "fettered and circumscribed" by unacceptable provisions. The proposed principles for a settlement of the Indian Constitutional problem were rejected on two main grounds—objection to "provincial option" and to Indian States being represented in the constituent body by nominated and not by popularly elected persons. They also objected to the proposals for immediate participation in the existing Governmental framework. They sought in fact to base their rejection mainly on this aspect of the plan. The ostensible cause of breakdown, as Sir Stafford wrote to Maulana Azad, the Congress President, was in respect to his offer of division of functions during the war, between the Commander-in-Chief and the proposed Indian Defence Member. The real reason, he wrote, was the demand for changing the Constitution forthwith, in spite of the practical impossibility of any such legislative change in the middle of the war.

The story of the negotiations is told in documents included in "India (Lord Privy Seal's Mission)" [Cmd. 6350]. Sir Stafford at once returned to London, and stated in Parliament on April 28 that while the draft Declaration must be considered withdrawn, this did not close the door to closer co-operation in the defence of India or to the solution of the problem of self-government after the war. It was later made clear both by the Prime Minister and Mr. Amery, the Secretary of State for India, that although the detailed offer was withdrawn H.M. Government stood firmly by the broad intentions which inspired it. But the communal politicians for the most part remained unwilling to subordinate sectional interests to unity before the threat of invasion. An outstanding exception was Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, late Premier of Madras, who urged the Congress to open negotiations with Mr. Jinnah, in order to create a basis of co-operation in a National Government to be formed *ad interim*. This plea was

the Irish Government proposed to make. He shared the hopes of the Prime Minister that this was going to bring a spirit of happiness and a spirit of co-operation that all our past experiments of government in Ireland had failed to give us.

Colonel Gretton, the leader of the Diehard group in the late Parliament, then made a last effort to avert what he regarded as the disaster of conferring dominion rule on Southern Ireland, but the men to whom he looked for support were now in the Government, and consequently committed to the new state of affairs. Even he felt that he could not counsel the House to throw out the Bill, but he quoted instances of outrage for the purpose of showing that the state of Ireland at the present time was worse than it had been before the signing of the Treaty. This was denied by Sir John Simon, who expressed his belief that it had improved. He said that Southern Ireland had been consolidated to a great extent in favour of the Treaty by the tragic deaths of Arthur Griffith and Michael Collins. By passing the Irish Free State Constitution Bill the Imperial Parliament was definitely abandoning the attempt to govern Ireland from Westminster, and was declaring for a solution on the basis of dominion home rule. Mr. Ronald McNeill followed by expressing his belief that, while the Irish Treaty was an indefensible transaction, the mischief had been done beyond repair, and Parliament had no choice but to carry it out to a conclusion.

The rejection of the Bill was moved by Mr. Saklatvala, the Parsee member for North Battersea. The aim of Labour in Ireland, he said, was the establishment of the Workers' Republic. It was clear, however, that he was not expressing the views of the Labour Party as a whole. The Attorney-General gave a survey of the arguments advanced against the Bill, and replied to them. He pointed out that if the Bill was not passed the Provisional Government would cease to have any power in Ireland on December 6; the House should not refuse its consent to the Constitution unless it was absolutely certain that it contained something vitally inconsistent with the Treaty. The Bill was then read a second time without a division.

During its third reading in the House of Lords, Lord Lansdowne spoke with regret of the curtailment of the powers of Parliament in regard to the measure. There had never been a case, he said, in which Parliament had been so completely denied all opportunity of shaping or modifying the contents of a great Bill. He complained that too little care had been taken to protect the minority in the South of Ireland, and he regarded the Bill as a very unsatisfactory and very imperfectly conceived measure. He believed that it had been accepted by a considerable number of people, including several of the Irish Ministers, as the starting-point from which to obtain further concessions leading in the direction of a Republic. It had, however, the

merit that it gave an opportunity to both Northern and Southern Ireland, after they had had some years' experience of the working of the Constitution, of considering whether it would not be best for the whole country that they should join hands in seeking to create a prosperous and united Ireland. Lord Carson also spoke. He said that he saw no hope ahead, and that his vision was clouded by past disappointments. He believed that if the Irish started a Republic forthwith there would be another Treaty on the field of battle. A grave responsibility, he declared, rested on the Government to see that there was immediate relief for those men who, in the past, had been their best friends. The Government ought to set up a Statutory Commission to deal with the cases of people who were in want because of the destruction or confiscation of their property in Ireland. The Duke of Devonshire expressed his conviction that the Irish Government would do their best to carry out the Treaty, not merely in a formal sense, but in the full sense and true spirit of the Act.

On December 5 the royal assent was given to the two Irish Acts giving effect to the Treaty and the Free State Constitution. On the 6th the King held a Council at Buckingham Palace at which he signed the Proclamation announcing the adoption of the Irish Free State Constitution. At the same time Mr. Timothy Healy, K.C., was sworn in as Governor-General of the Free State.

In Dublin the first Parliament of the Free State held its opening session the same evening. Mr. Hayes was elected Speaker, and Mr. Cosgrave was re-elected as President. On the following day Dublin was shocked by the news that two of the Irish Free State deputies had been shot in the streets of Dublin, one of them being mortally wounded.

The Parliament of Northern Ireland did not delay in voting themselves out of the Irish Free State, of which they had technically formed a part since December 6. In the Commons Sir James Craig made it clear that the condition of peace and happiness for Ireland as a whole was the continuance of partition. Ulster and the Free State would co-operate, but as co-existing entities, the independence and autonomy of the northern area being secured and assured in any joint effort. Sir James Craig declared that he would have nothing to do with the Boundary Commission. Both Houses of the Parliament of Northern Ireland were unanimous in the Address which they voted to the King, praying for the exclusion of the six counties area of Ulster from the Free State, and Sir James Craig then immediately left Belfast to carry the Address to London.

The Free State Government was not slow in avenging the murder of the deputy on December 7. They immediately adopted a policy of reprisals, and executed Rory O'Connor, with three other persons who had been taken in arms against the

Irish Government. Such drastic measures had never been adopted by the British Government, and the new policy of reprisals was criticised severely by the Labour Party in the Free State Parliament. It was clear, however, that the Government was resolved to suppress revolt and assassination by the sternest measures. They were driven to this course by the continuance of rebel outrages in various parts of Ireland. On December 9 about 100 Irregulars overpowered the guard at the National Army barracks at Carrick-on-Suir, and took possession of the building. They made prisoners of the garrison and other National troops, while they seized the ammunition at the barracks and put it in a commandeered car and lorry, then released the garrison and set fire to the barracks and hospital buildings. During shooting in the streets a sergeant of the National Army was mortally wounded, and two other soldiers and a woman were also hit.

About the same time a party of armed men entered the locomotive shed at Kildare Station, and took possession of three engines which were under steam. One engine was sent at full speed into the buffers, another was sent down the line and stopped, while the third was sent after it at full speed, and both engines were wrecked and the line blocked. Armed incendiarism also occurred in Dublin. On December 13 an official report announced that troops operating in the Curragh district had discovered a dugout underneath the floor of a cottage kitchen. It contained ten men with rifles, a quantity of ammunition and about three tons of food-stuffs.

On December 12 the Duke of Abercorn was sworn in at Belfast as the Governor of Northern Ireland. The Governor afterwards appointed a number of members of the newly constituted Privy Council for Northern Ireland. On the same day the Northern Ireland House of Commons passed the second reading of the Bill authorising the Ministry of Finance to guarantee the payment of loans to be applied in connexion with the carrying out of capital undertakings calculated to promote employment in Northern Ireland. It was proposed that the aggregate capital amount of the loans to be guaranteed should not exceed 2,000,000*l.*, and the Bill was to remain in operation for twelve months.

On the same day the new Governor-General of the Irish Free State addressed both Houses together for the first time. He read the text of a message from the King, which expressed the hope that, by the faithful observance on all sides of the compact which had been concluded, the peace and prosperity of Ireland might be secured. He then read the Speech from the Throne, in which he outlined the legislative proposals of the Government, which included an amnesty for all British forces engaged in Ireland before the truce. The Senate of the Free State Parliament appointed Lord Glenavy as its Chairman, and declared an amnesty in all matters of ancient politics. The

final stage of the evacuation of Southern Ireland by the British Army began in Dublin on December 14, when a number of barracks and public buildings, including the Viceregal Lodge, were formally transferred to the Free State Forces.

The British troops in the Free State were removed during December, but the state of the country continued to be very unsettled up to the end of the year. On December 17 a party of National troops raided a hall near Naas while a dance was in progress. As the soldiers were leaving the hall some shots were fired at them and a Lieutenant was killed. About the same time a band of armed men attacked the village of Blessington, outside Dublin, and spent several hours in looting the shops. British forces remained in Ulster, forming a separate Command directly under the War Office, and the coast defence garrison in the Irish Free State was placed under the Western Command.

On December 19 two bombs were thrown in Dublin at a car containing an officer of the National Army, but the occupants of the car escaped injury. Seven executions were announced on the same day; these were not in the nature of reprisals, but were designed to stop the deliberate campaign against the Irish railways. Four of the executed men were railway workers. On the following day Mr. James Dwyer, an ex-member of Dail Eireann, was shot dead in Dublin, and the murderer succeeded in making good his escape.

The worst of a long series of attacks on the Irish railways took place on December 20, when a mail train from Belfast was stopped near Dundalk and set on fire after the passengers had been forced to alight. The burning train was then sent down the line until it collided with a goods train which had also been derailed.

At the end of the year a widespread effort was being made to bring about peace. The Tipperary Board of Guardians requested Cardinal Logue to use his influence with the leaders on both sides to put an end to the warfare which was devastating the land. In Thurles a number of ex-officers of the Irish Republican Army called on the Government and the Republican leaders to meet together in conference, with a view to ending the internecine warfare that was going on in Ireland. They also appealed to the Government to suspend all executions pending the holding of the proposed conference. There was, however, no sign of any change in the attitude of the Government; it was willing at any time to declare peace with its enemies, but only on the essential condition that all arms were surrendered, and that the operations against the State should come to a complete end.

Several debates of agricultural interest took place in the House of Commons before the prorogation of Parliament. Mr. Lloyd George made his first speech in the new Parliament on December 5, on an amendment to the Address dealing with this subject. The amendment called for an inquiry for the purpose

of formulating a policy which would give security and confidence to the industry. Mr. Lloyd George begged the Government to deal with the question broadly, and in a time of tranquillity, before it was again transferred to the region of controversy. He said that if it was neglected passions would be roused, and the struggle would begin again. Mr. Bonar Law, in reply, announced that he was inclined to adopt the suggestion, and expressed his readiness to consult with Mr. Lloyd George, or anyone else interested, both as to the advisability and the nature of the inquiry. Mr. Lloyd George insisted that there was no more serious feature in the life of Great Britain than rural depopulation. No other country in the world was in the same predicament. The structure of our society, he said, was like an inverted pyramid, and the point on which it rested was crumbling away from decade to decade. Mr. Bonar Law expressed the opinion that the ex-Prime Minister had an exaggerated idea of what could be done in the development of agriculture in this country. It was clear that the population could not be maintained by agriculture alone. We should have as much agriculture as we liked if we were willing to pay the price for it. It meant either protection or subsidy, both of which were ruled out. He outlined what was being done in the way of investigating the evils attending the selling of produce, the giving of credit facilities, the adjustment of the burden of rates, and appealed to the Railway Companies to encourage farmers by concessions in regard to transportation. The amendment was ultimately defeated by a majority of 215, the Labour Party and the National Liberals abstaining.

It will be remembered that a resolution had been passed during the last session in favour of the removal of the embargo on the importation of Canadian cattle. Effect was given to this resolution in the Importation of Animals Bill, the second reading of which was taken in the House of Commons on December 7. Sir Robert Sanders, Minister of Agriculture, said that the Bill was introduced to carry out the agreement reached at a conference between the late Government and Canada. Criticism had been aroused in Ireland on account of the continuation of the order in respect to Irish store cattle issued last July, but the officers of the Ministry of Agriculture were of opinion that the proposed restriction represented the minimum safeguard necessary to prevent a recurrence of the disastrous outbreak which had devastated Great Britain in the early part of 1921.

The Bill was opposed by Mr. George Lambert, who said that while farmers could not expect protection against competition, they were entitled to ask for protection against disease. Captain Craig objected, in the national interest of Ireland, to the passing of the Bill. While removing the Canadian embargo it imposed an embargo on Irish cattle. Mr. Harbison, the member for Tyrone and Fermanagh, moved the rejection of

the Bill, which he denounced as the most tyrannical piece of legislation introduced within his memory. He said that it would add at least 2*l.* a head to the cost of cattle exported from Ireland, which meant that 5,000,000*l.* would have to be added to the cost of meat during the course of the year. Mr. Hope Simpson seconded the rejection as a protest against the rushing through of the Bill. He warned the House against the danger of the trade getting into the hands of Meat Trusts. Mr. Pretyman explained that the restrictions were not aimed at Ireland, but were made in the interest of the protection of the herds in this country. The agricultural industry, though they did not approve the principles of the Bill, he said, bowed to the national decision upon the question, and would put no obstacle in the way of its successful working. At the same time he did not believe it would realise the anticipations of cheaper cattle imports and cheaper meat to the consumer. Mr. T. P. O'Connor protested on behalf of Ireland, where, he said, the Bill was regarded as a direct attack upon trade relations between the two countries.

During the Committee stage further protest was made against the measures applying to the importation of Irish cattle. Captain Craig moved an amendment to exclude Ireland, thus permitting Irish cattle to be landed in Great Britain without undergoing detention. Sir R. Sanders then offered to insert an amendment which would allow the Minister of Agriculture to make an Order in Council permitting the modification of regulations for the admission of cattle, in whatever way might be decided, so long as such order was agreed to by both Houses of Parliament. The Attorney-General, however, explained that any such modifications would apply to Canada as well as to Ireland, as the late Government had given Canada a pledge that Irish cattle would not be admitted to this country under more favourable conditions than Canadian cattle. This drew a protest from the Ulster members, and Mr. T. P. O'Connor declared that it was an outrage that Ireland had not been consulted when the arrangements were made. Captain Craig's amendment was ultimately defeated by 333 votes to 21. The Minister announced the withdrawal of one clause, thus confining the application of the Bill to Canada and Ireland. A division was challenged by the Labour Party, but the Government had a majority of 145.

On December 11 Mr. Bonar Law announced that a decision had been reached to hold an inquiry into the position of agriculture, as had been proposed by Mr. Lloyd George. The Commission was to consist of three Economists, and its object was to inquire into the methods which had been adopted by other countries during the last fifty years, to increase the prosperity of agriculture, and to secure the fullest possible use of the land for the production of food, and the employment of labour at a living wage, and to advise as to the methods by which these results could be achieved in this country.

Fear as to the effect of the postponement of laying down the two capital ships provided by the last Parliament were expressed in both Houses of Parliament on December 6. In the House of Commons, in reply to a question, Mr. Amery said that if the Washington Treaty was ratified the United States would have 20 capital ships of fighting value, Japan 10 and Great Britain 22. If the Treaty was not ratified the United States would have 41 capital ships of fighting value, Japan 23 and Great Britain 23. If the two capital ships were laid down, said Mr. Amery, shipyards and Allied concerns, engineering establishments, etc., would all benefit. During the first three months 4,000 to 5,000 men would be employed; during the first six months an average of 13,000 men would be engaged, rising in the second six months to 29,000, and subsequently, for a time, to 40,000. It was expected that about 10,000,000*l.* would be spent in wages.

The question was raised in the House of Lords by Lord Sydenham, who declared that unless we laid down our two new battleships at once we should remain nowhere near the one-power standard. Lord Lee, a former First Lord of the Admiralty, expressed alarm at the subject. He said that he could not believe that a Conservative Government could be contemplating such a disastrous surrender, which would amount really to a betrayal of our whole position as the principal sea power of the world. He claimed that there was something in the nature, not only of an honourable understanding, but of a treaty obligation between the Government and the Board of Admiralty and the whole Navy Service in this matter. The only consideration which enabled the Board of Admiralty to agree to the scrapping of 19 capital ships under the Treaty of Washington, was that other signatories to the Treaty would fulfil their obligations, and that on our part we should have the countervailing advantages of the new ships, which would embody the lessons of Jutland. Referring to the figures given by the Government regarding relative naval strengths, he said that they showed a perfectly impossible position for the British Empire. Could the Government, he asked, decide to reverse the decisions to build ships, which were deliberately taken by the late Government and the late Parliament? They would have no Parliamentary sanction for varying or abandoning that decision. The latest ships of the United States and Japan, he said, were capable of out-ranging any battleship in the British Fleet. The result of that was that in a Fleet action those capital ships of other navies could lay off at sufficient range and destroy our best capital ships without their having means to reply. He claimed that the dates specified in the Treaty did not permit us to delay building those capital ships. If we once started a system of postponement we should not only be breaking the Treaty, but arouse suspicion in every Admiralty in the world.

Lord Salisbury informed Lord Lee that it could not be regarded as a matter of surprise that the question had not yet come before the Cabinet, but he stated that this did not mean that any adverse decision had been reached; very much the contrary was the fact.

On December 11 the Prime Minister announced that the Government had decided to lay down two capital ships as was allowed under the terms of the Washington Treaty. Several Liberal members sought from the Prime Minister the promise of a day for discussion, but it was pointed out that the matter had already been decided by the late Parliament and the last Government. The present Government had considered the matter, and had come to the conclusion that they had no option. The ships had to be laid down by December 30, and delay was thus impossible. The announcement of the allotment of the contracts was made on the following day.

In the second week of December both Houses of Parliament were engaged in trying to elucidate a mystery of the late Cabinet. It had been asserted in the public Press that on February 15 M. Gounaris wrote to Lord Curzon advising him of the situation of the Greek Army in Asia Minor, and conveying the information that the Greek Command there could not undertake to give an assurance of their ability to cope with the contingency of a Turkish offensive without help. This, said M. Gounaris, must consist of reinforcements, supplies of fresh war material, and financial assistance.

Lord Birkenhead, in the House of Lords, read the reply of Lord Curzon, which expressed the hope that the military position in Anatolia was less immediately critical than the note of M. Gounaris would suggest. Mr. Lloyd George and Mr. Chamberlain expressed surprise when the Prime Minister stated that both documents had been communicated to the Cabinet. In the House of Lords also Lord Birkenhead affirmed that he had never seen the communications, and he called Lord Lee as a witness in support. He said that he was confident that he had never seen the letter, and if he had seen it he would have asked the Prime Minister to call together the Cabinet in order to consider the position. Lord Salisbury alleged that the object of Lord Birkenhead was to attack the foreign policy of Lord Curzon at a time when the Foreign Secretary was engaged at Lausanne. He personally had no responsibility for the policy of the late Government, but Lord Birkenhead had been a member of it, and this was not the first time he had attempted to evade responsibility for the actions of the Government of which he was a member. He said that he had no reason to doubt that both those documents were circulated to members of the late Government.

The matter was again discussed in Parliament on December 11, when Mr. Lloyd George admitted that the correspondence must have been circulated to him as the head of the Government,

and he assumed therefore that he had received it. Lord Birkenhead still remained convinced, however, that he had never seen the documents, but he absolved the Foreign Office from blame. He impressed upon his fellow peers that he had not raised the subject without due inquiry. The Prime Minister, when asked by him at the time, said he had not seen it, and his private secretaries had no recollection of it. Lord Lee confirmed this view, and quoted several other Ministers as having no recollection of the documents. He emphasised especially the case of the late Minister for War, who said that it was a letter to which he would have attached the greatest possible importance, because it would have had to be put before the Army Council as modifying the military position at Chanak, but his recollection was clear that he had not seen it before. Mr. Lloyd George, in the House of Commons, pointed out that at the time of the circulation of the documents he was ill, and thus saw no papers. He said that he and Lord Curzon had seen the late M. Gounaris on January 12 together. Mr. Lloyd George had then stated to him that there would be no peace unless the Greek forces retired from Smyrna. Having told M. Gounaris that these were the terms of the British Government, he urged him most strongly to place himself in the hands of Lord Curzon, and he had promised to do so.

The incident thus came to an end. It had been raised with the view of suggesting that Lord Curzon, by withholding the communication from his colleagues, had failed in his duty to them. The discussion on the matter showed, however, that this suggestion was unfounded.

On December 9 a conference opened at 10 Downing Street of the British, French, Italian, and Belgian Prime Ministers, to discuss the questions of German reparations and inter-Allied debts. A Note was delivered that morning at the Foreign Office, on behalf of Germany, containing proposals from the German Government in regard to reparations. This Note was submitted to the meeting of Prime Ministers, and formed the first subject of their discussion. The Note set forth the proposition that the first thing to be done was to bring about the stabilisation of the mark, and an arrangement for the reparation indemnities for future years. To that end the German Government made the following proposals:—

(1) The stabilisation of the mark could not be taken in hand unless suitable arrangements were made for the payment of reparations and the country was enabled to pursue trade freely.

(2) Reparations to be met by a gold loan to be issued in Germany and abroad. The total of the foreign loan would serve for reparations, and half at least of the internal loan would be devoted to the stabilisation of the mark. The German Government would grant exemption of taxes to those who subscribed to this loan.

(3) The gold bonds transmitted to the Reparation Commission would be guaranteed by the receipts of the Customs, and would rank before all the obligations of Germany resulting from the Treaty.

When this Note was placed before the conference of Prime Ministers, M. Poincaré expressed the view that it was not worth discussing, and that Germany could only be induced to move by occupation of the Ruhr or some similar measure. No conclusion was reached, and when the conference met again on December 11 it decided to adjourn the discussions till January 2, 1923, when they would be resumed in Paris. An official communiqué stated that a plan for an interim arrangement in regard to reparations submitted by the German Chancellor had been considered, but had been unanimously found to be unsatisfactory. It had not been possible, in the time available, for the Allied Prime Ministers to arrive at definite conclusions on the momentous issues involved.

On December 12 the Prime Minister made a statement on the matter in the House of Commons. He said that he had declared to the conference that it would not be right that the settlement should be fixed in such a way that we alone of all the Allied countries would be virtually paying an indemnity. He thought that it was fair to consider the whole amount to be obtained from Germany, and since this was not all that had been expected the claims of all the Allies must be reduced.

On December 13 a debate was initiated in the House of Lords by Lord Birkenhead, who endorsed the policy enunciated by the Prime Minister, and expressed his satisfaction that it had been made clear that, while prepared to make concessions, the Government had no intention of surrendering everything which this country was entitled to claim. He pointed out that the position was that Germany could not at the present time pay the amount that was due under the Reparation Agreement. If she could not pay, it was obvious that there must be a moratorium. He viewed the French proposals for enforcing sanctions with alarm, and he scouted as alarmist the reports that Germany was making secret military preparations.

Lord Grey, who spoke afterwards, said that if the January conference failed, it might mean that Europe took a further step towards collapse, and that our relations with France would be imperilled. The policy of saying that as long as we paid our debts to the United States we could not remit debts owing to us by European Allies was very obvious, but he was not so sure that it was so logical as it appeared on the surface. The objection to it was that it was a policy which, though obvious and superficially logical, was perfectly sterile, and one on which no progress could be made. It did not bring us any nearer the prospect of recovering money from our Allies. He asserted that we had more interest in seeing political security and economic recovery in Europe than we had in getting cash

payments of debts owing to us. If by remitting, not indeed cash payments, but the prospect of getting some day or other cash payments, we could do anything substantial to promote security and economic recovery of those countries in Europe which were our customers, we should be immensely the gainers. If the Government were to remit the debts without doing something to promote recovery, he admitted that they would be exposed to a criticism which would be difficult to meet. What he urged upon the Government, therefore, was that they should retain a free hand with regard to the remission of debts owing to us. There could be no economic recovery unless there was political security, and he regarded the League of Nations as the best means of restoring political security. Unless the League became more comprehensive Europe would again drift into two armed camps. When the reparations question was settled Germany should declare herself willing to enter, and the other Powers should declare themselves willing to admit her, into the League of Nations. He did not believe that security in Europe could be obtained by making exclusive agreements with particular Powers. Lord Grey then dwelt upon French fears for future security. If France was difficult to deal with on the question of reparations, it was not so much because they were anxious to get cash from Germany as because they desired to get that security which they now believed that they had lost. He did not believe that the strong measures advocated by France would produce cash. They were more likely to produce the collapse of Germany, which would be a disaster for the world.

Lord Salisbury, on behalf of the Government, said that he hoped that when French statesmen read what Lord Grey had said, and recognised that it came from a friend, they would weigh the advice which he had given in so friendly a spirit. The Government desired to work on parallel lines, and in conformity with France, though without subordinating their views to those of the French. He thought that when the conference reassembled in January they would be able to arrive at some proposals which would command the assent of the French Government.

The Prime Minister delivered an important speech on the question of reparations in the House of Commons on December 14. He first presented the point of view of France. The French had had great hopes in regard to the amount of money they would get from Germany. They had built on those hopes to the extent that the financial system of France was based on receiving a very large sum from Germany. Germany had undertaken to pay a large amount, of which almost nothing had been paid. The French pointed to the fact that conference after conference had been held, and the result had been that in one form or another Germany had received what was practically a moratorium. At the end of that time the French said that

they were in a worse position for getting anything out of Germany than they were before. In the view of France this result was largely due to the deliberate action of Germany.

Mr. Bonar Law could not himself take this view. It was quite true, he said, that by a method of passive resistance they could avoid for ever paying any indemnity, but only by means of what was very likely suicide for Germany. The British view was that any concession we might make on the subject of inter-Allied debts and reparations must be bound up with the probability that there would be a final settlement which would not be reopened. It followed that nothing should be done to make a final settlement impossible. He swept aside the suggestion that this country had no interest in reparations. He was convinced that payment without receiving anything from outside sources would reduce the standard of living in this country for a generation, and could not be done. Our central financial organisation was strong because we had made the tax-payers poor. He pointed to the money paid to the unemployed, and to the effect of unemployment on the people. Unless there was a distinct improvement in trade, he said, in a reasonable time we should reach a position which, in his opinion, would be worse almost than that of any of the Allied countries.

He then outlined British policy in regard to reparations. The question was simply, what was the best method of getting the amount Germany ought to pay? If Germany ever did recover she would be in a far better position to pay the indemnities than we should be to pay our debts, but the condition of Germany awakened the apprehensions of the Prime Minister. All the information he had received was that Germany was very near a complete collapse. The tragedy of that was, that while there could be no improvement in Germany until the mark had been stabilised, the very effort to stabilise the mark would itself bring about that collapse of industry from which we were suffering. There was no hope of a solution of the European problem unless France and Great Britain acted together. The difference likely to arise, he said, was a difference between the public opinion of the two countries. That made it more dangerous than if it were only a question of difference of opinion between individuals and Governments. For that reason he trusted that we at home, and the French Government, would utilise the time that still remained to try to find some common method by which we could deal with the problem.

Mr. Ramsay Macdonald urged that there should be time for Germany to pay her reparations from her trade developments. Both France and England, he thought, would have to lower their expectations of what they were going to get. He warned the French Government that, in the minds of the vast majority of the people of this country there was the strongest opposition to the proposal that the military occupation of the Ruhr should

follow immediate delinquency on the part of Germany. We wanted more than a mere cessation of hostilities; we wanted peace.

Lord Eustace Percy suggested that unless we offered France unconditionally a guarantee of military assistance in case of German aggression, we should never get a feeling of security in France sufficient to induce her to come to an agreement with us or Germany about reparations.

Major-General Sir Robert Hutchison, who had been stationed in Germany, expressed his view that French policy was directed towards breaking Germany into small states, the first step being to divide the Rhineland from the rest of Germany.

During the sitting of the House of Commons on December 12 it became known that the Labour Party had organised a scheme to keep the House sitting until noon of December 14. Their object was to make a demonstration on a number of supplementary estimates in order to express their zeal for economy, and their dissatisfaction with the measures taken by the Government for the alleviation of unemployment. A number of Labour members were primed on particular subjects in order to keep the debate going. In this scheme, however, they were defeated by the application of the closure in the morning of December 13. When the House met later in the day an outbreak of disorder took place, expressing the disappointment of the Labour Party at the failure of their plan. The Speaker endeavoured to restore order, but succeeded in doing so only with difficulty.

Parliament was prorogued on December 15, and after the scene already referred to the protests of the Labour Party were more peaceable than had been anticipated. Mr. Lansbury expressed anxiety that Parliament should not be prorogued until something more effective had been done to deal with the urgent problem of unemployment. The Speaker pointed out, however, that the prorogation and summoning of Parliament were matters for the Crown. Parliament was prorogued accordingly until February 13. The King's Speech was read in the House of Lords by the Lord Chancellor. It stated that a discussion of the problems affecting the peace of the Near East was proceeding at Lausanne. The task of restoring conditions favourable to economic stability in Europe continued to give deep concern. The difficulties were great and complex, and could only be overcome by patient and sincere co-operation between the nations primarily affected.

The Bills to which the royal assent was given during this session included those for the Constitution of the Irish Free State, and for the consequential necessary provisions; the Trade Facilities Bill, and the Importation of Animals Bill.

The problem of unemployment became very prominent towards the end of the year, notwithstanding the measures which had been taken by the Government to deal with it. As

a result of these measures more than 100,000 men were employed on work which had been put in hand specially to meet the existing emergency. The placing of contracts for the two new battleships would also find employment for a large number of men. Employment was further provided by a plan for accelerating the repair of dockyard machinery, the repair of buildings, the reconditioning of guns, and the expediting of contracts for clothing. About a half of the 100,000 men provided with work were engaged on arterial roads, road maintenance and repairs, and sundry improvements. 35,000 were employed on schemes controlled by local authorities and sanctioned by the Unemployment Grants Committee. The work included roads, sewerage, sewage disposal, waterworks, tramways, and other miscellaneous undertakings.

A demonstration organised by the National Unemployed Workers' Committee was held on December 17 in Trafalgar Square. During the progress of the meeting the Council proceeded to Buckingham Palace with the object of presenting a petition to the King, asking for the early reassembly of Parliament. When the deputation reached the Palace gates the members were informed that they could not be received by the King, and that the petition should be presented through the Home Secretary. There were still in London 1,500 unemployed men who had marched from distant parts of the country. The Unemployed Workers' Committee later attended a meeting of the General Council of the Trades Union Congress, and made a statement to the effect that if the Parliamentary machine were incapable of dealing with the problem of unemployment, and organised labour found itself unable to bring about a larger measure of relief, the unemployed would face the winter in a spirit of revolt. The General Council thereupon decided to ask the Prime Minister to receive a Trades Union Congress deputation, which would put the case for calling Parliament together again at an earlier date than was fixed at the prorogation. The Prime Minister replied that he would receive a deputation in Glasgow on December 23. When this deputation had set forth its views, Mr. Bonar Law made a speech in reply. He said that the Government could not deal with the unemployed problem by borrowing money; that would only end in industrial crash. There was no big pool of profits from which higher wages could come. The deputation had suggested that interest on the National Debt should be reduced by one-half, but the Prime Minister described this suggestion as foolish and unjust, and calculated to destroy any possibility of credit in this country. He said that the unemployment figures had improved. They were less by half a million than they had been at their worst, and he did not think that they would become so bad again as they had been. The Cabinet Committee on Housing was expected to report shortly, and would very likely recommend the continuance of the State housing scheme, but

he would prefer to try some scheme which would get the matter into the hands of private enterprise. No schemes could possibly absorb all the unemployed; it would take the Government all their time to get the Budget balanced on existing taxation. He was convinced that, bad as things were, we had reached the bottom, and unless there was very serious trouble in Europe, of which he was afraid, we were going to have a real trade revival. We had to depend on trade, and he thought that it was improving.

At the end of the year the Royal Commission on Honours presented its report. The report was signed by Lord Dunedin, the Chairman, and five other members of the Royal Commission, Mr. Henderson alone dissenting. The recommendations of the majority report were as follows:—

(1) That a Committee of the Privy Council, of not more than three members, should be appointed of persons not being members of the Government, to serve for the period of the duration of office of the Government.

(2) That before submission to His Majesty of the names of persons for appointment to any dignity or honour on account of political services, the names of such persons should be submitted to the Committee, with particulars as to the service in respect of which the recommendation was made; a statement that no payment to any party or political fund was associated with the recommendation; and the name and address of the original suggestor of the name of the proposed recipient.

(3) That the Committee, after such inquiry as they thought fit, should report to the Prime Minister whether, in their opinion, the person was a fit and proper person to be recommended.

(4) That in the event of the Committee reporting against any name, and the Prime Minister determining still to recommend such name, the King should be informed of the report of the Committee.

(5) That an Act be passed imposing a penalty on anyone promising or endeavouring to secure an Honour in respect of any pecuniary payment, and on any other person promising such payment in order to receive an Honour.

Following the publication of this report it was announced that, while the King had approved that the Departmental Honours List be published as usual at the New Year, the recommendations for Honours covered by the report should be delayed until they had been considered by a Committee of the Privy Council, which the Prime Minister was appointing forthwith in accordance with the recommendation of the Royal Commission.

It will be seen that during the year 1922 great strides had been made towards a return to normal conditions. Weighty

problems still loomed ahead, both as regards internal and external politics. At home, the problem of unemployment remained grave, and was the occasion of much anxiety for the future. Abroad, the settlement of the problem of reparations and inter-Allied indebtedness was a matter of profound concern for the good relations of the European nations. On the other hand, a revival of trade was believed in many quarters to be impending; and it was felt that, if the Government succeeded in surmounting the grave difficulties with which they were confronted, hope might be entertained of a revival in some degree of that national prosperity which had been destroyed during the war.

FOREIGN AND COLONIAL HISTORY.

CHAPTER I.

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

THE constitutional development of the organs of the League during 1922 was considerable and satisfactory. The Third Annual Assembly held in Geneva in September was regarded as being of greater interest and more fruitful in results than either of its predecessors. It dealt with international questions of the very first order of political importance, and of extreme difficulty, and in every case its discussions were productive of progress. It was, moreover, particularly noticeable that the machinery of the Assembly, its bureaux, its committees, and its sub-committees, worked with more speed, certainty, and efficiency than before. The session settled once for all the practice of holding all committees in public, and of admitting the Press even to sub-committees. The importance of this as a step towards securing all possible publicity for the discussion of international affairs is evident. There can be no doubt that the admission of the public and the Press to the debates of the Third Committee on the problems of Disarmament and Reparations, must have done much to strengthen the position of the League in the eyes of those who follow international affairs.

The Council of the League also made considerable progress during 1922 in the matter of publicity. It had found in previous years that the admission of the general public, though occasionally valuable, had nevertheless sometimes robbed it of its character as a working committee. It therefore adopted the device of having public meetings to which the members of the Press alone were admitted. The arrangement succeeded, and secured publicity without impeding in any way the rapid and regular transaction of ordinary business. The rapid distribution of Council documents and minutes to all the Members of the League has also been greatly improved during 1922.

Moreover, the Council, jointly with the Assembly, agreed to a solution of the grave question of its constitution which it had failed to solve in 1921. As a result two additional representatives of the States which are not among its permanent Members were elected. This brings up the total number of the Council to ten, the new Members being Sweden and Uruguay. It should be noted that the change was not opposed by any of the

Great Powers, and that it was made subject to the condition that when other Great Powers—Germany and the United States were specifically mentioned—should enter the League, permanent places on the Council should be allotted to them.

Two other points concerning the constitutional development of the Council should be mentioned. In the first place, a "Minorities Committee," whose duty it is to examine all complaints arising out of the various Minority Treaties guaranteed by the League, was established. By this device it is possible for three members of the Council acting together to raise any Minority dispute, without throwing upon a single Government —as the Minority Treaties would do—the invidious task of supporting a complaint. In the second place, the year marked the tendency of the various Members to send their most important statesmen to represent them on the Council.

Of the Secretariat there is nothing particularly new to be said. It has lived down the attacks which were made on it in various quarters in 1920 and 1921, and has established its position firmly as an international civil service.

In the political work which has been accomplished in 1922, the Assembly and the Council both have much to their credit. In certain respects the work of the Assembly has perhaps been better than that of the Council. For example, in connexion with Minorities, apart from the establishment of the Committee referred to above, the Council has made no considerable progress. It has indeed lost one valuable opportunity of establishing a precedent on the basis of which an effective system of minority guarantees might have been built up. On the other hand, the Assembly debates on the question of Minorities were of extreme value. They took place in the public meetings of the Sixth Committee, and in them participated the responsible representatives of all the Minority countries, including the Foreign Ministers of Jugo-Slavia and other States.

The next piece of political work which should be mentioned is that accomplished in Albania. The crucial meeting of the Council on this subject was held in November, 1921. On that occasion, the British Government having threatened the Jugo-Slav authorities with the application of the economic blockade provided for by Article 16, the Council induced the Belgrade Government to withdraw its troops, which had already invaded Albanian territory and were advancing towards the Adriatic. This withdrawal was in itself no inconsiderable triumph for the Council and the League, but that satisfactory beginning has been far surpassed by the progress of events in Albania during 1922. Not only have the frontiers of Albania been definitely and finally established, and peace restored within these frontiers, but friendly relations have been established between the Government of Tirana and that of Belgrade. For the services it rendered in this matter the Council was publicly

thanked by M. Nintchitch, the Foreign Minister of Jugo-Slavia.

The League has played a further part in the development of the new Albanian State. While the question of the Albanian frontiers and their invasion by Jugo-Slavia was at its height, a Commission of Inquiry, consisting of three neutral Members—a Norwegian, a Luxemburger, and a Finn—was sent to Albania by the Council to investigate and to report. The work of this Commission did much to facilitate the re-establishment of peace between Albania and Jugo-Slavia; and it did something else as well. The Albanian Government begged it to report to the Council on the economic condition of the country, and through this medium sought for the assistance of economic and financial experts to be appointed by the appropriate Commissions of the League. The Council agreed to act on this request, and experts have been sent.

In the early part of 1922 the Council had also to finish off the work which it had begun the previous year in connexion with the Upper Silesian dispute. It will be remembered that in its famous report of October, 1921, the Council had recommended the division between Germany and Poland of the "industrial triangle" in Upper Silesia which had been the subject of dispute (see ANNUAL REGISTER, 1921, p. 154). In recommending this division it had, however, stipulated that the complete economic unity of the triangle should be preserved, and had sketched a complete system of economic provisions concerning railways, natural resources, customs, etc., by means of which this economic unity could be kept intact. It remained for Germany and Poland to work out in its details the convention by which these stipulations could be made effective. A joint conference for this purpose was held at Geneva under the chairmanship of M. Calonder, the ex-President of the Swiss Confederation, who had already served the League in the Aaland Islands dispute. Under his guidance a convention on all the extremely difficult matters involved was agreed to, and it was not necessary for him even once to use the arbitral powers with which he had been invested.

The most important political work of the year was that accomplished by the Council for the financial and economic rehabilitation of Austria. The condition of Austria had become steadily worse with every month that passed since the Armistice. Its currency had fallen to a purely nominal value, which rendered foreign trade practically impossible. In the summer of 1922 the complete disorganisation of the State services, widespread famine among the town population, and the probability of social disturbances and disruption threatened the new Republic. The Prime Ministers of the Allied Powers united in the "Supreme Council" had several times considered the matter, but had reached no agreement as to what could be done. In August they invited the Council of the League to consider the

matter afresh. The Council undertook to do so, stipulating that the Governments which laid this duty upon them should lend them effective support for the realisation of whatever plans they might propose. The matter immediately engaged their attention, and throughout the meeting of the Assembly, either in the full Council or in the Austrian Sub-Committee which they appointed, negotiations and discussions went on without interruption. The difficulties were immense. The political rivalries of the "interested" States—Czechoslovakia, Italy, and France—many times threatened to wreck all hope of success. It was, moreover, doubtful whether any proposals that could save Austria from destruction would not mean a policy of internal reform so drastic that no Austrian Government could carry it through. Assurances on this point, however, were given in the most confident and positive manner by M. Seipel, the Austrian Chancellor, who, together with the Austrian Foreign Minister, attended the more important of the Council discussions on the matter.

At length, before the separation of the Assembly, the Council were able to announce that they were on the verge of reaching a complete agreement. The scheme which they had adopted provided for the financial control of the Austrian Republic by a High Commissioner, to be appointed by the League. In addition to this High Commissioner there was to be a Committee composed of representatives of the various States—now seven in number—which should join collectively in guaranteeing a foreign loan of 26,000,000*l.* sterling, with which Austrian finances were to be restored. There was also laid down a programme of domestic reform which the Austrian representatives undertook to carry through, and for the execution of which they promised to secure the necessary powers from the Austrian Parliament.

It still remains to be seen whether in fact, even with the Government's guarantee, a large enough loan will actually be raised to save the Austrian State. So far admirable progress has been made. Since the end of October the Austrian crown has remained stable. In the last three months of 1922 the cost of living has successively fallen for the first time since the Armistice to approximately 20 per cent. less than it was before the League began its work. Saving in Austria has enormously increased. The Austrian Parliament duly granted the Government the necessary powers to carry out the programme of internal reforms, and at the end of the year the total number of civil servants (25,000) who were to be dismissed had all ceased to burden the public budget.

There is one other piece of political work to which reference should be made. During its debates on Disarmament, the Third Committee of the Assembly discussed at some length the problem of Reparations. It was natural that on a matter so vast no conclusions could be reached, nor even a programme

laid down. But the discussions served to demonstrate how universal was the demand in the interests of the whole world, and particularly of every European country, that a complete and final settlement of the Reparations problem and of the other questions allied to it should immediately be reached. The Resolution which was finally adopted also showed that in the opinion of the Members of the League the institutions of the League might be of essential service in finding such a solution, and it was so drafted as to provide an opening for reference to the League whenever the Governments might desire it.

The question of Disarmament is no doubt primarily political. But up to the present time it has been dealt with in the League through technical commissions, and has not yet passed into the sphere of politics proper. There are two bodies in the League established to deal with it—the Permanent Military Commission, established under Article 9 of the Covenant, and the "Temporary Mixed Commission," a special body charged with preparing concrete plans for the reduction of armaments. During 1922 the second of these bodies considered three propositions of importance. The first was for a Treaty of Mutual Guarantee, and was laid before it by Lord Robert Cecil. The essential principle on which he founded his scheme was that no State could be expected to disarm unless it were given a guarantee that its frontiers would be protected by the other Members of the League in case it were unjustly attacked. He therefore proposed a Treaty of Mutual Guarantee which would only come into effect for each of its parties as and when they carried out the provisions of a supplementary agreement for the reduction of their military forces. This proposal he embodied in a series of resolutions to which the Temporary Mixed Commission agreed and which were afterwards adopted, in a slightly modified form, and after a most animated discussion, by the Third Committee of the Assembly. The Committee further instructed the Temporary Mixed Commission to elaborate these resolutions in the form of a draft treaty to be considered by the Assembly at its next meeting.

The second proposal laid before the Commission was Lord Esher's scheme for the reduction of land forces. This scheme again was embodied in a series of resolutions, but while it laid down a few general principles concerning the reduction of land armaments, its main substance lay in a definite proposal for a fixed number of troops to be maintained by each European State. Undoubtedly in proposing definite figures at the outset Lord Esher made a tactical mistake. His allocation of military strength aroused so much hostility on the part of the Governments concerned that the principles on which the scheme was based were never adequately considered. Some progress was, however, made on the basis of this scheme by a sub-committee of the Temporary Mixed Commission and the matter is, in

accordance with the instructions of the Assembly, being taken up afresh.

The third proposal laid before the Commission was that made by Admiral Segrave for a special Naval Conference to apply the principles of the Washington Naval Convention to all the Powers who were not signatories thereto. The Temporary Mixed Commission, the Council, and the Assembly, all adopted this proposal, and it is expected that the proposed Conference will be summoned in the course of 1923, and when it is held, the Assembly recommended that Russia should be invited to attend.

During the year the Permanent Court of International Justice held two sessions. In January it met to settle its code of procedure; and in July at its first ordinary annual session it had to render, at the request of the Council, two advisory opinions concerning the competence and functions of the International Labour Office. These questions had been brought forward by the French Government. Both the decisions which the Court gave received the immediate acceptance of the Council and of every interested party. Later in the year a further matter was referred to the Court for its decision. For some time the British and the French Governments have been in dispute as to the right of the latter to conscript British subjects in Tunis. This was a question depending exclusively on the rules of international law. At first the French Government refused every offer of arbitration. But when the British Government exercised its right under Article 11 of the Covenant, and referred the question to the Council for discussion, the French Government withdrew their objections to judicial decision, and accepted a reference to the Court. The Court is accordingly to hold a special session to deal with the matter at the beginning of 1923. As regards the various technical committees and commissions of the League, perhaps the most important work has been done by the Advisory Committee on the Opium Traffic, and by the Committee of the Health Organisation. The Opium Committee has held two meetings, resulting in a policy which shall strike at the root of the evil by an international agreement to check the cultivation of the poppy.

The Health Committee, which now includes representatives of the Russian and American Governments, has also carried through some admirable schemes of co-operation in the sphere of public health. With support from the Rockefeller Foundation it has organised a system of international instructional courses for the health officers of different countries. Two such courses, with health officers from seventeen different countries, were held in Brussels and Rome. A third is projected for 1923.

The Economic and Transport Committees have prepared projects for economic agreements between the members of the League, and the Advisory Committee on the White Slave

Traffic has also held its first meeting. Both on this Committee and on the Opium Committee the American Government have appointed official representatives. In this direction their attitude has considerably changed, and it is hoped that American co-operation with the League will develop in this way.

The year has been remarkable for the increased confidence in the League which has been shown by both Governments and peoples. The so-called "Supreme Council" of the Allies has now definitely disappeared from the arena of international affairs, and more and more the Council and the Assembly of the League are recognised as the supreme political tribunals of the world.

CHAPTER II.

FRANCE AND ITALY.

FRANCE.

THE year 1922 was signalised at its opening by the Conference of Cannes, between France, England and Belgium, which met to consider the situation created by Germany's declaration of her inability to pay what was demanded of her for 1922. The chief result of this Conference was a decision to hold a general European Conference at Genoa, and M. Briand, the French Premier, signed with Mr. Lloyd George a draft pact of guarantee which stated that "guarantees for the security of France against a future invasion by Germany are indispensable to the restoration of stability in Europe, to the security of Great Britain, and the peace of the world."

At Paris, however, the political atmosphere had become hostile to M. Briand, who, finding that he had not the support of Parliament, resigned from the Premiership at a memorable sitting on January 12.

After a very brief crisis M. Poincaré presented himself before Parliament with a new Cabinet containing several members of the previous one.

Premier and Foreign Minister	M. Poincaré.
Justice and Vice-Premier	M. Barthou.*
Interior	M. Maunoury.
War and Pensions	M. Maginot.*
Finance	M. de Lasteyrie.
Education	M. Léon Bérard.*
Public Works	M. Le Trocquer.*
Commerce	M. Dior.
Agriculture	M. Chéron.
Labour	M. Alexandre Bérard.
Colonies	M. Sarraut.*
Navy	M. Raiberti.
Liberated Regions	M. Reibel.

* Members of outgoing Briand Cabinet.

In his ministerial address, M. Poincaré said bluntly that France would defend her interests as her Allies defended theirs, and he criticised adversely the Conferences of the Supreme Council. His tone was aggressive, but at the same time perfectly courteous.

The old Cabinet was not allowed to disappear in peace. M. Briand, its head, was specially marked out for attack. A report of his ineptitude while at Washington was made the most of in order to discredit him. But his unpopularity reached its height when it leaked out that at Cannes M. Briand, against the advice of the War Ministry, had given instructions for French war material to be handed over to the Kemalists.

The advent to power of M. Poincaré caused a distinct change in Franco-British relations. Poincaré did not like conferences. He preferred the old diplomatic method by which the heads of Governments did not meet till everything had been discussed and put in order by the ambassadors.

In spite, however, of his avowed objections, Poincaré could not avoid the participation of France in the Conference of Genoa, which had been fixed for early in March. In a memorandum sent to the British Government on February 6, M. Poincaré criticised severely the programme laid down at Cannes for the Conference of Genoa. This document emphasised two points: first, that the Treaties drawn up by the Peace Conference were not to be modified in any particular; secondly, that the power and the authority of the League of Nations should not be derogated from in any way, and that its place should not be usurped by the Conference of Genoa in dealing with any of the questions which came within its competence. About a fortnight after the publication of this memorandum, Messrs. Lloyd George and Poincaré met at Boulogne (February 25) and agreed that at Genoa no discussion should be admitted either of the Treaty of Versailles and its annexes or of reparations. It may be mentioned that Briand had already obtained a similar assurance at Cannes.

The Conference of Genoa actually opened on April 15, almost a month and a half after the date originally fixed. Whereas all the other Powers were represented by their Prime Ministers, M. Poincaré remained in Paris. The French representatives were, however, men of the highest standing—Barthou, Colrat, Barrère, Seydoux, Picard, and experts of the first rank.

France's position at the Conference was difficult. In regard to Russia she was torn between the desire of defending Europe against the menace of Bolshevism, a movement repugnant alike to French tradition and French good sense, and the fear of finding herself left behind in the struggle for concessions in Russia, where she had such important interests. In regard to reparations, again, she found herself in danger of becoming isolated on the question of the enforcement of the Treaty of Versailles. At that time France could not think without anxiety of a

rupture which would leave her to assert her rights alone. Her financial situation was bad. Her industry was suffering. The Chamber had adopted the principle of military service for eighteen months, and France was accused of imperialism by those who did not see that it was only the non-execution of the Treaty of Versailles which compelled her to preserve intact her defensive force.

The Conference could not agree on the guarantees to be demanded of the Russians, and the memorandum presented to them did not bear the signatures of France and Belgium. France was accused of desiring to checkmate at all costs the agreement, and some bitter words were exchanged. But calm was restored before the Conference ended on May 19. One result of the Conference was to show, as Poincaré had foreseen, the irreconcilable opposition between the Soviets and the Western nations. Another result, of particular value to France, was to demonstrate the necessity of Anglo-French agreement, and to cement the alliance still further.

France at Genoa had held her own; she had neither gained nor lost anything. In regard to Russia, she had abandoned none of her claims as a creditor, and in regard to Europe, she remained the champion of the imprescriptible and sacred right of private property. But no solution had been found of the reparations problem. Would such a solution be forthcoming at the Hague Conference, which had been decided on as a continuation of Genoa?

The attitude of Germany at the Conference of Genoa had been regarded as satisfactory. France had had no need to exercise her right of sanction. Germany seemed willing to accept financial control, and also to impose fresh taxes. It was possible to hope that the Conference of bankers which met at Paris in May to study the question of an international loan might really be successful.

The Hague Conference commenced in June, and was attended by France, which found itself almost completely in accord with the British Government. In order to meet the wishes of France, England consented that the holders of Russian bonds should be invited to participate in the labours of the Conference in order to see if they could not come to an understanding directly with the Soviet Government. In regard to war debts, the British Government repeated that it was willing to annul part of its Russian claim, and this statement obviously opened up the much larger question of all the inter-allied debts.

The International Committee of Bankers mentioned above had adjourned (June 10) after laying down as a condition of its assistance that the finances of Germany should be restored and that the uncertainty regarding the extent of reparations should be removed. The representative of France had refused to sign this statement, insisting that no reduction of the figure of reparations could be considered until some arrangement had

been made among the Allies by which France herself should be relieved of part of her debt to England and the United States.

In home affairs, Parliament finally passed the eighteen months' service Bill. The commercial difficulties with Spain were settled. The Poincaré ministry, though often assailed, remained unshaken. A new scheme of secondary education was introduced by the Minister of Education, Léon Bérard. The Poincaré Cabinet also made efforts to refloat the Banque Industrielle de Chine. This matter raised storms of controversy in France and was utilised by the political parties as a weapon with which to vilify each other. One result of the affair was the suspension for ten years of M. Philippe Berthelot, the Secretary General of the Foreign Office.

In the middle of May the Cantonal elections took place and the results tended to show that there had been a slight movement away from the Right. Some of the anti-Government candidates at these elections were supported by the local Prefects, and a cry was raised against the political activity of public officials, including secondary school teachers and post office employees who were addicted to Communism. The Government was blamed for not taking serious steps to remove guilty officials. Whether public clamour was becoming too loud, or whether the Government desired to make an example, two Communist deputies, M. Marcel Cachin and M. Vaillant Couturier, were tried on July 29 for being concerned in the publication of an article inciting soldiers to disobedience, and were condemned to pay a fine of 500 francs each. Nor was this the only trouble of its kind with which the Government had to deal. A prolonged strike of metal workers at Havre became so serious that on August 26 the military had to be called out and several casualties ensued. The strike did not end until October 9, after lasting 110 days, the men returning to work on terms imposed by their employers. The Communists were blamed for the strike. But the Communists had been in bad odour ever since July 14 when, on the occasion of the Fête National, a young Communist attempted to shoot the President of the Republic but missed his mark.

The financial situation was a source of very grave anxiety. The deficit amounted to 4 milliards of francs, in spite of the fact that the yield from taxes, direct and indirect, was much larger than in 1921. The public was alarmed to see no solution proposed except to resort to economies which were not always in the best interests of the State, and to impose taxes which might prove insupportable. It was irritated by seeing the sympathy of the world directed rather to Germany and Russia than to its own embarrassments. The decision for which it waited never seemed to arrive.

The Hague Conference had had no other result than to confirm the opinion formed at Genoa, of the impossibility of coming to an accord with the Soviets. Whatever the world

may think, France had really sought, both at Genoa and the Hague, to bring Russia back into the comity of nations. But the time was not yet ripe.

Meanwhile the Chamber appeared not to be disposed to ratify the Washington Naval Agreements. The Government did indeed produce a Ratification Bill, but it was a long time in Committee, and had not reached the full House by the end of the year.

Mention should also be made of the scheme for railway development, including the electrification of the French railways, brought forward during the year by M. Trocquer, Minister of Public Works.

France during the year watched with very close concern developments in the Near East. She did not cease to instil into Mustapha Kemal counsels of moderation, while by sending M. Franklin-Bouillon to Angora she gave confidence to the Turks. After the Turkish victory over the Greeks, France withdrew her troops to guard against the possibility of serious incidents. She now awaits the decision of the Conference of Lausanne on the question of peace with Turkey and the freedom of the Straits.

In Syria, France has reduced her troops to an absolute minimum. The civil credits for 1922 amounted to 50 million francs, but they will soon be reduced very considerably. There is every reason to expect that before long Syria will cost France next to nothing, at any rate in comparison with the financial sacrifices hitherto made.

The colonial policy of France, under the direction of M. Albert Sarraut, has been highly successful in 1922, both in Madagascar, in Indo-China and elsewhere. During the year M. Sarraut at his own expense paid a visit to Martinique, to see what improvements could be effected in those regions. But it is in North Africa that the work of France has been particularly noteworthy. While the Conference of Genoa was sitting, M. Millerand, President of the Republic, made a tour through Morocco, Algiers and Tunis. Everywhere he was welcomed with great enthusiasm. The theme of all his speeches was that the future of North Africa lay in the closest possible co-operation of the native Arabs and Berbers with the French soldiers, administrators and colonists. In Tunis, M. Millerand warned the people against a certain Pan-Islamic agitation which has been on foot there for some time, and consulted with M. Saint, the Resident General, on suggested reforms in the administration. In Morocco M. Millerand was struck by the prestige and authority which Marshal Lyautey had managed to preserve for the person and the office of the Sultan, and his success in maintaining a native Government which was respected side by side with a protecting power which was obeyed. Well might M. Millerand say: "France can be proud of its African domain. . . . She has not come to enslave. . . .

The Mohammedan world can have confidence in her, and hand in hand with her aspire to a glorious future."

The last weeks of 1922 brought into view more clearly than ever the default of Germany in the matter of reparations. In spite of various interviews between Ministers and the journey of M. Poincaré to London, no solution was discovered. On December 21 M. Poincaré again defined his policy in a speech in the Senate which was unanimously approved of. Repeating his formula: "No moratorium without guarantees," he reminded the Germans that they still possessed their immovable goods, their coal, their customs, and other sources of wealth and revenue. "We want these goods," he proceeded, "and others which you have, to serve as guarantees for your unpaid debts, and also as means for bringing pressure to bear on your great manufacturers, I mean those persons who are acquiring great wealth in Germany at the expense of the people itself." Thus M. Poincaré drew a clear distinction between the German masses and the privileged few who were exploiting them. What France desired, he went on, was that Germany should free herself as quickly as possible, the payment of reparations by instalments extending over a long period of time being full of grave inconveniences. "It is desirable, therefore, that Germany should clear herself of her debt by successive payments of lump sums, instead of yearly mites, and for this purpose should procure money from abroad." This did not mean, however, that the regulation of reparations should be put in the hands of bankers; it should remain as hitherto with the Governments concerned and the Reparations Commission. With regard to the Inter-allied debts, M. Poincaré once more stated the French point of view: "A large part of France's war expenses is represented by its debt to England and the United States; it cannot be asked to repay these countries before it has itself been indemnified for its losses." Referring finally to relations between France and England, M. Poincaré expressed the hope that these would continue to be as cordial as heretofore, even should the two countries find themselves obliged to differ on any point.

ITALY.

The year 1922 was noteworthy in Italy for the downfall of the old system of government which made the Cabinet responsible to Parliament. Under this system Italy was failing alike to maintain her prestige abroad and to secure order and prosperity at home. Popular discontent with this state of things led to a change as sudden as it was drastic; and the country at the end of the year found itself under a regime totally different from that which had been in force at the beginning.

The Bonomi Cabinet which was in power at the opening of the year was of the type usual in Italy; it included members of all the leading groups in the Chamber and had no definite policy.

Its lack of homogeneity proved fatal to its efficiency, and in February it fell, owing mainly to dissatisfaction with its conduct of foreign affairs. The Administration of Signor Facta which followed suffered from the same weakness and equally failed to inspire confidence in the public. Its most noteworthy achievement was the organising of the international Conference at Genoa, which was presided over by the Italian Premier.

During the Conference Signor Schanzer, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, had conducted negotiations with the Russian delegates for extending the trade agreement which had been made previously between Italy and Russia; but considerable disappointment was caused when on June 9 it became known that the Agreement had been refused ratification by Russia, apparently on account of Italy's not seeing her way to grant the Soviet Government *de jure* recognition. Signor Schanzer paid two visits to London in the summer, in order to discuss certain questions of policy, the chief of which were connected with the Near East and Jubaland; but he failed to obtain a satisfactory agreement.

Discontent with the Government increased rapidly in the early summer, partly owing to its failure to keep the peace between the Fascisti and the Socialists, partly to its financial policy.

The deficit for the financial year 1921-22 was in July stated by the President of the Financial Committee, Signor Paratore, to amount to over 7,000,000,000 lire, even supposing it would be possible to collect arrears of some 1,000,000,000 lire excess profits tax. Taxation was already extremely burdensome, but the Government was unsuccessful in its efforts at cutting down the expenses of administration. These were inordinately high, as all branches of the civil service and all public services—railways, post, telegraph and telephone—were greatly overstaffed. The deficit was further increased by State subsidies to certain shipping companies, workmen's co-operative clubs, shipyards, etc. The Government could not touch these without coming into conflict with powerful vested interests, and above all incurring the hostility of Labour and Socialist organisations which were believed to be inspired from abroad and which could exercise enormous influence at elections. By means of a number of strikes which had at times paralysed the life of the country, Labour had secured what seemed to the rest of the population a privileged position, and the Government appeared unable or unwilling to prevent it from making further encroachments.

Discontent with the Government was voiced chiefly by the so-called Popular or Catholic Party, which on July 19 obtained a vote of censure against the Government by 288 votes to 103. Signor Facta, however, after about a fortnight managed to reconstruct his Cabinet by dropping four of the old members. His final overthrow was brought about some three months later from a different quarter.

Among the most determined opponents of the Socialists was the ex-Socialist Benito Mussolini, formerly editor of the *Avanti*, and now of the Milan paper, *Il Popolo d'Italia*. He had managed to become the head of the Fascist organisation, which in the course of the year had formed itself into a political party, and had actively opposed the Government. The Fascists, it will be remembered, had been instrumental in 1921 in recovering factories which had been seized by the Communists, and driving members of that Party out of municipal administrations. In the May of this year they again came into violent conflict with the Socialists during a general strike proclaimed in Rome on the date of Italy's entry into the Great War.

Signor Mussolini determined to make use of this organisation to force the Government's hand, or alternatively to displace it. He called a general congress of Fascisti at Naples, and there on October 24 some 40,000 of them, or one-tenth of the total number, paraded before him in military formation. In his speech to the gathering Signor Mussolini openly threw down a challenge to the Government, calling upon it either definitely to settle the most urgent problems of internal and external policy, or else immediately to resign and hand over the administration to the Fascist Party.

Whether Mussolini's next step was premeditated or was the result of a sudden inspiration cannot be said with certainty. What is known is that on the 26th a Fascista Manifesto announced to the country "the impending march of the Fascisti on Rome in order to cut the Gordian knot and hand over to the King and Army a renewed Italy." The manifesto proclaimed the devotion of the Fascisti to the monarchy and their admiration for the Army, which was invited to abstain from the struggle, and contained a declaration to the working classes that they would not have to suffer any disturbance or violation of their rights.

On October 27 the Cabinet resigned. The King, who had rushed back to the capital from his holidays, commenced the usual consultations for the formation of a new Cabinet. The old Government, however, which according to the Constitution remained in power until a new Cabinet was formed, forced matters to an issue. Frightened by the Fascisti mobilisation and the seizure of public offices and railway lines, it suddenly proclaimed martial law, hoping thus to cow its opponents and restore order. But the King refused to sign the proclamation, and thus compelled the Government to withdraw the measure almost immediately. The country felt instinctively that the King, by this step, had saved Italy from a struggle that could easily have led to civil war. In the meantime members of the Conservative Party suggested to the King to entrust Signor Mussolini with the formation of a new Cabinet. The Fascist leader hastened to Rome on the 30th to discuss the situation with the King. On the same night the list of new Ministers

was submitted to His Majesty and received his approval, and on the following day (October 31), the new Cabinet was sworn in.

Contrary to general expectation, the Mussolini Cabinet was not composed of Fascisti only, but contained representatives of the Nationalist, Democratic, and Popular or Catholic Parties. Its most significant feature, however, was the inclusion of General A. Diaz and Admiral Thaon di Revel for the Departments of War and Navy, while the Premier retained in his own hands the portfolios both of the Home and Foreign Offices. The Fascisti were granted the honour of a triumphal march through the Capital; and the Government immediately thereupon, in order to show its respect for the Constitution, ordered the demobilisation of all Fascisti forces to be carried out within a few days.

On November 16 the Cabinet laid its programme before both Houses of Parliament and asked for full powers until the end of 1923. It has been remarked that since the time of Oliver Cromwell no Prime Minister has ever spoken more haughtily to a House of Parliament than did Signor Mussolini to the Chamber of Deputies on this occasion; whereas he treated the Senate with marked respect. He said that the new Government was willing to assume full responsibility, and therefore was asking the Chamber to grant it full powers. If, however, the Chamber would not do this, the Government would take the powers of its own accord. On the way the Chamber voted would depend its own existence, and it was for the Deputies to choose whether dissolution should take place in two days or two years.

In order to reduce the deficit the Government proposed among other things to revise war pensions; to introduce radical alterations in the constitution of the public services—railways, posts, telegraph and telephone—with a view to handing them over eventually, if and when possible, to private enterprise; to reduce shipping lines administered by the State and subsidies to shipping concerns; to curtail the programme of Public Works to a minimum; to reform the Civil Service; to exercise strict control over the Estimates; and to place taxation on a new basis in order to foster the revival of trade. In foreign relations the Government undertook to adopt a firmer attitude than its predecessors where Italy's interests were concerned. On November 25 the full powers demanded by the Cabinet till December 31, 1923, were granted by the Chamber by 275 votes to 90.

The revolution thus effected by the Fascisti completely overshadows all the other events that took place in the history of Italy during the year. It is, however, worth mentioning that from the economic point of view the year was not altogether an unsatisfactory one for the country. There were fewer strikes than in the previous year; the adverse trade balance experienced a further considerable reduction; and there was a

certain revival of the tourist traffic. The deflation of the currency was continued to a certain extent, and over 7,000,000,000 lire were deposited in the savings banks.

Mention should also be made of the election, on February 6, of Cardinal Ratti, Archbishop of Milan, to the Papacy under the title of Pius XI. From the day of his election the new Pope indicated that he would carry on the tradition of friendliness to the Italian people which had been the policy of his predecessor.

CHAPTER III.

GERMANY AND AUSTRIA.

GERMANY.

DURING the year 1922 the problem of reparations dominated the whole public life of Germany even to a greater extent than in the preceding year, whereas the two other questions which previously had been a similar source of anxiety and unrest—disarmament and the trial of war culprits—receded more and more into the background, though they are still, so to speak, in the air, and from time to time remind the world of their existence. The question how Germany was to carry out the reparation obligations laid on her by the Treaty of Versailles and reduced to definite figures in the London Ultimatum of May 5, 1921, had already at the beginning of the year reached a critical stage owing to the perils of the economic situation in Germany. As a practical precaution, Germany sent in a request for a postponement of the reparation payments. This gave rise in a short time, i.e. after the change of the Ministry in France on January 12, to a regular battle for the moratorium; and owing to the failure to obtain this, and the complete collapse of the exchange, the year closed amid a general feeling of hopelessness.

During 1921, after the first reparation payments had been made, the financial stability of the country and its currency had rapidly deteriorated. The Government consequently had not been surprised, on applying to the Bank of England for a loan of 25,000,000*l.*, to receive from the Governor the reply that no credit could be given to Germany so long as she was saddled with her present load of reparations debt. Accordingly, her last step in that year had been to turn to the Reparations Commission with a declaration that she would be able to pay only in part the next two reparation instalments due on January 15 and February 15. She joined to this statement a request for a postponement of payment. This forced the Supreme Council of the Allies to seek a new solution of the reparations problem. The first subject discussed by the Conference of the Supreme Council convened at Cannes by the

French Premier, M. Briand, was the question of reparations; and in the course of the deliberations German delegates were invited to attend in order to explain the situation of Germany. No decision, however, was reached on the subject of the moratorium. Herr Rathenau, the head of the German delegation, set forth the extent of Germany's capacity to pay in a statement which was highly commended at the time, but owing to the Cabinet crisis which supervened in France, and the declared aversion of the new head of affairs, M. Poincaré, to Conferences and oral discussions, the Conference was prematurely broken off. Still, on January 13, immediately before the dissolution of the Conference, the Reparations Commission granted Germany a temporary postponement of payment, on condition that it should pay 31,000,000 gold marks every ten days, and within fourteen days submit a complete plan for emending the German Budget and guaranteeing the paper currency, and also a scheme for cash payments during 1922.

In its reply of January 28 the German Government, taking its stand on the discussions in Cannes, proposed that Germany during 1922 should pay 720,000,000 gold marks in cash and 1,450,000,000 in kind, at the same time asking that the cash payments should be reduced to the lowest figure possible. In regard to the amending of the Budget, it pointed to the agreement just arrived at between the Government Parties and the People's Party for the better collection of existing taxes and the introduction of new ones, both direct and indirect, the proceeds of which were expected to increase the revenue from taxation from the 55,000,000,000 paper marks raised in 1921 to 100,000,000,000 in 1922, and the chief constituent of which was a forced loan anticipated to yield 1,000,000,000 gold marks. Notice was given of a Bill to secure to the Reichsbank—in accordance with the demand of the Reparations Commission—complete freedom from interference on the part of the Imperial Chancellor, and a promise was held out that everything which could be reasonably required should be done to lessen the floating debt and to check the activities of the note press.

The Government's attitude on the reparations question was explained by the Chancellor in a speech in the Reichstag on January 28, in which he repudiated as utterly groundless the charge brought against Germany by M. Poincaré, in a speech in the French Chamber, of maliciously avoiding the fulfilment of her obligations. The Reichstag showed its approval of the attitude of the Government by rejecting a vote of censure brought forward by the Communists.

The Reparations Commission answered on March 21 in a note in which it fixed the obligations of Germany at the figures proposed by the German Government, but attached to this concession certain stringent conditions which would have to be carried out by a fixed date, at latest by May 31. The taxation arrangement—which the Reparations Commission considered

quite unsatisfactory, and incommensurate alike with the obligations and the capacities of Germany—was to be put into effect by April 30. In addition, by May 31 new taxation to the extent of 60,000,000,000 marks would have to be imposed. A number of measures for securing strict control over German finances and the German Budget would have to be introduced at early dates, and the scheme for an internal loan submitted by April 30.

In a speech in the Reichstag the Chancellor pointed to the rapid depreciation of German currency which had been the immediate effect of the note, and rejected the suggested measures for controlling German finances as an intolerable infringement of German sovereignty. By 248 votes to 81, with 43 abstentions, the Reichstag on March 30 passed a resolution protesting against the intolerable demands made of the German people in the note of the Reparations Commission, and approving of the declarations made by the Government in answer to it.

The Government accordingly besought the Reparations Commission to reconsider its decision of March 21, and proposed that Germany's capacity to pay should be investigated by experts. The exchange of notes was for the time being closed by an answer of the Reparations Commission deploring the obstinacy of Germany and warning the Government of its possible consequences, but at the same time expressing readiness to examine every practical suggestion which might be put forward by Germany for removing her difficulties.

Meanwhile there had met in Genoa the great World Economic Congress, the convening of which was the one positive result of the Conference of Cannes. The Congress, it is true, lost much of its significance for Germany owing to the fact that France had consented to take part in it only on condition that the question of reparations was not officially raised. Nevertheless, the German Government, as the Chancellor had stated in the above-mentioned sitting of the Reichstag of January 26, regarded the convoking of the Congress as a moral victory for Germany, as it hoped that "investigation of the world economic problems and their inter-connexion will help to put the question of reparations more and more in its true light, and so favour the reasonable and practicable solution of the problem advocated by Germany." This hope was fulfilled only to a limited extent. It is true, the admission to the Congress on equal terms of the German delegation (consisting of Dr. Wirth, Herr Walter Rathenau, who had been Foreign Minister since the end of January, and Dr. Hermes, the Minister of Finance) as representatives of Germany was a moral triumph, and the question of reparations was discussed in private conversations; but very little actual progress was made. The German delegation, however, became the object of general and by no means welcome attention when, on Easter Sunday

(Apr. 16), it concluded in Rapallo with Chicherin, the Russian Foreign Minister, a political and economic agreement which had been drawn up in Berlin, but had been laid aside before being finally adopted. This agreement was of a far-reaching character. It established peace finally between the two countries, waived on both sides all claims arising from the war, and, on the side of Germany, also all private claims of German subjects arising out of Russian measures of socialisation, on condition that other States would do the same; finally, it restored diplomatic relations. In this way open recognition was accorded to the Bolshevist Government, to which the former Russian ambassador's palace in Berlin, after being empty for years, had already been handed over. To a certain extent this step rendered more difficult the negotiations of the Great Powers with the Moscow Government, which was already obstinate enough. The assurances of the German delegates that no disloyalty had been intended to the Congress by these agreements, and their assertion that they had reliable information that the other Powers were about to conclude arrangements with Russia which would put Germany in a tight corner if she did not act quickly, were rejected with scorn. The French delegation showed itself particularly indignant, but the President of the Congress, Mr. Lloyd George, also read the German delegation a stiff lesson. The affair was closed by the delegation being debarred from participation in the commission for Russian affairs; but the representatives of the Great and Little Ententes had the last word with the assertion that the German statements had not "a shadow of justification." The allegation, made with particular insistence in French quarters, that the agreement, in addition to its published stipulations, contained a clause of a military and political character, by which the firm of Krupp's obtained the right of manufacturing war material in Russia, was categorically denied by Dr. Wirth in an interview with journalists. That no legal objection could be taken to the agreement was afterwards expressly admitted by the Reparations Commission.

This crisis was followed by others in settling which the German delegates again did good service. On the whole, however, the only economic questions decided by the Congress were of secondary importance. Of more consequence to Germany was the approach of May 31, with the threat of dire happenings if the obligations fixed by the Reparations Commission were not carried out. M. Poincaré had already in his first speech in the Chamber set forth the programme of pledges and sanctions with which he meant to overcome the alleged "bad will" of Germany. Accordingly, the Financial Minister, Dr. Hermes, went himself to Paris, and as a result of his discussions with the Reparations Commission, the Government was able to make a proposal with which this body declared itself in substantial agreement. The Government promised to

take measures for balancing the Budget, and undertook to keep the floating debt at the figure of March 31 (272,000,000,000 marks), and to counterbalance any unavoidable increases by increases of revenue, on condition that an international loan was arranged "in due time." The Reparations Commission thereupon consented definitively to a postponement of payment for 1922, but with the proviso that the moratorium would be annulled if Germany failed to carry out its obligations, or if, owing to the failure of the international loan, it should be found impossible to keep the floating debt down to the stipulated level.

In order to examine the conditions under which it would be possible to raise an international loan such as had thus been declared necessary, a special Loan Committee met in Paris, composed of authorities in the financial world, such as Pierpont Morgan and Benjamin Strong, Director of the Federal Reserve Bank in New York. The Committee got as far as asking the Reparations Commission the question: "Is Germany bound to pay the instalments fixed on May 5, 1921, in London?" All the members of the Commission, with the exception of the French, were prepared to answer that the Committee was empowered to investigate all the conditions requisite for securing an international loan without regard to the London ultimatum. But the French Premier stated in the Chamber that, as head of the Government, he had informed the Reparations Commission that the question of an international loan was not to be made dependent on any modification of the French demands. Owing to this, and the fact that France was the Power most concerned, the Loan Committee adjourned indefinitely, at the same time expressing its readiness, if invited, to meet again, should conditions become more favourable.

Now followed the most terrible event in the history of the German Republic during the year—an event which put its stability to a severe test. The Minister for Foreign Affairs, Walter Rathenau, whose abilities and knowledge of affairs were a valuable asset and source of hope to Germany in the critical times through which she was passing, was on the morning of June 24 shot dead in front of his house by assassins, immature, crazy, excited Nationalists, who saw in him only the hated Jew. The horror which this shocking crime evoked, even beyond the borders of Germany, could not fail to shake confidence in the future of the country. Whereas on June 20 the mark was still at one sixty-seventh of its par value, on June 27 it had sunk to one-eightieth, on July 3 to one hundred-and-fourteenth, and on August 1 to one hundred-and-fiftieth. Owing to this new development the German Government on July 12 made a fresh application for postponement of those payments which had been fixed for 1922, and at the same time for a reduction of the monthly payments for the clearing of private pre-war claims from 2,000,000*l.* to 500,000*l.* The Reparations

Commission promised to reply, if possible, by August 15. But France returned an abrupt negative to the request for a reduction of the clearing payments, and even threatened reprisals if Germany did not carry out its clearing obligations by August 5. These reprisals—consisting in the expulsion of 500 Germans from Alsace-Lorraine, the confiscation of the income and property of German companies in Alsace, and the complete suspension of the clearing system—were actually commenced by the French Government, but soon countermanded on sharp protests being made by the population of the whole district, especially the business community. Negotiations thereupon were instituted, in which an agreement was reached with regard to the clearing system.

For dealing, however, with the main question—the request for a moratorium for 1922—a Conference of the Allied Governments met on August 7 in London. The deliberations were again fruitless, as M. Poincaré demanded, before granting a moratorium, "productive pledges," *viz.*, the confiscation of forests and mines, and participation in the German dye industry in the occupied district, whereas the representatives of the other Governments were willing to grant only the control of such pledges, but not their confiscation. The request was accordingly referred to the Reparations Commission, which opened new negotiations with the Government in Berlin for the voluntary surrender of suitable pledges. Owing to the persistent refusal of Germany, these led to no result, and the Commission, in order to avoid an impasse, accepted a compromise which had been proposed by the representative of Belgium, the Power which stood to gain most by it, to the effect that Germany should issue treasury bonds of six months' currency for the rest of its payments due in 1922. The decision in this case was unanimous, whereas the German request for a moratorium had been rejected only by a majority, according to a preconcerted agreement. The German-Belgian negotiations regarding the period and guaranteeing of the treasury bonds led, with the assistance of the Bank of England and the German Reichsbank, to a result satisfactory to both sides, and Germany was thus released from further cash payments for 1922.

By this arrangement Germany virtually secured a moratorium for 1922, but the fundamental question was not settled. The main cause of Germany's inability to pay, the steady depreciation of the mark, was still at work. Towards the end of the year it assumed a disastrous rapidity. On August 1 the dollar still stood at M. 643 and the pound at M. 2,850. But on September 5 the dollar had already risen to M. 1,440 and the pound to M. 6,525, and in December the pound was worth between 30,000 and 40,000 marks and the dollar between 7,000 and 9,000. The German currency, which at the beginning of the year had already fallen to one forty-fifth part of its par value, was towards the end of the year worth at times only

one two-thousandth part, and only for brief intervals rose to one sixteen-hundredth part of its previous value. In such circumstances it was impossible to exercise proper supervision over the national finances. The Budget submitted at the beginning of the year had provided for an ordinary revenue and expenditure of 103,208,000,000 marks. The expenditure included, in addition to the costs of the Administration, 16,500,000,000 for reparations. The extraordinary Budget balanced at 4,945 million marks, of which 3,100,000,000 were for loans for productive objects. The State services (posts, railways, and printing press) required in the ordinary Budget no supplementary estimates, but in the extraordinary Budget the railways claimed 6,800,000,000 for new capital and the posts 2,100,000,000, so that the loans for productive objects would have totalled about 12,000,000,000. For carrying out the terms of the Peace Treaty there were required, with the mark at one forty-fifth of its par value, 187,531,000,000 marks. Of this sum 16,500,000,000 were provided by the ordinary Budget; the other 171,000,000 would have had to be raised by a loan. As soon as the mark fell to a sixtieth of par the deficit became 210,000,000 instead of 171,000,000; and it swelled to fantastic dimensions with the further depreciation of the mark which actually followed. The floating debt, which at the beginning of the year amounted to 247,000,000,000, had risen by March 31 to 272,000,000,000, by the first week of December to 962,000,000,000, and by the end of the year to 1,494·9 milliards.

The depreciation of the currency, which caused such confusion in the public finances, led also to a nervous and often arbitrary raising of prices with which salaries and wages were quite unable to keep pace, so that large sections of the population were rendered destitute. Alike, therefore, for the external and the internal situation, the stabilising of the mark became the chief thing needful. The Government sought to prevent the further fall of the mark by a regulation forbidding dealing in foreign currencies. The measure, however, was not well conceived and proved wholly ineffective; it met with sharp opposition, and soon had to be altered. A project for a gold reserve loan was seriously mooted for a time, but was dropped owing to party differences.

At the beginning of November the Reparations Commission went to Berlin in the hope of there finding a way out of the impasse. Simultaneously a Conference was held in Berlin of economic and financial authorities who had been asked to give reasoned opinions on the possibility of stabilising the mark. Both Conferences ended without positive result. The Reparations Commission failed to find in the note of the German Government, which it took with it to Paris as the result of the Conference, the concrete proposals which it had looked for; nor did the answers of the experts, who in substance had declared

the stabilisation of the mark to be feasible, granted the co-operation of the Reichsbank, help from abroad, and reduction of the burden of reparations, lead to any action of the Government in the direction indicated. The causes of this inactivity were to be found partly in the personality of the members of the Government, partly in obstacles from without. These consisted, on the one hand, in the reluctance of the Reichsbank to risk a part of its gold reserve in an attempt to reform the currency; on the other hand, in the objections of a section of the industrial world, speaking for whom Herr Stinnes, while expressing in the Central Economic Council his approval in principle of the attempt to stabilise the mark, considered that for this purpose financial measures were less important than the increasing of production through lengthening the hours of work. Ultimately, on November 13, the Government of Herr Wirth, in a note to the Reparations Commission, made definite proposals regarding stabilisation and reparations. These were, to fix the German reparation obligations definitely at a tolerable figure, to release Germany for three to four years from all payments in cash and kind, to summon without delay a Conference of international financiers to consider the granting of a bank credit to Germany, and, finally, to support Germany's demand for complete equality of treatment in trade and commerce.

Immediately after the despatch of this note the Wirth Cabinet found itself compelled to resign owing to party dissensions. In order to secure a broader basis for his Government in the critical situation which faced the Republic, Dr. Wirth had sought to gain the adherence of the German People's Party, which represented the property-owning classes. Previously to this, in September, the Moderate Socialist Party had reunited with the Independent Social Democrats who had seceded during the war, while as a kind of counterpoise the bourgeois parties in the Government coalition had formed a "working agreement" in Parliament with the German People's Party. The United Social Democrats objected to the entry of the German People's Party into the Government coalition, and Dr. Wirth, having made this a question of confidence, felt himself compelled to resign. The President entrusted the formation of a new Cabinet to Dr. Cuno, Manager of the Hamburg-America Line, who with some difficulty accomplished the task. As the Social Democrats refused to join, Dr. Cuno formed a so-called Business Ministry, which, however, was largely composed of deputies of the bourgeois coalition. These parties did not by themselves form a majority in the House; consequently the Cabinet depended on the good will either of the Social Democrats or the German Nationalists. The offices were filled as follows: Chancellor, Dr. Cuno (no party); Vice-Chancellor and Minister of Justice, Dr. Heinze (German People's Party); Finance, Dr. Hermes (Centre); Labour, Dr. Brauns (Centre); Board of Trade, Dr. Becker (German People's

Party); Defence, Dr. Gessler (Democrat); Communications, Gröner; Posts, Stingl (formerly State Secretary in the Imperial Ministry of Posts); Ministry of the Interior, Oeser (Democrat); Treasury, Albert (formerly Secretary of the Imperial Exchequer); Food, Dr. Luther (formerly Mayor of Essen); Foreign Affairs, Von Rosenberg (formerly Ambassador in Copenhagen).

The new Government continued the reparations policy of its predecessor, taking its stand unreservedly on the latter's note concerning stabilisation and reparations which had been approved of by the vast majority of the Reichstag. When a Conference of the Allies met in London to consider the German request for a postponement of payment, the new Government made fresh proposals on matters of detail regarding the periods and the application of the loans it had in view. The Conference rejected the proposals as inadequate. The London negotiations brought no solution of the reparations question. M. Poincaré's plans for the seizing of "productive pledges" and the occupation of the Ruhr valley met with the opposition of the other Powers, while M. Poincaré on his side was not to be moved from his designs, which were of a military and political rather than economic character, by any offers of England for a mutual cancellation of debts.

Thus the year ended with a situation full of ominous uncertainty. In the occupied Rhineland, as in the rest of Germany, the "pledge" policy, behind which people saw only a plan for the piecemeal detachment of the Rhineland from the mother country, after the manner of Louis XIV, had wounded national susceptibilities most acutely. The Press both in England and in Germany had divulged the contents of a secret memorandum drawn up by M. Dariac, President of the Financial Commission of the French Chamber, which demanded, as the programme of French policy in the Rhineland, the prolongation of the period of military occupation, the removal of Prussian officials, a customs barrier between occupied and unoccupied Germany, a separate Rhineland budget, a separate Rhineland militia, extension of the powers of the Inter-Allied Commission, and the election of an Assembly to meet this Commission. The official policy of pledges and sanctions seemed to the Rhinelanders to bear a fatal likeness to this programme. So in the last months of the year there arose from all sides, from the political parties, municipalities, middle class and Socialist organisations, and the clergy of the great religious bodies, sharp protests against any attempts at dismemberment, which was advocated openly only by a small group of protegés of the Rhineland Commission. The administration of the Rhineland Commission in the occupied district was dominated by French ideas, and was not calculated to win adherents for this policy. Expulsions of private individuals and officials; protests against the appointment of officials from unoccupied districts; interference with the curricula of Rhenish schools;

the deposition and expulsion of high officials, like the Wiesbaden Regierungspräsident Momm; the arrest of the Regierungsassessor Dr. Prange in Wiesbaden and his sentence by court-martial to five years' imprisonment; prohibition of the German courts from carrying out of the sentence of imprisonment passed on Smeets, the separatist and French protegé; the prohibition of the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the German Empire; prohibition of the German national hymn, and restriction of liberty of speech and writing —these steps on the part of the French had created a feeling of bitterness against their occupation the like of which had never before been known. The situation was such that it was regarded as an actual misfortune by the Germans when America, which had withdrawn part of its garrison in the summer, announced its intention of withdrawing the rest, because the German public, in its own helplessness, looks on the presence of English and American troops as a kind of protection. Numerous unpleasantnesses with coloured and white troops—among which certain affairs with Belgian detachments in Hamborn and Oberkassel have left behind particularly disagreeable recollections—have served to accentuate this feeling of unjust treatment. A further grievance is that the occupation and the officials connected with it consume sums of money which seem wantonly extravagant in face of the slender incomes of the German officials, employees and workmen. The payments made by Germany in cash and kind up to March were estimated by the Reparations Commission at 11·4 milliards of gold marks. Of this sum, according to the same reckoning, 2·86 milliards of gold marks were left for reparations, while 4·42 milliards of gold marks were expended on the occupation.

Similar feelings are occasionally aroused by the Control Commissions which are still at work in the unoccupied territory, and which have not yet been abolished, as the Commission for aircraft was after Germany had delivered up or destroyed all the air material left from the war. The process of disarmament continued on the whole smoothly during the year. The fortresses on the West front, as also those of Friedrichsort, Kiel, and Heligoland exist no longer, and the assertion that Germany is preparing a new war of revenge in the dark after the style of Scharnhorst has been characterised by the Minister of Defence, Gessler, as a senseless fabrication. The few complaints which have been made have been attended to through the usual channels, without creating any stir. Only in Stettin, Passau, and Ingolstadt did the visits of Allied officers so far work on public feeling as to provoke the rougher elements of the population to an exhibition of violence, which the Allies made the occasion for demands for special reparation and apologies; and these had to be complied with by the Government, although in the German view no blame attached to any officials.

With her neighbour on the East, Poland, Germany succeeded in making good progress towards coming to terms on the question of Upper Silesia. Through the mediation of the Swiss deputy Calonder, the two countries in April came to an agreement for fifteen years, which gave prospect of a lasting settlement. The most difficult questions were those of the liquidation of German private property in the portions of Upper Silesia assigned to Poland, and the protection of minorities. In regard to the former the difficulty was due to the fact that Poland claimed an unrestricted right of liquidation, and did not recognise the right of the Chairman of the Mixed Commission to arbitrate. A compromise was arrived at which gave Poland a limited right of liquidation, without inflicting too great hardships on the German owners. On July 17 commenced the transfer to Poland of the parts of Upper Silesia assigned to her; it was accompanied by the flight of large portions of the population from these districts into the part which remained German. A few weeks later a vote was taken in this part on the question whether it should become an autonomous federated State, or remain incorporated with Prussia. The result was: 513,126 votes for Prussia, 50,400 for autonomy. It was now possible to hold the elections to the Reichstag and the Prussian Landtag which had been postponed on account of the occupation. They ended unfavourably for the Poles, who won no seat out of five in the Reichstag, and one out of eight in the Landtag.

Great dissatisfaction was caused in Germany by the fact that five villages on the East bank of the Vistula, which had formerly belonged to West Prussia, which were inhabited almost entirely by Germans, and which had voted for Germany, were nevertheless, in spite of the protest of the inhabitants, of the Reichstag, and of the Prussian Landtag, assigned by the Boundary Commission not to East Prussia but to Poland. The Prussian Premier Braun, in the most emphatic manner, stigmatised this decision as a "scandalous breach of the Peace of Versailles." The protest was in so far effective that the execution of the decision was postponed, and has not yet been carried out.

A number of treaties were concluded with various States—with Switzerland, the United States, Italy, Latvia, and Finland. Most of them were economic in character, and served to clear away the débris left by the war. The extension of the Russo-German Treaty of Rapallo to the Soviet republics federated with Russia—the Ukraine, White Russia, Georgia, Armenia, Azerbarjan, and the Republic of the Far East—took place as a matter of course, and aroused no attention.

Internally the position of the Republic was somewhat weakened by the unrest arising from the uncertainty as to the war debts and the despair to which large sections of the population were being reduced by economic straits. Communist agitation, it is true, had little success. A strike engineered by

the more reckless elements among the railway employees in February paralysed traffic for six days in North Germany and a part of Baden, but it then collapsed, and was followed by disciplinary action against some of the instigators and also those participators in the strike who had been guilty of acts of violence and sabotage. The Government, supported by public opinion, held that State employees had no right to strike, and received a vote of confidence on this point in the Reichstag. A frivolous strike of the Berlin municipal workers, which left the capital without light, water, and electricity, ended after three days with an unconditional resumption of work. Food disturbances broke out at some places in the summer, but they were easily suppressed.

More sinister and more dangerous were the subterraneous movements which were fomented in anti-republican circles, and which commanded the services of numerous existing organisations, some secret, others public. As the preceding year had been marked by the murder of Erzberger, so was this year by the already mentioned murder of Walter Rathenau, an attempt, on Whit Monday, to poison Herr Scheidemann, the Senior Burgomaster of Cassel, with prussic acid, and the stabbing of Maximilian Harden on July 3—acts engendered by an atmosphere impregnated with political and moral poison. Public opinion was shocked in the highest degree by these crimes, and the feeling aroused found vent in great demonstrations on the part of the republican section of the population, especially among the working classes, and led in certain places, *e.g.*, Zwickau, near Magdeburg, Freiburg in Baden, Darmstadt, etc., to violent exhibitions of popular resentment, at times accompanied by bloodshed. The danger to the Republic was perhaps not quite so great as it seemed at the first moment. The Republican authorities acted with great energy, and proclaimed relentless warfare against the "Right," provoking from the other side the taunt that it was misusing the resources of the State for party purposes. An order was issued investing the Government with extraordinary powers to cope with the emergency. A few days later it was withdrawn in favour of a Bill "for the Protection of the Republic," increasing the penalties for attacks on republican institutions and officials, establishing a special State Court within the Imperial Court, and laying down regulations for the strict control of societies, meetings, and printed matter. This was followed by an amnesty Bill, a crimes Bill, and a supplement to the Officials law. The Reichstag passed the Bill for the Protection of the Republic after a long discussion by 303 votes to 102. The other Bills were also passed by large majorities. Only the German Nationalists, the Bavarian People's Party, the Communists, and certain members of the German People's Party voted against them.

But Bavaria, which, since the overthrow of its Soviet Republic, had been pervaded in its administration and legislation

by a spirit of indifference both to the republican constitution and the unity of the Reich, and which had already in the previous year come into conflict with the Imperial Government over the question of the disbandment of the militia, announced from the very first in the Reichsrat its opposition to the Bill, which was characterised in the Bavarian Landtag as a piece of arbitrary legislation, an offence against democracy, and an infringement of Bavarian sovereignty. Acting on its rights under the Imperial Constitution and in accordance with the sentiment of the majority of the Landtag, the Bavarian Government issued an "emergency order" which reproduced the Bill with omissions. The Imperial Government and the Reichstag did not remain passive under this defiance of the authority of the Empire, and demanded the promulgation of the Bill without alteration. Negotiations were thereupon opened; in Northern Bavaria the majority of the population took up the Imperial standpoint; and finally, through the intervention of the President of the Reich, a compromise was arrived at by which Bavaria did indeed promulgate the imperial law, but as a concession to its particularism a special South German department of the new Court was established.

The Bavarian Premier, Count Lerchenfeld, who had adopted a somewhat wavering attitude in this conflict between the Reich and Bavaria, retired a few weeks later, as he had lost the confidence of the strongly particularist Bavarian People's Party, which had the majority in Bavaria. He was succeeded by the Minister of Education, Von Knilling.

In virtue of the Law for the Protection of the Republic a whole number of "Right revolutionary" organisations, which were known to be nurseries of anti-republican sentiment, were dissolved. But the expectation that the trials instituted on account of the above-mentioned crimes would afford a clue to the original instigators of these crimes was not fulfilled. Thus in the trial of ex-Captain v. Killinger in May for abetting the murder of Erzberger it became apparent that there must have been parties behind the scenes, but who these parties were remained dark, and the accused was acquitted, although his connexion with the murderers of Erzberger was not in doubt.

The actual murderers of Rathenau, the engineer Fischer and Naval Lieutenant (retired) Erwin Kern, had escaped arrest and condemnation by suicide. A number of persons who were accused partly of complicity, partly of abetting or assisting, were brought before the new Court in October. Ernst Techow, a student, only twenty-one years of age, who had driven the motor car in which the actual murderers of Rathenau had been sitting, was sentenced to fifteen years' imprisonment and loss of his civic rights. The rest of the accused received lighter sentences, or were acquitted.

Of quite a different character was a political trial held at Munich—the trial for high treason of the author, Freiherr v.

Leoprechting. This man had been in the pay of the French envoy in Munich, M. Dard, who left the city for good a few days before the trial. It came out in the trial that Dard had acquainted the accused with the plans for separating South from North Germany, and that these plans were, if necessary, to be assisted by an advance of French troops through the Main valley; and Leoprechting, who belonged to several Nationalist anti-republican organisations, while at the same time he had pretended to the Imperial Government to be perfectly loyal to the Empire, had been receiving large sums of money for acting as a French agent. He was condemned to imprisonment for life and loss of civil rights.

Herr Kapp, the instigator of the notorious Kapp-putsch of March, 1920, voluntarily offered in the summer to stand his trial before the Imperial Court. He was suffering, however, from an affection of the eyes which necessitated an operation, and as a result of this he died before his trial opened.

The anniversary of the establishment of the Republic was celebrated throughout the Reich on August 11.

The President of the Republic, Herr Ebert, had on various occasions asked that, now that Upper Silesia was restored to Germany, an election of a President by the people should take place, as laid down in the constitution. He repeated the request in the autumn. In order, however, to avoid disturbances in the country, the majority parties came to an agreement to amend the constitution in such a way as to allow the present President to remain in office till June 30, 1925. The German Nationalists and Communists objected, but were outvoted by 314 votes to 76. Herr Ebert declared himself satisfied with this arrangement.

Except in Bavaria no great political changes are to be registered, although elections have taken place in several of the states. The unity of the Republic is not threatened. Certain movements for autonomy, the most noticeable of which are in Hanover and the importance of which cannot yet be gauged, are directed not against the Reich, but against the Prussian Administration. Complaints were made by Heligoland with a somewhat similar object, and have been met by Prussia's conceding a certain measure of autonomy to Heligoland within Prussia, so that the island is now really administered by its inhabitants.

A few words must be said on the Saar district, which has been separated from Germany and placed under a Commission representing various Governments under the control of the League of Nations, but which by state and international law belongs to Germany. The population was highly dissatisfied with the rule of the Commission. It addressed one complaint after another to the League of Nations, and this body sent a deputation to the district; but the deputation heard only the version of the Commission officials, not the population, and the

discontent was not allayed. The inhabitants sent a deputation to Geneva to lay their complaints before the League of Nations, and these were reinforced in May by a long memorandum. Complaints were made of the despotic character of the whole system, of the frequent expulsion of marked individuals, of the system of espionage in vogue, of the preference of French newcomers over natives, of the illegal presence of 7,500 French troops, of the purely advisory character of the local Parliament, of the French instruction in the elementary schools, and of the bare-faced attempts made to misrepresent the purely German character of the Saar district. The German Government also raised a protest against the presence of the French garrison. The policy of the Commission, of which the only member who enjoys any confidence in the country is the one proposed by the British Government, Mr. Waugh, formerly Mayor of Winnipeg in Canada, has so far not been altered by this flood of complaints.

In the district of Memel an unofficial vote was taken in which, in a population of 140,000, no less than 54,429, or 90 per cent. of those entitled to vote, declared themselves in favour of a Free State, there being no prospect of re-annexation to Germany.

AUSTRIA.

Throughout 1922, as in the previous year, the Austrian Government was engaged in a desperate struggle with financial difficulties which threatened to overwhelm the State and plunge it into chaos. The deficit in the budget, which was already appalling when the year opened, was, in the conditions of the country, bound to increase indefinitely, unless assistance on a large scale was forthcoming from without. The year 1922 marks a turning-point in Austrian history, in virtue of the fact that it at length witnessed the definite promise of such assistance. This promise sufficed to stop the financial rot and to save the country from the complete collapse to which it was drifting; whether it has come in time to serve as a basis for a genuine effort of reconstruction remains yet to be seen.

At the opening of the year Austria was awaiting the issue of long drawn-out discussions of a project for rendering her assistance through the agency of the League of Nations. Her financial position afforded ground for the gravest anxiety. The currency was depreciating rapidly, and the State undertakings were being run at a great loss. In order to quicken matters the President, Dr. Hainisch, sent despairing telegrams to the King of England and M. Millerand, and the Austrian Minister of Finance, Dr. Gürtler, in company with his expert adviser, Dr. Rosenberg, opened negotiations with Czechoslovakia and other States for procuring credits which might serve as a kind of earnest for the substantial foreign loan which was the object of Austrian wishes. These negotiations were in so far successful that on February 4

the Czechoslovakian Government undertook to grant a credit of five hundred million Czechoslovakian crowns (approximately 2,300,000*l.*), to be paid over as soon as ratification had taken place and certain guarantees had been given. A few days later the British Government followed suit with a decision to furnish Austria with a credit of 2,000,000*l.* which was actually handed over on February 18. At the same time France and Italy also promised loans of about 1,000,000*l.* and 800,000*l.* respectively. The British credit was supervised by a British Treasury representative in Vienna, the famous Gobelin tapestries being held as security.

In consequence of this assistance the Austrian Government was able to abolish by gradual stages the subsidies for the purchase of provisions which it had granted for some time, in spite of its own utterly impoverished condition. It also talked boldly of stabilising the krone, of raising an internal loan, of increasing taxes and reducing the number of civil servants. There was actually for a time an improvement in the rate of exchange, which was further stimulated by a rumour that America also intended to grant a credit. The rumour, however, proved to be unfounded, and the exchange collapsed again. The Government also failed to carry out its good intentions in practice, and the prospect of balancing the budget remained as remote as ever.

Meanwhile the financial difficulties of the Government had been complicated by a political crisis arising from an independent source. The Treaty of Zara which had been drawn up between Austria and Czechoslovakia at the end of the previous year was finally ratified by Parliament in February by 104 votes to 23. In view of the bitter opposition of the Pan-Germans, the Chancellor, Dr. Schober, found it advisable to resign. But he returned to office the next day with a Cabinet unchanged save for the transference of the Minister of Agriculture, Herr Hennet, to the Foreign Office.

Whatever advantage Austria gained from the credits advanced to her in February was offset by the loss she suffered from the continued depreciation of the German mark. This enabled Germany to compete with her in the sale of manufactured goods, with such effect that the number of unemployed in Austria rose from 30,000 in January to 90,000 in March, of whom 50,000 were in Vienna alone. The financial effect of the credits also soon wore off, and the Finance Minister, Dr. Gürtler, proposed to issue 120,000 millions of kronen fresh paper money in order to balance the budget. The proposal met with strong opposition, and on May 18 Dr. Gürtler resigned. Six days later Herr Schober announced the resignation of the whole Cabinet, chiefly in consequence of the continued agitation of the Pan-Germans against the Czechoslovak Agreement. At the end of May the Pan-Germans and the Christian Socialists held a conference at Gratz, and agreed to join forces. A Coalition Government was

thereupon formed under the Chancellorship of Dr. Seipel, the leader of the Christian Socialist Party, a Catholic priest and professor of theology. Three portfolios in the new Cabinet were allotted to the Pan-Germans. The Foreign Minister was Dr. Alfred Grimberger, who had been Minister of Commerce in the previous Government. Herr Schober was offered the post of Minister of the Interior, but he preferred to withdraw from politics and resume his old post of Chief of Police.

The new Government found itself in a most disheartening position. Repeated disappointments had well-nigh exhausted the patience of the population and reduced it to a state of helpless panic. It was fast losing confidence in the native currency, and rushing to exchange it for goods while it still possessed some substantive value. June 12 was a particularly black day, and seemed to mark the beginning of the end. But Dr. Seipel, who had already made a name for himself in the political world, and whose conduct of affairs during his term of office has more than justified the expectations formed of him, proved equal to the occasion. He lost no time in tackling the financial situation with an energy which won general admiration. On June 13 the Government conferred with the head of the Rothschild firm and the representatives of the Austrian banks with regard to a plan for establishing a new bank of issue. The participators in the conference declared themselves ready under certain conditions to support the plan actively to the best of their ability by utilising their own resources abroad and attracting foreign capital. The mere report of these negotiations sufficed to cause a drop in the foreign exchanges of 25 per cent., the pound sterling falling from nearly 100,000 kronen to 73,000. The Vienna papers were sanguine that the creation of the new bank would prove the first successful step towards the reconstruction of Austria. The events of the next few days tended to strengthen this feeling of optimism. On June 21 the Government laid a comprehensive scheme of financial reform before Parliament, and it was definitely decided to establish a new Bank of Issue in order to take over and fund all notes in circulation. The new bank was to have a capital of 100,000 Swiss francs, of which the banks were to supply one quarter while guaranteeing the remainder. At the same time numerous State undertakings which were running at a loss were to be disposed of. These steps, together with the news of Czechoslovak, French, and Italian credits, brought about an immediate improvement in the situation; and although the enormous increase in prices due to the fall in the exchange had led to a railway and post strike, the outlook at the end of June was not so desperate as it had been at the beginning.

The improvement, however, was short-lived. As soon as the psychological effect of the Government's endeavours wore off, the krone began to sink more rapidly than ever. On July 10 it had fallen to 110,000 to the pound sterling; on the last

day of the month the price was 189,000, and on August 18 it had reached 336,000. The cost of living, of course, went up correspondingly, the index figure showing an increase of 124 per cent. between July 15 and August 15. There was acute trade depression, and the month of August witnessed serious disorder, which was only allayed by the Government's giving a promise to supervise more strictly the import of articles of luxury and exchange operations, and to increase unemployment relief.

On July 22 the Reparation Commission notified Austria of the final removal of the reparations liens on her, and on July 27 the Austrian Parliament gave its approval to the statutes of the new Bank of Issue. Owing, however, to the continued depreciation of the krone, neither of these steps effected any lasting improvement. In fact, it was not even found possible to open the bank by the date fixed, August 15. It was generally recognised that the financial situation of Austria was desperate, and the prospects of a collapse of the central administration were freely canvassed in the neighbouring States. On the last day of the London Reparation Conference (August 14) the question of Austria was very summarily dealt with, and the Allied delegations agreed that further credits or financial guarantees were impracticable. As a last resort it was decided to refer the matter to the League of Nations; and this decision, though seemingly a counsel of despair, proved to be fraught with results of vital importance for the salvation of Austria.

Before the League could meet to consider the question, Dr. Seipel, at the end of August, paid visits to Prague, Berlin, and Verona. The chief outcome of these visits was to confirm him in his determination to invoke the aid of the League. The Council of that body met on September 6, and Dr. Seipel presented himself before it and addressed to it a powerful appeal. He called attention to the way in which the krone had fallen from 670 to the dollar in January, 1921, to 6,000 a year later and over 83,000 at the end of August, with the inevitable corresponding rise in prices. Austria, he said, was applying to the League not only for help for herself, but with the object of securing the peace of Central Europe, which was endangered by present conditions. Without foreign aid Austria could not survive, but with such aid she might recover much more rapidly than one would expect. She required a guarantee for credits in order to prevent the collapse of her currency, to give her a breathing-space for reorganising her administration, and to enable her to develop her natural resources, particularly her water power. She was willing for the sake of such credits to submit to the necessary control, provided it did not affect her sovereignty. The sum of 50,000,000*l.* was mentioned by Dr. Seipel as sufficient to meet immediate necessities.

Dr. Seipel's appeal was warmly supported by M. Motta (Switzerland), late President of the Swiss Confederation, in a

speech which met with general approval. A special committee representing England, France, Italy, Czechoslovakia, and Austria was appointed to consider the Austrian situation and draw up a plan to be submitted to the Assembly of the League. The chairman of the Committee was Lord Balfour, the British delegate, who espoused the cause of Austria with great zeal. The Committee commenced its labours at once, and Dr. Seipel returned to Vienna to prepare public opinion for accepting the control which would inevitably be imposed. On September 20 he judged the situation to be sufficiently favourable to allow of his returning to Geneva in order to continue the negotiations.

These took a course which on the whole was highly satisfactory to Austria. There was general agreement among the delegates that the countries which they represented should assist Austria by guaranteeing effective credits. The only difference of opinion was over the way in which the control of Austrian finance should be exercised. While all the other delegates were in favour of vesting this control in the League, the Italian delegate desired it to be exercised by a Commission of the States which guaranteed the loan. A compromise was finally arrived at by which there was to be a Commissioner-General appointed by the League residing in Vienna and supervising Austrian finances, and assisted from time to time by a Committee of Control to which each of the four guaranteeing Governments was to appoint one representative.

The delay occasioned by this hitch prevented the plan from being prepared in time to be laid before the Assembly of the League, which rose on September 30, but it was brought before the Council on October 4. It was embodied in three protocols. The first of these guaranteed the independence of Austria. By the second the Governments of Great Britain, France, Italy, and Czechoslovakia undertook to guarantee Austrian state bonds to a total of not more than 650,000,000 gold crowns, the expenditure of which was to be supervised by the Commissary of the League. The third protocol laid down the conditions to be fulfilled by Austria, the chief of which was a gradual reform of taxation and the civil service. As pledges for the guarantees were specified the gross receipts from the customs and tobacco monopoly. It was estimated that if the reforms were carried out, Austria with the help of the loan would be able in two years to restore her budget to a condition of equilibrium.

The plan was endorsed by the Council without opposition, and Dr. Seipel, after thanking the League for its great work, returned with the protocols to Vienna in order to obtain the ratification of Parliament. He met with considerable opposition from the Social Democrats, who asserted that the conditions of control meant the enslavement of the country, and who proposed as an alternative plan a capital levy and increased taxation of the rich. The issue of the struggle was for some time in doubt, but the mere prospect of credits sufficed by the

middle of the month to bring about a stabilisation of the krone, and a consequent drop in the cost of living.

The League of Nations protocols were embodied in a Reconstruction Bill (*Wiederaufbaugesetz*), which was the subject of stormy debates in the Austrian Parliament. The Social Democrats stigmatised it as the "Geneva Bondage Treaty," and secured its modification in certain details; but they could not prevent it from being passed by the National Council on November 27. It was thrown out by the Federal Council on November 27, but passed again by the National Council on December 3, thus automatically becoming law. Before the end of the year also the Parliaments of the guaranteeing States—England, Czechoslovakia, Belgium, Switzerland, Italy, and France—approved of the plan of the League, which appointed as its High Commissioner provisionally till April 1 Dr. Zimmerman, ex-Burgomaster of Rotterdam. Dr. Zimmerman arrived in Vienna on December 16.

In anticipation of the ratification of the protocols the Austrian Government had, immediately on receipt of them, commenced to carry out its side of the bargain. Its first step was to suspend, on November 18, the activity of the note press —not before the notes in circulation had reached the colossal sum of 3·16 billion kronen, and the indebtedness of the State to the bank stood at 2,561,000,000,000. Its next step was to effect drastic reductions in the civil service; by the end of the year no fewer than 23,600 civil servants had been dismissed, mostly railway employees and members of the defence force. Thirdly, it fixed the statutes of the new National Bank, which was henceforth to control the currency. The public and the banks on their side responded to the call of the Government by subscribing 47,000,000 gold crowns (approximately 2,000,000*l.*) to Treasury Bills, and over 20,000,000 gold crowns for shares in the new Bank.

By these and similar measures Austria had by the end of the year succeeded in stabilising her currency and reducing her deficit from 450,000,000 to 350,000,000 kronen. But this financial improvement has been obtained at the expense of severe economic hardship for large sections of the population. Owing to the approximation of the internal to the external value of the krone, industry has been crippled and unemployment has seriously increased. A considerable time must elapse before the benefits of the foreign assistance can be felt in the economic sphere. So far the population has borne its sacrifices without repining (though there has been a regrettable increase of anti-semitic virulence among the Pan-Germans, which may have its roots in nervous strain); but the period of hardest trial is perhaps yet to come.

Apart from the vicissitudes of the financial situation—which naturally formed almost the sole preoccupation of the Government during the year—the chief thing that deserves recording

is the improvement in Austro-Hungarian relations, which had become strained owing to the Burgenland dispute. On January 12 a meeting took place at Vienna between Dr. Schober and Count Bethlen, the Hungarian Premier, who reached an accord on various questions arising out of the transfer of Western Hungary, and paved the way for the conclusion of a commercial agreement between the two countries. At the beginning of March Hungary caused a certain perturbation in Austria by certain demands which she laid before the International Boundary Commission engaged in tracing a new frontier in the Burgenland. These demands, which embraced thirty-seven communes and approximately 23 per cent of the whole Burgenland area, were rejected almost *in toto* by the Commission at the end of March. Shortly afterwards the Hungarian Premier again paid a visit to Vienna.

The death of the ex-Kaiser Karl at Madeira on March 31 was commemorated in Vienna by a Requiem Mass which was followed by a large Monarchist demonstration. The Government, however, refused to lower flags to half-mast, a step in which it certainly had the support of the mass of the population. There was some agitation during the year for the *Anschluss* (union with Germany), but it was finally quelled by Austria undertaking, as one of the conditions for receiving a loan, "to preserve her independence," *i.e.*, not to join with Germany.

CHAPTER IV.

SOVIET RUSSIA — ESTHONIA — FINLAND—LATVIA—LITHUANIA—POLAND — CZECHOSLOVAKIA — HUNGARY— RUMANIA—YUGOSLAVIA—TURKEY—GREECE—ALBANIA—BULGARIA—FIUME.

SOVIET RUSSIA.

DURING 1922 Russia began to reap the fruits of the new economic policy, which had been introduced in the previous year as a result of the rebellion of Cronstadt. The new policy renounced some of the Communistic principles and allowed private ownership of land and factories. The results were not such as had been hoped for. A number of individuals were enabled to do business at a profit, but no progress was made towards securing the main object, the revival of production. The dark side of the new policy soon showed itself in the rapid depreciation of the rouble. Already, towards the autumn of 1922, the official circles of the Soviet Government began to realise the fiasco of the new economic policy. According to a statement of experts of the Supreme Economic Council, the turnover of industry at the beginning of the New Economic Policy in 1921 had amounted to 500,000,000 gold roubles, whereas in 1922, the second year of the new policy, it amounted only to 250,000,000. At the economic conference which took

place in Moscow in the beginning of December the catastrophic situation of the State industries was viewed with great anxiety. The discussions made it clear that the crisis was brought about by the lack of working-capital in the nationalised enterprises. As additional causes were mentioned the unsound administration of the factories, the bureaucratic methods employed in the sale of goods, and the lack of commercial experience. The conference decided by a majority of three to one to approach the Government with a request to denationalise those enterprises which still remained under State control. At a meeting of the Board of the "Gosplan" (Commission for Systematic State Economy) in December the statistician, Groman, stated in a report on the economic situation of Russia that the two outstanding features in the situation since the New Economic Policy had been introduced were the gradual wearing out of the country's machinery and means of transport, and a slight improvement in production and the marketing of goods. The position, it was said, was candidly recognised by the Soviet leaders, who admitted that the industrial enterprises of Russia were working at a loss. Only a few branches, such as distilleries, cigarette factories, and confectionery works made a profit. But the chief branches of Russian industry, coal, oil, and metallurgy, are unable to meet the cost of production.

In view of these facts the Russian Government was anxious to attract foreign capital and obtain credits at the Conferences of Genoa and the Hague. On the other hand, the Western Powers had come to realise that unless the produce and markets of Russia were once more available to the world the trade paralysis in Europe could not be remedied. At the Cannes Conference Mr. Lloyd George moved a resolution that an "economic and financial conference" be called which should be attended if possible by the Premiers of all the Powers of Europe, with the object of restoring trade and providing "substantial credits for weaker countries." The proposals of the British Premier were adopted unanimously and at the same time a number of principles were agreed to: "(1) Nations can claim no right to dictate to each other regarding the principles on which they are to regulate their system of ownership, internal economy, and government. It is for every nation itself to choose the system which it prefers in this respect. (2) Before foreign capital can be made available for assisting any country, foreign investors must be assured that property and rights will be respected and the fruits of their enterprise secured. (3) This sense of security cannot be re-established unless the Governments of countries desiring foreign credit freely undertake to recognise all public debts and obligations which have been or may be undertaken or guaranteed by the State, by cities, and municipal bodies or by other public bodies, as well as obligations to restore and compensate all foreign interests for loss and damage caused when property has been confiscated or with-

held; to establish a legal system which sanctions and enforces commercial and other contracts with impartiality. (4) An adequate means of exchange must be available, and generally there must be financial and currency conditions which offer sufficient security for trade. (5) All nations should undertake to refrain from propaganda subversive of order and the established political system of other countries. (6) All countries should join in undertaking to refrain from aggression against their neighbours. If, in order to secure conditions necessary for the development of trade in Russia, the Russian Government requests official recognition, the Allied Powers will be prepared to accord such recognition only if the Russian Government accepts the foregoing stipulations."

In a Memorandum which Mr. Lloyd George presented to M. Briand at Cannes, the British Prime Minister emphasised the importance of securing the attendance at the Conference of the "real leaders of Russia." The locale of the Conference having been fixed at Genoa, the Italian Government sent out invitations to the European Governments, and on January 7 its Memorandum was transmitted to Moscow through the Russian Trade Delegation at Rome. On January 21 the Russian Government accepted this invitation, and on January 27 an Extraordinary Session of the All-Russian Central Committee met to determine the composition of the Russian Delegation to the Conference. At the eleventh Communist Conference, in March, Lenin said; "We go to Genoa not as Communists but as merchants seeking to widen our trade and to obtain for it favourable conditions." The basis of discussion at the Conference was a London memorandum of experts which dealt in its first part with the reconstruction of Russia. It proposed that foreign capital should be given there full liberty and security, and that Russia should recognise her debts and protect the private property of foreigners. The Russians made counter proposals, and protracted negotiations followed. The essential demands of the Soviet Delegation were laid down on April 24 as follows: Recognition *de jure*, credits from foreign Powers, the exclusion of the question of war debts from the negotiations, and a moratorium of thirty years instead of five years as proposed by the Western Powers. In addition the Delegation demanded that pre-war debts (until September, 1914), about which no agreement had yet been made, should not be recognised, that no compensation should be paid for foreign property which had already been socialised, and that those foreigners whose property had been socialised could settle in Russia and have the use, but not the ownership, of their property. The Western Powers made some concessions with regard to the moratorium, but insisted on the recognition of debts and guarantees for the former non-Russian factory-owners. The Russian Delegation replied on May 11 in a note which showed that an understanding was impossible. It laid stress

on the fact that a revolution had occurred in Russia which had swept away the old order, and said that the claims of the Western Powers with regard to guarantees of private ownership for foreigners meant capitulations, a system which would not be tolerated by the Russian people. The note also insisted on credits being granted to Russia.

The Genoa Conference, which in many quarters had raised such high expectations, ended without any result. The Russian hopes of obtaining credits were not realised. In the House of Commons it was stated on May 11 that Great Britain would not grant a loan to Russia. All that the Genoa Conference did was to decide to convoke a conference of experts at the Hague with the object of going more closely into detail into the economic and financial questions arising out of the negotiations at Genoa. The American Government, in a note of May 16, declined to participate in the new conference or to send experts to the Hague, so long as the Russians would not alter their attitude as expressed in the note of May 11. The American Government proposed to send experts to Russia to inquire into conditions there. Without this inquiry no credit would be granted to Russia.

The only positive result which the Russian Delegation brought home from Genoa was the Rapallo Treaty with Germany of April 16, by which the situation created by paragraph 116 of the Versailles Treaty between the two States was declared at an end, and peace was definitively concluded. Germany renounced all claim to compensation for losses incurred by Germans in Russia as a result of socialisation. Both countries conceded to each other most-favoured-nation rights; and the Soviet Government was recognised *de jure* by Germany. On November 5 this Treaty was extended to the Ukraine, White Russia, the three Transcaucasian Republics, and the Republic of the Far East. The question of the so-called Ukrainian outstanding debts, the claim of the Ukraine to 400,000,000 Ukrainian notes, which were printed in Berlin during the war and are still in Berlin, was left to further negotiation, because no agreement had been reached as to German counter-claims. This Treaty with the other Soviet Republics went beyond the Rapallo Treaty in stipulating the obligation of both parties to abstain from revolutionary propaganda, the mutual legal protection of the individual subject, and the inviolability of property brought into or acquired in the respective countries; it also contained clauses for the improvement of economic relations. The Ukraino-German Treaty was ratified by the Ukrainian Executive Committee on November 17. As a result of the Rapallo Treaty trade with Germany increased.

During the Genoa Conference an agreement was concluded between Russia and the Vatican (May 10). Russia granted religious liberty and guaranteed protection to the Catholic

Mission in Russia, while the Vatican renounced its claims to the restitution of ecclesiastical property.

While the preparations for the Hague Conference were going on the Soviet Government continued its efforts to conclude treaties with the European Powers separately. The Swedo-Russian Commercial Treaty was rejected by the Swedish Riksdag as being of a political character. But the Soviet Government managed to conclude treaties with Italy and Czechoslovakia. By the Italian Treaty Trieste was declared a free port for Russia; and in return Italy was allowed to import her goods into the Black Sea ports free of duty. The Commercial Treaty with Czechoslovakia included a stipulation for the termination of official relations with the partisans of the former Government of Kerenski.

Before the opening of the Hague Conference the French issued a note insisting that no political discussions should take place, and that the Conference should confine itself strictly to the question of debts. The Conference opened on June 26. It soon came to a deadlock, as the same divergencies revealed themselves as in Genoa. The non-Russians demanded guarantees and the institution of private ownership, while the Russians refused to incur any obligations and demanded first and foremost credits. An understanding thus appeared impossible.

The outstanding features in the internal history of the year were the trial of the Socialist revolutionaries and the confiscation of the Church goods. Both events provoked a great stir not only in Russia, but all over the world.

The trial of the Socialist revolutionaries ended with death sentences which were confirmed by the All-Russian Executive Committee. The counsel for the defence included several Socialists of Western Europe, who, as a sign of protest against the procedure of the tribunal, and with the consent of the defendants, left the Court during the proceedings. The confiscation of Church goods, a measure introduced in order to obtain resources to fight the famine, met with no small opposition from the population and the clergy. In several cases the clergymen fiercely resisted the State officials, and were in consequence sentenced to death; some of them were actually executed. Patriarch Tichon, who protested against the measure, was removed from his post. A new Church policy was inaugurated. The Government succeeded in dividing the clergy into two camps and in organising a new Church administration out of members of the lower clergy.

During the year the famine diminished in Central Russia and on the Volga but continued to ravage the south-eastern districts of the Ukraine. The relief action of the foreign organisations, like the "Ara" and Nansen Committee, was concentrated in the south, chiefly in Odessa, Cherson, Nikolaiev, and the Crimea.

Soviet diplomacy was very active during the year both in

the Near and the Far East. It was the intention of the Allied Powers that Russia should be excluded from the Near East Conference in Lausanne, but they finally agreed that the question of the Straits should be discussed with the participation of Russia, the Ukraine, Bulgaria, and Georgia. The Secretary for Foreign Affairs (M. Chicherin) went to Lausanne as head of the Russian Delegation to insist that the Straits should be closed to military and naval forces, and should be left to the sole guardianship of the Turks. During the later stages of the Conference Chicherin declared his readiness to accept the American proposal that light cruisers should be allowed to pass the Straits. Otherwise the Russian Delegation took up a very firm attitude.

In the Far East the Soviet Government scored a definite success during the year. The brothers Merkulov, who were at the head of the Anti-Bolshevik Government at Vladivostok, were deposed and replaced by General Diderichs, the lieutenant of Admiral Koltchak. In October the troops of the Far East Republic, which sympathised with the Bolsheviks, captured Vladivostok. The Japanese also evacuated the town. In December Chicherin informed the Soviet Delegations abroad that the Far East Republic had joined Soviet Russia.

These developments brought the Soviet Government into more direct contact with Japan. The Japanese Government had already in 1921, under the Cabinet of M. Hara, begun negotiations with the Republic of the Far East, and these were continued under the Cabinet of Takahashi, but broken off after the resignation of that Cabinet. The Japanese demanded that Communistic principles should not be applied to Japanese citizens, that Bolshevik propaganda should be forbidden, that Russia should do away with military institutions which were a menace to Japan, that there should be an open door in Siberia, and that restrictions on the industrial activities of foreigners should be removed. In September new negotiations were opened at Tsan Tsun between the Russian Delegation, headed by M. Joffe, the Soviet Ambassador in China, and the Japanese, but they were broken off on the 26th of that month (see under Japan).

Generally speaking, Soviet Russia endeavoured to obtain a strong hold on Asia, and to consolidate her position there. In December a Russian Eastern Commercial Chamber was founded in Moscow. The new institution was welcomed at its opening by the Ambassador of Persia and by representatives of Turkey, Mongolia, Georgia, Bokhara, and Khorasan. The object of establishing the Chamber was to effect an economic rapprochement of Russia with the Republics of Bokhara and Khorasan, and also with Persia, Turkey, Afghanistan, Mongolia, China, and Japan.

The former head of the Soviet Delegation in London, M. Krassin, succeeded, after long negotiations, in concluding an

agreement with Mr. Leslie Urquart, of the Russo-Asiatic Consolidated, by which a far-reaching concession was to be granted to this firm. But the Supreme Economic Council of the Soviet Government refused to ratify the agreement "in view of the lack of friendly relations between the two countries." The Economic Council declared that the attitude of the British Government in denying equal rights to Russia at the Near East Conference and in the Black Sea was a proof that the necessary conditions under which such an agreement could work were absent.

At the Genoa Conference the question of Russian oil was under consideration if not at the official meetings at any rate among the representatives of the various Oil Companies who came there. M. Krassin had already conducted negotiations with the Royal Dutch Shell to the effect that this group should carry out the sale of the Russian oil in co-operation with the Russian Government. This came to the knowledge of the Belgians, whose interests, as also those of the Swedish Oil Companies (Nobel) were menaced by this arrangement. The Russian Government also failed to come to an understanding with the great American group, the Standard Oil Trust. As a result an Oil Convention was signed in Paris by all companies interested, such as Royal Dutch Shell, Standard Oil, Nobel, and others, according to which they agreed to act in common when negotiating with the Soviet Government.

On September 30 conscription was introduced in Russia. All citizens of twenty years of age are to enter the Army or the Navy. The length of service in the infantry and artillery has been fixed at eighteen months, in the cavalry and engineers at thirty months, in the air force at three and a half years, and in the navy at four years. After having completed his active service the soldier remains in the reserve till his fortieth year. According to a statement made at the All-Russian Congress of Soviets which met at the close of the year the Soviet Government has already reduced the Army from 5,000,000 to 800,000, and intends to reduce it further to 500,000.

In August the People's Commissary for Foreign Affairs sent a note to Finland, Esthonia, Latvia, Poland, and Lithuania convoking them to a Conference on the question of disarmament. The Conference finally met at Moscow in December, and ended in a deadlock. The representatives of Poland and the Baltic States proposed that previous to the signing of a convention of disarmament a Treaty of guarantees and arbitration should be signed. The Soviet Government rejected this proposition and the Conference broke up.

The end of the year witnessed the federation of all Soviet Republics. According to official sources the idea of such a Federation was first suggested by the minor Soviet Republics. On December 10 the Transcaucasian Republics resolved to form a federation. The main object of the Congress of

Ukrainian Soviets which met on December 13 was to consider the question of a close rapprochement of the Soviet Republics. This idea was also propounded at the All-Russian Congress of Soviets a fortnight later, and in the closing meeting of this Congress a delegation was elected which was authorised to draw up a constitution for the Federation of Soviet Republics. On December 30 the Constitutive Federal Congress met with the object of ratifying the project. Lenin was unanimously elected Honorary President of the Congress, and Kalinin Chairman. The Commissary for National Affairs, Stalin, reported on the Constitution of the new Federation which, he declared, was necessary for economic reasons and for reasons of foreign policy, and not least for the sake of the proletarian class. The new body received the official designation of "Federation of Soviet Socialist Republics" (in Russian: Soius Sovietskich Sozialistitcheskich Respublic; abbreviated: S.S.S.R.). In it the Commissariats of Foreign Trade, Foreign Affairs, War, Transport, and Post in the various republics are to be merged in the Soviet Russian Council of the People's Commissaries, which will form the Federal Council. The local Commissariats of Finance, Economy, Food, and Labour will be placed under the direction of the Federal Council. The Commissariats of Justice, Home Affairs, Education and Agriculture will retain their independence.

The Federation includes Soviet Russia, the Ukraine, White Russia, and the Transcaucasian Republics. The members of the Federation are autonomous and have the right of secession from the Federation. The Supreme organ of the Federation is the Congress of the Soviets of the various Republics, and, when the Congress is not sitting, the Federative Central Executive Committee, which consists of 371 members elected on the system of proportional representation—170 members for Russia, 68 for the Ukraine, 26 for the Transcaucasian Republics, and 7 for White Russia. The Capital of the Federation is Moscow.

ESTHONIA.

The relations with foreign countries were strengthened during the year. On July 28 the United States gave *de jure* recognition to the Esthonian Republic. Esthonia participated in the Conference of Disarmament in Moscow.

The internal policy was marked by various efforts to consolidate the position of the country. The question of compensation for the seizing of land by the Government has been a matter of consideration, though no final solution was arrived at. Measures have been taken to improve the situation of the farmers of the newly-founded peasantry farms. On April 8 the Budget voted by the Parliament balanced at 5,863,168,900 Esthonian marks. The Government promised to cut down expenses, and particularly to reduce the cost of the Civil Service establishment.

Agriculture and industry have markedly improved. Agri-

cultural exhibitions were held at Reval, Dorpat, and other places. An industrial and commercial exhibition at Reval also showed the economic improvement of the country. State industries, such as the production of slate and peat, have made good progress. On the other hand, more goods were imported than exported. The general consolidation of the economic and political condition of the country has been unfavourable to Communist activity.

FINLAND.

On March 17 the representative of Finland at the Conference of the Baltic States in Warsaw, the Foreign Minister, Dr. Holsti, signed the *Accord politique* with Poland, Latvia, and Esthonia. The Finnish Diet, however, refused to ratify this agreement. A vote of censure on Dr. Holsti brought about the fall of the Cabinet of the Centre, and on June 2 a Ministry of Officials was formed as a Provisional Government. On July 1 elections took place to the Diet. There were elected 27 Communists, 53 Social Democrats, 45 members of the Agrarian Union, 35 of the Party of National Concentration, 15 of the National Progressive Party, and 25 of the Swedish People's Party. The Diet met on September 1. After two months of negotiations a Cabinet of the Agrarians and Progressists was formed under the Presidency of the President of the Diet, M. Kyösti Kallio.

Among the legislative work of the Diet should be mentioned the Agrarian Law, called "The Kallio Law," the new Law on Conscription, and a Law on religious liberty, which was to come into force on January 1, 1923.

The economic situation improved during the year. The Finnish mark has been standardised. The balance of trade showed—for the first time in the history of Finland—a surplus of exports over imports amounting to 508,000,000 of Finnish marks. The Agricultural Exhibition at Tampere (Tamersfors) in June also showed the economic progress of the country.

The relations with Sweden have improved since the settlement of the question of the Aaland Island in 1921. But there is no sign yet of a genuine rapprochement to Sweden. Nor is there any inclination to draw closer to the Baltic-Polish combinations. During the year some progress was made in the settlement of questions arising out of the Treaty with Soviet Russia concluded on October 14 at Dorpat.

With the support of the Soviet Government the Finnish "Reds," who after their suppression in 1918 escaped to Russia, have been conducting an intensive Communistic propaganda against the present constitution of Finland. A band organised by the Bolsheviks crossed the Finnish frontier and in the villages Savukoski and Kuolajärvi looted money and food to the value of several million marks.

The Karelian question has not been settled. The League of

Nations to which Finland had submitted this question has ordered an inquiry. Finland took part in the Disarmament Conference in Moscow. A Commercial Treaty has been concluded with Esthonia. Negotiations with the Norwegian Government concerning the regulation of the frontier have not come to any result.

In June a Finnish University was opened in Turku (Abo). During the summer a Congress of Journalists of the Northern Countries and an International Congress of Esperanto took place in Helsingfors.

LATVIA.

During the summer the Constitutional Assembly finally drew up and adopted the Constitution of the Latvian Republic. On October 7 and 8 the elections to the first Latvian Parliament took place. A hundred deputies were elected: 31 Socialists of the Left, 7 Socialists of the Right, 13 members of the Democratic Centre, 6 members of the Lettgall Christian Peasantry Union, 18 members of the Peasantry Union, 8 members of the Christian National Union, and 15 members of the National Minorities, *viz.*, 6 Germans, 5 Jews, 3 Russians, and 1 Pole. The Parliament met on November 7 and elected as President of the Republic M. J. Tchakste, until then President of the Constitutional Assembly. The election was unanimous. The difficulties of forming a Cabinet supported by a majority in Parliament had not been overcome at the close of the year owing to the splitting up of the bourgeois representatives into numerous parties. The old Cabinet under the Presidency of M. Meierovics, who still retained the portfolio of Foreign Affairs, has therefore remained in power.

On July 28 Latvia was recognised *de jure* by the United States. On March 27 a Commercial Treaty with Germany was signed, but it has not yet been ratified pending the outcome of negotiations concerning the Latvian claims for compensation for war damages. Commercial treaties have also been concluded with Hungary and Czechoslovakia, and negotiations have been conducted with the object of concluding similar treaties with France, Great Britain, and the Scandinavian countries. A Concordat has been concluded with the Holy See. During the year Latvia participated in various political Conferences, as for instance, the Conference of the Baltic States which took place in March in Warsaw and ended with the adoption of the *Accord politique* between Latvia, Poland, Esthonia, and Finland. This instrument has been ratified by all States represented at the Conference save only Finland. Latvia also attended the Disarmament Conference convoked by Soviet Russia. The Baltic States were in complete agreement at this Conference.

With regard to the economic situation, the creation of the Latvian Bank (Latvijas banka) and the establishing of a gold

standard should be specially mentioned. The Latvian bank began activities on November 1 and has already issued the first provisional Latvian notes, the so-called *Lats* which can be exchanged against gold. The Lat equals 100 centimes, or 1 gold franc or 50 Latvian Roubles (of the former standard). These roubles are in time to be withdrawn from circulation.

LITHUANIA.

The efforts of the League of Nations during the year 1922 to settle the Lithuanian-Polish conflict concerning Vilna have failed to satisfy the aspirations of the Lithuanians. The Council of the League of Nations dealt with this question in January, and it was decided to withdraw the Military Mission of Control within one month. The Lithuanian and Polish representatives were requested to agree to substitute a provisional line of demarcation for the existing neutral zone. The Council took notice of the protest of the Lithuanian Government against the elections in the Vilna district (see ANNUAL REGISTER, 1921, p. 202). Finally, the Council declared that they would not recognise any solution of a dispute submitted to the League by one of its members which may be reached without regard to the recommendation of the Council or without the consent of both the parties concerned.

The Lithuanian Delegation refused to accept this resolution, and declared that the substitution of a line of demarcation for the neutral zone would not improve the situation of the local population and lead to frontier troubles. The actual position was that Poland so far has remained in possession of Vilna and that elections to the Polish Seim took place there towards the end of the year.

During the year Lithuania was recognised *de jure* by the United States and by the Council of Ambassadors in Paris. A Commercial Treaty was concluded with Great Britain, and negotiations have been carried out to conclude a similar Treaty with Germany.

The outstanding feature of the internal history of Lithuania during the year were the elections to the first Lithuanian Seim. The Minorities (Jews, Germans, and Poles) complained that owing to abuses in the procedure of elections by the administrative bodies they lost the number of seats allotted to them in accordance with the proportional system of elections.

M. A. Stuginskas, former Head of the Constitutional Assembly, was elected to the post of President of the Republic. The German and Jewish deputies did not participate in the elections, thus protesting against the unfriendly attitude towards the Minorities. The Social-Democrats and National Socialists also boycotted the election of the President.

The economic position of Lithuania has continued satisfactory. The balance of trade was active; in the period January to September the imports amounted to 1,957,214,000 marks,

and the exports to 2,398,666,850 marks. Flax production, which is monopolised by the State, has proved a profitable revenue. A gold standard has been established, the unit being the *litos*, which is equivalent in value to a tenth of a dollar.

POLAND.

The year 1922 in Poland was marked mainly by further efforts for the improvement of the economic and financial conditions of the country. Politically, the year will be remembered as one in which the struggle for the final establishment of definite frontiers came to an end with the reunion to Poland of the provinces of Wilno and Upper Silesia.

On January 8 the elections to the Wilno Parliament, which was to determine the fate of the province, took place and resulted in an overwhelming Polish majority. Two days later, the customs-union between Poland and Danzig, agreed upon in the preceding year, came into operation, thus knitting closer the ties between Poland and her only outlet to the sea. On the same day the Warsaw Constituent Parliament assembled again after the recess. On February 20, the Wilno Diet voted unanimously for reunion with Poland, and a delegation was sent to Warsaw to negotiate the exact terms of the Act of Union. This brought matters to a head in Poland, where the conflict upon this issue between the parties of the Right and Left led to the resignation of the Ponikowski Cabinet (March 3). Through the intervention of Marshall Pilsudski, the Chief of State, the conflict was settled. M. Ponikowski was on March 27 again entrusted with the formation of a Cabinet. Twenty representative deputies of the Wilno Diet were admitted into the Polish Parliament and on the 28th the Wilno Diet was dissolved after having completed its task. The final stage in this question was reached when on April 18 the Act of Reunion of Wilno to Poland was signed in Warsaw.

During the month of March an International Sanitary Conference assembled in Warsaw, on the initiative of the League of Nations, to consider ways and means for combating epidemics in Europe.

A month earlier, on February 6, the Franco-Polish Treaty, containing a political agreement and commercial convention was signed in Paris, and when on May 12 the Polish Parliament ratified this Treaty the very friendly ties between the two countries were considerably strengthened. This Treaty was one of a series; it was preceded by a Treaty of Friendship with Rumania, while soon afterwards the rapprochement of Poland and the Baltic States found its practical expression in the Warsaw Conference which opened on March 13 with the participation of Poland, Finland, Lettland, and Esthonia. The outcome of this Conference was an Agreement signed on March 17 which provided for the amicable co-operation of the States

interested in all matters affecting their common welfare. This series of agreements with her immediate neighbours, completed by an Agreement with Czechoslovakia, established Poland's foreign relations on a definitely peaceful basis and enabled her delegates to play a useful part at the great international Conference at Genoa where M. Skirmunt, the chief delegate of Poland, was elected on the Principal Political Commission.

Meanwhile the question of Upper Silesia was on a fair way to final settlement. After the award of the League of Nations in December, 1921, a Polish-German Conference was arranged to elaborate an agreement upon the basis of the League's decision. The Conference was opened at Geneva on February 6, and after three months' labours reached an agreement which was signed on May 15. Within thirty days, on June 15, Poland formally received that part of Upper Silesia which was allotted to her, and after the *procés verbale* was signed, Polish troops entered Katowice on June 19. On June 29 Polish authority extended over the whole of the newly acquired province. In conformity with her pledge, Poland granted a wide measure of local self-government to Silesia, and the provincial Silesian Diet was duly elected and opened on October 9.

Towards the close of the first half of the year the latent Cabinet crisis came to a head. It was caused by a difference of opinion between the Cabinet and the Chief of State, Marshal Pilsudski. The latter considered the Ponikowski Government unsuited to supervise the first General Elections, and this difference of opinion led to the resignation of the Ponikowski Cabinet on June 2 and soon resolved itself into a fierce parliamentary conflict. The instability of political parties, which made a parliamentary majority impossible, was responsible for the continuance of the crisis for nearly two months. The parties of the Left supported the Chief of State, while those of the Right opposed him with equal ardour. None of the two, however, was able to secure any permanent support from the Centre, which remained undecided throughout the crisis, siding alternately with the one or the other.

The outcome was the non-party Government of M. Nowak, formed on July 27, which remained in office for nearly five months.

Meanwhile, the Constituent Assembly had completed its task of framing the Constitution of the Republic by passing, on July 28, the Electoral Law, and the first General Elections in Poland were fixed by the Chief of State for November 5 for the Seym (Lower Chamber) and November 12 for the Senate (Upper Chamber). On September 19 the Constituent Parliament assembled for its last solemn session, coming to an end after four years of strenuous labours. Its last act was to pass the Home Rule Bill for Eastern Galicia.

The elections for the first ordinary Parliament were held on the appointed day and passed off in perfect order, in spite of

the keen party struggle and a consequent high percentage of voters taking part in the elections.

The results of the elections showed the drawback of Proportional Representation, which in Poland led to such a split of votes as to prevent the formation of a working majority.

The division of parties in the new Parliament was as follows: In the Chamber: the *bloc* of the parties of the Right, 163; Centre Parties, 6; all the Parties of the Left, 190 (Moderate Peasant Party, 70; Radical Peasant Party, 49; Socialists, 41; National Labour Party, 18; Radical Peasant Group, 7; Ruthenian Radical Peasants, 5); the *bloc* of National minorities (composed of Jews, Germans, Ruthenians, Ukrainians and Russians), 83; Communists, 2; total, 444.

In the Senate: the *bloc* of the Parties of the Right, 52; Moderate Peasant Party, 14; Radical Peasant Party, 9; Socialist Party, 7; other Polish Parties of the Left, 8; *bloc* of National minorities, 21; total, 111.

The last six weeks of the year which followed witnessed an intensification of party feuds. Neither the Right nor the Left could form a majority without the co-operation of the National Minorities. The Right rejected all thoughts of such a co-operation, while the Left was reluctant to invoke it, afraid to incur the odium of obtaining ascendency over a powerful Polish minority with the assistance of Jews and Germans.

The first trial of strength came upon the issue of the election of the President of the Republic, after Marshal Pilsudski refused to stand for election (December 7). The joint session of the Chamber and the Senate united into The National Assembly for the purpose of electing the President was held on December 9. By the votes of the Left and of the *bloc* of National Minorities, M. Gabriel Narutowicz, the Foreign Minister, was elected the first constitutional President of Poland, against the united opposition of the parties of the Right. His election with the votes of the National Minorities was at once decried as an insult to the national dignity. The occasion of taking the oath on assumption of office by the President (December 11) was seized by some unruly elements for organising street manifestations during the President's procession to the National Assembly. The Novak Cabinet tendered its resignation in conformity with the Constitution on December 14, and two days afterwards, during a social function, the new President was assassinated by a demented fanatic.

This tragic sequel to the senseless party warfare cast its shadow upon the close of the year. According to the Constitution the Speaker of the House, M. Rataj, assumed the Presidency *ad interim*. He at once appointed General Sikorski Prime Minister, and a strong Cabinet was formed overnight and succeeded in gaining the confidence of public opinion. On December 20 a second National Assembly gathered to elect the successor to the ill-fated President. By an almost identical

division of votes M. Stanislas Wojciechowski was elected second President of the Polish Republic, with the concurrence of public opinion which by then demonstrated a healthy reaction.

Despite the somewhat animated political life, the economic conditions of the country during the year improved considerably. This improvement, which manifested itself outwardly by the absence of unemployment was brought about mainly through the second record harvest, which followed that of the previous year. Quite apart from agriculture, Poland's great industries have almost completely recovered and in some branches, as for instance coal-mining, even surpassed the pre-war level. Foreign trade developed enormously and the trade balance as between imports and exports has nearly been reached. In short, the commercial and industrial activities of the country are promising, and form a contrast to the somewhat irregular state of public finance in Poland, which suffers from under-taxation. The basis for far-reaching financial reforms has, however, already been laid, and there is no reason why the coming year should not bring the finances into harmony with the improved economic life of the country.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA.

For the first nine months of the year Dr. Benes remained Prime Minister, and when he resigned, being succeeded by M. Svehla on October 8, he accepted the portfolio of Foreign Affairs in the new Cabinet. Dr. Benes may therefore be said to have dominated Czechoslovakian politics throughout the whole of 1922. But he had to face a good deal of opposition, which, however, was not effective. Most of the opposition came from the German Parliamentary Union, which was ultimately dissolved, and from the Slovak Popular Party, which also had to weather a storm during the year.

As regards the economic and social situation, the past year was marked by a crisis, the effects of which can still be felt, but which may nevertheless be regarded as overcome. During the second half of the year, the Czechoslovak crown showed a tendency to rise, a sure sign of the economic recovery of Czechoslovakia. On the other hand, so rapid a rise in the exchange value of the crown produced a troublesome effect upon the export industries, rendering precarious their conditions of sale in the international market. Accordingly, in certain branches of industry there was a panic, the origin of which, however, was not entirely due to economic reasons, especially as regards the industries in the German districts.

The stability of the crown was maintained both by the Government's attempt to balance the Budget no less than by the maintenance of the exports of the country at the level of last year. Among the economies carried by the Government was the reduction of salaries of the civil servants, of whom it is stated that they bowed to the inevitable without opposition.

In the sphere of foreign politics Dr. Benes was active in various European capitals throughout the year. The questions to be solved at Genoa and the methods to be adopted formed the real aim of the journey which he undertook to Paris and London. It was necessary to ascertain the nature of the differences between France and England, and also to communicate the Czechoslovak point of view at Genoa to the French and English statesmen. To counteract the dissolution threatened by the Anglo-French crisis, Dr. Benes presented a programme of reconstruction, which took Germany and Russia into account, but which was unthinkable without England and France. The points of view of these two countries had to be reconciled, if the reconstruction of Europe was to be attained, and Dr. Benes strove to act as intermediary.

The Little Entente and Poland, in consequence of their action in common, achieved considerable success in political matters at the Genoa Conference. Being fully persuaded that unity among the Allies constitutes the chief guarantee for the Peace Treaties, they used their influence for modifying and eliminating the differences which made their appearance between the Allies at Genoa, and for preserving the common tendency of the Big and Little Ententes. This endeavour brought about unequivocal results. By the policy thus pursued, the Little Entente acquired prestige, in consequence of which one of their representatives was elected to the Supreme Council. As regards Russian affairs, Czechoslovakia advocated the middle path at Genoa, being in favour of inaugurating relations, and progressively adjusting economic co-operation in particular.

On June 5, the provisional agreement between Czechoslovakia and the Russian Soviet Republic was signed at Prague, and on the following day an agreement identical in wording was signed with the Ukrainian Soviet Republic. These agreements left the fundamental questions open, and a number of other questions were reserved for later economic negotiations.

At the end of August the agreement between Czechoslovakia and Yugo-Slavia was renewed and extended at Marienbad (Aug. 31). This was a political step of considerable importance. The previous two years' agreement was replaced by a five years' Treaty, in which the mutual relationship of the two States was formulated in view of all Peace Treaties signed in common. The Treaty emphasises the need of economic co-operation, and both States pledged themselves to uniformity of action in all political and diplomatic affairs.

The Marienbad Conference was closely connected with the negotiation of the Little Entente and Poland, which took place at Prague on August 27 and 28, and were attended by M. Nintchitch, the Yugo-Slav Foreign Minister, M. Duca, representing Rumania, and M. Piltz, acting as deputy of the Polish Foreign Ministry. The matters dealt with comprised questions which were discussed at the third meeting of the League of

Nations. In the first place, an agreement was reached concerning the community of action which had proved its efficacy at the Genoa Conference. Secondly, there was some discussion of the admittance of Hungary and Germany to the League of Nations, while the Austrian problem was dealt with in great detail. The States taking part in the Conference came to the conclusion that there was no misunderstanding between them, and that there was no reason to prevent their co-operation.

The Austrian Chancellor visited Prague in the third week in August. At the discussions which took place between Dr. Seipel and Dr. Benes (on the 21st) the Czechoslovak representatives emphasised the impossibility of dealing with the situation in Austria by any methods contrary to the principles of the Peace Treaties. On the other hand, it was pointed out that Czechoslovakia, which was the first European State to adopt a policy of practical aid towards Austria, would continue its endeavours for practical co-operation with Austria. This readiness to assist was exhibited forthwith in the completion of arrangements to accelerate payment of the remainder of the credit grant, amounting to 500,000,000 Czech crowns.

The Austrian problem was also the chief motive for the meeting between Dr. Benes and M. Schanzer, the Italian Foreign Minister, at Venice on October 8. The exchange of views which took place on this occasion showed that there were no essential differences between the two States. The Conference at Venice also contributed to intensify the economic relations between the two countries by continuing the negotiations held in March, 1921, and prospectively preparing the way for those to be held at Trieste.

HUNGARY.

During 1922 Hungary was happily free from foreign complications like those which had proved so dangerous in the previous year. But it has had an even more serious menace to face in the shape of economic difficulties which threaten to reduce it to the position of Austria. Compared with these the political events of the year—with one or two exceptions—sink into insignificance.

The deficit during the year increased from 16,000,000,000 to 60,000,000,000 crowns. The chief causes of this were probably the tremendous deficit on the State railways, and the depreciation of the crown, which has fallen during the year from 2,500 to 11,000 to the £. This, of course, is connected with the increase of the notes in circulation from 25,109,945,107 crowns at the beginning of the year to 75,886,987,171 at the end. The Government stabilised the crown through the establishment on August 2 of a "Central Office of Foreign Exchange" with a monopoly of the buying and selling of foreign money. But the inner depreciation still continued.

The fall of the exchange at first gave an artificial stimulus to the export of manufactured goods and an appearance of prosperity to industry. But as wages rose to equalise prices this came to an end, and labour unrest and strikes became almost permanent.

The Minister of Finance tried to restore order to the finances by a number of drastic steps. Thus on March 1 a tax of 3 per cent. was imposed on business transactions; the chief effect of this, unfortunately, was to increase the cost of living by 10-15 per cent. The railway tariff was raised on March 20, and again on November 15, each time with disastrous results to Hungary's export trade. On July 27 five new taxes were introduced which pressed with special severity on the town population. In addition to these, numerous increases were made during the year in import and export duties, which seriously hampered commerce. But these efforts could not counterbalance the effects of the exactions imposed by the Peace Treaty and the insecurity created by the Reparations Commission.

In spite of these difficulties the Hungarians made almost superhuman efforts to demonstrate to the world the vitality of their country and to re-establish international economic relations. Among such manifestations may be mentioned: the Industrial Exhibition in Budapest (June 17); the Wine and Viticulture Exhibition (August 18); the Exhibition of Pharmaceutical Plants and Drugs (September 16); the Applied Arts and Crafts Exhibition (September 21); the reception given to Mr. Frank Vanderlip, the well-known American financier (June 26); and the Free Trade Congress arranged by the Cobden Club of Budapest (October 17), with the participation of Lord Sheffield, Sir Charles Hobhouse, and Messrs. F. J. Shaw and Wilson as the delegates of England.

Nevertheless, the only practical proof of foreign confidence in Hungary's economic future was furnished by the French Schneider & Creusot Company, which began the construction of the great Danube commercial port at Csepel on July 13.

The Government also did its best to break the economic isolation of Hungary, and finally succeeded in bringing about (February 8) a provisional commercial treaty with Austria. But this was the only success in this field; the negotiations for commercial treaties with the other succession States were abortive.

On February 16 a convention was signed between Hungary and Great Britain regarding § 232 of the Peace Treaty of Trianon, which gives to England the right of sequestration and confiscation of all Hungarian property on British soil. By the convention this paragraph was modified to the effect that the household property and working instruments of Hungarians possessing less than 400*l.* annual income shall be released. About the same time (February 2) an Anglo-Hungarian Office

was opened in Budapest, to settle the pre-war debts of Hungary in England.

In international politics the situation of Hungary somewhat improved in 1922, and it at least obtained a hearing at the different international congresses. The most important event in this respect was the admission of Hungary as a member of the League of Nations on September 18. Although of little practical value as yet, this afforded an opportunity to the Minister of Foreign Affairs to protest at Geneva more authoritatively against the ill-treatment of the Hungarian minorities in Rumania, Serbia, and Czechoslovakia, and to support the motion of the British delegate regarding the dispatching of special delegates of the League of Nations to examine the situation of the national minorities in these countries. At the same session the Council of the League of Nations granted 10 villages and 15,000 acres of land to Hungary as a rectification of its frontier in Western Hungary, certain districts of which had to be ceded last year to Austria.

Previously to this, at the Genoa Conference (April 11), the rights of Hungarians under foreign rule were skilfully defended by Count Bethlen, the Hungarian Premier, who thus paved the way for Hungary's participation in the Congress of the League of Nations. Partly there and partly at Geneva the arrangements were made for the Congress of the League of Societies supporting the League of Nations, which was held at Budapest on October 18. The death of ex-King Charles IV. at Funchal in Madeira on April 1 removed a stumbling-block from the path of Hungary, as it deprived the Little Entente of an excuse for interfering in her internal affairs.

In regard to foreign relations no positive step was taken by the Government during the year, though there has been a strong movement in the country for a rapprochement with Italy. Certain extremists among the powerful Small Holders' Party have even gone so far as to propose offering the throne of Hungary to the Duke of Aosta and thus creating a personal union between the two countries. Mussolini is, of course, extremely popular with the largely irresponsible Hungarian "Fascisti," led by hotheads like the late Premier, Mr. Friedrich; as is also Kemal Pasha with the extreme Nationalists, who dispatched Friedrich to exchange views with him.

In internal affairs the first six months of the year were marked by a dangerous intensification of the propaganda of hatred and intolerance preached by the "Society of Awakening Hungarians;" while the latter half witnessed a gradual resumption of authority by the Government, which realised that, for the sake of the economic reorganisation of the country, it was necessary to adopt a firmer attitude towards the instigators of excesses.

On January 31 the law was passed confirming the reorganisation of the Army in accordance with the Peace Treaty. The

whole Hungarian Army is now to consist of 1,750 officers, 2,334 corporals and sergeants, and 30,916 men. At the same time the armaments of the country (including Army, police, gendarmerie, etc.) were fixed at 57,776 rifles, 28,822 military pistols, 560 machine-guns, 600 automatic pistols, and 70 guns of small calibre.

On January 20 scenes of great disorder occurred in the Diet owing to the Government's introduction of a new project for regulating Parliamentary elections. The last elections had been held under the law of 1918, which, as emended by Premier Friedrich, established universal suffrage for men and women, and voting by ballot. In order to ensure its obtaining a majority at the next election, the Government wished to change this law, but it met with such violent resistance on the part of the Opposition parties, both Liberal and Karlist, that it was forced to adjourn the House on February 16. It submitted the question of the elections to a special commission, and this body decided on February 21 that an election should be held as soon as possible, and that the Government could promulgate what decrees it pleased to regulate it. The Government accordingly issued a decree confining vote by ballot to the industrial towns, which would have voted Liberal-Democrat in any case, and instituting open voting in the rural districts; also restricting the suffrage of women. The powerful Small Holders' Party, with its leader, Mr. Nagyatadi Szabo, at first declared for universal suffrage with secret ballot, but Count Bethlen induced them to form a *bloc* with his own party, the "United Christians."

The election campaign which followed was marked by scenes of unparalleled brutality, the authors of which were, according to the Opposition, almost without exception "Awakening Hungarians" and agents of the Gömbös gang. The Government, in spite of genuine efforts to preserve order, was unable to restrain the violence of the mob-leaders or prevent the perpetration of excesses. These culminated in the dastardly bomb outrage on the Liberal-Democratic "Erzsebetvarosi" Club (April 3), through which eight members lost their lives and many more were wounded.

The Socialists, who had at first been inclined to abstain from the election on account of the abolition of universal secret suffrage, decided after all to participate, and came to a working arrangement with the Democratic and Progressive Bourgeois Parties. The Karlists also joined the Opposition, but were thrown into confusion by the news of the death of ex-King Karl. The election took place on May 28 and June 2. The Government, as anticipated, secured an overwhelming majority, but its satisfaction was somewhat tempered by the fact that the Socialists, to the general surprise, obtained 24 seats. Generally speaking, too, the composition of the present National Assembly is more normal than that of the last one, as the

number of the extremist elements has decreased, the loudest mob-leaders and hate-mongers having lost their seats.

As a consequence of the elections the Bethlen Cabinet was recast, and its most reactionary elements—Hegyeshalmy, Minister of Commerce, Tomcsanyi, Minister of Justice, and Bernólak, Minister of Public Welfare—eliminated.

The new Cabinet was composed as follows:—

Count Bethlen	Premier
Rakovszky	Interior
Kallay	Finance
Valko	Commerce
Count Klebelsberg	Education
Count Banffy	Foreign Affairs
Daruvary	Justice
Nagyatadi Szabo	Agriculture
Vass	Public Welfare

The first session of the National Assembly was comparatively calm, and visible efforts were made by the Government to inspire confidence in its authority. Count Bethlen even had the courage to arrest, on July 21, one of the most dangerous leaders of the Awakening Hungarians, Héjjas, on the charge of recruiting irresponsible elements for the liberation of the West Hungarian districts ceded to Austria. Energetic steps have also been taken by the Government to put down the activity of the Hungarian "Fascists."

The extremist elements both in the Governmental and Karlist Parties—whose only *raison d'être* appears to be a blind anti-Semitism endangering the union of all the forces of the nation—were naturally discontented with Count Bethlen's activity, and founded a coalition (September 19) under the guidance of Gömbös, Friedrich, Wolff, and Haller, which caused in the second period of the National Assembly more than one disturbance in and outside the Houses of Parliament. An artificial recrudescence of the Karlist propaganda has also marked the second session, as well as some violent outbursts of the Socialists, in protesting against the maintenance of the political internment camps and of exceptional laws limiting the right of assembly and the liberty of the press, etc. Nevertheless, up to now Count Bethlen has been master of the situation, and will probably remain so if he succeeds in rallying the saner and more progressive elements of the country to his side.

RUMANIA.

In 1922, for the first time since the war, the strife of political parties, which in the previous year had become almost a national danger, was reduced to what might be called normal proportions. A number of parties which had sprung into being as a result of war conditions disappeared, and political issues became comparatively clear and well-defined, so that the party system began to function much as it had done before the war. In the

economic field also there was an improvement, but of a much slighter character; and the country is still far from having recovered its pre-war economic and financial position.

The Chamber met early in January, and its first act was to reject decisively (Jan. 17) a vote of confidence in the Take Jonescu Cabinet, which had been appointed by the King in the previous month. The King thereupon requested M. Bratianu, the leader of the Liberal Party, to form a Cabinet. M. Bratianu undertook to do so on condition that the Chamber was dissolved; and to this the King consented. At the new elections the Liberal Party obtained a working majority, the next strongest parties being the Transylvanian Party and the Peasants' Party. At the opening of Parliament the Opposition parties protested against the "engineering" that had gone on during the election and withdrew, leaving a clear field to the Liberals.

The first measures taken by the Liberal Party were financial. It adopted the whole of the Budget drafted by M. Titilescu, the former Finance Minister, with slight modifications, but rejected the capital levy proposed by him. At the same time some retrenchments were effected in the public expenditure, and for the first time since the war the Budget was made to balance, and even to yield a surplus.

Another financial matter to which the Government directed its attention was the consolidation of the Treasury Bills payable in foreign currency. These had been given by the Treasury for goods ordered abroad immediately after the Armistice, and constituted a floating debt, failure to meet which would proclaim the country bankrupt. The Financial Minister, M. V. Bratianu, brother of the Prime Minister, visited a number of financial centres, and was successful in securing the consolidation of this floating debt, on condition that the interest and sinking fund should be secured through export taxes on cereals and other staple products payable in sterling or other sound currencies, or, in case these taxes were abolished, should be made a first charge on all the receipts of the State.

This step should in the ordinary course of things have effected an improvement in the Rumanian exchange, but it was more than neutralised by the increase in the export taxes which simultaneously took place, and the effect of which was to force the producer to use two price levels—one for the home and one for the foreign consumer. As a matter of fact, the Government was not too anxious to raise the value of the currency, as enormous stocks of lei were held by foreign speculators, especially in Germany. Any improvement in the leu would therefore mean an increasing claim on the national wealth. Stabilisation is more important than improvement from the Rumanian point of view.

Owing to the financial and economic situation of the country, the natural tendency of the exchange has been to depreciate, and the leu (which should be nearly equivalent to a franc) has

actually fallen continuously during the year from 600 to 800 to the pound sterling. The fact that it did not fall still further is due less to any action of the Government than to the policy of the National Bank, which, though a private institution, controls the issue of notes. This Bank at the beginning of the year refused to print 300,000,000 worth of lei to lend to the Treasury under the Take Jonescu Cabinet, and has carefully avoided inflation ever since.

Rumania during the year took part in the three International Conferences—those of Prague (between the members of the Little Entente), Genoa, and Lausanne. At the two latter it had an opportunity of coming into closer touch with Russia, with which its relations were still unsettled. It had two grievances against Russia. One was the refusal of Russia to refund the sum of 12,000,000*l.*, belonging to the National Bank of Rumania, which had been sent to Moscow in 1916, and deposited there to save it from falling into the hands of the Germans when they overran the country. The other was the maintenance by Russia of pretensions to Bessarabia, in spite of the fact that that province (in which Rumanians constitute 65 per cent. of the population) had decided immediately after the Russian Revolution, by an almost unanimous vote of its National Assembly, to join Rumania, and this decision had been ratified by the Allied Powers. At Genoa, Russia wanted to bargain the gold deposit for the territory, a solution of which Rumania would not hear; at Lausanne she adopted a more conciliatory attitude, and agreed to call a special Russo-Rumanian Conference to consider the question. Rumania, it may be mentioned, supported England on the question of the Freedom of the Straits.

Negotiations have also been carried on with Germany regarding the 2 milliards or so worth of lei which the Germans issued during their occupation, and which the National Bank has withdrawn from circulation. Germany has offered to pay back at the present depreciated value of the leu, but to this Rumania cannot consent, as it would mean that she would receive only about one-tenth of the actual value of the goods carried away by the Germans from the occupied territory.

The continued fall of the leu has caused severe distress among certain classes, notably importers of foreign goods and people with fixed incomes. Complaints have been rife that the wealthier classes escape their fair share of taxation. While the purchasing power of the leu has fallen almost to one-twentieth of its former value, pensions have been increased only three times and salaries about ten times. A demand has been made that the State should sell to the importers foreign currency at reduced rates so as to save them from bankruptcy. The surplus produced by the Budget was wisely devoted by M. Bratianu to raising the salaries of civil servants—not, however, till they had threatened to go on strike.

During the year a marriage was celebrated between Princess

Maria of Rumania and King Alexander of Yugo-Slavia. The Rumanians, while welcoming the event, attached little political importance to it. Another event of great sentimental but slight political significance was the coronation of the King and Queen, which had been postponed for a number of years. It took place at Alba Julia, a small town in Transylvania, celebrated in Rumanian history as the place where Michael the Brave, who for a short time united under his sceptre the whole Rumanian-speaking people, had been crowned centuries before. This town was chosen because it symbolised to Rumanians an idea which had now become fact.

In the course of the year M. Take Jonescu died, and his followers amalgamated with the Transylvanian deputies and formed with them the National Party.

KINGDOM OF THE SERBS, CROATS, AND SLOVENES.

The year 1922 was auspicious for the Triune Kingdom by reason of the marriage on June 8 of King Alexander I. to Princess Marie, second daughter of King Ferdinand and Queen Marie of Rumania. The union was regarded with great favour both in political circles and among the masses in the two countries.

In the sphere of politics, the year 1922 ran an even course, although the Government was more than once on the verge of dissolution. The menace of Communism practically vanished, thanks to the firm attitude of the Government in the preceding year. The Serb-Croatian dispute also seems to be in a fair way of settlement during the coming year.

In February a protest was addressed to M. Pashitch, the Prime Minister, by MM. Raditch, Drinkovitch, and Koshutitch and sixty-three Croatian and other delegates who still held aloof from the Belgrade Parliament, denying the right of the Yugo-Slav Government to represent Croatia at the Genoa Conference, and demanding the appointment of separate Croatian delegates.

At the beginning of the year rumours were current in the foreign Press with regard to the activities of Wrangel and other Russian refugees in Serbia. Suspicions, however, were allayed by speeches in the Skupstina explaining Serbia's attitude to these people as one of pure hospitality and denying all allegations of plots for the invasion of Russia.

The Budget for 1921-22, which was brought forward and passed in March, balanced at 6,257,577,804 dinars, as against 3,494,356,543 dinars for the previous year. This amount included 1,499,356,657 for the Ministry of War and grants for the Ministry of Public Health and for Education and Communications, as well as a large vote for Social Policy. The dinar fell heavily after the Budget was drafted, and this automatically increased the estimates of the Ministry for War. In

August the Skupstina, after protracted debates, consented by a majority of 62 to the acceptance of a loan of 25,000,000*l.* from a group of American financiers. The proceeds will be used principally for road construction and railway communications and more particularly for the line from Belgrade to the Adriatic. The terms of this loan preclude the Serb Government from concluding any other loan for the next two years.

In June M. Marinkovitch, Minister of the Interior, resigned, owing to friction with the Democrats. In this month also the new Electoral Law, although democratic in character, was opposed, amid scenes of great disorder, by the Opposition and Extreme Left. At the same time, owing to disturbances in Zagreb, the Government closed down some of the Separatist Societies which had been largely instrumental in creating the ill-feeling between the Serbs and Croats.

Towards the end of July the appointment of M. Petchitch as Minister of the Interior was strongly opposed by the Radicals, and in consequence M. Pashitch sent in his resignation, which, however, the King refused to accept, and once again the Cabinet were obliged to patch up their differences, whilst the Ministry of the Interior remained without an occupant.

Towards the end of November the Croatian Deputy, Häusler, took his seat in the Skupstina, being the first member of the Raditch Party to do so. His action was generally approved, and the Zagreb Congress of Public Workers showed that among the Serbian Deputies themselves there existed a strong tendency in favour of conciliation. This step of M. Häusler led to a rapprochement between the Democrats and the Croats which undermined the Coalition. The Government was defeated on December 4, and the King this time accepted M. Pashitch's resignation, though he prevailed upon him to form another Government. Although the Democrats, led by M. Davidovitch, combined with the Croatian parties to bring about the fall of the Government, it is by no means certain that they will lend themselves to the Raditch programme, which seeks to secure either independence for Croatia or de-centralisation. The new Cabinet still has M. Pashitch as Premier and M. Nintchitch as Foreign Minister, and the two are supported by Ministers belonging to the Radical Party. The elections are awaited with much interest.

In foreign affairs the year was signalised by a number of events inaugurating better relations between Yugo-Slavia and her neighbours.

During the official celebrations of the royal betrothal held at Bukarest in February, the first step towards the formation of a Quadruple Entente between Yugo-Slavia, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, and Poland was taken by means of a conference of economic and financial experts held at Belgrade in March for the purpose of passing a common policy to be pursued at the Genoa Conference.

At the same time comprehensive agreements were reached on all questions outstanding between Rumania and Yugo-Slavia, notably the question of the boundary line in the Banat.

The question of Fiume is still in an unsatisfactory state. This unfortunate town was, earlier in the year, the scene of various unpleasant incidents between the contending parties; and the efforts of a Conference held at Santa Margherita to effect a settlement were unavailing, since certain clauses of the agreement drawn up by it were afterwards objected to by M. Pashitch.

During the year Yugo-Slavia recognised the *de jure* independence of Albania, and appointed a diplomatic representative to that country.

The quarrel of Prince George with his brother, King Alexander, which was the subject of much comment in the Press during the latter part of the year, was fortunately closed by Prince George writing a letter of apology and regret to the King, which was read in the Skupstina.

TURKEY.

The year 1922 witnessed the passing of what was once the Empire of the Sultan, the dethronement and exile of the reigning Sultan, and the growth of the Nationalist Party of Mustapha Kemal Pasha into what promises to be a factor of considerable importance in Near Eastern politics.

The Angora National Assembly showed its determination to lighten the already existing bonds between Nationalist Turkey and Soviet Russia by supplementing the previously signed pact of alliance and friendship between the two countries by a treaty on similar lines. This followed the treaty between Nationalist Turkey and the Soviet Republic of Ukraine, which was ratified on January 4. Other countries also sought to arrive at understandings with the Turkish Nationalist Government. Following the conclusion at Angora on October 20, 1922, of an agreement with France, the Italian Government sent a delegate, Signor Tuozzi, to the capital of Nationalist Turkey for the purpose of clearing up the general situation and outstanding differences between the two countries. The negotiations which lasted for over six weeks were followed by an understanding.

When the year opened, a state of war in Anatolia still continued, although active military operations against the Greeks had practically ceased since the autumn of the previous year. Several new efforts were made by the Entente Powers to resume negotiations and bring about a reconciliation between the two warring countries. Similar attempts were also made by the Turks, and on February 6, the Angora Government's Foreign Minister, Yussuf Kemal Pasha, left Anatolia for Paris, Rome, and London on a special mission, the object of which was to re-open negotiations with the Great Powers for an honourable

peace "within the limits of the Turkish National Pact" (of January 28, 1920). The Turkish "conditions" at that period, as defined by members of the mission themselves, can be summarised as follows: the evacuation of the Allied forces from Constantinople, the abolition of all privileges granted to non-Moslem minorities, recognition by the Entente of the Angora Government and of all treaties concluded by it, complete independence for Turkey in military, financial, and political domains, unconditional return to Turkey of Smyrna and all territories occupied by the Greeks, autonomy for Western Thrace, and the restoration of Eastern Thrace to Turkey, Turkey to possess an Army and Fleet adequate for protection against invasion, Turkey and Russia to regulate the future status of the Straits, and Greece to pay Turkey a war indemnity. Yussuf Pasha and his mission was followed to Europe by another Turkish mission, representing the Turkey of the Sultan and Constantinople, and headed by Marshal Izzet Pasha, Foreign Minister of the Constantinople Government. Both missions visited London practically simultaneously early in March, and after several fruitless attempts to open negotiations with the British Government returned to Paris.

Later in the same month a meeting of the British, French, and Italian Foreign Ministers was held in Paris with the view of once more attempting to bring the Turco-Greece conflict to an end. One of the first decisions taken at this conference was to propose an immediate Armistice to both Turkey and Greece (*cf.* under Greece, p. 210). The Angora Government, while accepting the proposal, put forward as a condition the immediate evacuation of Smyrna and its hinterland by the Greek forces. The Constantinople Government showed itself more moderate and ready to negotiate. But as by this time the Turkey of the Sultan and Constantinople had become a more or less negligible quantity in the Turkish problem the attitude adopted by the Sultan's Government was not destined to affect the matter one way or the other. On April 15, the Allies rejected the condition proposed by Angora, and the Near Eastern problem remained once more in suspense. On April 23 the Angora Government informed the Allies that it was prepared to agree to a preliminary discussion of peace terms, but still maintained that the evacuation of Anatolia by the Greeks should be simultaneous with the conclusion of the prepared Armistice.

The military situation in Anatolia which during the first seven months of 1922 had remained stationary began once more to develop signs of activity. Towards the end of July rumours were first circulated regarding a proposed Greek military coup aiming at the occupation of Constantinople by Greek forces under the leadership of King Constantine. Simultaneously the Allies once more made an attempt to call a conference in Venice in September for the settlement of the Near Eastern problem in connexion with which identical proposals (see under Greece)

were communicated to the Greeks and Turks. The renewal of military activities (on the night of August 18-19) on the Turko-Greek front in Asia Minor and the rout of the Greek armies which followed, together with the sudden sweeping march of internal affairs in Turkey and Greece, doomed this conference to the same fate as its predecessors. In less than a fortnight the complete defeat of the Greek Army was an accomplished fact, and Greece had to request the Great Powers to negotiate an Armistice. On September 9 Turkish forces occupied Smyrna, and the evacuation of Anatolia by the Greeks was practically completed.

Elated by the success of the Nationalist Turkish Army the Angora leaders from this moment began to display renewed truculence and arrogance towards the Allies, particularly towards Great Britain, which despatched a series of strongly worded notes to the Nationalist Government warning them against any attempt to violate the neutral zone, or to place the Allies before a *fait accompli* regarding the future status of the Straits or Turkey in Europe before the negotiation and conclusion of an Armistice. Nevertheless several attempts were made by the Nationalist forces to invade the neutral zone occupied by Allied troops in the vicinity of Chanak, on the Asiatic side of the Dardanelles, but all incidents were satisfactorily liquidated by an agreement.

The victory of Mustapha Kemal's armies in Asia Minor had no small repercussion in Constantinople and those few districts of Turkey which still remained nominally under the rule of the Sultan. Dissatisfaction with the Sultan himself had for a long time been general among the great majority of his subjects, and the abdication of Mohamed VI., Sultan of Turkey, in favour of Prince Abdul Mejid Effendi, the Heir-Apparent, reported on September 28 (a rumour which did not materialise into actual fact for some time), did not come as a surprise.

Meanwhile, M. Franklin-Bouillon who had been so instrumental in concluding the Franco-Turkish agreement of October, 1920, and who after the Greek débacle had been despatched by the French Government to Angora to induce Mustapha Kemal Pasha and the National Assembly to accept the Allies' proposal for the holding of a conference between the Allies, Turkey, and Greece, succeeded in dispelling Turkish fears and suspicions and in obtaining Turkish consent for a conference to be held at Mudania, which was opened on October 3. The Turks from the very beginning adopted an extremely irreconcilable and uncompromising attitude, and it was only due to the commendable firmness coupled with the greatest tact displayed by the British delegate, General Sir Charles Harrington, that after several breakdowns the conference at Mudania finally resulted in the acceptance by Turkey of the Allied terms and the conclusion of an Armistice, signed on the night of October 11 (see under Greece). A second conference for the negotiation of the final

terms and the conclusion of a Peace Treaty to replace the Treaty of Sèvres was then prepared by the Allies, to be held early in November at Lausanne. The Angora Government appointed as their plenipotentiary Ismet Pasha, who on October 26 had replaced Yussuf Kemal Bey as Minister for Foreign Affairs.

The claim of the Angora Government to be the sole authority qualified to represent the Turkish people naturally developed into an open antagonism towards the Government of Constantinople and the Sultan. Before long the Nationalists were all powerful in the capital. Rafet Pasha, who had been appointed Nationalist Governor of Eastern Thrace, on passing through Constantinople to occupy his new post on November 4, proclaimed himself "Governor of the Province of Constantinople." The Grand Vizier immediately tendered the resignation of the Cabinet, and informed the Allied High Commissioners that the Porte was unable to send delegates to Lausanne. Rafet's move was preceded by the unanimous declaration of the Angora Assembly that the Sultanate was defunct, and that for the future Turkish Sovereignty reverted to the National Assembly. According to this decision the Caliphate is to be continued in the Osmanli family, but the choice of the Caliph would rest with the Angora Assembly. The deposition of the Sultan and the seizure of power in Constantinople was followed by a number of demands made to the Allied High Commissioners by Rafet Pasha, including the evacuation of Constantinople by the Allied troops. Needless to say, the demands were refused. On November 16 the Grand National Assembly resolved that the Sultan and his Ministers were to be put on trial. The next day, November 17, Sultan Mohamed VI., accompanied by his son, Prince Ertogrul Effendi, took refuge on board the British battleship *Malaya* which immediately left for Malta. The Sultan's flight was followed by the election by the Grand National Assembly at Angora of a new Caliph—Abdul Medjid, son of Sultan Abdul Aziz, and the Heir-Presumptive to the throne. Rafet Pasha, who by having failed to frustrate the plans for the Sultan's escape had incurred the displeasure of Angora, was replaced as Kemalist extraordinary representative in Constantinople on November 22 by Selah-ed-din Adil Pasha, Under Secretary of the Angora Ministry of War. On November 24 the ceremony of the accession of the new Caliph, Abdul Medjid, took place in Constantinople at the Mosque of Mahomet the Conqueror.

The Lausanne Conference opened on November 20. By the end of the year it had reached no results, owing to the obstinate and inflexible attitude adopted by the Turkish representatives. Thus the year 1922 brought peace in the Near East no nearer. But for the Turkish people it opened a new era of what may turn out to be democratic rule.

O

GREECE.

The year 1922 has been the most calamitous in the whole history of modern Greece. It has witnessed the shattering of hopes and aspirations nourished by Hellenism ever since the first days of its struggle for independence and the realisation of the dream of a free Hellas, the centenary of which was celebrated only a year ago; more particularly of the idea of a greater Greece with which the name of M. Venezelos has been so closely associated ever since his first call to power in 1910. From a Balkan power of dominatory magnitude Greece has been thrown back into the unenviable position she occupied after the disastrous Greco-Turkish War of 1897.

The first months of 1922 were marked by the continuation of the strife between Constantinists and Venezelists, which found its most notable expression in the controversy between the Athens Government and the Constantinople Phanar in connexion with the election in December, 1921, of Mgr. Meletios Metaxakes, an ardent supporter of Venezelos, as Oecumenical Patriarch. Athens refused to recognise Mgr. Metaxakes as spiritual head of the Church in Greece proper, and the Synodical Court in Athens went so far as to condemn him to be deprived of his ecclesiastical rank and interned in the Monastery of Zante.

In the meantime the efforts of the Allies to negotiate a peace settlement between Greece and the Turkish Nationalists which had been commenced in the previous year, were continued. A meeting of British, French, and Italian statesmen to discuss Near Eastern affairs and the revision of the Sèvres Treaty was unofficially announced to take place early in February, but was postponed. On March 22, however, a conference of Allied Foreign Ministers consisting of M. Poincaré, Lord Curzon, and Signor Schanzer was opened in Paris, and one of its first steps was to propose to the Greeks and Turks a three months' Armistice in Asia Minor together with the establishment of a neutral zone between the warring armies, pending negotiations for the conclusion of peace. At the same time it advocated the evacuation of the whole of Asia Minor by the Greeks, the establishment of a special regime for the Smyrna area, and the placing of racial minorities under the protection of the League of Nations. It further drew up plans for the demilitarisation of the Straits and a rectification of the Turkish-Greek frontier in Eastern Thrace between the neighbourhood of Ganos on the Sea of Marmora and a point on the Bulgarian frontier in the western part of the Stranja mountains, leaving Rodosto to the Turks and placing Baba-Eske and Kirk Kilisse on the Greek side of the border, Greece thus retaining Adrianople. The Angora Government expressed its readiness to enter into an Armistice on condition that Smyrna should be immediately evacuated by the Greeks, and that the evacuation of Asia Minor

should be completed within four months. The Greek Government, while nominally accepting the Allied proposals, made hasty preparations for the formation, under the auspices of the Greek military leaders, of a special "Government of Ionia" (hinterland of Smyrna) on the same general lines as the Angora Nationalist Government, while simultaneously an organisation of Greeks resident abroad, consisting mainly of Venezelist elements and calling itself the "League for National Defence," issued an appeal to Greeks all over the world to oppose the evacuation of Asia Minor by the Greek Army. Meanwhile no attempt was made to carry out the Allied proposals in practice, and for nearly three months the situation in Asia Minor remained in suspense, no official Armistice being concluded, while at the same time active hostilities on the Front were limited to small skirmishes between the outposts of the two armies.

The internal situation during the spring and early summer of 1922 also remained more or less stationary, except for a series of minor Cabinet crises. M. Gounaris resigned in March, and was succeeded by M. Stratos, a moderate Royalist, who, however, gave place once more to M. Gounaris. The latter in his turn resigned for a second time, before being a month in office, on May 12, and was again succeeded by M. Stratos, who, after holding the premiership for a short time, made way for a Coalition Cabinet under M. Protopapadakis, which included among its members both M. Stratos and M. Gounaris.

Undaunted by the failure of the Paris Conference, the French Government made another attempt to bring Turkey and Greece to terms in the earlier part of July, when it put forward a proposal for the holding of a preliminary meeting of Turkish and Greek representatives in the presence of Allied Commissioners. The Greek Government, however, informed the Allies that Greece, after having in vain shown every disposition to facilitate a solution of the Eastern problem, would now reserve liberty of action and seek some direct solution. This announcement was followed by a Note handed to the Allies on July 29, in which the Greek Government declared its intention of occupying Constantinople with Greek troops, and thus forcing the Turks to conclude peace. This last Note was duly followed by the landing of 25,000 Greek troops at Rodosto and corresponding military preparations for the carrying out of the proposed coup, according to a plan elaborated by General Hadjianestis, who had succeeded General Papoulas as Commander-in-Chief of the Greek armies. On being warned by the British Government of the serious consequences that would follow such a step, the Greek Minister of Foreign Affairs gave a positive assurance that on no account would Greece occupy Constantinople without Allied sanction, which was, as a matter of fact, refused.

Speaking in the House of Commons on the Near Eastern situation on August 4, Mr. Lloyd George strongly supported

Greek claims to Asia Minor and Eastern Thrace, and paid a glowing tribute to Greek arms. Excerpts from the British Premier's speech were published in a Greek Army Order of the day and distributed among the Greek troops in Asia Minor. Having failed to carry out the Constantinople coup, King Constantine's Government once more reverted to the plan for the proclamation of an independent Ionia. At the same time a last attempt was made by the Allies to convoke a Near East Conference (this time to be held in Venice, in September) of representatives of the Great Powers and the two belligerents to discuss terms of peace. Before, however, these steps could lead to any result, military events supervened, which entirely transformed the situation.

On August 26 the Turkish Nationalist forces under the command of Mustapha Kemal Pasha attacked the Greek lines south and north-east of Afium-Karahissar. The operations gradually developed into a general offensive against the Greek forces, which were compelled two days later to evacuate the place. The loss of this key position was swiftly followed by the retreat of the Greek forces from Eskishehr and other important posts, and in less than a fortnight what had from the first been a somewhat serious reverse to Greek arms developed into a débacle of unexpected magnitude, which left the Greek Government no alternative but to order the immediate withdrawal of the Army from Asia Minor and to address an appeal to the Allies to intervene with the object of procuring a cessation of hostilities. The Turks refused an Armistice, and the Greek Army was forced to embark while still being pursued by the victorious enemy, who entered Smyrna on September 9. Thousands of Greek refugees streamed to the coast from all parts of Anatolia, fleeing from the revenge of the Turks. The total number transported to various parts of Greece with the assistance of the Greek authorities and the Allies amounted to nearly 1,000,000.

The Greek débacle in Asia Minor was naturally followed by a Government crisis in Greece proper. The Cabinet resigned on September 8, and M. Callogeropoulos was entrusted by the King with the formation of a new Ministry. After two days spent in negotiations he failed in his task, and M. Triantafyllakis, the ex-High Commissioner of Greece at Constantinople, was summoned, and succeeded with difficulty in forming a makeshift Government. In the meantime excitement and dissatisfaction were steadily growing among the population, and strict measures were necessary for the maintenance of order. On September 26 martial law was proclaimed, following the revolt in Salonika of 8,000 troops and their officers, who sent word to Athens demanding the abdication of King Constantine and the imprisonment of the former Prime Ministers, Gounaris and Stratos. This revolt was followed by that of troops stationed in the islands of Mytilene, Chios, and Crete. The

Army contingents in Mytilene formed a revolutionary Committee headed by Colonel Gonatas, which despatched by aeroplane the following demands to Athens: the dismissal of the Government, the dissolution of the Chamber, the holding of new elections, and the abdication of King Constantine in favour of the Diadoch. The revolutionary movement swiftly spread to other centres of old and new Greece and to the Greek gunboats stationed at Mytilene and in and about the port of Piræus. The Cabinet immediately resigned, and on September 27 King Constantine abdicated for the second time in the course of his career, and the Diadoch succeeded to the throne of Greece as King George II.

On September 28 the revolutionary troops, headed by their leaders, Colonel Plastiras and Colonel Gonatas, entered Athens amidst wild scenes of enthusiasm. One of the first steps taken by the revolutionary Committee, which immediately took over the governancy of the country, was to order the expulsion from Greece of King Constantine and Queen Sofia and of the Princes Andrew and Nicholas, the ex-King's brothers, and to arrest all prominent premiers, politicians, and military and naval leaders of the Constantinist faction, such as MM. Gounaris, Stratos, Protopapadakis, and Theotokis, Admiral Goudas, General Papoulas, etc. A telegram was despatched by the Revolutionary Committee to M. Venezelos in Paris requesting him to collaborate with the new Government in the attempt to rescue Greece from the catastrophe in which she had been involved by King Constantine and his advisers, and a new Cabinet was formed with M. Zaimis, as Premier, and M. Politis, as Foreign Minister—both Venezelists. M. Venezelos, in his reply, intimated that for the time being he would confine himself merely to representing his country's interests abroad, and refused any actual participation in the new Government. On September 30 ex-King Constantine, ex-Queen Sofia, and Prince Nicholas, with other members of the royal family, left Greece for Italy, the ex-King never to return.

On October 3 negotiations were opened at Mudania in Asia Minor between representatives of the Nationalist Turkish Government on the one hand and the Allies and Greece on the other for the conclusion of an Armistice. After serious division of opinion which nearly led to a complete breakdown, terms were finally signed on October 10. The Turks undertook to respect neutral zones on the European and Asiatic sides of the Straits, while the Allies guaranteed the evacuation of Eastern Thrace by the Greek Army within fifteen days of the signing of the Convention, the Greek troops to be replaced provisionally by Allied forces not exceeding seven battalions in total strength. The demarcation line between Greek Western Thrace and the part of Eastern Thrace reverting to Turkey in virtue of the Armistice Convention was fixed along the left bank of the Maritza from its outlet into the Ægean Sea to the

point where it crosses the frontier of Thrace into Bulgaria. The new conditions in the Near East created by the Greek débacle led the Italian Government to proclaim the denunciation of Italo-Greek agreement of May 17, 1920, which provided for a settlement of the differences that had arisen between Greece and Italy regarding the Dodecanese Islands, a step which called forth a protest from the Government of Great Britain.

The inquiry into the causes of the Greek military débacle in Asia Minor and the search for its authors instituted by the Revolutionary Committee on its advent to power resulted in a number of new arrests of leading personalities. Thus, towards the end of October, the ex-King's brother, Prince Andrew, was arrested at Corfu on the charge of having disobeyed the orders of his military chiefs while commanding an army corps on the Front. MM. Kalogeropoulos, ex-Premier, Baltadjis, ex-Foreign Minister, General Hadjianestis, ex-Commander-in-Chief, and others were also subsequently charged with high treason and imprisoned. On November 20 a Conference of representatives of the Allies, Turkey, and Greece was opened at Lausanne for the purpose of the revision of the Sèvres Treaty and the final settlement of the Near Eastern problem. At the opening stages of the Conference, Greece was represented by M. Venezelos.

Little was heard of Greek internal affairs in the meantime, the attention of the whole nation being centred on M. Venezelos' efforts abroad to procure a settlement which should be as painless as possible for his country. The first Cabinet formed under the régime of the Revolutionary Committee (which had established itself as the real master of Greece with King George II. merely as a figure head) underwent several slight changes, the chief of which was caused by the refusal of M. Zaimis to retain the premiership (which remained vacant, with M. Krokidas as acting Premier), and after having been in power for less than two months resigned on November 24, chiefly owing to internal differences arising from the trial of the ex-Ministers, Statesmen, and military leaders by a Revolutionary tribunal on the charges of high treason. The British Government, through its Minister in Athens, Mr. Lindley, urged that the accused should be treated leniently. While certain members of the Cabinet were prepared to accept the British suggestion, the more irreconcilable elements refused to submit to what they considered as foreign intervention in Greek internal affairs, and the Cabinet accordingly resigned, and was replaced by one composed exclusively of members of the Revolutionary Committee and of the Republican Group which formed the Committee's most active supporters. Colonel Gonatas, one of the leaders of the Revolutionary Committee, was appointed Premier, and M. Constantine Rentis, one of the leaders of the Republican Group, as acting Minister for Foreign Affairs. On November 27 the trial by the Revolutionary Court Martial of

the ex-Ministers and military leaders was concluded. Six of the accused — MM. Gounaris, Theotokis, Baltadjis, Stratos, and Protopapadakis and General Hadjianestis—were sentenced to death and executed the next morning, while Admiral Goudas and General Stratigos were sentenced to imprisonment for life. Following the execution of M. Gounaris and his companions the British Government instructed the British Minister at Athens to ask for his passports and leave Greece; nor had diplomatic relations between the two countries been renewed by the end of the year. Shortly after the execution of the six Ministers the ex-King's brother Prince Andrew was tried by the same Tribunal and sentenced to banishment for life from Greece. The Prince and his family left Greece on December 4 for London.

Thus year 1922 closed for Greece in the most inauspicious circumstances with the question of a peace settlement which should enable the country to devote its forces to peaceful reconstruction still in abeyance, and internal dissatisfaction and unrest steadily increasing. One marked result of this discontent is a noticeable growth of Republican sentiment which seems to be paving the way for important developments in the near future.

ALBANIA.

The year opened with a certain restlessness in the governing authority of Albania. Numerous changes took place in the *personnel* of the Government, and this appeared to indicate the existence of dissatisfaction somewhere. On March 8, a revolt against the Government broke out; Elez Jussorf, of Dibsa, with 300 followers entered Tirana and entrenched himself in the town. Three days later fighting took place in the streets of the capital, and but for the friendly intervention of Mr. Harry Eyres, the British Minister, might have led to serious consequences. The mediation of Mr. Eyres was accepted, and on March 11 Jussorf submitted and withdrew. In consequence of this insurrection, stern measures were adopted in the mountain regions. The population was disarmed and military recruiting was put into force.

Among other important events of the year must be mentioned the Conference of Christians at Berat, where it was decided that the Orthodox Church of Albania was entirely independent of the Patriarchate. The separation was ultimately ratified by the Patriarch.

During the year the International Commission to settle the frontiers of Albania was able to record some progress. Difficulties arose on the Albanian-Greek frontier, and this was left for subsequent delimitation. The relations of the country with foreign powers were being gradually established on a friendly basis. Diplomatic representatives were exchanged with several countries, including Great Britain, to which Mehmed

Konitza was accredited in March. In the same month Albania joined the Universal Postal Union.

BULGARIA.

In internal affairs the year 1922 was marked by a crisis in party politics which had unfortunate results. Throughout the year the Government was hampered and its energies wasted by internal dissensions. One of the most important events of the year was the formation, in the month of February, of the "constitutional *bloc*" of the three opposition parties of the Right (the Democrats, the National-Progressists, and the Radicals) for the purpose of overthrowing the Government. As was to be expected this led to violent controversies in the press and at public meetings, which resulted in the arrest, on September 16, of the leaders of these three parties. It was said that as members of the former Guéchoff-Daneff and Malinoff-Kostourkoff Coalition Cabinets they were responsible for the disasters suffered by Bulgaria during the last ten years: the first disaster in 1913 as a consequence of the war against Turkey and subsequently against the other States of the Balkan league; and the second in 1918 owing to the failure of the Malinoff-Kostourkoff Cabinet, the successors of M. Radoslavoff, to conduct a separate peace. After the arrest of the leaders of the *bloc*, a referendum was held, on November 19, to consult the nation as to the guilt of the members of these two Coalition Cabinets. Thanks to the support of the Communist Party, which had decided to vote against the accused Ministers, the Government scored a victory on the question. The result is that at the end of the year the members of the so-called "war-cabinets," 22 persons in all, with the exception of 9 who have fled the country, are in prison awaiting trial before a "National Court" consisting, as at present proposed, of 3 ordinary judges and 16 "national" judges, of whom 4 will be in reserve, chosen by lot from all departmental councillors of the country. A special law will shortly be passed by the Parliament for the legal procedure to be adopted and the constitution of the "National Court" for the trial of the accused Ministers.

Another internal event which created a sensation was the occupation of the town of Kustendil, on December 4, by a band of the Revolutionary Macedonian Organisation, numbering about one thousand men, the majority of whom came from Serbian Macedonia. This Organisation, which has its headquarters in Macedonia, near the Bulgarian frontier, is secret in character, and while its immediate purpose is to protect the Bulgarian population in this province against the excesses committed by the Serbian authorities, its final aim is to obtain the autonomy of Macedonia. The Organisation is of opinion that the present Bulgarian Government's policy of understanding with Yugo-Slavia prejudices the interests of the Bulgarian popu-

took to consult one another about the means of safeguarding their interests in the event of a threat to the Peninsula or to the independence of either country. It was arranged, therefore, that Dr. Salazar, the Portuguese Premier, should be called into consultation, and just before the meeting with the Vichy mission —on February 14—General Franco and Señor Suñer met him in Seville to discuss common problems. The Ambassadors of both countries were also present. The Spanish Press carried a number of inspired articles on the theme of peninsular solidarity and foreshadowed a closer alliance, an extension of the existing treaty and protocol. This new treaty was not actually concluded until the end of the year. But *ad hoc* decisions were taken to meet possible contingencies in the spreading war. One of the subjects which no doubt General Franco wanted to discuss was the behaviour of the Latin-American States which at the Pan-American Conference at Rio de Janeiro in the middle of January, with one or two exceptions, had united to back up their North American partner and broken off relations with the Axis countries. This was a severe blow to the Falange Party and its numerous agents in Spanish America who had been assiduously playing Hitler's game in trying to give a political twist to the spiritual and cultural bonds of *Hispanidad*. Government spokesmen were naturally reticent on the subject; it was not until April 22 that any official utterance was reported. Señor Suñer, in an interview with a Copenhagen journalist, was dilating upon the Communist danger, and after repeating his Leader's pledge at the Alcazar ceremony in Seville, he went on:

> It causes us sadness to see the Spanish-American countries, which have the blood and the spirit of Spain, willing to adopt attitudes which are the essential negation of the transcendental ideals of the Hispanic world. . . .

It seems unlikely, however, that the *Generalísimo* got much consolation from Dr. Salazar. For when in the following September Brazil went a step further and declared war on the side of the United Nations Salazar found it quite compatible with Portuguese neutrality to send at once a congratulatory message.

These diplomatic moves were followed by military conversations. On March 15 General Dávila, Chief of the Spanish General Staff, arrived in Berlin. A week later a Spanish Military Mission proceeded to Lisbon, and a Portuguese Mission was on the way to Spanish Morocco. The pessimists concluded that Spain was being briefed for her part in Hitler's Spring offensive, the long-threatened plan for sealing up the Western Mediterranean, with an assault on Gibraltar and the establishment of a powerful Axis bridgehead at Dakar. Portugal's part in this was to provide all facilities, through her close co-operation with Spain, while at the same time remaining formally neutral and thus obstructing any Allied counter-move.

Neuilly, of 2¼ milliards of gold francs, so that the total amount of the reparations was to be on January 1, 1924, 2,604,656,250 gold francs.

To these proposals also the Bulgarian Government demurred, pleading inability to carry them out and requesting a reconsideration of the position. At the end of the year the Allied Powers were in possession of a further Memorandum, the reply to which will not be available until 1923.

FIUME.

When the year began the Zanella Government was in power in Fiume. But there were many forces in the new State that hoped for a union with Italy and rejected independence. Early in March they brought about the fall of Zanella, and called in Signor Giuriati to be head of the Provisional Government. This represented a victory for the Fascisti.

But the Italian Government made it clear that it would not countenance this solution of the Fiume problem, declaring that it stood by the Treaty of Rapallo. The attitude of the Government in Rome was appreciated by the Government in Belgrade, and what might have been a delicate situation was smoothed over. The declaration of the Italian Government also resulted in the withdrawal of Signor Giuriati. The Fascisti, however, were determined to have Giuriati at all costs; the Arditi were of another opinion. On March 16, led by Lieut. Cabruna, the Arditi stormed the Town Hall which they captured, and proclaimed themselves masters of the city. But they brought no peace, and before long there was a demand in Fiume for the recall of Signor Zanella. April and May were occupied by negotiations between the Governments of Italy and Yugo-Slavia, and by May 19 an agreement had been reached for the settlement of the status of Fiume satisfactory to both sides.

CHAPTER V.

LESSER STATES OF WESTERN AND NORTHERN EUROPE: BELGIUM — NETHERLANDS—SWITZERLAND—SPAIN—PORTUGAL—DENMARK—SWEDEN—NORWAY.

BELGIUM.

POLITICALLY, the year 1922 in Belgium was uneventful both in internal and external affairs. There were no elections and only one change in the Ministry, when in October M. Hubert resigned from the Ministry of Science and Arts, and was succeeded by M. Leclere, Rector of the University of Brussels. Owing to severe illness, M. Leclere resigned his post, and on November 8, Dr. Nolf, a Professor at Liege University, was appointed in his stead. Dr. Nolf had to handle the problem which in the realm of culture saw the gradual coming to a head of the bitter

conflict between the Flemish and the French parties, on the issue of which so much depends for the future of the country.

This conflict, which had first been kindled years ago and which had been fanned into flame by the war, turned on the question of higher education through the medium of Flemish. At present the four Universities of the country—the State Universities of Ghent and Liege, and those of Louvain (Catholic) and Brussels (Liberal) supported by private resources—are conducted in French, and the Flemish youth cannot obtain any degree or diploma in their own language. At one time they were unable even to obtain secondary education through the medium of that language, but since 1910 a number of Flemish high schools and colleges have been instituted by law to meet their requirements. It was inevitable that the education struggle should break out afresh with redoubled violence when the generation of 1910, after leaving school, found itself on the threshold of higher studies. The great renaissance of Flemish culture which has taken place during the last quarter of a century called insistently for a University as a focus for its activities, and it is easy to understand why, even before the war, the question of a Flemish University was a burning one.

During the occupation of the country by the Germans, as is well known, the "activists," under the direction of the enemy authorities, organised the Flamandisation of the University of Ghent; while after the liberation of the country the "status quo ante bellum" was re-established.

The advocates of a Flemish University maintained that, since higher education was paid for by the taxes of the whole population, it was only fair that, as the State had two Universities, each of the two national languages should be used at one of them. They therefore demanded the Flamandisation of the University of Ghent, offering at the same time conditions and guarantees which were a proof of a conciliatory spirit on their part. But the Walloons remained obdurate, and they were supported by the Nationalist Party, which in all things is at the service of the French Government.

A bitter struggle thereupon ensued. The Liberal Party, most of the members of which are Nationalist, proposed the creation of a new University at Antwerp, though this would have cost the State about two hundred millions. The Chamber would not listen to this proposal, and the enemies of Flamandisation had to look elsewhere. They thereupon demanded that the University of Ghent should be simply doubled, all the courses being given both in French and in Flemish. This proposition, the absurdity of which is patent, was also rejected, and after some heated debates the Chamber voted by 87 to 83 the gradual Flamandisation of the University. This result so exasperated the Nationalists that, though they always claim to uphold law and authority, they appealed to arms, and they succeeded in surrounding the Parliament with some bands of

young persons, who, however, took to flight on the arrival of the police.

This final vote was the climax of incidents and debates which had gone on for months. It was only taken on the eve of Christmas, and has yet to be ratified by the Senate, where the struggle will probably be renewed.

This struggle has been marked by two peculiar features: first, the passion shown by the Nationalists, who have accused their opponents of being instigated, or even paid, by Germany, Holland, and England, which, if they are to be believed, are leagued against Belgium. Secondly, it has completely confounded old party and political distinctions. While most of the Catholic deputies (including several Walloons) voted for the law, a fraction of them made common cause with the Liberals, of whom again a small number—six out of thirty-six—voted for the law; while the Socialists were about equally divided. The Cabinet itself is divided on the question. Several Liberal Ministers oppose the project bitterly, while several Catholic Ministers, along with the Liberal, M. Franck, support it just as strongly. Belgium has presented, during the year, the curious sight of members of the same Cabinet voting on opposite sides in a debate of capital importance for the future of the country, while the Prime Minister takes refuge in impenetrable silence at a moment when the danger of civil war is imminent.

The question of the Flemish University is the only one which was of any real importance in 1922. A bare mention may be made of the military projects of M. Dévèze, Minister of National Defence. His project, which was approved by the Council of Ministers on October 24, provides for eight months for auxiliary service, ten months for infantry and heavy artillery, and thirteen months for cavalry and mounted artillery. In conjunction with the proposal there would also be a scheme of compulsory physical training in the schools.

The King and Queen of England visited Brussels on May 8, and an enthusiastic reception was given them by some of the largest crowds which had ever assembled to greet any foreign visitors.

THE NETHERLANDS.

Throughout 1922 home politics in Holland were increasingly dominated by the Conservative tendency which had arisen as a reaction against the Radicalism engendered by the war. It received a strong impulse in the spring from the economic depression caused by the depreciation of the currency in the neighbouring countries, as these could no longer purchase Dutch agricultural products, while they were able—Germany in particular—to undersell Dutch manufacturers. The number of unemployed increased to an alarming extent, and fears were entertained that the credit of the State might decline, with the consequence of a depreciation in the currency. These fears,

fortunately, were shown to be groundless when, on February 27, a loan of 75,000,000 guilders was quickly over-subscribed in New York, while a similar amount was similarly taken up on the Amsterdam Bourse.

The movement for economy and against further State interference in industry was led by the "Vryheidsbond" (Liberty League), the union of Liberal groups, supported by a group of Catholics calling themselves the "New-Catholic Party." The special object of attack of this party was the Labour Law promulgated by the Minister of Labour, Dr. Aalberse. Whereas in the autumn of 1921 this Minister had refused to alter his law, on March 15, under pressure of the Opposition, he introduced a Bill which modified it considerably. This Bill was passed on May 11 by the Second Chamber by 54 votes to 23 (the Social Democrats, the Socialists, and the Communists voting against), and on May 18 by the First Chamber by 32 votes to 4. The new Bill practically instituted a 48 hours' week instead of 45 hours, and an average 8 hours' day instead of an absolute 8 hours' day. Maxima were fixed of 11 hours per day, of 62 hours per week, and of 2,500 hours per annum. At the same time retrenchment was decided on in regard to the building of schools, the subsidising of the building of dwelling-houses, and the support of the unemployed.

The First Chamber showed itself equally conservative in dealing with the proposed changes in its own Constitution, *viz.*, that its members should be elected in a body every four years, and not, as hitherto, one-third every three years; that election should be on the system of proportional representation; and that the Provincial States should always be dissolved at the same time as the First Chamber. The First Chamber rejected these proposals on April 21 by 24 votes to 21. On April 26 the Socialist leader, Troelstra, speaking in the Second Chamber, called on the Government to dissolve the First Chamber, to restrict its right of veto, and to adhere to its own original proposals. The Government refused, and it was supported by the majority of the Second Chamber. It introduced a new proposal that half the members of the First Chamber should retire every three years, and that the dissolution of the Provincial States should in no case coincide with that of the First Chamber; while it left over the question of proportional representation to a subsequent occasion. The Social Democrats, on their side, brought in a Bill for the abolition of the First Chamber. This was rejected in the Second Chamber on May 4 by 60 votes to 29, while the Government proposals obtained a large majority. These were also passed by the First Chamber almost unanimously on May 11. Thus the Government once more saved itself by a sacrifice of its democratic principles.

Still another defeat was in store for the Government before the elections. It had strongly insisted upon its Bill for the Institution of a Fund for the Indian Fleet (see ANNUAL

consolidate the floating debt, which had accumulated too much, it was decided in December to issue a loan of Hf. 350,000,000 redeemable in fifty years. The Finance Minister, on this occasion, was able to state that he was confident that the period of abnormally large loans had now come to an end. Including the new loan, the National Debt of Holland will amount to 2,455,000,000 guilders (in 1914, 1,148,000,000). While financially the country's position was hopeful, the economic situation remained unfavourable. The number of unemployed towards the end of the year was estimated at 125,000.

The second reading of the Bill for the revision of the Constitution was passed in the new session without any difficulties, and the new Constitution was proclaimed before the end of the year.

With regard to her foreign relations, Holland's position underwent little change. She took part in the Conference at Genoa, and also in the International Conference at The Hague, where her first representative, Dr. Patyn, was elected President. Holland, as a colonial Power holding sway over a large Mohammedan population, and as being interested in the capitulations, was invited to the Peace Conference at Lausanne, as also to the International Conference regarding the Rules of War which had been decided upon in Washington, and which was opened on December 11 at The Hague.

The Permanent Court of International Justice which, on February 15, had been inaugurated in the presence of H.M. the Queen, elected the Dutch Judge Dr. Loder as its President.

To settle the difference with Belgium, Jonkheer van Karnebeek, Minister of Foreign Affairs, on the occasion of the Conference of Genoa, resumed conversations with his Belgian colleague. These took a favourable course, and on December 14 the Minister was able to make a statement in the Second Chamber to the effect that the relations between the two countries were friendly and that the negotiations were continuing. Diplomatic relations with Serbia were resumed early in February. Negotiations were carried on with various countries for the renewal or conclusion of commercial treaties. With Bulgaria a Treaty was concluded in April on the basis of most-favoured-nation treatment.

The friendly relations with the Scandinavian States found expression in a visit which H.M. the Queen, accompanied by the Prince-Consort and by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, paid to the Courts of Copenhagen, Stockholm, and Christiania. Early in July the Norwegian ironclad *Nordenskjöld* and early in September the Italian training vessel *Ferrucio*, having the Italian Crown Prince on board, visited the Dutch ports. On the occasion of a French exhibition in Amsterdam, M. Drior, French Minister of Commerce, came to Holland and was received by H.M. the Queen.

Proposals to abolish the Legation at the Vatican which had

which was distinguishing itself in the struggle against the common enemy, the United States and Great Britain, on May 7, raised the status of the Diplomatic Mission of each Government to the rank of an Embassy.

Relations with Russia were put on an official basis on July 10, while the first Dutch Ambassador was appointed on December 9. A similar agreement was reached with China, where Holland so far has been represented by a Minister.

Queen Wilhelmina went in a special plane to Canada on June 18 to pay a state visit to Washington, this being her first flight in an aeroplane and her first visit to America. It coincided with the signing of a Lease-Lend Agreement between the United States and the Netherlands. Queen Wilhelmina's visit to Washington, where she addressed Congress on August 6, was a great success. President Roosevelt presented to her a submarine chaser under the provisions of the Lease-Lend Act as a tangible expression of American admiration for the Netherlands Navy. The Queen flew back and arrived in England on August 26, five days before her 62nd birthday, which was marked by a memorable celebration in the Albert Hall.

Prince Bernhard flew to Canada some time afterwards, in the last week of October, to tour the Dutch Territories in the Caribbean and South America. This was the first royal visit to the Dutch West Indies for more than a century, and was much appreciated.

THE NETHERLANDS EAST INDIES

During the first weeks of the war in the Far East the N.E.I. suffered only bombing raids, and it was not until January 11 that the Japanese invaded N.E.I. territory. The first landing was made on the rich oilfield island of Tarakan (North-East Borneo). Demolition was carried out by the small Dutch garrison, which then withdrew. The next day landings were made in the Minahassa (North Celebes). A big enemy convoy which, in spite of heavy losses, sailed through the Macassar Straits (between Borneo and Celebes) reached the important oil centre of Balikpapan (South-East Borneo) on January 24. Demolition had been completed two days previously. Soon the Japanese had taken possession of the few inhabited towns in Borneo and had also landed in South Celebes. The naval base of Amboyna (east of Celebes) was attacked on January 30 and taken in a few days. On February 10 the capital of Celebes, Macassar, fell, and on February 14 the important oil centre of Palembang in Central Sumatra was attacked with parachute and seaborne troops. In both towns vital installations were destroyed before occupation by the enemy. From Palembang the enemy struck south at Sunda Straits and at the same time the island of Bali, at the other extremity of Java, was occupied.

watch-making industry; the embroidery industry of eastern Switzerland, the hotel industry, and different branches of the milk industry were also assisted.

In order further to meet the exigencies of the economic situation, an amendment to the Federal Factory Working Time Law was passed which will allow the working day to be extended in factories beyond eight hours in times of crisis. The referendum has already been applied for on this amendment.

Some progress was again made in reducing the national expenditure. The total cost of war mobilisation is now estimated at 1,160,000,000 francs, of which 560,000,000 are not yet covered. This sum will have to be raised by the war tax and the war super tax within the next few years. The deficit for 1922 is, roughly, 100,000,000 francs. The Budget for next year estimates a deficit of 83·9 million francs. To the invitation of the Disarmament Committee of the League of Nations Union to reduce military expenditure in 1923-24, Switzerland replied that she could only do so provided the neighbouring States would do likewise. The forecast for military expenditure in 1923 is 79,000,000 francs. A reduction of the staff of the Civil Service by 694 persons was effected in 1922.

Several important votes were taken by the Swiss people during this year, either as Referendums, that is to say, on Bills already passed by Parliament, or on Initiatives, that is to say, on proposals emanating from some members of the public and endorsed by at least 50,000 signatures. The most important Referendum was that taken on the Lex Häberlin or Bill against Revolutionary Tendencies, which had been passed by both Chambers. The voting, which aroused great popular excitement, took place on September 24. The Bill was rejected by 373,064 votes to 299,929. On December 2 and 3 an even more important decision was taken by the people, in the vote on the Initiative for a Capital Levy in order to procure the necessary means for the Social Insurance Scheme. This also was rejected—by 730,584 votes to 109,484. It is worth noting that while the bulk of the voters against the Lex Häberlin consisted of Socialists of every description as well as part of the peasants, the Catholic Conservatives and the left wing of the Radical Party, those who voted in favour of the Capital Levy represented only a fraction of the Socialist voters.

Several minor votes also deserve recording. The reactionary Initiative against naturalisations, which had been applied for some time back and which was no longer upheld even by some of the initiators themselves, was rejected on June 11, as was also one asking for drastic measures (expulsion) against undesirable aliens. The same fate befell a third Initiative asking that officials of the Confederation should be allowed to sit in the National Council.

As regards the work of Parliament, the following details may be given: A Postal and Customs Union was entered into

with Lichtenstein. The Council of States discussed the new military penal code, which has, however, not yet been passed by the other Chamber. The movement for introducing a comprehensive Old Age, Disability, and Bereavement Insurance Scheme has come to a standstill owing to the financial situation. After much discussion a new Copyright Law was passed which will give Swiss writers the same rights and privileges as are enjoyed by their colleagues in those States which have joined the Bern Convention. A Federal Loan, which was submitted to the public, was subscribed to to the extent of 300,000,000 francs in a relatively short time. The last War Monopolies were swept away in 1922; this meant, among other things, the abolition of the Federal Food Control Office which was created in 1918.

The elections to the National Council, which will sit for the next three years, took place on October 28 and 29 under the system of proportional representation, and resulted in only very slight differences in the state of parties. These are now represented as follows, the figures in brackets giving the former representation: Radical Democrats, 59 (59); Catholic Conservatives, 44 (41); Social Democrats, 43 (39); Peasants' Party and Trades People and Middle Class Unions, 35 (31); Liberal Democrats, 10 (9); Social Political Group, 3 (6); Communists, 2 (3); Independents, 2 (2).

SPAIN.

During the year 1922 there has been no such startling event in Spain to attract international attention as has occurred in other Mediterranean countries. Removed by her neutrality from the political after-effects of the Great War, Spain, though drawn into the general economic crisis, has in the last year been engaged upon national rather than international questions. The difficulties with which she has had to deal have been purely Spanish—it might almost be said, African—and are the outcome of a war of her own, fought within a few hours of her own shores in territory which is almost a continuation of Spain.

The Moroccan campaign is indeed the key to all that has happened in Spain during the twelve months under review. Always a thorn in the side of the country and the nightmare of successive Governments, the Moroccan problem had by the disaster of Anual in July, 1921, become the dominant factor in Spanish politics. It was destined to remain such throughout the following year. The strong Coalition Government which in that national emergency had been placed in power with the determined support of the whole nation, had been expected to find a solution to this urgent problem, a remedy for the disease which was draining the life-blood of Spain and wasting her resources. These high hopes were not destined to be fulfilled during the year 1922. The legacy of indiscipline in the Army,

and disorganisation in the public services, and particularly in finance, soon proved too heavy a burden even for the strong Government presided over by Señor Maura. On January 3, Señor La Cierva, whose unbounded energy had secured him the post of Minister of War, returned from Africa, and on the same day General Weyler, of Cuban fame, resigned the post of Chief of the General Staff. On January 6 the dreaded *Juntas Militares*, responsible for so much disorganisation and so many political crises, again raised their heads and, with the fall of the Minister of War, its strongest member, the whole Government was brought tumbling down. The five days of acute crisis which followed were marked by an open breach between the King and public opinion, His Majesty having first refused to sign the decree presented by the Government dissolving the Juntas. A peace was patched up with the apparent submission of the Juntas, and the Coalition Government was reinstated in power. But the tide of public discontent was rising; for, notwithstanding the boundless moral and material support furnished in the desire of reaching once and for all a settlement of the long outstanding national problems, the nation once more saw its hopes frustrated. With 150,000 men at his disposal, the High Commissioner for Morocco, General Berenguer, had, after six months, but little to show for the national effort made in supplying men and money. The power of the Juntas seemed as strong and as mischievous as ever. The great problem of national finance was no nearer solution. Señor Cambó, as Minister of Finance, had indeed, with his wonted energy, tackled the question of stabilising the Budget; but his proposals for a great increase in taxation were deemed too far-reaching; and meanwhile expenditure on the Moroccan campaign was being continued at a rate stated by financial authorities to be 5,000,000*l.* a month. The restive feeling in the nation at large was reflected by dissension within the Cabinet, and the four days' conference at Pizarra, in the south of Spain, begun on February 4, only led to the final downfall of the Maura Cabinet on March 7.

The constitution of the succeeding Government under Señor Sánchez Guerra, the able leader of the Liberal-Conservatives, was significant as indicating a move in the direction of the Left. But success for this, as for the late Government, was only to be found in the measure in which it was capable of finding a solution to the Moroccan problem. In the spring of 1922 the Spanish forces had recovered over half of the territory lost, but an advance to the position held in July, 1921, was as precarious as an attack by way of Alhucemas. A deadlock had been reached in the Melilla region, and the deliverance of the prisoners still held by the Moors was as problematical as ever (see under Spanish Morocco). On July 10 the High Commissioner, regarding his position as untenable in face of the growing demand for a full inquiry into the history of Moroccan

responsibility, resigned. On the same date the Liberal groups under the Marquis of Alhucemas and Señores Alba and Melquiades held a concentration meeting at Madrid. Señor Sánchez Guerra replied by inaugurating a more peaceful method of dealing with the Moors, under the new High Commissioner, General Burguete; these methods were to meet with some measure of success in the western part of the Spanish zone. His Finance Minister, on the other hand, retaining the less obnoxious proposals of Señor Cambó, succeeded on July 21 in securing the approval of a Budget by the Cortes, which were closed for the summer, on July 22. The period of political calm that ensued was interrupted early in August by a violent postal strike which lasted for a fortnight and caused great inconvenience. The Government replied by the wholesale dismissal of the employees.

In international matters more progress was made. The tariff war with France, a legacy of 1921, had come to an end in the last days of June with the conclusion of a new Commercial Treaty, followed by the drafting of an Anglo-Spanish Commercial Treaty which, after last-hour concessions had been made to the Asturian coal interests, was finally signed on October 31. These treaties, based on a high protectionist tariff by which Spain seeks to aid her war-born industries, represent practically the only action taken by her in international matters. The conferences and meetings held for the reconstruction of Europe could have but little interest for a country faced with the problem of its own reconstruction. How urgent this problem is had been shown again on the occasion of King Alfonso's visit in the latter half of June to the desolate region of Las Hurdes, situate north of the Tagus and close to the Portuguese frontier. For three days the King traversed on horseback a district devoid of almost all vestiges of modern civilisation, the inhabitants of which, cut off from the outside world, have developed startling features of hereditary debility. The contrast between the penury here witnessed and the reckless expenditure on the Moroccan adventure could not fail to make a deep impression on public opinion.

The growing impatience of the nation was reflected in the increasingly firm attitude of the Liberal Opposition. Señor Sánchez Guerra strove in vain to meet this danger half way. On September 25, by the submission of the famous chieftain, El Raisuli, he had secured the pacification of the western part of the Moroccan zone. On October 24, in relieving the Governor and General-in-Command at Barcelona and thus making the re-establishment of Constitutional Guarantees effective, he took a step in favour of more Liberal government in Spain itself. On November 14, finally, the Military Juntas were formally dissolved. But prior to this a popular storm of discontent had shaken the position of the party in power. On November 9, the day before the great Liberal Concentration meeting held at

Saragossa, national indignation against the Juntas had been brought to a head by their bold denouncement in a public document with which Colonel Millan Astray accompanied his resignation of command of the Foreign Legion, the corps he had led with brilliant success in the Moroccan campaign. Patriotic demonstrations by the students filled the streets and their violent repression by the police brought the Government into sharp conflict with the University of Madrid, which, in protest, remained closed for several weeks.

In these critical circumstances, Parliament reopened on November 14, and though Señor Sánchez Guerra at once took steps to abolish the Juntas, the Government was now faced with the long-pending question of fixing responsibility for the Moroccan disaster of 1921. The storm which had been gathering ever since General Picasso had completed his Report now burst in the form of angry debates in the Cortes. The Liberals demanded the impeachment of the Ministers in power at the time and of the former High Commissioner, General Berenguer. Radical accusations did not even spare the King. The news of the hasty trial and execution at Athens of Ministers and Generals responsible for a similar disaster cast its shadow over the proceedings. A hurried reconstruction of the Government on December 6 was powerless to save the situation. The new Cabinet only lasted twenty-four hours, and on December 7, after one of the most dramatic political crises in Spanish history, the Liberal Coalition came into power under the Marquis de Alhucemas. The Cortes were dissolved and a General Election announced for the purpose of demanding a popular mandate for fixing Moroccan responsibility. This demand was echoed by a public manifestation in Madrid on December 10, in which over 10,000 people of all shades of opinion took part. The Moroccan policy of the Liberal Government was to accentuate the system of peaceful penetration inaugurated under General Burguete. A larger measure of authority was at once given to the Moorish Administration, and finally, on December 26, the Civilian Protectorate was definitely instituted with the appointment of a Civilian Commissioner in place of the Military Commissioner. The year thus ended auspiciously with the first real step taken towards a settlement of Spain's central problem—the pacification of her zone in Morocco.

A few noteworthy incidents remain to be mentioned. The tercentenary festivals of the canonisation of Saint Theresa were celebrated in Avila in March, and in Salamanca in September. The 400th anniversary of the first circumnavigation of the world was celebrated on September 6 at Guetaria, the birthplace of Sebastian Del Cano. In May, the ex-Empress Zita with her children arrived in Spain and took up her residence first at El Pardo and later at Lequeitio, on the Cantabrian coast. By the tragic death of Granero on May 7 in the bull-

ring of Madrid, following the retirement of Belmonte and Sánchez Megia, Spain lost her only bull-fighter of the first rank. Finally, in the realm of art, the outstanding event has been the concession of the Nobel Prize for Literature to the great Spanish playwright, Don Jacinto Benavente.

PORTUGAL.

The Ministry, under the Premiership of Captain Cunha Leal, was reconstructed at the beginning of the year. The elections were held on January 29. Their result showed that the only organised party of the Republic was that of the Democrats and that His Majesty's Opposition, so to speak, consisted of the Monarchists. At Lisbon Dr. Costa, who headed the list, polled 4,373 votes, rather less than in the preceding year, while the Monarchist candidate, with 3,903 votes, showed an increase of nearly 3,000 over the year 1921. Two days later the Government resigned, and on February 5 Dr. Antonio Maria da Silva formed a Democrat Ministry. The two chief difficulties before the Government were the financial situation and the question of punishment for the political murders of October, 1921 (see ANNUAL REGISTER, 1921, p. 249). The new Government had not been in office a week when the Chief of Staff and some other officers of the National Guard and Naval Captain Procopio Freitas were arrested on the charge of being implicated in the October murders. Many other arrests followed during the course of the year, including that of Colonel Coelho himself, who became Premier after the October revolution. The murderer of President Paes, however, was not rearrested by the Democrat Prime Minister, and this, and the fact that Dr. Silva's life had been threatened during the October revolution, was considered by many to give a political cast to these arrests. The actual trials were continually postponed, and it was not until December that first some privates and then the officers of high rank were arraigned before a special court at Lisbon. Parliament met on February 15, but three days later an impending revolutionary movement drove the Government and the President of the Republic to take refuge in the fortress of Caxias, while General Pedroso de Lima concentrated troops in their defence. On the 19th the authorities retired to the citadel of Cascaes, 15 miles from Lisbon, and the capital was invested by troops called up from the provinces. As a result of this siege of Lisbon the National Guard handed over its artillery, and President and Ministers were able to return to their official residences. At the end of March the Republican Guard was reduced to a total of 12,000, of which Lisbon was to have 3,500. For the time the Government's hands were strengthened, but later in the year its weakness was again evident and, after many weeks of latent crisis, Dr. Silva resigned on November 27. He was entrusted with the reconstruction of the Cabinet, but a few days later again resigned,

owing to the election of a Speaker by the minority in the Chamber of Deputies. Once more he was entrusted with office and this time merely substituted for two Democrat Ministers two members of the Independent Party. The position of the new Government was considered weak, owing to division among the Democrats, the extremists objecting vigorously to a proposal to permit religious education in private schools, and fresh developments in Portuguese politics were eagerly awaited and discussed. In the municipal elections, held at the beginning of November, remarkable success was achieved by the Monarchists.

Reference has been made to one of the main difficulties with which the Government was confronted, that of the finances. During the year the exchange became steadily worse, following the increase in the amount of notes in circulation and closing at 2¼ pence to the 1,000 réis. At the end of November the amount of paper money had risen to 930,000 contos and it had become evident that the authorised limit of 1,000,000 contos must very shortly be yet further extended, since the estimated deficit for the financial year was 550,000 contos. Worse even than the actual evil were the remedies adopted, such as the tax on foreign shipping through a decree, which came into force in January, exacting payments in gold, or the later decree enforcing a deposit of 50 per cent. in gold on the value of all exports. Such a policy tended to destroy Portugal's great economic possibilities in order to obtain a momentary financial relief. The exchange had become a veritable idol of the market-place; one deputy even proposed that the Government should be authorised to take the most violent measures to bring Mr. Exchange to reason. It was more difficult to strike at the real causes, to encourage production, cut down expenditure, stimulate commerce, and, generally, inspire confidence in a people rendered sceptical by twelve years of revolution. At the end of April the Minister of Finance carried his proposals for fresh taxation, but although this pressed heavily on the people its actual yield did not come up to expectation.

The great event of the year in Portugal was the magnificent flight of two Portuguese naval officers, Senhores Gago Coutinho and Sacadura Cabral, from Lisbon to Brazil. They left Lisbon early on the morning of March 30, and, after repeated disappointments, brought their exploit to a successful conclusion at Rio de Janeiro. The enthusiasm with which they were welcomed at Lisbon and Oporto after their return on October 26 recalled similar scenes during the lifetime of President Sidonio Paes. At the end of August the President of the Republic left Lisbon in order to attend the celebration of the first anniversary of the independence of Brazil at Rio de Janeiro. The death of Antonio Candido Ribeiro da Costa, Portugal's most eloquent orator, at the age of 70, occurred on October 24. Towards the end of the year Admiral Leote do Rego raised the question of

the immediate danger threatening the Portuguese colonies, and especially Mozambique, negotiations for a new agreement between that colony and the Union of South Africa having been broken off earlier in the year. The Minister for the Colonies made a reassuring statement in the Chamber, and the year ended with a greater prospect of the renewal of the negotiations in the immediate future.

DENMARK.

Throughout 1922 all the best forces of the nation co-operated to overcome the difficulties that fell to the lot of Denmark as a legacy of the world crisis. The present Liberal Government, under the Premiership of M. Neergaard, led the way in the reforms. Ever since it assumed office it has regarded the prosperity of Danish trade and industry as its chief aim. Its guiding principle has been to give trade and industry as much latitude as possible in profiting by the gradual improvement while at the same time emphasising the paramount importance of far-reaching economies.

In this direction the Government has set an example by reducing its own expenditure. It is significant that, although Railways, Posts, and Telegraphs showed a deficit of 72 million kroner in the financial year 1920-21 and a deficit of nearly 67 million kroner in 1921-22, for the current year a surplus is anticipated. By reducing staffs and salaries in most of the Government departments such savings have been effected that the total estimates for salaries in the coming year amount to 265 million kroner, as compared with 312 millions for the current year.

Public expenditure has further been reduced by the revision of the Unemployment Relief Laws, a course strongly opposed by the Social-Democratic Party and the trade unions. At the same time a certain decrease in unemployment has resulted from the general improvement in trade. The number of unemployed gradually diminished as the year wore on, and had sunk by the autumn to approximately 38,000, a figure only slightly above one-half of that which was reported for the corresponding period in the previous year. The subsequent increase of unemployment towards the end of the year, which brought the figure up to about 42,000, is presumably attributable to the normal fluctuations in the seasonal trades, but even this figure reveals a considerable reduction by comparison with the figure for the corresponding period of last year, which was 67,000. This change for the better has been achieved in spite of the difficulty of finding employment for the many who had entered industrial life from other occupations during the busy war-period.

In addition to its efforts in the direction of public economy the Government has striven to promote the interests of private undertakings. Disregarding all narrow interpretations of its

free trade principles, and notwithstanding the opposition of the agricultural interest with which it is allied, the Government has yielded to the wishes of industrial and labour circles by introducing temporary protective regulations of limited scope in the shoe and tobacco trades. This has contributed to the reduction of unemployment and has brought about some improvement within the trades concerned. The extension of the most important ports in South Jutland for which the money was voted last year, has been continued throughout the year, and the Government has also taken the first steps towards the deepening of the fareway of "Drogden," one of the approaches to the port of Copenhagen.

The Government's initiative was also called for in other directions, particularly in the banking crisis, and more especially when the chief private bank in the country got into difficulties. In consequence of its connexion with various Danish enterprises abroad, the Danish Landmands Bank suffered a series of losses which forced it, in the course of the spring, to face a decisive crisis. Though the accounts for 1921-22 showed a profit of 64 million kroner, of which 26 million kroner were allotted to cover losses, the old confidence in the bank had already been shaken by rumours of heavy losses, and the National Bank's offer of support in July failed to restore confidence. The difficulties therefore increased, and when the State auditor of banks asserted the total losses of the bank to amount to 144 million kroner, a sum nearly equal to the share capital and the reserve fund, the Government intervened. The old share capital was reduced from 100 to 10 millions, and a new preference share capital of 70 million kroner was subscribed by the State jointly with the National Bank, the East Asiatic Company, and the Great Northern Telegraph Company, while the National Bank placed 30 million kroner at the disposal of the bank to form a new reserve fund. The old Board retired and was replaced by an entirely new body of directors, drawn from commercial and financial circles, and selected with the co-operation of a parliamentary committee. The Rigsdag then immediately enacted a law approving the Government's participation in the reconstruction and ensuring to the Government a certain degree of representation on the managing board.

Confidence in the Landmands Bank was thus restored, and during the first two weeks in November deposits increased by two million kroner, and the bank's foreign business during October was larger than in the corresponding month of the previous year. By the end of the year the Landmands Bank had not been obliged to draw on the credit placed at its disposal by the National Bank.

In the sphere of industry difficulties arose as a result of the employers' demand for the reduction of wages. This led to a serious conflict at the beginning of the year, and the struggle culminated in a lockout and a strike which hampered Danish

industrial activity for nearly two months and required arbitration by the Government before a solution could be found. On the other hand, the ultimate arrangement arrived at was so far successful in improving the relations between employers and employed that the agreement was later prolonged by common consent until the spring of 1924.

Trade conditions were on the whole favourable throughout the year, and agriculture also had a good year to its credit. The same may be said of shipping, the revival of which gave an impetus to shipbuilding.

The internal political situation was not without its difficulties during the year, but the Neergaard Ministry proved to have solid foundations in the level-headed and liberal spirit of the agricultural interest. The Government took its stand on free trade principles, opposing the demand for far-reaching protective measures. This necessitated a slight readjustment of the Ministry, which was partially reconstructed, in October, by the inclusion of M. C. M. T. Cold as Foreign Minister, M. J. Christensen as Minister of Commerce, and M. S. Brorson as Minister of Defence. At the end of the year the Cabinet was thus able to rely on improved parliamentary majorities.

During the year, the Government brought forward legislation for the raising of a State Guarantee Fund the object of which is to solve the housing problem by the promotion of building. The fund is intended to facilitate loans on easy terms for building purposes. Moreover, a committee appointed by the Ministry of Transport and entrusted with the task of reorganising and extending the railway communications between Denmark and the reunited Slesvig territories, has made certain proposals for this purpose, including the construction of a bridge across the Little Belt at a cost of 25 million kroner.

The reorganisation of the Greenland administration also found legislative expression in a proposal submitted at the close of the year. The establishment of a wireless station in Greenland forms part of the Government's immediate plans.

SWEDEN.

Mr. Branting's Labour Ministry, which came into power after the General Election of 1921, remained unchanged in its *personnel* throughout the year 1922. Its political position, however, was not strong, owing to the fact that it did not command an absolute majority in the Riksdag. In consequence of this, the Government has to a certain degree been dependent upon the goodwill of the non-Labour parties, and this accounts for its moderate policy during the year, which, however, also owed something to the Prime Minister's own cautious character. Accordingly, the Government's programme of nationalisation has been shelved for the present, remaining a subject for deliberation by a Government Committee which has not

yet completed its labours. The Riksdag met as usual on January 10 and concluded its labours on June 10. The speech from the Throne laid stress on the financial difficulties resulting from the general depression in trade and industry, and proceeded to insist on the need of strict economy. In the subsequent debates the criticisms which the Government had to face were of an unusually mild nature. None of the parties of the Opposition found occasion to emphasise existing differences. The problem of unemployment remained the chief subject of debate throughout the whole session, and, together with the question of the State's finances, has been subjected to very thorough-going examination.

One Budget reform was to change the financial year from the calendar year to one ending June 30. Accordingly, the Budget which was laid before the Riksdag covered only the first half of the year 1923, leaving it to the Riksdag for 1923 to provide for the year 1923-24. In drawing up his Budget, the Minister of Finance strove to exercise the utmost economy. He had, however, to bear in mind the urgent necessity for making provision for State aid to the unemployed, and he found it impossible, therefore, to reduce expenditure in proportion to the estimated reduction in revenue. Another difficulty arose from the fact that large portions of the State's income from taxation were in the past usually collected during the second half of the calendar year, and could therefore not be made available for a Budget which covered only the first six months. He met these difficulties, in part, by drawing upon the Treasury's cash reserve, created for the purpose of equalising from year to year the burden of expenditure, in part also by increasing the stamp duty, the tobacco duty, the tax on turnover, and the licensing fees. The former expedient, though it called forth a certain amount of criticism from the Riksdag as being a drawing upon capital, was nevertheless held to be fully warranted under the prevailing circumstances. The half year's estimates came to a sum of 372,348,900 kronor, as compared with 450,978,250 kronor for the corresponding period in the previous year. During the session this Budget underwent several modifications and in the estimates definitively adopted expenditure amounted to 360,822,200 kronor. Meanwhile the financial outlook had worsened to such an extent that the revenue estimates had to be increased. A duty on coffee was expected to yield the requisite additional income.

As already intimated, the Government devoted much attention to the question of unemployment. The state of the labour market at the time of the opening of the Riksdag was such as to call for immediate action for alleviating the distress prevalent among the unemployed. Hitherto employers had in a large measure granted assistance to people out of work, and this, together with the contributions from the Trades Unions' unemployment funds, had made State intervention less neces-

sary. But as the resources both of the employers and of the workers themselves gradually lessened, increased support from the State was the only means of coping with the problem.

The Government asked for a sum of 85,000,000 kronor for this purpose, but the Riksdag did not consider it expedient to grant this amount without first knowing how the money would be spent. To meet immediate needs a provisional sum of 20,000,000 was voted, increased later to 35,000,000, a general scheme for coping with the problem being at the same time taken into active consideration in the Riksdag. This was eventually passed on June 1, and the original amount demanded by the Government was granted. This was placed at the disposal of the already existing State Unemployment Commission, which functioned as the central organ for all Government measures in regard to unemployment. The money was spent on doles as well as on relief works. In regard to these, wages were so regulated as to be higher than the unemployment grant but lower than the standard rate in the open market and of the Trades Unions' scales. As a rule, payment by the hour is usual in the case of State Relief works but the piecework system also came into operation for skilled labourers. In addition to the wages a special family allowance was paid (direct to the wife) corresponding to the size of the family. Owing to the decrease in unemployment which has taken place in the course of the year, and also to the more economical methods employed in the State Relief works, all the resources at the Government's disposal were not spent.

During the spring a lively discussion arose in Sweden as to currency policy. From several quarters there was a demand for an immediate return to the gold standard and a free gold market. The Riksbank and the Treasury, which, under the Riksdag, are responsible for the country's financial policy, feared that Sweden would not be able to undertake such an experiment. By way of guidance for the future it was laid down that efforts to stabilise the Swedish krona must continue, it being understood that the first opportunity should be taken to effect a return to the gold standard. This return, however, should not take place without England's co-operation. As soon as England returned to the gold standard Sweden should follow suit, without waiting for other countries. In accordance with this programme, the war measure which granted exemption to the Riksbank from having to redeem notes with gold or to receive gold for minting was continued.

Among the constitutional changes which have received royal assent during the year may be mentioned the introduction of the so-called Advisory Referendum. This reform has been carried with a special view to submitting the much-debated question of total prohibition to a popular vote. The decision to institute this vote was taken by the Government on April 5 and the date for the voting was afterwards fixed for August 27.

All who were qualified to vote for the Second Chamber of the Riksdag were entitled to this vote also. The votes of men and of women were to be counted separately with a view to gauging the opinions of the two sexes.

According to the figures officially recorded, 1,814,248 votes were registered, of which 889,132 (487,139 being women's votes) were in favour of prohibition and 925,117 (345,042 being women's votes) against. The majority against prohibition was thus 35,985. The result was a more decisive defeat for the prohibitionists than the figures seem to indicate, for it was universally agreed that prohibition was not to be introduced unless a large majority were secured in its favour.

In the course of the year the policy of State subsidies initiated during the war, and principally directed to ensure the supply of grain and sugar, was definitively brought to an end. The industrial depression resulted in squeezing many small businesses out of existence, and in a large number of bank failures. So serious did the position become that during the spring the Riksdag found it necessary to intervene by means of a guarantee fund which in case of need should be used for supporting the banks. This guarantee fund, to which the Riksdag contributed a sum of 50,000,000 kronor in the form of 5 per cent. State Bonds, was placed under the management of a company founded for the purpose and controlled by a board appointed by the Government in conjunction with the leading banks.

In the domain of foreign politics the negotiations initiated during the year for a commercial treaty with Soviet-Russia deserve mention. The negotiations led up to a preliminary treaty which was submitted to the Riksdag for approval. It remained a considerable time under discussion by a special committee but when the question came up for final settlement both Chambers withheld their sanction, maintaining that there could be no question of a *de jure* recognition of the Russian Government until this Government made good the confiscation and socialisation of Swedish property in Russia. The treaty drawn up by the Government did not indeed contain a formal *de jure* but only a *de facto* recognition. But this was given so definite a character that it amounted to a *de jure* recognition. It was also urged that the treaty would scarcely yield any practical results inasmuch as Russia could not be expected to offer an important market for Swedish industry. Moreover, the Riksdag held that the question of a general treaty with Russia ought to be solved in conjunction with other powers.

NORWAY.

The year 1922 was difficult for Norway on account of the general economic depression. Banking was particularly affected, but owing principally to the intervention of the Government

and the Bank of Norway, none of the bigger banks collapsed. The Storting granted 25 millions Norwegian crowns for the purpose of assisting the Banks. Norwegian industries were, in spite of great difficulties, able to keep most of the works going, and the number of totally unemployed persons was in December, 1922, about 30 per cent. less than in the same month of 1921. There were also other signs of recovery. The export trade steadily increased, and the exchanges improved. During 1922 the exchanges were not subject to such violent fluctuations as in the preceding year.

The labour situation was exceedingly quiet throughout the year. No strikes or lockouts of any importance occurred, thanks to the Law of Compulsory Arbitration in labour disputes which was passed by the Storting in March, 1922, on the initiative of the Government. The Conservative Party—the right—strongly opposed the bill; the majority in favour of the measure included the two Labour Parties—the Communists and the Socialists—besides the Party of the Government, the left. By the awards of the Arbitration Court wages were reduced by about 25 per cent. and the workmen's holidays were shortened.

The membership of the Norwegian Trade Unions has declined heavily during the last two years. At the end of 1920 the total number of trade union members was 142,642, at the end of 1922 the number was only 100,372. During the same period the Communist Labour Party lost about 40 per cent. of its members. This decline is chiefly due to the industrial depression, but it is also to some extent a result of the split in the Labour Party, many of the rank and file being dissatisfied with the Bolshevism of the leaders. The larger of the two Norwegian Labour Parties joined the "Third International," but during 1922 there has been considerable friction between the Executive of the Norwegian Party and the leaders at Moscow. The disagreement reached its climax in December when the Congress of the Third International at Moscow passed a resolution severely criticising the lack of discipline in the Norwegian Party and demanding a stricter adherence to Bolshevik orthodoxy. This ultimatum from the Moscow International created some uneasiness in Norwegian labour circles, and some of the most influential Communist leaders, including Martin Tranmæl, advocated a break with Moscow to save the independence of the party. It is, however, probable that a compromise will be arranged, enabling the Norwegian Party to remain in the Third International.

The municipal elections, which took place in the autumn, showed some progress for the Communists in some parts of the country, especially in Hedmark Fylke. The Communists did not, however, obtain a majority in any of the city councils in the large towns. In the capital, Christiania, the bourgeois parties—Conservatives, Liberals, and Prohibitionists—have a

majority in the city council even over a combination of Socialists and Communists.

Prohibition and the commercial difficulties created by the Prohibition Law was the outstanding political question of the year. It should be kept in mind that prohibition in Norway is quite a different thing from prohibition in the United States of America, the Norwegian prohibition law only affecting spirits and strong wines containing more than 14 per cent. alcohol. In Norway, as in other prohibition countries, it is difficult to obtain an impartial and accurate estimate of the results of prohibition, the prohibitionists and the anti-prohibitionists both being apt to overstate their case. According to official statistics, the number of persons arrested for drunkenness increased somewhat in 1922, particularly in the larger towns; the number was, however, much smaller than in the years before the enactment of the Prohibition Law. Considerable smuggling takes place, but during 1922, the Government took very strong measures to combat the illegal traffic, and smuggling has now become an exceedingly hazardous business, the smugglers risking heavy penalties and confiscation not only of the illicit liquor but of the ship employed as well. The majority of the Norwegian people is still no doubt in favour of partial prohibition, and there would be no chance of a repeal of the Prohibition Law were it not for the serious inconveniences to the Norwegian fishing trade caused by prohibition.

The protracted treaty negotiations with Spain were at last brought to a close in July, 1922, a new commercial treaty between Norway and Spain being ratified by the Storting by 103 to 47 votes. By this treaty the two countries agree to treat each other as most favoured nations, Norway undertaking to import annually 500,000 litres of Spanish wine, containing more than 14 per cent. alcohol, for medicinal use. The Storting at the same time empowered the Government to reopen negotiations with the Portuguese Government and to ascertain if a more favourable treaty could be obtained in case Norway should abrogate the Prohibition Law as far as wine is concerned. These negotiations were not concluded before the end of the year.

The Foreign Secretary, Dr. Ræstad, resigned before the conclusion of the treaty with Spain, disapproving of the concessions made by Norway regarding the compulsory importation of Spanish wine. He was succeeded by Mr. Johan Mowinckel, who had been Minister of Commerce in the Blehr Cabinet since its formation in July, 1921. The new Foreign Minister is fifty-two years of age. He entered the Storting in 1906 as member for Bergen and was president of the Assembly, 1915-18, and at the same time parliamentary chairman of the Left Party. As President of the Special Foreign Office Commission appointed by the Knudsen Ministry in 1919 Mr. Mowinckel was largely instrumental in bringing about the Foreign Office reform,

which was passed by the Storting in July, 1922, and which, it is expected, will greatly enhance the efficiency of the Norwegian diplomatic and consular service.

The Greenland question is still unsettled. In December, 1922, the Norwegian Government notified the Danish Government that Norway made strong reservations with regard to the new Danish Bill on the administration of Greenland as far as the Bill concerns territories where Danish sovereignty was not claimed before the Danish decree of July, 1921. This decree which extended the Danish sovereignty over the whole area of Greenland has not been recognised by Norway, the Norwegian Government upholding the rights which Norwegian whalers and sealers have enjoyed for centuries in the Eastern part of Greenland. Some Norwegian papers have recommended that the question should be submitted to the League of Nations to be settled by arbitration.

Another Arctic question which is engaging the attention of the Norwegian Government is the administration of Spitsbergen. In accordance with the Spitsbergen Treaty the Norwegian Government submitted to the signatory powers a draft mining Bill for Spitsbergen. One power—Holland—objected to some of the provisions in the Bill, and after negotiations between the Norwegian and Dutch Governments the Bill was amended in the autumn, 1922, in order to meet the Dutch objections. When the mining Bill has been definitely approved by all the signatory powers, the Bill and the treaty will both be submitted to the Storting for ratification.

An event of great importance to Norway was the judgment of the Arbitration Court at The Hague, in October, 1922, awarding the "Christiania Group" of Norwegian shipowners damages amounting to about 12 million dollars for ships and contracts requisitioned by the American Shipping Board during the war. The American representative on the Tribunal, Mr. Chandler P. Andersen, protested against the award, alleging that the Court had disregarded the terms of submission. The American Government, however, did not endorse the protest of its representative but accepted the award.

CHAPTER VI.

THE MIDDLE EAST AND INDIA: PERSIA—AFGHANISTAN—IRAK—PALESTINE—SYRIA—ARABIA—INDIA.

PERSIA.

THE year 1922 was much less eventful than its predecessor. There was a change of Government, but Riza Khan, Persia's "strong man" remained at the helm, and public tranquillity was not seriously disturbed. Early in the year the Shah left for Europe, where he made a prolonged stay, residing for the most

part at Nice and visiting King Alfonso of Spain at Madrid on October 10. The Government's chief concern was to improve the financial condition of the country. The Prime Minister favoured the engagement of foreign advisers and the development of the Northern oilfields. He found, however, some difficulty in imposing his views on the Mejliss, and accordingly, towards the end of April, at his request a Commission composed of Deputies of all parties was appointed to assist the Cabinet to revise its policy. At the end of June matters had come to such a pass that the police of Teheran threatened to resign if their salaries were not paid within ten days. The Mejliss finally consented to a request being sent to America for financial and other advisers; and on August 1 it approved the appointment of Dr. A. Chester Mills Paul, petroleum expert in the State Department, as Director General of Finance with the task of drawing up the budget and instituting financial reforms. The new post was to be not merely advisory but also executive, and it was stipulated that no financial engagements should be entered into by the Persian Government without the written authority of the Director and of the Minister of Finance; but the former at the same time pledged himself not to interfere in the internal politics of Persia. Dr. Mills Paul left New York for Persia on September 30 with seven assistants.

Opposition to the Government came chiefly from the pro-Russian section of the population. A focus for this disaffection was afforded by the Russian legation in Teheran, presided over by Mr. Rothstein. On various occasions during the year prominent citizens of Teheran found it advisable to take refuge in this building. On March 15 Mr. Rothstein protested to the Government against the summary suspension of certain newspapers and the punishment of the editors. When the Commission of Deputies was appointed to advise the Government at the end of April, Mr. Rothstein renewed his propaganda, and fomented a bitter anti-British campaign in the Teheran press. On June 27 the Government suspended two papers for attacking it, and on the 28th it deleted from a third an article against the British Government. During the next month, however, owing to the success of the Bolshevik forces in the neighbouring state of Bokhara, its attitude began to weaken, and it commenced to incline more to the side of Russia. But early in September a number of the Teheran papers were again suspended, and this led to a strike of printers. Finally on October 10 Persia concluded a Treaty with Russia, by which it undertook, in case of a war between England and Russia, to allow Soviet forces to attack Mesopotamia through Persia. The Persian Chief of the General Staff, Ismail Khan, went to Moscow.

In August the military prestige of the Government was enhanced by the complete success of the Persian offensive against Simko, chief of the Kurdish outlaws, who had long been a thorn in the side of the country. The rebel stronghold at

Sheharich, west of Lake Urumiah, was captured, and Simko himself forced to flee. To counterbalance this success, however, about the same time some 250 troops were ambushed and cut up by the tribesmen in the Bakhtiari country.

AFGHANISTAN.

The conclusion of the Treaty between Afghanistan and England at the close of 1921 marked the end of a long period of friction between the two countries; and the seal was set upon the new relationship between them by the interchange of ambassadors which soon took place, Major F. H. Humphreys reaching Kabul as British Minister at the beginning of March, about the same time that Sirdar Abdul Hadi Khan arrived in London as Afghan Minister to the Court of St. James. In an interview to *The Times* Hadi Khan said he thought the Treaty would strengthen trade relations between Afghanistan and India; he also said that his people were beginning to be better disposed towards England. But naturally the foreign power with which Afghanistan felt most sympathy was Turkey, and in February an Afghan mission arrived in Angora with an autograph letter from the Ameer expressing the warmest sentiments towards the Turkish Government, and stating that he had urged the British Government to abstain from assisting the Greeks. Towards Russia Afghan sentiment was at first rather unfriendly. There were in the country a large number of refugees from Turkestan who were hostile to the Soviet Government; and many of these rallied to the flag of Enver Pasha when on behalf of the Bokhara Government he made war on Russia in the early summer. But the successes of the Russian arms soon caused a marked change of sentiment in Afghanistan. On June 17 there appeared in the *Ittihad-i-Mashriqui* of Jelalabad an obviously inspired article strongly disapproving of the anti-Bolshevik insurrection in Turkestan and advocating relations of disinterested friendship all round. This policy was energetically pursued by Mohammed Wadi Khan, who in July, on his return from his world diplomatic mission, had become Foreign Minister in succession to Sirdar Mahmud Beg Tangi. On August 15 he issued a statement that he regarded the disturbances in Bokhara as a purely internal affair, the Russo-Afghan Treaty of last year having agreed to recognise the independence of Bokhara and Khiva.

During the Near Eastern crisis in October Afghanistan remained outwardly calm, but that it had been profoundly impressed by the success of Turkey was shown a couple of months later when the *Times of India* published the terms of a new Treaty between Afghanistan and Angora. In this document Afghanistan acknowledges Turkey as its "suzerain," *i.e.*, as heir to the privileges of the Caliphate, and recognises the independence of Bokhara and Khiva. The chief object of the

Treaty was to institute a defensive alliance between the two countries, commercial and financial arrangements being left to a separate protocol. Turkey also undertook to send teachers and military officers to remain in Afghanistan for a period of five years.

From August 16 to 25 festivities were held at Paghman to celebrate the anniversary of Afghan independence. The Ameer on this occasion became reconciled with his elder brother, Inayatullah Khan. A rumour spread that he had been murdered, and he had to hasten to Kabul to show himself. He took the opportunity of making a speech in which he laid stress on the importance of developing home industries, of dispensing with foreign officials, and of a strong army to preserve the national independence. Subject to these conditions the Ameer showed himself anxious to modernise the country. He welcomed the presence of all kinds of foreign missions. Thus on October 13 M. Poincaré demanded from the French Chamber credits for the creation of a French legation in Afghanistan, the two Governments having agreed to receive permanent diplomatic missions. Early in November the British commercial mission was in Kabul to arrange details of a trade convention on the lines laid down in the Anglo-Afghan Treaty. The Ameer personally set a high standard of devotion to duty, which was followed by his civil service. He encouraged the sending of Afghan youths abroad to be educated. During the year a number of telegraph and telephone lines were laid down or commenced, *e.g.*, from Landi Khana to Kabul, and from Kabul to Peshawar; while young Afghans were trained for telegraph work at Karachi.

IRAK.

Almost the whole of the year has been spent in uncertainty regarding the Mandate and the Treaty between the kingdom of Irak and its prospective Mandatory. It was expected that the Mandate would have been approved at the same time as those for Palestine and Syria but when the latter came before the Council of the League of Nations the negotiations with the United States regarding Irak were not yet concluded and the Mandate for that State was therefore held over. It had not yet been approved when the year closed. To the idea of the Mandate there was considerable opposition on the part of the Iraquians, and it was believed that the King himself was not altogether sympathetically disposed. By the Iraquians was put forward the alternative of a Treaty by which in effect Irak would become a British protectorate but which would secure a greater appearance of independence than would the proposed Mandate. British policy as it developed through the year favoured both a Mandate and a Treaty. The Iraquians' attitude towards the Treaty varied from time to time, but in the end Feisal and his Government accepted it. It was signed on

October 10 and it is now awaiting ratification by the Constituent Assembly which has still to be convoked. Under the Treaty (see Public Documents, p. 113) the King of Irak undertakes to be guided by the advice of the British High Commissioner in all matters affecting British international and financial obligations and interests. The British Government on its part undertakes to use its best endeavours to secure the admission of Irak to the League of Nations. With that admission the Mandate, to which exception is taken, would automatically come to an end.

Apart from the agitation concerning the Mandate and the Treaty the political history of the year was by no means unchequered. As early as April there was a Cabinet crisis, in the course of which five of the Ministers resigned, the reason being undue interference with them on the part of the King. New members were appointed, but these did not remain in office long, for four months later there was another Cabinet crisis, in the course of which the whole Cabinet resigned. The cause was the same as on the previous occasion. Hard on the resignation came an incident which might have had very serious consequences. On August 23, the anniversary of the King's accession, Sir Percy Cox, the High Commissioner, called at the Palace to congratulate the King. His way was impeded by a large crowd, which when he reached the precincts of the Palace he found was being addressed by anti-British orators. This was the culmination of an agitation that had been gathering strength for months. Sir Percy Cox of course could not permit the insult to pass. He had several highly placed agitators arrested and removed from Baghdad, and suppressed their newspapers and political organisations. This action had an immediate sobering effect. Other agitators, fearing a similar fate, promptly went into voluntary exile.

The Cabinet of August did not last long. It fell in October, and the one which succeeded was again formed by the Nakeeb of Baghdad as Prime Minister. This on its part survived for but a few weeks, for in the middle of November yet another Cabinet was formed, on this occasion without the assistance of the Nakeeb. None of these changes had any effect at all on foreign policy. The new Government, however, did not meet with universal approval, for there remained a party whose hostility took the form of a determined boycott of the approaching elections.

So far the internal history of Irak during the year. Its external affairs have also not been untroubled. For the greater part of the year there have been threats against Irak by the redoubtable Ibn Saud, Chief of the Wahabis of Central Arabia. These first appeared as cattle raiders, causing a great deal of damage; they were ultimately dispersed by aeroplanes. For these offending tribes Ibn Saud disclaimed responsibility, although they were more or less under his control, and it was inevitable that the raids should be connected with Ibn Saud's threats

against King Feisal's relatives, the King of the Hedjaz and the Emir of Transjordan. The Chief of the Wahabis receives a regular subvention from the British Government which is therefore able to exercise some influence over him, and in order to prevent a recurrence of similar undesirable incidents representatives of the two Arab rulers, together with those of the High Commissioner, met in conference at Muhammarah and agreed on a loose frontier, determined by tribes rather than territory. However, this agreement does not appear to have been accepted wholeheartedly by Ibn Saud, whose attention was nevertheless turned away from Irak towards the West, so that nothing further was heard of him during the year.

Farther north in the Kurdish hills there was spasmodic trouble on several occasions, but this was hardly of a political character, but may almost be considered normal, even though some assistance was rendered to the insurgents from the Turkish side of the frontier.

The last weeks of the year were signalised, so far as Irak was concerned, by most determined claims by the Turks at the Lausanne Conference for the return of Mosul and district to them. These claims were just as determinedly resisted by the British, and the Conference being still in session at the end of the year the matter was not concluded.

PALESTINE.

Until the approval of the British Mandate by the Council of the League of Nations on July 24 (see Public Documents, p. 117) all interests in the country suffered from the indefiniteness of the political situation. For a year a delegation of Palestinian Arabs had been in London using the whole of its influence to persuade the British Government to cancel the Balfour Declaration, which promised that Government's best endeavours to secure for the Jews a National Home in Palestine. This Delegation received much encouragement from the extreme Tory section of the Opposition, who were reinforced by the small body of Anti-Semites in public life. The agitation culminated in a motion, which was carried in the House of Lords in July, condemning the Government policy. This was, however, speedily followed by the publication of correspondence between the Colonial Secretary, the Zionist Organisation, and the Arab Delegation in which that policy was defined, and in a debate in the House of Commons that followed that policy received overwhelming support (see English History, pp. 69-71). The statement of the Colonial Secretary already referred to was in effect an exposition of moderate Zionism, a fulfilment of the promise to the Jews which could in no way prejudicially affect Arab interests. It was so effective that opposition in England, which had risen almost to boiling-point, quickly died away. The Council of the League on its part accepted the policy

unanimously. The Arab Delegation returned to Palestine disappointed and vowing that it would oppose the Zionist policy to the bitter end. A Palestinian Congress was immediately summoned and several extreme measures, including a political boycott of the Government and a commercial boycott of the Jews, resolved upon. But these resolutions were never translated into reality, and after a few solitary murders of Jews the entire agitation subsided. One of the causes of this failure, which at the same time showed how artificial the agitation was in reality, was the complete failure of the financial campaign that was launched in order to carry on the agitation. Another contributing cause was a certain coolness that arose between the Christian and the Moslem Parties as a consequence of the Pan-Islamic attitude of the Delegation that had been sent to plead their cause at Mecca.

The Mandate, although it had been passed by the Council of the League and the Mandatory Power had been authorised to act as if it were in force, was not formally approved in July. The delay was due in no way to any Palestinian matter. France was anxious that the Mandates for Palestine and Syria should be approved simultaneously, and as the latter was held up by differences between France and Italy on certain minor matters, it was agreed that the formal approval of the Palestine Mandate should also be deferred. This delay, however, had no untoward effect. A constitution was immediately promulgated and given the force of law, and steps taken to draw up a register of electors for the Legislative Council.

There was one other Palestinian matter that loomed very large in the English eye about the time of the approval of the Mandate, and that was the grant of a concession to a Mr. Rutenberg, a Russian Jew, for the electrification of Palestine. It was suggested that this concession was but a part of the plot to subjugate Palestine to the Jews, that it had been obtained by unfair means, and that it was devoted to unfair ends. But this agitation also quickly died away, and when it was found that Mr. Rutenberg was an industrialist, not a politician, and that his projects benefited all Palestinians equally, Jew and Arab alike, the opposition to them, so far as it was non-political, was quickly dissipated.

The Arab political agitation revived with the convening of the Lausanne Conference and the change of Government in England, and a delegation was again sent to Lausanne and London. In the former city it failed to obtain any hearing and in the latter it was heard only to be told that the Palestine question was in effect a *chose jugée*. The coquetting of the delegation with the Turks did not improve its chances, which were, however, in the best of circumstances of the flimsiest.

The status of Transjordan remained indefinite throughout the year, and in October the Emir Abdullah, accompanied by his principal advisers, proceeded to London to discuss the

question with the Colonial Office. It is said that the result of the discussions was satisfactory to both parties, but, despite numerous sensational rumours, no pronouncement has yet been made and the status hitherto in force still persists. In the summer some alarm was caused by a Wahabi incursion into Transjordan, but it was repulsed with the assistance of British gendarmerie, and for the remainder of the year tranquillity reigned.

SYRIA.

During the year 1922 the State of Syria was even more disturbed than during the previous year. Something of the nature of a general rising broke out in April, although in view of the overwhelming French forces it never caused any military anxiety to those in power. The seething trouble was brought to a head by the visit of the American diplomatist, Mr. C. R. Crane, who had been the Chairman of the American Commission which had been sent to Syria and Palestine while the Peace Conference was sitting in Paris, to ascertain the wishes of the population regarding their future government. Mr. Crane was in Damascus in quite an unofficial capacity, but as soon as his presence was known a number of Arab notables came to him with an expression of the grievances of the population against their French rulers. The Arab leaders were thereupon arrested for the offence of communicating their grievances to Mr. Crane and sentenced to long terms of imprisonment.

The disturbances were not confined to any one district of Syria. They spread quickly to all parts of the land. There were riots in Damascus and Beirut and similar disturbances, also suppressed by force of arms, at Homs. Further afield, where the French position had not yet been consolidated, there were risings at Jerablus on the Euphrates, at Den-es-Zor, and in the Hauran. In the course of the disturbances Assad Bey, the Minister of the Interior of the Greater Lebanon, was murdered.

The cause of the disturbances, added to the feeling of unrest general among Eastern peoples, is in the first place the resentment of the Lebanese at the loss of the favoured position as regards their neighbours which they at first enjoyed under French rule. The Lebanese were at first the pets of their protectors, but as relations between the French and their Moslem neighbours to the north became more friendly, so the attitude of the French towards the Moslem communities of Syria improved, and every improvement was felt by the Lebanese to be an infringement of their rights. It must not be thought, however, that this change of attitude made the Moslems of Syria more friendly towards their rulers. The French agreement with the Kemalists was by some regarded as a sign of weakness, and gave them corresponding encouragement in demands for a wide autonomy or even independence for Syria,

The large number of French officials was also not looked upon with favour, and the imposition of a depreciated French currency and the almost open fostering of French trade at the expense of all other were also looked on askance.

Towards the end of the year rumours to the effect that the French were about to evacuate Syria, or at any rate a considerable portion of it, were prevalent. They found some support not only in the cordial relations that reigned between France and the Kemalist Turks, but also in the pressing need for economy which led to a reduction of the French Army in Syria to 20,000 men and to the resignation of the High Commissioner, General Gouraud. So persistent had the rumours become by December that the French Government found it necessary to deny them. At the end of the year no successor to General Gouraud had yet been appointed.

ARABIA.

There is always some disturbance in one part or other of the Arabian peninsula, and in this respect the year 1922 was no exception to the rule. However, it was less disturbed than many of its predecessors, and it closed in a state of unwonted calm and friendliness. There was trouble at the beginning of the year in the Hedjaz, due mainly to disapproval of the administrative measures of King Hussein. Later in the year there was a threat of hostilities between the Emir of Asir and the Imam Yehia of Sanaa. There was also a movement against Transjordan on the part of the Wahabis. On the other hand, there was a distinct rapprochement between Ibn Saud of the Wahabis and the King of the Hedjaz. The relations also between the Hedjaz, the Yemen, and the Emir of Asir became more friendly.

INDIA.

The Delhi Session of the Indian Legislature commenced in January. Among the subjects discussed were the position of Indians in East Africa and Mr. Winston Churchill's speech thereon; the East Indian Railway strike; the refusal of the Deputy Commissioner for Delhi to allow an open-air meeting to consider the Khilafat question; "repressive" policy; the release of the Ali brothers; and the situation in Malabar. Various motions were discussed with a view to securing greater powers for the Legislature, one of which called for the immediate abolition of the distinction between votable and non-votable items in the budget. Mr. Khaparde moved for the introduction of the practice of voting an Address after the Viceroy's opening speech. It was sought to secure for the Legislature the right of electing India's representatives to the Imperial and other international conferences. Sir Maneckji Dadabhoy moved a resolution that the Legislature should have the opportunity of

pronouncing on any treaty arrangements involving fiscal obligations and international trade relations: the Government of India had pointed out that any system of fiscal autonomy, as far as India was concerned, could only be established by the acknowledgment of a convention, and in order that conventions of this kind may grow up had suggested that the Secretary of State should, as far as possible, avoid interference with the Government of India and the Legislature where they were in agreement, and that interference, if it did take place at all, should be limited to safeguarding the international obligations of the Empire or any fiscal arrangements within the Empire to which His Majesty's Government was a party. Mr. Lindsay, on behalf of the Government, in opposing the resolution, pointed out that such discussion of treaty proposals before ratification was not allowed by the British Government or by any of the Dominion Governments. Other subjects discussed were: the establishment of a Privy Council in India; currency and exchange; the contribution from the United Provinces to the Central Revenues; retrenchment of expenditure; the increasing association of Indians in the administration; the establishment of Standing Committees; the appointment of Council secretaries; provision of educational facilities to enable Indians to enter the technical Services in larger number; recruitment of Indians in the Indian Marine; training abroad of Indian and Anglo-Indian youths in technical subjects; increase of the number of Indian judges in the High Courts, etc.; Indianisation of the higher grades of Services under State-managed Railways and Port Trusts; abolition of the practice of appointing members of the Foreign and Political Service and military officers to judicial or administrative posts; the abolition of the posts of Divisional Commissioners; the improvement of the position of Indians abroad, notably in East Africa; reciprocal legislation in British India on the lines of colonial measures imposing disabilities on Indians; encouragement of industries and shipbuilding; the British Empire Exhibition; railway contracts, systems, etc.; public health and indigenous systems of medical treatment. A motion was brought forward recommending Government to sign, subject to reservations, the International Convention for the suppression of the traffic in women and children drawn up by the League of Nations. A resolution was agreed to recommending the enactment of a law to prohibit wholesale traffic in minor girls for immoral purposes. Other subjects of general interest discussed were: the Arms Rules; pilgrimage to Mecca; shipping rates; the constitution of a separate Andhra Province; and the separation of Burma from the rest of the Indian Empire. Two most important bills were passed: one giving effect to the unanimous recommendations of the Repressive Laws Committee for the total repeal of part of the Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1908, and certain special enactments supplementing the ordinary

criminal law, and the other, repealing the India Press Act, 1910, and the Newspapers Incitement to Offences Act, and providing for the liability of the editor for the matter published in his paper. The law relating to income-tax and super-tax was consolidated. A bill to establish and incorporate a unitary teaching and residential University in Delhi was passed and another educational measure was the Benares Hindu University (Amendment) Bill. The Electricity and Factories Acts gave effect to international obligations imposed by the Washington Conference and also fulfilled some of the pledges given regarding factory legislation, such as 64 hours' labour per week. The policy of the Indian Government regarding the emigration of Indians to the Dominions and Colonies was embodied in an Act passed in March. Emigration of unskilled labour was made illegal, except to Ceylon, the Straits Settlements, and the Federated Malay States, to which the new Act will apply in March, 1923. The Assembly agreed to the setting aside a sum of 150 crores of rupees for the next five years, for rehabilitation of railways, thus enabling the administration to plan an ordered programme of capital expenditure. A Central Railway Advisory Board, consisting of members of the Legislature, was established, and the first step towards the abolition of the old Railway Board was taken by the appointment of a Chief Commissioner for Railways. Members of the Legislature recognised the necessity of organisation by the formation of the Democratic and National Parties.

The budget for 1922-23, introduced on March 1, showed a deficit of 34 crores of rupees in the past year, due to a fall of over 20 crores in revenue and to an excess of over 14 crores in expenditure. To meet the deficit new taxation was proposed, *viz.*, increases in railway passenger fares, postal charges, customs and excise, and taxes on income—estimated to produce 29 crores in all—leaving an uncovered deficit of nearly 3 crores. The general discussion of the budget revealed remarkable unanimity among the non-official European and Indian members of the Assembly. Military expenditure (Rs. 62,18,00,000) came in for very severe criticism, in reply to which the Commander-in-Chief declared that the army had already been reduced to 29,000 below the pre-war standard and heavy purchase of modern weapons of warfare had been deferred. When the demands came up for consideration in the Assembly, reductions amounting to Rs. 96,65,090 were carried against the Government. Certain of the Government's taxation proposals were rejected. The net result of the changes was to reduce the estimated revenue by 956 lakhs, and the total uncovered deficit was anticipated to be 916 lakhs. In the budget, as finally passed, the revenue and expenditure were estimated as follows: Revenue, gross, Rs. 133,22,78,000; expenditure, Rs. 142,39,06,000. Deficit, gross, Rs. 9,16,28,000.

The powers of the Standing Finance Committee were

enlarged to include the scrutiny of all proposals for new notable expenditure, etc.

The Budgets of the Provincial Governments showed a deficit of Rs. 423 lakhs for 1922-23.

The 1922 Simla Session of the Indian Legislature commenced on September 5. The following questions of current public interest were discussed: the seizure of the Guru-ka-Bagh shrine, near Amritsar, by Akalis (Sikh fanatics); and the Near Eastern situation. Resolutions were moved regarding: treatment of political prisoners; action against the officers responsible for the Moplah train tragedy in Malabar in 1921; the reduction of the number of executive councillors and ministers in the Provinces; the desirability of amending the electoral rules relating to the Council of State, the Legislative Assembly and the Provincial Legislative Councils, a Committee being appointed to examine and report thereon; the election and constitution of Standing Committees to be associated with the various Departments of Government; the embargo on food grains; the proposed abolition of the salt monopoly system in the Punjab; the improvement of the breed of agricultural cattle; provincial contributions; state ownership of railways; the financial position; reconstitution of the Railway Board; outcasted colony-returned Indians; recommendations of the International Labour Organisation; the proposed Imperial Medical Research Institute and the formation of a fund for its endowment. The interest of the Legislature in the Services also continued.

The legislative work of the Session was exceedingly heavy, the most important bills being the Indian Official Secrets Bill to assimilate the law in British India to the law in force in the United Kingdom; the Police (Incitement to Disaffection) Bill, providing a penalty for spreading disaffection and for kindred offences; the Indian States (Protection against Disaffection) Bill, the introduction of which was refused in the Legislative Assembly, whereupon the Viceroy certified that it was essential for the interests of British India, and recommended its passage by the Council of State in the form in which it was presented, and afterwards reserved it for consideration by His Majesty; the Press Bill; the Abolition of Transportation Bill; the Workmen's Compensation Bill; the Criminal Procedure Code Amendment Bill; and a Bill to give effect to the recommendations of the League of Nations for the suppression of the traffic in women and children.

By February 25 it had become possible to withdraw martial law and all the extra troops with the exception of one battalion from the disaffected Moplah area of Malabar.

In March the Government of India sent home a strongly-worded representation of its conviction of the intensity of the feeling in India regarding the necessity for a revision of the Treaty of Sévres and urged upon His Majesty's Government

three points as being of the first importance, subject to certain safeguards: the evacuation of Constantinople; the suzerainty of the Sultan over the Holy Places; the restoration to Turkey of Ottoman Thrace, including Adrianople and of Smyrna. The action of the Secretary of State for India, Mr. Montagu, in sanctioning the publication of this document was severely criticised at home, whereupon Mr. Montagu resigned office and was succeeded by the Rt. Hon. Viscount Peel (see pp. 33-35). The Assembly adopted a resolution expressing its deep sense of regret at the resignation and its warm appreciation of Mr. Montagu's signal services to India generally and more especially in connexion with the Reforms.

Mr. Gandhi, the leader of the non-co-operators, continued his efforts to obtain the support of the Moderates. In February he addressed an ultimatum to the Viceroy, to which Government retorted by a powerful and closely-reasoned statement, concluding with a solemn warning that mass civil disobedience, if adopted, would be sternly dealt with. On the Legislature approving, after debate, of the policy of the Government, Mr. Gandhi's last hope of detaching the Moderates vanished, and he thereafter made preparation for his plan of civil disobedience, but his party continued to be confused by the lightning changes which he introduced so unexpectedly into his campaign. At Bardoli, on February 11 and 12, it was resolved to suspend mass civil disobedience. A decline of confidence in his political leadership resulted therefrom, and a fortnight later a more vigorous policy was forced on him and agreed to at the All-India Congress at Delhi, but this was quietly dropped by Mr. Gandhi and the policy outlined at Bardoli reverted to. Responsible opinion was horrified at the sudden revelation of the appalling possibilities of non-co-operation by the terrible outrage at Chauri Chaura, in the United Provinces, on February 14, when twenty-one policemen and rural watchmen were murdered by a mob of "volunteers." Public opinion was aroused against non-co-operation by the recrudescence of agrarian trouble in the United Provinces, and by a serious strike on the East Indian Railway. At this juncture Government decided to order the arrest of Mr. Gandhi, which took place on March 1. Mr. Gandhi pleaded guilty and was sentenced to six years' simple imprisonment.

The speech of Mr. Lloyd George, the Premier, in the House of Commons, on August 2, upon the future of the Indian Services recruited in Great Britain met with severe criticism in India. On August 19 Lord Reading said that the speech was intended simply as a note of solemn warning to those who after the next election might intend to pursue the deliberate policy in the Legislature of paralysing the activities of government. The warning was given, not for the purpose of indicating a change in the future policy of His Majesty's Government, but with the object of concentrating attention upon the mischievous

consequences of the threatened action. A section of those who are avowedly hostile to the Reforms Scheme advocate the plan of becoming members of the Legislature in order that they may destroy it and the reformed institutions. The Prime Minister's second purpose was to give confidence to the members of the Civil Services, to allay their apprehensions regarding their emoluments and pensions and general position since the Reforms.

The committee appointed in 1921 to examine the tariff policy of the Government reported in September. It recommended the adoption of a policy of protection to be applied with discrimination along the lines indicated in its Report (issued as Parliamentary Paper, Cmd. 1,764). After a careful analysis of the probable gain and loss, it came to the final conclusion that, apart from the strong Indian sentiment in favour of protection, the balance of advantage on economic grounds is heavily on the side of the policy recommended. It recognised the advantages on broad Imperial grounds of the principle of Imperial preference and suggested that the question of granting preferences on a limited number of commodities should be referred to the Indian Legislature.

The Hon. V. Srinivasa Sastri visited the Dominions, as the representative of the Government of India, to consult with the leaders of political thought in the Dominions and their constituent states and provinces as to the best method of giving effect to the resolution of the Imperial Conference of 1921, recognising and affirming the lawful claims of Indians for equality of status with all other classes of His Majesty's subjects. Mr. Sastri was successful in obtaining the removal of some minor disabilities affecting domiciled Indians: certain disabilities in Queensland, in connexion with the engagement of Indians in the banana industry, and in South Australia, in regard to the acquisition of land, have been, or will be, removed; the Commonwealth Government have undertaken to extend the provisions of old age pensions to Indians in Australia at an early date, whilst the Governments of the Commonwealth and Western Australia promised sympathetic consideration regarding the franchise; schemes for the admission of Indian students and for the interchange of lecturers will be considered by the Australian universities. The Government of the Union of South Africa withheld consent to the Rural Dealers Licensing Ordinance in Natal, reserved the Townships Franchise Ordinance, but assented to the Durban Alienation Ordinance and gave instructions that, as far as possible, Asiatics should be given reasonable opportunity for acquiring adequate residential sites.

A Retrenchment Committee, with Lord Inchcape as Chairman, was appointed in May, to make recommendations for effecting all possible reductions in the expenditure of the Central Governments.

The Prince of Wales continued his tour through India. In

spite of organised attempts to mar his reception on the part of a section of the community, he was welcomed with the traditional loyalty and devotion of the Indian people to the Royal House. The Indian Legislature adopted an address of welcome to His Royal Highness on the occasion of his visit to Delhi.

Considerable progress was made with the development of the Territorial Force in addition to the University Training Corps. Twenty provincial battalions were constituted and the numbers enrolled total more than 10,000. A college designed to train Indian boys who aspire to enter Sandhurst was established at Dehra Dun. Air Vice-Marshal Sir John Salmond examined and reported upon the Air Force and whether economies in defence expenditure can be effected by increased use of the Air Force in co-operation with the Army for the external and internal protection of India.

During the year the Secretary of State sanctioned the Sutlej Valley Canals project, which is estimated to cost Rs. 1,460 lakhs, and will irrigate over 5,000,000 acres in the Punjab and the states of Bahawalpur and Bikaner. The Sukkur Barrage project was approved, both administratively and technically, but final sanction was withheld pending the receipt of the detailed proposals of the Government of Bombay as to the financing of the scheme.

There was peace on the frontier except in Waziristan, where the policy at present being pursued is to open up the country by roads and to impose a loose form of political control by means of these roads and by the enlistment of levies, or Khassadars, for their protection among the Wazirs and Mahsuds themselves. A committee was appointed to report on the advisability of the union of the North-West Frontier Province with the Punjab.

The home Parliament approved Rules required to give effect to the Notification constituting Burma a Governor's province. Elections of members to the new Burma Legislative Assembly took place in December.

CHAPTER VII.

THE FAR EAST: CHINA—JAPAN—DUTCH EAST INDIES.

CHINA.

DURING 1922, the eleventh year of the Republic, nothing was done in China to restore unity, the only means of improving the social and political condition of the country. The North and South remain divided, and the Central Government is still too weak to exercise authority except within the city wall of Peking.

Early in the year, Mr. Liang Shih-yi, then Prime Minister, was opposed by a powerful military leader, General Wu Pei-fu, but, supported by General Chang Tsao-lin, Governor of Manchuria

and rival to General Wu, he was too obstinate to resign. The struggle for control over the Government between these two generals became very intense, and in June they resorted to armed force to settle their difference. As a result of fighting which lasted for a week, the troops of General Chang were defeated and fled to the other side of Shanhaikwan, where they now remain under their old leader who is training more troops to revenge himself upon his enemy. Through his victory, General Wu Pei-fu became dictator of China and forced the President, Mr. Hsu Shih-chang, to retire. To fill up the vacant post, he together with a few other Generals summoned General Li Yuen-hung from his retirement at Tientsin. A new Cabinet was formed with Dr. W. W. Yen as Prime Minister, and at the same time the old Parliament, dissolved in 1917, was restored.

It was expected that this Parliament, which had been dissolved twice, would have become chastened by experience, and would set about restoring confidence by drafting a Constitution. But such was not the case. The Parliament does not content itself with constitution-making but interferes in every way it can with the Executive branch of the Government. Its members are divided into innumerable parties, and every one of them is open to corruption. They take advantage of their position to pursue selfish ends, and as law-makers take law into their own hands. Dissatisfied with the conduct of Parliament, the Yen Cabinet resigned in August, and was succeeded by a Cabinet composed of leading figures of the so-called Young China movement, with Dr. Wang Chung-hui as Prime Minister, Dr. V. K. Wellington Koo as Foreign Minister, and Mr. Lo Wen-kan as Finance Minister. These new Ministers strove to ameliorate China's finances, and to effect re-unification and disbandment of troops. But when the first thing in the way of restoring China's foreign credit was done, namely, a recognition of bonds formerly issued by Austrian banks but now mainly in the hands of British and Italians, the Minister of Finance was clapped into prison by order of the President, under the pressure of the Speaker of the House of Representatives, on a false charge of corruption. The Minister was too strong a character to be tolerated by Parliament, and consequently fell a victim to political intrigues, the object of which was not honest finance but a sacrifice of China's interests to selfish ends.

Mr. Lo Wen-kan is still in prison and no verdict has been issued against him. Meanwhile, the finances of China are fast worsening. The total amount of her debt, foreign and domestic but exclusive of railway bonds, is estimated at 1,686,000,000 dollars (about 168,600,000*l*, sterling), of which 400,000,000 dollars is unsecured or inadequately secured, and therefore in default. The Government is daily besieged by creditors for redemption of their loans, but so long as the Ministry has no power to compel the provinces to remit revenue to Peking, it has no means to meet its obligations. The only regular receipts of the

Government are surpluses from the Customs and Salt revenue after foreign loans secured on it are paid, and a small portion of the Wine and Tobacco taxes. But, as the greater part of these are mortgaged for the service of short term debts not included in the above figures, the annual amount available for administrative expenditure is averaged at 2,600,000 dollars, whereas the expenses amount to 100,000,000 dollars per annum. It is unprecedented in the history of the budgets of any country that a Government can carry on its work when its deficit is ten times greater than its revenue. It is indeed a wonder that the Chinese Government is still discharging its functions, however imperfectly.

Bad as the financial situation is, the military governors are in no wise abating their ambition of making themselves "great." General Tsao Kun, Governor of Chili, is, as it is believed, prepared to buy up members of Parliament, and make them elect him President of the Republic. He is said to have the support of the Governors of Kiangsu, Chekiang, and Manchuria, but finds an opponent in General Wu Pei-fu. Nor is his idea favourably received in the South over which Dr. Sun Yat Sen is regaining his control, lost in April of 1922, when he was driven away by General Chen Chiung-ming.

Nevertheless, it would be erroneous to be pessimistic about the future of China. Politicians and militarists may be selfish and corrupt, but the teeming millions always live up to their reputation of being industrious and hard-working citizens. The harvest was exceptionally good in nearly all the provinces, and internal trade has had another fairly successful year. Newly established industries, such as cotton-spinning and mining, are adversely affected by the world's trade depression and political chaos in China, but the volume of foreign trade is larger than in the previous year, and the Customs revenue reached the unprecedented figure of 58,600,000 Haikwan taels (10,987,500*l.*). Socially also there is much progress, as is evidenced by the increase in the number of both schools and newspaper-readers. Given peace and order, China can certainly transform herself into a great modern state.

China throughout the year loyally carried out her professions of good faith in regard to the suppression of the opium traffic. Sir Francis Aglen, the Head of the Customs, towards the end of the year suggested a temporary opium monopoly, but the Chinese Government at once disavowed any such intention. The Peking Government was moreover represented at the Anti-Opium Committee Meetings at Geneva, where her representative, Mr. Chao Hsin Chu, Chargé d'Affaires at London, defined the position of China, and announced the appointment of Commissioners to conduct the investigation of poppy cultivation in co-operation with the International Anti-Opium Association in Peking, and the various Chambers of Commerce and educational bodies.

The Four Power Consortium, composed of representatives of the United Kingdom, the United States, France, and Japan, which succeeded the old Six Power Group in 1920, has proved a complete failure, and, owing to Chinese objections, there is no progress to report. The Consortium standpoint is that while all foreign obligations secured on the Customs and Salt Revenues have been promptly met, the fact that default has been made in the case of certain unsecured loans makes it imperative that the security for any projected new external loan shall be unquestionable. The Four-Power Group requires evidence that the money will be used for constructive, not destructive purposes. On the other hand, China not unnaturally desires that she should be free to borrow money as she likes in foreign markets so that she may be able to obtain the best terms available.

On November 30, 1922, all the British post offices in China were closed in accordance with the Washington Agreement. The first of these post offices was opened by Lord Napier on his arrival in Canton in 1834, while Sir Henry Pottinger opened an office at Hongkong in 1842. The other Powers carrying on post offices in China closed them on December 31, 1922, leaving the work to the very efficient Chinese Postal Service.

As to China's foreign relations, the pity is that she should default on loans, and allow her credit to be undermined. It is expected, however, that when the Special Conference on the Customs Tariff provided by the Treaties signed in Washington in February is convened, and the 2½ per cent. surtax on imports to be authorised by it is put into operation, the increased revenue estimated at 35,000,000 dollars a year will be devoted to the service of a Consolidation Loan, to be issued for redemption of outstanding debts. Such a scheme will at once place unsecured or inadequately secured bonds on a well-secured basis, and reduce the amount now charged on the salt surplus, thus making the amount freed available for administrative expenditure.

The Treaties of Washington have settled many a thorny question concerning the Far East. One of them relates to the disposition of rights and interests in Shantung formerly granted by China to Germany but transferred to Japan since the war by virtue of her capture of Tsingtao. In accordance with the conclusions arrived at in Washington, the Chinese and the Japanese Delegates sat in Peking for over six months to discuss ways and means of restoring these rights and interests to China. As a result of these deliberations, the port of Tsingtao was formally returned to China on December 10, 1922, in return for a 14,000,000 gold yen treasury note issued by the Chinese Government in payment of the improvements on public properties made by Japan during her occupation. The Tsingtao-Tsinanfu Railway was returned on January 1, 1923, against China's promise to pay 53,000,000 gold marks to Japan as its purchase price. This promissory note is redeemable in fifteen years and

bears interest at 6 per cent. It is indeed a matter of satisfaction to both China and Japan that this Shantung question, so much in prominence in international diplomatic councils during the last few years, has now been so amicably settled.

JAPAN.

The commercial and economic recovery to which Japan had been looking forward ever since the slump which followed the Armistice in 1918 was not realised to the extent anticipated. The industrial situation, although by no means acute, still remained unsatisfactory, a certain amount of unemployment, a phenomenon hitherto almost unknown in Japan, being also prevalent. This may, to some extent, be ascribed to the repercussion, particularly on the steel and iron industries and on shipbuilding yards, of the measures to reduce armaments which arose out of the conclusion of the Washington Treaties. There was a further shrinkage during the year in the values of exports and imports, the former falling by 21·7 per cent. and the latter by 15·2 per cent., compared with 1921. The adverse trade balance, however, improved and showed a reduction of 26·8 per cent. against that of the preceding year. Climatic conditions were unfavourable for agriculture; a long period of intense heat and drought in south-western Japan during practically the whole summer, unprecedented in the past forty years, seriously interfered with rice planting. In the month of February the north-eastern districts of the mainland, especially the prefecture of Fukushima, were visited by extensive floods which occasioned considerable loss of life as well as destruction of property. A few casualties and much minor damage were caused at Tokio and Yokohama by an earthquake on April 26, during the visit to Japan of the Prince of Wales.

The visit of the Prince of Wales had been long anticipated with the liveliest feelings of interest and satisfaction by all classes in Japan and was crowned with unqualified success. The Prince landed from H.M.S. *Renown* at Yokohama on the morning of April 12, proceeding at once to Tokio, where he was received by the Crown Prince Regent, who drove with him amidst scenes of the greatest popular enthusiasm to the Imperial Palace, where he was welcomed by the Empress of Japan. Subsequently the Prince of Wales proceeded to the Akasaka Detached Palace, which had been prepared for his residence during his stay in the capital. A state banquet at the Imperial Palace, in honour of the Prince, was the chief function of the evening, when cordial speeches were exchanged between the Crown Prince Regent and the Prince of Wales, who had that day received the rank of General in the Japanese Army. During his week's stay in Tokio, the Prince attended many luncheons, dinners, receptions, and balls, in addition to the annual Imperial garden party for the viewing of the cherry

blossom. The Prince was also present at a gala performance at the Imperial Theatre, visited the Imperial University and the International Peace Exhibition, and took part in a wild duck hunt. Demonstrations and games displays by the students and scholars of Tokio were a prominent feature of the entertainments at which the Prince was present. On April 19 the Prince commenced sight-seeing in rural Japan, visiting Lake Shujenji, Nikko, and the Hakone mountain district. His itinerary also included Yokohama, Odawara, and Kioto, whence a pilgrimage to the Imperial Mausoleum at Momoyama was made. Other excursions included Lake Biwa and Nara, cormorant fishing being witnessed on the River Nagara. On May 5 the Prince arrived at Osaka, where he met with a similarly enthusiastic reception to that accorded him in the capital. Kobe, Miyajima, Etajima, where the naval college was visited, and Kuré, where the naval station and arsenal were inspected, were among the last items of the Prince's tour. Before embarking at Kagoshima on May 9, on his voyage home, the Prince spoke his farewells to the Prince Regent by telephone and also despatched a farewell letter to the Japanese nation, expressing his appreciation of his welcome and the pleasure derived from his visit.

On June 20, the Imperial Household Department announced that the Emperor had given his formal assent to the betrothal of the Prince Regent to Princess Nagako, the eldest daughter of H.I.H. Prince Kunihiko of Kuni, and the betrothal ceremony duly took place at Tokio on September 28.

The Government formed by Viscount Korekiyo Takahashi after the assassination of Mr. Hara in the previous November did not long survive. The Premier desired to reorganise his Cabinet internally, but met with uncompromising opposition to his plans on the part of some of the members. A crisis appeared imminent in May, the Ministers of Agriculture and Commerce, of Education and of Railways being adverse to the proposed changes, and finding himself unable finally to cope with the situation, on June 6 Viscount Takahashi tendered his resignation and that of his colleagues to the Regent. Admiral Baron Tomosaburo Kato, who had been Minister of the Navy in the Terauchi and Hara Cabinets, succeeded him, and in less than a week formed a Cabinet, composed as follows:—

Prime Minister and Minister of Navy	Admiral Baron Tomosaburo Kato.
Minister for Home Affairs	Mr. Rentaro Mizuno.
Minister for Foreign Affairs	Count Yasuya Uchida.
Minister of Finance	Mr. Otohiko Ichiku.
Minister of War	General Hanzo Yamanashi.
Minister of Justice	Mr. Keijiro Okano.
Minister of Education	Mr. Eikichi Kamada.
Minister of Agriculture and Commerce	Mr. Kentaro Arai.
Minister of Communications	Viscount Toshisada Mayeda.
Minister of Railways	Count Enkichi Ohki.

On June 13, Count Uchida, Minister for Foreign Affairs in the Kato Cabinet, issued a statement on behalf of the new Government with regard to Japan's foreign policy, which he declared would be faithfully to give material effect to the agreements entered into, and the declarations made, at the Washington Conference. In alluding to the Shantung question, he stated that it was impossible to express too strongly the Japanese Government's appreciation of the frank and straightforward assistance rendered by Mr. C. T. Wang. Count Uchida emphasised the strict neutrality of the Government's attitude towards China as regards the contending party and factional interests which it was hoped would soon be reconciled.

The successful conclusion of the various treaties and agreements signed at Washington had a far-reaching and cumulative effect on the course of political events throughout the year, and particularly on the relations between Japan and the United States of America. The first stage in the settlement of the Yap controversy was reached when the Japanese and American representatives signed the Treaty on February 11 at Washington, the Senate voting its approval on March 1. The approval of the Japanese Privy Council and the Prince Regent was announced on June 21 and ratification was duly exchanged the same month. On June 2 the representatives of Japan and China formally exchanged ratification of the Sino-Japanese Agreement on Shantung which had been signed at Washington on February 4. The Japanese Government were thus able to congratulate themselves upon the conciliatory and far-seeing policy of their representatives at Washington, which had been mainly instrumental in creating that harmonious atmosphere which was eventually to bring about such happy results.

In addition to improving relations with the United States, the ratification of the Shantung Agreement had an equally gratifying effect in dissipating the atmosphere of unfriendliness which had been in existence between Japan and China.

Within a month of ratification, the Japanese members of the Joint Sino-Japanese Committee, including as Commissioners Mr. Obata, Japanese Minister at Peking, Mr. Akiyama, Governor of the Tsingtao Civil Administration, and Mr. Katsuji Debuchi, Counsellor of Embassy, were ready to proceed with the negotiation at Peking of the details of the Agreement. On December 1, after more than fifty meetings, the Agreement covering the details of the retrocession to China of the leased territory of Kiaochow was signed at Peking by the respective delegates of China and Japan. On December 5 the detailed agreement regarding the Shantung Railway was signed, the value being fixed at 40,000,000 yen and the rate of interest at 6 per cent. It was decided that the transfer of the railway, from which all Japanese troops had been withdrawn in the previous May, should commence on January 1, 1923, and be completed in a month's time. The formal transfer to the

Chinese Government of the civil administration of Tsingtao was effected with the minimum amount of ceremony on December 10, the last contingent of Japanese troops leaving four days later.

On June 24, the Japanese Government informed the Chinese Government through their Minister at Peking, Mr. Obata, that, in conformity with the Washington resolutions, they had decided to withdraw their post agencies in China as from January 1, 1923, and proposed that negotiations should be opened with regard to the details. The Chinese Government agreed, and four Treaties were drawn up and duly signed. They were promulgated and put into force on January 1, 1923, on which date all Japanese post offices in China were abolished, except those in leased territory and in the attached railway zone, exceptions duly provided for in the Washington resolution itself.

Another important step in regard to clearing up Sino-Japanese relations was the withdrawal of the small Japanese contingent from Hankow. On May 30 the Japanese Government announced that, being fully in sympathy with the wishes so frequently expressed by the Government and the people of China for the withdrawal of foreign troops stationed in that country, they had decided, in view of their established policy of respecting the integrity and sovereignty of China, to proceed with this measure in the spirit of the resolution adopted by the Washington Conference. At noon, therefore, on July 2, the Japanese troops were withdrawn from Hankow.

Japan was among the first countries to ratify the Washington Treaties, including the Nine-Power Treaty and the Four-Power Treaty, the Prince Regent's sanction to these and to the Naval Treaty being notified on August 5. Before that date, and even before the Privy Council had passed the Naval Treaty towards the end of June, the Government had begun to carry into effect a policy of naval retrenchment and reform, which it had also extended to the army, and, in fact, to practically all branches of the administration. It was decided early in February to reduce Maizuru, hitherto one of the most important naval stations in Japan, to the rank of a naval port as from April 1, 1923, and to discontinue the use of Port Arthur as a naval base after December 1. In April seven battleships and three battle cruisers were placed on the reserve, preparatory to being scrapped. Work on the fortifications in the Bonin Islands and Amami Oshima was suspended and the existing condition of similar works in Formosa and the Pescadores was merely maintained. With regard to *personnel*, over 12,000 naval officers and ratings were discharged. In October the Finance Department effected reductions in the naval estimates amounting to over one hundred million yen.

With regard to the army, a minute and elaborate investigation was conducted by the War Office, the General Staff, and

also by Government Departments concerned, into the question of retrenchment measures. These measures were approved by the Cabinet on June 30, and on August 15 the first steps were taken to give effect to their provisions. These included the disbandment of 400 officers, from the rank of lieutenant-general to major, and 56,000 men, and also a reduction of 13,000 in the number of army horses. By August, 1924, a total reduction of 2,000 officers was to be effected. As regards measures affecting overseas forces, a commencement was made with the reorganisation of the two garrison divisions in Korea on a home basis, the reduction affecting 4,800 men. The reduction of the six battalions on special duty for the protection of the South Manchurian railway zone was also taken in hand, as a preliminary to complete withdrawal by the year 1925. It was further decided to reduce gradually the remainder of the Japanese troops in Manchuria, a beginning being made during the year. The general scheme of retrenchment provided for a total reduction of 400,000,000 yen (40,000,000*l.*) extending over ten years, the period of compulsory military service being reduced by three months.

The Army estimates introduced in November for the 1923 appropriations showed a decrease only of 8,000,000 yen owing to the high expenditure involved in providing allowances for retiring officers and civilians in Army employ. Thereafter, however, it was anticipated by the authorities that an annual decrease of 30,000,000 yen would be possible.

The Conference between the representatives of the Governments of the Far Eastern Republic (Chita) and Japan, which had opened at Dairen on August 26, 1921, dragged on until the spring of 1922, finally breaking up on April 16 without any satisfactory agreement having been reached. The Japanese Foreign Office issued a statement on April 20, pointing out that the Government had agreed to the desire expressed by the Chita Government to negotiate for the opening of relations of amity and commerce, in the belief that this would conduce towards the stabilisation of conditions in Eastern Siberia and thus enable the withdrawal of Japanese troops from the Maritime Provinces to be effected. Five conditions, preliminary to the establishment of commercial relations between Japan and the Far Eastern Republic, were put forward by the Japanese representatives. These were: the non-enforcement of Communistic principles in the Republic against Japanese, the prohibition of Bolshevik propaganda, the abolition of menacing military establishments, the adoption of the principle of the open door in Siberia, and the removal of industrial restrictions on foreigners. A draft military agreement regarding the withdrawal of the Japanese troops was presented by the Japanese delegates, to be concluded simultaneously with the agreement put forward by the Chita representatives that a committee to be set up for the revision of the fishery agreements should also

include representatives of the Russian Soviet Government. Japan further agreed to negotiate the conclusion of a settlement of the Nikolaievsk affair immediately after a basic agreement had been reached, then to withdraw her troops from Northern Saghalien and meet Chita's wishes regarding the transfer of property then in the hands of the Japanese Government. It was further proposed by Japan that, providing agreement were reached at Dairen by the middle of April, she would withdraw her troops from Siberia, instead of providing the relief forces which were then due. Chita, however, proposed to despatch her troops immediately to Vladivostok, without awaiting the Japanese withdrawal, and also urged that a time limit be fixed for this withdrawal. Regarding this demand as an impossible one, the Japanese Government instructed their delegates to leave Dairen.

The Japanese Government, however, were unwilling to abandon the matter as hopeless, and, in their desire to expedite a settlement, decided to withdraw all Japanese troops from Siberia and other points on the mainland by the end of October. On July 28 the General Staff Office in Tokio issued orders to General Machida, Commander-in-Chief of the Saghalien forces, to send home the two battalions of infantry and one company of engineers stationed at Nikolaievsk and Decastries, and on September 27 the last contingent of these troops sailed for Japan.

Meanwhile the Japanese Government had received proposals from the Far Eastern Republic towards the end of June for the re-opening of a Conference to settle outstanding questions and suggesting the participation of representatives of the Soviet Government. The Japanese Government consented on condition that the basis of the negotiations should be what had been dealt with at Dairen and that other questions should be discussed at some later date. The Japanese Government also agreed to the inclusion of Soviet delegates at the Conference, provided that a suitable form of agreement could be found. After considerable discussion as regards the *venue* of the Conference, Changchun (Manchuria) was selected and a Conference was opened there on September 6, Japan being represented by Mr. Matsudaira, Chief of the European and American Department of the Foreign Office, and by Mr. Matsushima, formerly Consul-General at Harbin, who had also represented Japan at the Dairen Conference. The Soviet Government's delegate was M. Joffe and the Far Eastern Republic was represented by M. Janson. By September 16 accord had been reached upon the provisions of a draft agreement concerning the mutual abstention from propaganda and hostile actions, the liberty of entry and travel in the respective territories, and assurances in regard to the life and property of the respective subjects and citizens. On September 18 further articles were agreed upon regarding rights to engage in commerce, industry, and the

professions of respective nationals, freedom of trade and navigation, the opening of postal and telegraphic communications, revision of the Russo-Japanese Fishing Convention, and the abolition of restrictions hitherto imposed on foreigners with regard to mining, forestry, and other enterprises. Suddenly the smooth progress of negotiation was interrupted by the Soviet representative, who requested that the Japanese Government should fix a date for the evacuation of northern Saghalien. The Japanese representatives reiterated the firm policy of their Government that this occupation was due to the Nikolaievsk affair and would cease when a settlement of that affair had been effected. The Soviet representative thereupon declared himself unable to proceed, owing to the grave nature of the question, and requested an adjournment of the Conference pending special instructions from Moscow. The deadlock thus reached was not overcome and the Conference broke up on September 24.

On September 27, Count Uchida issued a statement on behalf of the Japanese Government expressing the Government's deep regret at the failure of the Conference, but announcing that the policy of withdrawing the Japanese troops from Siberia would not be changed. Less than one month later the evacuation of Siberia was duly effected, the last of the Japanese forces leaving Vladivostok for Japan on the afternoon of October 25. All arms and munitions in the custody of the Japanese Army had been previously handed over to the representatives of the Chita Government who took control of the city without incident. A small contingent of Japanese marines landed to form a guard for the Japanese Consulate, and one British and one American warship, as well as two Japanese warships and four destroyers, remained in the port for a short period after the evacuation.

Thus was brought to a close an episode which had long been a cause of deep concern to the Japanese Government, and had provoked considerable comment and interest both at home and abroad. Foreign disapproval of the presence of the Japanese forces in Siberia was chiefly based on the view that the Siberian expedition was a Japanese inception, whereas it had originated with the United States Government, and had been approved by the Allies during the year 1918.

In regard to home affairs, Admiral Baron Kato struck the keynote of a policy of retrenchment and reform immediately after taking office in June. He issued a circular to his colleagues in the Ministry instructing them that a reduction of 20 per cent. was to be arranged in their Departmental estimates to be included in the next budget, and with regard to the Army and Navy estimates, the reduction was to be still larger than 20 per cent.

Among other steps taken during the year with the object of obtaining the desired economies in administration, an Imperial ordinance was published in the official Gazette of September 18

abolishing the Diplomatic Advisory Board, as well as the National Defence Council, the Colonial Committee of Investigation and two other extraordinary Boards of Inquiry, one dealing with industrial and the other with educational and administrative affairs.

In the realm of social reform, the Government announced in November various measures which it had undertaken in accordance with many of the decisions of the International Labour Conference of the League of Nations. The draft conventions on unemployment and for establishing facilities for finding employment for seamen were ratified and bills were to be introduced to make amendments in existing legislation to bring it into conformity with the conventions fixing the minimum age for admission of children to industrial employment and to employment at sea. Ratification of these two conventions would follow adoption of the bills by Parliament and the consent of the Privy Council. As regarded the convention concerning the employment of women before and after childbirth, certain provisions were inserted in the Health Insurance Act of 1920. A further Bill to amend the factory laws and thus attain conformity with the draft convention concerning the night employment of women and young persons in industry, was also foreshadowed.

The year 1922 may well go down to posterity as "the conference year," for seldom have so many memorable and important gatherings been crowded into the span of twelve months, and at practically all of these meetings Japan was represented by her delegates. At Cannes were present Baron Hayashi and Viscount Ishii, the Japanese Ambassadors in London and Paris respectively. The same diplomats also represented Japan at Genoa, and Baron Hayashi was later the delegate at the meeting of Allied Premiers in London at the beginning of August. At the Assembly of the League of Nations at Geneva in September, the Japanese delegates were Baron Hayashi, Viscount Ishii, and Mr. Adatchi, Ambassador at Brussels. Japanese delegates were also present at the thirteenth Conference of the International Maritime Committee of shipowners, merchants, and lawyers, which was opened in London on October 9, several of the same delegates attending the diplomatic conference at Brussels, which immediately followed it. A further conference on the Rules of War, which took place in December at The Hague, was also attended by Japanese delegates. At the Lausanne Conference, which opened on November 20, Japan was represented by Baron Hayashi and Mr. Ochiai, the Japanese Ambassador at Rome.

The Japanese Training Squadron, which had visited England in November and December of the previous year, paid a visit to Malta in January on the way home from its world cruise. Another Training Squadron, consisting of three cruisers, under the command of Vice-Admiral Taniguchi, in the course of a

long cruise, paid a visit to South African waters in November, visiting Cape Town and Durban.

The British aviation instructors in Japan, consisting of thirty commissioned and non-commissioned officers, received in October Japanese decorations, which were granted by Imperial decree in recognition of the great service rendered by the instructors to the naval flying forces of Japan since their arrival in May, 1921. The decorations were presented at a full-dress parade held at the Kasumigaura flying station by Rear-Admiral Tajiri, of the Imperial Japanese Navy.

The Japanese Industrial Mission, headed by Dr. Takuma Dan, which had arrived in England in December of the previous year, completed its visit at the end of January. The Mission, which had for its object the consolidation of mutual understanding and co-operation in trade, as well as the investigation of the industrial system of Great Britain, had the honour of being received by the King at Buckingham Palace and was also hospitably entertained by public and municipal institutions, firms, and private individuals. The itinerary included Birmingham, Coventry, Sheffield, Bradford, Manchester, Liverpool, Glasgow, Edinburgh, and Newcastle and the Mission subsequently proceeded to the Continent.

Another Industrial Mission, headed by Mr. Reizo Yamashima, visited South America in August with the object of stimulating and rebuilding trade relations between Japan, Brazil, Argentina and other South American countries and also of representing Japan at the Brazilian Centenary Exhibition.

DUTCH EAST INDIES.

By the revision of the Constitution which was effected in Holland in 1922, the Dutch East Indies have ceased to be regarded officially as a colony, and henceforth are considered as forming part of the territory of the Kingdom of the Netherlands. The supreme direction rests with the Crown, whilst the general Government, in the name of the Crown, is carried on by the Governor-General. The intention of the revised Constitution is as much as possible to place matters of local interest in the hands of the bodies and authorities which are established in the Dutch East Indies. Preparations have already been made for introducing there a new form of Government. In the meantime the policy of decentralisation of the administration and of the emancipation of the native population is continued steadily. The new legislation, which aims at the creation of organs for local autonomy and administrative decentralisation, was enacted in February, 1922.

The development of the Archipelago was hampered in 1922 by the economic depression and its effect on the financial position. Under the influence of the boom, which had caused a veritable stream of gold to flow into the Dutch East Indies,

the authorities had spent money too lavishly on reforms and raising of salaries. The consequence of the reaction was that the deficit on the ordinary budget for 1922 was estimated at 175,000,000 guilders. Fortunately, by the end of the year, this deficit proved likely not to exceed 52,000,000. The 1923 Budget shows a deficit on the ordinary service of 88,000,000. The total expenditure is estimated at 797,000,000, and the total revenue at 615,000,000. The ordinary budget, as compared with the estimates for the previous year, show a saving of 128,000,000, whilst on the extraordinary budget 36,000,000 are saved. The policy of the Indies, as the Governor-General declared in his opening speech in the Volksraad on May 18, should aim above all things at retrenchment and increasing revenue, also the vigorous exploiting of the rich natural resources of the country.

In the Indies, as in Holland itself, official salaries have been lowered. The strength of the army has been reduced from 38,000 to 35,000 men, and orders for war material have also been reduced. The proposed raising of the import and export duties by 25 per cent., which had been estimated to yield 26·4 million guilders, was rejected on April 4 by the First Chamber, chiefly because this meant an increase in the export duties on petroleum and its derivatives. The First Chamber also pronounced itself in favour of the abolition of the existing special taxes on products of agriculture and of petroleum by the end of 1922 and a tax on those products based exclusively on ordinary profit, extra profit, and excess profit. As from January 1, 1923, the levying of export duties on petroleum and its derivatives has as a matter of fact been stopped, pending the abolition of those duties and their replacement by a refining duty or by some other tax. During 1922 the revenue was increased by the levying of a surtax on the income tax. A loan of 100,000,000 dollars was placed without difficulty in the United States during the course of the year. The total indebtedness of the Dutch East Indies was thereby raised towards the end of 1922 to about 740,000,000 guilders. Floating debt to the extent of 450,000,000 has still to be covered. In the discussion of the Budget in the Second Chamber the Minister of the Colonies, M. de Graaff, expressed his conviction that with a vigorous policy of economy during the next few years the ordinary Budget for 1925 would be fully balanced. An entire reform of the system of taxation is being prepared to that end.

By the law of March 31, 1922, the Bank of Java, simultaneously with the prolongation of its charter as a circulation bank for a term of fifteen years, obtained recognition for its notes as legal tender, such recognition, in view of the war conditions, having already been provisionally granted in August, 1914.

With regard to the general political situation in the Pacific, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Jonkheer van Karnebeek, made some important statements in the Second Chamber on February

9, 1922. He declared himself satisfied with the outcome of the Washington Conference, not only because it had lessened jealousy and suspicion in the Far East through the conclusion of the "Four Power Treaty" but also, as he said, because "Holland was included in the state of confidence which the Four Powers had desired to create." The following declaration had been made on February 5 by the Ambassador of Japan to the Dutch Minister of Foreign Affairs :—

> The Japanese Empire has concluded on December 13, 1921, with the United States of America, the British Empire, and France a Treaty with a view to the preservation of the general peace and the maintenance of their rights in relation to their insular possessions and insular dominions in the region of the Pacific Ocean. They have agreed thereby as between themselves to respect their rights in relation to these possessions and dominions.
>
> The Netherlands not being a signatory to the said Treaty and the Netherlands possessions in the regions of the Pacific Ocean therefore not being included in the agreement referred to, the Japanese Government, anxious to forestall any conclusion contrary to the spirit of the Treaty, desires to declare that it is firmly resolved to respect the rights of the Netherlands in relation to their insular possessions in the region of the Pacific Ocean.

At the same time the Ambassadors of the United States, the British Empire, and France, on behalf of their Governments, made identical declarations to Jonkheer van Karnebeek.

With regard to the Yap cables, the result of the Washington Conference was likewise favourable, since the Yap-Menado cable was granted to the Netherlands. The Minister stated that he looked forward to the conclusion of a tripartite arrangement between the United States, Japan, and the Netherlands regarding the working of the Yap cables.

CHAPTER VIII.

AFRICA: THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA—SWAZILAND—RHODESIA—MOZAMBIQUE—MOROCCO—EGYPT—SUDAN.

SOUTH AFRICA.

PREDICTIONS of industrial strife, so freely ventured towards the close of 1921, came to an evil realisation early in the new year. This conflict between capital and labour was fortunately confined to the Transvaal, but its calamitous effects were felt in every part of the Union.

On January 8, the South African Industrial Federation, acting upon a ballot of the miners, declared a general strike, a decision which not only created uneasiness among the general public and caused the postponement of the opening of Parliament until February 17, but necessitated the assembly of the Cabinet at Pretoria, in close proximity to the seat of the trouble. Under the presidency of Mr. Justice Curlewis there then followed, upon the suggestion of the Government, a series of conferences between the representatives of the Chamber of Mines and the Industrial Federation. But the demands of the

latter body made peace, or even compromise, a futile hope. Any possibility of an amicable settlement that may have existed up to this stage of the negotiations was further jeopardised by the intervention of certain Nationalists (members of the Republican and anti-Smuts party), who urged the strikers to persist in their agitation. They made speeches declaring that 90 per cent. of the people of the country were with the strikers, and that although they, as Nationalists, were opposed to revolutionary methods, their object was to establish a Republic by constitutional means.

As day followed day, the position became more and more alarming. As a safety move, the repatriation of native labourers on the mines was pushed forward with all haste, and thousands were sent out of the Transvaal to their kraals in Basutoland and other recruiting areas. The first open rupture occurred early in February, when a prominent strike leader was arrested for inciting to violence. This preceded an orgy of outrage. All along the Reef the police were in constant conflict with striker commandos. Dynamite outrages were frequent; there was much wanton destruction of property. Peaceable citizens, both white and coloured, were brutally attacked and killed in a spirit of primordial blood lust.

The full fury of the revolutionary outburst broke on March 8, and there ensued a period which has been described as the reign of the red terror. Martial Law was proclaimed on March 10. The Government forces were called out; and what had started as a strike for an improvement in industrial conditions developed into an organised attempt by the revolutionaries to usurp the functions of Government. Over 10,000 of them were arrested, and subsequently nearly 900 charges of high treason were made out. Two notorious leaders of the rebel army came to a tragic fate. They committed suicide in the Trades Hall, when that last stronghold of armed defiance was on the eve of capture.

On March 19, several of the workers' unions, acting independently of the Federation, declared the strike at an end, and forthwith there was a general move to return to work without terms. The Executive of the Federation denied all complicity in the rebellion, which was described by General Smuts in the House of Assembly, on April 22, as the work of international Socialists actuated by a desire to establish a Soviet regime after the Russian model.

The Government Indemnity Bill was adopted on April 29 by 57 votes to 44. In October, Sir Thomas Graham and Mr. Justice Lange (since deceased), as constituting the Martial Law Inquiry Commission set up by the Government, presented their report upon the cause and origin of the rebellion. They assigned the outbreak to the following causes:—

(1) To the formation of strikers' commandos and their gradual conversion into military units, to the encouragement

they received to commit breaches of the law from the augmented Executive Committee and the various bodies controlling the strike and certain political leaders of the Labour Party. (2) To the strikers' belief that they would receive armed assistance from the Free State and the Transvaal. (3) To the action of certain members of the Nationalist Party, who endeavoured to make political capital out of the industrial strike to embarrass their own party . . . and to the desire of the Nationalist elements among the strikers to take advantage of the industrial disturbance in order to obtain a Republican form of Government, to the preponderance of these men in the strike commandos, and to the encouragement given to this movement by the Republican resolution proposed by Mr. Waterston, Labour member of the House of Assembly, on February 5. (4) To the intrigues of the South African Communist Party. (5) To the belief held by a large number of strikers that the Chamber of Mines intended to remove the colour bar and displace European workers by natives, a belief fostered and encouraged by the Trade Union leaders of the Labour and Nationalist Parties and the South African Communists. (6) To the ignorance of large masses of mine workers on the Rand of the true functions of Trade Unionism, owing to the large number of agrarian workers during the war automatically becoming members of the South African Mine Workers Union. (7) To the deplorable weakness of the augmented Executive Committee in permitting an industrial dispute to be converted into a political movement, and allowing control to be taken out of their hands by armed commandos at a period when these were dominated by leaders who advocated revolutionary methods.

In the following month the Mining Industry Board, formed by the Government to inquire into the conditions in the Rand mines, presented their report, which was afterwards issued as a Government publication. The Commissioners consisted of Sir William Solomon (Judge of the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court), Rt. Hon. William Brace (ex-Labour M.P., and now Chief Labour Adviser to the British Mines Department), Sir Robert Kotze (Government Mining Engineer), and Sir Carruthers Beattie (Principal of the University of Cape Town). The main conclusions they arrived at were as follows:—

There was no necessity for the continuance of the *status quo* agreement (*see* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1921, p. 293), and its abolition after the strike was fully justified. The policy of gradually reducing the proportion of natives until eventually the mines would be worked mainly by white labour is an impracticable policy. The Commission expresses its entire agreement with the conclusions of other commissioners since 1907 on this matter, and has no hesitation in endorsing the view that under present-day conditions the employment of white unskilled labour in the mines in substitution of native labour is economically impracticable. No recommendations are made for increases in

wages on the gold mines, but the Commission is against any further reduction of earnings. In view of the economic situation in which the collieries were placed, and of the fact that there had been a substantial fall in the cost of living, the Commissioners can come to no other conclusion than that the proposal of the Chamber of Mines for reducing the wages of the white employees was justified and should have been accepted by the men. They feel, however, that misunderstanding might have been avoided if the workmen had been supplied with a complete statement on the matter in dispute either by the coal owners themselves or by an independent authority.

A suggestion made by General Smuts that Swaziland should seek incorporation in the Union, came before the Advisory Council of that territory in January. This proposal, in view of probable harbour developments at Kosi Bay or Sordwana, is one closely affecting Swaziland's prosperity and expansion; but at the moment opinion as a whole appears to favour the retention of territorial and administrative independence.

Nevertheless, in the course of the interview which the Swaziland deputation had with the Premier, the way was paved for future negotiations. It is probable that at no distant date the coal mines of the Eastern Transvaal will prove an asset of considerably enhanced value to the South African Government, and having regard to its expressed desire to find harbour accommodation on the East coast and within Union territory, in order to lessen dependence upon Portuguese facilities, a new port in direct railroad communication with the coalfields becomes an absolute economic necessity. Railway engineers are now carrying out surveys with either Kosi or Sordwana bays as their objective. General Smuts has stated, however, that the proposed line will not be constructed until Swaziland has consented to the amalgamation suggestion.

Swaziland's objections to incorporation appeared to be mainly political in character. It strongly disfavoured division of its area for attachment to any of the existing electoral districts of the Transvaal, and expressed strong disapproval of the Union's system of local government as exemplified by the Provincial Councils. But these matters are not seriously regarded as insuperable obstacles to union, which is looked upon by influential residents on both sides of the border as Swaziland's inevitable destiny.

Sir Abe Bailey, in the House of Assembly, in April, raised the question of the disputed boundary between Swaziland and Portuguese East Africa. He desired to know, in view of the fact that the joint Commission had long since closed its inquiry, when a settlement of the dispute would be arrived at. General Smuts replied that the matter was still the subject of diplomatic discussions between the Imperial and Portuguese Governments.

The mandated area of South-West Africa, formerly a German colony, has during the year been steadily reaching out

for a nearer realisation of its great promise. Industrial expansion in many directions is at the moment retarded by the absence of money and a lack of markets, largely owing to transport difficulties. It is estimated that the Protectorate has 470,000 head of large stock and 2,000,000 head of small stock, which are expected to provide about 40,000 head of the former and 70,000 head of the latter for export per annum. Apart from its admittedly valuable mineral possessions, the Protectorate is looked upon as having a big future as a ranching and cattle export country. The port of Walvis Bay is being developed as a cold storage centre. Its development under the control of the Union department of railways and harbours should be rapid.

The Union Government has now completed an important economic extension of the railway from Otjiwarongo to Outjo, at a cost of 30,000*l*.

Attempts have from time to time been made to exploit the alleged grievances of the German inhabitants of the territory, a heritage of the late regime; but Mr. Hofmeyr, the Administrator, in a statement upon this subject, says: "Having regard to the Germans in this Territory and the powers granted to the Union under the Peace Treaty, so far from being subjected to an economic war I can reasonably claim that the older population has been treated not only with great consideration but with generosity. No less than 80 per cent. of the Land Bank loans have been granted to the German inhabitants of the country, and 90 per cent. of the amounts claimed for damage during the war have been paid to Germans."

Unfortunately, there was trouble in the early part of the year between the Union Government and certain members of the Bondelzwarts tribe, over the payment of taxes. The punitive expedition sent out by the authorities killed many of the natives and captured others. Allegations of cruel repression were afterwards brought against the Government, to which General Smuts replied in the House. The Administrator's report on the occurrence, together with that of a special Commission of Inquiry, were ordered by the Premier to be submitted to the League of Nations.

As one of the indirect consequences of the Bondelzwarts affair, a movement was initiated by a section of the white population of the Protectorate, advocating the abolition of the mandatory system in favour of annexation by the Union.

Rhodesia figured prominently in the affairs of the Union during the year under review. Following protracted negotiations, its inhabitants were called upon to vote for a system of self-government or absorption in the Union as its fifth province. Prior to the referendum the advocates of the alternative policies conducted a vigorous campaign of propaganda.

On January 26 the elected members of the Rhodesian Legislative Council adopted the Draft Responsible Government

Constitution, and gave expression to the view that "this document offers the people of Southern Rhodesia a form of constitution enabling them to control their own affairs as a British colony and to work out their destiny as citizens of the British Empire." The case for responsible Government as put by Sir Francis Newton, who was the adviser to the delegation which visited this country to consult with the Colonial Office, was that independence was essential for a period, as present conditions were not favourable to an immediate fusion of interests.

In April General Smuts met a Rhodesian delegation appointed by the Colonial Secretary, and outlined the terms upon which Southern Rhodesia might be incorporated in the Union. These conditions, admittedly generous, stipulated, *inter alia*, for the recognition of Afrikaans as an official language enjoying equal rights with English, and made provision for the allocation to Rhodesia of ten seats in the Union House of Assembly and five in the Senate, and for an annual subsidy of 50,000*l.* for ten years as compensation for the abolition of the Rhodes clause in the Southern Rhodesia Customs Order of 1914. The Union further offered a development grant of not less than 500,000*l.* per annum for ten years. In an eleventh hour effort to turn public opinion in favour of absorption General Smuts toured Rhodesia eloquently preaching the gospel of territorial amalgamation. His spirited advocacy of union, however, was unavailing.

The referendum, taken on October 27, resulted in 5,989 votes being cast for Union and 8,774 for responsible Government. Rhodesia having thus emphatically declared its intention to control its own future, it devolves upon the Imperial Government to determine upon what date the territory is to be annexed to the Crown. There remain for settlement by the Crown various financial adjustments under the Chartered Company's Petition of Rights.

Prince Arthur of Connaught, as Governor-General of the Union, formally opened the Parliamentary session in Cape Town, on February 17. There was an historic scene in the House on March 20, when the Premier made a statement upon the steps taken by the Government to quell the rebellion upon the Rand. General Hertzog's suggestion that a League of Nations inquiry be invited into the causes of the outbreak was negatived by General Smuts, who said that South Africa was quite able to settle her own troubles.

Parliament was prorogued on July 20, the session having been mainly devoted to a consideration of legislative measures arising out of the rebellion. The House was summoned to reassemble on January 19, 1923.

A Bill for the Enfranchisement of Women was rejected upon its second reading by 55 votes to 51, on March 23.

In the Senate, four days later, Sir Thomas Watt, Minister of Public Works and Posts and Telegraphs, announced the in-

tention of the Government to acquire a wireless station for the purpose of establishing an adequate service with other countries of the world. Accordingly, arrangements were afterwards entered into with the Marconi Company, and this agreement now only awaits the ratification of Parliament.

The Government also extended the ocean mail contract with the Union Castle Company for a further period of two years from September 30.

On May 31 the Union Parliament adopted a Bill incorporating the railways and harbours of the South-West Protectorate in the Union system. There are 1,397 miles of railway lines in the Protectorate, and this total, added to the 9,558 miles in the Union proper, gives the South African Government control over 10,955 miles of railways. In 1922 a commencement was made with the railways electrification scheme, Natal being selected for the initiation of the enterprise.

The question of bridging the Limpopo River was again revived. Such a bridge would link Messina (the present terminus of the Union's north-eastern line) with Victoria, the southern point of the Rhodesian railways on the Bulawayo route. A bridge across the Limpopo would also open up much valuable ranching land in the south-eastern corner of Rhodesia. Unfortunately, financial difficulties still stand in the way of the realisation of this important project.

Politically, the year 1922 was notable for the party truce, or compromise, arrived at between the Nationalist and Labour organisations. General Hertzog, as leader of the former, undertook for a period of years the abandonment of the independence movement in return for an undertaking by Labour to cease its demand for a land tax. The object of this rapprochement was to strengthen the attack upon the Premier's parliamentary position.

A Portuguese delegation, headed by General Friere d'Andrade, G.B.E., a former Minister of Foreign Affairs and Governor-General of Mozambique, left for South Africa early in April to confer with the Union Government regarding the desirability of framing a new Convention between the two countries in place of the existing Treaty, expiring on March 31, 1923. On July 23 General Smuts reported to the House of Assembly that these negotiations had proved abortive. He emphasised the inadequacy of the existing agreement as regarded railway facilities, and suggested that rather than tolerate hindrance to the Union's coal exports via Delagoa Bay, the South African Government would be prepared to "get along" without a Convention.

The Union authorities proceeded with their plans to develop the Zululand port of Sordwana as an alternative to Delagoa Bay, and in August the eminent engineer, Sir George Cunningham Buchanan, left England to report upon the suitability of the site of the proposed new harbour.

Later, diplomatic interchanges took place between Pretoria and Lisbon with a view to adopting a Convention mutually satisfactory in its terms. Pending this solution to the deadlock the Portuguese Government announced on August 31 that a modus vivendi would be established.

With the appointment in January of Mr. Karl Spilhaus, of Cape Town, to the position of Commissioner of Commerce and Industry upon the Continent, South Africa gave a further indication of her entry into the markets of the world as an exporting country. Colonel Mentz, who as Minister of Defence had toured the Continent in 1921, returned to Pretoria deeply impressed with its commercial possibilities. Developments which have since taken place in South Africa's export trade, particularly to Germany, have justified the enterprise. Mr. Spilhaus landed at Southampton on March 20, and after a series of consultations with the Union High Commissioner (Sir Edgar Walton) in London, he left England a few days later to establish his Continental headquarters in Rotterdam.

MOROCCO.

French Morocco.—The year 1922 witnessed a steady consolidation of French power in Morocco, based on the military successes of the previous year. Marshal Lyautey continued to hold the post of High Commissioner of the French zone, and in that capacity to pursue his policy of opening up the country to trade and commerce. The great event of the year was the state visit of M. Millerand, President of the French Republic. Marshal Lyautey was in France for six weeks during February and March to make arrangements for the tour. M. Millerand left Paris on March 30, and arrived at Casa Blanca on April 5, after a stormy voyage in the armoured cruiser *Edgar Quinet* from Bordeaux. From Casa Blanca he motored to Marrakesh, where he was welcomed by the Sultan's son. The whole population of 100,000 turned out to meet him, and indulged in great festivities in his honour. On April 7 he went on to Rabat, where the Sultan paid him a visit in person—an unprecedented honour. M. Millerand immediately returned the call, and the Sultan made a speech expressing his satisfaction at the rapid pacification of the country and its progress in trade and industry. "This," he added, "is due solely to the Protectorate, as it has been conceived and realised by our most sincere and trustworthy guide, Marshal Lyautey. We are deeply grateful to Marshal Lyautey for having made it a cardinal principle in all his work to pay due respect to the Mussulman religion and the customs of the country. We are confident that he will never run counter to us in the duties which devolve upon us as Commander of the Faithful."

Continuing his tour, M. Millerand visited Meknes on April 11 and Fez on April 12. On his way he stopped at the holy city

of Muley Idriss, and was there thanked by the religious head of Mezuar for preventing foreigners from entering the Mohammedan sanctuaries. At Fez M. Millerand met General Berenguer, the High Commissioner of the Spanish zone, who had come over from Tetuan. He concluded his tour in Morocco with a run of 140 miles from Taza to Ujda, on the Algerian border, in a fine rain which marked the end of the drought, a coincidence which could not fail to raise his esteem in the eyes of the faithful. On leaving the country he telegraphed to the Sultan: "I shall retain a deep and lasting memory of this visit, and the conviction that France and Morocco, closely associated and proud of their great past and commercial glory, can look forward to a magnificent future in concert."

In July Marshal Lyautey was again in France, impressing on the public the need for continued military operations in Morocco. At a dinner at Lyons on July 5 he said that a third of the country was still unsubdued (*i.e.*, did not recognise the authority of the Sultan), and that it would cost more to protect the peaceful population from the plundering attacks and raids of the tribesmen in these regions than it would to subdue and pacify the latter outright. That a "forward" policy in Morocco was not altogether to the taste of the French public was shown by the fact that later in the year Marshal Lyautey was again in France addressing public gatherings on the subject. Speaking at a Conference of Chambers of Commerce at Marseilles on October 29, he said: "When we have acquired the last zone of cultivable territory, when nothing but mountains is in front of us, then we will stop. Our object is commercial and economic, the extension of external trade." As a matter of fact, the only military operations of France were undertaken late in the year, and were on quite a small scale.

Among the signs of the development of the country should be mentioned the progress made with the mole at Casa Blanca. Before the end of the year this was well in sight of completion to its length as originally planned of 1,900 metres; but it was decided as a result of closer investigation to extend it another 350 metres. Marshal Lyautey was also credited with the intention of reopening for commercial purposes the port of Agadir, which had been closed in 1760 by Muley Mohammed to punish the inhabitants for rebellion.

On October 6 a passenger and mail air service was inaugurated between Casa Blanca and Oran by M. Laurent Eynac, French Under-Secretary for Aeronautics. The journey was timed to take eight hours, including a stop at Fez. A few days later M. Eynac flew 1,875 miles over the Protectorate in five days, visiting Rabat, Casa Blanca, Marrakesh, and Fez, and establishing a "record" for a Minister of State.

Spanish Morocco.—During the whole of 1922 Spain was occupied in an endeavour, more or less unsuccessful, to retrieve

the disaster which had befallen her arms in Morocco in the July of the previous year, when the flower of her forces was entrapped and cut off near Anual. The forward march from Melilla, which had commenced in the last weeks of the previous year, was continued, and the river Kert was crossed in the first week of January. From this point, however, progress was exceedingly slow. The tribesmen were strongly entrenched in their mountains, and being well provided with arms and ammunition, were able to offer a most stubborn resistance. The successes obtained by Spain was entirely disproportionate to her expenditure of men and money. As one writer said, Morocco, instead of being a source of strength to Spain, was an open wound in her side. The costliness of the Moroccan campaign was the cause of numerous Cabinet crises in Spain, leading first to changes in the Conservative Government, and then to the replacement of the Conservative by a Liberal Government. Spain showed herself equally incompetent to make either peace or war in Morocco, and in consequence the history of the Spanish zone during 1922 records scarcely anything except a series of desultory military operations which left the situation practically unchanged.

As in the previous year, there were two theatres of operations—in the East and centre, against the Rifis, and in the West, against Raisuli. The latter in February ironically offered to "surrender" on condition of being made Governor of all the tribes in the Western zone, and receiving the arrears of his "salary"—some millions of pesetas. Negotiations with him broke down, and in April he was besieged in his stronghold at Tazarut. On April 28 the Spaniards suffered a somewhat serious set-back in attacking this place, but they persevered, and on May 3 captured the key to the valleys by which the natives received supplies in the Beni Aros district. Soon after Raisuli retired from Tazarut, and the Spaniards entered it on May 12, thus restoring their prestige in this region.

In their fighting with the Rifis the Spaniards were not so successful. In spite of the fact that they increased their Morocco Army to 150,000 men and provided them with tanks, armoured cars, and aeroplanes, they were able to make very little impression on the enemy; in fact, they only rendered them more stubborn and irreconcilable. Up to March 18 there had been a tacit agreement that the islet of Alhucemas, in the centre of the coast line, should be neutral ground, and Moors and Spaniards had been accustomed to meet and trade there. But when the Spaniards announced a blockade of the coast, the Moors immediately took the offensive, and bombarded Alhucemas, sinking a Spanish steamer of 1,500 tons which was discharging war material. The tanks proved to be ineffective, and two of them were captured; while the aeroplanes did harm only to the civil population of the villages.

At the end of March the High Commissioner, General

Berenguer, went to Madrid to consult with the Government as to the policy to be adopted in Morocco. It was decided that military operations should be reduced to a minimum, and that the Moors should be invited to co-operate more freely in the administration of the Protectorate. General Berenguer's way of putting these ideas into practice was, however, peculiar, as his return to Morocco on April 4 was followed by sinister activity on the part of the Spanish aerial forces. On April 10 these made a raid from end to end of the coast—a stretch of 200 miles—spreading great terror in the Moorish villages. As a result twenty-two chiefs of the Beni Said submitted, but the bulk of the Riff forces were infuriated and more determined than ever to have nothing to do with the Spaniards. The spirit prevailing among the Rifis was made known to the world a month or so later, when an Englishman, Mr. John Arnall, who had been living among them, found his way to Tangier, and gave an account of his experiences. He published a manifesto of the Rifi chieftain, Abd-el-Krim, which ran as follows: "We have been driven to war by Spanish religious animosity and bad treatment. The Spaniards are conducting the war with great cruelty, and are actuated by the religious fanaticism of the Middle Ages. We are more capable of governing ourselves than are the Spaniards. We desire to form a Republic, and open the country to Europeans." Abd-el-Krim followed this up in June by sending a delegation to visit England, France, and the Pope, and appeal to the British Red Crescent Society for medical aid for wounded soldiers and civilian victims of Spanish air raids. On their arrival in England these delegates presented letters demanding the recognition of the Riff republic, and stated that they would never recognise the Spanish Protectorate, civil or military.

On July 1 the Spanish Chamber cut down to 10,000,000*l.* the vote for military and naval expenditure in Morocco, and, in deference to popular clamour, recalled 20,000 men to Spain. On July 13 General Berenguer was allowed to lay down his office of High Commissioner, which he had held for three years, in order that he might defend himself against charges made against him in the Senate. He was succeeded by General Ricardo Berguette, military governor of Madrid. One of the new Governor's first acts was to liberate the native prisoners in gaol in Sheshawes. This "beau geste" initiated a policy of conciliation towards the Moors which was continued for some little time. On August 12, however, Colonel Lasquetty, chief of the native police, was ambushed and killed by the Moors while returning to Melilla from an interview with some chiefs in the interior; and relations again became more strained. At the end of August General Berguette, instead of curtailing the forward movement, as had been agreed, issued a spirited address to the Army, declaring his intention of recovering the Spanish prisoners (of whom there were about five hundred in the hands

of the Moors) and avenging their murdered comrades. Immediately afterwards, however, he returned to Madrid, and when he came back to Morocco in the first week of September, his first act was to inaugurate at Melilla amid great pomp and ceremony the new Protectorate of Spain in the Riff, which he signalised by the nomination of several Cadis. The Rifis, however, still remained irreconcilable. In October bitter complaints were made by the Spaniards that they were being allowed by the French authorities to smuggle in arms from Algeria.

During September Raisuli made a somewhat farcical "submission" which left him as independent as before. At the beginning of December he sent two of his nephews to pay homage to the Sultan's Khalifa at Tetuan. They visited the High Commissioner, and sent their uncle's salutations to the King of Spain. In the East also, during the autumn, the Spaniards achieved some minor successes, occupying Anual without opposition on November 6. But meanwhile Spain had become possessed with an intense war weariness, and considerable satisfaction greeted the announcement on December 26 that the new Government had decided to take the initiative and control of affairs in Morocco out of military hands by abolishing the post of Military High Commissioner and appointing instead a Civil Commissioner in the person of Don Miguel Villanneva. This step, however, had not yet actually been put into execution when the year closed.

EGYPT.

The year 1921 closed with the political affairs of Egypt at a complete deadlock. The negotiations for a constitutional settlement between the British and Egyptian Governments had broken down, apparently without hope of repair. The Egyptian Cabinet had resigned and no successors could be found. Zaghloul had been deported to the Seychelles by the British authorities acting under martial law. Egypt was in a state of barely suppressed rebellion against the British, and Englishmen walked in the streets of Cairo at the risk of their lives. However, although on the surface all relations between the British and the Egyptian authorities appeared to have been broken off, negotiations were still continuing. Sarwat Pasha, a member of the Cabinet that had resigned, had been offered the Premiership. He had not refused it, but made his acceptance subject to the following conditions:—

(1) The granting by the Sultan of a new constitution with a Parliament to which Ministers would be responsible.

(2) The abolition of the Protectorate and the recognition by Great Britain of the independence of Egypt.

(3) Internal autonomy and the abolition of martial law.

(4) The re-establishment of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the independent representation of Egypt abroad.

The adviserships and most of the foreign officials would go at the same time, and a new delegation would proceed to England to discuss the question of military guarantees.

It was known that Lord Allenby was in general sympathy with these claims, and when he left for England on an urgent summons on the last day of January interest rose to a high pitch. A month later he was back in Egypt with an agreed settlement in his hand. Sarwat's terms had been accepted practically without amendment, but it was laid down definitely that measures for the security of the communications of the British Empire in Egypt, the defence of Egypt against foreign aggression or interference, the protection of foreign interests in Egypt, the protection of minorities and the question of the Sudan would be reserved (see Public Documents). The Prime Minister in his statement to the House of Commons added that British rights and interests were vitally involved in the relations of Egypt, and the Government would not permit them to be questioned by other Powers. The British Government would regard as an unfriendly act any attempt at interference in Egyptian affairs by another Power and would consider aggression against Egyptian territory an act to be repelled by all means. This was considered satisfactory in Egypt, and Sarwat Pasha thereupon formed a Government. A fortnight later, Parliament having in the meanwhile endorsed the terms of settlement, the Sultan was proclaimed King Fuad of Egypt.

Not all the political leaders, however, acquiesced in the new status. The Wafd, or Zaghloul Pasha's followers, in particular protested and agitated until at length the violence of their manifestos led to the interference of the authorities and the arrest under martial law of their principal men. The arrests, the trial that speedily followed and the severe sentences that were imposed were taken quite calmly by the populace.

About the same time the Egyptian Government took steps to regularise the position of the ex-Khedive. They practically deprived him of Egyptian nationality and banished him from Egyptian soil, but they safeguarded his private property.

The succeeding months were for the most part occupied by the deliberations of the Commission that had been appointed for the drafting of a Constitution. This reported in October. In general it followed the terms of the Agreement, but despite the reservation regarding the status of the Sudan, the draft Constitution definitely includes that region among the dominions of the King of Egypt. The Commission also resolved, by two to one, not to accord racial or religious minorities special representation in Parliament.

A far less pleasant matter to record in this connexion is the number of assassinations and attempts at assassination that were made during the year. Fourteen such attacks were made, in consequence of which five British soldiers and officials were murdered and nine other British subjects wounded. The

victims of the assassins were, however, not confined to Englishmen. A new Political Party, the Liberal Constitutional Party, had been formed by Adly Pasha a few months earlier and had obtained support from many of the most stable and responsible elements in the country. Its programme, as its title implies, is intended to be Liberal and Constitutional, but when published did not differ much from that of the existing Government. Nevertheless it attracted the attention of enemies who, to the general consternation, murdered two of its prominent members in cold blood. Not long after this Sarwat's Cabinet, which had become increasingly unpopular, fell, mainly on account of differences with the King who had begun to lean in the direction of Zaghloul, still an exile, and was succeeded by one formed by Tewfik Pasha Nessim who was more in sympathy with the extremists than was his predecessor.

Despite these political troubles the financial position of the country showed exceptionally satisfactory symptoms. At a time when it was the rule rather than the exception for State budgets to show serious deficiencies, that of Egypt realised a surplus of E4,000,000*l.* as against an anticipated deficit of E2,000,000*l.* when the estimates were financed. The total revenue was nearly E42,000,000*l.* and the expenditure E38,000,000*l.*

THE SUDAN.

In the Sudan all that there is to record is a small outbreak in the Fung province towards the end of the year. It was not of a serious character. More important was the discussion regarding the future status of the Sudan that arose in Egypt. Passing reference to this has been made under the heading Egypt. The most recent authoritative British statement on the subject was one made by Lord Allenby at Khartoum in April. He there assured the people of the Sudan, who had become uneasy on the matter, that whatever new arrangements might be made for Egypt the relations between the British Empire and the Sudan would remain as hitherto.

CHAPTER IX.

AMERICA: THE UNITED STATES—CANADA—ARGENTINA—BRAZIL—CHILE—COLOMBIA—CUBA—MEXICO — PERU —URUGUAY—OTHER REPUBLICS.

THE UNITED STATES.

WHEN the year 1922 opened, it found the Washington Conference on Disarmament and the problems of the Far East (see the ANNUAL REGISTER, 1921, p. 306) still in session but rapidly winding up its work. This conference which had opened,

November 11, on an extraordinary wave of high hopes and good wishes, lost something of its hold on the American imagination as its labours continued. This was partly due to the feeling that French opposition had destroyed all possibility of a radical disarmament programme, and this in turn induced a widespread cynicism, a conviction that at best treaties were but weak restraints on the egoistic course of nations. Nevertheless, President Harding and Mr. Secretary Hughes pushed the conference through to a successful conclusion on February 6, and on February 10 the President, addressing the Senate, presented for ratification by that body seven treaties and declarations, drafted by representatives of the nine Powers assembled in the conference.

These seven treaties may be summarised in Mr. Harding's own language as follows:—

"1. The Covenant of limitation to naval armaments between our Republic, the British Empire, France, Italy, and Japan.

"2. The treaty between the same Powers in relation to the use of submarines and noxious gases in warfare.

"3. The treaty between the United States, the British Empire, France, and Japan, relating to their insular possessions and their insular dominions in the Pacific.

"4. A declaration accompanying the Four-Power Treaty reserving America's rights in mandated territory.

"5. An agreement supplementary to the Four-Power Treaty defining the application of the term 'insular possessions and insular dominions,' as relating to Japan.

"6. A treaty between the nine Powers[1] in the conference relating to the principles and policies to be followed in matters concerning China.

"7. A treaty between the nine Powers relating to Chinese customs tariff."

Profiting by Mr. Wilson's mistake in attempting to disregard the United States Senate in the Versailles negotiations, Mr. Harding had seen to it that the American delegation at the Washington Disarmament Conference included two influential representatives of the Senate in Mr. Henry Cabot Lodge, Republican, Chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, and Mr. Underwood, floor leader of the Democrats in the Senate. With these two men supporting the treaties, there was no chance for merely partisan opposition. The so-called "irreconcilables," the men who feared "entangling alliances" with Europe, were reassured by an amendment to the Four-Power Pacific Treaty—an amendment which the

[1] These nine Powers were the British Empire including Dominions, United States, France, Italy, Japan, Belgium, Holland, Portugal, and finally, China, whose interests were jealously watched and zealously defended by Mr. Wellington Koo. No delegation seemed to enjoy a better press throughout the conference than the Chinese.

administration accepted without difficulty—indicating that as usual America did not regard the treaty as in any way binding her to support by armed force any other nation whose interests in the Pacific might be attacked. Indeed, most of the opposition, such as it was, grew out of the question whether the conference had safeguarded the interests of China, but even this discussion "petered out" presently, and on March 1 the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations reported out all seven treaties and agreements with the recommendation that they be ratified. On March 24, by a vote of 67 to 27, the Four-Power Pacific pact, with its accompanying "declarations" and "agreements" was ratified by the Senate, thus bringing about in the Pacific—in place of the old Anglo-Japanese alliance which was formally abandoned by England and Japan—an agreement to use all possible peaceful means for the adjustment of difficulties arising in that important area. On March 29 the Senate ratified the Five-Power naval armament treaty and the auxiliary one denouncing the use of poison gas in warfare and condemning as "piratical" under international law submarine attacks on merchant-ships whether the latter were armed or not. On the following day, March 30, the Senate completed the task set before it by ratifying the two Chinese treaties. All these treaties were duly ratified during the year by Great Britain and Japan, but not by France or Italy.

After the conference President Harding evidently felt that he had no mandate from the country or his own party to carry the United States any further into the European situation. On March 8 Mr. Secretary Hughes notified Italy that the United States would be unable to participate in the proposed Genoa Conference on April 10. Somewhat to the surprise of the country, the reason advanced by Mr. Hughes was that the proposed conference was to be political rather than economic; the implication was that the United States might have seen its way to participate had the proposed conference been designed to consider the economic problems of Europe. But on May 15 the Administration retraced its steps still further; invited by the Genoa Conference to participate in a conference of economic experts on Russia at The Hague, Mr. Hughes again declined on the ground that Russia was, from the point of view of the United States, in an unsatisfactory political condition. On the other hand, the Administration developed the practice of sending official "observers" to these various European conferences. No plant was ever of more rapid growth, for the American "observer," silent at the Genoa Conference in April and May, was freely discussing the questions raised at the Lausanne Conference for the framing of peace with Turkey, while the remarks of the American "observer," Mr. Boyden, at the meetings of the Reparation Commission at Paris at the close of the year on the unworkability of the Versailles Treaty —as envisaged by the United States—attracted much attention,

But the device, on the whole, was too much of a compromise to suit the national temperament, and Mr. Harding was severely criticised throughout the year for his alleged shirking of the responsibilities falling to the United States in the international situation.

As a matter of fact, the President was between two fires. Friends of Mr. Wilson—whose popularity slowly but obviously increased throughout the year—and admirers of the League of Nations steadily attacked Mr. Harding for his "do-nothing policy." Furthermore, many of the leading bankers, such as Mr. H. P. Davison of J. P. Morgan & Company, Mr. Frank A. Vanderlip, Mr. Otto H. Kahn, had satisfied themselves that America's interests would suffer greatly if Europe was not straightened out and the reparation question solved; these men continually pressed the Administration to exert itself on behalf of Europe. Here, then, was a combination of political and economic forces pressing the President to intervene. On the other hand, the Middle West was profoundly suspicious of Europe; it had become cynical regarding the objects of the war and was convinced that France was a militaristic nation which could be taught the real lessons of peace only by bankruptcy. The proponents of this view were able, by a curious coincidence, to argue that the United States was practically self-sufficient economically and could "leave Europe to stew in its own juice" until it learned wisdom; the coincidence referred to was the sudden development of a "boom" in iron and steel which was reflected in related industries and more than half persuaded the Americans that the domestic market was, at least temporarily, ample for their needs.

This view, it should be added, was reflected in the Fordney-McCumber Tariff Act which passed Congress and was signed by the President on September 21. This is the highest protective tariff the country has ever known; the Administration said frankly that it hoped to raise 3,000,000,000 dollars more revenue under this Act than under any previous Act. Wall Street, the financial centre of the country, issued repeated warnings that Europe could not pay what it owed America if the latter raised its tariff walls so high as to bar out European goods, but the warnings fell on deaf ears, and there was little or no check on the scramble of the various industries, including agriculture, for the highest rates that could be extracted from Congress. Public opinion finally became thoroughly alarmed over the Bill, but too late to affect the strong combination in Congress which passed it, though it is noteworthy that both the sponsors of the Bill—Senator McCumber and Congressman Fordney—were retired to private life for their excessive zeal in the matter.

This economic nationalism was also reflected in the persistent though unsuccessful efforts of the shipowners to secure a subsidy from the Government for American shipping. This was a

measure with a peculiar personal fascination for Mr. Harding, who, although coming from an inland state, displayed an intense personal desire to see "the flag" on the high seas, however uneconomic the cost. A very remarkable Bill was drafted at the instance of the Administration, giving to American shipping every conceivable advantage over foreign shipping that ingenuity could devise. As originally drafted the Bill allotted a sum estimated at 13,000,000*l.* for the support of the merchant marine; this sum was to be secured by 10 per cent. of the import duties collected at the Customs and by tonnage charges, taxes, and fees collected on all foreign shipping entering American ports. Eventually the proposed subsidy was increased to 25,000,000*l.* Organised labour strongly opposed the Bill, and the newspapers became critical of it, but it passed the House of Representatives on November 30 by a vote of 208 to 184 with sixty-nine of Mr. Harding's fellow Republicans voting against it. It went to the Senate where so much opposition at once developed that, at the close of the year, the Bill is considered by many as good as dead.

A third domestic issue which had international repercussions was that of prohibition or, more precisely, the enforcement of prohibition. Late in March the Federal Government decided that the smuggling of liquor into the United States along the Atlantic coast line had reached such huge dimensions as largely to nullify the effect of the Prohibition Amendment to the Constitution and the Volstead Act which undertook its enforcement. The Treasury Department thereupon established what the newspapers called the "Prohibition Navy," consisting of a number of fast ex-submarine chasers. These had instructions to stop and search any vessel believed to be engaged in smuggling liquor into the United States. At first these vessels kept within the three mile limit, but presently, under instructions from the Treasury officials in Washington, they pushed out past the three-mile line and seized several vessels carrying liquor. Protests promptly followed and several cases were carried into the American courts. The latter held in every instance that the prohibition officers were within the law. While nothing of the proportions of a "diplomatic incident" occurred, both France and England protested against this procedure. On July 23 the State Department took a hand and asked Great Britain for permission to search British ships found outside the three-mile limit and suspected of "rum-running." This request was refused, October 16, and subsequently the Treasury Department and the State Department got together and the "Prohibition Navy" was then instructed in the future to follow international law and practise and restrict its searches and seizures to ships found within the three-mile limit.

Agitation for the cancellation of the war debts of the Allies made little recordable headway in America during the year. In the first place—and this was a point which Europe, not exclud-

ing England, did not realise—the money loaned to England, France, Italy, and other Powers by America was not, as Europeans commonly assumed, loaned by a rich Government too mercenary to be generous or even far-sighted. Practically every penny of it was borrowed from the mass of the people in huge, popular "Liberty Loan drives." In return for their money, the lenders received special Government bonds in small denominations and small saving certificates. These bonds, despite the Government's nominal endorsement of them, depreciated steadily in value after the Armistice as Europe's insolvency and continued militancy became clearer. Cancellation of the European debts, it was pointed out, would mean either that these bonds became utterly worthless—in which case the load would fall on numerous private individuals, farmers, school teachers, professional men—or else the whole country would have to tax itself and redeem them. In that case, so the argument ran, "America would pay reparations to Europe for having helped win the war." It was into this atmosphere that the "Balfour note" was precipitated; rightly or wrongly, that note was interpreted in the United States as a maladroit attempt to "blame America" for England's inability to cancel the debts of France and Italy. This caused intense indignation at the time, even among those New York journals which had "stood up" for England through thick and thin. However, the storm blew over, and when the English Chancellor of the Exchequer proceeded to Washington late in December to arrange for the funding of the British share of the debt, the Balfour note had been altogether forgotten and he was received with cordiality.

On March 23, Mr. Hughes informed the Allied Governments that America was entitled to a share of the German Reparation payments for the expenses incurred by her Army of Occupation. This was duly made a note of, but the fiscal returns were inconsiderable.

Relations with Germany during the year were free from incident. Mr. A. B. Houghton, U.S. Ambassador to Germany, presented his credentials at Berlin on April 22, and on May 13 Otto L. Wiedfeldt, first German Ambassador to the United States, reached Washington. American banking interests were deeply interested in the international commission of bankers, headed by Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan, which met at Paris (May 24) under the auspices of the Reparations Commission to consider whether an international loan to Germany was feasible, and whether, if feasible, it would help solve the reparations question. But the committee adjourned on June 10—subject to call from the Reparations Commission—without having found any sound basis for an international loan to Germany under the unsettled conditions obtaining. One of the most striking disclosures of the year, however, was the inquiry by the New York *World* (October 2 *et seq.*), showing that Americans

had "invested" 960,000,000 dollars since the close of the war in German paper money which had become almost worthless. Americans had bought German marks for ten cents, five cents, and a cent a piece. They had bought 80,000,000,000 paper marks at 12 dollars a thousand which in October were selling around seventy cents a thousand. America's original "investment" of 960,000,000 dollars had then shrunk to 56,000,000 dollars and was still shrinking. The assassination of Walter Rathenau, German Foreign Minister at Berlin (June 24), came as a profound shock to the American public; newspaper comment showed that the German Republic had been slowly winning its way into public confidence in America, despite the war.

France, on the other hand, came in for steady criticism throughout the year. This had begun at the Washington Conference when the French refused to permit the discussion of land disarmament and made numerous difficulties regarding naval disarmament, but it did not stop there. The whole programme of the Poincaré Government for the collection of reparations was severely criticised in America. This criticism eventually reached such volume that M. Clemenceau came to America to tour the country in an attempt to disarm American "prejudice" against France. His tour opened with a lecture in New York (November 18), and lasted for several weeks, but although his personal reception was kindly, public opinion remained unconvinced that France was taking the wise course toward Germany. In the United States Senate M. Clemenceau's mission was severely criticised by Senators Borah, Hitchcock, and others.

Relations with Japan during the year were greatly improved as the result of the understandings reached at the Washington Conference and the signing of the various Pacific treaties, including one over the island of Yap (which came into effect on July 13). The only other event bearing upon the relations between the two countries was the decision of the United States Supreme Court (November 13), that Japanese are not eligible for citizenship in the United States because they do not belong to the "white race" within the meaning of Section 6,129 of the U.S. Revised Statutes which restricts naturalisation to "free white persons" and those of African descent.

In the Near East America intervened chiefly to make sure that her nationals enjoyed the "open door" to whatever concessions were available in the mandated territories and the remnants of the Turkish Empire. At the Turkish Peace Conference at Lausanne, which opened on November 20, representatives of the American oil interests were so much in evidence that the Democratic newspapers accused Mr. Secretary Hughes of furthering their demands, and dubbed him "Secretary of Oil." During the year England and America reached a definite understanding regarding the oil opportunities in Meso-

potamia, but less headway was made by the Americans in securing oil concessions in Turkey. During much of the year there was a controversy in the States between the Standard Oil companies and certain "independent" companies over Turkish concessions, but the year closed without the dispute reaching any adjustment. In Protestant Church circles there was much disturbance over Turkish atrocities in the Turco-Greek war which forced the Government to agree (June 3) to join with other interested Governments in an investigation of alleged Turkish atrocities in Anatolia. Considerable sums were collected in America for the relief of the refugees, but Congress declined to vote any money, having appropriated and expended, through the energetic efforts of Mr. Secretary Hoover, 20,000,000 dollars for the relief of the Russian famine victims.

America's freedom from the jealousies and animosities of the Old World gave her a sense of moral superiority, but in the New World she found herself in no such enviable position. For the first time in her national history the United States caught a clear glimpse of the anti-American feeling that is rampant in South America. In some candid contributions which appeared in the *Journal of International Relations* for January and April, and the *Political Science Quarterly* for September, Mr. J. Fred Rippey told the country of the spread of "Yankeephobia" in the South and Central American Republics where, to quote the Colombian writer, José Maria Vargas Vila, the famous Monroe doctrine is regarded as "the jawbone of an ass brandished in the hands of Cain." According to Mr. Rippey, the anti-Americanism current in Spanish-American literature in the '50's has again revived, more strongly than ever. It is based partly on Latin dislike of what is called "Yankee materialism," and partly on a dread of what the South and Central Americans are pleased to call "American imperialism." He cited as typical of this sentiment the letter addressed to President Wilson in 1912 by the leading Argentine writer, Manuel Ugarte, in which, after giving a number of concrete criticisms of American policy in South America, the writer says: "In short, we desire that the United States abstain from officiously intervening in the domestic policies of our countries, and that they discontinue the acquisition of ports and bays on the continent; . . . we ask, in short, that the star-spangled banner cease to be a symbol of oppression in the New World." According to Rippey, the Pan-American movement with its headquarters in Washington, D.C., provokes only derision South of the Rio Grande.

These articles caused surprise and considerable comment, and may, perhaps, have been that which inspired the *Christian Science Monitor* of Boston to make an investigation into the Caribbean and the Central American situation for a series of articles on "American Imperialism." Throughout the year the issue, a novel one to Americans who have not heard it discussed

much since the acquisition of the Philippines after the Spanish-American war, was continually being injected into public consciousness. First came a protest from the inhabitants of the territory of Porto Rico against the American Governor-General, E. Mont Reily; then a protest from Haiti against the alleged "iron rule" of the American marines; off and on the Santo Domingans protested against American intervention and the very considerable loan which they were pressed by Mr. Hughes to float; while from time to time, too, the Filipinos demanded the evacuation of their islands. Mr. Harding's reply to a Filipino delegation which visited Washington (August 18) was that the time was not yet ripe for independence. To the more or less academic question as to when the time would be ripe, Mr. Harding was unable to give a definite answer. If it develops, as newspaper reports suggest, that the oil belt of the Dutch East Indies has been found to extend under the Philippines, it is quite unlikely that the American Republic will do anything precipitate in the matter of "turning the Philippines adrift." But the issue—the control of other countries by a democracy—is unquestionably looming larger in American domestic politics. Relations with Mexico continued strained through the year. The Republicans took precisely the same stand as the Democrats under Mr. Wilson and refused to "recognise" the Government of Mexico so long as the latter insisted upon legislation taxing American oil concessions already in existence 75 *centavos* a barrel.

Two domestic difficulties occupied the country throughout the greater part of the year. One was industrial, the other social. On April 1 the soft-coal miners struck and completely tied up the production of soft coal for twenty weeks. On May 28 the United States Railway Labour Board ordered a 13 per cent. cut in the wages of 400,000 maintenance-of-way men in an effort to reduce railway costs and eventually freight rates. This caused considerable disturbance among the railway brotherhoods, who attempted unsuccessfully to argue that the railway properties had been prosperous enough—as evidenced by their dividends—to be able to reduce freight rates out of their earnings instead of out of labour costs. Something of a "boom" in iron and steel was under way, and business became very nervous over the prospects of trouble, which arrived, however, through another door. On July 1 about 90 per cent. of the 400,000 railway shopmen struck and severely crippled the railroads from coast to coast. Much bad feeling was aroused on both sides, so much so that President Harding in a message to Congress (August 18) protested against the lawlessness displayed by both sides. But the Supreme Court poured oil on the flames in a decision (delivered June 5 and heatedly discussed throughout the year) to the effect that a union, although not incorporated, could be sued for damages by an employer who had suffered "unlawful injury" at the hands of the union, and,

further, that a union might be held liable as a "conspiracy in restraint of trade" and in violation of the Sherman Anti-Trust Law. This decision seems certain to become an issue between organised labour and American industry. The rail strike ended in September with the complete defeat of the men.

But even more discouraging—to judge from the comments of newspapers and public men—was the continued and unexpected rise to unpleasant eminence of the Ku Klux Klan with its fantastic ritual, its technique of violence, and its avowed hostility to Roman Catholics, Jews, negroes, pacifists, and "Bolshevists." During 1921 the newspapers, especially in the North, had conducted such a campaign of ridicule and exposure against it, showing the huge profits of its promoters and the "un-American character" of its methods that every one assumed the organisation was dead. It was far from dead, however. The notoriety served to advertise it, and the Klan rose rapidly in membership. In many of the Southern states —and in at least one Northern state, that of Oregon—the Klan went into politics with considerable success. It elected, for example, the United States Senator from Texas. In Oregon it was instrumental in securing the passage of a law forbidding children to attend religious or private schools after 1926; this was aimed at the Roman Catholic parochial schools. Its unsavoury record of tar-and-feather parties, of murders and tortures and other forms of mob violence continued. Nevertheless, the public criticism and disgust seemed gradually to tell on the spirits of the promoters, for in the spring they issued an "edict" forbidding the Klansmen to wear their masks and robes except within the lodge halls, and in December they withdrew the "ban" against Roman Catholics in what appeared to be a belated attempt to consolidate their position as an anti-negro and anti-Semitic movement. Kansas began legal proceedings to drive the Klan out of the state, but this was widely criticised as merely an imitation of the sort of coercion for which the Ku Klux Klan itself was condemned. Individual Protestant churches here and there displayed some friendliness toward, or at least curiosity about, the "ideals" of the Klan but the organised church bodies everywhere condemned it. For the year 1922 one authority declared that fifty-seven persons were lynched in the United States—fifty-one negroes and six whites. Thirteen of the victims were taken from jails and seventeen from officers of the law outside jails. On the other hand, there were fifty-eight instances in which officers of the law prevented lynching. Fourteen of these were in Northern States and forty-four in Southern States.

A hard year, made harder by the President's apparent inability to give his party or the country a firm lead on any issue except the tariff and the ship subsidy, ended with a political landslide at the November elections. Having, two years before, repudiated Mr. Wilson with an emphasis never previously

achieved in a presidential election, the country found itself saddled with a huge Republican majority, representative, for the most part, of business interests worried over competition from bankrupt Europe, and determined to increase the so-called "emergency tariff" so as to ensure protection. Both Houses were cheerfully busy with this task and seemingly indifferent to the other economic problems confronting the country. The result was that the country, irritated, gave the Administration and the Republican Party an overwhelming rebuke. So many Republican congressmen were defeated on November 8 that the party's majority in the lower House was cut from 150 to 15! Of the Republicans elected many belong to the so-called "Radical *bloc*" and follow the lead, not of Mr. Harding but of Senator La Follette, an anti-war senator, who was triumphantly re-elected in Wisconsin. In the Senate the Administration's former majority of twenty-two was cut to ten—again with several defections to the "Radical *bloc*." For the next two years, the remainder of his administration, the President will have a highly critical Congress to deal with.

CANADA.

With the opening of the year 1922 a new phase began in the political history of Canada.

The Conservative Party had sustained an overwhelming defeat at the General Election of December, 1921 (see ANNUAL REGISTER, 1921, p. 319), and as the main features of the Progressive (Farmers') programme were alike in principle to the policies of the Liberal Party, it was generally expected that the new Liberal Leader, Mr. Mackenzie King, when called upon to form a Cabinet, would welcome some form of rapprochement with the Progressives. The Prime Minister did, in fact, invite Mr. T. A. Crerar, the Farmers' Leader, to join his Cabinet, not, however, on the basis of a coalition, as was supposed in some quarters, but, although the Progressives were largely in support of the new Government, this invitation was not accepted.

It was therefore with a majority of only one in the House of Commons that the re-formed Government began its first session. Lord Byng, for the first time since his arrival as Governor-General, opened Parliament (this being the Fourteenth) at Ottawa on March 8.

The Hon. Rodolphe Lemieux, a prominent French-Canadian, was elected Speaker of the House of Commons, and it was soon apparent that a strenuous session faced the new legislators. Of the varied issues adumbrated by the Speech from the Throne, those outstanding were Tariff revision, Trade extension, Immigration, Co-ordination of transportation, Wheat marketing, Re-establishment of returned soldiers; Control of natural resources of the three Western Provinces, and National Defence.

In the interval since the last Parliament the International Conference on Disarmament had been held at Washington, on which occasion Canada was represented by her ex-Premier, Sir Robert Borden, and ratification of the treaties signed on behalf of the Dominion was also the subject of debate in the new Assembly.

Early in the Session the Government had encountered obstruction on its Estimates, but on the introduction of the Budget in June, by the Hon. W. S. Fielding, the veteran Canadian Parliamentarian, something of a crisis occurred. The Minister himself frankly admitted that the year's finances presented many difficulties. The main estimates called for an expenditure of 466,000,000 dollars, and if the revenue were maintained on the same basis as the preceding year the country was faced with a deficit of 95,000,000 dollars, taking no account of the likelihood of a continued decline in the returns from income and other taxation. But it was on Tariff revision, the standing *bête noire* of Canadian statesmen, that the more serious obstacles occurred. It was claimed that the Government had given definite pledges of drastic tariff reduction, and the Opposition and Progressive Parties asserted that the actual proposals of the Minister of Finance came far too short of these promises. Debate followed debate. The Progressives endeavoured to move an amendment which described the Budget proposals as wholly inadequate, and sought a declaration that the principle of protection as a basis of fiscal policy was unsound and not in the best national interests. The Prime Minister, on the other hand, claimed that the tendencies of the Budget were in the direction of Free Trade, while Sir Lomer Gouin (Minister of Justice and Attorney-General) contributed an argument in favour of a policy of modified protection. At one time it was feared that the Bill would not go through at all. At length certain modifications were made in the taxation proposals and the Budget was put to the vote. To the relief of the Government the result was a majority of 18 for the measure, 9 Progressives voting in its favour.

The main provisions of this Budget as amended and adopted were:—

New stamp taxes on cheques, receipts, stocks, bonds, and other business documents;
Increase of 50 per cent. in the Sales Tax as instituted in 1921;
Increased preference on British goods of certain classes; and
New valuation for tariff purposes of goods from Germany and other countries with depreciated currency, *i.e.*, valuation to be based on the cost of production of similar goods in England or a neighbouring country.
Small luxury taxes were also to be levied on confectionery, tobacco, etc.

Of these the increased Sales Tax was regarded as the chief revenue producer, while the revised basis of valuation in connexion with depreciated currency was considered an important concession to the Protectionists.

Two noteworthy pieces of legislation were enacted in connexion with national defence. Formerly the Department of the Naval Service and the Department of Militia and Defence (including the Canadian Air Force) were administered by separate Ministers, but by the National Defence Act, 1922, the whole of Canada's defences were amalgamated and placed under one administrative head to be known as the Minister of National Defence, the first being the Hon. George P. Graham. Naval policy provided material for several interesting debates. Originally 2,500,000 dollars had been sought for the Naval Service. This was considered excessive, and a new arrangement requiring an appropriation of only 1,500,000 dollars was announced by Mr. Graham. Under this scheme the cruiser *Aurora* and the two submarines which had formed part of the gift made by Great Britain in 1920 were laid up, and several naval colleges closed. Further, all the officers on Service in Canada from the Royal Navy were asked to return, and only a small permanent force was retained. A Naval Volunteer Force was, however, created to be trained in coast protection, mine-laying, mine-sweeping, etc., the calculation being that about 1,500 men could be secured annually for such a Force.

Mr. Meighen, Leader of the Opposition, attacked the scheme, stating that it was incompatible with the part which Canada claimed and hoped to play as an integral part of the British Commonwealth. Against this view Mr. Mackenzie King and other Liberal speakers argued that neither did the world condition demand, nor Canadian finances permit a larger naval expenditure at that juncture; that the plan followed the traditional policy of the Liberal Party, and that the measure was not to be regarded as final, being capable of immediate expansion in times of emergency. With the support of the Progressives, whose leader advocated a five-year naval holiday, the Government carried the economies proposed.

Other statutes were for the establishment of a Wheat Board for handling the grain crop; the arbitration of differences arising out of the restoration of the natural resources of the Western Provinces; the restriction of Orientals from entry into British Columbia; the ratification of the Peace Treaties with Turkey and Hungary, and numerous minor Acts including Amendments to the Soldiers' Civil Re-establishment Act, the Animal Contagious Diseases Act, the Dominions Election Act, the Canada Temperance Act, and the Canada Shipping Act.

Parliament adjourned at a late hour on June 28. Immediately after prorogation the Governor-General left for an extended tour of the Western Provinces, and the Prime Minister announced that the next session would open in January, 1923.

In July the Canadian Premier, accompanied by his Minister of Defence, visited Washington in connexion with the Rush-Bagot Agreement of 1817 by which the use of warships on the Great Lakes was prohibited, and suggested that this Agreement

should be replaced by a permanent treaty. During the conference problems relating to fisheries, the great waterways, and reciprocal treatment in income taxation were also subjects of discussion. Negotiations on the desired treaty followed, and Mr. King was greatly pleased by the reception accorded to Canada's suggestions. Later in the year Mr. Fielding also visited Washington to discuss tariff and financial matters with the American state officials.

From time to time throughout the year the desirability of a direct and permanent representation of Canada in the United States capital was mooted both in Parliament and in the Press. A general feeling prevails that the numerous important questions arising solely between the two countries, divided by an invisible boundary line of 3,000 miles, justify a suitable diplomatic appointment. Recognition of this feeling has been expressed by the Imperial Government who have signified willingness to the change of present procedure by which all American-Canadian matters are dealt with through the British Ambassador at Washington and the Colonial and Foreign Offices in London. But although many views on this constitutional development have been urged from both sides, and the names of eminent Canadian statesmen (notably Sir Lomer Gouin, Sir Robert Borden, and Sir Charles Fitzpatrick) have been mentioned in this connexion, no appointment has yet been made.

With the many domestic problems demanding consideration and solution, Canada had but partially realised her national responsibilities in the Near Eastern situation, involving the Turkish threat to the freedom of the Straits. During the Premier's brief absence from the capital in September war clouds had been fast gathering, and it was not without some measure of consternation that the urgent cable from the Imperial Cabinet was received inviting the Dominion to share in providing contingents for the Near East (see p. 106). The sudden imminence of war created misgiving throughout Canada, but prompt volunteering for war service came from many quarters. After consultation with his colleagues, Mr. King replied to the invitation that Canadian opinion demanded the authority of Parliament as a necessary preliminary to the despatch of a contingent, and that the Government would welcome further information in order to decide upon the advisability of summoning Parliament. The Cabinet met and preparations for the meeting of Parliament in special session were on foot, when more reassuring news arrived and it was found that, with the crisis passed, no further steps on the part of Canada were necessary.

During the year a number of delegates from Ottawa visited England and, with the High Commissioner in London, attended several conferences with the British Authorities on the subject of the importation of Canadian cattle into the United Kingdom. A Royal Commission had already reported in favour of their

admission, but a number of important points had yet to be considered. Eventually the Home Government passed the necessary legislation, the Bill receiving royal assent on December 15. The lifting of the embargo which had been in operation for over thirty years was received with widespread satisfaction in the Dominion, and the effect on the Canadian markets was marked and immediate. The existence of an embargo on cattle from Canada for reasons which had long been untenable was naturally provocative of an unfriendly spirit among Canadian farmers, and its removal therefore not only gave a distinct fillip to the whole of the live stock industry of the Dominion but did much to restore the spirit of cordial co-operation between the two countries.

The appointment in October of Sir Henry Thornton, the former manager of the Great Eastern Railway in England, as Chief Executive of the new board of directors of the Canadian National Railways was significant of Canada's determination to rival her great southern neighbour in transportation on a trans-continental scale. Having been a source of anxiety to successive Governments for years past, the direction of the State-owned railways, covering over 20,000 miles and now including the Grand Trunk Railway, was thus placed in the hands of one whose organising and administrative power, combined with a frank and genial personality, won for him a cordial reception on his arrival in Canada. With an ever-increasing population and export trade, the Dominion's need of economic and efficient transportation from coast to coast has become imperative, and great results are expected from the new control.

The rise of the Farmers to power has become a dominant feature in recent Canadian politics. The three Farmer Governments of Ontario, Manitoba, and Alberta have well demonstrated Progressive administrative ability, yet from the outset there has been division in the Agrarian ranks as to whether they should remain a distinctly class party or whether they should broaden out and become the representatives of a national movement.

The retirement in November of Mr. Crerar, the able Progressive leader who enjoyed great personal prestige, did much to bring matters to a climax. In his valedictory letter to the party meeting at Winnipeg he denounced the idea of occupational politics, declared himself against any fusion or alliance with the Liberals, and advocated the organisation of Progressive associations which would attract other classes than farmers in every constituency. Further, Mr. Crerar advised certain modifications of the party programme, one of which was the provision of Free Trade with Great Britain within five years, and insisted upon Parliament giving a definition of Canada's exact constitutional status. Mr. Drury, the Farmer Premier of Ontario, also urged the formation of "a people's party representing all classes," but his advocacy met with strong

hostility from Mr. J. J. Morrison, Secretary of the United Farmers of Ontario, and Mr. H. W. Wood, the energetic President of the United Farmers of Alberta. Ultimately, at the Annual Convention of the Farmers of Ontario, the following resolutions were passed:—

1. That no change be made in the form of organisation for political purposes;
2. That the Convention reaffirms its adherence to the policy of complete autonomy for constituencies; and
3. That the Convention is opposed to the transformation of the Farmers' movement into a new political party.

In Alberta the Farmers expressed their complete sympathy with this attitude. The whole party thus maintains its organic independence, and Mr. Robert Forke, of Brandon, was elected Chairman of the Parliamentary group to succeed Mr. Crerar.

With an area greater than that of the United States, but a population less than that of New York State, the need for a steady influx of settlers in Canada will for long be of paramount importance, and immigration continues to receive the closest attention of the Federal authorities. The new Minister of the Interior, Hon. Charles Stewart, has made every endeavour to acquaint himself with fields from which Canada might hope to attract immigrants, consulting with the principal officials of the Imperial Government and the United States Government as well as making a comprehensive survey of conditions in Canada. The present Government's policy provides that the restrictions hitherto imposed on other than agricultural and domestic labour shall be mitigated, if not entirely removed, and that immigrants with capital will be encouraged. Tenant farmers, particularly from Great Britain, the United States, and Northern Europe are to be sought, and a vigorous advertising campaign begun by Press and lecture in those countries.

Further, schemes have been devised in conjunction with the British Government and other authorities for systematic emigration, including arrangements by which children—especially the orphans of Imperial ex-soldiers—are to be sent annually from Great Britain to new homes and new prospects.

Several international commercial treaties were signed during the year. Besides conducting negotiations with the French Government which resulted in the signing of an agreement between France and Canada, the Hon. W. S. Fielding (Minister of Finance), and the Hon. Ernest Lapointe (Minister of Marine and Fisheries), had discussions on similar questions with the Belgian Government at Brussels and with the representatives of the Spanish and Italian Governments in London and Paris. By the Franco-Canadian Commercial Convention France grants Canada the minimum tariff on 128 items, and on the remainder Canada receives as favourable treatment as is granted to the United States. Reciprocally, Canada grants France the Canadian intermediate tariff and favoured nation treatment generally. At

the request of the Belgian Government negotiations with them were suspended, but a treaty respecting commercial relations between Italy and Canada was concluded at the Foreign Office in London in December. The Spanish Government was asked to maintain for another six months the existing commercial relations which had already been allowed to stand pending arrangements arising out of the treaty recently made by Spain and Great Britain. Another reciprocal trade agreement, chiefly for granting preferential rates, was drafted in Melbourne between the Governments of Canada and Australia, during the visit of the Hon. James Robb, the Canadian Minister of Trade and Commerce (see p. 305).

In provincial politics considerable interest was aroused in Manitoba by the defeat of the Government in the Legislature on a vote of confidence. Parliament was dissolved on April 6 and as a result of the General Election in July the Liberals were defeated, the returns being: Progressives 28, Liberals 9, Conservatives 7, Labour 6, and Independents 5. Mr. John Bracken, President of the Manitoba Agricultural College, was elected Premier and the new Cabinet was sworn in on August 8.

In Saskatchewan the Hon. C. A. Dunning, Provincial Treasurer and Minister of Agriculture, became Premier in April in place of the Hon. W. M. Martin, on the latter's appointment as Judge of the Provincial High Court, and a new Cabinet was formed during the same month.

Several changes were made in the Legislature of British Columbia. These included the withdrawal of Hon. Dr. J. H. King on his acceptance of a portfolio in the Federal Cabinet in succession to the Hon. Hewitt Bostock, who was appointed Speaker of the Senate.

Federal bye-elections resulted in the Conservatives retaining Lanark and the Government holding the four seats of Megantic, Jacques Cartier, Halifax, and Gloucester.

Other noteworthy events of the year were the harvesting of record field crops, the total value being estimated at 984,139,500 dollars; the rapid recovery of the Canadian dollar to almost par rate value; the destruction by fire of a number of public buildings and churches, including the historic Basilica at Quebec, and the remarkable expansion of wireless telegraphy not only by private enterprise but by the official establishment of communication with the Far North and the broadcasting of market reports and other information for the guidance of farmers.

Events of interest abroad included the granting in perpetuity by the French Government of 250 acres of ground on Vimy Ridge for a Canadian Memorial Park, which was accepted in Paris on behalf of Canada by the Hon. Rodolphe Lemieux; the holding of the annual dinner in London in celebration of Dominion Day, at which speeches were delivered by H.R.H. The Duke of York and the Rt. Hon. Winston Churchill, supported by over 400 guests from both sides of the Atlantic.

In the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada in London two important changes took place. These were the appointments of the Hon. Peter C. Larkin as High Commissioner in succession to Sir George Perley, and Mr. Lucien T. Pacaud (formerly Member of Parliament for Megantic, P.Q.), as Secretary to the High Commissioner's Office, following the retirement of Mr. W. L. Griffith.

LATIN AMERICA.

ARGENTINA.

From the political point of view the year 1922 has proved an eventful one for Argentina. On October 12 the Presidential term of office of Doctor Irigoyen came to an end, and Doctor Marcelo Alvear was raised to the Presidency. The election of this high official proved a very popular one not only in Argentina itself, but throughout Europe and the United States. Before assuming office the President made a tour of various European countries, including Great Britain, with the happiest results as regards the respective foreign relations. The political outlook may be said to be very favourable in almost every respect.

As regards labour, the problems of which for some years now have vexed Argentine statesmen as well as a number of foreign capitalists owning a stake in that Republic, the situation here, too, shows a distinct improvement. Strikes have tended steadily to decrease in number, and the attempted lawlessness of the strikers which was so marked a feature of the years 1918 and 1919 seems practically to have died away.

In industry and commerce, on the other hand, the situation has been unfavourable. The low prices which have ruled both in the meat and grain markets have militated strongly against the success of the agricultural interests. To such an extent has this become evident that the Argentine Government has sent to Great Britain a special commissioner, Señor Nicolas Calvo, to investigate the conditions of the British meat market. Notwithstanding these unfortunate circumstances, the general commercial tone in the Republic has remained healthy; very considerable strides have been made in recently organised local industries, and there seems no doubt that the near future will show a very marked improvement in almost every respect—an improvement, indeed, which is already being felt by the British-owned railways, the situation of which has altered very much for the better during the past twelve months. The rate of exchange, moreover, has steadily tended to improve.

BRAZIL.

One of the principal events in Brazil was the celebration of the centenary of the Republic. For the occasion an important Exhibition was held in Rio de Janeiro (opened on September 7).

The British Pavilion was perhaps the most important of its kind, and the ceremonies were marked by the visit of a powerful British Fleet. Special missions also came from many other countries, and a delegation of members of the British House of Commons was likewise present. On the occasion of the centenary festivities it was officially announced that the population of the Republic, which in 1822 scarcely attained four million people, had now risen to over thirty million. The centenary year was employed for the creation of a National History Museum in Rio.

On November 15 Doctor Arturo da Silva Bernades was elected President in place of Doctor Epitacio da Silva Pesoa. The last act of the retiring President was to sign a decree sanctioning the establishment of a wireless telephone service on Brazilian territory. Plans were also passed for the founding of a new naval port and dockyard at Ribeira, which, it is considered, will afford a powerful naval base.

In commerce, the year 1922 has proved anything but favourable to Brazilian interests. It is true that a certain revival has occurred in the gold-mining industry, but the staple products of the Republic, such as coffee, sugar, and rubber, have remained in a depressed condition, while the very marked fall in the Brazilian exchange has proved rather a disastrous factor in the working of the various Brazilian industries.

CHILE.

In Chile the main political situation as regards home affairs remained unchanged. In foreign affairs the old-standing difficulties with Peru concerning the ownership of the nitrate provinces (Tacna and Arica) were the subject of constant negotiations, and at one time it appeared as though the matter would be completely settled before the end of the year. This seems to have proved beyond the power of the various negotiators, whether in Santiago, Lima, or Washington. There are some, however, who speak hopefully of an actual settlement in the course of the coming year. In this respect it may be mentioned that Señor Agustin Edwards, the Chilean Minister to Great Britain, has been appointed President of the League of Nations.

Commercially, Chile still suffers from the depression which has affected the Republic for the past few years, although there are symptoms of a somewhat improved situation. As in the case of Brazil, the exchange has told heavily against the country. One of the first signs of a completely new movement is a projected law to limit the extension of wine-growing lands, and to prevent the sale of alcoholic liquors in the various zones of the Republic.

On November 10 the northern coast of Chile suffered from a severe earthquake, which, accompanied by a gigantic tidal wave, wrought great havoc in the various coastal regions and was responsible for great material damage.

COLOMBIA.

During the past year General Jorge Holguin has been replaced as President by General Ospina, on the expiration of the former's term of office. The movement towards industrial development which began to be significant in 1921 has continued, and it is likely that the railway communications will be greatly improved in the course of the coming year. Civil aviation is also being carried out on a growing scale with marked success. One of the most important results of this will be that before long the capital, Bogota, will be rendered far more accessible.

CUBA.

Cuba, after a period of severe depression, has now regained much of its prosperity. The chief factor in bringing about this condition of affairs is the improvement of the sugar market, on which the island largely depends. Various new banking institutions are now being planned, and very considerable industrial development is anticipated by the Cubans.

MEXICO.

The symptoms of progress inaugurated under the government of the President, General Obregon, have continued, and, on the whole, it may be said that the situation of Mexico is in a more satisfactory condition than has been the case for a number of years.

Relations with foreign countries continue to extend, and, although Mexico is not yet diplomatically recognised either in Great Britain or the United States, it is likely that, if the present conditions continue, this event will come about in the near future.

PERU.

In Peru the chief points of interest have been industrial and commercial. The United States has shown itself extremely active in its attention to Peruvian internal enterprise, while numerous plans are being considered by capitalists in Great Britain to further the development of many of those districts which have hitherto remained practically untouched. The political difficulties with Chile have been alluded to in the note on that Republic.

URUGUAY.

From the political point of view there is nothing of importance to record in Uruguay. Notwithstanding the advanced social enactments of the Government, strikes are still prevalent from time to time, one of the most notable of last year being that of the telephone employees.

Considerable progress has been made with the transport links with Argentina, and, in addition to the aviation service, a more rapid steamship service is now available between Montevideo and Buenos Aires.

Commercially, much the same circumstances have affected Uruguay as Argentina, and the low prices ruling in the cattle market have adversely affected the Uruguayan landed interests.

Quite lately some notable marble quarries have been discovered in the neighbourhood of Colonia.

A new treaty in connexion with coastal trade has been inaugurated between this Republic and Argentina.

OTHER REPUBLICS.

In the remaining Republics of Latin America there is little of importance to record. In Venezuela a spirit of industrial enterprise has become evident; in Nicaragua the formidable volcano of Santiago was in constant eruption during the month of September; in Paraguay civil war between the Government and the rebels continued well-nigh throughout the whole of the year; and in Guatemala General José Maria Orellana was elected President.

On the whole, it may be said that the entire continent is awaiting the reconstruction of the finances of the world in general before being in a position to resume the natural prosperity due to its own products and resources. The condition of nearly all the Republics, however, has been one of tranquillity.

CHAPTER X.

AUSTRALASIA: THE COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA—NEW ZEALAND.

COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA.

DURING 1922 the chief problems faced by Australians were curiously similar to those in the United Kingdom. On the economic side, there was the unwillingness of organised Labour to assent to wage reductions necessitated by the fall in world values. In politics, there was the effort to oust a "Win the War" Government, which finally necessitated a General Election in December.

The difficulty of adjusting wages to falling prices was the greater problem, because the level of wages in Australia is largely determined by minimum wage awards in the Federal Arbitration Court, the basis being the 7*s.* a day laid down by Mr. Justice Higgins in the Harvesters' Case in 1907. Early in 1922 the high wage level threatened to bring about a paralysis

of the manufacturing industries. Thus, the greater part of the steel industry at Newcastle in New South Wales was forced to close down. During 1921 there had been similar decisions regarding the Mount Lyell Mine in Tasmania and the Mount Morgan Mine in Queensland. In both cases the workers, when faced with a reduction of wages, replied that the matter was one for the Arbitration Court. In New South Wales, the wage problem was further complicated because in February, 1922, Mr. Dooley, the Labour Premier, announced that his Government, if successful at the polls, would legislate to maintain a basic wage of 4*l.* 5*s.* for the whole of 1922. Such action would have removed the determination of the living wage from an independent court of law to the Governments of the day in the various Australian States. The problem of the adjustment of wages to falling prices was now so complex that Mr. Hughes, the Australian Prime Minister, called an Economic Conference, including representatives of capital and labour, which met in Sydney on February 22. The Trade Unions of Victoria, South Australia, and Queensland refused to send delegates. The masters were represented by members of the Central Council of Employers, the Commonwealth Steamship Owners' Association, the Broken Hill Proprietary Co. Ltd., the Mines and Metals Association, the Associated Chambers of Manufacturers, the Collieries Proprietors' Association, and the Graziers' Federal Council of Australia. The employees' representatives were drawn from the Trades and Labour Councils of Sydney, Hobart, and Perth, the Amalgamated Society of Engineers, the Coal and Shale Employees' Federation, and the Australasian Society of Engineers. There were acrimonious debates, in the course of which the Labour delegates insisted that the masters should accept the principle that all unemployment should be met by an insurance provided by the industry. The delegates of the masters promised to recommend employers to adopt this proposal and also accepted the principle of a minimum wage. On the other hand, the proposals of the masters included the abolition of all limitation on output, no reduction of hours below forty-eight hours a week, and piece-work and profit-sharing where possible. In place of the existing wage arbitration system, the employers suggested a single Court, composed of Federal and State Judges, to determine hours and minimum wages and systematise awards for the whole of Australia. The Labour delegates took strong objection to the suggested forty-eight hours week, saying that any attempt to lengthen the working week beyond forty-four hours was a retrograde step. Their own proposal for meeting the crisis was the socialisation of industry, with workers' control. In the meantime, a commission, including Federal and State representatives and delegates nominated by employers and Trade Unions, should be appointed, with instructions to respect the three basic claims of the workers: No reduction in wages or lengthening of hours;

adequate unemployment insurance as a charge upon industry; and an effective share by the workers in the control of industry.

The Economic Conference failed to reach an agreement, the employers refusing to discuss the basic claims of the Trade Union leaders on the ground that "the socialisation of industry with workers' control" meant Bolshevism. References to the state of affairs in Russia were frequent in the masters' reply.

The result of the Economic Conference emphasised the failure of the Federal Arbitration Court to meet the difficulties connected with the adjustment of wages to falling world prices. In June, 1922, the shearers announced their defiance of the Federal Arbitration Court's award, fixing shearing rates at 35*s*. a hundred sheep, in place of the 40*s*. a hundred claimed by the Australian Workers' Union. The Amalgamated Society of Engineers also refused to accept the decision of the Arbitration Court, increasing the weekly hours from forty-four to forty-eight, following an important judgment delivered by Mr. Justice Powers on September 11. The belief that the existing system of arbitration courts was thoroughly unsatisfactory (admitted by Mr. Hughes himself in a speech at Castlemaine on April 8, 1922) led Sir Henry Barwell, the South Australian Prime Minister, in October, to introduce a "Prevention and Settlement of Industrial Disputes Bill," substituting a form of voluntary conciliation, similar to the Canadian system. The bill was not proceeded with. In general, it may be said that the compulsory system worked fairly well in Australia in the years of plenty, when increases of wages could be "passed on" to the public. The testing time came when the fall in world values disturbed industries which, although protected by a high tariff, were still subject to competition from overseas.

Closely connected with the attitude of Australian Labour towards wages and hours of work is the immigration problem. At the beginning of 1922, the population of Australia was 5,510,229, of whom 2,383,375 were living in the capital cities. This is not a satisfactory total for a country with an area of 2,974,581 square miles. At the end of the World War, a determined effort was made to settle ex-soldiers on the land. Out of the 121,339 ex-servicemen for whom employment was found up to April, 1922, 26,444 soldiers were settled on the land at a cost to the Commonwealth Government of 31,513,130*l*. In addition, the Repatriation Department provided pensions for 222,537 men and 30,000,000*l*. was distributed in gratuities. The settlement of ex-soldiers on the land worked out at the high rate of 1,000*l*. per settler. Speaking on March 10, Mr. Hughes said that at this rate every 50,000 settlers would cost Australia 50,000,000*l*. As the continent wanted at least 50,000 settlers a year, it was evident that the expenditure was quite beyond Australia's means. However, a large portion of the money spent on soldier settlement was the cost of resuming land. For ordinary immigrants, it was plain that Crown lands in the

possession of the State Governments must be used. Moreover, immigrants should contribute to the cost of settlement. These principles were followed in the co-operative migration scheme arranged during 1922 between the Imperial Government, the Commonwealth Government and the State Governments of Victoria and Western Australia. Under these schemes the British Government will give approved migrants a grant of 300*l.*, Australia providing land of at least equal value. Aided by this scheme, Victoria and New South Wales intend to bring about the closer settlement of the land on the banks of the Murray, where many millions of acres have been opened up by water conservation and irrigation works.

During June, Mr. Srinivasa Sastri, who represented India at the Imperial Conference in London during 1921, paid an official visit to Australia, to explain the attitude of Indians towards the White Australia policy. In a number of speeches Mr. Sastri made representations regarding the treatment of the 2,000 or 3,000 East Indians domiciled in Australia. While emphasising that India had no desire to interfere with the established policy of a White Australia, Mr. Sastri claimed that Indians resident in the Commonwealth were entitled to equal political rights with other Australians, and that continued exclusion from these rights in Queensland, Western Australia, and the Commonwealth itself was ungenerous and undeserved.

A special tariff agreement between Australia and New Zealand was negotiated during 1922. Previously, Australia had not granted a customs preference to any Dominion, except to South Africa in a limited degree. New Zealand, however, had offered all the Dominions the tariff preferences extended to the United Kingdom. When the New Zealand tariff was revised in December, 1921, New Zealand felt bound, in order to secure favourable bargaining conditions, to place Australian importers on the general rate of duties. As Australia found it impracticable to grant the British preference in exchange for a similar concession by New Zealand, a special agreement was negotiated. Under this, Australia granted New Zealand free entry, or much reduced duties, on several important items, while New Zealand reduced her duties upon Australian goods, though not to the extent of the British rates where a New Zealand industry appeared to require more protection than was afforded by the British rates. The Minister for Trade (Hon. Arthur Rodgers) laid a copy of the agreement on the table of the House of Representatives on July 28 and an Act giving effect to the agreement was assented to on August 23. The Hon. James A. Robb, Canadian Minister of Trade and Customs, visited Australia at the end of the year with view to negotiating a similar tariff agreement between Canada and Australia (see p. 298).

The Commonwealth Parliament commenced its 1922 session on June 28. Among the Bills announced were measures revising the system of taxation, placing the Commonwealth

Shipping Line under an independent board of control, and commencing work on the unification of railway gauges. Even more important was a proposal for amending the Constitution by providing for an extension of Federal powers, "with due regard to the proper functions of the State." This failed to secure a second reading and was withdrawn.

On August 17 the Commonwealth Treasurer (Mr. S. M. Bruce) delivered his Budget statement. He announced that he had been unable to reduce Federal expenditure below 62,000,000*l.*, of which 30,000,000*l.* would be devoted to interest on war loans, war pensions, and other war obligations, 16,000,000*l.* would be devoted to interest on ordinary debts, the 25*s. per capita* payment to the States and Old-age pensions, 7,000,000*l.* to the Post Office, 4,000,000*l.* to defence, and 5,000,000*l.* to the collection of Customs Duties, Income Tax, and other public services. As a small measure of economy, Mr. Hughes's Government later presented a Bill reducing the salaries of members of the Australian Parliament from 1,000*l.* to 800*l.* a year. On October 11, this Bill was rejected by the House of Representatives by 35 votes to 26.

In view of a series of attacks made upon the Government by the Country Party, the position of Mr. Hughes's Ministry was precarious. He decided upon an immediate General Election instead of attempting to hold office until April, 1923, the latest date for holding the coming Federal elections, and Parliament was dissolved on November 6.

Before the war there had been two parties, Liberal and Labour, in the Commonwealth and States Parliaments. When Mr. Hughes and other leaders were expelled from the Labour Party for advocating conscription, the dissentient Labour members formed a new party, the Nationalist, in conjunction with the Liberals. Since the war a third party has arisen, usually called the Country Party, which aims at protecting rural, as opposed to urban, interests. When Mr. Hughes determined upon a General Election in December, he was faced by two, if not three, sets of opponents. One was the Labour Party, led by Mr. Matthew Charlton, who had succeeded as Leader of the Opposition in the House of Representatives, on the death of the Hon. Frank Tudor on January 16, 1922. The second element in the Opposition was the Country Party, representing the pastoral and agricultural interests, led by Mr. Earle Page. Finally, there were the Liberals, who dissented from the personal leadership of Mr. Hughes and saw an alternative anti-Labour Prime Minister in Mr. Watt, formerly Treasurer of the Commonwealth and Acting Prime Minister during Mr. Hughes's absence in England during 1919. When the session closed, the state of the parties in the House of Representatives was Nationalists 38, Labour 24, Country Party 13. The practical issue of the General Election was whether Mr. W. M. Hughes should continue as Prime Minister.

Instead of again contesting his old constituency, Bendigo, in Victoria, Mr. Hughes stood for North Sydney, where he delivered his policy speech on October 24. After a survey of the work of the Nationalist Party during its six years of office, including immigration, land settlement, problems of industry, defence, shipping and railway reform, Mr. Hughes summed up the issues before the electors in these words: "Three parties seek endorsement, but the choice of the electors lies between the Nationalist Party, which has led them through the dark days of the war and the troublous years that succeeded it, and the Official Labour Party, with its red objective, its class-war doctrine, its international outlook, its reckless extravagance, and its domination by secret and sinister forces. We stand for the Empire, for stable Government, for sane finance, for government by the duly elected representatives of the people. We set our faces resolutely against government by secret juntas and forces outside Parliament."

On the same evening, Mr. Matthew Charlton outlined the Labour policy at the Town Hall, Maitland (N.S.W.). He accused the Nationalist Ministry of extravagance, alleging that the estimated deficit for 1922-23, was not less than 5,598,000*l.* On the question of wages, Mr. Charlton said the Nationalist Party demanded that if the cost of living dropped 20 per cent., a wage of 4*l.* 5*s.* must be reduced to 3*l.* 8*s.* Then, by parity of reasoning, 5 per cent. bonds should drop to 4 per cent., because the drop in the cost of living would enable the bondholder to buy as much with 4*l.* as he formerly did with 5*l.* If Australian industry could not afford to pay good wages, neither could it afford to pay 40,000,000*l.* a year to bondholders. Mr. Charlton added that the electors would have an opportunity to vote upon the Labour proposals to grant unlimited legislative powers to the Commonwealth Parliament.

Polling took place on December 10 and resulted in Mr. Hughes's supporters, the Nationalists, securing 27 seats in the House of Representatives, while the Labour Party won 29 seats and the Country Party 14. Four Liberals were elected, including Mr. Watt, and one Independent. Mr. Hughes was elected, but five ministers were defeated—Mr. Rodgers, the Minister of Trade, Senator Earle, Mr. Massy Greene, Minister of Defence, Mr. Lamond, and Mr. Poynton. Eleven Labour members and eight Nationalists were returned for the Senate. The strength of the Labour Party in the Upper House will be twelve, compared with two in the last Senate. Whereas Labour polled nearly its full strength, there seem to have been considerable Nationalist abstentions, especially in New South Wales. At the end of the year Mr. Hughes still held office. He has to decide whether he will force the Country Party into an alliance with Labour, or retire and allow Mr. Watt or Mr. Stanley Bruce to lead a coalition of Nationalists and Mr. Earle Page's Country Party. Both Mr. Page and Mr. Watt are determined not to

co-operate with the Nationalists while Mr. Hughes retains the leadership. The Country Party, however, is even more conservative in temper than the Nationalists, and would find itself in immediate difficulty in alliance with Labour. In New South Wales, where the same problem had to be faced, the Country Party was forced to join an anti-Labour administration. The New South Wales General Election, held on March 25, resulted in the defeat of the Labour Party. Out of 90 members, 37 Labour supporters were returned, while Sir George Fuller's anti-Labour coalition had the general support of 52 members. Assisted by the Progressive Party (which is practically the New South Wales Country Party), Sir George Fuller formed a Cabinet with Mr. C. W. Oakes as Chief Secretary, Mr. A. A. Clement Cocks, Treasurer; Mr. R. T. Ball, Minister for Agriculture; Sir Thomas Henley, Minister for Public Works; and Sir Joseph Carruthers, Vice-President of the Executive Council. One of Sir George Fuller's first acts was to carry a Salary Reduction Bill, reducing the salaries of Ministers and Members of Parliament. Whereas Mr. Dooley's Labour Ministry had raised the salaries of members of the State Legislature from 500*l.* to 875*l.* a year, Sir George Fuller's Bill reduced them to 600*l.*

In Queensland politics, the outstanding event of the year was the abolition of the Legislative Council. A cable message from Mr. Winston Churchill, the British Secretary of State for the Colonies, dated March 11, advised the Queensland Government that the royal assent had been given to the Bill abolishing the Council.

Two interesting exploration trips increased knowledge regarding little known districts in central and northern Australia. On March 1 Mr. G. H. Halligan made an aeroplane excursion across the Lake Eyre district. He reported that only about a third of Lake Eyre North was covered with water, the rest being mud flats. In Lake Eyre South, only the northern shore showed water. The vast area of mud and salt-slime left a grim impression of desolation. Another expedition, financed by Mr. T. McCallum, traversed 7,000 miles of country between Adelaide and Port Darwin, and back. In central Australia the expedition found giant anthills, thirty and forty feet high, scattered over the country; in the North, the explorers were astonished at the richness of the land. Mr. McCallum reported that there is scope for the settlement of millions of people, and described the country as capable of becoming "the granary of Australia."

NEW ZEALAND.

The year 1922 witnessed a steady progression towards the return to stability in the financial and business affairs of the Dominion. At the end of 1921 the Dominion's prosperity was seriously threatened, and this was the situation when the Prime Minister (the Rt. Hon. W. F. Massey) returned to New Zealand

after attending the Imperial Conference in London. The 20th Parliament was then in its third and last year of office, and in his delayed Budget statement in the House of Representatives he referred plainly to the task confronting the Government. The public debt was 197,500,000*l.*, of which War Loans totalled no less than 81,583,000*l.* (equal to 62*l.* per head of the population). Government expenditure had largely increased, attributable to swollen interest and sinking fund charges on loans during and since the war, larger pension charges, and cost of living bonuses to civil servants. Imports exceeded exports by over 19,000,000*l.*, but it was estimated that 1922 would show a decline in imports and their value: and expenditure was expected to exceed revenue by over 1,250,000*l.* New legislation to effect retrenchment of expenditure and the readjustment of the high taxation was foreshadowed, and the Prime Minister concluded by recommending to the community the practice of "hard work and economy" as the surest means of assisting the return to prosperity.

The season then entered upon showed early promise of being one of the best for many years, and early in 1922 it was clear that New Zealand had seen the worst of its troubles. The Government were not slow in pressing forward with their measures to effect economy. Legislation was introduced in the middle of January providing for cuts in public service salaries (including and commencing with Parliamentary honoraria) and the reorganisation of the Administration services. Mr. Massey took the opportunity of asserting his intention to maintain the finances of the country on a sound footing and to reduce taxation, adding that he "staked his political existence upon it." A survey of the political situation at the end of the year shows this to have been a singularly sagacious remark, for there is little doubt that unpopularity accrued to the Government on account of their "economy" measures, and they suffered a severe set-back at the General Election in December.

The new Customs Tariff passed the House of Representatives early in December, 1921, and the principle it embodied of extending the preference to British manufacturers received enthusiastic support. With the tariff out of the way, the Government proceeded to deal with the new financial requirements, and a Bill authorising the raising of a loan in London of 5,000,000*l.* was introduced on December 9. The money was required for the development of such public works as hydro-electricity, railways, roads, and the opening up of new lands: but it was not intended to proceed to flotation until the next financial year.

A short time later news of the success of the Washington Conference reached Wellington, and the Quadruple Treaty was generally applauded by Government and Press as affording the best guarantee of peace in the Pacific, and as indicating the desire of the Great Powers to unite in preventing war.

For some time past the situation in connexion with the marketing of meat had been causing grave concern, and proposals were discussed for the organisation of the meat producers on a co-operative basis, for the purpose of controlling the handling and marketing of the whole meat output. The promoters were, perhaps, a little unfortunate in their choice of terms for describing the scheme: it was spoken of as a "meat pool," and at first compulsion was openly insisted upon. This has since been dropped, but it is probable that these two factors were responsible for the greater part of the opposition displayed by some of the proprietary freezing works and certain meat interests in London. As the proposals were developed these objections were overcome satisfactorily, and the Meat Export Control Bill passed by Parliament early in February was largely an empowering measure, enabling the Board to assume absolute or partial control of the meat output at their discretion—including export and shipping, finance, and distribution in Great Britain through its London agency: and Government backing was allowed for. The setting up of the Board also provided an opportunity for the settlement of the Armour controversy, which had attained almost international significance. It was felt that the Board's powers guaranteed the producers' interests being safeguarded, while on their part the firm agreed to place themselves in the Board's hands regarding the handling, pooling, shipping, and marketing of their meat.

In February an interesting letter was addressed to the Minister of External Affairs (the Hon. E. P. Lee) by the High Chief of Samoa (Malietoa) referring to the petition which, without his sanction, was sent the previous year by certain faipules to H.M. the King, expressing dissatisfaction with New Zealand's administration of Samoa. Malietoa asserted that the petition did not accord with the true wishes of the majority of the people of Samoa, and expressed pleasure at the decision of H.M. Government not to interfere with the mandate.

Before the session closed, the House of Representatives passed the Arbitration Bill, in spite of strong opposition from the Labour Party, who regarded the clause empowering the Arbitration Court to vary its awards in accordance with the fall in the cost of living as an attempt to bring about a general reduction in wages.

The session ended on February 13. It was one of the longest and, from the Prime Minister's standpoint, one of the most strenuous in the Dominion's history. It was noteworthy for the amount of legislation put through, the accumulation of the war period, including, as it did, a number of measures of local interest and others arising out of the Imperial Conference. Politically the outstanding feature was the understanding arrived at by the small Opposition parties, Liberal and

Labour, extreme and otherwise, to join forces to oppose Mr. Massey and the Reform Party at the General Election. The fact that the next session would be the last of the present Parliament doubtless stimulated the opposition; and the complexity and nature of the problems requiring solution acted as a further incentive.

Early in March a memorial service to Sir Ernest Shackleton was organised by the Merchant Service Guild at the Wellington wharves, and it was largely attended. New Zealand, it will be recalled, was the stepping-off place for Sir Ernest's expeditions to the South Pole, from the last of which he never returned. The month was also noteworthy by reason of the speech of Mgr. Liston, Roman Catholic Bishop of Auckland, in which he declared that "Ireland had got the first instalment of her freedom, and was determined to have the whole," and asserted that the victims of the Easter rising in 1916 "were killed by foreign troops." The speech was strongly condemned in the Press as seditious, and the case was brought to the notice of the Crown Law Officers. In due course the Bishop was committed for trial, but the jury returned a verdict of "not guilty," though they added a rider that "Mgr. Liston was guilty of gross indiscretion in using words capable of misconstruction, and calculated to offend a large number of New Zealanders, and that he must bear part responsibility for the 'unenviable notoriety' that followed his utterance." A case also occurred in which a teacher of a boys' high school at Christchurch was dismissed for refusing to take the Oath of Allegiance in the terms laid down by recent legislation. This was the only case of the kind in the whole of the teaching profession.

The Minister of Customs (the Hon. Downie Stewart) paid a visit to Australia for the purpose of negotiating the Tariff Reciprocity Agreement with the Commonwealth Government. This was rendered necessary by the fact that the new New Zealand Tariff put Australia upon the same footing as foreign countries, owing to the failure of the Commonwealth to grant the British rate to New Zealand. He returned in May, and the Bill embodying the Agreement was introduced at the end of July. The Minister explained that he had rejected the Commonwealth's former offer on the grounds that their rates to Great Britain were much higher than those of New Zealand, and he had, therefore, submitted a list of items requiring special consideration from the Dominion's standpoint. A similar Bill was introduced simultaneously by the Commonwealth Parliament, and both duly passed, without amendment.

The Prime Minister took advantage of the vacation to visit various parts of the Dominion and inspect the progress of the hydro-electric development to which so much attention was, and is, being given. These installations are intended to provide power for industries and lighting, and so to serve a very useful purpose in connexion with the opening up of new lands. A

satisfactory feature is the continued acceptance by the Government of British tenders for the necessary plant and machinery, in spite of the fact that foreign tenders have often been much lower. The Mangahao scheme, which will provide the Wellington district and city with power, will, when complete, have the highest electrical pressure in Australasia. In this connexion it may be of interest to record that early in April the Government astronomer announced that by means of a special wireless installation he was able to synchronise the clocks of the Dominion daily, with Greenwich time, direct from the Bordeaux Station (France)—the ticks being distinctly heard. The Postmaster-General (the Hon. J. G. Coates) informed Parliament on September 16 that the Government were considering the establishment of a high power wireless station: it was not then decided whether New Zealand will have a system directly communicating with Great Britain, or whether it will be a link in the Empire wireless chain.

As the outcome of legislation, Anzac Day was observed all over the Dominion on April 25, as a Sunday. Only limited services of trains and trams were run, places of amusement were closed, and special services were held in the churches in every town in the Dominion. All Ministers repaired to their constituencies to take part in the observances.

Impelled by the growing demand for the readjustment of taxation the Government in May appointed a Committee representing the Chambers of Commerce, the Farming Community, the Law and Accountants' Societies, for the purpose of reviewing the taxation system and reporting on possible improvements in time to be of service to the Government for next session of Parliament. The Prime Minister delivered his financial statement on May 10, and it was accorded a good reception. He was able to announce that ordinary revenue for the financial year, ending March 31, was within 340,000*l.* of expenditure—the figures being, revenue 28,127,000*l.*, expenditure 28,467,000*l.*, and no Treasury Bills were outstanding. The policy of retrenchment and economy had begun to take effect, expenditure for the last quarter having shown a decrease of 968,000*l.*, as compared with a corresponding period of 1921. By the end of the year economies in operation affecting State services were expected to result in the saving of over 5,500,000*l.* Revenue shrinkage was principally in Income Tax and Customs returns, a result of the previous year's post-war importations. Public Works development expenditure had been 5,350,790*l.*, or 2,210,216*l.* more than in 1921. Mr. Massey considered the position satisfactory, but asserted that safe finance required the Budget to balance, and annual expenditure would have to be still further reduced before relief for the over-burdened taxpayer would be possible. The adverse trade balance had been reduced: final figures were shortly afterwards available and showed that imports were down to 36,123,000*l.* and exports 43,802,000*l.* Taxation had been reduced to 12*l.* 15*s.* per head.

An important Conference was held in Wellington on May 18 representing the Dairy Producers of the Dominion, when a resolution was passed expressing approval of the proposal to establish a compulsory Dominion organisation to control the handling, distribution, and marketing of New Zealand's export dairy produce. The suggestions caused a great commotion amongst the provision trades in the United Kingdom and protests and condemnations were freely cabled out, the principal objection apparently being the fear that it would mean "Government control." This was an entire misconception, as the proposals did not include any measure of Government control, being exclusively a producers' movement, based on co-operative principles in selling, while continuing to utilise the present channels of distribution. The matter was further thrashed out, and in due course the Government, who viewed the proposals sympathetically, submitted legislation on the subject, but owing to the imminence of the close of the session and the fact that it was desired to give all concerned further opportunity of crystallising their views and coming to a unanimous decision, the Bill was left over for further consideration, and to be brought up in 1923.

Parliament reassembled on June 28, and in his speech from the throne the Governor-General, Lord Jellicoe, expressed satisfaction at the advance in prices of the staple products, at the savings effected in costs of production, and also in the fact that the large outports in Great Britain were asking for direct shipments of New Zealand produce. He indicated that further economies were still required, promised legislation providing for the establishment of agricultural banks, and expressed great confidence in the commercial and financial outlook of the Dominion.

Early in August the question of naval defence came up for discussion, and the Prime Minister promised that the matter would be dealt with at sufficient length in the Budget to open up the whole subject.

The Budget was introduced on August 16, and it was indicated that expenditure for 1922-23 was expected to be 27,938,000*l.*, while revenue was estimated at 26,250,000*l.* It was proposed to adjust the difference from Excess Customs Duty reserves, which had been collected and held to meet the inevitable drop. Naval expenditure was set down at 418,665*l.*, and it was recognised that the Dominion contribution should be placed on a more satisfactory basis. If finances permitted, it was proposed to increase next year's contribution to 500,000*l.* The immigration system was said to be working well and the necessity for the continuation of the policy of economy was again insisted upon.

The New Zealand Government's advances to ex-soldiers for settlement purposes and purchase of dwellings were announced to total 20,000,000*l.*, the number of soldiers so benefited being 20,392.

On August 18 Sir John Salmond's report on the Washington Conference was submitted, and the House ratified the agreements reached at that Conference, the value of the lessening of the Pacific menace being recognised. It is significant that a month later came the difficulty in the Near East. On September 17 the Prime Minister stated to Parliament that the Government had been in communication with the Imperial Government with regard to the possibility of Turkish aggression in Europe, the protection of Allied interests in Constantinople, and the maintenance of the freedom of the Straits by securing the Gallipoli Peninsula. He had cabled the Imperial Government that New Zealand would support action and the event caused a good deal of stir. The records of the Great War were beaten in the number of volunteers offering their services, and although no call was issued, 12,000 officers and other ranks and 300 nurses came forward to volunteer for service in Gallipoli. Luckily the trouble passed over.

The first measure of tax reduction was introduced on September 26, providing for the abolition of the 20 per cent. Super Tax on incomes and reducing the Super Tax on land from 20 per cent. to 10 per cent.

On October 17 the Public Works Statement was presented to Parliament. A feature was the fact that the total expenditure on railways, roads, bridges, and hydro-electric works exceeded that of previous years by 3,000,000*l*., chiefly due to the installation of labour-saving machinery (which ultimately would result in a saving of 30 per cent. in the cost of constructional earth-works), and to additional work undertaken to prevent unemployment. A Bill authorising the Government to raise 4,000,000*l*. for public work and land settlement was passed in the House of Representatives before the end of the month. This was almost the last act of the Massey Government before the dissolution and the session came to an end on October 31.

The new elections were announced to take place on December 7, and Mr. Massey opened the Reform Party campaign on November 6. The Liberals went to the country under Mr. T. M. Wilford, who succeeded to the leadership of the party on the defeat of Sir J. G. Ward, Bart., at the last election. The Labour Party decided to contest most of the seats, on a socialistic programme.

The election proved to be one of the keenest contests recorded in New Zealand for many years, with heavy polling and intense interest shown in the results. Prior to the election, the Government had a party of 49; this was reduced to 38, or two less than half the House of Representatives. The Opposition increased its strength from 16 to 18, and the Labour Party from 9 to 17. An unexpected result was the defeat of the Speaker (Sir Frederick Lang) by the Labour candidate in Manukau, and of the Hon. E. P. Lee (Minister of External Affairs) who lost his seat in Oamaru by the narrow majority of

5, to Mr. J. A. MacPherson (Liberal). It is generally conceded that one of the principal factors in bringing about this turnover was the severe retrenchment proposals affecting the services. Besides this, there is no doubt that the after-effects of the war strain, the decline in values of produce and severe slump in land values all contributed to the general feeling of dissatisfaction. But too much significance need not be attached to the change, and it is doubtful if any other Party could carry on. Present indications are that Mr. Massey will endeavour to come to an arrangement with the Liberal Party and thus avoid the necessity of again going to the country.

The poll in connexion with the licensing issue was taken at the same time, and resulted in an adverse majority of 16,138 against prohibition. The figures were: for prohibition, 290,566, for State control, 34,261, for continuance, 272,443, and as prohibition, to be carried, required a majority over the other combined votes, the issue was decisive.

Several matters of general interest deserve brief mention, before closing. The s.s. *Wiltshire* was wrecked on the Great Barrier Reef but all her crew were saved. The seamen's strike dragged on for some months, the men offering to resume work on November 21. The Vancouver Mail Contract was renewed by the Government. The incidence of high freights urged producers to ask the Government to introduce legislation for the formation of a Producers' Shipping Line in August: the Meat Board made a new contract for freight for the whole exportable surplus of meat, on satisfactory terms.

Immigration proceeded satisfactorily, 7,000 assisted immigrants coming from the United Kingdom. The Annual Conference of the Ex-Soldiers' Association in June passed a Resolution expressing approval of the principle of Empire immigration.

Important visitors included Mr. Srinivasa Sastri, a prominent Indian Statesman, who was cordially received by the Government, and whose visit undoubtedly contributed to the satisfactory solution of the few questions outstanding between India and New Zealand; and the British Empire Exhibition Mission, under Major Belcher. The Government later announced its intention of devoting 60,000*l.* to New Zealand representation at that event.

In sport the Paddon-Hadfield race was arranged for April 18 on the Wanganui, for the sculling championship of the world; the former defeated the latter by nine lengths. In the National Swimming Championships Miss Hoeft and Miss Shand performed feats in fast swimming, claimed as world's records: and the visit of Mr. McLaren's cricket team must be recorded.

The interim return of sheep at the end of April showed a total of 20,245,473, as against 23,285,031 for the previous year. A New Zealand Friesian cow put up a record for butter-fat

production, giving 1,145 lbs. of butter-fat in the twelve-month; and wool enjoyed a gratifying recovery in price.

Several earthquake shocks were experienced in the Taupo district in June, and an earthquake occurred on the afternoon of Christmas Day in the upper and middle portion of the South Island.

The Prime Minister completed his ten years of Premiership, and was the recipient of a suitable memento from the members of his party, who entertained him on July 11.

Among the more important legislation of 1922 not dealt with specifically above should be mentioned the Administration of Justice Act, providing for the reciprocal enforcement of judgments obtained in any superior court in the United Kingdom; the Customs Amendment Act, relating to depreciated currency duties; the Insurance Companies Deposits Amendment Act; the State Fire Insurance Amendment Act; the War Disabilities Removal Act; the Mercantile Amendment Act, relating to "Received for Shipment" Bills of Lading; the Sea Carriage of Goods Act; the Pharmacy Amendment Act; the State Advances Amendment Act; the Main Highways Act and the Rural Credit Associations Act, affording statutory recognition to certain classes of societies whose object is to make advances on chattel security (Agricultural Banks).

PART II.

CHRONICLE OF EVENTS

IN 1922.

JANUARY.

1. The New Year Honours list included four new peers, *viz.*: Sir James Buchanan, Bart., Sir Robert Nivison, Bart., Mr. Joseph Watson, and Mr. Francis Willey. The titles which they adopted were respectively: Lord Woolavington of Lavington, Lord Glendyne of Sanquhar, Lord Manton of Compton Verney, and Lord Barnby of Blyth.

— Prince Henry was appointed a G.C.V.O., and the Order of Merit was conferred on Sir J. M. Barrie. There were five new Privy Councillors, 17 Baronets, and 112 Knights.

— The warmest day in London experienced in any part of January in the last half century.

2. The Prince of Wales received a magnificent welcome on landing at Rangoon.

3. Mr. John Marchbank, of Glasgow, was appointed President of the National Union of Railwaymen for 1922.

4. A fire which started in a timber yard at Hartlepool spread to a large area occupied by working-class houses, and 500 people had to leave their homes.

— Viscount Windsor, son of the Earl of Plymouth, Conservative candidate for the Ludlow division of Shropshire, was returned without opposition.

— Mr. A. B. Kay, a special correspondent of *The Times*, was kidnapped in Dublin by a party of armed men and taken to Cork, but was released the following day.

5. The Prince of Wales arrived at Mandalay, where he received an enthusiastic welcome.

6. Cannes Conference opened.

7. There were 354 deaths from influenza in London during this week.

9. A Japanese mission visited Manchester to investigate questions connected with the cotton trade.

10. The Duke of York cut the first turf at Wembley in preparation for a British Empire Exhibition in 1923.

— Lord Inchcape was elected Chairman of the London Committee of the Suez Canal.

12. The King granted a general amnesty in respect of all offences committed in Ireland before the truce began on July 11, 1921.

— The list of successful candidates for the Bar included the names of 22 women.

— Resignation of M. Briand, the French Prime Minister.

— Georges Carpentier knocked out George Cook, the Australian boxing champion, at the Albert Hall.

13. The Prince of Wales had a magnificent reception on arriving at Madras, but afterwards there was a sudden outbreak of rioting, in which two deaths were reported.

— Coal prices in London were reduced by from 1*s.* to 3*s.* per ton.

— The Peers of Scotland, meeting at the palace of Holyrood House, elected as their representatives in the House of Lords the Earl of Airlie, the Earl of Leven and Melville, and Lord Belhaven and Stenton.

14. Sir Joseph Cook arrived in London to take up his duties as High Commissioner for Australia.

— The will of the late Earl Brownlow was proved at 1,529,771*l.* gross.

— There were 551 deaths from influenza in London during this week.

15. French Ministry formed by M. Poincaré.

16. M. Poincaré was installed as the new Prime Minister of France.

18. The Prince of Wales visited Bangalore.

— A bye-election at Tamworth resulted in the return of Sir Percy Newson, the Coalition Unionist Candidate, by a majority of 8,061.

19. Whistler's picture of "La Mère Gérard" was sold in New York for 1,800 dollars.

— New Government formed in Rumania by Brutianu.

20. Five lives were lost and a great quantity of merchandise destroyed by a fire at the North British Railway Goods Station at Glasgow.

21. The number of deaths from influenza in London during this week was 443.

22. It was officially announced that the wedding of Princess Mary would take place on February 28.

— Pope Benedict XV. died.

23. Mr. Reuben Bigland, of Birmingham, was acquitted at the Central Criminal Court on the charge of libelling Mr. Horatio Bottomley, M.P. No evidence was offered by the prosecution.

24. In London and many other places in England this was the coldest day that had been experienced for five years.

— The live registers of the employment exchanges in the United Kingdom contained the names of approximately 1,915,700 persons wholly unemployed, a decrease of 10,236 on the previous week.

26. The late Lord Mount Stephen left property in the United Kingdom valued at 1,414,319*l*. Under his will King Edward's Hospital Fund for London benefited to the extent of over 750,000*l*.

27. By an accident on the L. and N.W. Railway near Northampton, coaches in two trains were damaged, one passenger being killed and 13 injured.

28. Lord Haig was elected Chancellor of St. Andrews University.

30. The Prince of Wales had a warm welcome at Nagpur.

— *The Times* announced that Sir Ernest Shackleton had died suddenly from heart failure on January 5 in the *Quest* off South Georgia. The expedition was to continue under Commander Frank Wild.

31. A serious outbreak of foot-and-mouth disease caused the Ministry of Agriculture to schedule a very large area within which the movement of cattle was restricted.

— The live registers of the employment exchanges in the United Kingdom contained the names of approximately 1,904,300 persons as wholly unemployed.

FEBRUARY.

1. The final report of the Sees and Provinces Committee of the National Assembly recommended the creation of seven new bishoprics.

2. Edward Black was found guilty at Bodmin of the murder of his wife by administering arsenic, and was sentenced to death.

— Resignation of the Italian Cabinet.

— Belgian Chamber approved Belgo-Luxemburg Convention.

3. Arrival of Sirdar Abdul Hadi Khan, first Afghan Minister to London.

4. At Buckingham Palace Princess Mary received wedding presents from the citizens of Liverpool and Glasgow.

— *The Times* stated that there had been 13,000 deaths from influenza in England and Wales since Christmas.

6. Owing to the spread of cattle disease, the Ministry of Agriculture placed under control the movement of stock throughout Great Britain.

— Cardinal Ratti, Archbishop of Milan, was elected Pope; he took the name of Pius XI.

— Washington Conference closed.

7. The King opened the new Session of Parliament.

— The live registers of the employment exchanges contained the names of approximately 1,892,129 persons as wholly unemployed.

9. Mr. P. C. Larkin was appointed to succeed Sir George Perley as High Commissioner for Canada in London.

10. The King approved the disbandment of seven Irish regiments.

— Princess Mary received at Buckingham Palace a number of deputations, who presented her with wedding presents.

— Two airmen were burnt to death and their aeroplane destroyed in an accident at Burnham Beeches.

10. Sir Wyndham Childs was appointed to take supreme charge of the Criminal Investigation Department at Scotland Yard.

— Sir John Anderson, K.C.B., was appointed Permanent Under-Secretary of State for the Home Department in place of Sir Edward Troup; and Sir Richard Hopkins, K.C.B., was appointed Chairman of the Board of Inland Revenue in place of Sir John Anderson.

13. Mr. Leslie Scott, K.C., the new Solicitor-General, was returned unopposed in the bye-election in the Exchange Division of Liverpool.

14. Captain Owen Peel was sentenced to twelve months' imprisonment at the Central Criminal Court on the charge of obtaining money from bookmakers by virtue of forged telegrams. His wife was acquitted on the same charge on the legal presumption that when a woman committed a crime of this character in the presence of her husband she acted under his coercion.

15. Mr. A. H. Briggs Constable was appointed Solicitor-General for Scotland.

16. Independence of Egypt proclaimed; Sultan proclaimed King, with title Suad I.

— At a bye-election at Cambridge Sir Douglas Newton (Cons.) was returned by a majority of 3,943 over the Labour candidate. An Independent Liberal also stood.

17. The Prince of Wales embarked at Karachi at the end of his Indian tour.

— A preliminary agreement was signed for the amalgamation of the London & North-Western & Midland Railway Companies as from January 1, 1923.

18. Viscount Peel, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster and Minister of Transport, was appointed Secretary of State for India in place of Mr. E. S. Montagu.

20. The Founder's Medal of the Royal Geographical Society was awarded to Lieut.-Colonel C. K. Howard-Bury, the leader of the Mount Everest Expedition of 1921.

— Lord Winterton was appointed Under-Secretary for India.

21. The Queen, in the absence of the King owing to indisposition, performed the opening ceremony of the New Waterloo Station.

— *The Times* announced that the British flag had been hoisted on Wrangel Island, in the Arctic Ocean.

— The Court of Aldermen appointed Sir Ernest Wild, K.C., M.P., Recorder of the City of London, in succession to Sir Forrest Fulton, K.C.

— The Prince of Wales landed at Colombo, where he received a great welcome.

23. The submarine H42 was sunk in a collision while manœuvring off Europa Point.

24. Albania recognised by Serb-Croat-Slovene State.

— Mr. H. Kershaw's Music Hall, ridden by L. B. Rees, won the Grand National Steeplechase at Aintree. Mr. T. Widger's Drifter was second, 12 lengths behind.

— At a bye-election in the Chertsey division Sir Philip Richardson (Cons.) defeated General Sir H. Gough (Ind. Lib.) by a majority of 2,321.

26. "Summer-time" came into force at 2 A.M.

27. General C. G. Bruce with a party left Darjeeling on an expedition to Mount Everest.

— Sir Henry Wheeler was appointed Governor of Bihar and Orissa and Sir William Vincent a member of the Council of India.

— Mr. G. Gilbert Scott, architect, was elected a Royal Academician.

28. Annular eclipse of the sun, partly visible at Greenwich.

— An aeroplane fell to the ground near Grantham, and the two airmen were burnt to death.

29. The King conferred a knighthood upon Mr. Leslie Scott on his appointment as Solicitor-General.

— Sir Gordon Hewart, the new Lord Chief Justice, was introduced in the House of Lords under the title of Baron Hewart of Bury.

30. A portrait by Rembrandt was sold by auction for 6,200 guineas.

— At a bye-election at East Leicester Mr. G. H. Banton (Labour) was returned by a majority of 5,352 over the Coalition candidate. An Independent Liberal also stood.

31. The Prince of Wales arrived at Singapore, where he had a magnificent reception.

— Sir Frederick Sykes resigned his appointment as Controller-General of Civil Aviation.

APRIL.

1. Ex-King Charles of Austria died at Madeira.

— Cambridge beat Oxford by 4½ lengths in the University boat race.

2. The retail price of milk in London was reduced from 9*d.* to 5*d.* a quart.

3. End of the strike in the London publishing trade.

4. Mr. A. R. Slater, C.M.G., was appointed Governor of Sierra Leone.

6. The Labour Party sustained a severe defeat in the elections for Boards of Guardians in the London Boroughs, losing over 50 seats.

7. Two aeroplanes on the Paris-London service came into collision in France, and 6 persons were killed.

— *The Times* reached its 43,000th issue.

— Lord Crawford, First Commissioner of Works, was given a seat in the Cabinet, and Sir William Sutherland was appointed Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster.

10. Sir Humphrey Rolleston, K.C.B., was elected President of the Royal College of Physicians of London.

— The live registers of the employment exchanges in the United Kingdom contained the names of 1,718,400 persons as wholly unemployed.

11. Lord Crawford was appointed Minister of Transport without salary as well as First Commissioner of Works.

12. The Prince of Wales landed in Japan and was greeted by large crowds.

— The King conferred an Earldom of the United Kingdom upon Sir Arthur Balfour, K.G.

13. The Bank rate was reduced from 4½ per cent. to 4 per cent.

— Sir Ross Smith and Lieutenant Bennett, who were about to start on an attempt to fly round the world, were killed while making a trial flight at Brooklands.

— H. R. Armstrong was found guilty of the murder of his wife by arsenic poisoning and was sentenced to death.

15. The Prince of Wales held a great military review at Tokio.

16. A Treaty between Germany and the Bolshevists was signed at Genoa.

17. In a railway accident near Ravenglass, on the Eskdale Railway, many passengers were injured.

18. Lieut.-General Sir Joseph Asser was appointed to be Governor of Bermuda.

21. The King inspected the 1st Battalion Irish Guards at Windsor.

22. Shakespeare's birthday was celebrated at Stratford-on-Avon.

26. A severe earthquake occurred at Tokio, three persons being killed and more than a hundred injured.

27. The Prince of Wales received a great welcome on arriving at Kyoto, the old capital of Japan.

— Sir Charles Parsons, F.R.S., presented 10,000*l.* 5 per cent. war loan stock to the British Association for the advancement of science.

28. Portraits by Reynolds, Romney, and Gainsborough and pictures by old masters realised in all 31,984*l.* at an auction sale in London.

29. Sir Aston Webb presided at the Royal Academy banquet.

MAY.

1. The Royal Academy Exhibition was open to the public.

— The *Mauretania* completed a passage from New York to Southampton in the record time of 5 days, 8 hours, and 56 minutes.

— Mr. M. L. Jacks was appointed Head Master of Mill Hill School in succession to Sir John McClure.

2. The Upper House of Convocation of Canterbury discussed modernism, and passed a resolution reaffirming its adhesion to the Nicene Creed.

4. The Hoppner portrait of the younger Pitt was sold for 7,000 guineas and Raeburn's Sir Walter Scott for 9,200 guineas.

5. Ronald True was found guilty of murdering a young woman and sentenced to death. A public outcry afterwards ensued, when the death sentence was commuted on the ground of insanity.

8. The Archbishop of Canterbury received a deputation of Churchmen in support of a memorial protesting against alleged disorders in the Church of England.

— It was announced in India that Lord Inchcape would go there in the autumn to assume the duties of Chairman of the Retrenchment Committee.

9. The Prince of Wales left Japan for Manila.

— Mr. G. M. Brumwell was appointed associate editor of *The Times* and Dr. Harold Williams foreign editor.

10. Major-General Sir Sefton Brancker was appointed Director of Civil Aviation in the Air Ministry.

— Mr. S. B. Joel's Pondoland won the Newmarket Stakes.

— The Empire Press Union entertained Lord Northcliffe at luncheon at the Hotel Victoria at the end of his tour round the world.

11. Dr. W. Bateson, F.R.S., was elected a trustee of the British Museum.

— Kid Lewis was knocked out by Carpentier in a boxing match at Olympia.

— Opening of the eighteenth Session of the Council of the League of Nations.

13. The King and Queen returned to London on the conclusion of a visit to Belgium and France.

15. Mr. Mark L. Romer, K.C., was appointed a Justice of the High Court of Justice, Chancery Division.

— Mr. Francis H. L. Errington was appointed Chancellor of the Diocese of London.

16. 8,600*l.* was paid for a first folio Shakespeare in London.

18. Rear-Admiral J. D. Kelly was appointed Rear-Admiral, Fourth Battle Squadron, Mediterranean Station.

19. Final Plenary Session of the Genoa Conference.

— Mr. E. C. Grenfell (Cons.) was returned M.P. for the City of London.

— The Committee of Privileges of the House of Lords reported against the petition of Lady Rhondda for a writ of summons to Parliament, thus reversing their previous decision [*v.* March 2].

20. The P. and O. liner *Egypt* came into collision off Ushant with the French cargo boat *Seine*. The *Egypt* sank with the loss of eighty-seven lives.

21. Three members of the expedition to Mount Everest reached an altitude of 26,800 feet, the highest point hitherto reached on the earth's surface.

22. The thermometer in London reached 88° in the shade, constituting a record for the month of May.

23. The Prince of Wales landed at George Town (Penang).

— Mr. W. S. Holdsworth was elected Vinerian Professor of English Law at Oxford.

24. An officer and sergeant of the Royal Air Force lost their lives in an aeroplane accident at Digby aerodrome, Lincolnshire.

29. The King held a Levée at St. James's Palace.

— Reduced rates of postage came into operation, the Inland letter rate being 1½*d.* for weights not exceeding 1 oz.

— Horatio Bottomley, M.P., was found guilty at the Old Bailey of fraudulent conversion and sentenced to seven years' penal servitude.

30. Mr. E. B. Charles, K.C., was appointed Chancellor of the Diocese of Chelmsford.

31. Major T. F. Purves was appointed to succeed Sir William Noble as Engineer-in-Chief of the Post Office.

— The Derby was won by Lord Woolavington's Captain Cuttle. Lord Astor's Tamar was second, four lengths behind, and Mr. A. Barclay Walker's Craigangower was third.

— New Cabinet formed in Austria under Dr. Seipel.

JUNE.

1. Sir Thomas Birkin, of Nottingham, lace manufacturer, left estate valued at over two million pounds.

— Sir Rhys Williams, M.P., was appointed Recorder of Cardiff, and Mr. Percival Clarke Recorder of Exeter.

— The index figure of the cost of living stood at 80 per cent. above July, 1914.

2. Lord Astor's Pogrom won the Oaks Stakes. Sir E. Hulton's Soubriquet was second and M. de St. Alary's Mysia third.

3. The King's birthday honours included 5 new Barons, 2 Privy Councillors, 15 Baronets, and 42 Knights Bachelor. The new peers were Sir Robert Borwick, Sir Joseph Robinson, Sir William Vestey, Sir Samuel Waring, and Sir Archibald Williamson. Sir Joseph Robinson subsequently declined the peerage.

— A French cross-channel aeroplane was wrecked off Folkestone, three persons being killed.

4. The Ven. Charles Carr was appointed Bishop of Coventry.

— Viscount Grey of Fallodon was married to Lady Glenconner.

5. An Earldom was conferred on Viscount French, who took the title of Earl of Ypres.

8. Marriage of King Alexander of the Serb-Croat-Slovene Kingdom with Princess Marie of Rumania.

9. Sir Joseph Byrne was appointed Governor of the colony of Seychelles.

10. Brigadier-General H. C. Brown (Co.-Un.) was returned unopposed for the Newbury division of Berkshire.

12. The Prince of Wales sailed from Port Said on his way back to England.

13. The Rev. Canon Thomas Chapman was appointed Bishop of Colchester.

14. Lord Haldane, in laying the foundation-stone of University College, Nottingham, announced the gift of 100,000*l.* by an anonymous donor.

— Mr. G. L. Bevan was arrested in Vienna.

15. The Bank rate was reduced from 4 per cent. to 3½ per cent.

16. *The Times* announced that two members of the Mount Everest Expedition had reached a height of 27,200 feet.

— Six men were killed and a number of others injured in a collision between an engine and a motor lorry at a level crossing at Swansea.

17. The estate of the late Miss Alice C. de Rothschild was sworn at 1,500,000*l.*

18. Five lives were lost through the capsizing of a small sailing boat in the Bristol Channel.

— Two British officers were murdered in Southern Kurdistan.

19. Greece recognised Albania as sovereign state.

— Announcement that H.M. steam drifter *Blue Sky* had been lost with all hands while on a voyage from Portsmouth to Invergordon.

— Substantial reductions were announced in the prices of household coal, the best coal now standing at 55*s.* per ton.

20. The Prince of Wales arrived at Plymouth on the conclusion of his tour in the Far East.

— Mr. H. N. P. Sloman was appointed Head Master of Tonbridge School.

21. The Prince of Wales landed at Plymouth, and after a civic reception travelled to London, where he received a great popular welcome.

— Mr. H. J. Waring was elected Vice-Chancellor of London University for 1922-23.

— The Persian Mejliss (the first since 1915) opened by the Shah.

22. Field-Marshal Sir Henry Wilson, M.P., was shot dead when about to enter his house in London.

— Lord Balfour was presented with the freedom of Birmingham.

— Lieut.-General Sir Philip Chetwode was appointed to succeed Sir George Macdonogh as Adjutant-General to the Forces on September 11.

23. The estate of the late Mr. H. H. Wills, of Bristol, was sworn provisionally at 2,750,000*l.*

26. The minimum retail price of bread in London was reduced from 10*d.* to 9½*d.*

27. Mr. A. H. B. Constable, K.C., Solicitor-General for Scotland, was appointed one of the Senators of H.M. College of Justice in Scotland.

28. The Encænia was held at Oxford, and honorary degrees were conferred on Mr. W. H. Taft, Lord Birkenhead, Cardinal Bourne, Lord Buxton, and others.

29. At a by-election in East Nottingham, Mr. J. P. Houfton (Co.-U.) was elected by a majority of 4,973 over the Labour Candidate. An Independent Liberal also stood.

JULY.

1. The exchange value of the German mark stood at 1,810 to the pound sterling.

2. Trent College in Derbyshire was partially destroyed by fire.

3. The retail price of milk in London was raised to 6*d.* per quart.

4. The Show of the Royal Agricultural Society opened at Cambridge. The King won two Championships and many other prizes.

5. *The Times* announced the appointment of Mr. T. A. Lewis, M.P., as Welsh Whip in place of Mr. Towyn Jones, M.P., who had resigned on account of ill-health.

6. A gale swept across England, the wind reaching a velocity of 60 miles an hour; over 2½ inches of rain fell in Hampshire.

7. The Ven. C. E. Lambert was appointed Rector of St. James's, Piccadilly.

8. The Hon. William Watson, K.C., was appointed Solicitor-General for Scotland.

11. The London County Council adopted, by 74 votes to 47, a proposal to allow games in the parks on Sundays.

13. The French five-masted barque *France*, of 5,600 tons, was wrecked on a reef off the coast of New Caledonia.

— Twelve miners were killed and five injured in an explosion in a coal mine near Stirling.

— Bank rate was reduced to 3 per cent. from 3½ per cent., at which it had stood since June 15.

14. Over fifty persons were injured in a railway accident outside the Gare du Nord in Paris.

17. The King, accompanied by the Queen, opened the new hall of the London County Council.

18. Lord Louis Mountbatten was married to Miss Edwina Ashley.

19. Mr. Lloyd George was presented with the freedom of Aberystwith.

— Colonel E. M. Jack was appointed Director-General of the Ordnance Survey.

20. The President of the Argentine Republic arrived in London on an official visit.

— Agreement between Chile and Peru, signed in Washington, to accept arbitration of President Harding on Tacna-Arica plebescite.

21. Mr. D. Grenfell (Lab.) was returned to Parliament for the Gower division of Glamorganshire by a majority of 3,455 over his Coalition-Liberal opponent.

— Mr. G. S. Gordon was appointed Merton Professor of English literature at Oxford.

22. The King reviewed 9,000 London Territorial troops in Hyde Park.

— The annual report of the Registrar-General for 1920 showed that the death-rate was the lowest and the birth-rate the highest ever recorded for England and Wales.

24. Final meeting of the League of Nations in London: "A" Mandates approved (Syria, Palestine, and Central African territories).

25. Mr. T. I. Mardy Jones (Lab.) was returned to Parliament for the Pontypridd division of Glamorgan by a majority of 4,080 over the Coalition-Liberal candidate.

26. Sir Joseph Thomson, O.M., F.R.S., was presented with the Franklyn Gold Medal for his services in science.

27. Forty-five passengers were injured in an accident at Liverpool Street Station.

28. United States recognized *de jure* independence of Albania, Esthonia, Latria, and Lithuania.

30. Four persons who were attempting the ascent of the Jungfrau were killed by falling over a precipice.

31. Opening of an International Chess Tournament at Westminster.

— The number of persons recorded on the live registers of the employment exchanges in Great Britain as wholly unemployed was 1,352,431.

AUGUST.

1. Reduced railway rates on general merchandise came into force.

— Forty-seven persons were killed and fifty injured in a collision of two trains conveying pilgrims to Lourdes.

2. Colonel H. W. Higginson was appointed aide-de-camp to the King.

4. General J. T. Burnett-Stuart was appointed Director of military operations and intelligence at the War Office.

6. M. Poincaré, the French Prime Minister, arrived in London.

7. Severe floods occurred at Sheffield.

— Mr. D. J. Gibson was killed while racing at Brooklands, his car being overturned.

— The number of persons recorded on the live registers of the employment exchanges of Great Britain as wholly unemployed was 1,328,600.

8. H.M. cruiser *Raleigh*, while cruising off the Labrador coast, went ashore in the straits of Belle Isle.

9. Lord Haig unveiled at Sheffield a memorial to 1,300 men employed by the Great Central Railway Company who fell during the war.

12. Sir W. L. Allardyce was appointed Governor of Newfoundland, Sir Robert Coryndon, Governor of Kenya, Sir G. Archer, Governor of Uganda, Colonel G. H. Summers, Governor of Somaliland, and Sir Graeme Thomson, Governor of British Guiana.

14. Colonel H. S. de Brett and Lieut-Colonel D. H. Gill were appointed to command the two anti-aircraft brigades of the territorial army which were to be formed in London.

— Viscount Northcliffe died at his London residence [*v.* Obit.].

15. Opening of the Horse Show of the Royal Dublin Society.

17. Eight persons who ate potted meat sandwiches in an hotel at Gairloch died of botulism.

18. At a bye-election in South Hackney caused by the expulsion of Horatio Bottomley, Captain C. Erskine-Bolst (Co.-U.) was returned by a majority of 72 over the Labour Candidate.

19. The death-rate in London during this week was 8·1 per thousand, the lowest ever recorded.

20. Games on Sundays were allowed for the first time in the Royal parks in London.

21. Three workmen were killed and 59 injured in a train collision near Gravesend.

— A party of British members of Parliament left London for Quebec on a tour across Canada arranged by the Montreal Board of Trade.

24. Major-General Sir George Bridges was appointed Governor of South Australia.

28. The first wireless telephone exchange came into operation at Croydon aerodrome.

29. A party left Australia to explore New Guinea by air.

30. Sir William Marris, K.C.S.I., was appointed Governor of the United Provinces of Agra and Oude.

31. Professor H. R. Dean was appointed to succeed the late Sir G. Sims Woodhead as Professor of Pathology at Cambridge.

SEPTEMBER.

1. The Duchess of Albany died at Innsbrück. The Court went into mourning for 4 weeks [*v.* Obit.].

2. A severe earthquake occurred in the island of Formosa.

4. The court that inquired into the sinking of the P. & O. Liner *Egypt* found that the loss of life was mainly due to default on the part of the master and the chief officer, and also to failure on the part of the owners through their officials and servants to take proper measures.

5. Thirty-nine miners were entombed as the result of an explosion at the Haig colliery, Whitehaven.

6. The annual meeting of the British Association for the advancement of science opened at Hull.

9. The first Irish Parliament under the Free State met in Dublin.

11. The number of persons unemployed in Great Britain was 1,318,500.

— Palestine Mandate proclaimed.

13. *The Times* announced that the personal estate of the late Viscount Northcliffe had been provisionally estimated at 2,000,000*l.*

15. The estate of the late Sir Thomas Glen-Coats was sworn for probate at 1,674,806*l.*

16. Sir John Henry Kerr was appointed Governor of Assam.

18. The forty-fifth Annual Conference of the Library Association began at Cardiff.

19. Heavy floods and gales occurred in Wales, causing much damage.

20. Mr. J. B. Williams, of the Musicians Union, was chosen chairman of the General Council of the Trades Union Congress.

21. The sun was totally eclipsed on a belt of the earth stretching from Somaliland across the Indian Ocean and Australia.

23. Ebbw Vale steel works and collieries, employing 10,000 workers, were closed owing to constant labour bickerings.

24. Georges Carpentier was knocked out by Battling Siki in the sixth round of a twenty-round boxing contest for the light heavy weight championship of the world in Paris.

26. The Prince of Wales was presented with the freedom of the City of St. Andrews.

— Lord Rothermere became the principal proprietor of the *Daily Mail* and its associated newspapers.

29. Alderman E. C. Moore was elected Lord Mayor of London, in succession to Sir John Baddeley.

OCTOBER.

2. A new airway came into operation between London, Brussels, and Cologne.

3. Three lives were lost in an aeroplane accident at Swansea.

4. Two men were drowned and a third man injured in an accident at Rothesay Dock, Clydebank.

5. Retail prices of coal in London were increased, the maximum advance being 3*s.* per ton.

7. 60,000 boy scouts gave the Prince of Wales a great welcome at the Alexandra Palace.

8. "Summer-time" came to an end and normal time was restored, clocks being put back one hour.

10. The Church Congress opened at Sheffield.

— Honorary degrees were conferred at Leeds University on the Bishop of Ripon and Mr. Bruce Richmond, editor of *The Times* Literary Supplement.

— A Treaty was signed at Baghdad between the British and Iraq Governments.

11. Captain F. Forester's Light Dragoon won the Cesarewitch stakes, starting at odds of 100 to 1.

— Lord Byng of Vimy, Governor-General of Canada, concluded an official tour of four months of the prairie provinces, British Colombia and Yukon.

— An Armistice convention was signed at Mudania between the Allied Generals and Ismet Pasha, the Turkish General.

12. Mr. Robert Munro, K.C., M.P., Secretary for Scotland, was appointed Lord Justice Clerk.

— Dr. Alvear was installed President of the Argentine Republic.

16. The number of persons recorded on the live registers of the employment exchanges in Great Britain as wholly unemployed was 1,332,500.

17. Railway companies decided to reduce passenger fares by one-seventh and to make a similar reduction for rates for fish and meat carried by passenger train.

— The Prime Minister opened new headquarters of the Port of London Authority on Tower Hill.

18. Messrs. Sir Charles R. McGrigor, Bart., & Co., Army Agents and Bankers, suspended payment.

— Sir Eric Geddes was nominated as President of the Federation of British Industries for the coming year.

19. Mr. Lloyd George resigned his office as Prime Minister and First Lord of the Treasury.

— At a bye-election at Newport Mr. Reginald Clarry (Cons.) was returned by a majority of 2,090 over the Labour Candidate.

20. The Prince of Wales visited the Guildhall and was presented with an address of congratulation on his tour in India and the Far East.

23. Mr. Bonar Law was received by the King and appointed Prime Minister and First Lord of the Treasury.

— Canon J. H. B. Masterman was appointed Suffragan Bishop of Plymouth.

— It was announced that the Prince of Wales would pay a visit to South Africa after 1923.

24. Sir Harold Smith, M.P., was appointed Recorder of Blackburn.

25. Outgoing Ministers surrendered their seals of office at Buckingham Palace and new Ministers were sworn in.

— The Marquess of Bute was appointed a Knight of the Order of the Thistle.

— It was announced that the late Lord Northcliffe's shares in *The*

Times, as well as those of Sir John Ellerman, had been acquired by Mr. John Walter, and that Major the Hon. J. J. Astor was associated with Mr. Walter in their acquisition.

26. Parliament was dissolved by royal proclamation.

27. Lord Balfour unveiled the Stock Exchange War Memorial.

29. Twenty cases of small-pox were discovered in Poplar Institution.

30. Sir Basil Blackett was appointed a member of the Executive Council of the Governor-General of India.

31. *The Times* announced that Lord Hardinge would shortly give up his post as British Ambassador in Paris.

NOVEMBER.

1. Polling took place in the Borough elections in England and Wales. The Labour Party lost over 300 seats in London.

4. It was announced by *The Times* that London omnibus, underground railway, and tramway fares would be reduced on January 1.

— Nominations took place of candidates for Parliament; 57 candidates, including Mr. Lloyd George, were returned unopposed. Nearly 1,450 candidates, including 32 women, were nominated.

5. The ex-Kaiser of Germany was married at Doorn to Princess Hermine of Reuss.

7. The King conferred a baronetcy on Sir John Baddeley on his retirement from the Lord Mayoralty of London, and knighthoods on Mr. H. J. de Courcy Moore and Mr. G. Mills McKay, the ex-Sheriffs.

9. An attempt was made to murder Sir William Horwood, Commissioner of the Metropolitan Police, by sending him poisoned chocolates through the post.

— The Lord Mayor's Show was celebrated in the usual manner.

— The London-Brussels Air Mail Service was suspended owing to the bad state of the aerodrome at Brussels.

10. An earthquake occurred in Chile, the loss of life being estimated at 1,000.

11. Armistice day was celebrated; two minutes' silence was observed at 11 A.M. The King laid a wreath at the cenotaph.

— Mr. Rudyard Kipling was elected Rector of St. Andrews University.

14. Resignation of the German (Wirth) Cabinet.

15. Polling took place in the United Kingdom and Northern Ireland for the new Parliament.

16. Whalley Abbey, formerly the home of Cistercian monks, was bought for the Church of England by the Manchester Diocesan Board of Finance.

17. Nine women students were called to the Bar.

18. Lord Crewe was appointed to succeed Lord Hardinge as British Ambassador in Paris.

— Mr. Thomas Hardy, O.M., was elected an Honorary Fellow of Queen's College, Oxford.

20. Dr. Cuno formed a new German Cabinet.

21. Professor David S. Cairns of Aberdeen was chosen as Moderator of the General Assembly of the United Free Church of Scotland.

23. The Prince of Wales opened a new department of the Victoria Hospital for Children, Chelsea.

24. It was announced in the House of Commons that the Government had decided to make a grant of 10s. in the pound, in addition to the assets, to certain victims of the failure of Sir C. McGrigor & Co., Army bankers.

25. Two persons were killed and five were injured in motor car accidents at Blindley Heath and Titsey Hill, near Oxted.

27. Three miners were killed and four injured by an explosion at the Penn End (Siddick) colliery, near Workington.

28. Lord Anglesey was appointed Lord Chamberlain to the Queen.

29. The number of persons recorded on the live register of the employment exchanges in Great Britain as wholly unemployed was 1,387,400.

30. Mr. Alfred Turner, sculptor, and Mr. Herbert Baker, architect, were elected Associates of the Royal Academy.

DECEMBER.

1. Convocation of Canterbury was opened and the Dean of Westminster was re-elected Prolocutor of the Lower House.

— The first Honours list issued by the Government of Northern Ireland was published; it included one baronet and five knights.

3. The proposal for a capital levy in Switzerland was rejected in a referendum by a very large majority.

4. *The Times* announced that Mr. Timothy Healy had accepted the post of Governor-General of Southern Ireland.

— Opening of the Smithfield Club Show.

5. Gerard Lee Bevan was found guilty at the Central Criminal Court of publishing false balance sheets, and other offences, and sentenced to seven years' penal servitude.

— Resignation of the Spanish Cabinet.

6. The King signed a proclamation declaring the adoption of the Irish Free State constitution.

— One lady was killed and a number of passengers were injured in a collision at Park Station, Birkenhead.

7. The Rev. Canon A. C. Headlam, Canon of Christ Church, Oxford, was appointed Bishop of Gloucester.

8. Rear-Admiral Walter Ellerton was appointed Admiral Superintendent of Gibraltar.

9. M. Gabriel Narutowicz was elected President of the Polish Republic.

10. The Nobel Peace Prize for 1921-22 was awarded to Dr. Fridtjof Nansen.

11. *The Times* announced the appointment of the Duke of Abercorn as Governor of Northern Ireland.

— The number of persons recorded on the live register of the employment exchanges in Great Britain as wholly unemployed was 1,388,600.

12. Admiral Sir Sidney Fremantle was appointed Commander-in-Chief at Portsmouth.

13. Mr. J. W. Olive was appointed Deputy Commissioner of Police.

— At a bye-election in South Portsmouth, caused by the retirement of the member who had been elected the previous month, Colonel Leslie Wilson (C.) was returned by a majority of 5,867 over an Independent Conservative candidate.

16. The Glasgow steamer *Smerdis* was sunk in a collision in the Mersey with a loss of ten of her crew.

— M. Narutowicz, the newly-elected Polish President, was assassinated.

18. The Irish Senate passed the first Act of an Irish Parliament for over 100 years. It was an act adapting British Laws to Irish conditions.

19. Lieut.-Commander E. Hilton Young, M.P., was appointed Chief Whip of the National Liberal Party in succession to Mr. C. A. McCurdy.

20. General Sir Walter Congreve, V.C., was appointed General Officer Commanding-in-Chief Southern Command.

— Mr. O. E. Niemeyer, C.B., was appointed Controller of Finance in succession to Sir Basil Blackett.

22. Property of the gross value of 1,181,705*l.* was left by Sir Prince Smith, head of the firm of Messrs. Prince, Smith & Son, textile machine manufacturers.

24. A new processional Cross, the gift of the Hon. Rodman Wanamaker, was presented to Westminster Abbey during evening service.

25. The Christmas post was very heavy; the Foreign and Colonial parcel mails were 15 per cent. higher than in 1921.

26. At a meeting of the Reparation Committee, Germany was declared in voluntary default in regard to the deliveries of timber.

27. Dr. W. N. Robson, of the Egyptian Law School, was murdered in Cairo.

28. Lord Crewe, the new British Ambassador to France, arrived in Paris.

— Owing to an escape of gas in Bethnal Green, three persons were suffocated, and many others affected.

29. The Prime Minister appointed a tribunal of economists to inquire into the Agricultural problem.

— Announcement that from January 1 railway fares throughout the country would be reduced to a general basis of 1½*d.* a mile 3rd class, and 2½*d.* 1st class.

30. Mr. Geoffrey Dawson was appointed Editor of *The Times* in succession to Mr. H. Wickham Steed who had resigned.

31. The airman, Sadi Lecointe, established a new record for speed at the Centre d'Istre. He attained an average speed of 348·028 kilometres, or nearly 217 miles an hour.

RETROSPECT

OF

LITERATURE, SCIENCE, AND ART IN 1922.

LITERATURE.

(Books marked with an asterisk are further noted at the end of this section.)

THE following analysis of books published in the United Kingdom during 1922 is taken from the *Publishers' Circular*, by kind permission of the Editor, Mr. R. B. Marston. As compared with the previous year's total there is a decrease of 184, which will be found to be localised under the head of "New Editions." On the other hand, a notable increase is evident in the item of "Poetry and Drama." Publishing activity was most intense towards the end of the year, and generally reaffirmed a "seasonal"

CLASSIFIED ANALYSIS OF BOOKS PUBLISHED DURING THE YEAR 1922.

Classes of Literature.	New Books.		
	New Books.	Translations.	Pamphlets.
Philosophy	203	28	13
Religion	557	30	88
Sociology	523	19	264
Law	113	1	75
Education	153	2	38
Military and Naval	133	—	61
Philology	141	1	22
Science	431	16	87
Technology	455	2	118
Medicine, Public Health, etc.	220	5	41
Agriculture, Gardening	131	1	60
Domestic Arts	50	—	6
Business	118	—	27
Fine Arts	185	8	12
Music (Works about)	70	2	15
Games, Sports, etc.	170	—	14
Literature	292	14	37
Poetry and Drama	422	33	117
Fiction	1,046	45	15
Juvenile	501	10	37
History	283	13	34
Description and Travel	336	6	42
Geography	117	2	30
Biography	307	27	23
General Works	255	1	—
Totals	7,212	266	1,276
		8,754	

tendency which was thought to be disappearing. The output of some of the newer publishers was surprisingly large. The experience of the autumn provided no fresh foundation for the popular belief that a General Election has a baneful influence on the book trade.

In the department of weekly journalism a famous editorship closed with Mr. A. R. Orage's retirement from the *New Age*. Fortnightly publications with an educational appeal, such as *Peoples of All Nations* and the *Outline of Science*, the latter one of Newnes' enterprises, obtained considerable popular support. One quarterly review, *The Criterion*, devoted to literature and the arts, "arrived" with its first number by forswearing intolerance and gathering the best of all schools. The contents included Mr. T. S. Eliot's long poem "The Waste Land," which won the author an important American literary prize. *The Golden Hind*, another quarterly of art and literature, was chiefly distinguished by the graphic work and influence of the second of its editors, Mr. Clifford Bax and Mr. Austin O. Spare. English writers contributed to a new Italian monthly review, of similar scope but higher scholarship, *L'Esame*, issued in Milan. The publication of an English edition of the famous Dutch art magazine, *Wendingen*, began with numbers devoted to architecture. The appearance of a new natural history quarterly, *Natureland*, should also be noted. To the study of foreign affairs fresh contributions were made by the admirable *Slavonic Review*, to appear three times a year under the editorship of Sir Bernard Pares, R. W. Seton-Watson, and Harold Williams, and by the *Oxford Hungarian Review*, issued by the Oxford League for Hungarian Self-Determination, and so bearing a certain load of propaganda. A valuable Czech year-book, *Rocenka Na Rok*, was also issued, intended to provide a survey of European literature in a concise form. An Australian fortnightly, *The Forum*, began the task of performing for the Antipodes the high office of our own political weeklies, and dispelling English ignorance of the Dominion's outlook and affairs.

The spate of biography, autobiography, and reminiscence continued unchecked throughout the year. The output of volumes dealing with living politicians, authors, and artists, either singly or in batches, was again considerable. The most prominent of those responsible for the conduct of the war and the making of what a recent volume called "Peace with a vengeance," issued or announced attempts to justify themselves to a world now able to realise what it sacrificed, what it underwent, what it was promised, and what it enjoys to-day. The Washington Conference produced a crop of works mainly optimistic in tone. Important contributions were made to general political history and theory. Sociology, as is perhaps inevitable when attention is strained upon the international scene, languished perceptibly. History gathered a remarkable harvest. Three supplementary volumes of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* provided a storehouse for all that the passing of ten crowded years had added to human knowledge; while in the sphere of science, a most useful publication was the * *Dictionary of Applied Physics* (Vols. 1 and 2) edited by Sir R. Glazebrook.

Publications of great beauty and considerable costliness were devoted to the fine arts and individual artists, and the yield of specially illustrated editions of poems, plays, and stories was unusually rich. The undeniable

musical renaissance in this country evoked great activity in that department. Poetry and the drama would seem to have flourished exceedingly, including such additions to our heritage as those made by Mr. A. E. Housman and Mr. Thomas Hardy, to name no others. Collections of essays were exceptionally numerous, their success showing a very definite revival of interest in a form modern journalism tends to cheapen and produce in bulk. Books connected with the principles of M. Coué met an eager demand, as did the numbers written in defence or confutation of spiritualistic principles and phenomena. Psychology made exorbitant demands of its serious students, and here Mr. A. Wyatt Tilby may be mentioned as providing interesting fare in his * *Evolution of Consciousness.* The year's travel volumes were as a class rather more entertaining than seriously informative. The chief of several attractive mountaineering chronicles was, of course, concerned with the attempt upon Mount Everest.

Works of fiction exceeded the total of 1921. Although Mr. Walpole was generally held to have surpassed himself with * *The Cathedral*, and Miss Rebecca West's * *The Judge* was perhaps the year's finest achievement in fiction, no new novel asserted itself as an indubitable masterpiece. Collections of short stories gained and merited more consideration than had for some time been their meed. The appearance of several new works of pure fantasy or allegory, such as Mr. E. R. Eddison's *The Worm Ouroboros*, Mr. David Garnett's successful *Lady into Fox*, and the *Legends of Smokeover* of Principal L. P. Jacks, was particularly welcome. The publicity given to American novels of any real standing, and the labours of selection and appraisement undertaken in this respect by Mr. Walpole and Mr. C. E. Bechhofer, formed part of a movement to appease the resentment expressed by certain authors at this country's indifference to all but the worst American fiction. Translations of minor Scandinavian fiction appeared in some number, and one publisher began a pleasant series of short stories translated from the French. *Swann's Way*, Mr. C. K. Scott-Moncrieff's translation of the first part of Marcel Proust's *A la Recherche du Temps Perdu*, attracted considerable attention and admiration.

The year's biographies ranged over a wide field. Prominent among those devoted to political and public figures was Mr. Ian Colvin's just and stirring * *Life of Jameson.* Mr. Oscar Douglas Skelton dealt, on rather an overwhelming scale, with another outstanding figure of Imperial Politics in his *Life and Letters of Sir Wilfrid Laurier.* The Hon. Clive Bigham assembled a series of admirable studies in a work that had long been awaiting the proper hand, * *The Prime Ministers of Britain*, 1721-1921. Mabell, Countess of Airlie, made a Prime Minister's wife the centre of a brilliant picture in *Lady Palmerston and Her Times.* In the *Life of George, IVth Earl of Aberdeen*, Lady Frances Balfour wrote two volumes of unexpected interest on what seemed the unpromising career of one of the less illustrious Victorian Premiers. Lord Melbourne provided the central character for a biographical play, *The Queen's Minister*, by Miss E. M. Smith-Dampier, and in *Dethronements* Mr. Laurence Housman dramatised with real understanding the reflections of several modern statesmen in the time of their sunset. **Woodrow*

Wilson As I Know Him, by the ex-President's secretary, Mr. Joseph P. Tumulty, although marred by both egotism and adulation, did something to assist the recapture of American popular favour for Mr. Wilson's personality and ideals. A general and sincere expression of this country's gratitude towards the late American Ambassador greeted the publication of Mr. Burton I. Hendrick's *Life and Letters of Walter H. Page*, whose correspondence with his Government during the war period showed the keenest sympathy with this country's aims and efforts and the loftiest understanding of its people.

Opinions of some interest on personalities, by no means all of the first importance, were also expressed from the American angle in General C. H. Sherrill's *Prime Ministers and Presidents*, and Eugene S. Bagger's *Eminent Europeans*. Dr. Lyman Abbott's more appealing *Silhouettes of My Contemporaries*, limited to the American scene, portrayed greater men of the far past of an unusually long lifetime. Among anonymous works in this field the most conspicuous was *The Pomp of Power*, extremely Francophile in outlook, and treating the events and men of recent years with a boldness that might more convincingly have gone the length of backing highly controversial statements with a declared identity. "The Gentleman with a Duster" did not excel himself in his *Painted Windows*, which was devoted to a study of distinguished ecclesiastics.

The great lawyer who spent himself in his extraordinary task as Director-General of Explosive Supplies during the war was worthily commemorated in the *Life of Lord Moulton* by H. Fletcher Moulton, his son. Mr. Max Pemberton's *Lord Northcliffe*, though obviously not planned on the scale due to its subject, was an interesting record of an astonishing career, Mr. Sidney Dark supplying a kind of companion-piece with the *Life of Sir Arthur Pearson*, Bt., G.B.E., divided between his activities as a journalistic power and the work by which he won a nobler fame. Of many works on Churchmen, scholars, and scientists, Mr. J. H. Fowler edited the *Life and Letters of Edward Lee Hicks* (*Bishop of Lincoln*, 1910-19), and Sir Henry Jones and Mr. J. H. Muirhead the *Life and Philosophy of Edward Caird; Hugo Münsterberg: His Life and Work* was written by the psychologist's daughter; Mrs. Birkbeck edited the *Life and Letters of W. J. Birkbeck*; and M. Descour's *Pasteur and His Work* was translated by A. F. and B. H. Wedd, M.D. Colonel H. G. Prout was responsible for *George Westinghouse*, an account of the renowned American engineer, and Mrs. Hawker told the inspiring story of her husband's brief and crowded life in *H. G. Hawker, Airman*. Mr. C. T. Atkinson issued the first volume of *Marlborough and the Rise of the British Army*, while elsewhere Professor Hans Delbrück pursued in *Ludendorffs Selbstporträt* the congenial task of proving who was responsible for the downfall of the German Army. Their contribution to the history of illustrious English families perhaps justifies the inclusion here of two much-applauded works, as remarkable for their literary merit as for their matter, both chronicles of great houses, *Knole and the Sackvilles*, by Miss V. Sackville-West, and *Earlham*, the seat of the Gurneys, by Mr. Percy Lubbock.

Biographical studies of authors were exceptionally abundant. In

Piero Aretino, the Scourge of Princes, Mr. Edward Hutton found behind the worst of reputations a human being worthy of admiration in many respects, and Mr. John Rivers an unexpectedly substantial character in *Figaro: The Life of Beaumarchais*. The solidity of the figure revealed, thanks to American good fortune in the matter of Boswelliana, in Mr. Chauncy Brewster Tinker's *Young Boswell*, and the disclosures of *William Wordsworth and Annette Vallon*, by Professor Emile Legouis, provided further surprises of the same order. Dr. McNaught's *The Truth About Burns* was an essay in rehabilitation, perhaps hardly necessary. Mr. P. P. Howe filled a gap in literary history with his excellent *Life of William Hazlitt*, that man of storms. Mr. Raymond M. Weaver's *Herman Melville: Mariner and Mystic* came in upon a wave of enthusiasm for *Moby Dick* and its author. In *I Can Remember Robert Louis Stevenson* Miss Rosaline Masson harvested from a number of people, distinguished or obscure, their memories of glimpses of R. L. S., whose moral character as a young man was the theme of much controversy during the year. *The Ordeal of Mark Twain*, the result of the application of the psycho-analytic method of criticism by Mr. Van Wyck Brooks, presented him as a great serious author *manqué*, consciously suffering from the repression of his proper impulses by the influences dominant in his household and in his country. Mrs. Watts-Dunton's trivial gossip in *The Home Life of Swinburne* did the poet's fame no service. Mr. Henry Savage commemorated a dead friend in *Richard Middleton: the Man and his Work*, but *J. E. Flecker*, by Mr. Douglas Goldring, had a more interesting central figure and showed more balance. The long lives, rich friendships, and achievements of the pair in several arts gave Mrs. A. M. W. Stirling a wealth of material for her *William and Evelyn de Morgan*. Two new studies of German poets should be mentioned: *Goethe*, by Georg Brandes, and *Kleist*, by Friedrich Gundolf.

Autobiography represented all the stages between emperor and clown, ranging from the ex-Kaiser to "Whimsical Walker." The expectations that might have been raised by the announcement of Wilhelm II.'s *My Memoirs, 1878-1918*, were disappointed on their appearance. The quality in which they were richest was a boundless power of self-deception; upon such subjects as Bismarck they were anything but enlightening, and the absurdities of the history of Anglo-German relations and the proofs of Great Britain's responsibility for the war could only be explained by the credulity they revealed. The ex-Kaiser also put his name to *Comparative History, 1878-1914*, a set of arid tables of dates and events over the period given (with conspicuous omissions), presented without commentary and evidently intended to lie for themselves. *The Memoirs of the Crown Prince*, while faulty as apologia, deserved much more respect as regards style, contents, and the personality revealed, even allowing for some doubt as to the actual authorship. Colonel Repington's further extracts from the notes of his post-war travels through most European countries, and talks with their high personages, in *After the War* did not repeat his earlier success, despite their unquestionable interest. Signor Giolitti's *Memoirs* appeared in Italy and were by no means sensational, though the account of Tripoli and of the Balkan troubles of 1913 was richly documented and threw fresh light upon Italy's actions at the be-

ginning of the World War. Two volumes of the reminiscences of the Chief of the Austro-Hungarian General Staff, Field-Marshal Conrad von Hötzendorf, *Aus meiner Dienstzeit, 1906-18*, were published abroad, reaching the time of preparation for the outbreak of 1914. The documents and records forming the greater part of the text, and the recognised personal qualities of the author, made the work deserve unusual consideration. *Memories of a Turkish Statesman, 1913-19*, by Ahmed Djemal Pasha, gave an interesting account of the doings and personalities of the Committee of Union and Progress, and the making of the alliance between Germany and Turkey. Among works dealing with remoter and less tragic days were the *Private Diaries of the Rt. Hon. Sir Algernon West*, edited by Mr. Horace G. Hutchinson, which took the reader behind the scenes of Victorian politics, greatly to his disillusionment, and furnished many new details of the long struggle between Gladstone and the Queen; the second volume of Lord George Hamilton's *Parliamentary Reminiscences and Reflections*, covering the period between 1886 and 1906; and Sir H. W. Lucy's vivacious *Diary of a Journalist: Later Entries*, from 1890-1910. Sir James Rennell Rodd chronicled his early Pre-Raphaelite days and his official career in Berlin and Athens from 1884-93 in the first volume of his *Social and Diplomatic Memories*, special importance attaching to his chapters on Germany under the rule of Bismarck. The famous American politician and speaker, Mr. Chauncey Depew, used the gifts that made him popular on both sides of the Atlantic to write an entertaining book of *My Memories of Eighty Years*. Baron Rosen's *Forty Years of Diplomacy* was painful reading, being the story of a long life spent in carrying out in many capitals a policy the Ambassador knew to mean ruin to Russia, and closing with the cataclysm of the Revolution. Service memoirs included Admiral the Rt. Hon. Guy Fleetwood Wilson's vigorous and sprightly *Letters to Somebody*, and the Indian reminiscences and reflections of Major-General Nigel Woodyatt, *Under Ten Viceroys*. Sport and adventure, soldiering, big-game hunting, and yachting, in *Past Times and Pastimes* by the Rt. Hon. the Earl of Dunraven, won pre-eminence over politics and serious subjects generally, as they did in the author's own inclinations. *A Cricketer's Book*, by Neville Cardus ("Cricketer" of the *Manchester Guardian*) had a very encouraging reception, and a great batsman, Gilbert L. Jessop, refought his many fields in *A Cricketer's Log*. Mr. William Allison pleased followers of another sport with a further volume, *Memories of Men and Horses*. A fortunate discovery during the year, that of the diary of Joseph Farington, R.A. (1747-1821), was hailed in some quarters as having revealed a diarist in the succession of Pepys and Evelyn. Vol. I. of *The Farington Diary*, edited by Mr. James Greig, containing the entries from July, 1793, to August, 1802, hardly justified this claim, rather by reason of its occasional baldness than any lack of distinction and variety in the pageant of famous figures moving through its pages. Among living authors Lady Battersea scored a striking success with her *Reminiscences*, valuable for its pictures of Gladstone and Disraeli, its records of the great Rothschild family to which she belongs, and its notes on famous English houses and households. It was admirably supplemented by Lady Jersey's *Fifty-one Years of Victorian Life*. The second volume of the *Autobiography of Margot Asquith* had, in addition to

the wit, vividness, and courage of its predecessor, some of the virtues of reticence and charitableness the first volume lacked. Besides the interest of its pictures of public men and affairs, the days of King Edward, the War, and the Armistice, it showed Mrs. Asquith as wife and mother in a light that should have disarmed some of the hostility roused by Volume I. Lady Susan Townley chose the title of her book, *Indiscretions of Lady Susan*, with reference to what seems the harsh judgment of the Foreign Office upon her, and its interruption of her husband's diplomatic career. In *Forty Years On* Lord Ernest Hamilton ranged from the Dublin of the 'sixties as far abroad as Klondyke and Peru. Mr. Maurice Baring's many talents, friendships, and wanderings enabled him to write a bulky volume of recollections while still comparatively young. In *The Puppet Show of Memory* the delightful account of a childhood one cannot but envy had an appeal that even the story of pleasant diplomatic posts abroad and adventures in the Russo-Japanese and Balkan wars could not equal. Sir Henry Jones's *Old Memories* had no such gracious setting for its early chapters, but narrated the long struggle for learning of the young Welsh shoemaker who made his way to a Chair of Moral Philosophy. Mr. John St. Loe Strachey, editor of the *Spectator*, began life fortunately and made his reputation early. *The Adventure of Living: A Subjective Autobiography* showed him happy in his lot with much to tell of the literary discoveries, distinguished friendships, and—with a little pardonable exaggeration—the political influence, his editorship had brought him. Mr. Douglas Ainslie's cheerful, if rather desultory, *Adventures, Social and Literary* took him from Eton and Oxford to the diplomatic service in France, Greece, and Holland, but stopped for the time being on the threshold of richer experience in Italy. With *A New Melody of Memories* the Rt. Rev. Sir David Hunter-Blair, Abbot of Fort Augustus, gave the harvest of another ten years of his life, from 1903 onwards; Canon Bonney's *Memoirs of a Long Life* were instinct with modesty, kindliness, and humour; and the former Mistress of Girton, Miss E. E. Constance Jones, left unfinished her quiet reminiscences *As I Remember: An Autobiographical Ramble*, which were issued as a fragment with a preface by Dean Inge. A strange book of a strange time was that in which Mr. W. B. Yeats wrote his memories of the 'nineties, *The Trembling of the Veil*, and his interpretations of the men and tendencies of that period could have been the work of no other writer and no lesser seer. Much wise and witty comment was to be found in the latest recollections of his countrywoman, Miss Katharine Tynan, *The Wandering Years*. Mr. Arthur Machen's *Far-off Things* was another distinguished volume. Mr. Melville E. Stone, of the Associated Press, won his fame in America, and had it confirmed by interviews with European potentates, and *Fifty Years a Journalist* was quite a modest title for the activities his book described. The darker possibilities of some States of America were disclosed by Mr A. L. Jennings in *Through the Shadows with O. Henry;* the prison life he shared with the latter author beggars any description but his own. Mrs. Patrick Campbell wrote the most notable of the year's stage autobiographies in *My Life and Some Letters*, her correspondence from Mr. G. B. Shaw and Sir J. M. Barrie being a conspicuous asset. Mr. Henry A. Lytton disclosed the agreeable *Secrets of a Savoyard*, and "Whimsical Walker's" *Sawdust to Windsor Castle*

treated with just pride the struggles and triumphs of the popular clown.

Several important collections of correspondence were issued: *Lord Byron's Correspondence*, chiefly with Lady Melbourne, John Cam Hobhouse, the Hon. Douglas Kinnaird, and Shelley, edited by Mr. John Murray; the first volume made rather wearisome by the affairs with Lady Caroline Lamb and Miss Milbanke, the second extremely valuable for the hitherto unpublished letters from Shelley; the *George Sand-Flaubert* and *Nietzsche-Wagner* correspondence; and the *Letters of Lord and Lady Wolseley, 1870-1911*, edited by Sir George Arthur, containing much that is of intrinsic interest and revealing a wonderful relationship between the soldier and the wife. An anthology of letters compiled by Professor Saintsbury, *A Letter Book*, was one of the successes of 1922.

The first volume of the official History of the Great War appeared during the year. *Military Operations, France and Belgium, 1914*, compiled by Brigadier-General J. E. Edmonds, C.B., C.M.G., treated the opening of the campaign in such detail that its 500 pages did not carry the reader beyond the middle of October, 1914. The dispositions of allied and enemy forces were well handled in relation to the British operations, and the story of the battles of Mons, Le Cateau, and the Marne was clear enough to decide much of the controversy which has gathered about that period. Mr. John Buchan's fourth volume completed his revised *History of the Great War*, beginning with Caporetto and ending with the Armistice. The question of the unity of command and the 1918 campaign of Sir Douglas Haig were dealt with fully by the authors of *Sir Douglas Haig's Command, 1915-18*, Mr. G. A. B. Dewar and Lieut.-Colonel Boraston. These two volumes attempted to reverse the familiar process of belittling Haig to the aggrandisement of the reputation of Foch, but a certain excess of partisanship aroused a deal of opposition to a thesis by no means wholly unacceptable. The first volume of the *Official History of Australia in the War of 1914-18*, issued by the Australian Government under the general editorship of Mr. C. E. W. Bean, and *The New Zealanders at Gallipoli*, by Major F. Waite, D.S.O., also the first volume of a Government publication, told the immortal story of the raising of the Dominion forces and their heroism at the Dardanelles. In Volume I. of *The War in the Air*, the last unfinished work of Sir Walter Raleigh, only the early period of hostilities was reached, the preliminary chapters being devoted to the discoveries and exploits by which the air was conquered, and the beginnings of the history of the Royal Flying Corps. The gentlemen adventurers whose combats already read as legends could have found no finer historian. *Deutschlands Krieg in der Luft*, by General von Hoeppner, gave the records of the enemy they had to overcome. General von Bernhardi showed himself unchastened by experience in his *Deutschlands Heldenkampf 1914 bis 1918*, reaffirming the lawfulness of the German plan of campaign and placing the responsibility for Germany's defeat upon Falkenhayn and Bethmann-Hollweg at home, and her allies as a whole outside.

Following his famous *Outline of History*, Mr. H. G. Wells published *A Short History of the World*, remarkable for a scheme of selection and arrangement likely to prove of permanent value. **The Cambridge History*

of British Foreign Policy, 1783-1919, edited by Sir A. W. Ward and G. P. Gooch, was taken as far as 1815 in the first volume of a work that had long been needed, and the appearance of Mr. G. M. Trevelyan's **British History in the Nineteenth Century* (1782-1901) was one of the outstanding events of the year. *Mediæval English Nunneries*, by Miss Eileen Power, and *Forgotten Shrines*, in which Dom Bede Camm, O.S.B., recalled the old English halls, families, relics, and memorials associated with his faith, gave memorable pictures of an older England. The numerous books devoted to London included the continuation of the huge *Survey of London; The History of the Mansion House*, by the City Surveyor, Mr. Sydney Perks; the three final volumes of the Rev. A. H. Johnson's *History of the Worshipful Company of the Drapers of London; The Worshipful Company of Grocers*, by J. Aubrey Rees; and such contributions to social history as Mr. E. Beresford Chancellor's *Memorials of St. James' Street. Ireland from the Earliest Times to the Present Day*, by Mr. R. Dunlop, well merited notice. Mr. H. E. Egerton produced a useful work on *British Colonial Policy in the Twentieth Century. Scottish Colonial Schemes, 1620-86*, by Mr. G. P. Insh, was a chronicle of hazardous enterprise in the New World, and Mr. James Truslow Adams, approaching his subject from a fresh angle, wrote a standard work, *The Founding of New England. The Conquest of New Granada* provided Mr. R. B. Cunninghame Grahame with a subject made to his hand. French history was richly represented by *Mediæval France* and *Modern France*, the work of a number of scholars under the editorship of Mr. Arthur Tilley; the first volume of *A History of France from the Death of Louis XI.*, by Mr. John S. C. Bridge, covering the reign of Charles VIII. and the Regency of Anne of Beaujeu; *Histoire Religieuse*, by M. Charles Goyau, being Tome VI. of the *Histoire de la Nation Française;* and the brilliant and ironic study by Mr. Philip Guedalla, **The Second Empire.* Professor Guy Stanton Ford's *Stein and the Era of Reform in Prussia, 1807-15;* the second volume of Professor H. Friedjung's *Das Zeitalter des Imperialismus, 1884-1914;* and *Die Aera Bülow*, in which Johannes Haller traced the history of the foreign policy that brought Germany face to face with Britain, represented modern Germany; while one period of an earlier Germany was abundantly treated in the third volume of the **Cambridge Mediæval History*, one of a trio of historical books of major importance which came during the year from the University of Cambridge. This was the continuation of an old scheme; a new scheme was begun in **The Cambridge History of India*, edited by Professor E. J. Rapson, which covered in its first volume that dark period of Ancient India of which no records exist, monuments and coins alone remaining where all they celebrate is lost.

Among works on politics, sociology, and economics, no one will grudge the place of honour to the last volume of the venerable Lord Bryce, who died while the eight lectures delivered at Williams College, Massachusetts, and published under the title of *International Relations*, were still in the press. Mr. A. J. Carlyle published Volume IV. of a prodigious study Mr. R. W. Carlyle and he are pursuing in *A History of Mediæval Political Theory in the West*, the immediate subject being the struggle between the spiritual and the temporal power from the tenth century to the twelfth.

Mr. Lothrop Stoddard produced an uncomfortable book, *The Revolt Against Civilisation*, his argument being that as the practices of modern civilisation thwart the processes of natural selection they tend to create preponderating masses of beings who cannot bear the burden of that civilisation, and become in time eager and able to overthrow it. Small consolation for the human race was to be found in *Welthistorische Perspektiven*, the second volume of Oswald Spengler's *Untergang des Abendlandes*. Another aspect of this question was dealt with in * *Western Races and the World*, a volume edited by Mr. F. S. Marvin, to which many scholars contributed.

The present situation of Europe, with its causes and its remedies, was defined with striking power and daring in *Peaceless Europe*, by the Italian statesman, Signor Francesco S. Nitti, who condemned the Peace Treaties without reservation and revealed the extent of the evil they had wrought. Mr. J. M. Keynes's **A Revision of the Treaty* dealt with the same theme from the point of view of the economist; his statistical analyses proved very damaging, and while his work, like Signor Nitti's, roused great indignation in many quarters, it was heartily welcomed in others. Mr. A. E. Zimmern's *Europe in Convalescence* attacked only the financial side of the Treaty of Versailles, and the policy it urged—that of mutual renunciations and adjustments to bring about a concert of England, France, and Germany—time has done nothing to serve. The Washington Conference inspired a series of rather hasty articles by Mr. H. G. Wells, collected under the title of *Washington and the Hope of Peace; The Great Adventure at Washington*, by Mr. Mark Sullivan, which did full justice to Great Britain's attitude and to the success of her representative, then still Mr. A. J. Balfour; and Mr. Raymond S. Buell's *The Washington Conference*. A book crowded with the criticisms America resents so fiercely from outside, and has recently learnt to endure from within, was *Civilisation in the United States*, described as an inquiry by thirty Americans, edited by Mr. Harold E. Stearns. Mr. W. T. Colyer's *Americanism: A World Menace* bore out all the implications of its title, but the recommendation of Bolshevism as the only possible alternative was a sad deterrent. The happenings of the year lent a grave interest to Professor A. J. Toynbee's *The Western Question in Greece and Turkey*, which he called a Study in the Contact of Civilisations, with particular regard to the influence of the Western concept of nationalism upon the peoples of Islam. The Rt. Hon. Sir F. D. Lugard's *The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa* was a weighty contribution to the solution of Imperial problems growing daily more pressing in that region. * *The Foundations of Japan* was the outcome of a residence of five years in the country, and long journeying in the rural districts, made by an exceptionally well-qualified observer, Mr. J. W. Robertson Scott. Home affairs produced no work of unusual standing. Mr. C. F. G. Masterman, whose earlier studies of what seems in retrospect a golden age were anything but optimistic, offered no heartening picture or prospect in his **England After War*. In **Ulster's Stand for Union* Mr. Ronald McNeill tells a story which will provide an explanation of the historical background for the refusal of Northern Ireland to join the Irish Free State. The question to which the political history of the

year lent a special urgency, that of the aims and possibilities of the Labour Party, was answered by Mr. J. H. Thomas and Mr. Robert Williams in *What We Want and Why*, and Sir Lyndon Macassey, speaking as an expert independent of any party allegiance, wrote an excellent survey in *Labour Policy, False and True*. The working man having had his share of attention, it was left for Mrs. M. L. Eyles to treat with intimate knowledge, real shrewdness, and passionate sympathy the lot of the working wife and mother in *The Woman in the Little House*. On the general economics of reform Mr. A. J. Penty's *Post-Industrialism*, Mr. J. A. Hobson's *Incentives in the New Industrial Order*, and the late Mr. H. M. Hyndman's **Economics of Socialism—Marx Made Easy* stood out among works bewildering in their number and the variety of their doctrines. A melancholy phase of social history, and projects of reform in the penal administration of to-day, gave Mr. and Mrs. Sidney Webb their theme in *English Prisons under Local Government*, to which Mr. Bernard Shaw contributed a characteristic preface; something of a corrective was provided by Sir E. Ruggles-Brise, with the record of continual en lightenment and progress given in *The English Prison System*.

Travel and exploration evoked some fine stories of hazards and endurances. Lieut.-Col. C. K. Howard-Bury, D.S.O., related in *Mount Everest: The Reconnaissance, 1921*, the preparations for the great attempt that ended in glorious failure. With *The Friendly Arctic* Mr. Vilhjalmur Stefansson proved satisfactorily, if not to anyone's great allurement, by five years' experience, that the polar regions are valuable territory on which life can very well be supported by men who care to adapt themselves to conditions not unbearably exacting; but the Antarctic was given no such reputation in *The Worst Journey in the World: Antarctic, 1910-13*, by Mr. A. Cherry-Garrard of the Scott Expedition. Europe provided the setting for Sir Frederick Treves' beautiful volume, *The Lake of Geneva;* Mr. Ian Gordon's *Poor Folk in Spain*, the story of wanderings undertaken without any of the resources of the ordinary visitor to that country; and Mrs. Rose Wilder Lane's *The Peaks of Shala*, her account of adventures in primitive Albania. *Through Angola* by Col. J. C. B. Statham, and two enthralling volumes, *The Heart of Arabia*, by H. St. J. Philby, C.I.E., I.C.S., were the work of men whose exploits account for the existence of the Empire. Central and South America received welcome attention in the year's records of travel, as witnessed in Mr. Eugene Cunningham's *Gypsying through Central America;* Mr. C. H. Prodgers' *Adventures in Bolivia*, of unusual kinship in contents and in manner with the tales of old-time heroes of travel; *Six Years in Bolivia*, by Mr. A. V. L. Guise; Mr. Lionel Portman's humorously petulant *Three Asses in Bolivia;* and Mr. G. M. Dyott's roamings about Peru, the Andes, and the Amazon in *Silent Highways of the Jungle*. The strange extremes of the Antipodes were illustrated in Mr. R. Logan Jack's *Northmost Australia*, and *The Conquest of the New Zealand Alps* by Mr. Samuel Turner, F.R.G.S. Mr. W. Somerset Maugham's *On a Chinese Screen* contained a collection of memorable word-pictures of the Far East; Mr. Julian Street had a never-failing subject in *Mysterious Japan;* and Sir Herbert Russell had the happy task of recording the welcome distant lands gave to an illustrious traveller in *With the Prince in the*

East. H.R.H. Prince William of Sweden wrote his own story of long and fortunate voyages in *Between Two Continents*, which was translated by Mr. W. Worster.

Among noteworthy publications in the realms of philosophy, theology, and cognate subjects may be mentioned Viscount Haldane's searching work *The Philosophy of Humanism*, one of countless recent books concerned with the Einstein philosophy; the first volume of the *History of Indian Philosophy*, by Surendranath Dasgupta; Dr. Wingfield-Stratford's arraignment of the follies of our time in *Facing Reality;* and Miss May Sinclair's *The New Idealism.* A one-volume abridgment of Sir J. G. Frazer's *The Golden Bough* was warmly greeted by the public. The *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* reached its twelfth and concluding volume, reserving the index for later issue. Bishop Gore raised widespread discussion with his *Belief in Christ*, and the learning and humanity of Dr. T. R. Glover won his *Progress in Religion* unusual popular success.

In the sphere of art, some magnificent works were issued, those concerned with the masters and the reproductions of their work yielding place, perhaps, to the costly volumes on china, furniture, and architecture, such as Mr. William King's *Chelsea Porcelain;* Mr. William Buxton's *Josiah Wedgwood and his Pottery; English Renaissance Woodwork, 1660-1730*, by Mr. T. J. Beveridge; *Hand-Woven Carpets, Oriental and European*, by Messrs. A. F. Kendrick and C. E. C. Tattersall; *The Architecture of Robert and James Adam*, by Mr. Arthur T. Bolton, of particular interest in the year which heard the Adelphi threatened with destruction; and the second part of Sir T. G. Jackson's *Renaissance of Roman Architecture*, devoted to England. Individual artists and their achievements were studied by Mr. Arthur M. Hind in his volumes on *Wenceslaus Hollar*, the etcher who drew London before and after the Great Fire, and *Giovanni Battisti Piranesi;* Professor Allen Marquand in *Andrea della Robbia and his Atelier;* Mr. E. V. Lucas, writing with delightful fervour on *Vermeer of Delft;* and Mr. Campbell Dodgson in *The Etchings of James McNeill Whistler*, the same author giving even more enlightenment to the general reader in his *Contemporary English Woodcuts.* Two foreign works of high repute appeared in an English guise: Julius Meier-Graefe's biographical study *Vincent van Gogh*, translated by Mr. J. Holroyd Reece, and Señor A. de Beruete y Moret's *Goya as a Portrait Painter*, translated by Selwyn Brinton. Mr. Laurence Binyon wrote an admirable introduction to *The Drawings and Engravings of William Blake.* Several smaller volumes dealt with the personalities and the polemics of the modern schools: Mr. Ian Gordon's *Modern French Painters;* Mr. Frank Rutter's *Some Contemporary Artists;* and *Since Cezanne*, by the irreconcilable Mr. Clive Bell. The Scammon Lectures delivered in Chicago by Mr. Joseph Rennell, reprinted in *The Graphic Arts*, were evidently as informal as they were informative; and Mr. W. R. Lethaby's papers on Art and Labour collected as *Form in Civilisation*, though less enlivening, were worthy of preservation. Mr. Max Beerbohm published two volumes of caricatures, *A Survey*, and *Rossetti and His Circle*, the latter doing more than many hundred works of biography to reveal and explain the heroes of the Pre-Raphaelite period. *Punch Pictures* by Mr. Frank Reynolds, *More Drawings* by Mr. H. M. Bateman,

Drawn at a Venture by "Fougasse," and *Characters* by Mr. George Belcher, represented English humorous art of exceptional rank and fertility, while *Places*, by Mr. Paul Nash (Heinemann), may be said to be a good if small example of English Impressionism.

The regularity with which contemporary writers published in book form their contributions to the daily or weekly Press showed both the renewed interest in the essay and the real quality of much work that would otherwise be regarded as ephemeral. For literary criticisms and appreciations, such as Mr. J. C. Squire's *Books Reviewed*, Mr. Lynd's *Books and Authors*, Mr. Edmund Gosse's *Aspects and Impressions*, and Mr. Edward Garnett's first series of *Friday Nights*, there would seem to be an eager public, and Mr. H. L. Mencken might well have shared its allegiance if more than one of the subjects in *A Book of Prefaces* had meant anything to the average English reader. Mr. J. Middleton Murry's *Countries of the Mind* were graver matter, inclined, perhaps, to be somewhat pontifical. In *Books and Characters, French and English*, Mr. Lytton Strachey brought his patient and subtle criticism to bear upon Stendhal, Rousseau, Shakespeare, Beddoes, and Blake, and let his fullest enthusiasm, so long undisclosed, display itself in his essay on Racine, which should be read in connexion with Mr. Masefield's recent experiments in translation. Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch issued a second series of his *Studies in Literature*. The major work of the year in the essay form included Dean Inge's second volume of **Outspoken Essays*, composed of recent lectures and contributions to reviews, introduced by his striking *Confessio Fidei*. The independence, courage, and suggestiveness of the Dean's work evoked a remarkable and probably unexpected tribute in the *Nation* from Mr. G. B. Shaw. Two important volumes, *Points of View*, came from Lord Birkenhead at the time of his departure from office, and displayed the same energy, freedom of spirit, and boldness in his own field as did the Dean of St. Paul's. Lord Birkenhead was evidently in nothing else more happy than in remembering and defending his friends; but his loyalty to his calling did not prevent him from considering large schemes of reform. The discursive character of *A Hind in Richmond Park*, the posthumous work of its lamented author, the late W. H. Hudson, perhaps justifies its place in this section, though it was a continuous series of reflections on the senses shared by men and animals. Mr. C. E. Montague's sombre comments on the war and the settlement, his analysis of the illusions by which the honest citizen was inspired at the outset, and the factors that brought about their collapse before the end of the war, and led to the general spirit of distrust prevailing to-day, formed the contents of *Disenchantment*, and much of his evidence and conclusions found confirmation in such of the papers in Mr. H. M. Tomlinson's *Waiting for Daylight* as were based on war memories. Lord Riddell's wide practical experience and sound judgment gave value to his popular collection *Some Things that Matter*. *Alarums and Excursions* contained the mannered and allusive work of Mr. James Agate, and a new essayist and parodist, Mr. J. B. Priestly, produced an entertaining set of *Brief Diversions*. Mr. Maurice Hewlett's *Wiltshire Essays* fulfilled the promise of their title and authorship, and Mr. George Saintsbury in *A Scrap Book* considered books, men, sausages and all

things knowable, indulging in occasional onslaughts on whatsoever is not of the Tory faith, and giving three delightful miniature biographies of Henley, Lang, and Dobson. The *Collected Prose* of J. E. Flecker had little more than the interest of its authorship. The distinguished work of Mr. George Santayana was seen at its best in *Soliloquies in England.* "V" (Mrs. J. L. Garvin) and Yoï Maraini published delectable collections of *choses vues* through woman's eyes in *As You See It* and *In a Grain of Sand.* Mr. J. C. Squire called another of the year's sheaves *Essays at Large,* and Mr. Robert Lynd poured more of his rich store into *The Sporting Life* and *Solomon in All His Glory.* A further series of "philosophic comfits," *More Trivia,* came from Mr. Logan Pearsall Smith; Mr. E. V. Lucas provided *Giving and Receiving* and *You Know What People Are;* and an American humorist, well known as a contributor to *Life,* Mr. R. C. Benchley, attracted English readers with *Of All Things.* The publication of a translation of Anatole France's series *On Life and Letters* continued, and Mr. W. A. Bradley presented a selection from Remy de Gourmont in *Decadence and Other Essays on the Culture of Ideas.*

Reference has already been made to the experiments in using authentic political figures as characters in prose drama, attempted by Mr. Laurence Housman and Miss Smith-Dampier. The former also published a collection of eighteen playlets, *Little Plays of St. Francis,* relating the life of the Saint. Mr. Israel Zangwill laid his third political drama in an imaginary kingdom, and strove to portray the overthrow of its monarchy in favour of a Socialist state, itself in turn betrayed by what is false within. The collection of *Three Plays and a Pantomime* emphasised the extent of the loss the stage suffered by the death of Mr. George Calderon. *The Fountain* and *Revolt* showed many of the qualities popularly called Shavian, however avowedly different in doctrine, *Cromwell* should be produced if only to threaten what tends to be an unsatisfactory monopoly in historical plays, and *Cinderella,* the "Ibsen pantomime" concluding the book, was a devastating parody. Mr. John Galsworthy's *Plays: Fifth Series,* contained three of his recent works, among them his successful *Loyalties.* A volume of *Plays: First Series,* introduced to the English reader a playwright of immense repute in the United States, Mr. Eugene O'Neill, and included his grim masterpiece, *The Emperor Jones.* The crime of a solicitor who escapes guilt before men by fastening it upon his partner, and how the two of them are at last destroyed by the consciousness of their guilt before God was matter of which Mr. Robert Nichols made a lengthy play, *Guilty Souls,* defending (and overweighting) his theme and his treatment of it with a truly portentous Preface. Mr. Bernard Gilbert, too, overloaded his work with confirmatory notes and stage directions, though the handling of English village tragedy and comedy in *King Lear at Hordle, and other Rural Plays* in the spirit of Synge justified his ambition. Three Irish writers, one at least of lofty genius, added to the year's achievements: Mr. W. B. Yeats with his *Plays in Prose and Verse,* largely composed of work already famous; Lady Gregory with *The Image and other Plays,* rich in comedy and poetry; and Lord Dunsany with his *Plays of Near and Far.* A fragment by Oscar Wilde, *For Love of the King: A Burmese Masque,* was rescued from oblivion—

a frail romance overwhelmed with all the heaped trappings of the gorgeous East. The publication of J. E. Flecker's Oriental drama **Hassan*, in which several of his poems were at length seen in their proper setting, was one of the literary events of the year. Mr. John Masefield was prolific and unexpected. *Melloney Holtspur* was what William de Morgan once called a dichronism, bringing the ghosts of a past generation actively and potently into the lives of their descendants. The same author's translations of Racine's *Esther* and *Berenice* were greeted with admiration blent with astonishment that Mr. Masefield should have been tempted by the task. Mr. A. C. Clutton-Brock faced an old perplexity in *Shakespeare's Hamlet*, his study of the basis and manifestations of the Prince's irresolution. *The Exemplary Theatre* was an essay by Mr. H. Granville-Barker on the civic function of the theatre, the recognition of its place in public education, the theory of the matter, and a practical programme for its realisation. Mr. A. W. Darlington in **Through the Fourth Wall*, and Mr. Archibald Haddon in *Green Room Gossip*, gathered together in volume form their dramatic criticisms contributed to the *Daily Telegraph* and *Daily Express* respectively.

Mr. Thomas Hardy added to the lustre of the year's poetry with *Late Lyrics and Earlier*, a collection that could have come from no other hand. The "Apology" preceding the poems was a trenchant reply to criticism of the author's outlook and his expression of it in verse, but it might be held to exaggerate the importance of detractors who were never much heeded and could do nothing to impair Mr. Hardy's renown. *Last Poems*, after more than twenty years since the appearance of *A Shropshire Lad*, secured for Mr. A. E. Housman one of the highest poetic reputations of our time, albeit based on productions of such slender volume. Mr. W. B. Yeats gave the misleading title of *Later Poems* to a collection of his work extending from 1893-1921. Among the younger poets, Mr. Edmund Blunden mingled scenes of battle and pictures of the inviolate countryside in *The Shepherd and other Poems*, and Mr. Squire's new volume experimented on a bold scale in subjects such as Rugby football and the Chicago stockyards. Mr. Alfred Noyes was inspired by the wonders of astronomical research to write *The Torchbearers*. *Down-Adown-Derry* was a pleasantly-illustrated book of fairy poems by Mr. Walter de la Mare, and Mr. W. H. Davies sang as ever of beautiful and simple things in *The Hour of Magic*. *The Ballad of St. Barbara*, by Mr. G. K. Chesterton, contained a worthy successor to *Lepanto*. The left wing in modern poetry was very adequately represented by Mr. Sacheverell Sitwell's *The Hundred and One Harlequins* and Miss Edith Sitwell's *Façade*. Other noteworthy volumes included *Preludes*, by Mr. John Drinkwater; *Two Poems*, by Mr. John Freeman ; Mr. Harold Monro's curious *Real Property ;* and the striking *Titans and Gods*, by Mr. F. V. Branford. A selection of the work of Isaac Rosenberg, who was killed in action before his great talent had grown to equal his ambition and promise, was published as *Poems*, with a memoir by Mr. Laurence Binyon. American poets made good their title to serious consideration, in spite of the tendency on the part of undeniably gifted writers to practise the most unattractive and unrewarding forms of "freak" verse. Mr. Conrad Aikens' *Punch*,

the Immortal Liar gave proof of the author's high faculties and questing intelligence. *The Voyage of Ass,* by Mr. E. H. W. Meyerstein, a startlingly elaborate piece of metrical narrative, had less attention than it deserved.

Devoid though it was of any work that could be singled out as being decisively the book of the year, the fiction of 1922 provided an abundance of "fine confused feeding." For the first time it was possible to see Mr. John Galsworthy's masterpiece, *The Forsyte Saga,* as a whole; the presentation of so many works in one convenient volume should also be mentioned as an achievement in publishing. Mr. Hugh Walpole's **The Cathedral* was hailed as its author's finest work, despite his familiar trick, a disappearing trick, with characters in whose fortunes the reader's interest has been painstakingly aroused earlier in the book. **The Secret Places of the Heart,* by Mr. H. G. Wells, was disappointing as a whole, and Mr. Arnold Bennett, after delighting his readers with his stores of humour and sagacity in **Mr. Prohack,* wasted his gifts—though not much of them—on the flashiness of *Lilian.* The majority of Mr. Compton Mackenzie's followers must have had their loyalty severely strained by the minutiæ of creed and ritual that absorb the central figure of *The Altar Steps,* which threatened to be the first volume of a series entitled *The Parson's Progress.* Mr. George Moore's studies of celibates, *In Single Strictness,* was a new work except for a few pages. Mr. James Joyce published in Paris his extraordinary *Ulysses,* which could hardly have appeared in this country. *The Prisoners of Hartling* showed Mr. J. D. Beresford's usual power in the handling of the morbid and sinister. Controversy that was by no means adverse to the overwhelming financial success of the novel here and in America was roused by Mr. A. S. M. Hutchinson's thesis in *This Freedom.* Mr. Stephen McKenna with *Soliloquy* and *The Confessions of a Well-Meaning Woman,* Mr. Robert Hichens with *December Love,* Mr. W. L. George with *The Stiff Lip,* and Mr. S. P. B. Mais with *Caged Birds,* did not stray from their wonted themes, and Mr. W. J. Locke confected from a recipe long tried and always appreciated *The Tale of Triona.* Mr. Ernest Oldmeadow completed his trilogy with *Wildfang,* and another volume of Mr. Conal O'Riordan's sequence, *In London,* set his hero Adam in surroundings that seemed fatal to the qualities revealed in his Dublin history. Coincidence can rarely have been so abused as in this particular instance. *Aaron's Rod,* Mr. D. H. Lawrence's new novel, had all his indisputable virtues and vices strongly marked upon it. A first novel, *Mary Lee,* remarkable as the work of a young man, considering that it was written from the standpoint of a woman living under the tyranny of a harsh religious sect of seventy years ago, yet carried complete conviction as to authorship and date, established the reputation of Mr. Geoffrey Dennis. Mr. Arthur Machen's *The Secret Glory* was essentially an attack on the public-school system, which had also been criticised during the year in *Public School Life,* by Mr. Alec Waugh. **The Lonely Unicorn* was a striking novel by the latter author, and Mr. Desmond Coke made a public school, or rather the Head Master's house, the setting for **Pamela Herself.* Not many years ago Mr. Robert Keable's *Peradventure, or the Silence of God,* might have been the sensation of its day; the struggle of faith with doubt in the soul of Paul Kestern, and the types and tenets of the

various churches, though treated with real talent, were not subjects that at present make any considerable appeal. *Futility*, by Mr. William Gerhardi, was called "a novel on Russian themes," and his brilliant narrative and humour won the highest critical appreciation. The Nationalist movement in India gave Mr. Edmund Cardler the plot of his *Abdication*. Mr. Benjamin Swift returned after long absence with *Sudden Love*, and two other works came to vie with it in spaciousness and beauty —Mr. E. C. Booth's *The Tree of the Garden*, and Mr. Gerald O'Donovan's *The Holy Tree*. Mr. Shane Leslie and Mr. Eric Parker earned the gratitude of all Etonians with *The Oppidan* and *Playing Fields* respectively, and their tribute may be set off against the strictures of Mr. Arthur Machen and Mr. Alec Waugh. *The Things We Are*, by Mr. John Middleton Murry, drew human beings as creatures whose destinies are shaped by the merest trifles; Mr. C. E. M. Joad indulged in persiflage of varying quality in **The Highbrows*; and Mr. Michael Arlen's more polished wit and brighter social scene captured the favour of a large circle for his *Piracy*.

Mr. Gilbert Cannan devoted a volume to another of his unpleasing egotists, *Sembal*, and continued the interminable Lawrie sequence in *Annette and Bennett*. *Heartbeat*, by Mr. Stacy Aumonier, and Mr. Eric Leadbitter's *Dead Reckoning* were tragedies in two very different genres. Reference has already been made to Mr. E. R. Eddison's story of the planet Mercury, *The Worm Ourohoras*, and Mr. David Garnett's *Lady into Fox*, the latter written with such charm and effortless circumstantiality as to make its hypothesis as well as its message conquer the reader's imagination. *The History of Alfred Rudd*, by Mr. E. V. Odle, received much attention, but it was mere flattery to liken it to the earlier work of Mr. Wells. Mr. Henry Baerlein's *The House of the Fighting Cocks*, however, had the best graces of another master, Anatole France. The journeyings through Mexico, in time of revolt, of Juan and the wandering Spanish scholar, Don Eugenio, the latter's endless quotations and his disquisitions with the Noahcite Don Arcadio of whom he had come in search, their romance and their tragedy, made the book a peculiar treasure.

American authors figured prominently on the year's lists. Mr. Joseph Hergesheimer was most prolific with an early work *The Lay Anthony*, the somewhat oversexed *Cytherea*, which outraged some sections of American opinion, and *Mountain Blood*. **Babbitt*, by Mr. Sinclair Lewis, revealed the horrors of life in Zenith City as inexorably as *Main Street* dealt with the prairie township. Another American success, *Three Soldiers*, by Mr. John dos Passos, drew a depressing picture of the American ranker's sufferings at the hands of his superiors in camp, in the line, and in hospital. **Uncle Moses*, by Sholom Asch, gave a remarkable picture of a community of Polish Jews in the New York Bowery.

The work of women novelists again reached a very high level; indeed, in theme and in strength of treatment they might be held to excel their male competitors. Miss Rebecca West's **The Judge* was perhaps marred by excess of power, and preoccupation with the morbid aspects of psychology. Mrs. Carswell's new book, like her first, was set in Glasgow, but *The Camomile* had not the same fulness and intensity

as *Open the Door*, and seemed to be unfinished or in need of a sequel. Mrs. M. Leonora Eyles was daunted by none of the scenes she found necessary to her *Hidden Lives*, and the slums of Shellpit and the sufferings of Helen Clevion, the woman doctor who goes about her task there even when a moment's weakness has multiplied the horror of her life in Shellpit a thousandfold, leave images that almost scar the mind. *Secret Drama* marked a definite advance in the work of Isabel Beaumont. Miss May Sinclair's *The Life and Death of Harriet Frean* was a brief book that covered seventy odd years of an old maid's life, ruined by the inhibitions her upbringing made part of her being. By contrast *Anne Severn and the Fieldings*, by the same author, was full of light and animation, though dark complexes mar the relations of Anne and the three Fielding sons, and no happiness seems to stand but for the scythe of the sub-conscious to mow. The quiet beauty of the work of Miss E. B. C. Jones was again evident in *The Wedgwood Medallion*, and Miss G. B. Stern combined psychological subtlety and humour in **The Room*. Mrs. Virginia Woolf, following her peculiar genius, made of *Jacob's Room* another of those brilliant novels of which the parts are delightful, but the whole unseizable. Miss Storm Jameson furnished a baffling study of the psychology of passion in **The Clash*. In *The Glimpses of the Moon* Mrs. Edith Wharton made her selfish materialists suffer afresh, and a new novelist, Miss M. R. Larminie, showed both freshness and power in the story of a mistaken marriage and an unhappy household told in *Search*. The author of *Elizabeth* filled **The Enchanted April* with her wonted wit and a certain new benignity; Miss Rose Macaulay made the headquarters of the League of Nations the centre of her intrigue and satire in *Mystery at Geneva;* and Miss Stella Benson's *The Poor Man* had woven into it all that the author's world-travels had added to her experience. The revival of the short story resulted in several excellent collections. Princess Bibesco's **I Have Only Myself to Blame* and *Balloons;* Miss Katharine Mansfield's masterly *The Garden Party; The Heir*, by Miss Sackville-West; and Miss Elinor Mordaunt's *Short Shipments* stood out among the works of women writers. Mr. G. K. Chesterton and Mr. Hilaire Belloc spoke in parables in *The Man Who Knew Too Much* and *The Mercy of Allah*, while the suave periphrasis and Orientalism of *The Golden Hours of Kai Lung*, by Mr. Ernest Bramah, admitted of many a "privie nippe" for the civilisations of the West. *Mortal Coils* again displayed the talent and perversity of Mr. Aldous Huxley.

Of the above books the following have been deemed suitable for special notice :—

GENERAL LITERATURE.

British History in the Nineteenth Century, 1782-1901, by G. M. Trevelyan (Longmans, Green & Co.). Mr. Trevelyan has performed a remarkable feat in bringing within the compass of a single volume the history of a hundred and twenty years of such change and development as transformed the face of the world. His work is neither an arid

summary nor an arrangement of specious generalisations. Names, dates, and facts are in no way scanted; the characterisation of leading personalities is full and brilliant; and through the whole story of social, political, and economic change, and the action and reaction of the ideas that brought it about, the author impresses upon the reader the unity and continuity of our national history and the persistence of the fundamentals of British character and temperament. The book begins with a vivid picture of eighteenth-century England before the upheaval of the Industrial Revolution. It stresses our likeness to our ancestors of that day in essentials and our complete divergence in habits, environment, and experience; the survival of the forms of the Constitution and the utter transformation of its principles; and the division of the era with which the volume deals into the period of the hideous reign of invention and capital considered solely as the factors of private wealth, and the period of their controlment in the name of public welfare. It begins with a system in which change was the most detestable of evils, and ends in a time to which change is the law of being. In a work of this kind everything depends upon the author's point of view and his freedom from prejudice. No one could be more just than Mr. Trevelyan. The old aristocracy, the squirearchy, even the early industrialists, receive their due. The Conservative Party's share in promoting reform and alleviating distress is given a prominence usually denied it. Fox, Pitt, Castlereagh, Wellington, Disraeli, Salisbury, all appear as men who wrought in the main beneficently, from high motives and with conspicuous genius. The examination of the work of Brougham, Bentham, Owen, Cobbett, and Place, the treatment of the Combination Acts, the Reform Era, Trade Unionism, Co-operation, progressive enfranchisement, and the educational system, show Mr. Trevelyan's eager interest in all that has contributed to the establishment of the power and well-being of the democracy of this country. To his comprehensive knowledge in this respect no small part of the book's value and attractiveness is due. While he does not gloss over this country's errors or offences, whether at home, in her foreign policy, or towards her possessions, Mr. Trevelyan believes in England's integrity and influence in spreading the best fruits of civilisation over the world in the past, the survival of the best characteristics of her people to-day, and her ability to face the possibilities of the future. The book is written in a manner that makes it rank high as a piece of literature, and it is not too much to say that it was most certainly one of the great books of the year.

The Second Empire, by Philip Guedalla (Constable). That it was a France within the memory of living men, and not a novelist's Ruritania, which was the theatre of the pageant and the tragedy Mr. Guedalla brings before us with such amazing vividness and minuteness, occasionally comes back upon the reader with something of a shock. A young historian with a treasury of significant detail that remains uncanny even when the bibliography at the end of his book in part reveals whence it was gained, has here written his first work *de longue haleine.* It has four divisions: Bonapartism, The Prince, The President, and the Emperor. The first is a prologue, dealing with the Napoleonic legend. Mr. Guedalla, as far as his ironic detachment permits, denies the first Emperor any

genuine devotion to those ideals of liberation attributed to him by that legend. In his view Napoleon I. only invoked this gospel when the sword had failed him. Napoleon III., on the other hand, was a man upon whom circumstances had forced silence, solitude, study, and reflection ; exile and imprisonment, the capitals of a restless Europe, the raw beginnings of New York, had taught him much. The man who was to appear to the England of his time as the embodiment of reaction and tyranny, himself cherished the ideas a later age was to welcome, the belief in nationality, self-determination, the rights of peoples and the rights of the people, in international conferences, and in a close understanding between France and England. Mr. Guedalla is perhaps the first to do full justice in this regard to the third Napoleon. On the other hand, he passed long years in conspiracy, and he had learned to fight with the weapons that were used against himself. The struggle to maintain himself as Minister and President was as great as that required for his establishment as unassailable Emperor; he made his throw ; all manner of men—a strange show indeed they make in Mr. Guedalla's pages—dared for him greatly ; and this book suggests that the chief tragedy for Napoleon III. was the attainment of his purpose. The aim of his life has been achieved thus early: what more had it to offer? It offered years of a magnificence that still strangely outshines the blackness of the disaster in which they closed. The personalities of the time, the Emperor and Empress, their Ministers and Marshals, courtiers and secret agents, Guards and huntsmen, nobles, irreconcilables, demi-mondaines and writers, crowd Mr. Guedalla's stage, each an astonishingly definite figure with its uniform, livery, costume, passion, or mannerism, complete and convincing. Using an artifice somewhat reminiscent of the cinematograph, the author delights in turning the reader's gaze suddenly from the main scene to some significant detail elsewhere, in the reconstructed streets of Paris, in a room where a man sits writing, or, as the mutterings of the storm begin, across the frontier. There is no such complete picture of the Second Empire to be found elsewhere, and no more able analysis of the elements that brought about its overthrow. The pages describing the dissolution of that marvellous show, the shattering of those armies whose outward splendours are still a by-word, and the surrender of the stricken Emperor, are, for all Mr. Guedalla's coolness, deeply moving. But it is not at Chislehurst that he ends his story. Chislehurst, like St. Helena, might have been but an interruption. The story ended with the death of the last Napoleon in the service of the country that had vanquished the first.

The Cambridge History of British Foreign Policy, 1783-1919. Vol. I., 1783-1815. Edited by Sir A. W. Ward and G. P. Gooch (Cambridge University Press). Sir Adolphus Ward and his collaborators have begun a work which, despite the abundance of volumes on special incidents of our foreign policy, and the mass of material at hand for the undertaking, has long been conspicuously lacking. British foreign policy has often been the subject of malign comment from abroad, and consistency has been the quality most frequently denied it. The editors, rightly taking a national point of view, with strict loyalty to historical truth, seek to defend our reputation in this respect. It is true that we are

only to see ourselves as our own historians see us, all of the contributors to the *History* being of British birth; but the opposition is well represented to-day, both at home and abroad, and the present work is based upon the original official documents and correspondence, in many cases published here for the first time, from the Foreign Office. Sir Adolphus Ward begins the volume with a general sketch of British foreign policy throughout our national history. This is followed by a detailed narrative covering the period which opens with Pitt's ministry and closes with the story of our part in the mighty struggle with the armies of the Revolution and the First Empire. Dr. Clapham is responsible for the account of Pitt and his handling of the situation prior to the war, and his study is clear and authoritative. The remainder of the book, and the greater part of its bulk, is occupied with the chronicles of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars, the earlier portion by Dr. Holland Rose, whose knowledge of the period is unrivalled, and the conclusion by Professor C. K. Webster, who deals with the influences dictating the peace made at Vienna, and does something, as seems to be the fashion of the time, to correct the unenviable repute of Castlereagh. The policy of Castlereagh and Wellington—"security not revenge," the establishment of barriers against French aggression without the dismemberment or even the needless humiliation of France—has given the Treaties of Vienna a special interest for the generation which has known the Treaty of Versailles and its sequel. A chapter on the American War and the Treaty of Ghent concludes the volume.

The book demonstrates that the problems our foreign policy has had to face have remained constant. The documents available in the present work show that British policy was not wanting in steadfastness and loyalty towards external obligations. There is much that will come home very directly to the bosom of the modern citizen of Britain in the story of the conflict between a Power whose operations were under the most rigorous unity of control, and Allies who, jointly or severally, were weakened and baffled by the absence of any such single command. War waged by a Coalition, the crises during hostilities, and the settlement revealing the different objects and principles of the Allies—obviously there is some foundation for the philosophy of eternal recurrence. The Cambridge University Press deserves the gratitude of all students of history for its enterprise in furnishing so eminently useful a work.

The Cambridge Mediæval History: Vol. III.—Germany and the Western Empire (Cambridge University Press). The great co-operative histories planned by the Cambridge Press and executed for the most part by scholars of the University are now so well known that it will suffice to say that the third volume of the *Mediæval History* worthily continues the tradition of its two predecessors. In recent years much research work has been done in the mediæval history of Europe; the student will find the results set forth in this volume. It is needless to dwell on the fulness of treatment; not only is political history adequately dealt with, but social, cultural, and ecclesiastical history receive due consideration. By way of illustration, we may point to the chapter on Feudalism, from the pen of Sir Paul Vinogradoff, which is a model of how to pack much

information into a narrow compass. No less important than the narrative is the extensive Bibliography at the end of the volume, and the maps complete the reader's requirements. Of the twelve learned contributors only three are foreigners; the book may, therefore, properly claim to represent the best English historical scholarship. The series as a whole is noteworthy in two respects. Not only does it bear testimony to the progress of English historical research, but by raising the standard of historical handbooks, it is preparing the way for even better historical work in the future. From this point of view the *Cambridge Mediæval History* is a national asset; and the appearance of the third volume is an important event in the year's publishing.

The same may be said of the **Cambridge History of India** (Cambridge University Press), which has been planned on the model of the *Cambridge Modern History*, and of the *Cambridge Mediæval History*. The first volume (editor, Professor E. J. Rapson) deals with Ancient India down to the first century, A.D., and possesses fascinating interest. We see in it the matured fruits of a period of research probably unexampled in the records of historiography. History in its other branches has been illustrated or corrected through recent investigations; in this, however, it has been virtually created by them. The present volume is intended to sum up the results of recent investigations, and departing to some extent from the tradition of the *Cambridge Modern History*, it embodies original research. This alteration is exemplified by the employment of footnotes, barred in its distinguished predecessor. It differs from that, too, in treating with some minuteness of a subject upon which comprehensive works on any scale are scarce; and as a result it must immediately take its place as the standard work upon the period. A third point of difference to be noted is the extremely important place given to cultural history. The inter-connexions of this with political history are even to-day liable to neglect. In the *History of India*, however, it can never be overlooked; and in this work it receives the prominence it deserves. It is, therefore, by no means a book for the specialist alone; and there is one aspect of it which gives the whole work, apart from individual chapters, a peculiar interest. It is seldom that a history is privileged to recount the genesis of a nation, such as we see it here. Sir Halford J. Mackinder and the editor provide the introductory chapters, without which what follows cannot be properly understood—the one upon the geography, the other upon the peoples, languages, and sources of history. Upon the scene so set Dr. P. Giles introduces from the evidence of comparative philology, aided by the ancient inscriptions of Western Asia, the first settlements in India of the Wiros (from the common Aryan term for man)—their culture, the date of their migrations, and their original habitat, which he conjectures to have lain in the old Austro-Hungarian Empire. The next chapters are devoted to a reconstruction of the life of these primitive settlements as they appear in the earliest scriptures of the Brahmans, Jains, and Buddhists, in their social and economic, as well as in their political aspects. The section which follows extends this inquiry to the Brahman sources for the history of the post-Vedic period, from the Sutras, epics, and law-books in four interesting chapters by Professor E. Washburn Hopkins, and from

the Puranas by the Editor. At this point the history of early India is brought for the first time into correlation with the outside world. A chapter upon the early Persian dominions in Northern India leads on to an account of the invasion of Alexander the Great and of the Hellenic kingdoms of Syria, Bactria, and Parthia, with a sidelight upon India in early Greek and Latin literature. By these events, far more than an interesting interlude, some degree of chronological certainty is provided for the first time in Indian history. Simultaneously, the rise of the Maurya Empire in Hindustan supplies a unity and a wealth of sources both previously unknown. Dr. Thomas treats of the political and social life of the Empire, and the record of its two great rulers—its founder, Chandragupta, and his grandson, Açoka, the Imperial Patron of Buddhism. But the Empire was as sudden in its fall as in its rise. The Editor describes the Powers which arose upon its ruins—the native states, the Greek successors of Alexander, and finally the Scythian and Parthian invaders. The story of the other parts of the sub-Continent is brought up to the same point by Dr. L. D. Barnett in two chapters on the early history of Southern India and of Ceylon—the continuity of the latter forming a striking contrast to the confused and fragmentary records of the kingdoms of the mainland. In a final chapter, Sir J. H. Marshall treats of the ancient monuments, and traces the various phases of Indian art from the origins down to the first century A.D.; and once again the perpetuity of the Greek influence will be noticed. The munificence of Sir Dorabji Tata has enabled the work, and especially this last chapter, to be illustrated by a series of thirty-four plates, which add to the absorbing interest of a volume worthy in every respect of the highest traditions of Cambridge scholarship.

Outspoken Essays (Second Series), by William Ralph Inge, C.V.O., D.D., F.B.A., Dean of St. Paul's (Longmans, Green & Co.). Of the seven essays composing Dean Inge's latest volume, only one, the profound, revealing, and beautiful "Confessio Fidei" is entirely new. "The State, Visible and Invisible" formed the general title for the Hibbert Lectures in 1920; "The Idea of Progress" was the Romanes Lecture of 1920, and "The Victorian Age" the Rede Lecture of 1922; and the last three papers originally appeared in quarterlies. Dean Inge is as challenging, as austerely averse from prophesying smooth things, as ever, and although he assures us that "the present volume contains nothing very daring or unconventional," courage, sincerity, and originality are the essence of his work. "Confessio Fidei" is his attempt to state what he actually believes, and why he believes it. He calls himself a Christian Platonist, a member of "a third school of thought in the Church, not less legitimate, nor less productive of good fruits, than the Catholic and Protestant parties, which in ecclesiastical politics are so much more active and prominent." His "Confessio" therefore includes a dissociation and a defence of the spiritual from the superstitious, a criticism of the anthropocentric conception of the universe, a restatement of the immeasurable significance of the Incarnation and the life of Christ without and beyond the support of the Gospel miracles. In the five Hibbert papers he treats of the interaction of political and religious ideas throughout history, and the lessons to be drawn for our own day. Theocracies, the Greek City State, the three

factors—Hebrew theocracy, Greek political philosophy, Roman imperialism —dominating alike the Middle Ages and the European thought of to-day, and the deification of the State in the teaching of Fichte and Hegel, are the stages by which the author approaches his final lecture on Religion and the State. In the summary it may be felt that he does not excel earlier thinkers in the reconciliation of the spiritual and the temporal; for the universal change of heart to make the two meet and mingle has long been preached, and, as the Dean himself in "The Idea of Progress" forces us to admit, the lapse of centuries finds it none the less remote. For those, again, whose denunciations of the Victorian age have taken the place of any notable contribution to their own, his lecture on that period, its giants, and its vast achievements ought to prove an excellent corrective. "The White Man and His Rivals" points out that in the struggle between East and West the issue is still uncertain, and "The Dilemma of Civilisation" asks if we are not likely to lose more than we gain by the reign of machinery under which we live. "Eugenics" pleads for a system of rational selection, now that the sterner processes of natural selection have been thwarted. The Dean's proposals are admittedly based on negative eugenics; he finds us degenerating, and to prevent the excess of the people we do *not* want is more urgent than to encourage the increase of their superiors; and he warns us that the future of civilisation is at stake. Dean Inge's volume of Essays must rank among the most arresting books of the year.

A Revision of the Treaty, by John Maynard Keynes, C.B. (Macmillan). Mr. Keynes presents his new book as a sequel, almost an appendix, to his *Economic Consequences of the Peace,* which appeared in December, 1919. The earlier book was based upon a literal interpretation of the Treaty of Versailles, and, while it pointed out the impossibility of carrying it out in its entirety, it prophesied disaster as the result of trying to enforce it at all. The author now admits that the catastrophe he foretold has not yet occurred; he believes there are signs of new health and stability in Europe; but this is due, in his opinion, to the fact that no serious attempt has been made to enforce the original provisions of the Treaty. The peoples of Europe have shown patience and have come round to the counsels of moderation. Their rulers have acted more wisely than they talked. Mr. Keynes undertakes a chronicle of the events of the previous two years, an account of the present position (December, 1921, is the date of his Preface), and definite proposals for our future action.

In the course of his studies Mr. Keynes has some interesting things to say on the legality of occupying the Ruhr, and on the importance of coal in this great controversy. There is no aspect of the problem of Reparations which does not receive lucid and comprehensive treatment in the vivid style which added so greatly to the value of the first volume on this topic. In his examination of the Bill for Reparations, Mr. Keynes uses French ministerial statistics to demonstrate the huge scale of over-valuation on which French claims are based. Belgian exaggeration he finds quite as great, and the British estimate almost entirely in respect of shipping losses, is very high. It is on the question of the legality of the claim for pensions and allowances, "nearly double that

for devastation," so that its inclusion nearly trebles the bill, that Mr. Keynes displays most passion, and his criticisms of its morality and his disclosures as to the circumstances in which the Big Four, notably President Wilson, flouted their legal advisers on the point, are more than damaging. Mr. Keynes's general comments on the existing situation and his own proposals for European reconstruction occupy a fair portion of his text. He considers essential the partial or entire cancellation of the Reparation and inter-allied debts, and explains his plans for the payment and division of the 36 milliard gold marks he estimates as being within Germany's theoretical capacity. It is France that Mr. Keynes regards, not without justice, as most implacable, and to that country he chiefly recommends the solid fruits of a generous settlement. His Appendices give the documents embodying the agreements reached at the various Conferences, and statements of claims and inter-governmental indebtedness. The book is full of brilliant and persuasive writing; statistics can rarely have been presented so lucidly and attractively; and wherever a character sketch is possible Mr. Keynes frankly triumphs.

Western Races and the World, edited by F. S. Marvin (Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press), is the fifth collection of the "Unity lectures" which, with their subsequent presentation in book form, have come to be an annual institution. In this volume the survey is extended for the first time beyond the bounds of Europe and of European culture and is centred upon the evolution of the relations of Western races with their less progressive neighbours—in a way the justification for their existence. Mr. Marvin in his introductory essay deals with the "educational problem" which lies before the European races of teaching their less advanced brethren that in which they excel: "the science, or accurate and well-ordered knowledge, and collective power largely based on this, with its accompanying organisation and superior consciousness of the world and of mankind." Professor J. A. Smith develops the possibilities of this in his essay upon "Language as a Link." Then follows an historical survey of the stages in the growth of a consciousness of difference between advanced and less progressive peoples, and of the forms which this consciousness assumed in action. From the Hellenic age we are led by able hands to the Roman and the Christian ideals; though there is a great gap from this to the consideration of the humanitarianism of the eighteenth century. The more recent relations with the higher civilisations of Asia are treated of one by one; and then the greater problem of all—the conflict of the ideas of exploitation and of trusteeship in connexion with the backward peoples of Africa. Finally the whole subject is brought into correlation with the present day by a consideration of the magnificent experiment to apply a practical solution by the Mandates under the League of Nations. It is a sufficient commendation of this work to say that the various essays are written by masters of their subject as competent as those who figure in the previous volumes of the series.

England After War, by Charles F. G. Masterman (Hodder & Stoughton Ltd.). Just as the author's *Conditions of England* was one of the best surveys of pre-war conditions in this country, so the present

book is a stimulating review of the England of 1922. The sound judgment, keen powers of observation, and capacity to draw attractive pictures of social conditions which marked the earlier book are all observable in its successor. Mr. Masterman's hand has lost none of its skill. The classes and the masses pass under his survey, to the advantage of the reader. Perhaps the best chapter in the book is that in which the author discourses on the Middle Classes. But he also understands the point of view of what is vaguely termed Labour, and it is evident that he has no little sympathy with it, nursing in his breast a keen admiration of British working people. The impression left on the mind by the book as a whole is rather sombre. Nevertheless, Mr. Masterman is an optimist, believing that when the present wave of reaction all over the world has spent itself, the moral evolution to which he looks forward will produce a better world and nobler ideals. Be this, however, as it may, it will be generally admitted that the strength of the book lies in its analysis of post-war conditions; and it may well be that in days to come it will on this account take an honourable place beside Harrison's *Description of England.*

The Foundations of Japan, by J. W. Robertson Scott (John Murray). It was the ambition of Mr J. W. Robertson Scott ("Home Counties"), of wide repute as a writer on rural subjects, to produce a work on Japan, "based on a study, more sociological than technically agricultural, of its remarkable small-farming system and rural life." The war imposed unlooked-for duties on the author during his five years in Japan, and peculiar hazards upon his documents, and the present book is the result of modified plans. His travels included journeys across Japan from Tokyo to Niigata and back, and from Tokyo to the North by the West coast and back by the East coast, visits to the islands of Shikoku and Hokkaido, and various briefer excursions, and he studied certain prefectures devoted to special products, such as silk or tea, in particular detail. It may well be believed that no one volume could contain all Mr. Robertson Scott found to record. He has wisely relegated technical and statistical matter to his Appendix, and left much for future treatment. Japan offered him ungrudging hospitality and attention: he was a guest to whom no privilege was denied in the houses of ancient families; the people crowded to hear him lecture; schools and institutions of every kind did him honour; for two months a temple was his home. He was the friend of the famous Kanzō Uchimura, the Japanese Carlyle, and a bold younger thinker, rich in the culture of both East and West, Yanagi. It would, indeed, be little of an exaggeration to say that the spiritual and intellectual side of Japanese life is as much the matter of this volume as the practical subjects with which the author's fame is associated. The religious life of the country folk, Shinto or Buddhist (for though he was usually told that religion counted for little, many passages suggest the contrary), the nobility and *naïveté* combined in the movements for self-discipline, and moral and physical training, such as the Early Rising Societies, and the village Young Men's Association, the code—mainly unwritten but widely operative—governing relations of landowner and tenant, the cheerful and loyal acceptance, by multitudes, of the hard lot and the little gain, have obviously caused him delight and

wonderment. Even an industrial system which will seem to the reader a mere slavery mitigated by impeccable wall-mottoes, is not wholly condemned. The author's chief aim throughout is to explain to us the real mind of the Japanese people, and the conversations given in his pages suggest that his guests were anxious to understand the West, and to find a like understanding there. Mr. Robertson Scott draws an alluring picture, and his camera has done excellent work in the illustration of his text.

Ulster's Stand for Union, by Ronald McNeill, M.P. (John Murray), presents an account of the "Ulster Movement" from its organisation in 1886 to the opening of the Ulster Parliament in 1921. As a member of the Standing Committee of the Ulster Unionist Council, and an associate of the leaders of the movement, the author has been able to write with personal knowledge of the events which he records; and he has been able to enrich his account by researches into documentary sources, both official and private. Greater, however, than its value as a record of events is its value as illustrating and explaining the Ulster standpoint. The differences between the North and the South are seen to be bound up from the first with very outspoken suspicions of disloyalty as well as of clericalism; the constitutional question is accentuated, that Home Rule was never successfully submitted as a definite issue to the electorate, and that the Bill was carried only with the help of the Nationalist vote. The book lays no claim to impartiality, dedicated as it is to "The Memory of the Unionist Party." With whom the right lies must be left to the verdict of a future generation; but Mr. McNeill's record will not lose its value as a contribution at least to the history of the last decades in Ireland, and as an illustration of the mentality which prompted Ulster's resistance.

The Life of Jameson, by Ian Colvin, two volumes (Arnold). Something more than personal friendship with Jameson and knowledge of South Africa has gone to make this the most arresting biography of the year. It is brilliant in style and full of memorable pictures and phrases; the author holds closely to facts, yet is ready to dramatise persons and situations with a daring that at first startles and finally conquers the reader. His book is not long in conveying us to the Kimberley fields, where Leander Starr Jameson, as a young doctor, is pursuing various excitements as well as a highly diversified professional career. Here he succeeded, in the affections of the strange young dreamer who became Cecil Rhodes, to the place left empty by the death of Neville Pickering, and together they shared the dream and the business until Jameson went to Matabeleland, to conquer Lobengula by his courage—and his treatment of the gout. The story of the pioneer expeditions and what Mr. Colvin considers Jameson's greatest feat, the winning of the necessary concession from the Chief Gungunhane, leads to his administration of Mashonaland, the Matabele War, and the making of Rhodesia. A brief taste of glory in England, and then the disaster of the Johannesburg Raid. Mr. Colvin does not exonerate Jameson, but he obviously holds that the Raid would not have been a catastrophe if Jameson's companions had been like himself. The tale is superbly told in the opening chapters of the second volume. The war follows, and the death of Rhodes, and then the slow

and marvellous re-ascent to power under every handicap that distrust, vengefulness, and sickness could impose, until 1904 brought the Premiership, and 1910 the Union of South Africa for which he had striven so long. Years of suffering and self-discipline no doubt made of the turbulent young physician that healer of peoples whose tolerance, understanding, humour, and modesty the author portrays with such surety and insight. The study of Rhodes is equally convincing, and through the turmoil that was South Africa in the making Mr. Colvin moves with uncanny ease and boldness.

In **Woodrow Wilson as I Know Him** (William Heinemann) his private secretary, Mr. Joseph P. Tumulty, gives a personal record of one who for a brief space filled a more prominent position in the world's affairs than any man perhaps since Napoleon. The current idea of a headstrong character, impatient of advice, gives way in this book to the picture of a mind always open to suggestions and to criticism, however frank, though never losing the power of dispassionate consideration and of firm decision. Still more strongly in contrast are the popular impressions of a heart lacking in human warmth and the statesman "whose passion it was to serve mankind" as they emerge in these pages. And as the author says, "I did not invent this character, I observed him for eleven years." Though he writes as an apologist, Mr. Tumulty was not an invariable supporter of the man whose actions he reports; but he is nevertheless a faithful scribe. In regard to the European War, had the President, according to Mr. Tumulty, yielded to the promptings of his own heart instead of to his ideas of "trusteeship" for the nation, America would have entered into the conflict in its first stages; and his private utterances left no doubt in which direction his sympathies inclined. The climax, however, was finally reached; and we are guided through the stages of "Wilson the Warrior" and "The Pen is Mightier than the Sword" to the "Great Adventure" of the voyage to Europe. Upon this, however, Mr. Tumulty did not accompany him; and he is forced to rely upon others for his account of the President's attitude during the momentous and dubious events of the Peace Conference, during which he acted as Intelligence Officer in America. Finally comes the record of Mr. Wilson's disavowal and of his fall—as tragic a story as modern history can record. A chapter on his attitude towards Ireland adds to the attraction in this country of a book which will retain its value as long as its subject's character and actions continue to excite interest.

Prime Ministers of Great Britain, by the Hon. Clive Bigham (Murray). This is a useful and enthralling addition to political history which makes the reader marvel that it should have had no predecessors, and congratulate himself that the task fell into the hands of Mr. Clive Bigham. His range of anecdote and allusion gives him peculiar advantages in describing the personal characteristics of the thirty-six men —some few of them well-nigh forgotten—who are the subjects of his sketches. On the whole our Prime Ministers have justified the rank and the authority they held, though whence their power is derived, and what are its exact limits, since some process of spontaneous generation brought it and the Cabinet into being in the days of Walpole, is a

problem that persists in spite of the efforts of Morley and Traill. Mr. Bigham's book makes interesting and honourable figures of them all; the author seems, indeed, to have a certain affection for those whose fame has almost vanished—Wilmington, the Dukes of Devonshire and Portland, Perceval, and Goderich. Prime Ministers of recent times, including Mr. Lloyd George, are studied with remarkable insight and impartiality, and excellent portraits add to the pleasures of the volume. Besides an impressive bibliography Mr. Bigham supplies a final chapter in which the Prime Ministers are the victims of a statistical inquiry that has rather a whimsical effect. Here they are sorted out by race, birth, county of origin, school and university, civil state, age on entering Parliament, and the like. If anything seems to rank as a serious qualification it is the inheritance of Parliamentary tradition. Most of them had had fathers in Parliament; more than half of them had had grandfathers there.

Hassan, by James Elroy Flecker (Heinemann). "The story of Hassan of Bagdad and how he came to make the Golden Journey to Samarkand" forms a play in five acts of prose that by reason of its Oriental imagery and its own intensity is always on the verge of poetry, leaping at times into the lyrics already known to Flecker's readers as "The Golden Journey to Samarkand." The public has been in some peril of growing jaded with as much of the romantic East as the scene-painter and the wardrobe could supply, but here is the work, perhaps the masterpiece, of a poet. In the days of Haroun ar Raschid there dwelt in Bagdad one Hassan, by trade a confectioner, by higher election a poet. He reveals to his friend Selim his love for the beautiful Yasmin who has visited his booth, and Selim cheats him of ten dinars for a love philtre. At night Hassan is beneath the balcony of Yasmin, whom he serenades with one of the famous lyrics. The greedy and voluptuous widow shows herself, but at the end of their dialogue Selim reveals himself behind her, and the two mock and insult Hassan, who falls distraught in the shadow of the fountain. The Caliph, his Vizier, his Executioner, and his Poet, wandering the crooked streets attired as merchants, hear music in a neighbouring house, and demand admission. The answer makes them scent adventure, and all but the Poet, who is eager for solitude, are drawn up to the window in a basket. The Poet finds Hassan lying senseless, puts him in the basket in his own place, and escapes. The Caliph and his companions find themselves (Act II.) the guests of Rafi, the King of the Beggars, in "the house of the moving walls," and learn of his ripening conspiracy to overthrow Haroun and seize the city. Hassan regains his senses, and is one of the party when Rafi tells how he seeks vengeance for the loss of Pervaneh, his betrothed, sold as a slave to the Caliph. His guests cannot control themselves; Rafi leaps away, and walls of iron fall and imprison Haroun and the others. It is Hassan who makes it possible for a written message to reach the outside world. In the end the prisoners are released, and Hassan is promoted to rank second only to the Grand Vizier. Yasmin completes his disillusionment by her readiness to abandon Selim for the new dignitary. Act III. opens with Hassan running the manifold hazards of conversation with the Caliph, who has captured Rafi and his

band. Into Hassan's new pavilion Yasmin has smuggled herself; disgusted with her wiles he is ready to slay her, but her beauty daunts him, and the scene closes with her victory. Pervaneh and Rafi meet once more before the Caliph in his Hall of Justice. He gives them a choice: either Pervaneh shall remain in his harem and Rafi leave Bagdad, or the two shall have a day of love unfettered and alone, and die at its end in merciless torment. The lovers choose the second alternative, and the play, rich in poetic beauty, closes with echoes of their execution and the delightful song of the pilgrims taking the Golden Road to Samarkand. The mingling of Eastern splendour and cruelty, of beauty and catastrophe, gave Flecker's genius its fullest scope. The play reads marvellously, and its presentation on the stage should finally confirm the author's reputation.

Through the Fourth Wall, by W. A. Darlington (Chapman & Hall). The writings collected in this volume by the dramatic critic of the *Daily Telegraph* cover a period of two years. Dramatic criticisms of any true quality bear reprinting, as witness the works of Mr. Bernard Shaw, Mr. Walkley, or Mr. James Agate, and though Mr. Darlington does not display the same arts and graces, his sanity and humour have been excellent preservatives. These criticisms fall into three sections: those about Plays, those about Players, and those dealing with the Theatre in general. Each essay is dated so as to clear up any passing topical references. Any preference the reader may express will probably be in favour of the section on Players. Mr. Darlington knows the limitations of admirable players as his paper on Maurice Moscovitch's Shylock, that on "English Actresses in French Parts," and the three on the company playing Shakespeare at Stratford abundantly prove; and "On Speaking Up" shows that he realises their duty to the audience beyond the first few rows of stalls. Mr. Darlington throws much interesting light on many aspects of the theatre, and his quickness with facts and instances affords his principles excellent support and gives his papers their title to preservation in book form.

The Evolution of Consciousness, by A. Wyatt Tilby (Fisher Unwin). The author begins his closely-reasoned, but lively and allusive, argument with a study of the development of the senses and intellectual faculties in their order and relationship, considering taste, smell, sight, and hearing, in that sequence, as "specialised and derivative extensions of the sense of touch, the primary sense which is universal in all animate matter." He then passes to the Will in Nature, its three categories of Will to Live, Desire, and Purpose, and its modifications, mimicry, domestication, and parasitism. Consciousness develops as a result of the Will's new range of power over circumstance. Mr. Wyatt Tilby does not attempt an exact definition of consciousness in different organisms, but implies that its nature is clearly chemical. Between consciousness and sex the connexion is very intimate; the asexual is unconscious, the hermaphrodite imperfectly conscious; male and female represent consciousness active and passive. The genesis of love, the relations between physical characteristics and psychic qualities in the sexes, and the miraculous advance from the physical plane to the spiritual, receive careful treatment. The old dispute as to the

relations and functions of instinct and intellect arises from Mr. Wyatt Tilby's treatment of the distinction between memory and consciousness, and his analysis of memory into its categories—physical and mental, racial and individual—almost entirely outside consciousness. Mr. Wyatt Tilby writes lucidly and picturesquely. It is rare to find a treatise of this nature so near akin to pure literature. The range of literary reference and allusion throughout the work deserves special admiration and gratitude.

The Economics of Socialism, by D. M. Hyndman (Grant Richards). In an age in which Socialism is a word very frequently used but not always clearly understood, a book which purports to explain the meaning of the term in all its bearings must be sure of a welcome, especially if it claims to be "popular." Mr. Hyndman's book is of this character, and no better guide to the teachings of Socialism could be desired. He sets out here to make Marx easy; and he rightly claims as an advantage, apart from a life-long occupation with the subject, personal acquaintance with Marx, with whom he discussed the more difficult passages in that author's great work. Admittedly Marx was one of the great minds of the last century, and there are many economists who, though they do not subscribe to the Socialist doctrines, yet appreciate the genius of the man who formed them into a system. Mr. Hyndman is at pains to defend Marx from both his friends and opponents; is he not rather tilting at windmills? But this attitude of mind, as well as a certain dogmatism, is reflected in Mr. Hyndman's pages, and here and there (as for instance in his chapter on Wages) the treatment is somewhat slight. The book is, however, very readable, and for those who wish for an easy introduction to Marx and the Socialist economic system it can hardly be improved upon.

A Dictionary of Applied Physics, edited by Sir Richard Glazebrook. Vols. I. and II. (Macmillan & Co.). The appearance of the Dictionary at the present time is particularly opportune: industrial research in physics and chemistry has become a normal factor in the conduct of many large businesses, and students throughout the country are seeking to join anew the strands of scientific thought and investigation so rudely sundered by the war. In the commercial and college laboratories alike there is a common need for a single compilation which, in so far as this may be possible, shall bring together the sum of our useful, reliable, and essential knowledge of the laws of physics and their applications. Such a compilation must remain an ideal, but in the Dictionary we find as good an approach to that ideal as we may hope to see at any time. It was a happy concatenation of courage on the part of Messrs. Macmillan and wisdom on the part of Sir Richard Glazebrook when they decided to embark on this work. By judgment, knowledge, and experience, probably no man in this country is better qualified to edit a work of this kind than Sir Richard Glazebrook, whose long directorate at the National Physical Laboratory has surely given him a proper sense of the relationship between physics as an abstract science and physics as applied to industrial processes and developments. The work is to be divided into five volumes covering respectively: Mechanics, engineering and heat; Electricity; Meteorology, metrology and measuring ap-

paratus; Optics, sound and radiology; and Metallurgy and aeronautics. This division of subject-matter has been wisely adopted so that each volume, besides forming an integer in the Dictionary as a whole, will constitute a self-contained unit for the needs of those whose work is concerned more particularly with one branch of physics. Some of the articles are veritable textbooks for the topics with which they deal, and the names of the writers are sufficient guarantee of reliability. Interspersed throughout these two volumes are numerous cross-references, brief articles and definitions, the whole being alphabetically arranged. The magnitude of the complete work is, perhaps, best conveyed by the statement that it will contain between four and five thousand pages. Bibliography is a vital point in a work of this kind, and ample references are given to original papers, etc., both in footnotes and collected tables. In a few cases, reference is given to existing bibliographies, an excellent practice. The range of subjects for main headings is well chosen, and may be judged from the following titles selected at random from the first two volumes: Internal-combustion engines (Sir Dugald Clerk and G. A. Burls); Fourier's series (Dr. Horace Lamb); Air Pumps (the research staff of the General Electric Company); Thermal expansion (Professor A. W. Porter); Positive rays (F. W. Aston); Coal calorimeters (Sir Richard Glazebrook); Liquefaction of gases and refrigeration (Sir Alfred Ewing); Resistance measurements (S. W. Melsom); Primary and secondary batteries (W. R. Cooper); Electron theory (Sir Wm. Bragg); Applications of electrolysis (Professor A. Allmand); Phase rule (C. Dampier Whetham); Wireless telegraphy (Professor W. H. Eccles and others); Thermionics and valves (Professor C. Fortescue, Dr. O. W. Richardson, and Dr. W. Wilson); Electric cables (C. J. Beaver); Fuel calorimetry (W. J. Butterfield); and Galvanometers, Resistance standards, and the Measurement of "V" (F. E. Smith).

There is no finality in the march of science, and these volumes naturally bring in their train the question of the possibility of keeping them up to date. It is greatly to be hoped that the editor and publishers will devise a scheme of supplements which will keep the Dictionary abreast of new developments.

Fiction.

The Judge, by Rebecca West (Hutchinson), was perhaps the most noteworthy novel of the year, and might have been something much more had the author kept to the spirit of the Edinburgh chapters with which the book begins. But with the change to the marshes of Essex, where sweet and vivacious Ellen Melville comes to stay with her lover, Richard Yaverland, in his mother's house, something miasmal invades the pages, and beclouds the characters; they have no real relation to their former selves; their thoughts and deeds are violent and horrible. Miss West makes her text, rather obscurely, of "Every mother is a judge who sentences the children for the sins of the father." Richard's father betrayed his mother, and the village made her pay cruelly for her misplaced, but unfaltering love. The cunning brute who offered her the protection of nominal marriage abused her trust even more hideously when she became his wife, and there is nothing but hatred between

Richard and his worthless half-brother Roger. Ellen finds herself the object of the mother's desperate jealousy, and morbid complexes in the composition of her lover prevent him from giving any moral support in her struggle against the nightmare influences of such a household. Her own mother is dead, and her environment seems to annihilate the qualities that made her so bright and adventurous in Edinburgh days. So around her the darkest passions grow more and more uncontrollable, until the climax comes after the return of Roger with his eminently suitable sweetheart Poppy, and Richard's mother commits suicide, leaving a message on the blotting-pad. As Richard reads it, his half-brother makes a maddening remark. An instant later Richard has stabbed him to the heart. Ellen and her lover find a hiding-place, and before he is in the hands of the law she is awaiting with incomprehensible calm a possible inheritor of ancestral traits so markedly undesirable. It would be doing Miss West's book an injustice to let the skeleton of her plot alone commend her story, for her descriptions of places are magnificent, and every page bears witness to the brilliance and power of her imagination. The book, indeed, will be remembered for its parts rather than for the whole.

The Cathedral, by Hugh Walpole (Macmillan & Co.). The end of a period, the date marking the beginning of the surges of change that still wash to and fro over England, Mr. Walpole finds in the Jubilee year of 1897. Archdeacon Brandon, symbolising in his strength, loyalty, and simplicity, so much of what was good, and in his pride, tyranny, and obtuseness so much of what was doomed, in the old scheme of things, reaches the height of his personal greatness in the autumn of 1896. He is almost ecstatically conscious of his position as the uncrowned King of Polchester, the reincarnation of the great Black Bishop whose tomb is one of the Cathedral's glories; for the titular Bishop of the day is aged and frail, and Brandon allows none to shine too near himself in glory. One night brings his adored son Falk back from Oxford, sent down for ragging, and plump intriguing Canon Ronder, the man at whose door Brandon is to lay his ruin, arrives by the same train. But the factors of Brandon's destruction are many. His son looks for simple affection away from his home and the Cathedral, and at last elopes with the daughter of a publican, Samuel Hogg. His wife has long hated him for his utter obliviousness to her claim to an opinion independent of his own, and offers little resistance to the passion which overcomes her for the disregarded Canon Morris. In the Precincts there are men and women glad enough to see him humiliated, and he has enemies in the town. There is instinctive antagonism between him and Ronder, who withstands the Archdeacon in the Chapter, first on small subjects, then on matters of weight. The opposition to the Brandon despotism rallies round him, and as bewilderment and anger at successive misfortunes overwhelm Brandon's mind, and help an organic weakness to wreck him physically, he sees in Ronder the embodiment of devilish influences at work to drag him to the lowest depths, to join the drunken painter, Davray, who mocked him in his own Cathedral, Samuel Hogg, who attacked him on Jubilee night, and their evil kind. It is Ronder, too, who seeks to destroy the Cathedral itself, by electing to a coveted

living a man the Archdeacon can only see as an unbeliever and a destroyer. Persecution mania at last completely masters Brandon; his distrust extends to the last of his household, his daughter Joan, happy in her undisclosed betrothal to Lord St. Leath, but ready to sacrifice her lover to her father. At the Chapter meeting Brandon puts the final strain upon his powers in opposing the election of Ronder's candidate, and falls dead. Yet it was hardly the Cathedral, for all the "hatred and malice and pride and jealousy" rampant in the Precincts, that destroyed Brandon. The Cathedral is impressively used as an influence dominating the whole drama, but it is to their own passions, not to the worship and sacrifice the Cathedral exacts of them, that Mr. Walpole's dignitaries are victims. In the end it is clear that Whistons, elected to the St. Pybus living, will be to Ronder in another way what Ronder was to Brandon. Mr. Walpole's book is full of significance in many ways. Technically, however, it shows his old fault. When Falk and Annie, Mrs. Brandon and Canon Morris, whose stories are treated as though they had more than incidental importance, leave the Polchester stage, Mr. Walpole is indifferent to their fortunes.

The Secret Places of the Heart, by H. G. Wells (Cassell). Sir Richmond Hardy is conscious of approaching breakdown, and Dr. Martineau recommends a motor tour in the West of England and accompanies his patient upon it. Sir Richmond finds their journey an opportunity for a general gaol-delivery of the ideas and ideals that have long been cramped within him, denied expression by the pressure of duties on the Fuel Commission. These are the common stock of Mr. Wells's later characters: the World State, inevitably, its particular detail being this time the scheme for the world-conservation of fuel; and sexual problems with an unsatisfactory marriage as their background. At Stonehenge he meets a kindred spirit, Miss Grammont, the young daughter of an American oil-king. She, too, is making travel a healing process, and, as her ailments are much akin to Sir Richmond's, and his world-gospel finds in her an eager disciple, the result of further touring and high thinking is a love affair from which Dr. Martineau flees in some disgust. After a grievous parting Sir Richmond goes on overworking on his Fuel Commission, and pays for great achievements with his life. If his wife and Miss Grammont had sufficed his emotional expansiveness, he might have been a more impressive figure; as things are, his obsession makes him somewhat grotesque. Mr. Wells is as stimulating as ever, but his use of the novel as a vehicle for fragments of essays does justice to neither form.

Mr. Prohack, by Arnold Bennett (Methuen). The war left Mr. Prohack, a middle-aged Treasury official, with a wife, a daughter, and a son just out of the Army and unable to get into anything else, among the New Poor. From this pass he was extricated by a legacy from a friend to whom he had lent 100*l.* before the war. The friend had been a profiteer, but Mr. Prohack lived in days that are hard upon the scrupulous; he accepted the legacy, and was induced to invest some of it in oil. Wealth gushed from those particular wells, and Mr. Prohack became fantastically rich. This is all that matters as far as Mr. Bennett's story is a story. Mr. Bennett's major works have

either the Time motive or the Money motive, and this belongs to the latter class. The rest of the book might equally well have been an essay on how to spend money entertainingly and gain satisfaction without compromising one's liberty. Mr. Prohack is essentially a humorist and a quietist; he joins in the dance—quite literally—and takes a placid interest in his own performances; but he is not carried away. His wife and daughter use their wealth for their own ends in their own way—raiment, a large house, the cultivation of genius, and general social hostilities—Mr. Prohack looking on or collaborating with a nice blend of the husband, the father, and the cosmic philosopher. He watches his son playing the spendthrift on principle, to "take it out of this noble country" that would not let him do anything useful. He explores the possibilities of London, the theatre, the approved seaside resorts. He likes most of the things he sees and the people he meets. But the rich absurdity of the spectacle is as vivid to him as all its seductions; satire is as evident in the book as the gusto Mr. Bennett has for material enticements.

Babbitt, by Sinclair Lewis (Jonathan Cape). It is at least arguable that an introduction by Mr. Hugh Walpole and a glossary at the end of the book may cause the English reader to feel that he is facing something of an undertaking in Mr. Sinclair Lewis's novel. The cinematograph and the theatre, however, will have given the ordinary man a sufficiently large American vocabulary for his needs. George F. Babbitt, like the Zenith City he adorns, is a composite photograph. He is a prosperous estate agent—"realtor," as he prefers it—and the reader learns in detail that never ceases to be both entertaining and interpretative what he wears, eats, and reads, how he goes about his toilet, his business, and his recreation, what he is to his family, his friends, and his fellow-citizens. What Babbitt is in his secret self is another matter; and the contrast between his real restlessness and clumsy self-questioning, and the abounding optimism, materialism, and contentment with all that the majority about him believes, demanded of him by the society he lives in, gives him his true significance. The English reader will be dismayed by the dreadful publicity of the private citizen's life, conduct, and opinions, and, to use Mr. Wells's phrase, the "vile gregariousness" of the community under the dominion of Big Business, advertisements, newspapers, Rotary and Uplift. Babbitt is put to the test, and subjected to the attentions of a kind of Holy Office of his business connexions and neighbours, through his loyalty to his best friend, the local Ishmael. To the tyranny of his environment and its conventions, of standardisation of habits and opinions, Babbitt has to succumb. Mr. Sinclair Lewis's satire is relentless, and an extraordinary gift of parody enables him to do the right amount of injustice to the Press, business associations, and the commercialised evangelism of the Billy Sunday type.

The Highbrows, by C. E. M. Joad (Jonathan Cape). The author defines Highbrows as "the intelligentsia who constitute the nervous system of a modern community," and he has loosed upon them as they go about their works of social amelioration, political discussions, colonies, and other manifestations of freak living and diffuse thinking, and

bizarre amours, a nuisance named Pramp, who disorganises their society and every other he enters, largely by putting into practice their own dearest principles. At times there is a suggestion that the idea of parodying the modern novel was an afterthought; though Pramp is introduced as a freshman at Oxford in the best contemporary manner, the threat is not followed up. Readers with inside knowledge of the bodies aimed at in the Lads' Club, the Ephemeral Club, and the Mivian Society, enjoy some advantage. Mr. Joad's first novel is an entertaining piece of waywardness, and more economical writers will profit by the ideas he can afford to scatter so lavishly about his pages.

Pamela Herself, by Desmond Coke (Chapman & Hall). Mr. Desmond Coke, who has written of the boys' side of public-school life with so much humour and insight, lays the scene of his new novel beyond the symbolical green baize door dividing the Head Master's house from the rest of Sefton. Pamela, who at the age of seventeen marries the Head Master, Henry Kitson, to escape a weary round of Continental resorts in the train of her determinedly girlish mother, Lady Mortimer, finds Sefton chilly and repellent. Her husband is absorbed in its concerns, prouder of his School than any father could be of his child. "Shop" is an eternal affliction, and the masters and masters' wives forming the society centred in the School are anything but congenial company. Pamela's youth makes her offend either by mishaps due to nervousness or by escapades compromising her dignity. Motherhood saves her for a time from being engulfed by Sefton, but she sees her children, Joyce and Raymond, escaping her as they grow up. Another great School snatches Raymond from her when he is fourteen, and Joyce is herself a wife two years later. Pamela begins to find sympathy, humour, and understanding in a new master Brian Lever, and the emotion on both sides only needs a crisis to provoke a conclusive discharge. The crisis is brought about by a booby-trap of Raymond's (who had been moved to his father's school), which injures Lever. Raymond boggles at owning up to his own father, who, being pure essence of schoolmaster, magnifies the offence, and expels his son when he finds him to be the culprit who would not honourably admit his guilt. Pamela fights desperately for Raymond, but the Head Master is not to be moved. She gives way to her passion for Lever and runs away with him. Henry Kitson accepts the situation. Raymond goes to a crammer's, and the green baize door is moved to give Pamela's quarters back to the devouring School. Brian Lever's irresponsibility makes him live for the passing moment only, and at one bitter moment the situation forces itself upon Pamela: "the old, old story—the husband's refusal to divorce; the children's resentment and contempt; the lover brought to earth by the necessity to work; the growing shabbiness, the quarrels, the blame of one another; the sordid life not lit up by respect——." Mr. Coke's writing was never more deft, and if Pamela's character awakens more impatience than sympathy at times, it is because the author, however alive to the comedy of public-school communities, can never make such surroundings seem other than delectable.

The Room, by G. B. Stern (Chapman & Hall), tells the story of Ursula Maxwell, who was in love with loneliness. Even the complicated adjustments of the accommodation of The Laburnums to the requirements

of the family have left her a bedroom to herself, her refuge and secret kingdom. Hal, the eldest son and hero of the household, falls into disgrace for what approaches a theft, and to prevent her titular "Aunt" Lavvy, whose dear-little-old-ladyness covers intense selfishness and obstinacy, from spreading the scandal outside the family, Ursula gives up to her the cherished room Aunt Lavvy has always coveted. But Ursula's sacrifice is not properly understood or rewarded. Part I. ends with Ursula's departure for boarding-school, and when Part II. opens she is married to Doug Barrison, whose abbreviation of his Christian name well indicates his pet pose as the man of the hard life and the open spaces, reluctantly enduring civilisation. His skill in this rôle ensures him innumerable conquests in their boarding-house, and Ursula thinks she will save herself humiliation by persuading him to take up life in the country. Part III. plunges them into the rustic but ferocious intrigues of St. Meniot's, whose inhabitants are drawn with malignant care. In the end they light upon a cottage in which Ursula finds again—her room. Many readers will find an intimate delight in the complications surrounding the future tenancy of the premises they vacate for it. In Part IV. Doug is ready for further episodes, and Ursula resolves to bring one about and cope with it. She invites the tomboyish Christine Powys, with the inevitable result. Christine has Ursula's room, and Ursula finds herself jealous of the girl dreaming there, free from overwhelming Doug. Her neighbour, Louis Gregson, is going to London, and Ursula amazes him by suddenly asking him to take her with him. She dislikes him, mistaking him for commonplace, but he is only to be a dummy lover. As a safeguard for Christine she invites Aunt Lavvy. The railway strike detains Ursula and Louis in a hotel close at hand, and in their long discussion Louis makes her see the situation more clearly. Her flight only gives Doug the chance to rob Christine of *her* lonely dreams in return for his cheap histrionics. Ursula must sacrifice herself again and go back. Doug can pretend to himself, and Christine can hug her romance. But what Christine really regrets as she leaves is the sweet and lonely room. Miss Stern's book is full of wit, character, and imagination, though the reader regrets parting company so soon and so completely with the thronged household of the earlier part of the book.

The Lonely Unicorn, by Alec Waugh (Grant Richards). Mr. Waugh's novel is rather episodic in character, and it is not clear in what way he finds the exploits of his central figure, Roland Whately, at all significant. The elder Whately has risen with industry and privation to a good position in a bank. He lives, in the suburb of Hammerton, an ordered monotonous life that his son despises. Roland Whately is at a public school, Fernhurst, when the novel opens, and the author of *The Loom of Youth* naturally makes good use of the opportunities the early chapters afford him. No one looks forward more eagerly to his holidays than a neighbour's daughter, April Curtis, and their boy-and-girl affection encourages the usual assumptions as to the future. But Roland ends his career at Fernhurst, and forfeits the prospect of Oxford, through, as the Chief puts it, "philandering with girls in the town." He is at a loose end at home for a time, but, just as he is threatened with engulfment in

the drab life of Hammerton, a chance meeting with an old school friend, Marston, leads to his obtaining a place in the Marston firm. As a commercial traveller he scores heavily for his firm abroad, mainly through a successful pretence of intimacy with a distinguished foreign minister. The Marstons have taken him up, and he has learnt at Hogstead to belong to a world very different from that of Hammerton. At home he is urged to marry early, April being of course in his mother's mind. What he does is to throw over that sweet and faithful girl, whose love, it is true, he had never fully returned, and engage himself to Muriel Marston, his employer's daughter, the following week-end. She is empty and childish, seeing in love, courtship, and marriage nothing but a new exhilarating game; and when the book closes, at the moment when the two are left alone on the wedding night, it is certain that he has cheated April of her happiness without securing his own. The story is well told, and the characters move and speak like human beings; but there is little beyond the commonplace in them and in their fates, and higher things have been expected of Mr. Alec Waugh.

The Enchanted April, by the author of "Elizabeth and her German Garden" (Macmillan & Co.). The advertisement of a small mediæval Italian castle to be let furnished for the month of April captures the imagination of Mrs. Wilkins of Hampstead, the victim of monotony and stale matrimony, and another sufferer, Mrs. Arbuthnot. To lighten the expense they advertise for two other women to share the castle, and secure the company of a young society beauty, Lady Caroline Dester, weary of intensive masculine adoration, and old Mrs. Fisher, who only wants to sit about and remember the great Victorians she had known in a less degenerate age. The delights of San Salvatore exceed all Mrs. Wilkins's anticipations, and Italy in April works miracles. It melts the frost in which nothing but their own diverse forms of selfishness have bound their spirits. Mrs. Wilkins, buoyant and hopeful by nature, able to radiate and evoke affection, is the first to be released, and the others are not long imprisoned. Mrs. Arbuthnot loses her primness and aridity, Lady Caroline her tawdriness and boredom, Mrs. Fisher her self-centredness and suspicion. Before the transformation there has been abundant opportunity for the malicious comedy in which "Elizabeth" excels; afterwards there is laughter enough, but it is benevolent and sweet. Lotty Wilkins and Rose Arbuthnot discover themselves in love with their husbands again, and before long the Hampstead solicitor and the author of massive but piquant lives of the frail, are under the influences that have brought happiness back to their wives. Young Mr. Briggs, the owner of San Salvatore, also arrives in time to profit by the enchantment wrought upon the beautiful, the high-born "Scrap," and the fairy-tale happy ending is complete. "Elizabeth" makes the castle by the Mediterranean exert no little of its wizardry upon the reader.

Uncle Moses, by Sholom Asch (T. Fisher Unwin). Moses Melnick emigrated, and came back to his old Polish village of Kuzmin as the wealthy American. Relatives went back to America with him, others followed, and soon practically the whole of Kuzmin found itself in the New York Bowery sewing clothes for the tyrannical Uncle Moses and his favourite nephew, Sam. One of the number is the shiftless Aaron

Melnick, who, like his wife Rosa, is as bewildered and helpless as when he left Poland, and the couple are in sharp contrast with their young American-educated daughter, Masha. This division between the conservative and the adaptable also exists between Aaron's brother, Berrel, a pious student of the holy writings, and his wife Gnendel. Moses Melnick is a widower, and his relations with another man's wife do not satisfy him; his money and power are only an outlet for his terrific energy. Masha wins Uncle Moses' favour by defying him when he insults Aaron, who has come to beg back his job. Uncle Moses visits Masha's family, and develops a new kindness and sociability as a result of his affection for the girl. Her family rises in the social scale, and Sam feels his prospects of inheritance menaced; he attempts to cause trouble for Uncle Moses elsewhere, but the lady and her husband have had financial satisfaction given them, and Masha becomes Moses' betrothed, envied of all. Her real liking, however, is for Berrel's son, the idealistic, rebellious Charlie, and a talk with him at Coney Island decides her against marrying Uncle Moses. Her family turn on her for threatening their new prosperity, and Moses takes her over the gorgeous new house waiting to receive her, and its splendours combine with her despondency and helplessness to conquer her resistance. As husband and as father Uncle Moses becomes a kindly human being, but life is full of boredom and repugnance for Masha. Sam worms himself artfully into her good graces, and Uncle Moses is not the father of her son. Kuzmin at last goes on strike, with Charlie as its leader, the employers resorting to a "frame up" with the police against the strikers. Masha, too, strikes against Moses and Sam, and goes to find Charlie. She is taken for an agent of her husband's and sent back. Next she disappears for a few days, only returning out of hunger for her child. Uncle Moses seeks peace by yielding to the strikers, but Masha only comes back to tell him of the child's parentage, and leaves. Though Moses finds her and the child again, they vanish once more, and he ends his days a broken foolish old man. The unusual setting of the book, the problems for the United States implicit in that setting, and the vivid presentation of the folk of this self-contained industrial Ghetto, give the book unusual character and value.

The Clash, by Storm Jameson (Heinemann). Miss Jameson has given way to a host of bewildering mannerisms that have woefully darkened the significance of the present book, and her characters on this occasion are unappealing and for the most part incredible. Elizabeth Marwood is the child of an unhappy marriage, brought up, after the death of her parents, by her grandfather and great-aunt. Her nature has the turbulence of the gale that was raging just before her birth, and the fickleness of the sea by which her childhood is spent. Eventually she becomes the wife of Jamie Denman of the Foreign Office, but any love she may have had for him does not outlast Part I. of her story. She has the larger of their houses transformed into a place "where babies with no fathers can come to be born, and the mothers be happy for a while." The war breaks out, Jamie goes into the Flying Corps, and Elizabeth's own child is born just after an air-raid and only lives three weeks. Part II. begins with the arrival in England of Captain

Jess Cornish, commanding an American air squadron, and in a state of permanent quarrel with all things English. It is perhaps the encounter between Elizabeth and Cornish that in some way symbolises the relations of England and America, and gives the book its title, though Miss Jameson would seem to have chosen queer representatives. The passion to which the two give full rein appears fraught with far more bitterness than joy, and the cackling cynicisms of Great-Aunt Miriam, who plays the part of chorus, mentor, and arch-denier to the household, do not help to explain the advantages of their relationship and their indifference to all other loyalties and obligations. The feuds and daredevilries of the officers of both nationalities on the station provide relief in a few very capably written pages. When the breach comes between the pair, Elizabeth's husband takes her to his arms though he knows her to be "spoilt and draggled." The last brief chapter in which a few words with an old farmer reveal to Cornish "a strength beside which his own strength stood abashed" is worth more to the American and to the reader than most of what has gone before.

I Have Only Myself to Blame, by Elizabeth Bibesco (Heinemann). These sixteen stories, if they can bear the weight of that description, are occupied with mental states rather than with incidents—the mental states of highly self-centred people who appear to be too surfeited with the privileges of society to bear its responsibilities. Princess Bibesco writes with a cold cleverness that rewards attention more than the special perplexities or revulsions of the "he" and "she" of her sketches. She is waywardly, often crudely, "shocking," and her epigrams are more often spangles than shafts of light; at times they suggest a morbid phosphorescence. "The Pilgrimage" does, however, deserve attention as a story. The girl who tells it discovers that her father's deepest love was lavished upon a great singer, Maddalena Moro. She seeks out Maddalena in Italy, where the singer has married an Italian doctor, and succumbs to her wonderful fascination. Maddalena tells her that she no longer sings; her husband can stand no rival. "He wanted our love to be everything. . . . I sang my love for your father into every opera house in the world, but Giovanni said 'No, you must capture the infinite and keep it shut tight in our love,' and so it has been." The girl appeals to her, in memory of her father, to let her hear this wonder he knew and that she may otherwise never know. Maddalena consents, and her voice—crashes discord after discord. Her husband, white with misery, comes into the room unobserved, and speaks to the girl. "Fool," he said . . . "She does not know. She is deaf when she sings. She has lost her ear. Oh, my secret!" "The Old Story," and "Tout Comprendre," which tells of the agony Adrian Rose suffered because his wife's understanding of him was too perfect, make it clear that Princess Bibesco could acquit herself far more nobly than in the present volume if she took more pains in choosing from the wealth of themes her rich imagination affords her. Her talent is best displayed when, as in "The Ball," the first person singular might so easily be substituted for the third.

SCIENCE OF THE YEAR.

The Biological Sciences.

With every year, it becomes increasingly evident that the centre of interest in pure biology has shifted away from the morphological to regions far more speculative.

This year again, a great deal of experimental work has been done on the ductless glands and their internal secretions, and the newspapers have published sadly uninstructed stories of the wonderful results of operation. It seems that we are approaching some very important discoveries in this direction, but it is still too soon to measure the advance. Among publications in this country in 1922, we may mention those of Huxley and Hogben, who find that a thyroid diet causes sexually mature axolotls to undergo rapid metamorphosis, while seven months' thyroid feeding did not produce any noticeable results on *Necturus*: the effect on pigment responses of pineal extract appears to be contradictory in different amphibians. Two books published this year — "Glands in Health and Disease," by Harrow, and "Internal Secretion and the Ductless Glands" by Swale Vincent, should do something to correct superstition and make clearer to the lay mind the nature of the problems involved. As to grafts of such tissues in human beings, it seems that with individual characters so strongly marked as they are in the higher mammals, the grafts tend, except between very closely related persons, to degenerate quickly, and so cannot have the lasting effect claimed for them by Voronoff and his school.

T. H. Morgan, professor of experimental zoology in Columbia University, New York, lectured to English audiences this summer on his experimental work on inheritance in the fly *Drosophila*. The published results of this investigation have already been much discussed by geneticists. Morgan brings forward elaborate evidence to show that not only are the Mendelian characters resident in the chromosomes, but that the hereditary factors or "genes" are arranged in a linear series in each chromosome, and can be mapped thereon. Furthermore, he is ready to produce data that shall aid in forming a rough estimate of the upper limits in size of these genes, which, he calculates, probably number more than several thousand in each chromosome. The hypothetical phenomenon of "crossing-over" is involved in Morgan's explanation of some apparently exceptional results of breeding, and he admits that meanwhile the geneticist's evidence outruns the cytologist's in this direction. In June the University of Edinburgh conferred on Professor Morgan the honorary degree of LL.D.

The botanical and zoological sections of the British Association at Hull held a joint discussion on the theory of "Age and Area," published by Messrs. Willis and Udny Yule. This principle, which is based on the authors' study of the flora of Ceylon, affirms that "if one takes groups of not less than ten allied species and compares them with similar groups allied to the first, the relative total areas occupied in a given country, or in the world, will be more or less proportional . . . to their relative total ages, within that country, or absolutely, as the case may be. The longer a group has existed, the more area will it occupy." "In general the species (and genera) of smallest areas are the youngest, and are descended from the more widespread species that usually occur beside them." It is urged, as the result of the collected statistical evidence, that evolution must have proceeded by mutations, and by mutations at times so large as to give rise not only to species, but to genera and even to families. Evolution, in fact, must have proceeded in the opposite direction to that postulated by the Darwinian theory—i.e. the larger genera and the species of the larger area are the parents of the smaller. Opponents of the "Age and Area" heresy declare that Willis and Udny's curves are capable of the reverse interpretation, and are in direct support of Darwin's views.

Insect life always attracts a great deal of attention, from the economic as well as from the purely biological point of view. The mosquitoes *Anopheles maculipennis* and *A. bifurcatus* are known to transmit malaria. Blacklock and Carter of Liverpool have now demonstrated that *A. plumbeus* is also certainly a potential carrier. These observers find that *A. plumbeus* is very much more abundant in English woods than anyone has heretofore suspected, and an investigation into its life and habits is now in progress.

Austen and Leigh have published their monograph on the tsetse flies. The characteristics, distribution, and bionomics of tsetses are discussed, and some account is given of possible methods for their control.

Bequart's work on myremecophytism is an addition to a very fascinating subject. The author shows clearly that the dispersal of seeds by ants is an important factor in plant distribution.

The student of symbiosis and parasitism is also referred to Caullery's excellent book on the subject, published this year.

The Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research has published a valuable monograph on hook-worm infection (ankylostomiasis) and its prevention, based on a two-years' study of the problem it presents in Brazil, as in some other hot countries. It is very prevalent in rural districts where sanitation is neglected and the people go barefoot, for the embryos of the hook-worm live in the soil and gain access to the human body through the skin. Smillie and his fellow-workers show convincingly that by supplying latrines and compelling the field-workers to wear shoes, the dreaded scourge can be effectively controlled. Some useful observations are made on the "healthy carrier" problem.

The sections of Physiology and Agriculture of the British Association held a joint discussion on vitamins. The existence of these substances and their indispensability as a factor of diet of man and animals is now generally acknowledged, although they have never yet been isolated.

The green tissues of plants are probably the chief site of their manufacture, though what rôle they play in plant-life is not known. Marine diatoms synthesise vitamin A. and it is transferred to the small animals of the plankton which feed on the diatoms. Small fish feed on these, and are in turn eaten by larger fish, the vitamin being carried on from one organism to the next. Man makes use of these marine-prepared vitamins chiefly in their storage-form in the liver of the cod. Compared samples of cod-liver oil are found, however, to have very different vitamin-containing qualities. The opinion is gaining ground with some scientists that there is a very close connection between sunlight and vitamins, and it has been suggested that light may bring about the synthesis of vitamins in the animal body just as it does in the plant. Inspired by the work of continental physiologists and physicians on the influence of sunlight in the prevention of such evils as rickets, the Medical Research Council has appointed a committee to enquire into the action of sunlight in health and disease.

Much of the discussion in the Zoology Section at the British Association this year turned on the question of fisheries and that of the food-supply of fishes, which is so intimately bound up therewith. Petersen's paper on the fauna of the sea-bottom was one of the most interesting contributions. He described the method by which he has charted the Danish Seas, and has established, among other matters of great economic importance, the fact of overcrowding of sea-fishes in certain regions, with their consequent reduction in size and market value.

An important discovery is reported from Canada, which should have great influence on the treatment of diabetes. By experiment it has been proved that the "islets" of the pancreas secrete an anti-diabetic substance, that is to say, a substance which enables the body to make use of sugar. By a very elaborate technique, the physiologists and bio-chemists of the University of Alberta have at last succeeded in extracting this precious secretion from the pancreas, and the result of their feeding it to de-pancreatised dogs has been such as to give hope of its ultimate efficacy in treating human diabetes, a condition following, it would seem, on some breakdown of the natural, anti-diabetic mechanism.

Schmidt, of Copenhagen, has added to our fragmentary knowledge of the rare little cuttle-fish called *Spirula*, which is probably allied to the extinct Belemnites. While the coiled calcareous, chambered shell of *Spirula* is a common object in the drift of many sub-tropical seas, the complete animal has until this year been the rare and envied possession of a few favoured museums. Schmidt, cruising on the *Dana*, has fetched up ninety-five specimens from various depths between 300 and 2,000 metres in the Atlantic, and has now published a vivid description and photographs of the living creature. The shell lies in the posterior end of the body, and, being air-filled, tends to lift this portion in the water so that the animal when at rest rises towards the surface. The body is silvery when alive, with rust-red patches on mantle and funnel. Between the two fins is a luminous organ, which emits a very constant, pale yellowish-green light. Schmidt gives a lively account of the movements and mode of life of the captured

Spirula and interesting information as to the relation of body-size to number of chambers in the shell and to sexual maturity.

The Royal Society has published Schmidt's account, now complete, of the life-history of the European eel, *Anguilla vulgaris*. The eel lives in fresh water for a period of five to twenty years. It then puts on its bridal dress and descends to the sea. In spring or summer it spawns in deep water in the Western Atlantic—roughly, about the middle of the Sargasso Sea. The young are leaf-shaped, transparent leptocephali. The smallest known of these larvæ are 7 mm. in length and are found in the Sargasso Sea at 200 to 300 metres from the surface. They rise to the surface and migrate in a north-easterly direction. By the end of the second summer they measure 55 mm. and have travelled as far as the Central Atlantic. In the third summer, leptocephali of 75 mm. have reached the European coastal banks; that autumn they undergo their metamorphosis into cylindrical, smoky-brown elvers, and they then ascend the rivers. The American eel, *A. chrysypa*, breeds in a region mainly south-west of the European eel's. Its growth is much more rapid than in that species and the elvers are only one year old. This work of Schmidt's is a remarkable record of patient observation and accurate deduction carried on for years under conditions of great difficulty, including even a shipwreck!

Professor Dixon, president of the Botany Section of the British Association, took as the subject of his address the transport of organic substances in plants, on which his extensive experimental work has led him to somewhat heretical views. The transport of organic substances has usually been assigned to the bast; but Dixon's experiments and calculations show that a velocity of flow of about 50 cm. per hour is required in the conducting tissue, and he considers that in such a tissue as the bast, with narrow tubes crossed by many partitions and filled with colloids, such a velocity is a physical impossibility. He believes with Deleano that the tracheae of the wood are used for downward as well as for upward transport, and points out that the results of modern experiment in other directions—on permeability of leaf-cells, for instance, and on transport of stimuli by hormones—fall in line with his own conclusions. He tries to find a function for the bast, and suggests that the very large surface which that tissue, in common with the medullary rays and parenchyma, presents to the tracheae, may result from the necessity of interchange, which in the nature of things must be slow, between the living cells and the dead conduits.

What is supposed to be the cast of a gigantic gastropod has been found in the Wealden of Sussex. The shell of this animal, *Dinocochlea ingens*, if animal it really was, must have been over seven feet in height.

The report is published of the discovery of marine fossils—shells of *Productus* and *Spiriferina*—in Central India, where no marine rocks of later than pre-Cambrian age have hitherto been recorded.

Petronievics has published the results of his comparison of the two known fossils of *Archaeopteryx*. He has come to the conclusion that the differences between them are so great that they must now be referred to separate genera, if not to separate families. The London specimen, *Archaeopteryx*, is held to be the more primitive and to show

ratite affinities, while *Archaeornis*, as the Berlin species should now be named, is more likely to be on the carinate line of descent.

A species of *Megaptera*, the hump-back whale, has been found in the Miocene of California. This strengthens the argument that the cetacea are of great relative antiquity.

Fossil plants have been discovered in Ceylon for the first time. They prove the existence there of Middle Jurassic strata comparable with those of Madras.

Among the important expeditions of the year may be mentioned a new Danish expedition to the Sahara, which will occupy six months: several biologists are included in the personnel. The Belgians have sent a biological expedition to Brazil, the object of which is not so much exploration as to put young biologists in touch with tropical life, both animal and vegetable. The Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago, has sent a collecting expedition to the same region: they will search for living animals and plants in the sierras of Peru and the sources of the Amazon, while the palæontologists investigate Patagonia and North Argentine. Gifts of 1,250,000 dollars from Rockefeller and Baker have enabled the American Museum of Natural History to equip a special expedition to the Great Mongolian Desert, which should yield valuable material to the archæologist and palæontologist. Ostenfeld and Paulsen have published a list of flowering plants from Higher Asia, collected by Sven Hedin on his various expeditions between 1894 and 1907.

1922 marked the centenary of the births of Mendel, Galton, and Pasteur. A conference was held at Vienna in September to commemorate the birth of Mendel, and was very largely attended by European geneticists.

The death of many eminent biologists must be recorded this year. In England, science has lost Manson, Bayley Balfour, Sharp, Holt, Bottomley, Lyster Jameson, Hudson, and Bacot, and, on the Continent Verworn, Laveran, Ranvier, and Albert I. Prince of Monaco.

The Physical Sciences.

The year was not marked by any discoveries of the first importance in the physical sciences.

In pure physics the structure of the atom, the quantum theory, and the mechanism of radiation continued as the chief subjects of controversy and research. Much help towards the solution of these problems may result from the action of the Carnegie Corporation of the United States in providing 7,000*l.* per annum for the next five years as a contribution towards a joint research on the constitution of matter and radiation by the Norman Bridge Physical Laboratory, the Gates Chemical Laboratory, and Mount Wilson Observatory. The Norman Bridge Laboratory was opened during the year and Professor R. A. Millikan appointed director. The Gates Laboratory is in charge of Dr. Noyes. Both are situated at Pasadena, California.

The work of Rutherford and his pupils has now definitely established that the atom consists of a very small positive nucleus surrounded by electrons (or "atoms" of negative electricity) whose number is such as

to make the atom, as a whole, electrically neutral. The nucleus is responsible for most of the mass of the atom although in the heavier atoms its diameter is only one five thousandth of that of the whole atom. The "planetary" electrons (as they are called) which surround the nucleus occupy a region whose diameter is of the order of one hundred millionth of an inch. The number of the planetary electrons and therefore, also, the magnitude of the positive charge is obtained by writing down the elements in the order of their atomic weights and then numbering them off (hydrogen 1, helium 2, lithium 3, and so on). The number so obtained is called the *atomic number* and is equal to the number of electrons surrounding the nucleus. The ordinary chemical and physical properties of an atom are determined solely by its nuclear charge and not by its mass. Large numbers of atoms exist having the same nuclear charge but different masses. These are called *isotopes*. There are also cases of atoms having the same mass but different charges. These are *isobares*. Our knowledge of isotopes are largely due to Aston who has continued his research on this subject during the year. His latest work shows that the rare gas xenon is a mixture of nine isotopes, selenium of six (of atomic weights 74, 76, 77, 78, 80, and 82), and antimony of two (121 and 123), while aluminium is a simple element. It is a remarkable fact that the atomic weights of all isotopes appear without exception to be whole numbers. The atomic weights of the elements determined by chemical methods represent a mean value depending on the proportions in which the isotopes are mixed together, *e.g.* the most recent determination of the atomic weight of antimony gives 121·77, a value which lies between 121 and 123. The isotopes of selenium of atomic weights 78, 80, and 82 are isobares of three of the isotopes of the rare gas krypton; their nuclear charges, however, are different and so are their chemical and physical properties. The atomic weights of all isobares known at present are even numbers.

The importance of the atomic numbers of the elements was first shown by Moseley as a result of some experiments on the X-ray spectra of the metals. This work, together with other considerations, showed that several gaps exist in the list of the elements. Between hydrogen and bismuth elements whose numbers are 43, 61, 72, and 75, were not known. In two papers published last May, Dauvillier and Urbain claim to identify *celtium* with the missing element 72. This element is one of four into which the substance ytterbium, originally considered as an element itself, has now been divided. The others are thulium 69, (neo-) ytterbium 70, and lutecium 71.

The method adopted by Rutherford in his researches on atomic structure has been to bombard various gases and light elements with swift α-particles from radium and to observe the effects of the "impacts" on both the α-particle and the atom approached. These α-particles are really helium nuclei and form, with hydrogen nuclei, the bricks of which the nuclei of the radioactive atoms are built. They have just been shown by Chadwick and Bieler to behave as if they were spheroids with axes 8×10^{-13} cm. and 5×10^{-13} cm. One effect of the bombardment is the disintegration of the bombarded atoms into others of smaller mass—a fact used by the press in the early part of the year to produce

a scare as to the world disaster which might result from the "explosion" of an atom; the idea apparently being that the "explosion" of one atom would act as a detonator for all the others! In this connexion a quotation from a lecture delivered by Rutherford to the Chemical Society on February 9 is apposite. It shows clearly the present-day view on the possibilities of atomic disintegration: —

> "The general evidence indicates that the atoms as a rule are such stable structures and the nuclei are held together by such powerful forces that only a most concentrated source of energy, such as the α-particle, is likely to be effective on such well-protected structures. Even when disintegration takes place, it is on an exceedingly minute scale and only a few α-particles in a million are effective. If we had charged atoms available of 10 times the energy of the α-particle from radium we could probably penetrate the nuclear structure of all atoms and occasionally effect their separation."

No such separation has in fact been effected for atoms of greater atomic weight than phosphorus (31), unless indeed an experiment described by Dr. G. Wendt and Mr. C. E. Iron in the September issue of the *Journal of the American Chemical Society* be verified by subsequent research. These experimenters "exploded" a fine tungsten wire in a vacuum by an enormous momentary current, estimated to raise the temperature of the wire above 20,000° C., from a condenser charged to a potential of 100,000 volts. After the "explosion" no trace of the metal was found in the containing vessel but helium appeared in its place.

The general agreement as to the nature of the atom nuclei does not extend to the arrangement of the electrons surrounding them. There are three theories in the field. The Bohr theory, which regards these electrons as circulating in orbits in parallel planes round the nucleus; the Lewis Langmuir theory, which fixes the electrons in certain special positions round it (or possibly permits them to rotate in small local orbits about these fixed positions), and a theory elaborated by Sir J. J. Thomson in a series of lectures to the University of London last May (as well as in several papers in the *Philosophical Magazine*). The Bohr theory has been specially successful in explaining the series of lines met with in the spectra hydrogen. It is based on the quantum theory of energy and makes certain special assumptions which cannot be justified by the concepts of classical dynamics. The Langmuir theory is most successful in explaining the phenomena of chemical statics such as the periodic law and the facts of valency, but the stability of the arrangement of the electrons is doubtful if the laws of classical dynamics be supposed to apply. Thomson's theory retains the concepts of classical dynamics and electromagnetics but modifies the law of force between electrified particles at very small distances so as to permit of the electrons taking up positions of rest at the corners of different polyhedra, *e.g.*, tetrahedron, cube, rhombic dodecahedron, etc. In this way he has made successful computations of many of the physical constants of the elements such as latent heat, surface tension, and compressibility, but has not yet discussed the bearing of the theory on spectroscopy.

Two other matters relating to atomic structure require notice. On

February 20, Sir J. A. Ewing read a paper before the Royal Society of Edinburgh on Models of Ferromagnetic Induction. His well-known molecular theory of magnetism breaks down when applied quantitatively because the suggested arrangement of the "magnetic molecules" in an unmagnetised bar is far too stable, requiring for its disturbance magnetic forces at least a million times greater than is actually required. To remove this excessive stability he supposes the electrons in an atom to consist of two groups which, in consequence of their rotation, constitute two magnetic systems, one surrounding the other. The inner one is supposed capable of being turned by an applied field, the outer one to be fixed by the forces exerted by neighbouring atoms when all these atoms form part of a solid body. In this model magnetisation involves a movement of the inner core alone while the original Ewing model seemed to imply a rotation of the atom as a whole, a supposition definitely contradicted by the results of investigations with the X-ray spectrometer. The interest excited by Ewing's paper was much increased by a later paper by Professor E. T. Whittaker. Therein it was shown that the model gives an explanation of the quantum exchange of energy between an atom and an electron "colliding" with it, *i.e.*, it provides a mechanism for the absorption of energy by an atom in definite units or quanta which does not call for assumptions outside the domain of ordinary dynamics.

A striking example of this quantum exchange of energy is provided by the properties of electrons emitted by metallic surfaces when X-rays are allowed to fall on them. The researches of M. le Duc de Broglie and of Professor R. Whiddington have shown that the electrons emitted by the metal possess different amounts of energy and therefore different velocities, so that, when they are passed through a magnetic field, they are deflected by different amounts. Electrons having the same velocity are deflected equally and, by suitable arrangement of the apparatus, may be made to produce a line on a photographic plate placed in their path. In this way a *magnetic spectrum* is obtained and a study of such spectra shows (*a*) that the velocity of the expelled electrons depends only on the frequency of the exciting X-rays and not at all on their intensity, (*b*) that the kinetic energy associated with this velocity is equal to the difference between the quantum (or unit) of energy characteristic of the incident rays and the energy required to drag the electron from one or other of the successive layers of electrons surrounding the nucleus of the atom to its exterior. This result is precisely what the quantum theory would lead us to expect. It provides a new and accurate method for measuring the frequency of the vibrations which constitute the incident X-rays.

Work on the X-ray analysis of crystals has continued vigorously and the usefulness of the method for the solution of many practical problems is becoming more and more manifest. The chief advances of this kind relate to the structure of iron and steel and of organic compounds. An examination of tartaric acid crystals by Astbury working in the laboratory of Sir William Bragg has verified Pasteur's original suggestions concerning the structure of these crystals and has provided an explanation of their anomalous optical behaviour. A paper published by G. Shearer threw much light on the significance of crystal structure and showed that the number of molecules per unit-cell of the lattice structure is

equal to the number of elements of symmetry shown by the crystal divided by the number of elements of symmetry shown by the molecules.

The difficult problem of the nature of vowel sounds would appear to have been solved by the work of Sir Richard Paget who showed that whispered vowel sounds are characterised by two resonant notes. The upper, or whistle note, is controlled by the distance of the tongue from the palate and teeth; the lower, or resonator note, by the size of the mouth opening. These two notes for any one vowel are not fixed but may vary over five semitones for the same person without any loss of the vowel characteristics. When the vowel is spoken a larynx note is added. This additional vibration does not alter the pitch of the resonator note but may affect the whistle note if the interval between the two is not greater than two octaves.

On October 28 an experiment was carried out, at the instance of the International Commission for the Investigation of the Upper Air, to throw some light on the problem of the propagation of intense sound waves. It has long been known that, when an explosion occurs, there is a zone at some considerable distance from the source within which no sound is heard although it is audible at points on either side of the zone. It is supposed that the sound which is heard beyond this "zone of silence" has travelled through the upper layers of the air and then been reflected downwards, but further information regarding the phenomena is needed. In the experiment referred to five tons of ammonium perchlorate were exploded on the Oldebroek Artillery drill ground in Holland and arrangements were made for observers to listen for the sound over a radius of 500 kilometres round this point. The wind conditions at the time of the explosion were not favourable but good records were obtained with the hot wire microphone at Woolwich and Biggin Hill. The conclusions drawn from the results of the experiment had not been published at the end of the year.

The effect of minute traces of water in promoting chemical action has been known for many years and now Professor H. B. Baker has shown that it also plays a part in the evaporation and melting of organic and inorganic substances such as mercury, benzene, ether and bromine. If these substances are dried for several years in the presence of phosphoric oxide it is found that their boiling-points are raised 30°-40° C. above their normal level. The vapour pressures of the dried liquids are lowered to a corresponding extent and their surface tensions are much greater than usual. If the dried liquid is evaporated and the vapour condensed the liquid formed retains these abnormal properties. The normal state can be restored by adding small quantities of water. There are at present no theories which explain these new phenomena.

Neither the ionisation theory of Ghosh or the radiation theory of chemical action can be said to have prospered during the year. Ghosh's theory is not successful when applied to strong solutions, and experiments suggested by the radiation theory have yielded results which are not in accord with it. The arbitration concerning the nature of calcium carbide has resulted in the decision that it is not an organic chemical.

Two meetings of scientific men interested in chemistry held during the year require to be put on record. The first meeting of the Solvay

International Institute of Chemistry was held at Brussels during the period April 20-27, Sir William Pope being President. This institute, like the corresponding Institute of Physics, owes its existence to the late Ernest Solvay who provided a million francs to be expended in holding meetings of the Institute during the next thirty years. On this occasion the delegates were limited to thirty and the subjects of discussion were as follows: isotopes, X-ray analysis and molecular structure, electronic theory of valency, optical activity and chemical mobility. The second meeting, an International Reunion of Chemists, was held at Utrecht on June 21-23. It was organised by the chemists at the University of Utrecht and the Dutch Chemical Association to assist in the restoration of good relations between chemical workers in the countries opposing each other during the war.

Interest in Astronomy largely centred in the solar eclipse which took place on September 21. The Joint Permanent Eclipse Committee of the Royal Society and the Royal Astronomical Society selected Christmas Island, situated to the south of Java, as the best locality from which to observe the eclipse. The official party, consisting of Mr. H. Spencer Jones, the Chief Assistant of the Royal Observatory, Greenwich, and Mr. P. J. Melotte, discoverer of the eighth satellite of Jupiter, left England in December, 1921, for this destination, with the intention of obtaining photometric data for connecting northern and southern stellar magnitudes in addition to their observations of the eclipse. Unfortunately the weather conditions were unfavourable throughout. The sky was clouded over at the time of the eclipse and previous to that very little photometric work was possible. A joint Dutch-German expedition stationed on the same island suffered an equal disappointment, but the conditions were ideal right across Australia and it is understood that successful photographs were obtained by several parties, notably by that from the Lick Observatory (under Professor Campbell) and from Toronto (under Professor Chant). These observers were stationed at Wollal and were specially studying the Einstein problem. No information regarding the results of measurements on the photographs obtained had been made public at the end of the year.

The second meeting of the International Astronomical Union, inaugurated at Brussels in 1919, was held in Rome from May 2-10. It was attended by upwards of 100 delegates representative of most of the countries of the world, excepting Germany, Austria, and Russia. The first session was held in the presence of the King of Italy and at the end of the conference the delegates were received in audience by the Pope. Important points of co-ordination and nomenclature were settled. In particular it was agreed to continue the grants in aid of wireless time signals at least until the next meeting at Cambridge in 1925.

The second Mount Everest expedition in charge of Brig.-General Bruce reached its base camp at Rongbuk at a height of 16,600 feet, at the end of April. During May the weather conditions were not prohibitive of climbing but the expedition was troubled by the desertion of local coolies and by a mild form of influenza. A camp was established at 21,000 feet under the cliffs of the north peak of Changtse and, on May 21, Messrs. Mallory, Somervell, and Norton reached an altitude of 26,300 feet

on the northern side of the mountain. No oxygen was used although the height attained was 2,200 feet above the previous record (Duke of Abruzzi 24,583 feet on the mountain K 2). Shortly afterwards Messrs. Finch and Bruce with one Gurkha camped for two nights at 25,000 feet and, employing oxygen, attained an altitude of 27,200 feet, only 1,800 feet below the summit. The final attempt was made on June 7 by Messrs. Mallory, Somervell, Finch, Wakefield, and Crawford with native coolies. Bad weather was experienced from the start and Captain Finch, tired by his previous exertions, returned. On the North Col the party was caught by an avalanche and ten native porters were overwhelmed. Three of these were rescued but the remainder lost their lives. In addition to the surveying work a remarkable cinematograph record was obtained. The film, accompanied by Tibetan music arranged by Mr. Somervell, was shown daily at the Philharmonic Hall in London at the end of the year and it was purposed to devote the proceeds to the equipment of a third expedition.

The Shackleton-Rowett Antarctic Expedition on board the *Quest* met with continued bad weather and misfortune throughout its voyage. Towards the end of 1921 it was found necessary to refit the ship at Rio de Janeiro. The journey south was then continued but on January 5, at South Georgia, its commander, Sir Ernest Shackleton, died. [See Obituary.] His body was taken to Monte Video but was afterwards buried at South Georgia. A special service was held in St. Paul's Cathedral on March 2 as a national tribute to his memory. The expedition continued in charge of Mr. F. Wild. Ice conditions were very bad and finally caused the ship to turn west in latitude 69° S. to explore the region over Ross's reported "appearance of land" in 1843. Thirty-five miles from its destination the *Quest* was badly beset by ice and only escaped with difficulty. No sign of land was visible and the depth of the ocean was 2,446 fathoms. The ship then sailed for Elephant Island where several landings were made and geological work carried out. The expedition ultimately reached England *via* Cape Town without having discovered any new land but with a valuable contribution to our oceanographical knowledge.

A third expedition, that of Professor J. W. Gregory of Glasgow University and his son Mr. C. J. Gregory, set out to explore the region to the north-west of Yunnan in Tibet and returned having accomplished its object.

The year was noteworthy for the public interest manifested in the developments of wireless telephony. Prolonged negotiations between the Postmaster-General and the chief companies manufacturing wireless apparatus resulted in the formation of a broadcasting company for the transmission of news and concerts from certain selected stations in different parts of the country. In December the stations in London, Birmingham, Manchester, and Newcastle were sending out messages on the wave lengths permitted by the Post Office authorities (350-425 metres) each evening between 5 P.M. and 11 P.M. Large numbers of receiving sets were available at prices ranging from 5*l.* upwards, the Post Office licence for their use costing 10*s.*

The nature and cost of the gas supply also attracted a good deal of

attention. A considerable number of fatalities due to accidental gas poisoning caused some uneasiness regarding the proportion of the poisonous gas carbon monoxide in coal gas. Its presence is due to the "water gas" used as a diluent. This contains 46 per cent. carbon monoxide and under the Gas Regulation Act of 1920 there is no restriction on the proportion in which the dilution may be made.

A large number of letters in the daily press voiced the complaint that gas bills had very much increased without any corresponding increase in the consumption of gas. The change was attributed to a new unit of measurement legalised by the 1920 Act. Under the old system gas consumption was measured in cubic feet and no comparison of cost in between different localities could be made because of the differences in the heat value of the supply. The new unit, called the *therm*, is the quantity of gas which, when burned, gives sufficient heat to raise 100,000 lb. of water 1° F. The consumer is thus charged for the heat energy he uses and not for the number of cubic feet of diluted gas which passes through his meter (although the one quantity is proportional to the other *for the same source of supply*). Obviously the introduction of this unit could not, of itself, have increased the cost of gas and the agitation should have been directed against the charge the gas companies were permitted to make per therm.

The award of the Nobel prizes in science for both 1921 and 1922 was announced by the Royal Swedish Academy of Sciences in November. English science was well represented in the list for both chemistry prizes came to this country, Professor F. Soddy receiving that for 1921 and Dr. F. W. Aston the prize for 1922. The 1921 Physics prize went to Professor Albert Einstein and that for 1922 to Professor N. Bohr of Denmark who, however, published much of his famous work on atomic structure while lecturer in mathematical physics at Manchester.

A most successful meeting of the British Association was held at Hull from September 6 to 11, Sir Charles Sherrington being President. The fourth report of the committee of the Association on Colloid Chemistry and its General and Industrial Applications was published during the year. It served to emphasise still further the widespread importance of colloids in nature and industry.

The British Science Guild made arrangements for a vigorous campaign to direct public attention to the importance of scientific work on national welfare. It is aiming to do for science what such a body as the Navy League has done for the navy. On the retirement of Lord Montagu of Beaulieu the Marquess of Crewe accepted an invitation to become President of the Guild. Shortly afterwards, however, he was appointed Ambassador at Paris and had therefore to resign from the post. Lord Askwith was then elected President and consented to hold office.

The Institute of Physics is steadily increasing its membership and held its first examination in September. During the year it organised a series of lectures on the application of Physics in various important industries. A specimen number of the proposed *Journal of Scientific Instruments* was circulated. It met with a favourable reception and the number of promised subscriptions was sufficient to justify the publication of the Journal.

A general discussion on the Generation and Utilisation of Cold organised jointly by the Faraday Society and the British Cold Storage and Ice Association was held on October 16. Two communications from the cryogenic laboratory of the University of Leyden contained an admirable account of the difficulties which have had to be overcome in order to reach temperatures of the order of – 270° C., *i.e.*, 3° C. above the absolute zero of temperature.

The books published during the year included the first two volumes of a Dictionary of Applied Physics edited by Sir Richard Glazebrook [see under Literature of the Year, p. 50], a Report on Series Lines in Spectra compiled by Professor Fowler for the Physical Society, and two volumes of a Treatise on Inorganic and Theoretical Chemistry, by J. W. Mellor. The huge output of books on Relativity continued unabated and a large number of manuals on wireless practice also appeared.

ART, DRAMA, AND MUSIC.

I. ART.

WHEN the Royal Academy, in 1920, for the first time admitted an Associate to the Hanging Committee, the innovation was regarded as revolutionary by some of its older members, who in the year now under review received a further shock. This was the election as an A.R.A. of Mrs. Swynnerton the painter, the first of her sex upon whom the honour has been bestowed, although women have received votes at many of the elections of the past fifty years. At earlier elections the question did not arise, because no woman artist ventured to put her name on the list of candidates for at least a century after Angelica Kauffman and Mary Moser had been chosen as foundation members.

The exhibition in January and February, 1922, of works by deceased members of the Royal Academy, was interesting but not exciting. The same criticism may be applied to the summer exhibition, at which, apparently by way of experiment, a few pictures by men of the newer school were shown in the Eleventh Gallery; pictures that would have had no chance of acceptance at Burlington House in any preceding year. The works submitted by artists for the summer exhibition were slightly fewer than in 1921, but more were given places in the galleries. The oils and water colours were arranged by Messrs. Adrian Stokes, H. S. Tuke, George Henry, George Harcourt, and Sir William Llewellyn; the works in black and white by Mr. Malcolm Osborne; the sculpture by Mr. Alfred Drury and Mr. C. L. Hartwell; and the architectural designs by Sir Reginald Blomfield. The arrangement of all the sections was completed in eleven days.

Only one picture from the exhibition was bought for the Chantrey collection, although more money was spent on Chantrey purchases than in any year since the bequest became operative. The picture bought from the Academy was Mr. Philip Connard's "Summer" (262*l.* 10*s.*). The others were acquired from various sources and their selection showed considerable breadth of view. They are, a collection of thirteen cartoons and sixty drawings made by Alfred Stevens as designs for the internal decoration of Dorchester House, Park Lane (2,000*l.*); a marble statue, "Psyche," by Mr. Alfred Turner (1,000*l.*); "Changing Pastures," by Edward Stott, A.R.A. (650*l.*); "Hammersmith Bridge," by Mr. Walter Greaves (500*l.*); a portrait of Mrs. Raynes, by Mr. P. W. Steer (400*l.*); a self-portrait by Charles Keene (262*l.* 10*s.*); a bronze bust by Mr. Jacob Epstein, "Nan" (200*l.*); a portrait of Sir Francis Chantrey, R.A., by John Jackson, R.A. (147*l.*); a bronze bust of Cardinal Manning, by J. Havard Thomas (105*l.*); "Miss Martineau's Garden, near South-

wold," by James Sant, R.A. (30*l.*); and "A Waterfall," by James D. Innes (30*l.*).

A good many pictures were sold at the Academy during the three months the exhibition remained open, but in most cases the prices were very much the same as the artists received for canvases of similar size in pre-war days. The sold works included "View of Nottingham" (630*l.*), by Mr. Arnesby Brown; "Morning Splendour" (630*l.*), by Mr. H. S. Tuke; "The Light Incarnate" (600*l.*), by Mr. Frank Dicksee; "A Dedham Landscape" (450*l.*), by Mr. Algernon Talmage; "The Lion Pekinese" (262*l.* 10*s.*), by Sir John Lavery; "H.M. Yacht Britannia rounding Lymington Spit Buoy in a Squall" (400*l.*), by Mr. Norman Wilkinson; "The South Cone" (250*l.*) and "Whitby, Low Water" (250*l.*), by Mr. W. L. Wyllie; "Summer Day in the Scilly Islands" (250*l.*), by Mr. Julius Olsson; "The Blue Dress" (210*l.*), by Mr. L. Campbell Taylor; "Under the Blossom" (250*l.*), by Sir David Murray; and "A Tale by the Way" (262*l.* 10*s.*), by Mr. Harry Watson. Many pictures were also disposed of at prices which were not made public, and these included three landscapes by Mr. B. W. Leader, R.A., who, despite his ninety-two years, easily maintained his position as one of the "best sellers" at this exhibition.

There were considerable developments at the National Gallery, where the large room No. VII., devoted to works of the Venetian School, was reopened. Gainsborough's famous "Blue Boy," sold by the Duke of Westminster in 1921 to the American collector, Mr. Huntington, was by that gentleman's permission exhibited at the National Gallery, to which it attracted a vast number of people. It had been cleaned since it passed out of the Duke of Westminster's possession and the old varnish removed, and in its new condition looked surprisingly fresh. The "Blue Boy" was on view early in the year, and after its departure for New York another fine, though very small, picture was shown at the National Gallery that was also to leave our shores for good. This was the well-known "Madonna and Child" by Van Eyck, which, after remaining for about a century in the Weld-Blundell collection at Ince, near Liverpool, was purchased last year by Mr. Frank Rinder for the Melbourne National Gallery. The acquisitions to our own National Gallery in 1922 included a portrait group by Vandyke, said to represent the two brothers, George and Francis Villiers, purchased from Lady Lucas; a Quentin Matsys, "Virgin and Child with SS. Catherine and Barbara," given by Mr. Charles Clarke; a portrait by Lucas van Leyden, presented by the children of the late Mr. Lewis Fry; several paintings by artists of various nationalities, presented by Sir Henry Howorth; and "The Holy Trinity," a picture of the French school, probably painted early in the fifteenth century, acquired by the Trustees by purchase, with the assistance of the National Art Collections Fund.

Pictures acquired in 1922 but not exhibited in that year included Gainsborough's "Girl with Pigs," a portrait of Lady Cawdor by Reynolds, a head by Bellini, and a landscape by Rubens; all bequeathed by Rosalind, Lady Carlisle; and a remarkable group of portraits by Mr. J. S. Sargent, R.A. These portraits, painted for the late Mr. Asher Wertheimer, the well-known Bond Street picture dealer, represent

himself, Mrs. Wertheimer, and their children. Mr. Wertheimer, who was a great admirer of the art of Mr. Sargent, bequeathed all the portraits to the nation, subject to the life interest of his widow, who died in the autumn of 1922.

Many works were added to the already overcrowded National Portrait Gallery, the enlargement of which becomes each year a more urgent matter. A theatrical exhibition was held at the Victoria and Albert Museum, where also were reopened several of the galleries of oil paintings that had been closed since the outbreak of the war. The Royal Society of Arts at length obtained the freehold of the house and gallery in John Street, Adelphi, it had occupied since the late eighteenth century; and two new exhibition rooms were added to the Guildhall Gallery. The Burlington Fine Arts Club held an attractive exhibition of works by nineteenth-century French painters in the spring, and in the autumn showed what was perhaps the most representative collection ever brought together of the water colours of that singular genius, John Robert Cozens. Exhibitions at private galleries included one of Mr. Joseph Southall's paintings at the Alpine Club Gallery; of work in different mediums by Degas, at the Leicester Gallery; and of paintings and drawings by the Greaves brothers at the Goupil Gallery. More important, however, than any of these was an admirable exhibition of old masters held by Messrs. Agnew in November and December for the benefit of Earl Haig's fund.

Although no huge prices were paid for pictures at Christie's or Sotheby's the auction room season was by no means uneventful. All the contents of Cassiobury, the ancient Hertfordshire seat of the Earls of Essex, pictures, furniture, and Grinling Gibbons carvings, were dispersed by Messrs. Knight, Frank, & Rutley; and in May Messrs. Christie sold the pictures, objects of art, and library of the late Baroness Burdett-Coutts, removed from the house, well known to Londoners, at the corner of Stratton Street, Piccadilly. In the Burdett-Coutts sale were included one of the best-known portraits of Sir Walter Scott, by Raeburn (9,450*l.*); the original version of Hoppner's portrait of Pitt (7,350*l.*); and others by Reynolds, Lawrence, and Romney for which large prices were paid. A very small Raphael, "The Agony in the Garden," realised 6,350*l.* At a sale of pictures belonging to Lady Lucas four whole lengths by Vandyke fetched 6,250*l.*, 5,880*l.*, 5,250*l.*, and 3,990*l.*; and a Reynolds portrait of the two daughters of the second Lord Hardwicke 8,400*l.* Romney's "Mrs. Vandergucht" was sold for 8,190*l.*; Gainsborough's "Lady Glenorchy" for 4,200*l.*; a sketch of a head in chalk by Watteau for 3,200*l.*; and a head by Rembrandt (from Raby) 6,510*l.* For a head of King Ammenemes, carved in hard stone, 10,000*l.* was paid at Sotheby's.

II. DRAMA.

The modern theatre manager may not be precisely an optimist, but he certainly takes chances such as the ordinary business man would never care to risk. Hence the very considerable number of failures of which every year brings its toll in the theatrical world. For obvious reasons there must always be more failures than successes, but in 1922

the disproportion between the two was more glaring even than was the case in some previous years of which the tale was by no means rosy. To some extent, no doubt, the explanation of this lay in the lack of judgment too frequently shown in the selection of plays. But another, and perhaps still more important, factor in the situation was the difficulty so often found in making both ends meet owing to the enormously enhanced costs of running theatres nowadays. There is no necessity to labour the point. It is sufficient, as illustrating the acuteness of the present-day financial problem with which theatre managers are faced, to point out that many a play which in pre-war years would have shown a handsome profit on average weekly receipts of 1,000*l.*, would, with the same cast, show a loss now if the takings were less than 1,400*l.* Musical productions present an even more formidable problem, as may be gathered from the fact that one piece that drew over 2,000*l.* a week for some eight months to a west-end theatre resulted in a considerable loss to those concerned in its production.

The year's failures do not, therefore, necessarily mean that more bad or indifferent plays were produced than usual. Nevertheless it has to be admitted that in 1922 the actual number of new plays of conspicuous merit was very small compared with the long list of productions that neither deserved nor obtained popularity. Take the case, for instance, of our representative playwrights. What did they give to the British stage in 1922? Among the older school, Sir Arthur Pinero brought forth one play ("The Enchanted Cottage") that failed to attract, while Alfred Sutro, towards the end of the year, won the public's suffrages with two plays—"The Laughing Lady" and "The Great Well"—more remarkable for skilful craftsmanship and neat wit than for any insight they revealed into human psychology. Of the younger school, Galsworthy scored with one serious play ("Loyalties"), and A. A. Milne with a work of gossamer texture. Barrie and Shaw were represented only by revivals, the first-named, notably, by a revival of his charming "Dear Brutus" at Wyndham's, its original home; Arnold Bennett had two indubitable failures —"The Love Match" at the Strand, and "Body and Soul" at the Regent.

All things considered, one may fairly award the palm, among the plays of the year that really counted, to Galsworthy's "Loyalties" (St. Martin's, March 8). In it, even if the work as a whole did not reach his highest level, he showed once more considerable powers as a dramatic technician, in combination with an understanding of the human character in its various complexities and contradictions, and a skill in the actual drawing of his *dramatis personae* that invariably give distinction and verisimilitude to his plays. Like all good, "live" plays of which the human appeal and the dramatic interest are both strong, "Loyalties" gave admirable acting opportunities, and of these full advantage was taken by Ernest Milton, Eric Maturin, Dawson Milward, Meggie Albanesi, and others prominently concerned.

With another play of his, entitled "Windows," and produced later at the Court by Mr. Leon M. Lion, Galsworthy was not able, unfortunately, to grasp success. Despite some clever passages and witty writing the play proved too unreal and difficult of comprehension to obtain a

favourable verdict. In some of its sociological aspects, however, it revealed the author's characteristic touch.

Another very regrettable failure was that of Pinero's "The Enchanted Cottage" (Duke of York's, March 1). Described as "a fable," this play was based on the poetic notion that in their own sight true lovers possess beauty of face and form concealed from other eyes which see in them only the ugly and repellent. Unhappily, in his handling of this pro: mising theme, the author produced a somewhat disconcerting mixture of the mundane and the purely fanciful, even summoning to his aid in one scene fairies and gnomes, who disported themselves to music specially composed by Sir Frederic Cowen. The net result was disappointment, notwithstanding some excellent acting by Owen Nares, Laura Cowie, and Jean Cadell.

But the year had successes too. Among these, Rudolf Besier and May Edginton's "Secrets" (Comedy, Sept. 7) must be given its rightful place as the second outstanding success of the year. The playgoer may, or may not, accept the author's thesis that a woman will forgive her husband any lapse from fidelity so long as she believes that in his heart of hearts he still loves her. But, however open to argument the thesis, there is no denying the sympathy, insight, and skill brought to its exposition by the two authors, who, in this play, more than redeem the melodramatic theatricalities of their "Ninth Earl." Moreover, "Secrets" served the purpose of enabling Miss Fay Compton still further to enhance her reputation as one of the most distinguished of our younger actresses by the beauty and charm of her portrayal of the heroine in various stages of her life. (As in "Milestones," the action of the play is spread over three generations.)

In a light, as opposed to a sentimental and emotional vein, Milne's "The Dover Road" (Haymarket, June 7) was among the comedies of the year that enjoyed considerable success. As with other plays by the same author, it was based upon a divertingly whimsical idea—in this instance, that of an eccentric individual whose hobby it is to frustrate, by a novel and somewhat cynical expedient, the illicit designs of young husbands and wives who, tiring of one another, plan elopements with other partners. Perhaps the humour of this trifle light as air wore a little thin before the end was reached. But, as neatly and cleverly acted, among others, by Henry Ainley, Allan Aynesworth, John Deverell, and Athene Seyler, the play proved agreeably entertaining. So, too, though with only a modicum of success, did another light-comedy, Miss F. Tennyson Jesse's "Quarantine," with Owen Nares and Edna Best in the two chief rôles (Comedy, June 6). In "Money Doesn't Matter," yet a third play of airiest texture by a lady dramatist, Miss Gertrude Jennings, that writer came nowhere near to repeating the success she had achieved with her amusing comedy, "The Young Person in Pink," while an even greater disappointment, in a way, was Monckton Hoffe's "Pomp and Circumstance" (Duke of York's, June 8), which belied bright anticipations by proving discursive and dull, though this impression may have been induced partly by the acting.

With Alfred Sutro's brightly-written satirical comedy, "The Laughing Lady," produced at the Globe (Nov. 17), Marie Löhr, whose acting in the

piece, as also that of Violet Vanbrugh, was on a high plane of accomplishment, more than redeemed the comparative failure of an earlier attempt on her part to attract the public to "The Return," adapted by Arthur Wimperis from a French play of the same title. But another French comedy, done into English by the same adapter, and entitled "Bluebeard's Eighth Wife," proved so highly entertaining in its more or less deft skating over the thinnest ice, as well as on account of other qualities, that its success was assured from the outset. It was brilliantly acted at the Queen's by Madge Titheradge (who revealed unsuspected comedic gifts of the rarest order), Norman McKinnel, and Hugh Wakefield, in the leading parts. Yet another adaptation from the French, "The Man in Dress Clothes" (Garrick, March 22) owed not a little of its popularity to the immensely clever performance in the chief rôle of Seymour Hicks, who was responsible for the English version. Although neither of them secured a satisfactory run, mention should be made here of two comedies that revealed very considerable promise in authors whose names were unfamiliar to playgoers: "The Limpet," by Vernon Woodhouse and Victor MacClure, and "Glamour," a really charming play, by Peter Garland, which, if only for the excellent acting of Holman Clark and Frances Carson, an American actress, deserved a better fate. In a more serious—and sometimes sombre—vein Edward Percy's "If Four Walls Told" may be cited as a notable achievement for an unknown playwright.

It would be pleasant to be able to record of so distinguished a novelist as Joseph Conrad that he won success with his dramatisation of "The Secret Agent," but, unfortunately, a story which, in the form of fiction, was found so interesting, dragged terribly in its stage version. Another clever novel that went wrong in process of adaptation for stage purposes was A. E. W. Mason's "Running Water." Curiously enough, a book far more difficult to dramatise effectively—Robert Louis Stevenson's "Treasure Island"—was made quite a stimulating and successful thing of by J. B. Fagan in his adaptation of that literary classic produced by Arthur Bourchier at the Strand (Dec. 23). In "The Wheel" (Apollo, Feb. 1), a fairly strong and effective variant of the eternal "triangle" theme, the same author provided Phyllis Neilson-Terry with good acting opportunities, of which she made the most. Among other of our younger actresses who may claim to have added to their artistic stature during 1922 are Gladys Cooper, whose revival of "The Second Mrs. Tanqueray" (Playhouse, June 3) was a notable feature of the dramatic year, and Sybil Thorndike, who distinguished herself almost alike in French (adapted) drama, in Greek tragedy, and as Beartice in a much-discussed production of Shelley's "The Cenci," the all-pervading gloom of which placed it outside the category of plays that could possibly appeal to more than a limited few.

In the way of melodrama the year's productions ranged from the highly spectacular and successful "Decameron Nights" at Drury Lane to W. Somerset Maugham's "East of Suez" at His Majesty's, the latter adding more to the reputation of Meggie Albanesi, who enacted the Eurasian heroine, than it did to that of its accomplished author. American importations of the (more or less) crook type were "The Bat,"

which obtained a long run at the St. James's, and "The Cat and the Canary" at the Shaftesbury. The most successful farce of the year was "Tons of Money," staged at the theatre just named on April 13, and transferred in the autumn to the Aldwych, Ralph Lynn appearing in it as the chief—and very diverting—comedian.

During the year Leon M. Lion presented a welcome series of Galsworthy and Pinero revivals. But only at the "Old Vic," over the water, did Shakespeare find a home.

Of musical plays and revues London enjoyed its usual fill. Among the former "The Lady of the Rose" (Daly's, Feb. 21) came from Germany, the music, by Jean Gilbert, being more remarkable for clever craftsmanship than for freshness of inspiration. But dramatically the book was above the average, and enabled Harry Welchman to distinguish himself in the effectively-drawn character of the "villain." Another German importation was "Love's Awakening" (Empire, April 19), which was adapted by Adrian Ross. In this case the score, by Eduard Künneke, was infinitely better than the very poor libretto. The well-known Austrian composer, Oscar Straus, was responsible for the music of "The Last Waltz," which, however, owed its success at the Gaiety mainly to José Collins's well-graced singing in the leading rôle, while another foreign piece, called "Lilac Time" in the English version, was distinguished for being equipped with charming music transcribed from Schubert melodies by G. H. Clutsam. "The Cabaret Girl," with tuneful music by Jerome Kern, was a popular success at the Winter Garden, and on the penultimate night of the Old Year there was a hearty reception at the Kingsway for a modernised version by Clifford Bax of "Polly," Gay's sequel to his famous "Beggar's Opera," of which, by the way, a revised edition was presented early in the year. The music of "Polly," as ingeniously "arranged" by Frederic Austin, was a most attractive feature of this quaint production.

III. MUSIC.

In the years to come it will not be an easy matter for the unprejudiced historian to decide which particular feature of the musical year of 1922 shall lawfully stamp that year as its outstanding feature. The fact is that there was no outstanding feature of any real quality. And yet the contemporary composer, formerly the "Young British Composer," has been very active as well as extremely fortunate. Probably Arnold Bax was the native composer of the year. For not only did an unwontedly enterprising firm undertake the publication of the whole of his compositions, but he himself not only produced a symphony, an Irish elegy and a second violin sonata, but heard more of his own music publicly performed than ever before. Next possibly came Ralph Vaughan Williams with his Pastoral Symphony (Philharmonic) and his Mass in G minor (Birmingham), and Arthur Bliss with his so-called Colour Symphony, produced at the Gloucester Festival. At Leeds, Gustav Holst's "Ode to Death" was first heard, the Philharmonic produced Delius's "Requiem." In the past few years the name of Rutland Boughton had resounded in London frequently, but not his music, which previously had been heard

chiefly at Glastonbury, in the home for it made by Boughton. But last year, if his "Alcestis" was produced there and so far has remained there, his best-known work, "The Immortal Hour," ran for months at the Regent Theatre and was still being played at the end of the year, having passed its hundreth consecutive performance in the one theatre. Its success drew the attention of London to another Glastonbury work, "Bethlehem," which at Christmas was performed in several of the suburbs with complete success. Elgar confined himself, in original work, to the scoring of the Fantasia in C-minor by Bach which precedes the Fugue mentioned last year, but "The Apostles" aroused a wide interest on its revival in spite of the comparative fiasco of the Leeds Choral Union performance given in Queen's Hall in Whit Week; and the resuscitation of "The Kingdom" at the Gloucester Festival drew attention again to a master work of exquisite beauty that has been grievously neglected.

During the year London was visited by innumerable foreign artists, many of great distinction. In the early part of the year the old war was temporarily renewed between the whole-hearted admirers of Stravinsky and those who were adverse; and the note was decidedly "contemporary." Bèla Bartok, who was acclaimed to be the leader of contemporary musical thought in Hungary, came to England and created a mild sensation but it left little aftermath, and Prokofieff's piano concerto failed, after his "Chout" of the year before, even to muddy the waters of criticism. The conditions under which orchestras existed, and still exist, precluded the probability of any great exhibition of enterprise in the orchestral concert world. A performance of Bach's B-Minor Mass at a London Symphony Orchestra Concert, advertised as sold out a week before the concert, failed by some 70*l.* to defray its cost. It is, then, hardly surprising that Sir Henry Wood and the Queen's Hall Orchestra, the London Symphony Orchestra, and the Royal Philharmonic under various conductors, relied rather upon brilliant soloists of established attraction than upon new works. Thus we heard Lamond, Busoni, Moiseivich, Thibaut, Suggia, Casals, Siloti, Murdoch, Kreisler, Harold Samuels, Pouishnoff, Myra Hess, Harriet Cohen, Rachmaninoff, Backhaus, Mitja Nikisch (first time, son of the late Arthur Nikisch), etc. Walter Damrosch conducted two London Symphony Orchestra concerts while Albert Coates was in New York conducting the Damrosch Orchestra there.

From time to time there was a certain liveliness in the greater Choral Music, and the visits of the Vatican Choir who specialised in Palestrina aroused a great deal of interest. At first their remarkable singing staggered the audience, for their ideal of choral singing was quite different from our normal ideal, but as time passed it was realised that, whatever other opinion might be held, there was no denying the complete success of the Vatican Choir technique. The Glasgow Orpheus Choir, the Newcastle Bach Choir, and the Leeds Choral Union were among the visitors to London. The London Choral Society, under Arthur Fagge. converted themselves into a more or less unaccompanied affair owing to the cost of an orchestra, and the Langham Society under Hugh Marleyn did much good work. But even more was accomplished by the Oriana

Madrigal Choir under Kennedy Scott, and the Bach Choir under Ralph Vaughan Williams, who performed the conductor's "A Sea Symphony" and "London" Symphony. The Royal Choral Society put its conductorship into commission, as it were, on the retirement of Sir Frederick Bridge, and Albert Coates, Adrian Boult, and Eugène Goossens directed performances of the Society, and among them, of Holst's "Hymn of Jesus" under Sir Hugh Allen.

In course of the year two Seasons were given by the British National Opera Company at Covent Garden, the one in May and June, the other an experimental, and apparently, successful Christmas Season. "The Ring" and other familiar works were given, a new more or less Offenbach score "The Goldsmith of Toledo" proving something of a fiasco. Also the Royal Carl Rosa was heard to much better advantage than before, and, possibly the production of Adrian Beecham's version of "The Merchant of Venice"—the work of a boy of sixteen—should be recorded. But the Old Vic under Miss Lilian Baylis kept its flag flying, and flew it, operatically, higher than before. In course of the year the affairs of the Old Vic reached a climax, and despair reigned on account of a L.C.C. ruling in regard to reconstruction of the building. Happily a generous gift of 30,000*l.* restored the balance and peace, and the Mozart Cycles, "The Boatswain's Mate," by Dame Ethel Smyth, and Nicholas Gatty's "The Tempest," were among other operas all enjoyed to the full.

In the summer the Royal Academy of Music celebrated, by the space of a fortnight's concerts, dinners etc., the centenary of its foundation.

FINANCE AND COMMERCE IN 1922.

It was remarked of 1921 that it was a more disappointing and depressing period in British commerce and finance than had been experienced for 100 years. The year 1922 was a little less depressing. The improvement was slow, but the aggregate improvement was by no means negligible. The collapse in commodity prices which began in April, 1920, and continued throughout 1921, was definitely checked in 1922. *The Times* index number of wholesale prices on the last day of December was 158·6 (100 representing the average monthly price level in 1913), as compared with 162·1 per cent. on December 31, 1921, 251·2 per cent. on December 31, 1920, and 352·9 per cent. on April 30, 1920, which was the apex of the price rise in commodities. It will be noted that the index number was lower at the end of 1922 than at the close of 1921, but it was higher than it had been during the year. The lowest number was 155·6, touched on September 30, 1922. The monthly average during this year was 157·8, against 189·5 in 1921. We reproduce below *The Times* index numbers since January, 1921, based on the prices of sixty commodities with the percentage change in the total index numbers compared with the preceding month, also the numbers on January, 1920, and April of that year :—

	Food.	Materials.	Total Index Number.	Inc. or Dec. Per Cent.
January, 1920	287·4	355·3	330·4	—
April, ,,	301·2	382·8	352·9	+ 6·8
January, 1921	244·8	219·7	228·9	− 35·1
February, ,,	226·3	202·3	211·1	− 7·7
March, ,,	223·7	191·6	203·4	− 3·6
April, ,,	216·4	187·6	198·2	− 2·5
May, ,,	206·7	185·6	193·3	− 2·5
June, ,,	205·2	176·0	186·7	− 3·4
July, ,,	208·8	173·6	186·5	− 0·1
August, ,,	209·1	169·0	183·8	− 1·4
September, ,,	187·8	176·7	180·8	− 1·6
October, ,,	175·1	169·4	171·5	− 5·1
November, ,,	179·0	160·8	167·5	− 2·3
December, ,,	168·1	158·8	162·1	− 3·2
January, 1922	170·3	151·8	158·6	− 2·2
February, ,,	167·3	149·2	155·9	− 1·7
March, ,,	166·8	150·1	156·2	+ 0·2
April, ,,	170·9	150·4	157·9	+ 1·1
May, ,,	164·8	154·1	158·0	—
June, ,,	166·3	154·4	158·7	+ 0·4
July, ,,	163·8	155·9	158·8	—
August, ,,	160·2	153·9	156·2	− 1·6
September, ,,	161·5	152·1	155·6	− 0·4
October, ,,	164·3	155·6	158·8	+ 2·1
November, ,,	167·6	156·6	160·7	+ 1·2
December, ,,	163·0	156·1	158·6	− 1·3

The actual prices of the commodities included in the calculations are shown in the following table, comparison being made with the quotations on December 31, 1921 :—

Commodities.		Dec. 30, 1922.	Dec. 31, 1921.
FOOD.			
Wheat, Eng., Gaz. Av.	480 lb.	40*s.* 7*d.*	44*s.* 7*d.*
,, No. 2, N. Man.	496 lb.	51*s.* 6*d.*	54*s.* 6*d.*
Flour, Ldn., Straights	280 lb.	42*s.* 6*d.*	47*s.*
Barley, Eng., Gaz. Av.	400 lb.	33*s.* 11*d.*	45*s.* 7*d.*
Oats, Eng., Gaz. Av.	312 lb.	26*s.* 5*d.*	28*s.* 1*d.*
Maize, La Plata, ex ship	480 lb.	36*s.*	33*s.*
Rice, No. 2, Burma	cwt.	15*s.* 9*d.*	15*s.*
Beef, English sides	8 lb.	6*s.*	6*s.* 6*d.*
,, S. Amer. chilled	8 lb.	4*s.* 9*d.*	5*s.* 4*d.*
Mutton, N.Z. frozen	8 lb.	6*s.* 1*d.*	3*s.* 11*d.*
Bacon, Irish lean	cwt.	130*s.*	137*s.*
,, Amer. Cumb.	cwt.	83*s.*	88*s.*
Fish[1]	stone	5*s.* 9*d.*	6*s.*
Eggs, English	120	26*s.*	36*s.*
Sugar, Eng. ref., cubes	cwt.	55*s.* 6*d.*	51*s.* 6*d.*
,, W. Ind. cryst.	cwt.	45*s.* 3*d.*	39*s.* 6*d.*
Tea, Ind. auctn. Avg.	lb.	1*s.* 6½*d.*	1*s.* 3½*d.*
Cocoa, Trinidad, mid.	cwt.	61*s.*	51*s.* 6*d.*
Cheese, Eng. Cheddar	cwt.	130*s.*	112*s.*
Butter, Danish, fine	cwt.	214*s.*	174*s.*
Lard, Amer. ref., pails	cwt.	70*s.* 6*d.*	63*s.* 3*d.*
Potatoes, English, good	ton	4*l.*	9*l.*
MATERIALS.			
Pig iron, Hemt. M'bro.	ton	93*s.*	100*s.*
,, Cleve'd., No. 3	ton	91*s.*	100*s.*
Iron, marked bars, Staff.	ton	13*l.* 10*s.*	16*l.*
,, Com. bars	ton	10*l.* 10*s.*	13*l.*
Steel, rails, heavy	ton	9*l.*	9*l.* 10*s.*
,, boiler plates	ton	12*l.* 10*s.*	16*l.*
,, galvzd. sheets	ton	17*l.* 5*s.*	17*l.* 10*s.*
,, tinplates	box	20*s.*	20*s.*
Copper, electrolytic	ton	72*l.*	74*l.*
,, strong sheets	ton	96*l.*	98*l.*
Tin, stand., cash	ton	182*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.*	170*l.* 10*s.*
Lead, English	ton	27*l.* 10*s.*	26*l.*
Spelter, foreign	ton	37*l.* 12*s.* 6*d.*	27*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.*
Coal, lge. steam, C'd'ff	ton	28*s.*	25*s.* 6*d.*
,, best gas, Durham	ton	24*s.*	21*s.* 6*d.*
,, best hse., Yorks	ton	28*s.*	37*s.* 6*d.*
Petlm., Amer. rfd., brl.	gal.	1*s.* 2*d.*	1*s.* 4*d.*
Cotton, Am., fully mid.	lb.	15·21*d.*	11·71*d.*
,, Egypt. f.g.f. Sak.	lb.	17·80*d.*	21·50*d.*
,, yarn, 32's twist	lb.	20⅜*d.*	18*d.*
,, ,, 60's ,, Egp.	lb.	27½*d.*	28*d.*
,, shirtings, 8¼ lb.	piece	14*s.* 9*d.*	16*s.*
,, prnt., 17 × 17, 32 in. 125 yards	piece	38*s.*	36*s.*
Wool, gsy. merino, 60's	lb.	23*d.*	17*d.*
,, ,, crossbd., 46's	lb.	10*d.*	7⅜*d.*
,, tops, 64's	lb.	62*d.*	50*d.*
,, ,, 40's	lb.	14½*d.*	12*d.*
Flax, Livonian, Z.K.	ton	90*l.*	120*l.*
Hemp, N. Zeal., h.p. fair	ton	33*l.* 10*s.*	38*l.*
Jute, first marks, shipment	ton	35*l.* 10*s.*	25*l.* 10*s.*
Hides, Eng. Ox, first	lb.	9*d.*	8¾*d.*
,, Cape, dry	lb.	10⅛*d.*	9*d.*
Timber, gd. deal, 3 × 9	stand.	30*l.*	35*l.*
,, W'cot oak, lin.	foot	2*s.* 6*d.*	2*s.* 6*d.*
Cement, best Portland	ton	3*l.* 3*s.*	3*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.*
Rubber, Plant, sheet	lb.	1*s.* 2¾*d.*	11½*d.*
Linseed Oil	ton	39*l.*	28*l.* 10*s.*
Soda Crystals, bags	ton	5*l.* 10*s.*	7*l.*

[1] Plaice, cod, and haddock.

If prices had reached a higher level the story of 1922 would have been much brighter. As it was, frozen credits were melted to some extent, but at the close of the year there were still many outstanding. Some of the credits were melted by an issue of capital, usually in the form of debentures, which enabled companies to pay off their debts to banks and others. They were in part transferred to the public. But, as we pointed out last year would be the case, the failure of prices to rise converted many of these frozen credits into bad debts pure and simple. The banks helped their customers as much as possible, in order to reduce their own losses. But as it was bad debts were numerous. There were no fewer than 7,636 failures in the United Kingdom, an increase of 1,996 on those for 1921. The total for 1921 was 3,354 more than in 1920. For the two years 1921 and 1922, the failures totalled 13,276, whereas for 1919 and 1920 the total was only 3,361. This heavy casualty list testifies to the severity of the economic storm which swept over the country in these two years. The increase in failures did not cause surprise. We pointed out last year that as trade tended to revive failures would tend to increase, since those who were in difficulties could be nursed until prices had touched bottom, and then if there was no prospect of recovery they would have to go to the wall.

The economic disorganisation on the Continent was again very acute during the year, and though here and there progress was reported, there was little revival of buying power. Towards the end of the year there were signs of a slight improvement in trade. *The Economist's* analysis of industrial profits, made quarterly, clearly revealed the course of events. In the first quarter of 1922, 442 companies reported net profits of 26,785,952*l.*, a decrease of 20,582,974*l.*, or 43·4 per cent.; in the second quarter 401 companies reported profits of 25,195,690*l.*, a decrease of 12,849,100*l.*, or 33·7 per cent.; in the third quarter 209 companies reported profits of 12,120,153*l.*, a decrease of 3,733,767*l.*, or 23·5 per cent.; while in the fourth quarter 319 companies reported profits of 24,228,719*l.*, an increase of 918,287*l.*, or 3·9 per cent. The total profits of the 1,371 companies amounted to 88,330,514*l.*, a decrease of 36,247,574*l.*, or 29 per cent. for the year. Of the total profits of 88,330,514*l.*, the sum of 67,946,580*l.* was distributed in ordinary dividends, and 23,893,204*l.* in preference dividends. The total profits were equal to 7 per cent. on the total ordinary and preference capital combined.

The year 1922 was a notable period in the history of national finance, because it witnessed the first effective effort in economy and a reduction in taxation for the first time since the war began. The Budget year ending March 31, 1922, closed with a surplus of 45,693,000*l.*, against a final estimate of 56,129,000*l.* Revenue amounted to 1,124,880,000*l.*, a decrease on the Budget estimate of 91,770,000*l.*, and a decrease on 1920-21 of 301,105,000*l.* Expenditure amounted to 1,079,187,000*l.*, a decrease on the estimate of 81,334,000*l.* and a decrease on 1920-21 of 116,241,000*l.* The surplus for 1920-21 was 230,557,000*l.* Customs yielded 130,052,000*l.*, a decrease of 3,951,000*l.*; excise 194,291,000*l.*, a decrease of 5,491,000*l.*; motor duties 11,096,000*l.*, an increase of 4,023,000*l.*; estate duties 52,191,000*l.*, an increase of 4,462,000*l.*; income tax 398,887,000*l.*, an increase of 4,721,000*l.*; excess profits duty 30,452,000*l.*, a decrease of 188,729,000*l.*;

corporation profits tax 17,516,000*l.*, an increase of 16,866,000*l.*; post, telegraphs, and telephones 56,400,000*l.*, an increase of 6,900,000*l.*; and miscellaneous receipts, from sale of surplus stores, etc., 170,806,000*l.*, a decrease of 117,134,000*l.* On the expenditure side permanent debt interest absorbed 24,500,000*l.*, the same as in 1920-21; war debt interest 307,794,000*l.*, a decrease of 17,304,000*l.*; and supply services 719,307,000*l.*, a decrease of 98,074,000*l.* On March 31, 1922, the floating debt amounted to 1,029,520,500*l.*, a decrease on the year of 245,809,500*l.* On December 31, 1922, this debt had been further reduced to 941,051,500*l.*, the amount of Treasury Bills outstanding being 719,040,000*l.*, against 882,219,000*l.* on March 31, 1922, and 1,120,841,000*l.* on March 31, 1921.

The Budget for 1922-23 showed a considerable deflation on both sides of the national balance sheet—due, of course, to the reports of the Economy Committee recommending cuts amounting to about 170,000,000*l.* Only a portion of the cuts proposed were adopted, and Sir Robert Horne, in what proved to be his second and last Budget, estimated a total revenue of 910,569,000*l.* Thus a surplus of 706,000*l.* was shown. The expenditure figure allowed of one-half year's interest on the American debt, payable in October and November, 1922, and amounting to approximately 25,000,000*l.*; and 25,000,000*l.* as a provision for Supplementary Estimates. The reduction in expenditure enabled the Chancellor to reduce taxation, but only by raiding all the sinking funds for the redemption of debt, the obligatory repayments of debt included. The remissions of taxation took the form of a reduction of 1*s.* in the standard rate of income-tax, reducing the figure to 5*s.*, lower postal and telephone charges, the minimum charge for letters being reduced from 2*d.* to 1½*d.*, and the lowering of the duties on tea, coffee, chicory, and cocoa, the reductions being as follows: on tea from 1*s.* per lb. to 8*d.* per lb.; on coffee from 2*l.* 2*s.* to 1*l.* 8*s.* per cwt.; on chicory from 1*l.* 19*s.* 8*d.* to 1*l.* 6*s.* 6*d.* per cwt.; and on cocoa from 2*l.* 2*s.* to 1*l.* 8*s.* per. cwt.

The total national debt on April 1, 1921, was 7,634,148,332*l.*; on April 1, 1922, 7,742,526,147*l.*; and on December 31, 1922, 7,835,000,000*l.* Interesting changes took place in the composition of the internal debt. In the six months ended October 1, 1922, the total of the internal debt, exclusive of the floating debt, was increased from 5,666,675,000*l.* to 5,756,302,000*l.*, owing chiefly to conversion of short term into long term stock, and by sales of Treasury bonds in replacement of Treasury bills. But though the capital of the debt was increased by 189,637,000*l.* the interest charge was reduced by 892,000*l.* per annum.

In consequence of trade slackness the Treasury was again able to dominate the money market. The fall in money rates which began in 1921 continued in 1922. Bank Rate was reduced four times—on each occasion by ½ per cent. On February 16, it was lowered from 5 to 4½ per cent.; on April 13, to 4 per cent.; on June 15, to 3½ per cent.; and on July 13, to 3 per cent. At the weekly tender sale on Fridays the average rate of discount at which Treasury bills were sold proved to be 2*l.* 11*s.* per cent., against 4*l.* 11*s.* 6*d.* in 1921, in which year the tender system was in operation just over eight months. The highest rate in 1922 was 3*l.* 13*s.* 10·73*d.* and the lowest 1*l.* 13*s.* 6·41*d.* Early in the year the Treasury abandoned the plan of selling Treasury Bonds at a fixed

price, and resorted to sale by tender, the bonds being offered at the same time as Treasury bills. Of course the Treasury obtained gradually improving terms for its bonds. At the beginning of the year it offered 5½ per cent. Treasury Bonds, then 5 per cent. Treasury Bonds, and finally 4½ per cent. Treasury Bonds. These sales realised a total of 289,745,000*l.*, Net sales of savings certificates amounted to 58,133,000*l.*, against 11,380,000*l.*, despite the fact that on April 1, the price of the certificates was raised from 15*s.* 6*d.* to 16*s.* Subjoined is our usual table of money rates:—

1916.	1917.	1918.	1919.	1920.	1921.	1922.
BANK RATE AVERAGE.						
£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
5 9 3	5 3 0	5 0 0	5 3 0	6 14 3	6 2 3	3 14 0
DISCOUNT RATE (3 MONTHS' BILLS) AVERAGE.						
5 4 3	4 16 2	3 11 9	3 18 10	6 8 0	5 4 3	2 12 9
BANKS' DEPOSIT RATE AVERAGE.						
3 14 4	4 0 0	3 1 3	3 3 10	4 14 3	4 2 4	1 13 10
SHORT LOAN RATE AVERAGE.						
4 12 8	4 8 3	3 5 6	3 9 7	4 10 0	4 12 8	2 5 11

The annual report of the London Bankers' Clearing House for 1922 showed a moderate recovery in the turnover of money, owing mainly to the financial activity in the first half of the year, and to the improvement in trade in the last few months. The total of bills, cheques, etc., cleared was 37,161,461,000*l.*, or 2,230,902,000*l.* more than in 1921. This increase is equal to 6·3 per cent. But the total shows a decrease of 1,857,442,000*l.*, equal to 4·8 per cent., as compared with the record total of 1920. The figures are are as follows:—

	1922.	1921.	Increase or Decrease.
	£	£	£
Grand total	37,161,461,000	34,930,559,000	2,230,902,000
Town Clearing total	32,780,635,000	30,268,214,000	2,512,421,000
Metropolitan Clearing total	1,574,661,000	1,660,166,000	85,505,000
Country Cheque Clearing total	2,806,165,000	3,002,179,000	196,014,000

The increase is all and more than accounted for in the town clearing, both the metropolitan and country clearings showing decreases. Several factors contributed to produce this increase. New issues were on a somewhat larger scale than in 1921, the total being 573,675,600*l.*, an increase of 184,697,400*l.* over the figures for 1921. The operations on the Stock Exchange were slightly on the upgrade, and the higher values ruling there involved a larger turnover, while foreign exchange transactions called for the passing of very considerable sums. Increase

of real trade cannot be regarded as a factor, as any such increase was offset by the lower range of wholesale prices prevailing. The recovery in trade was merely reflected in a diminishing ratio of decreases in the last months of the year in the metropolitan and country clearings. One new "record" was created during the year; clearings in the week ended April 4 amounted to the unprecedented figure of 960,408,000*l.* The figures of the New York Clearing House for the twelve months ended November 30 show a total turnover of approximately 43,545,434,000*l.*, an increase of 3,603,806,000*l.* as compared with the preceding twelve months, equal to a little over 9 per cent. Mr. R. Holland Martin's report on the operations of the London Clearing House contained some interesting figures, showing the extent to which the cheque has supplanted legal tender in business transactions in this country. The late Lord Avebury, in September, 1865, stated that out of 1,000,000*l.* paid into his bank, only 2·7 per cent. consisted of bank notes and coin. Statistics taken in 1922 at banks in the City showed that the percentage was less than 0·7 per cent.

The totals of the ten provincial clearings for the year 1922 were as follows:—

Clearing.	Total.	Increase or Decrease.
	£	Per Cent.
Birmingham	112,358,000	6·2
Bristol	68,285,000	10·5
Hull (opened Feb. 1, 1921)	55,769,000	10·0
Leeds	54,294,000	5·4
Leicester	40,456,000	2·3
Liverpool	432,922,000	4·8
Manchester	774,612,000	4·4
Newcastle-on-Tyne	94,688,000	3·4
Nottingham	33,540,000	5·6
Sheffield	48,424,000	13·2

In the subjoined table is shown the currency note position at the close of the three years, 1922, 1921, and 1920:—

	End December, 1922.	End December, 1921.	End December, 1920.
	£	£	£
Total outstanding	301,337,000	323,839,009	364,924,800
Reserve:—			
Gold	27,000,000	28,500,000	28,500,000
Silver	7,000,000	—	—
Bank of England notes	21,150,000	19,450,000	19,450,000
Reserve ratio	15·9 per cent.	14·8 per cent.	13·1 per cent.
Fiduciary issue	251,660,922	275,889,009	316,974,800
Legal maximum issue	309,988,400	317,555,200	320,600,000

The note circulation of the Bank of England also diminished, owing, of course, to the fall in prices and the depression in trade. The figures for the three years are shown on next page.

Bank of England.	End December, 1922.	End December, 1921.	End December, 1920.
	£	£	£
Coin and bullion	127,443,007	128,234,400	128,267,000
Note circulation	124,877,670	126,520,200	132,851,100
Public deposits	13,323,799	16,051,300	14,304,800
Other deposits	119,903,432	106,532,500	175,554,600
Reserve (Notes and Coin)	21,015,337	20,364,100	13,866,500
Ratio	15·7 per cent.	16·6 per cent.	7·3 per cent.
Government securities	51,967,900	36,962,000	107,864,806
Other securities	78,158,131	83,165,000	86,028,200

The foreign exchange market was in an unsettled and nervous state practically throughout the year. This, of course, was mainly due to the continuance of inflation, the counterpart of unbalanced budgets, on the Continent. But though movements in the bad exchanges were more sensational than in the preceding year, this was the natural outcome of the growing difficulty of finding buyers, with the consequence that comparatively small offerings produced rapid and sharp movements. Certainly the volume of business was much less than in previous years. Distrust of the mark was especially prominent. At the beginning of the year the German exchange stood at 771 marks to the pound. At the close the rate was 33,500 marks. Meanwhile it had touched 42,000. The decline in the mark, though primarily due to the policy of inflation followed by successive Governments, was accentuated by reparation payments, which took the form of offerings of marks on an unwilling market. The instability of money caused a continuous flight from the mark in Germany, the normal consequence of inflation, and very large sums had been accumulated abroad by the end of 1922. During the year Germany's bank note circulation, which stood at 67,000,000,000 marks at the end of the year 1921, rose to 1,280,000,000,000 marks by the close of 1922, and the floating debt rose to nearly 1,500,000,000,000 marks. In a vain effort to check inflation the Reichsbank raised its bank rate from 5 to 10 per cent. The Polish exchange touched the "record" figure of 90,000 marks and the Austrian the unparalleled figure of 430,000 krone in August, 1922. But an improvement occurred in the latter in the last quarter of the year on the introduction of a scheme of financial reform in Austria under the auspices of the League of Nations. After that the rate fell to 320,000, and remained very steady. The French exchange was notably weak owing to the fact that France was spending about twice as much as she was receiving in revenue and pursuing a policy which tended to accentuate the difficulties of French finance. The rise in the pound to within about 20 cents. of gold parity was an event of outstanding importance. It was due in the main to the fact that prices in America during the year rose by about 20 per cent., while British prices remained fairly steady. The adjustment was therefore reflected in the exchange, the purchasing power in gold of the pound sterling rising to a corresponding extent. In the subjoined tables are shown the course of the exchanges, as recorded in *The Times' Annual Financial Review*:—

Place.	Parity of Exchange.	Dec. 30, 1922.	Dec. 31, 1921.	During 1922.	
				Highest.	Lowest.
New York	$4·86⅔	4·63¼	4·21 1/16	4·69½	4·17
Montreal	$4·86⅔	4·69½	4·43¼	4·71	4·36
Paris	25f. 22½c.	63·50	51·90	72·75	47·35
Brussels	25f. 22½c.	69·17½	54·52½	80·00	50·10
Italy	25lr. 22½c.	91·25	96·50	117½	80¼
Berne	25f. 22½c.	24·51½	21·59½	24·80	21·63
Athens	25dr. 22½c.	400	99·00	510	95
Helsingfors	25m. 22½pf.	185½	223½	245	158½
Madrid	25p. 22½c.	29·50	28·12	29·65	27·50
Lisbon	53⅓d.	2⅜d.	4⅛d.	5¼d.	1⅞d.
Amsterdam	12fl. 107c.	11·70¾	11·39½	11·72	11·27
Berlin	20m. 43pf.	34·125	771	42,000	695
Vienna	24kr. 02c.	322,500	11,000	430,000	11,000
Prague	24kr. 02c.	150	280	280	118
Warsaw	20m. 43pf.	82,500	12,250	90,000	10,000
Constantinople	110	800	575	1,000	600
Belgrade	25d. 22½c.	430	281½	450	220
Christiania	18kr. 159	24·60	26·17½	27·40	22·98
Stockholm	18kr. 159	17·13½	16·70	17·45	16·45
Copenhagen	18kr. 159	22·50	20·88½	22·55	20·15
Alexandria	97½p.	97 7/16	97 7/16	97 5/32	97 5/32
Bombay	24*d.*	1/4⅛	1/4	1/4 5/16	1/3 1/16
Calcutta	24*d.*	1/4⅛	1/4	1/4 5/16	1/3 1/16
Madras	24*d.*	1/4⅛	1/4	1/4 5/16	1/3 1/16
Hongkong	—	2/2 13/32	2/7⅜	2/8¾	2/2 13/32
Yokohama	24·58*d.*	2/1 13/32	2/3¼	2/3⅜	2/1¼
Shanghai	—	3/0⅛	3/6½	3/9	3/-
Singapore	—	2/4 5/32	2/3⅞	2/4¼	2/3⅜
Manila	24·066*d.*	2/1⅝	2/2½	2/3⅝	2/1⅝
Rio de Janeiro, T.T.	27*d.*	6 1/16	7⅜	7 7/32*d.*	6 1/16*d.*
Buenos Aires, T.T.	47⅝*d.*	44½*d.*	43½	46⅞*d.*	43*d.*
Valparaiso, 90 days	$13⅓.	35·20	40·10	46·70	30·60
Montevideo, T.T.	51*d.*	44⅜*d.*	41⅝	45⅜*d.*	40½*d.*
Lima	Par.	10% *b*	16% *a*	29⅞ *a*	32½% *b*
Mexico	24·58*d.*	25	28½	28½	25

a Premium. *b* Discount.

The following table shows the New York quotations for foreign currencies, *i.e.*, their values in gold :—

New York on	Method of Quoting.	Closing Rate. Dec. 30, 1922.	Closing Rate. Dec. 30, 1921.	Inc. or Dec. Per Cent.
	$ to	$	$	
London	£1	4·63 1/16	4·21⅜	+ 10·1
Paris	100f.	7·34	8·09	− 9·3
Brussels	100f.	6·74	7·72	− 12·7
Berne	100f.	18·95	19·53	− 3·0
Rome	100lr.	5·10	4·36	+ 17·0
Berlin	100m.	·0142	·545	− 97·4
Madrid	100p.	1·58	1·50	+ 5·3
Amsterdam	100fl.	39·60	36·96	+ 7·1
Copenhagen	100kr.	20·65	20·05	+ 3·0
Christiania	100kr.	18·90	16·07	+ 17·6
Stockholm	100kr.	27·04	25·25	+ 7·1
* Montreal	—	1¼% *b*	4 1/16% *b*	+ 3·9
Yokohama	100 yen.	48·90*	47·98	+ 1·9
Calcutta	100R.	31·45	28·13	+ 11·8
Buenos Aires	P's. per $100	117·00	132·50	− 11·7

* Percentage comparison of Canadian to U.S. dollar. *b* Discount,

The pound sterling appreciated, in terms of gold dollars, by over 10 per cent.; Italian currency by over 17 per cent.; and Norwegian by over 17½ per cent. But French currency declined in value by over 9½ per cent., and Belgian by over 12 per cent.

Banking experience during the year was far from happy. Owing to depression in trade and the lack of demand for money, rates fell, and this process was accentuated by the deflation of the floating debt by the repayment of Treasury Bills out of the sales of Treasury Bonds. The deposits of the London clearing banks in January, 1922, amounted to 1,872,000,000*l.*; in December the total was 144,000,000*l.* lower at 1,728,000,000*l.* Bills discounted showed a reduction of 142,000,000*l.*, which reflected entirely the decrease in Treasury Bills. We give figures (in millions of pounds) showing the course of deflation of banking deposits during the year:—

	January.	April.	July.	October.	December.
Deposits - -	1872	1782	1774	1729	1728
Advances - -	770	763	739	741	750
Bills discounted -	443	323	337	312	301
Investments -	350	396	406	389	379

But despite a fall in profits averaging about 15 per cent. the banks were able to maintain dividends and to make ample provision for bad and doubtful debts. An event of outstanding importance during the year was the amalgamation of Frederick Huth and Company and Messrs. Konig Bros. Huth's was established early in the 19th century, and as early as 1816 had opened a branch in Chile. That was the only important banking fusion of the year.

The amount of new capital issues in London in 1922 was much greater than in 1921. The total was 573,657,000*l.* (according to calculations made by *The Economist*) against 388,978,200*l.* in 1921. As in previous post-war years, and in contradistinction to the position before the war, the great bulk of the issues represented new borrowings. The British Government was a heavy borrower, not of fresh money but for funding purposes. These borrowings amounted to 309,600,000*l.*, against 202,896,000*l.* in 1921, and only 37,530,000*l.* in 1920. The Treasury naturally and rightly took full advantage of the fall in money rates to fund some portion of its floating debt, and maturing short-term indebtedness, such as National War Bonds. The British Government borrowings were made up as follows: 5½ per cent. Treasury Bonds, 115,100,000*l.*; 5 per cent. Bonds, 110,100,000*l.*; 4½ per cent. Bonds, 68,900,000*l.*; Savings Certificates (net receipts), 58,400,000*l.*; and Local Loans stock 17,100,000*l.* The sale of Savings Certificates in the first quarter of the year was stimulated by a raising of the price from 15*s.* 6*d.* to 16*s.* on April 1, 1922.

Colonial borrowings were on a smaller scale than in 1921, the total being 74,924,200*l.* against 90,578,000*l.*; but borrowings by foreign countries rose from 22,223,900*l.* to 55,233,100*l.* The first quarter of the year produced the greatest amount of new issues, the figures being 286,207,100*l.* against 62,981,200*l.* in the last three months; Dominion

and Colonial Governments borrowed 58,582,300*l.*, India taking a large slice. Several French railways made issues in London in sterling form. The following table shows the destination of new capital issues:—

	1922.	1921.	1920.
	£	£	£
United Kingdom - - - -	443,518,300	276,176,500	35,951,200
British Possessions - - - -	74,924,200	90,577,800	76,137,200
Foreign Countries - - - -	55,233,100	22,223,900	84,448,600
Total - -	573,675,600	388,978,200	196,537,000

The year was a depressing one for labour, which still felt acutely the effects of the Great War on international commerce and industry. More than 1,400,000 people were unemployed at the close of the year, the Trade Union percentage being over 14 per cent. This, however, compared with nearly 16 per cent. at the close of 1921. In various industries rates of pay were reduced without any really serious disputes with workpeople. Agriculture got into dire straits during the year, owing to the competition of foreign supplies and the high costs which came into operation during the war period. The year closed with a desperate outlook for farmers, farm labourers, and landlords; and though suggestions of a State subsidy were made, nothing came of them. But the farm labourer's wage was reduced substantially. The output of coal, which in 1921 fell to the level of 1887, was greatly increased in 1922. The total output was 252,000,000 tons against 164,250,000 tons in 1921 and 286,750,000 in 1913—a record year. Exports in coal were trebled in quantity and doubled in value, owing partly to an American coal strike which caused Americans to buy English coal in large quantities. Production of pig-iron, which in 1921 was the lowest since 1850, was nearly doubled in 1922, the total being over 4,900,000 tons against 2,616,000 in 1921 and 10,260,000 tons in 1913. Output of steel rose from 3,700,000 tons in 1921 to 5,830,000 tons in 1922, which compares with 7,668,000 tons in 1913. But though the production of coal was virtually restored to the pre-war level, the output of iron and steel was greatly below the 1913 figure.

The year 1922 closed considerably better than it began for the shipbuilding industry as for most other industries. The British output of tonnage was 1,031,081 tons, against 1,596,000 tons in 1921. The amount under construction at the end of the year was 1,120,000 tons, as against a pre-war average of 1,890,000 tons. Tonnage under construction in other countries was 1,270,000 tons, Germany accounting for 463,877 tons; Italy, 211,499; France, 188,525; Holland, 142,969 tons; and the United States, 139,448 tons. The world's shipbuilding under construction is 2,390,000 tons, against a pre-war record of 3,446,000 tons. The world's output of tonnage in 1922 was 2,467,084 tons, against 4,341,000 tons in 1921. The British output fell from 804 to 542 vessels, the tonnage sinking from 1,596,272 to 1,031,081. Foreign output fell heavily. The greatest falling off was in the United States, where the total tonnage fell from 1,303,700 tons to 119,138 tons. But it is gratifying to note that Great Britain still retained its title of being the first shipbuilding country

in the world. The United States has fallen to fifth place, with Germany occupying the second with an output of 575,264 tons. The shipping trade improved considerably during the year, and the year finished with little idle tonnage. North America again provided the main source of employment for ships of all kinds. Montreal had a record season. At the close of the year there was employment in sight for several months ahead. The record year for shipbuilding was 1919, when the world's output was 7,145,000 tons.

Overseas trade showed a slight decrease in value, but not in volume. Lower prices were responsible for the fall in value. The total trade, imports and exports, was 1,828,192,421*l.* against 1,895,818,909*l.* Imports amounted to 1,003,918,124*l.*, a decrease of 81,581,937*l.*, and re-exports decreased by 3,141,435*l.* to 103,777,871*l.* On the other hand, exports of British goods expanded by 17,096,884*l.* to 720,496,426*l.* The decrease in imports was equal to 7·5 per cent., but the increase in exports was only 1·7 per cent. Still, the revealed adverse balance of trade decreased by 95,537,386*l.* to 179,643,827*l.*, or 34·7 per cent.

In order to stimulate trade and diminish unemployment the Government in November, 1921, passed the first Trade Facilities Act, which allowed the Treasury, on the advice of an Advisory Committee, to guarantee the principal and interest of loans, up to a total of 25,000,000*l.*, which were to be raised for the purpose of carrying out capital undertakings. Down to November 9, 1922, when the period for the giving of guarantees expired under the old Act, a total of 22,243,645*l.* had been guaranteed. In December, 1922, a new Act was passed under which the total sum which might be guaranteed was raised to 50,000,000*l.*, so that the Treasury had the power to guarantee a further 27,750,000*l.* The Committee, consisting of Sir Robert Kindersley and Sir William Plender, in its first year held 120 meetings, and examined no fewer than 1,100 applications. Owing partly to the limitations imposed by the Act, only 34 guarantees were actually granted, varying in amount from 4,500*l.* to 6,458,000*l.* The aim of the scheme was not to provide a relief fund for those in financial difficulties but to facilitate the construction of new capital works and thereby to reduce unemployment. The advantage of a guarantee to a borrowing company was that, with the backing of Government credit, it was enabled to obtain money on better terms than would otherwise have been possible, while the advantage to the community as a whole was that firms were induced to carry out immediately capital works the construction on which would otherwise have been delayed till such time as the price of capital fell to a lower level than was then current. Public utility undertakings were regarded by the Committee as peculiarly eligible for guarantees.

Notwithstanding the poverty of Europe the United States export trade in manufactures was well maintained in 1922, owing chiefly to the raising of foreign loans. In this respect America has become a serious competitor with this country. Exports of merchandise from the United States during 1922 were valued at $3,831,516,735, which was $653,514,621 lower than in 1921, but $347,498,443 more than in any pre-war year. Imports of gold amounted to $275,169,785, against $691,248,297 in 1921, and the excess of imports of gold was $238,394,891, against $667,356,920 in 1921.

The Stock Exchange had a good year. In the early part of the period there was great activity in fixed interest bearing securities and other high-class investment stocks, such as Home Railway Ordinary Securities, and the tone was very buoyant. Prices rose substantially. After the disbursement of the June dividend on the 5 per cent. War Loan the tone weakened, owing to efforts to deflate currency, and the rise was arrested by the resultant scarcity of credit. A reaction occurred in the autumn, but towards the end of December money became more plentiful and a fresh rise took place. The *Bankers' Magazine* calculations of Stock Exchange values bring out clearly the course of markets.

At the end of December, 1921, the total value of 387 representative securities (having a par value of about 6,500,000,000*l.*) was 5,393,349,000*l.*

End of January,	1922	£5,507,100,000	End of July,	1922	£6,169,049,000
,, ,, February,	,,	5,706,621,000	,, ,, August,	,,	6,192,483,000
,, ,, March,	,,	5,786,365,000	,, ,, September,	,,	6,148,537,000
,, ,, April,	,,	6,110,961,000	,, ,, October,	,,	6,209,274,000
,, ,, May,	,,	6,118,417,000	,, ,, November,	,,	6,153,363,000
,, ,, June,	,,	6,085,993,000	,, ,, December,	,,	6,105,435,000

On the year, there was an increase of 712,000,000*l.*, equal to 13·2 per cent. The rise in British and Indian funds was equal to 11·8 per cent. Taking 94 fixed interest-bearing stocks, having a value at the end of 1920 of 3,966,850,000*l.*, an increase of 394,737,000*l.*, equal to 11 per cent., is shown. The increase in variable dividend securities was much greater. The value at the end of 1922 of 293 such securities was 2,138,585,000*l.* an increase of 317,349,000*l.*, or 17·6 per cent. 28 British railway ordinary stocks showed an appreciation of 54·9 per cent., 20 foreign railway stocks of 59·5 per cent., 38 industrial and commercial shares 34·3 per cent., and 7 tramways and omnibus securities 45·4 per cent. Gas stocks show a rise of 34·7 per cent. and South African mining shares of 32·4 per cent. Oil shares were an exception to the general rule, the values of ten of them showing an average depreciation of 19·4 per cent.

The year was an eventful one in the insurance world. There were one or two regrettable incidents. The failure of the City Equitable Fire Insurance Company, which did a large insurance business in marine and fire risks, was a shock to the insurance world, especially as official inquiry showed that the failure was due not only to unfortunate business, but to the improper administration of the company's funds. The failure involved a number of associated offices. One or two fusions were arranged, the principal being the acquisition of the London Guarantee and Accident Company by the Phœnix Assurance Company. Marine underwriters had a bad year. The tendency of rates was weak, because the agreement among underwriters for the maintenance of rates was abandoned, and the market is now entirely free. The fire insurance companies also had a bad year. Premium incomes fell off considerably. Losses in the United Kingdom were 6,218,000*l.* against 8,128,000*l.* in 1921, but losses in North America were very heavy, the total being about $400,000,000, against $330,000,000 in 1921. Business in life assurance was fairly well maintained, but the companies' mortality experience was less favourable than that of 1921, which was the most favourable year ever known. On the other hand, the companies' funds gained by the appreciation in fixed interest-bearing securities.

LAW.

THE legal chronicle for 1922 includes an unusually large number of noteworthy events. A year which witnessed the admission of the first woman to the English Bar must always be memorable in the long annals of one of the most conservative professions in the world. The distinction of being the first member of her sex to become a barrister was achieved by Miss Ivy Williams, who was called at the Inner Temple in Easter Term. How ancient are the traditions of the Inns of Court, of which several other women became the heiresses before the year was out, was indicated by the celebration of the quincentenary of Lincoln's Inn, the main feature of which was an impressive service in the historic chapel of the Inn, at which the King, accompanied by the Queen, was present in his capacity of a Bencher. Another event which, in a minor degree, served to illustrate the continuity of legal things amid "the change and chance of Time" was the centenary of the *Law Journal*, in the celebration of which the Lord Chancellor and many other distinguished lawyers took part.

Some important changes in the legal offices of the Government followed the resignation of Mr. Lloyd George. Lord Birkenhead, who had created during his four years on the Woolsack a great reputation as a law reformer, and upon whom an Earldom was bestowed on his retirement, was succeeded by Lord Cave, who was the first Lord of Appeal in Ordinary to be promoted to the position of Lord Chancellor. The new Lord Chancellor was not slow to indicate his readiness to proceed with the reforms which his predecessor had initiated. At the Guildhall banquet, within a few weeks of the formation of Mr. Bonar Law's Ministry, he foreshadowed a consolidation of the law of real property, a simplification of the rules of procedure, a rearrangement of the circuits of the judges, and a reform of the County Court system. Sir Ernest Pollock, K.C., M.P., and Sir Leslie Scott, K.C., M.P., followed Lord Birkenhead into retirement, whereupon Mr. Douglas Hogg, K.C., and Mr. T. W. H. Inskip, K.C., M.P., both of whom subsequently received the honour of knighthood, became Attorney-General and Solicitor-General respectively. Earlier in the year a change occurred in the highest strictly judicial office in the land. Lord Trevethin, who resigned the position of Lord Chief Justice after occupying it less than twelve months, was succeeded by Sir Gordon Hewart, whose place as Attorney-General was taken by Sir Ernest Pollock, who, in his turn, was succeeded as Solicitor-General by Sir Leslie Scott. Upon his elevation to the peerage the new Lord Chief Justice, following the example of most of his predecessors in their preference for preserving their family names, adopted the title of Lord Hewart of Bury. The only other change in the High

Court judiciary was occasioned by the death of Mr. Justice Peterson, whose place in the Chancery Division was filled by Mr. Mark Romer, K.C., who, like Mr. Justice Russell, one of his younger colleagues in the same Division, is the son of a judge.

One great measure of law reform will help to make the year conspicuous in legal annals—would, indeed, have been sufficient to make it memorable even if no other noteworthy event had occurred in the course of it. The Law of Property Act, with which more than one Lord Chancellor had been concerned, was, largely owing to Lord Birkenhead's skill as a parliamentarian, placed on the Statute Book, and the tenure and transfer of land will be much simplified and cheapened when the Act—one of the bulkiest and most complicated ever passed—comes into operation at the beginning of 1925. Another noteworthy change was the initiation of the trial of matrimonial causes at Assizes. Although the principle of the local trial of divorce cases was expressely recognized by the Administration of Justice Act, 1920, yet it was not until about the middle of 1922 that the necessary Rules were passed for carrying out the will of Parliament. At eleven Assize towns—Newcastle, Leeds, Liverpool, Manchester, Chester, Birmingham, Nottingham, Norwich, Cardiff, Swansea, and Exeter—a limited class of matrimonial suits, chiefly "poor persons" and undefended cases, became triable by virtue of these Rules. The new system was successfully introduced at the Autumn Assizes, and several large towns, notably Bristol, complained of their omission from the scheme. Two strongly constituted Committees considered other aspects of the Assize system during the year. One, under the chairmanship of Mr. Justice Horridge, appointed to consider the long delays in criminal cases, through which many prisoners, some of whom are innocent, are kept in prison three or four months before they are brought to trial, recommended, among other changes, that more trials should take place at Quarter Sessions and that bail should be granted more freely; the other, with Mr. Justice Swift as its chairman, appointed to consider by what rearrangement of the circuits of the judges more economy and expedition in the administration of justice might be secured, had not completed its labours when the year came to a close. The fear of a drastic reduction in the number of circuit towns led not a few grand juries at the Autumn Assizes, encouraged in many instances by the judges, to pass resolutions protesting against any interference with the ancient privileges of their own cities.

Several minor changes affecting the administration of justice were made by Parliament. Foremost among them is the Act under which judges are no longer required to pass the sentence of death upon women who kill their newly-born infants. The frequent protests made by judges against the statutory requirement to try in closed courts all persons charged with incest were not without their effect, and an Act was passed which provides that all such cases shall now be tried in public. In response to the general demand for economy, the Legislature permitted the jury lists to be prepared without the full particulars which formerly enabled the sheriffs to refrain from summoning certain classes of the community, such as farmers and boarding-housekeepers, at seasons of the year when jury service would be most inconvenient to

them. By the passing of an Act of more professional interest—the Solicitors Act, 1922—a further step was taken in the cause of legal education. The Act requires all clerks articled after December 31 last, unless they are relieved of the obligation, to attend at least one year's course at a recognised Law School before they sit for their final examination. A fresh interest was given to the oft-discussed proposal to create a great School of Law in London by an announcement at Gray's Inn that the late Lady Holker, the widow of Lord Justice Holker, had, subject to a certain life interest, left to the Inn property of the approximate value of 100,000*l.* for the purposes of legal education.

Of legal appointments, apart from the High Court changes already chronicled, there were not a few. Seven new County Court judges were appointed. Judge Rose-Innes, K.C., Judge Stanger, K.C., Judge Graham, K.C., Judge Lush-Wilson, K.C., and Judge Shortt resigned, and Judge Hargreaves, Judge Whitmore Richards, Judge Staveley Hill, Judge Gurdon, and Judge Higgins succeeded them. The two vacancies caused by the deaths of Judge Elliott and Judge Fossett-Lock were filled by Judge Head and Judge Lias. On the retirement of Sir Forrest Fulton, K.C., after twenty-two years' service, Sir Ernest Wild, K.C., was appointed Recorder of London. In another City judicial office—one of the Judgeships of the Mayor's and City of London Court—the late Judge Jackson was succeeded by Judge Shewell Cooper. On the Metropolitan Bench two vacancies arose, Mr. Denman, who retired after thirty years' service, being succeeded by Mr. K. M. Marshall, and the late Mr. Chester Jones, whose death deprived the London Police Courts of one of their ablest magistrates, by Mr. Radcliffe Cousins. At the close of the year, upon the retirement of Mr. H. S. Theobald, K.C., who, notwithstanding his blindness, had discharged the duties of Master in Lunacy with conspicuous ability, Mr. Hildyard, K.C., was appointed to succeed him.

No decision in a civil case attracted more attribution than that delivered by the House of Lords in *Kerr v. Bryde*, in which the Law Lords, confirming the judgment of the Court of Session in Scotland, held that a landlord is not entitled to an increase of rent under the Rent Restrictions Act unless he first serves a notice to quit—a decision which was the subject of much discussion at the General Election, particularly in Glasgow and other large Scottish towns. A question of constitutional importance was decided in *Attorney-General v. Wilts United Dairies Ltd.*, in which it was finally decided that the Food Controller had acted *ultra vires* in imposing a charge of 2*d.* per gallon as a condition of granting a licence to dealers in milk in one area to purchase milk imported from another. The House of Lords decided that the charge of the Food Controller, though he purported to act under the Defence of Realm Regulations, was invalid as a levying of money for the use of the Crown without the authority of Parliament. In the most important Revenue case of the year, *Davis v. Commissioners of Inland Revenue*, the Court of Appeal, approving a judgment of Mr. Justice Sankey, decided that the personal allowance of 225*l.* deducted for the purpose of income tax cannot be claimed by a person assessed for super-tax. Even wider interest was created by the decision of Mr. Justice Roche in *Attorney-General v. Swan*

that the subscriptions of the members of the Essex County Cricket Club were liable to Entertainment Duty because the subscribers were entitled to admission to matches to which the public were admitted only on payment. A judgment much discussed by lawyers and golfers was given in *Castle v. St. Augustine's Links Ltd.*, in which the plaintiff, having been injured by a sliced ball driven by one of the members of the club from a tee close to the highway, sued the proprietors of the links for compensation for his injuries. Mr. Justice Sankey decided that the proprietors, as well as the player, were liable, on the ground that the situation of the hole to which the player was driving was so dangerous to the public as to be a nuisance.

The year yielded a considerable crop of betting cases, though their growth was interrupted by the Gaming Act, 1922, which was passed with the object of making it no longer possible for a man who had paid bets by cheques to recover the money. Mr. Justice McCardie decided, however, in *Bowling v. Camp* that the Act did not prevent the continuance of proceedings started before the Act was passed nor the commencement of fresh proceedings in respect of claims which arose before that date—a decision which the Court of Appeal approved in dismissing a contrary decision by Mr. Justice Greer in *Reading v. Goll.* A noteworthy decision on the Statute of Limitations was delivered by the House of Lords in *Spencer v. Hemmerde*, in which the words, "It is not that I won't pay you, but that I can't do so at present," were treated as a sufficient acknowledgment of the debt to take it out of the statute. In *Braithwaite v. Amalgamated Society of Carpenters* a member of a trade union obtained an injunction to prevent the union from expelling him because he was employed by a company with a profit-sharing scheme, the House of Lords, to which the hard-fought case was carried, deciding that the rules under which he had been expelled—rules providing for the expulsion of any member "working on a co-partnership system" or under a "premium bonus system"—were not infringed by the profit-sharing scheme in question.

The familiar question of the liability of husbands for debts incurred by their wives was dealt with elaborately by Mr. Justice McCardie in *Miss Gray Ltd. v. Cathcart*, in which he decided that the presumptive authority of a wife to pledge her husband's credit in the purchase of such articles as millinery and dress might, among other considerations, be excluded by extravagance in the orders. Another familiar point was treated exhaustively by Mr. Justice Sankey in *Lavie v. Cross*, in which a lady who lost a considerable amount of jewellery at a London hotel was held to have contributed to the loss by leaving her bedroom door unlocked, with the result that her claim against the hotel proprietor as a "common innkeeper" was unsuccessful. In an important case relating to the carriage of goods, *Neilson v. London & North-Western Railway Co.*, the House of Lords decided that a railway company which, having accepted the carriage of goods "at owner's risk," deviates from the route agreed upon is not protected by the "owner's risk" note from liability for loss occurring "during the transit." The most notable divorce case was *Rutherford v. Rutherford, Richardson intervening*, in which the House of Lords, affirming the judgment of the Court of Appeal,

rescinded, by a majority, the decree originally made by Mr. Justice Branson. A decision which left the wife of a criminal lunatic without any redress gave a new impetus to the campaign against the existing divorce laws in which Lord Birkenhead and Lord Buckmaster have taken so prominent a part.

Seldom have the criminal courts presented so many sensational and sordid dramas. Among the murder trials were the Armstrong, Allaway, True, Jacoby, and Bywaters-Thompson cases. The case of Ronald True was interesting chiefly because the Home Secretary reprieved him on the ground that he had become insane since the sentence of death had been passed upon him; while the case of Henry Jacoby excited an unusual amount of public attention on account of the youthfulness that did not save him from the gallows. Several cases of so-called suicide "pacts" came before the courts, the most notable being Symonds' case, in which the Lord Chief Justice took occasion, in the Court of Criminal Appeal, to make it perfectly clear that in English law the survivor of such a "pact" is guilty of murder. At last Horatio Bottomley's extensive frauds found their fitting punishment in a sentence of penal servitude for seven years, and Gerald Lee Bevan, whose trial at the Old Bailey was hardly less dramatic, presented yet another instance of an unscrupulous financier being brought within the strong grasp of the law. A less serious case which attracted much attention was the prosecution of Captain and Mrs. Peel for fraudulent conduct in connexion with racing telegrams, Mrs. Peel being acquitted on the old plea of "coercion."

PUBLIC DOCUMENTS.

I. Irish Free State Constitution.

(Came into Force on December 6, 1922.)

Constituent Act.

Dáil Eireann sitting as a Constituent Assembly in this Provisional Parliament, acknowledging that all lawful authority comes from God to the people and in the confidence that the National life and unity of Ireland shall thus be restored, hereby proclaims the establishment of the Irish Free State (otherwise called Saorstát Eireann) and in the exercise of undoubted right, decrees and enacts as follows :—

1. The Constitution set forth in the First Schedule hereto annexed shall be the Constitution of The Irish Free State (Saorstát Eireann).

2. The said Constitution shall be construed with reference to the Articles of Agreement for a Treaty between Great Britain and Ireland (see Annual Register, 1921, p. 86) (hereinafter referred to as "the Scheduled Treaty") which are hereby given the force of law, and if any provision of the said Constitution or of any amendment thereof or of any law made thereunder is in any respect repugnant to any of the provisions of the Scheduled Treaty, it shall, to the extent only of such repugnancy, be absolutely void and inoperative and the Parliament and the Executive Council of the Irish Free State (Saorstát Eireann) shall respectively pass such further legislation and do all such other things as may be necessary to implement the Scheduled Treaty.

3. This Act may be cited for all purposes as the Constitution of The Irish Free State (Saorstát Eireann) Act, 1922.

First Schedule Above Referred To.

Constitution of the Irish Free State.

(Saorstát Eireann.)

Article 1.—The Irish Free State (otherwise hereinafter called or sometimes called Saorstát Eireann) is a co-equal, member of the Community of Nations forming the British Commonwealth of Nations.

Article 2.—All powers of government and all authority legislative, executive, and judicial in Ireland, are derived from the people of Ireland and the same shall be exercised in the Irish Free State (Saorstát Eireann) through the organisations established by or under, and in accord with, this Constitution.

ARTICLE 3.—Every person, without distinction of sex, domiciled in the area of the jurisdiction of the Irish Free State (Saorstát Eireann) at the time of the coming into operation of this Constitution who was born in Ireland or either of whose parents was born in Ireland or who has been ordinarily resident in the area of the jurisdiction of the Irish Free State (Saorstát Eireann) for not less than seven years, is a citizen of the Irish Free State (Saorstát Eireann) and shall within the limits of the jurisdiction of the Irish Free State (Saorstát Eireann) enjoy the privileges and be subject to the obligations of such citizenship: Provided that any such person being a citizen of another State may elect not to accept the citizenship hereby conferred; and the conditions governing the future acquisition and termination of citizenship in the Irish Free State (Saorstát Eireann) shall be determined by law.

ARTICLE 4.—The National language of the Irish Free State (Saorstát Eireann) is the Irish language, but the English language shall be equally recognised as an official language. Nothing in this Article shall prevent special provisions being made by the Parliament of the Irish Free State (otherwise called and herein generally referred to as the "Oireachtas") for districts or areas in which only one language is in general use.

ARTICLE 5.—No title of honour in respect of any services rendered in or in relation to the Irish Free State (Saorstát Eireann) may be conferred on any citizen of the Irish Free State (Saorstát Eireann) except with the approval or upon the advice of the Executive Council of the State.

ARTICLE 6.—The liberty of the person is inviolable, and no person shall be deprived of his liberty except in accordance with law. Upon complaint made by or on behalf of any person that he is being unlawfully detained, the High Court and any and every judge thereof shall forthwith inquire into the same and may make an order requiring the person in whose custody such person shall be detained to produce the body of the person so detained before such Court or judge without delay and to certify in writing as to the cause of the detention and such Court or judge shall thereupon order the release of such person unless satisfied that he is being detained in accordance with the law:

Provided, however, that nothing in this Article contained shall be invoked to prohibit control or interfere with any act of the military forces of the Irish Free State (Saorstát Eireann) during the existence of a state of war or armed rebellion.

ARTICLE 7.—The dwelling of each citizen is inviolable and shall not be forcibly entered except in accordance with law.

ARTICLE 8.—Freedom of conscience and the free profession and practice of religion are, subject to public order and morality, guaranteed to every citizen, and no law may be made either directly or indirectly to endow any religion, or prohibit or restrict the free exercise thereof or give any preference, or impose any disability on account of religious belief or religious status, or affect prejudicially the right of any child to attend a school receiving public money without attending the religious instruction at the school, or make any discrimination as respects State aid between schools under the management of different religious denominations, or divert from any religious denomination or any educational institution any of its property except for the purpose of roads, railways, lighting, water

or drainage works or other works of public utility, and on payment of compensation.

ARTICLE 9.—The right of free expression of opinion as well as the right to assemble peaceably and without arms, and to form associations or unions is guaranteed for purposes not opposed to public morality. Laws regulating the manner in which the right of forming associations and the right of free assembly may be exercised shall contain no political, religious or class distinction.

ARTICLE 10.—All citizens of the Irish Free State (Saorstát Eireann) have the right to free elementary education.

ARTICLE 11.—All the lands and waters, mines and minerals, within the territory of the Irish Free State (Saorstát Eireann) hitherto vested in the State, or any department thereof, or held for the public use or benefit, and also all the natural resources of the same territory (including the air and all forms of potential energy), and also all royalties and franchises within that territory shall, from and after the date of the coming into operation of this Constitution, belong to the Irish Free State (Saorstát Eireann), subject to any trusts, grants, leases or concessions then existing in respect thereof, or any valid private interest therein, and shall be controlled and administered by the Oireachtas, in accordance with such regulations and provisions as shall be from time to time approved by legislation, but the same shall not, nor shall any part thereof, be alienated, but may in the public interest be from time to time granted by way of lease or licence to be worked or enjoyed under the authority and subject to the control of the Oireachtas: Provided that no such lease or licence may be made for a term exceeding ninety-nine years, beginning from the date thereof, and no such lease or licence may be renewable by the terms thereof.

✓ARTICLE 12.—A Legislature is hereby created to be known as the Oireachtas. It shall consist of the King and two Houses, the Chamber of Deputies (otherwise called and herein generally referred to as "Dáil Eireann") and the Senate (otherwise called and herein generally referred to as "Seanad Eireann"). The sole and exclusive power of making laws for the peace, order and good government of the Irish Free State (Saorstát Eireann) is vested in the Oireachtas.

ARTICLE 13.—The Oireachtas shall sit in or near the city of Dublin or in such other place as from time to time it may determine.

ARTICLE 14.—All citizens of the Irish Free State (Saorstát Eireann) without distinction of sex, who have reached the age of twenty-one years and who comply with the provisions of the prevailing electoral laws, shall have the right to vote for members of Dáil Eireann, and to take part in the Referendum and Initiative. All citizens of the Irish Free State (Saorstát Eireann) without distinction of sex who have reached the age of thirty years and who comply with the provisions of the prevailing electoral laws, shall have the right to vote for members of Seanad Eireann. No voter may exercise more than one vote at an election to either House and the voting shall be by secret ballot. The mode and place of exercising this right shall be determined by law.

ARTICLE 15.—Every citizen who has reached the age of twenty-one years and who is not placed under disability or incapacity by the

Constitution or by law shall be eligible to become a member of Dáil Eireann.

ARTICLE 16.—No person may be at the same time a member both of Dáil Eireann and of Seanad Eireann, and if any person who is already a member of either House is elected to be a member of the other House, he shall forthwith be deemed to have vacated his first seat.

ARTICLE 17.—The oath to be taken by members of the Oireachtas shall be in the following form:—

> I ..... do solemnly swear true faith and allegiance to the Constitution of the Irish Free State as by law established, and that I will be faithful to H.M. King George V., his heirs and successors by law in virtue of the common citzenship of Ireland with Great Britain and her adherence to and membership of the group of nations forming the British Commonwealth of Nations.

Such oath shall be taken and subscribed by every member of the Oireachtas before taking his seat therein before the Representative of the Crown or some person authorised by him.

ARTICLE 18.—Every member of the Oireachtas shall, except in case of treason, felony, or breach of the peace, be privileged from arrest in going to and returning from, and while within the precincts of either House, and shall not, in respect of any utterance in either House, be amenable to any action or proceeding in any Court other than the House itself.

ARTICLE 19.—All official reports and publications of the Oireachtas or of either House thereof shall be privileged and utterances made in either House wherever published shall be privileged.

ARTICLE 20.—Each House shall make its own Rules and Standing Orders, with power to attach penalties for their infringement and shall have power to ensure freedom of debate, to protect its official documents and the private papers of its members, and to protect itself and its members against any person or persons interfering with, molesting or attempting to corrupt its members in the exercise of their duties.

ARTICLE 21.—Each House shall elect its own Chairman and Deputy Chairman and shall prescribe their powers, duties, remuneration, and terms of office.

ARTICLE 22.—All matters in each House shall, save as otherwise provided by this Constitution, be determined by a majority of the votes of the members present other than the Chairman or presiding member, who shall have and exercise a casting vote in the case of an equality of votes. The number of members necessary to constitute a meeting of either House for the exercise of its powers shall be determined by its Standing Orders.

ARTICLE 23.—The Oireachtas shall make provision for the payment of its members and may in addition provide them with free travelling facilities in any part of Ireland.

ARTICLE 24.—The Oireachtas shall hold at least one session each year. The Oireachtas shall be summoned and dissolved by the Representative of the Crown in the name of the King and subject as aforesaid Dáil Eireann shall fix the date of reassembly of the Oireachtas and the date

of the conclusion of the session of each House: Provided that the sessions of Seanad Eireann shall not be concluded without its own consent.

ARTICLE 25.—Sittings of each House of the Oireachtas shall be public. In cases of special emergency either House may hold a private sitting with the assent of two-thirds of the members present.

ARTICLE 26.—Dáil Eireann shall be composed of members who represent constituencies determined by law. The number of members shall be fixed from time to time by the Oireachtas, but the total number of members of Dáil Eireann (exclusive of members for the Universities) shall not be fixed at less than one member for each 30,000 of the population, or at more than one member for each 20,000 of the population: Provided that the proportion between the number of members to be elected at any time for each constituency and the population of each constituency, as ascertained at the last preceding census, shall, so far as possible, be identical throughout the country. The members shall be elected upon principles of Proportional Representation. The Oireachtas shall revise the constituencies at least once in every ten years, with due regard to changes in distribution of the population, but any alterations in the constituencies shall not take effect during the life of Dáil Eireann sitting when such revision is made.

ARTICLE 27.—Each University in the Irish Free State (Saorstát Eireann) which was in existence at the date of the coming into operation of this Constitution, shall be entitled to elect three representatives to Dáil Eireann upon a franchise and in a manner to be prescribed by law.

ARTICLE 28.—At a General Election for Dáil Eireann the polls (exclusive of those for members for the Universities) shall be held on the same day throughout the country, and that day shall be a day not later than thirty days after the date of the dissolution and shall be proclaimed a public holiday. Dáil Eireann shall meet within one month of such day, and shall unless earlier dissolved continue for four years from the date of its first meeting, and not longer. Dáil Eireann may not at any time be dissolved except on the advice of the Executive Council.

ARTICLE 29.—In case of death, resignation or disqualification of a member of Dáil Eireann, the vacancy shall be filled by election in manner to be determined by law.

ARTICLE 30.—Seanad Eireann shall be composed of citizens who shall be proposed on the grounds that they have done honour to the Nation by reason of useful public service or that, because of special qualifications or attainments, they represent important aspects of the Nation's life.

ARTICLE 31.—The number of members of Seanad Eireann shall be sixty. A citizen to be eligible for membership of Seanad Eireann must be a person eligible to become a member of Dáil Eireann, and must have reached the age of thirty-five years. Subject to any provision for the constitution of the first Seanad Eireann the term of office of a member of Seanad Eireann shall be twelve years.

ARTICLE 32.—One-fourth of the members of Seanad Eireann shall be elected every three years from a panel constituted as hereinafter mentioned at an election at which the area of the jurisdiction of the

Irish Free State (Saorstát Eireann) shall form one electoral area, and the elections shall be held on principles of Proportional Representation.

ARTICLE 33.—Before each election of members of Seanad Eireann a panel shall be formed consisting of:—

(*a*) Three times as many qualified persons as there are members to be elected, of whom two-thirds shall be nominated by Dáil Eireann voting according to principles of Proportional Representation and one-third shall be nominated by Seanad Eireann voting according to principles of Proportional Representation; and

(*b*) Such persons who have at any time been members of Seanad Eireann (including members about to retire) as signify by notice in writing addressed to the President of the Executive Council their desire to be included in the panel.

The method of proposal and selection for nomination shall be decided by Dáil Eireann and Seanad Eireann respectively, with special reference to the necessity for arranging for the representation of important interests and institutions in the country: Provided that each proposal shall be in writing and shall state the qualifications of the person proposed and that no person shall be proposed without his own consent. As soon as the panel has been formed a list of the names of the members of the panel arranged in alphabetical order with their qualifications shall be published.

ARTICLE 34.—In case of the death, resignation or disqualification of a member of the Seanad Eireann his place shall be filled by a vote of Seanad Eireann. Any member of Seanad Eireann so chosen shall retire from office at the conclusion of the three years period then running and the vacancy thus created shall be additional to the places to be filled under Article 32 of this Constitution. The term of office of the members chosen at the election after the first fifteen elected shall conclude at the end of the period or periods at which the member or members of Seanad Eireann, by whose death or withdrawal the vacancy or vacancies was or were originally created, would be due to retire: Provided that the sixteenth member shall be deemed to have filled the vacancy first created in order of time and so on.

ARTICLE 35.—Dáil Eireann shall in relation to the subject matter of Money Bills as hereinafter defined have legislative authority exclusive of Seanad Eireann.

A Money Bill means a Bill which contains only provisions dealing with all or any of the following subjects, namely, the imposition, repeal, remission, alteration or regulation of taxation; the imposition for the payment of debt or other financial purposes of charges on public moneys or the variation or repeal of any such charges; supply; the appropriation, receipt, custody, issue or audit of accounts of public money; the raising or guarantee of any loan or the repayment thereof; subordinate matters incidental to those subjects or any of them. In this definition the expression "taxation," "public money" and "loan" respectively do not include any taxation, money or loan raised by local authorities or bodies for local purposes.

The Chairman of Dáil Eireann shall certify any Bill which in his opinion is a Money Bill to be a Money Bill, but, if within three days after a Bill has been passed by Dáil Eireann, two-fifths of the members of

either House by notice in writing addressed to the Chairman of the House of which they are members so require, the question whether the Bill is or is not a Money Bill shall be referred to a Committee of Privileges consisting of three members elected by each House with a Chairman who shall be the senior judge of the Supreme Court able and willing to act, and who, in the case of an equality of votes, but not otherwise, shall be entitled to vote. The decision of the Committee on the question shall be final and conclusive.

ARTICLE 36.—Dáil Eireann shall as soon as possible after the commencement of each financial year consider the Estimates of receipts and expenditure of the Irish Free State (Saorstát Eireann) for that year, and, save in so far as may be provided by specific enactment in each case, the legislation required to give effect to the Financial Resolutions of each year shall be enacted within that year.

ARTICLE 37.—Money shall not be appropriated by vote, resolution or law, unless the purpose of the appropriation has in the same session been recommended by a message from the Representative of the Crown acting on the advice of the Executive Council.

ARTICLE 38.—Every Bill initiated in and passed by Dáil Eireann shall be sent to Seanad Eireann and may, unless it be a Money Bill, be amended in Seanad Eireann and Dáil Eireann shall consider any such amendment; but a Bill passed by Dáil Eireann and considered by Seanad Eireann shall, not later than two hundred and seventy days after it shall have been first sent to Seanad Eireann, or such longer period as may be agreed upon by the two Houses, be deemed to be passed by both Houses in the form in which it was last passed by Dáil Eireann: Provided that every Money Bill shall be sent to Seanad Eireann for its recommendations and at a period not longer than twenty-one days after it shall have been sent to Seanad Eireann, it shall be returned to Dáil Eireann which may pass it, accepting or rejecting all or any of the recommendations of Seanad Eireann, and as so passed or if not returned within such period of twenty-one days shall be deemed to have been passed by both Houses. When a Bill other than a Money Bill has been sent to Seanad Eireann a Joint Sitting of the Members of both Houses may on a resolution passed by Seanad Eireann be convened for the purpose of debating, but not of voting upon, the proposals of the Bill or any amendment of the same.

ARTICLE 39.—A Bill may be initiated in Seanad Eireann and if passed by Seanad Eireann shall be introduced into Dáil Eireann. If amended by Dáil Eireann the Bill shall be considered as a Bill initiated in Dáil Eireann. If rejected by Dáil Eireann it shall not be introduced again in the same session, but Dáil Eireann may reconsider it on its own motion.

ARTICLE 40.—A Bill passed by either House and accepted by the other House shall be deemed to be passed by both Houses.

ARTICLE 41.—So soon as any Bill shall have been passed or deemed to have been passed by both Houses, the Executive Council shall present the same to the Representative of the Crown for the signification by him, in the King's name, of the King's assent, and such Representative may withhold the King's assent or reserve the Bill for the signification of the

King's pleasure: Provided that the Representative of the Crown shall in the withholding of such assent to or the reservation of any Bill, act in accordance with the law, practice, and constitutional usage governing the like withholding of assent or reservation in the Dominion of Canada.

A Bill reserved for the signification of the King's Pleasure shall not have any force unless and until within one year from the day on which it was presented to the Representative of the Crown for the King's Assent, the Representative of the Crown signifies by speech or message to each of the Houses of the Oireachtas, or by proclamation, that it has received the Assent of the King in Council.

An entry of every such speech, message or proclamation, shall be made in the Journal of each House and a duplicate thereof duly attested shall be delivered to the proper officer to be kept among the Records of the Irish Free State (Saorstát Eireann).

ARTICLE 42.—As soon as may be after any law has received the King's assent, the clerk, or such officer as Dáil Eireann may appoint for the purpose, shall cause two fair copies of such law to be made, one being in the Irish language and the other in the English language (one of which copies shall be signed by the Representative of the Crown to be enrolled for record in the office of such officer of the Supreme Court as Dáil Eireann may determine), and such copies shall be conclusive evidence as to the provisions of every such law, and in case of conflict between the two copies so deposited, that signed by the Representative of the Crown shall prevail.

ARTICLE 43.—The Oireachtas shall have no power to declare acts to be infringements of the law which were not so at the date of their commission.

ARTICLE 44.—The Oireachtas may create subordinate legislatures with such powers as may be decided by law.

ARTICLE 45.—The Oireachtas may provide for the establishment of Functional or Vocational Councils representing branches of the social and economic life of the Nation. A law establishing any such Council shall determine its powers, rights and duties, and its relation to the government of the Irish Free State (Saorstát Eireann).

ARTICLE 46.—The Oireachtas has the exclusive right to regulate the raising and maintaining of such armed forces as are mentioned in the Scheduled Treaty in the territory of the Irish Free State (Saorstát Eireann) and every such force shall be subject to the control of the Oireachtas.

ARTICLE 47.—Any Bill passed or deemed to have been passed by both Houses may be suspended for a period of ninety days on the written demand of two-fifths of the members of Dáil Eireann or of a majority of the members of Seanad Eireann presented to the President of the Executive Council not later than seven days from the day on which such Bill shall have been so passed or deemed to have been passed. Such a Bill shall, in accordance with regulations to be made by the Oireachtas, be submitted by Referendum to the decision of the people if demanded before the expiration of the ninety days either by a resolution of Seanad Eireann assented to by three-fifths of the members of Seanad Eireann, or by a petition signed by not less than one-twentieth of the voters then

on the register of voters, and the decision of the people by a majority of the votes recorded on such Referendum shall be conclusive. These provisions shall not apply to Money Bills or to such Bills as shall be declared by both Houses to be necessary for the immediate preservation of the public peace, health or safety.

ARTICLE 48.—The Oireachtas may provide for the Initiation by the people of proposals for laws or constitutional amendments. Should the Oireachtas fail to make such provision within two years, it shall on the petition of not less than seventy-five thousand voters on the register, of whom not more than fifteen thousand shall be voters in any one constituency, either make such provisions or submit the question to the people for decision in accordance with the ordinary regulations governing the Referendum. Any legislation passed by the Oireachtas providing for such Initiation by the people shall provide, (1) that such proposals may be initiated on a petition of fifty thousand voters on the register, (2) that if the Oireachtas rejects a proposal so initiated it shall be submitted to the people for decision in accordance with the ordinary regulations governing the Referendum; and (3) that if the Oireachtas enacts a proposal so initiated, such enactment shall be subject to the provisions respecting ordinary legislation or amendments of the Constitution as the case may be.

ARTICLE 49.—Save in the case of actual invasion, the Irish Free State (Saorstát Eireann) shall not be committed to active participation in any war without the assent of the Oireachtas.

ARTICLE 50.—Amendments of this Constitution within the terms of the Scheduled Treaty may be made by the Oireachtas, but no such amendment, passed by both Houses of the Oireachtas, after the expiration of a period of eight years from the date of the coming into operation of this Constitution, shall become law, unless the same shall, after it has been passed or deemed to have been passed by the said two Houses of the Oireachtas, have been submitted to a Referendum of the people, and unless a majority of the voters on the register shall have recorded their votes on such Referendum, and either the votes of a majority of the voters on the register, or two-thirds of the votes recorded, shall have been cast in favour of such amendment. Any such amendment may be made within the said period of eight years by way of ordinary legislation and as such shall be subject to the provisions of Article 47 hereof.

ARTICLE 51.—The Executive Authority of the Irish Free State (Saorstát Eireann) is hereby declared to be vested in the King, and shall be exercisable, in accordance with the law, practice and constitutional usage governing the exercise of the Executive Authority in the case of the Dominion of Canada, by the Representative of the Crown. There shall be a Council to aid and advise in the government of the Irish Free State (Saorstát Eireann) to be styled the Executive Council. The Executive Council shall be responsible to the Dáil Eireann, and shall consist of not more than seven nor less than five Ministers appointed by the Representative of the Crown on the nomination of the President of the Executive Council.

ARTICLE 52.—Those Ministers who form the Executive Council shall all be members of Dáil Eireann and shall include the President of the

Council, the Vice-President of the Council and the Minister in charge of the Department of Finance.

ARTICLE 53.—The President of the Council shall be appointed on the nomination of Dáil Eireann. He shall nominate a Vice-President of the Council, who shall act for all purposes in the place of the President, if the President shall die, resign, or be permanently incapacitated, until a new President of the Council shall have been elected. The Vice-President shall also act in the place of the President during his temporary absence. The other Ministers who are to hold office as members of the Executive Council shall be appointed on the nomination of the President, with the assent of Dáil Eireann, and he and the Ministers nominated by him shall retire from office should he cease to retain the support of a majority in Dáil Eireann, but the President and such Ministers shall continue to carry on their duties until their successors shall have been appointed: Provided, however, that the Oireachtas shall not be dissolved on the advice of an Executive Council which has ceased to retain the support of a majority in Dáil Eireann.

ARTICLE 54.—The Executive Council shall be collectively responsible for all matters concerning the Departments of State administered by Members of the Executive Council. The Executive Council shall prepare Estimates of the receipts and expenditure of the Irish Free State (Saorstát Eireann) for each financial year and shall present them to Dáil Eireann before the close of the previous financial year. The Executive Council shall meet and act as a collective authority.

ARTICLE 55.—Ministers who shall not be members of the Executive Council may be appointed by the Representative of the Crown and shall comply with the provisions of Article 17 of this Constitution. Every such Minister shall be nominated by Dáil Eireann on the recommendation of a Committee of Dáil Eireann chosen by a method to be determined by Dáil Eireann, so as to be impartially representative of Dáil Eireann. Should a recommendation not be acceptable to Dáil Eireann, the Committee may continue to recommend names until one is found acceptable. The total number of Ministers, including the Ministers of the Executive Council, shall not exceed twelve.

ARTICLE 56.—Every Minister who is not a member of the Executive Council shall be the responsible head of the Department or Departments under his charge, and shall be individually responsible to Dáil Eireann alone for the administration of the Department or Departments of which he is the head: Provided that should arrangements for Functional or Vocational Councils be made by the Oireachtas these Ministers or any of them may, should the Oireachtas so decide, be members of, and be recommended to Dáil Eireann by, such Councils. The term of office of any Minister, not a member of the Executive Council, shall be the term of Dáil Eireann existing at the time of his appointment, but he shall continue in office until his successor shall have been appointed, and no such Minister shall be removed from office during his term otherwise than by Dáil Eireann itself, and by them for stated reasons, and after the proposal to remove him has been submitted to a Committee, chosen by a method to be determined by Dáil Eireann, so as to be impartially representative of Dáil Eireann, and the Committee has reported thereon.

ARTICLE 57.—Every Minister shall have the right to attend and be heard in Seanad Eireann.

ARTICLE 58.—The appointment of a member of Dáil Eireann to be a Minister shall not entail upon him any obligation to resign his seat or to submit himself for re-election.

ARTICLE 59.—Ministers shall receive such remuneration as may from time to time be prescribed by law, but the remuneration of any Minister shall not be diminished during his term of office.

ARTICLE 60.—The Representative of the Crown, who shall be styled the Governor-General of the Irish Free State (Saorstát Eireann) shall be appointed in like manner as the Governor-General of Canada and in accordance with the practice observed in the making of such appointments. His salary shall be of the like amount as that now payable to the Governor-General of the Commonwealth of Australia and shall be charged on the public funds of the Irish Free State (Saorstát Eireann) and suitable provision shall be made out of those funds for the maintenance of his official residence and establishment.

ARTICLE 61.—All revenues of the Irish Free State (Saorstát Eireann) from whatever source arising, shall, subject to such exception as may be provided by law, form one fund, and shall be appropriated for the purposes of the Irish Free State (Saorstát Eireann) in the manner and subject to the charges and liabilities imposed by law.

ARTICLE 62.—Dáil Eireann shall appoint a Comptroller and Auditor-General to act on behalf of the Irish Free State (Saorstát Eireann). He shall control all disbursements and shall audit all accounts of moneys administered by or under the authority of the Oireachtas and shall report to Dáil Eireann at stated periods to be determined by law.

ARTICLE 63.—The Comptroller and Auditor-General shall not be removed except for stated misbehaviour or incapacity on resolutions passed by Dáil Eireann and Seanad Eireann. Subject to this provision the terms and conditions of his tenure of office shall be fixed by law. He shall not be a member of the Oireachtas nor shall he hold any other office or position of emolument.

ARTICLE 64.—The judicial power of the Irish Free State (Saorstát Eireann) shall be exercised and justice administered in the public Courts established by the Oireachtas by judges appointed in manner hereinafter provided. These Courts shall comprise Courts of First Instance and a Court of Final Appeal, to be called the Supreme Court. The Courts of First Instance shall include a High Court, invested with full original jurisdiction in and power to determine all matters and questions whether of law or fact, civil or criminal, and also Courts of local and limited jurisdiction with a right of appeal as determined by law.

ARTICLE 65.—The judicial power of the High Court shall extend to the question of the validity of any law having regard to the provisions of the Constitution. In all cases in which such matters shall come into question, the High Court alone shall exercise original jurisdiction.

ARTICLE 66.—The Supreme Court of the Irish Free State (Saorstát Eireann) shall, with such exceptions (not including cases which involve questions as to the validity of any law) and subject to such regulations as may be prescribed by law, have appellate jurisdiction from all decisions

of the High Court. The decision of the Supreme Court shall in all cases be final and conclusive, and shall not be reviewed or capable of being reviewed by any other Court, Tribunal or Authority whatsoever:

Provided that nothing in this Constitution shall impair the right of any person to petition His Majesty for special leave to appeal from the Supreme Court to His Majesty in Council or the right of His Majesty to grant such leave.

ARTICLE 67.—The number of judges, the constitution and organisation of, and distribution of business and jurisdiction among, the said Courts and judges, and all matters of procedure shall be as prescribed by the laws for the time being in force and the regulations made thereunder.

ARTICLE 68.—The judges of the Supreme Court and of the High Court and of all other Courts established in pursuance of this Constitution shall be appointed by the Representative of the Crown on the advice of the Executive Council. The judges of the Supreme Court and of the High Court shall not be removed except for stated misbehaviour or incapacity, and then only by resolutions passed by both Dáil Eireann and Seanad Eireann. The age of retirement, and the remuneration and the pension of such judges on retirement and the declarations to be taken by them on appointment shall be prescribed by law. Such remuneration may not be diminished during their continuance in office. The terms of appointment of the judges of such other courts as may be created shall be prescribed by law.

ARTICLE 69.—All judges shall be independent in the exercise of their functions, and subject only to the Constitution and the law. A judge shall not be eligible to sit in the Oireachtas, and shall not hold any other office or position of emolument.

ARTICLE 70.—No one shall be tried save in due course of law and extraordinary courts shall not be established, save only such Military Tribunals as may be authorised by law for dealing with military offenders against military law. The jurisdiction of Military Tribunals shall not be extended to or exercised over the civil population save in time of war, or armed rebellion, and for acts committed in time of war or armed rebellion, and in accordance with the regulations to be prescribed by law. Such jurisdiction shall not be exercised in any area in which all civil courts are open or capable of being held, and no person shall be removed from one area to another for the purpose of creating such jurisdiction.

ARTICLE 71.—A member of the armed forces of the Irish Free State (Saorstát Eireann) not on the active service shall not be tried by any Court Martial or other Military Tribunal for an offence cognisable by the Civil Courts, unless such offence shall have been brought expressly within the jurisdiction of Courts Martial or other Military Tribunal by any code of laws or regulations for the enforcement of military discipline which may be hereafter approved by the Oireachtas.

ARTICLE 72.—No person shall be tried on any criminal charge without a jury save in the case of charges in respect of minor offences triable by law before a Court of Summary Jurisdiction and in the case of charges for offences against military law triable by Court Martial or other Military Tribunal.

TRANSITORY PROVISIONS.

ARTICLE 73.—Subject to this Constitution and to the extent to which they are not inconsistent therewith, the laws in force in the Irish Free State (Saorstát Eireann) at the date of the coming into operation of this Constitution shall continue to be of full force and effect until the same or any of them shall have been repealed or amended by enactment of the Oireachtas.

ARTICLE 74.—Nothing in this Constitution shall affect any liability to pay any tax or duty payable in respect of the financial year current at the date of the coming into operation of this Constitution or any preceding financial year, or in respect of any period ending on or before the last day of the said current financial year, or payable on any occasion happening within that or any preceding year, or the amount of such liability; and during the said current financial year all taxes and duties and arrears thereof shall continue to be assessed, levied and collected in like manner in all respects as immediately before this Constitution came into operation, subject to the like adjustments of the proceeds collected as were theretofore applicable; and for that purpose the Executive Council shall have the like powers and be subject to the like liabilities as the Provisional Government.

Goods transported during the said current financial year from or to the Irish Free State (Saorstát Eireann) to or from any part of Great Britain or the Isle of Man shall not, except so far as the Executive Council may otherwise direct, in respect of the forms to be used and the information to be furnished, be treated as goods exported or imported as the case may be.

For the purpose of this Article, the expression "financial year" means, as respects income tax (including super-tax), the year of assessment, and as respects other taxes and duties, the year ending on the 31st day of March.

ARTICLE 75.—Until Courts have been established for the Irish Free State (Saorstát Eireann) in accordance with this Constitution, the Supreme Court of Judicature, County Courts, Courts of Quarter Sessions and Courts of Summary Jurisdiction, as at present existing, shall for the time being continue to exercise the same jurisdiction as heretofore, and any judge or justice, being a member of any such Court, holding office at the time when this Constitution comes into operation, shall for the time being continue to be a member thereof and hold office by the like tenure and upon the like terms as heretofore, unless, in the case of a judge of the said Supreme Court or of a County Court, he signifies to the Representative of the Crown his desire to resign. Any vacancies in any of the said Courts so continued may be filled by appointment made in like manner as appointments to judgeships in the Courts established under this Constitution:

Provided that the provisions of Article 66 of this Constitution as to the decisions of the Supreme Court established under this Constitution shall apply to decisions of the Court of Appeal continued by this Article.

ARTICLE 76.—If any judge of the said Supreme Court of Judicature or of any of the said County Courts on the establishment of Courts under

this Constitution, is not with his consent appointed to be a judge of any such Court, he shall, for the purpose of Article 10 of the Scheduled Treaty, be treated as if he had retired in consequence of the change of Government effected in pursuance of the said Treaty, but the rights so conferred shall be without prejudice to any rights or claims that he may have against the British Government.

ARTICLE 77.—Every existing officer of the Provisional Government at the date of the coming into operation of this Constitution (not being an officer whose services have been lent by the British Government to the Provisional Government) shall on that date be transferred to and become an officer of the Irish Free State (Saorstát Eireann), and shall hold office by a tenure corresponding to his previous tenure.

ARTICLE 78.—Every such existing officer who was transferred from the British Government by virtue of any transfer of services to the Provisional Government shall be entitled to the benefit of Article 10 of the Scheduled Treaty.

ARTICLE 79.—The transfer of the administration of any public service, the administration of which was not before the date of the coming into operation of this Constitution transferred to the Provisional Government, shall be deferred until the 31st day of March, 1923, or such earlier date as may, after one month's previous notice in the Official Gazette, be fixed by the Executive Council; and such of the officers engaged in the administration of those services at the date of transfer, as may be determined in the manner hereinafter appearing, shall be transferred to and become officers of the Irish Free State (Saorstát Eireann); and Article 77 of this Constitution shall apply as if such officers were existing officers of the Provisional Government who had been transferred to that Government from the British Government. The officers to be so transferred in respect of any services shall be determined in like manner as if the administration of the services had before the coming into operation of the Constitution been transferred to the Provisional Government.

ARTICLE 80.—As respects departmental property, assets, rights and liabilities, the Government of the Irish Free State (Saorstát Eireann) shall be regarded as the successors of the Provisional Government, and, to the extent to which functions of any Department of the British Government become functions of the Government of the Irish Free State (Saorstát Eireann), as the successors of such Department of the British Government.

ARTICLE 81.—After the date on which this Constitution comes into operation the House of the Parliament elected in pursuance of the Irish Free State (Agreement) Act, 1922 (being the constituent assembly for the settlement of this Constitution), may, for a period not exceeding one year from that date, but subject to compliance by the members thereof with the provisions of Article 17 of this Constitution, exercise all the powers and authorities conferred on Dáil Eireann by this Constitution, and the first election for Dáil Eireann under Articles 26, 27 and 28 hereof shall take place as soon as possible after the expiration of such period.

ARTICLE 82.—Notwithstanding anything contained in Articles 14 and 33 hereof, the first Seanad Eireann shall be constituted immediately

after the coming into operation of this Constitution in the manner following, that is to say :—

(*a*) The first Seanad Eireann shall consist of sixty members, of whom thirty shall be elected and thirty shall be nominated.

(*b*) The thirty nominated members of Seanad Eireann shall be nominated by the President of the Executive Council who shall, in making such nominations, have special regard to the providing of representation for groups or parties not then adequately represented in Dáil Eireann.

(*c*) The thirty elected members of Seanad Eireann shall be elected by Dáil Eireann voting on principles of Proportional Representation.

(*d*) Of the thirty nominated members, fifteen, to be selected by lot, shall hold office for the full period of twelve years, the remaining fifteen shall hold office for the period of six years.

(*e*) Of the thirty elected members the first fifteen elected shall hold office for the period of nine years, the remaining fifteen shall hold office for the period of three years.

(*f*) At the termination of the period of office of any such members, members shall be elected in their place in manner provided by Article 32 of this Constitution.

(*g*) Casual vacancies shall be filled in manner provided by Article 34 of this Constitution.

ARTICLE 83.—The passing and adoption of this Constitution by the Constituent Assembly and the British Parliament shall be announced as soon as may be, and not later than the sixth day of December, nineteen hundred and twenty-two, by Proclamation of His Majesty, and this Constitution shall come into operation on the issue of such Proclamation.

II. TREATY BETWEEN GREAT BRITAIN AND MESOPOTAMIA.

(SIGNED AT BAGHDAD ON OCTOBER 10, 1922.)

HIS BRITANNIC MAJESTY of the one part: and HIS MAJESTY THE KING OF IRAQ of the other part:

Whereas His Britannic Majesty has recognised Feisal Ibn Hussein as constitutional King of Iraq: and Whereas His Majesty the King of Iraq considers that it is to the interests of Iraq and will conduce to its rapid advancement that he should conclude a Treaty with His Britannic Majesty on the basis of alliance: and Whereas His Britannic Majesty is satisfied that the relations between himself and His Majesty the King of Iraq can now be better defined by such a Treaty of Alliance than by any other means:

For this purpose the High Contracting Parties have appointed as their Plenipotentiaries :—

HIS MAJESTY THE KING OF THE UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND AND OF THE BRITISH DOMINIONS BEYOND THE SEAS, EMPEROR OF INDIA: Sir Percy Zachariah Cox, G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., High Commissioner and Consul-General of His Britannic Highness in Iraq:

HIS MAJESTY THE KING OF IRAQ: His Highness Sir Saiyid 'Abd-ur-Rahman, G.B.E., Prime Minister and Naqib-al-Ashraf, Baghdad:

Who, having communicated their full powers, found in good and due order, have agreed as follows:—

ARTICLE I.—At the request of His Majesty the King of Iraq, His Britannic Majesty undertakes subject to the provisions of this Treaty to provide the State of Iraq with such advice and assistance as may be required during the period of the present Treaty, without prejudice to her national sovereignty. His Britannic Majesty shall be represented in Iraq by a High Commissioner and Consul-General assisted by the necessary staff.

ARTICLE II.—His Majesty the King of Iraq undertakes that for the period of the present Treaty no gazetted official of other than Iraq nationality shall be appointed in Iraq without the concurrence of His Britannic Majesty. A separate agreement shall regulate the numbers and conditions of employment of British officials so appointed in the Iraq Government.

ARTICLE III.—His Majesty the King of Iraq agrees to frame an Organic Law for presentation to the Constituent Assembly of Iraq and to give effect to the said law, which shall contain nothing contrary to the provisions of the present Treaty and shall take account of the rights, wishes and interests of all populations inhabiting Iraq. This Organic Law shall ensure to all complete freedom of conscience and the free exercise of all forms of worship, subject only to the maintenance of public order and morals. It shall provide that no discrimination of any kind shall be made between the inhabitants of Iraq on the ground of race, religion or language, and shall secure that the right of each community to maintain its own schools for the education of its own members in its own language, while conforming to such educational requirements of a general nature as the Government of Iraq may impose, shall not be denied or impaired. It shall prescribe the constitutional procedure, whether legislative or executive, by which decisions will be taken on all matters of importance, including those involving questions of fiscal, financial and military policy.

ARTICLE IV.—Without prejudice to the provisions of Articles XVII. and XVIII. of this Treaty, His Majesty the King of Iraq agrees to be guided by the advice of His Britannic Majesty tendered through the High Commissioner on all important matters affecting the international and financial obligations and interests of His Britannic Majesty for the whole period of this Treaty. His Majesty the King of Iraq will fully consult the High Commissioner on what is conducive to a sound financial and fiscal policy and will ensure the stability and good organisation of the finances of the Iraq Government so long as that Government is under financial obligations to the Government of His Britannic Majesty.

ARTICLE V.—His Majesty the King of Iraq shall have the right of representation in London and in such other capitals and places as may be agreed upon by the High Contracting Parties. Where His Majesty the King of Iraq is not represented he agrees to entrust the protection of Iraq nationals to His Britannic Majesty. His Majesty the King of Iraq shall himself issue exequaturs to representatives of Foreign Powers in Iraq after His Britannic Majesty has agreed to their appointment.

ARTICLE VI.—His Britannic Majesty undertakes to use his good offices

to secure the admission of Iraq to membership of the League of Nations as soon as possible.

ARTICLE VII.—His Britannic Majesty undertakes to provide such support and assistance to the armed forces of His Majesty the King of Iraq as may from time to time be agreed by the High Contracting Parties. A separate agreement regulating the extent and conditions of such support and assistance shall be concluded between the High Contracting Parties and communicated to the Council of the League of Nations.

ARTICLE VIII.—No territory in Iraq shall be ceded or leased or in any way placed under the control of any Foreign Power; this shall not prevent His Majesty the King of Iraq from making such arrangements as may be necessary for the accommodation of foreign representatives and for the fulfilment of the provisions of the preceding Article.

ARTICLE IX.—His Majesty the King of Iraq undertakes that he will accept and give effect to such reasonable provisions as His Britannic Majesty may consider necessary in judicial matters to safeguard the interests of foreigners in consequence of the non-application of the immunities and privileges enjoyed by them under capitulation or usage. These provisions shall be embodied in a separate agreement, which shall be communicated to the Council of the League of Nations.

ARTICLE X.—The High Contracting Parties agree to conclude separate agreements to secure the execution of any treaties, agreements or undertakings which His Britannic Majesty is under obligation to see carried out in respect of Iraq. His Majesty the King of Iraq undertakes to bring in any legislation necessary to ensure the execution of these agreements. Such agreements shall be communicated to the Council of the League of Nations.

ARTICLE XI.—There shall be no discrimination in Iraq against the nationals of any State, member of the League of Nations, or of any State to which His Britannic Majesty has agreed by treaty that the same rights should be ensured as it would enjoy if it were a member of the said League (including companies incorporated under the laws of such State), as compared with British nationals or those of any foreign State in matters concerning taxation, commerce or navigation, the exercise of industries or professions, or in the treatment of merchant vessels or civil aircraft. Nor shall there be any discrimination in Iraq against goods originating in or destined for any of the said States. There shall be freedom of transit under equitable conditions across Iraq territory.

ARTICLE XII.—No measure shall be taken in Iraq to obstruct or interfere with missionary enterprise or to discriminate against any missionary on the ground of his religious belief or nationality, provided that such enterprise is not prejudicial to public order and good government.

ARTICLE XIII.—His Majesty the King of Iraq undertakes to co-operate, in so far as social, religious and other conditions may permit, in the execution of any common policy adopted by the League of Nations for preventing and combating disease, including diseases of plants and animals.

ARTICLE XIV.—His Majesty the King of Iraq undertakes to secure the enactment, within twelve months of the coming into force of this

Treaty, and to ensure the execution of a Law of Antiquities based on the rules annexed to Article 421 of the Treaty of Peace signed at Sèvres on the 10th August, 1920. This Law shall replace the former Ottoman Law of Antiquities, and shall ensure equality of treatment in the matter of archæological research to the nationals of all States members of the League of Nations, and of any State to which His Britannic Majesty has agreed by Treaty that the same rights should be ensured as it would enjoy if it were a member of the said League.

ARTICLE XV.—A separate agreement shall regulate the financial relations between the High Contracting Parties. It shall provide, on the one hand, for the transfer by His Britannic Majesty's Government to the Government of Iraq of such works of public utility as may be agreed upon and for the rendering by His Britannic Majesty's Government of such financial assistance as may from time to time be considered necessary for Iraq, and, on the other hand, for the progressive liquidation by the Government of Iraq of all liabilities thus incurred. Such agreement shall be communicated to the Council of the League of Nations.

ARTICLE XVI.—So far as is consistent with his international obligations His Britannic Majesty undertakes to place no obstacle in the way of the association of the State of Iraq for customs or other purposes with such neighbouring Arab States as may desire it.

ARTICLE XVII.—Any difference that may arise between the High Contracting Parties as to the interpretation of the provisions of this Treaty shall be referred to the Permanent Court of International Justice provided for by Article XIV. of the Covenant of the League of Nations. In such case, should there be any discrepancy between the English and Arabic texts of this Treaty, the English shall be taken as the authoritative version.

ARTICLE XVIII.—This Treaty shall come into force as soon as it has been ratified by the High Contracting Parties after its acceptance by the Constituent Assembly, and shall remain in force for twenty years, at the end of which period the situation shall be examined, and if the High Contracting Parties are of opinion that the Treaty is no longer required it shall be terminated. Termination shall be subject to confirmation by the League of Nations unless before that date Article VI. of this Treaty has come into effect, in which case notice of termination shall be communicated to the Council of the League of Nations. Nothing shall prevent the High Contracting Parties from reviewing from time to time the provisions of this Treaty, and those of the separate Agreements arising out of Articles VII., X., and XV., with a view to any revision which may seem desirable in the circumstances then existing, and any modification which may be agreed upon by the High Contracting Parties shall be communicated to the Council of the League of Nations.

The ratifications shall be exchanged at Baghdad.

The present Treaty has been drawn up in English and Arabic. One copy in each language will remain deposited in the archives of the Iraq Government, and one copy in each language in those of the Government of His Britannic Majesty.

In witness of which the respective Plenipotentiaries have signed the present Treaty and have affixed thereto their seals. Done at Baghdad in

duplicate this 10th day of October, One thousand nine hundred and twenty-two of the Christian Era, corresponding with the 19th day of Sofar, One thousand three hundred and forty Hijrah.

P. Z. Cox,
His Britannic Majesty's
High Commissioner in Iraq.
'Abd-ur-Rahman,
Naqib-al-Ashraf of Baghdad and Prime
Minister of the Iraq Government.

III. Mandate for Palestine.

Together with a Note by the Secretary-General relating to its Application to the Territory known as Trans-Jordan, under the Provisions of Article 25.

(Confirmed July 24, 1922.)

The Council of the League of Nations:

Whereas the Principal Allied Powers have agreed, for the purpose of giving effect to the provisions of Article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations, to entrust to a Mandatory selected by the said Powers the administration of the territory of Palestine, which formerly belonged to the Turkish Empire, within such boundaries as may be fixed by them; and

Whereas the Principal Allied Powers have also agreed that the Mandatory should be responsible for putting into effect the declaration originally made on November 2nd, 1917, by the Government of His Britannic Majesty, and adopted by the said Powers, in favour of the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, it being clearly understood that nothing should be done which might prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country; and

Whereas recognition has thereby been given to the historical connexion of the Jewish people with Palestine and to the grounds for reconstituting their national home in that country; and

Whereas the Principal Allied Powers have selected His Britannic Majesty as the Mandatory for Palestine; and

Whereas the mandate in respect of Palestine has been formulated in the following terms and submitted to the Council of the League for approval; and

Whereas His Britannic Majesty has accepted the mandate in respect of Palestine and undertaken to exercise it on behalf of the League of Nations in conformity with the following provisions; and

Whereas by the afore-mentioned Article 22 (paragraph 8), it is provided that the degree of authority, control or administration to be exercised by the Mandatory, not having been previously agreed upon by the Members of the League, shall be explicitly defined by the Council of the League of Nations;

Confirming the said mandate, defines its term as follows:

ARTICLE 1.—The Mandatory shall have full powers of legislation and of administration, save as they may be limited by the terms of this mandate.

ARTICLE 2.—The Mandatory shall be responsible for placing the country under such political, administrative and economic conditions as will secure the establishment of the Jewish national home, as laid down in the preamble, and the development of self-governing institutions, and also for safeguarding the civil and religious rights of all the inhabitants of Palestine, irrespective of race and religion.

ARTICLE 3.—The Mandatory shall, so far as circumstances permit, encourage local autonomy.

ARTICLE 4.—An appropriate Jewish agency shall be recognised as a public body for the purpose of advising and co-operating with the Administration of Palestine in such economic, social and other matters as may affect the establishment of the Jewish national home and the interests of the Jewish population in Palestine, and, subject always to the control of the Administration, to assist and take part in the development of the country.

The Zionist organisation, so long as its organisation and constitution are in the opinion of the Mandatory appropriate, shall be recognised as such agency. It shall take steps in consultation with His Britannic Majesty's Government to secure the co-operation of all Jews who are willing to assist in the establishment of the Jewish national home.

ARTICLE 5.—The Mandatory shall be responsible for seeing that no Palestine territory shall be ceded or leased to, or in any way placed under the control of, the Government of any foreign Power.

ARTICLE 6.—The Administration of Palestine, while ensuring that the rights and position of other sections of the population are not prejudiced, shall facilitate Jewish immigration under suitable conditions and shall encourage, in co-operation with the Jewish agency referred to in Article 4, close settlement by Jews on the land, including State lands and waste lands not required for public purposes.

ARTICLE 7.—The Administration of Palestine shall be responsible for enacting a nationality law. There shall be included in this law provisions framed so as to facilitate the acquisition of Palestinian citizenship by Jews who take up their permanent residence in Palestine.

ARTICLE 8.—The privileges and immunities of foreigners, including the benefits of consular jurisdiction and protection as formerly enjoyed by Capitulation or usage in the Ottoman Empire, shall not be applicable in Palestine.

Unless the Powers whose nationals enjoyed the afore-mentioned privileges and immunities on August 1st, 1914, shall have previously renounced the right to their re-establishment, or shall have agreed to their non-application for a specified period, these privileges and immunities shall, at the expiration of the mandate, be immediately re-established in their entirety or with such modifications as may have been agreed upon between the Powers concerned.

ARTICLE 9.—The Mandatory shall be responsible for seeing that the judicial system established in Palestine shall assure to foreigners, as well as to natives, a complete guarantee of their rights.

Respect for the personal status of the various peoples and communities and for their religious interests shall be fully guaranteed. In particular, the control and administration of Wakfs shall be exercised in accordance with religious law and the dispositions of the founders.

ARTICLE 10.—Pending the making of special extradition agreements relating to Palestine, the extradition treaties in force between the Mandatory and other foreign Powers shall apply to Palestine.

ARTICLE 11.—The Administration of Palestine shall take all necessary measures to safeguard the interests of the community in connection with the development of the country, and, subject to any international obligations accepted by the Mandatory, shall have full power to provide for public ownership or control of any of the natural resources of the country or of the public works, services and utilities established or to be established therein. It shall introduce a land system appropriate to the needs of the country, having regard, among other things, to the desirability of promoting the close settlement and intensive cultivation of the land.

The Administration may arrange with the Jewish agency mentioned in Article 4 to construct or operate, upon fair and equitable terms, any public works, services and utilities, and to develop any of the natural resources of the country, in so far as these matters are not directly undertaken by the Administration. Any such arrangements shall provide that no profits distributed by such agency, directly or indirectly, shall exceed a reasonable rate of interest on the capital, and any further profits shall be utilised by it for the benefit of the country in a manner approved by the Administration.

ARTICLE 12.—The Mandatory shall be entrusted with the control of the foreign relations of Palestine and the right to issue exequaturs to consuls appointed by foreign Powers. He shall also be entitled to afford diplomatic and consular protection to citizens of Palestine when outside its territorial limits.

ARTICLE 13.—All responsibility in connexion with the Holy Places and religious buildings or sites in Palestine, including that of preserving existing rights and of securing free access to the Holy Places, religious buildings and sites and the free exercise of worship, while ensuring the requirements of public order and decorum, is assumed by the Mandatory, who shall be responsible solely to the League of Nations in all matters connected herewith, provided that nothing in this article shall prevent the Mandatory from entering into such arrangements as he may deem reasonable with the Administration for the purpose of carrying the provisions of this article into effect; and provided also that nothing in this mandate shall be construed as conferring upon the Mandatory authority to interfere with the fabric or the management of purely Moslem sacred shrines, the immunities of which are guaranteed.

ARTICLE 14.—A special Commission shall be appointed by the Mandatory to study, define and determine the rights and claims in connexion with the Holy Places and the rights and claims relating to the different religious communities in Palestine. The method of nomination, the composition and the functions of this Commission shall be submitted to the Council of the League for its approval, and the Commission shall

not be appointed or enter upon its functions without the approval of the Council.

ARTICLE 15.—The Mandatory shall see that complete freedom of conscience and the free exercise of all forms of worship, subject only to the maintenance of public order and morals, are ensured to all. No discrimination of any kind shall be made between the inhabitants of Palestine on the ground of race, religion or language. No person shall be excluded from Palestine on the sole ground of his religious belief.

The right of each community to maintain its own schools for the education of its own members in its own language, while conforming to such educational requirements of a general nature as the Administration may impose, shall not be denied or impaired.

ARTICLE 16.—The Mandatory shall be responsible for exercising such supervision over religious or eleemosynary bodies of all faiths in Palestine as may be required for the maintenance of public order and good government. Subject to such supervision, no measures shall be taken in Palestine to obstruct or interfere with the enterprise of such bodies or to discriminate against any representative or member of them on the ground of his religion or nationality.

ARTICLE 17.—The administration of Palestine may organise on a voluntary basis the forces necessary for the preservation of peace and order, and also for the defence of the country, subject, however, to the supervision of the Mandatory, but shall not use them for purposes other than those above specified save with the consent of the Mandatory. Except for such purposes, no military, naval or air forces shall be raised or maintained by the Administration of Palestine.

Nothing in this article shall preclude the Administration of Palestine from contributing to the cost of the maintenance of the forces of the Mandatory in Palestine.

The Mandatory shall be entitled at all times to use the roads, railways and ports of Palestine for the movement of armed forces and the carriage of fuel and supplies.

ARTICLE 18.—The Mandatory shall see that there is no discrimination in Palestine against the nationals of any State Member of the League of Nations (including companies incorporated under its laws) as compared with those of the Mandatory or of any foreign State in matters concerning taxation, commerce or navigation, the exercise of industries or professions, or in the treatment of merchant vessels or civil aircraft. Similarly, there shall be no discrimination in Palestine against goods originating in or destined for any of the said States, and there shall be freedom of transit under equitable conditions across the mandated area.

Subject as aforesaid and to the other provisions of this mandate, the Administration of Palestine may, on the advice of the Mandatory, impose such taxes and customs duties as it may consider necessary, and take such steps as it may think best to promote the development of the natural resources of the country and to safeguard the interests of the population. It may also, on the advice of the Mandatory, conclude a special customs agreement with any State the territory of which in 1914 was wholly included in Asiatic Turkey or Arabia.

ARTICLE 19.—The Mandatory shall adhere on behalf of the Administration of Palestine to any general international conventions already existing, or which may be concluded hereafter with the approval of the League of Nations, respecting the slave traffic, the traffic in arms and ammunition, or the traffic in drugs, or relating to commercial equality, freedom of transit and navigation, aerial navigation and postal, telegraphic and wireless communication, or literary, artistic or industrial property.

ARTICLE 20.—The Mandatory shall co-operate on behalf of the Administration of Palestine, so far as religious, social and other conditions may permit, in the execution of any common policy adopted by the League of Nations for preventing and combating disease, including diseases of plants and animals.

ARTICLE 21.—The Mandatory shall secure the enactment within twelve months from this date, and shall ensure the execution of a Law of Antiquities based on the following rules. This law shall ensure equality of treatment in the matter of excavations and archæological research to the nations of all States Members of the League of Nations.

(1) "Antiquity" means any construction or any product of human activity earlier than the year A.D. 1700.

(2) The law for the protection of antiquities shall proceed by encouragement rather than by threat.

Any person who, having discovered an antiquity without being furnished with the authorisation referred to in paragraph 5, reports the same to an official of the competent Department, shall be rewarded according to the value of the discovery.

(3) No antiquity may be disposed of except to the competent Department, unless this Department renounces the acquisition of any such antiquity.

No antiquity may leave the country without an export licence from the said Department.

(4) Any person who maliciously or negligently destroys or damages an antiquity shall be liable to a penalty to be fixed.

(5) No clearing of ground or digging with the object of finding antiquities shall be permitted, under penalty of fine, except to persons authorised by the competent Department.

(6) Equitable terms shall be fixed for expropriation, temporary or permanent, of lands which might be of historical or archæological interest.

(7) Authorisation to excavate shall only be granted to persons who show sufficient guarantees of archæological experience. The Administration of Palestine shall not, in granting these authorisations, act in such a way as to exclude scholars of any nation without good grounds.

(8) The proceeds of excavations may be divided between the excavator and the competent Department in a proportion fixed by that Department. If division seems impossible for scientific reasons, the excavator shall receive a fair indemnity in lieu of a part of the find.

ARTICLE 22.—English, Arabic and Hebrew shall be the official languages of Palestine. Any statement or inscription in Arabic on stamps or money in Palestine shall be repeated in Hebrew, and any statement or inscription in Hebrew shall be repeated in Arabic.

ARTICLE 23.—The Administration of Palestine shall recognise the

holy days of the respective communities in Palestine as legal days of rest for the members of such communities.

ARTICLE 24.—The Mandatory shall make to the Council of the League of Nations an annual report to the satisfaction of the Council as to the measures taken during the year to carry out the provisions of the mandate. Copies of all laws and regulations promulgated or issued during the year shall be communicated with the report.

ARTICLE 25.—In the territories lying between the Jordan and the eastern boundary of Palestine as ultimately determined, the Mandatory shall be entitled, with the consent of the Council of the League of Nations, to postpone or withhold application of such provisions of this mandate as he may consider inapplicable to the existing local conditions, and to make such provision for the administration of the territories as he may consider suitable to those conditions, provided that no action shall be taken which is inconsistent with the provisions of Articles 15, 16 and 18.

ARTICLE 26.—The Mandatory agrees that, if any dispute whatever should arise between the Mandatory and another Member of the League of Nations relating to the interpretation or the application of the provisions of the mandate, such dispute, if it cannot be settled by negotiation, shall be submitted to the Permanent Court of International Justice provided for by Article 14 of the Covenant of the League of Nations.

ARTICLE 27.—The consent of the Council of the League of Nations is required for any modification of the terms of this mandate.

ARTICLE 28.—In the event of the termination of the mandate hereby conferred upon the Mandatory, the Council of the League of Nations shall make such arrangements as may be deemed necessary for safeguarding in perpetuity, under guarantee of the League, the rights secured by Articles 13 and 14, and shall use its influence for securing, under the guarantee of the League, that the Government of Palestine will fully honour the financial obligations legitimately incurred by the Administration of Palestine during the period of the mandate, including the rights of public servants to pensions or gratuities.

The present instrument shall be deposited in original in the archives of the League of Nations and certified copies shall be forwarded by the Secretary-General of the League of Nations to all Members of the League.

Done at London the 24th day of July, one thousand nine hundred and twenty-two.

Certified true copy:

For the Secretary-General,
RAPPARD,
Director of the Mandates Section.

NOTE ON ARTICLE 25 OF THE PALESTINE MANDATE IN REGARD TO THE TERRITORY KNOWN AS TRANS-JORDAN.

Note by the Secretary-General.

GENEVA, *September* 23, 1922.

The Secretary-General has the honour to communicate for the information of the Members of the League, a memorandum relating to Article

25 of the Palestine mandate presented by the British Government to the Council of the League on September 16, 1922.

The memorandum was approved by the Council subject to the decision taken at its meeting in London on July 24, 1922, with regard to the coming into force of the Palestine and Syrian mandates.

Memorandum by the British Representative.

1. Article 25 of the mandate for Palestine provides as follows:—

"In the territories lying between the Jordan and the eastern boundary of Palestine as ultimately determined, the Mandatory shall be entitled, with the consent of the Council of the League of Nations, to postpone or withhold application of such provisions of this mandate as he may consider inapplicable to the existing local conditions, and to make such provision for the administration of the territories as he may consider suitable to those conditions, provided no action shall be taken which is inconsistent with the provisions of Articles 15, 16, and 18."

2. In pursuance of the provisions of this Article, His Majesty's Government invite the Council to pass the following resolution:—

"The following provisions of the mandate for Palestine are not applicable to the territory known as Trans-Jordan, which comprises all territory lying to the east of a line drawn from a point two miles west of the town of Akaba on the Gulf of that name up the centre of the Wady Araba, Dead Sea and River Jordan to its junction with the River Yarmuk; thence up the centre of that river to the Syrian Frontier.

Preamble.—Recitals 2 and 3.

ARTICLE 2.—The words "placing the country under such political administration and economic conditions as will secure the establishment of the Jewish national home, as laid down in the preamble, and."

ARTICLE 4.

ARTICLE 6.

ARTICLE 7.—The sentence "There shall be included in this law provisions framed so as to facilitate the acquisition of Palestinian citizenship by Jews who take up their permanent residence in Palestine."

ARTICLE 11.—The second sentence of the first paragraph and the second paragraph.

ARTICLE 13.

ARTICLE 14.

ARTICLE 22.

ARTICLE 23.

In the application of the mandate to Trans-Jordan, the action which, in Palestine, is taken by the Administration of the latter country, will be taken by the Administration of Trans-Jordan under the general supervision of the Mandatory.

3. His Majesty's Government accept full responsibility as Mandatory for Trans-Jordan, and undertake that such provision as may be made for the administration of that territory in accordance with Article 25 of the mandate shall be in no way inconsistent with those provisions of the mandate which are not by this resolution declared inapplicable.

IV. Despatch to His Majesty's Representatives Abroad Respecting the Status of Egypt.

Circular Despatch sent by Telegraph to His Majesty's Representatives at Paris, Berlin, Washington, Rome, Madrid, Tokyo, Brussels, Rio de Janeiro, Christiania, Stockholm, The Hague, Copenhagen, Athens, Lisbon, Belgrade, and Berne, and by bag to His Majesty's Representatives at Buenos Aires, Vienna, La Paz, Sofia, Santiago, Peking, Bogotá, Panama, Havaná, Prague, Lima, Riga, Helsingfors, Guatemala, Budapest, Mexico City, Tehran, Warsaw, Bangkok, Monte Video, The Vatican and Caracas.

Foreign Office, *March* 15, 1922.

Sir,—His Majesty's Government, with the approval of Parliament, have decided to terminate the protectorate declared over Egypt on the 18th December, 1914, and to recognise her as an independent sovereign State. In informing the Government to which you are accredited of this decision you should communicate the following notification :—

"When the peace and prosperity of Egypt were menaced in December, 1914, by the intervention of Turkey in the Great War in alliance with the Central Powers, His Majesty's Government terminated the suzerainty of Turkey over Egypt, took the country under their protection and declared it to be a British protectorate.

"The situation is now changed. Egypt has emerged from the war prosperous and unscathed, and His Majesty's Government, after grave consideration and in accordance with their traditional policy, have decided to terminate the protectorate by a declaration in which they recognise Egypt as an independent sovereign State, while preserving for future agreements between Egypt and themselves certain matters in which the interests and obligations of the British Empire are specially involved. Pending such agreements, the *status quo* as regards these matters will remain unchanged.

"The Egyptian Government will be at liberty to re-establish a Ministry for Foreign Affairs and thus to prepare the way for the diplomatic and consular representation of Egypt abroad.

"Great Britain will not in future accord protection to Egyptians in foreign countries, except in so far as may be desired by the Egyptian Government and pending the representation of Egypt in the country concerned.

"The termination of the British protectorate over Egypt involves, however, no change in the *status quo* as regards the position of other Powers in Egypt itself.

"The welfare and integrity of Egypt are necessary to the peace and safety of the British Empire, which will therefore always maintain as an essential British interest the special relations between itself and Egypt long recognised by other Governments. These special relations are defined in the declaration recognising Egypt as an independent sovereign State. His Majesty's Government have laid them down as matters in which the rights and interests of the British Empire are vitally involved,

and will not admit them to be questioned or discussed by any other Power. In pursuance of this principle, they will regard as an unfriendly act any attempt at interference in the affairs of Egypt by another Power, and they will consider any aggression against the territory of Egypt as an act to be repelled with all the means at their command."

I am, etc.,

CURZON OF KEDLESTON.

OBITUARY

OF

EMINENT PERSONS DECEASED IN 1922.

JANUARY.

1. **Sir Thomas Sutherland, G.C.M.G.,** whose age was 87, was born and educated in Aberdeen. Entering the London office of the P. and O. Steamship Company at the age of 19, he had, by 1873, risen to the position of managing director, and by 1881 to that of chairman of the company. His great ability was recognised when he was serving the company at Hong-Kong in 1854, and by the time he was 26 he was appointed superintendent of their China and Japan agencies. He was one of the founders of the Hong-Kong docks, and was also one of the founders and first vice-chairman of the Hong-Kong and Shanghai Banking Corporation. The agreement made between the British shipowners and the newly formed Suez Canal Company in 1883 was largely due to his instrumentality. He ultimately became a director of the Canal, and was at his death senior vice-president of the Canal Company. He retired from his chairmanship of the P. and O. Company in 1914. From 1884 to 1900 he sat in the House of Commons as member for Greenock, first as a Liberal, then as a Liberal-Unionist. His wife and both his sons predeceased him.

2. **Senator Boies Penrose,** United States Senator for Pennsylvania for nearly twenty-five years, and of recent years the most powerful force in the Republican Party, was born in 1860 of one of the oldest and wealthiest families in Philadelphia. By profession a barrister, he devoted his energies almost entirely to politics, which he entered at the age of 24 as a Radical. Two years later he came forward suddenly as a reactionary, and an ultra-Conservative he remained to the end.

5. **Sir Ernest Shackleton,** the great Antarctic explorer, famous as the holder of the Farthest South record—a record broken later by Amundsen and Scott—was born at Kilkee, County Kildare, in 1874. The son of a doctor, he was intended to adopt the same calling, but after completing his education at Dulwich College (the family had removed to London in 1885) he was allowed to follow his natural bent and went to sea. He served on various large ocean lines, and during the Boer War joined the Royal Naval Reserve. In 1901 his persistence gained him the appointment of fourth officer to Scott's Antarctic expedition to the South Pole, in the *Discovery*. The Pole was not reached, but Shackleton gained great experience, and in 1907, after an interval spent at home as Secretary to the Scottish Geographical Society, he planned an expedition of his own and started for the South Pole in the *Nimrod*. He achieved a record by planting the Union Jack within 100 miles of the Pole. A further expedition in 1914 met with persistent ill-luck, and was eventually abandoned after the rescue of a number of his party from Elephant Island.

In September, 1921, he started on the *Quest* to explore the Southern Antarctic, but he died suddenly when his ship was just off South Georgia. The expedition was continued under the leadership of Mr. Frank Wild. Shackleton left two sons and a daughter. His books on "The Heart of the Antarctic" and "South" bear witness to his daring spirit, organising capacity, and power of leadership, as much as to his literary ability.

8. **James Law,** who died at the age of 83, one of the proprietors of the *Scotsman,* was a newspaper manager worthy of note. He was the business manager of this paper for over sixty-four years, and was responsible for introducing successfully into its Edinburgh printing office the rotary web machine already in use by *The Times.* He was a man of exceptional vitality, judgment, and organising ability. He first became prominent in newspaper circles by his persistent advocacy of the granting of telegraphic facilities for news reporting.

— **Sir William Matthews, K.C.M.G.,** a harbour engineer of world-wide repute, was born in 1844 and entered the office of his father, who was a civil engineer in practice at Penzance. In 1864 work brought him into touch with Sir John Coode, whose London office he entered and in whose firm he ultimately became a partner. Besides the harbours of Gibraltar, Malta, Cyprus, Ceylon, Penang, Singapore, and Hong-Kong, he designed the Dover Naval Harbour, the harbour of refuge at Peterhead, on the Aberdeen coast, and, among his more recent works, the railway pier at Folkestone. In 1907 he was elected President of the Institution of Civil Engineers. He was unmarried.

10. **Prince Shigenobu Okuma,** a Japanese statesman, was born in 1838. Too often ahead of public opinion to maintain success as a political leader, he nevertheless achieved a world-wide reputation owing to his versatile genius and energy. His ministerial career started in 1873, from which year he was until 1881 Vice-Minister, then Minister of Finance, during a period of great financial difficulties and covering the Satsuma Rebellion. In the latter year his advocacy of representative Government caused his resignation. He organised a progressive party and built and endowed a college near Tokyo for the furtherance of his political aim, Party Government. This college is now known as the greatest exponent of all phases of Japanese thought.

He returned to office in 1888 as Minister of Foreign Affairs, but his policy of treaty revision aroused opposition, and an attack on his life resulted in the loss of one of his legs. In 1896 he filled the same position under a non-Party Ministry, which lasted only fifteen months, and in 1898 he joined hands with the Liberals and became Prime Minister of a Joint Progressist and Liberal Cabinet, which collapsed after five months. His party split, and in 1907 he resigned its leadership. He held the Prime Ministership again from 1914 to 1916, then finally retired into private life. He was made a Count in 1887, a Marquis in 1916, and a prince in 1918.

— **Edgar Bundy, A.R.A.,** was born in 1862, and elected an Associate of the Royal Academy in 1915. His paintings include a number of portraits, but he was chiefly known as a painter of subject and historical pictures which were widely reproduced. Many of his best-known works are connected with the history of British sea-power. He was a member of the Royal Institute of Painters in Water-Colours and of other artistic societies.

11. **Charles Hannan,** the dramatist and novelist, published his first novel, "A Swallow's Wing," in 1887. His first play, "The Setting of the Sun," was a one-act piece and was produced by Wilson Barrett in 1892. Since then he had written a number of plays and novels.

— **The Right Hon. Thomas Lough,** who represented West Islington in the House of Commons for twenty-six years as a Liberal (1892-1918).

and was for a short time a Minister in a subordinate office, was born in Ireland in 1850 and educated at Cavan and Dublin. He started in business as a wholesale tea merchant in London. His Parliamentary career was mainly devoted to the advancement of Home Rule for Ireland and the reform of national expenditure. He founded the Home Rule Union and the London Reform Union, and published several books on the Irish question. From 1906-8 he was Parliamentary Secretary of the Board of Education, but was not a great success in office from the party standpoint. On his retirement he was made a member of the Privy Council. In 1917 he published "Parliament During the War." He married, in 1880, Edith, daughter of the Rev. John Mills, but had no children.

12. **Thomas Gibson Bowles** was born in 1844, and early left his position in the Inland Revenue Office to become a journalist. He started *Vanity Fair*, became the owner of the *Lady* and other like journals, and from 1892 to 1906 sat in Parliament as Conservative member for King's Lynn. He was defeated in the General Election of 1906, became a Liberal, and as such represented his old constituency in 1910, only to be defeated again in the second General Election of that year. He returned to the Conservative Party, but did not re-enter Parliament. He was known throughout his political career as a merciless critic and unwearying guardian of national finance. He started, in this connexion, in 1914, the *Candid Quarterly Review*. One of his daughters is the wife of Lord Redesdale.

15. **Sir John Kirk, G.C.M.G., K.C.B., F.R.S.**, was born at Barry in Forfarshire in 1832, his father being the Rev. John Kirk. He studied botany and medicine and graduated as a doctor and surgeon at Edinburgh University in 1854, the date of the outbreak of the Crimean War. During that war he served as a physician in the Dardanelles. He volunteered in 1858 as physician and naturalist to Livingstone's expedition to the Zambesi, and during the five years spent in Central Africa did invaluable work as chief officer to the explorer and as a botanist. In 1866 he accepted the post of acting surgeon to the political agency at Zanzibar, and from that date his political career in East Africa began. In 1867 he became Vice-Consul of Zanzibar, in 1873 political Agent and Consul. He will be remembered for his fine diplomatic work at Zanzibar during a period of nearly twenty years, covering the critical years of Germany's entry into the colonial field and her unsuccessful designs on this island. He has also a lasting claim to memory as an ardent opponent of the slave trade, which he did much to stamp out in East Africa. He signed the Treaty of 1873 whereby the Zanzibar slave market was closed. He retired in 1887 but continued to give his services to the Foreign Office in various capacities for some years. He maintained an active interest in science throughout his life, and his name is commemorated in African fauna and flora. He had four children.

— **William Ramage Lawson**, whose age was 81, became well known as a financial journalist and the author of various books on economic and financial subjects. Born at Kirriemuir, his journalistic career began in 1862 at Dundee, then took him to Australia. Later he became editor of the *Edinburgh Courant* and of the *Financial Times*.

— **Edward Hopkinson, M.P.**, a great electrical engineer, was born in 1859 as the son of John Hopkinson, also an engineer, and Mayor of Manchester. He was educated at Owen's College, Manchester, and Emmanuel College, Cambridge, of which he became a Fellow, and graduated D.Sc. in the University of London. He took up engineering and joined the firm of Mather & Platt, Salford, ultimately becoming Vice-Chairman of its Board. He was responsible for the making of the City and South London Railway, opened in 1890. He was a President of the Institution of Mechanical Engineers. He left a widow and a son and daughter.

16. **The Rev. Dr. John Brown, D.D.,** the biographer of Bunyan, was born at Bolton in 1830. He was educated for a clerical career, which he began at Park Chapel, Manchester, in 1855. The great work of his life began in 1864, when he became the ninth pastor of Bunyan Meeting, the historic church at Bedford of which John Bunyan was the third pastor. He maintained past tradition by retaining the post until his death, notwithstanding his advanced years. An able though not a great preacher, he will be best remembered by his exhaustive life of Bunyan, "John Bunyan: His Life, Times, and Work," which remains the standard biography, and in recognition of which Yale University conferred on him the degree of D.D. He was one of the makers of modern Congregationalism, and became Chairman of the Congregational Union in 1891. He married a daughter of the Rev. D. E. Ford of Manchester, and had three sons and three daughters. One of his daughters is the mother of Mr. J. M. Keynes, author of the famous "Economic Consequences of the Peace."

17. **Sir Charles A. Hanson, Bart., M.P.,** Lord Mayor of London in 1917-18, was the eldest son of Mr. Joseph M. A. Hanson, of Fowey, and was born in 1846. He was for a time a Wesleyan minister in Canada, but, having associated himself with financial concerns, he returned to England in 1890 and joined a firm of Stock Exchange brokers. In 1909 he was elected Alderman of Broad Street Ward in the City, in 1911-12 was a Sheriff of the City of London. In 1916 he became the Conservative representative in Parliament of the Bodmin Division of Cornwall, retaining his seat until his death. His mayoralty, the last of the Great War, gave him ample opportunity to display his culture and efficiency. He was made a baronet in 1918. His wife was a Canadian, and he had one son and one daughter.

19. **Canon Frederick Langbridge,** who was in his 73rd year, was born at Birmingham and educated there and at Merton College, Oxford. He was ordained in 1876, and after filling various livings in the Church of Ireland was appointed rector of St. John's, Limerick, in 1883, and stayed there for the rest of his life. In 1906 he was made a Canon in Limerick Cathedral.

He will be best remembered as a poet, playwright, and novelist. The degree of D.Litt. was conferred on him in 1907 by Trinity College, Dublin, as the result of a long and prolific literary output. His poems in particular gained him a considerable reputation.

21. **John Kendrick Bangs** was born at Yonkers, near New York City in 1862. Abandoning the Bar for literature, he became one of the editors of *Life*, the American *Punch*, then joined the staff of *Harper's Magazine*. He produced some fifty novels and several plays and was one of the best-known literary men in New York. One of his most charming and witty works, "A House Boat on the Styx," is well known in England.

22. **James Bryce, Viscount Bryce,** who was born in Belfast in 1838, was the son of James Bryce, headmaster of the Glasgow High School. He was educated under his father and at the University, and had a brilliant career in classics, law, and history at Trinity College, Oxford. In 1867 he was called to the Bar by Lincoln's Inn, and in 1870 was appointed Regius Professor of Civil Law at Oxford, and became a leading personage among the Oxford Academic Liberals. Entering political life, he was, in 1880, elected as the Liberal representative of the Tower Hamlets Division, changing his constituency for that of Aberdeen at the General Election of 1885. Soon after entering the House he ceased to practise at the Bar, but retained his Oxford Professorship until 1893. Dividing his time between politics and literature, he did not come into further prominence until 1892, when he was appointed Chancellor of the Duchy under Mr. Gladstone, with a seat in the Cabinet. In 1894 he became President of the Board of Trade; from 1905 to 1907 was Chief

Secretary for Ireland. From that date until 1913 he filled with conspicuous success the position of Ambassador to the United States, and did much to promote good feeling between that country and Great Britain. After his return home he was created, in 1914, Viscount Bryce of Dechmont, Co. Lanark. His name became prominent during the war as Chairman of the Committee appointed to report on "Alleged German Outrages," his report being the first judicial presentment of the conduct of the German Army in Belgium. Few men have had so long a record of intellectual productivity. A college prize essay on the "Holy Roman Empire" was published as a book in 1864, became a classical work, went through many editions, and was translated into several languages. His work on "The American Commonwealth" (1888 and 1910) gained him the highest esteem of American academic circles. Among other works may be mentioned "South America," recording the impressions of a trip to that country, and "Modern Democracies," the fruit of many years' experience, published in 1921 (see ANNUAL REGISTER, 1921, p. 28). He was married, but left no children.

22. **Giacomo Della Chiesa, Pope Benedict XV.**, was born at Pegli, in the diocese of Genoa, in 1854. On leaving school at Genoa he passed to the Ateneo, where he gained his doctorate in civil and canon law. His family removed to Rome, and he then abandoned a legal career for the Church, and in 1878 he was ordained. When only 28 he was made one of the Camerieri Segreti Sopranumerari, and became Secretary to the Papal Embassy at the Spanish Court. In 1887 he joined the household of Cardinal Rampolla, then Secretary of State to Pope Leo XIII., becoming the Cardinal's Sostituto in 1901, and continuing to hold office after the latter's retirement on the death of the Pope. In 1907 he was appointed Archbishop of Bologna, and in May, 1914, was admitted to the Sacred College. On September 3 of that year he was elected Pope, shortly before completing his 60th year.

Of small stature, delicate in his youth, Benedict XV. was a man of great bodily and mental activity. His reputation as an expert diplomatist was severely tested during the war. He made frequent attempts to procure peace, but, possibly on account of his attitude of strict neutrality, an attitude which prevented him from making any direct protest against the wrongs perpetrated by Germany until it was too late, none of his attempts bore fruit. His intercessions with the French and German Governments for an exchange of certain prisoners of war and his rebuke of the Carlist-Catholic-Germanophile Press campaign in Spain were, however, noteworthy. During his papacy official relations between France and the Vatican, which had been suspended for seventeen years, were resumed. He will also be remembered for the fact that early in the war the British Government reversed a policy of centuries and accredited a diplomatic representative to the Papal Court.

— **Sir William Henry Mahoney Christie, K.C.B., F.R.S.**, Astronomer Royal from 1881 to 1910, was born in 1845, and was the youngest son of Samuel Hunter Christie, Professor of Mathematics in the Royal Military Academy, Woolwich. He was educated at King's College School, London, and Trinity College, Cambridge, and was fourth wrangler in 1868. In 1870 he became chief assistant at the Royal Observatory, Greenwich, and was elected Astronomer Royal in 1881. The improvements made under his direction were noteworthy. Greenwich owes to him its largest extensions in buildings and instruments, many of which were designed by him. He went to various parts of the world in order personally to observe and photograph the total solar eclipses of 1896, 1900, and 1905. He served on the Council of the Royal Astronomical Society for over forty years. He was awarded the C.B. in 1897 and the K.C.B. in 1904. He married Violette, daughter of Sir Alfred Hickman, and had two sons, the younger of whom died in childhood.

23. **Stefan Sinding,** who died at the age of 75, was a distinguished Norwegian sculptor, who came of a gifted family, his brother being Christian Sinding, the composer. He studied abroad, especially in Paris, and settled in Copenhagen, where he found an influential patron in Jacobsen, the well-known brewer. His figures are noted for their beauty and strength of execution. He died in Paris, where he had been living of late years.

— **Arthur Nikisch,** the famous conductor, was a Hungarian by birth, and was born in 1855. He received his musical education chiefly in Vienna, but throughout the greater part of his career he was closely associated with Leipzig, where he died. He started life as a violinist, and composed a prize quartette for string instruments, but he was early marked out as a conductor of unusual talent, and in 1877 was appointed deputy-conductor to the Leipzig Opera, soon becoming first conductor. From 1889 he spent four years in America, conducting the Boston Symphony Orchestra, and in 1895, after an interval in Budapest, returned to Leipzig as conductor of the famous Gewandhaus concerts, and maintained this connexion until his death. He also undertook the direction of the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra. He conducted frequently in England before the war. He was especially successful with the works of Wagner, Brahms, Tchaikovsky, and Liszt.

25. **Ernest Newton, R.A.,** a great domestic architect, was born in 1856 and educated at Uppingham. He trained under the famous architect, Norman Shaw, whose artistic tradition he most successfully carried on. He excelled in the planning of moderate-sized houses, in which he displayed an entirely personal charm and refinement of taste. His designs included some ecclesiastical buildings. He published several books on his own work. He was elected A.R.A. in 1911 and R.A. in 1919. He served as President of the Royal Institute of British Architects from 1914 to 1917. He married, in 1881, Antoinette Johanna Hoyack, of Rotterdam, and had three sons.

26. **Luigi Denza,** composer and professor of music, was born in Italy in 1846. Although his opera, "Wallenstein," was produced at Naples in 1876, his compositions were almost entirely confined to songs, the most famous being "Funiculi, Funicula," composed in 1880 on the opening of the railway up Mount Vesuvius. He settled in London in 1893, and became professor of singing at the Royal Academy of Music and a director of the London Academy of Music. He had one son.

27. **Frau Luise Zietz,** the well-known Independent Socialist member of the German Reichstag, who was born in 1865, was a kindergarten teacher in early life. She had been a prominent worker of the Social-Democratic Party since 1893. A bitter opponent of the war, she was one of the chief organisers of the Independent Socialist Party, was elected to the National Assembly in 1919, and subsequently to the Reichstag.

28. **Dr. Amaro Cavalcanti,** who died in his 71st year, was a Brazilian educator, author, jurist, and statesman. The son of a primary school teacher, he rose from being the secondary school director of Ceará to the positions of Minister of Justice and of the Interior, a justice of the Supreme Court, and a member of The Hague Tribunal. He was one of the most efficient pioneers of Pan-Americanism.

FEBRUARY.

1. **Prince Aritomo Yamagata,** a Japanese statesman and soldier, was born in 1838, became an officer in the Army, and gained rapid promotion. In 1867 he was already Chief of Staff, in 1872 he was a Lieutenant-General and Minister of War. After the Satsuma insurrection he turned

his attention to domestic politics. Although he never openly professed any political principles, he soon became known as the leader of the Conservatives, and was, to the end of his days, an opponent of party government. He was Minister of Home Affairs in three consecutive Cabinets from 1885 to 1891 (Prime Minister in 1889), and Minister of Justice in 1892. Ill-health compelled him to resign the active leadership of the Army early in the war against China of 1894-95, but he was promoted to Field-Marshal in 1898, and in that year again became Prime Minister. He was Chief of the General Staff at Tokio in the war with Russia of 1903. As the one of Japan's elder statesmen who most fully embodied the martial spirit of old Japan, he remained a great power behind the Throne. He was created Count in 1881, Marquis in 1891, and Prince after the Russo-Japanese War. He received the British Order of Merit in 1906.

2. **Sir Edward Tootal Broadhurst, Bart.,** one of Lancashire's greatest manufacturers and foremost public men, was born in 1858, near Manchester. Under his guidance the Tootal Broadhurst Lee Company became one of the greatest cotton-spinning concerns in the country. A public-spirited man, his benefactions, especially to Manchester University, were considerable. He was a Unionist until 1910, then became a Liberal and sat in the House of Commons for North-West Manchester. He was created a baronet in 1918. He was married but had no children, and the baronetcy expired.

3. **General Christian de Wet,** the renowned Boer leader, was born at Vredeport, in the Orange Free State, in 1854, his father, Jacobus de Wet, being one of the founders of the State. He made his mark as a military leader in the Boer War of 1881, and during the later stages of the South African War won universal admiration and respect for his conduct of guerilla warfare. After the war he returned to his farm, and visited England, where he was well received. In 1907 he became Minister of Agriculture to the Orange River Colony. Shortly after the outbreak of the Great War he went into rebellion, but was captured by General Botha's forces, convicted of sedition, and imprisoned. On undertaking to abstain from political agitation he was released. He died at his farm at Dewetsdorp.

4. **Sir Henry Jones,** Professor of Moral Philosophy at Glasgow University since 1894, who was born in Argyllshire in 1852, was a son of the people. He left the shoemaker's bench to enter Glasgow University with a bursary at the age of 22, took first-class honours in Philosophy, and became assistant to the famous Professor Caird and an unswerving disciple of his doctrine of philosophical idealism. He was for seven years Professor of Logic and Philosophy at the University College of North Wales at Bangor, and in 1891 was appointed to the Chair of Logic, Rhetoric, and Metaphysics at St. Andrews. Three years later he succeeded Professor Caird in the Glasgow Chair, and filled it with conspicuous success for twenty-seven years. His name first became widely known through his volume on "Browning as a Philosophical and Religious Teacher." Of his other works "The Philosophy of Lotze" and "Idealism as a Practical Creed" are the most important. He was an LL.D. of St. Andrews, a D.Litt. of the University of Wales, and a Fellow of the British Academy. He was knighted in 1912.

5. **Algernon Graves, F.S.A.,** described as the historian of English art, was the son of Henry Graves, the well-known print publisher, of Pall Mall, and came of a family, members of which had been engaged in fine art for four generations. Born in 1845, he was educated in London and entered his father's business, eventually becoming head of the firm. His great work, a "Dictionary of Artists who have Exhibited Works in the Principal London Exhibitions," first published in 1884, amplified in 1895 and 1901, was the outcome of various volumes dealing with separate

Societies, and was the most complete list of names and dates of English artists ever printed. Of various later works on similar lines the chief is his catalogue of picture sales, published between 1918 and 1921, and covering practically a century. In 1907 he retired from his old firm and became connected with that of Agnew.

6. **Sir Francis Henry May, G.C.M.G., LL.D., D.C.L.,** who was in his 62nd year, was the son of the Lord Chief Justice of Ireland. He was educated at Harrow and Trinity College, Dublin, entered the Hong-Kong Civil Service, and rose by successive stages to the position of Colonial Secretary of Hong-Kong, which he attained in 1902. He served on various occasions as Acting-Governor, was appointed Governor of Fiji in 1910, and was Governor of Hong-Kong from 1912 until his retirement in 1919. He married the eldest daughter of General Sir George Digby Barker and had four daughters.

7. **Guillermo de Osma,** the distinguished Spanish founder of the Instituto de Valencia de Don Juan in Madrid, entered the diplomatic service and became a Minister. He spent his latter years in the organisation and establishment of the Institute founded to foster the study of the arts and crafts of mediæval Spain. In order to promote a *liaison* between Spain and England he created at his institution the "Osma" studentship for an Oxford student, that being the University at which he had graduated. The Institute opened in 1921.

8. **Sir Arthur Naylor Wollaston, K.C.I.E.,** who was in his 80th year, was born at Norwood, and educated at the Stockwell Grammar School. He entered the India Office when 16 and served there for over forty-eight years. From 1898 until his retirement in 1907 he was Registrar and Superintendent of Records. An Orientalist of distinction, his *magnum opus* was an English-Persian Dictionary of over a thousand pages published in 1909. His Persian scholarship was also turned to account in translations and adaptations of Persian authors, and he was examiner in Persian at the Royal Staff College, Sandhurst. He wrote various works on Eastern subjects. He married the daughter of Sir Albert Woods and left one son.

— **J. B. Pinker,** who died in New York shortly after his arrival there from England, was a well-known literary agent, to whose genius in his profession and kindliness of disposition authors great and small owed much of their success since the early nineties of the last century. He was a close friend of Henry James, John Galsworthy, Joseph Conrad, and Compton Mackenzie, for all of whom he acted.

10. **Paul Mounet,** a famous French tragic actor, who started life as a doctor, was born in 1847. He had acted at the Odéon since 1880 and at the Comédie Française since 1889. His best parts were in "Antigone," "Othello," and "Œdipus Rex."

11. **Konrad Haussmann,** the well-known German democratic leader, once Secretary for State, was born in 1857 of a democratic Württemberg family, his father being one of the founders of the South German People's Party. By profession he was a lawyer. From 1890 to 1918 he sat in the Reichstag and became one of the leaders of his father's party, which developed later into the Progressive People's Party. He was in favour of a *rapprochement* with France, but the war put an end to his plans. He was Secretary of State without portfolio in the short-lived Cabinet of Prince Max of Baden.

12. **Professor William Martin Geldart, C.B.E., M.A., B.C.L.,** whose age was 51, was Vinerian Professor of English Law at Oxford. His father, a well-known Unitarian minister, linguist, and entomologist, was lost at sea when William was a lad at school at Croydon. He passed to St. Paul's School and from there to Balliol, where he had an exceptionally brilliant career and was elected to a prize fellowship at

St. John's College. Choosing a legal career, he entered at Lincoln's Inn and was called to the Bar in 1897. In 1901 he returned to Oxford as Fellow and law tutor of Trinity College, and in 1906 was appointed All Souls Reader in English Law, succeeding to the Vinerian Chair, with a Fellowship at All Souls, in 1909. He wrote little, but was regarded as an undisputed authority on his subject, one of his most popular books being "Elements of English Law." His sound and temperate judgment made him a leading figure in University affairs, and he was a member of the Hebdomadal Council from 1905 until ill-health caused him to resign in 1921. He threw in his influence in favour of the admission of women to Oxford University, and held various positions in connexion with the higher education of women. His wife survived him.

12. **Sir Edward Ernest Cooper, Bart.,** aged 74, Lord Mayor of London in 1919-20, was the son of Mr. Walter Bevan Cooper, of Old Windsor. In 1867 he entered the service of a firm of underwriters at Lloyd's, and in 1874 started business there on his own account, ultimately becoming head of the firm of Messrs. James Hartley, Cooper, & Co., of Cornhill. He became an Alderman of Cornhill Ward and served as Sheriff in 1912-13, in which latter year he was knighted. He received his baronetcy at the close of a notable mayoralty, during which Lord Jellicoe and Lord French received the freedom of the City, and he was host at the memorable Mansion House dinner to the archbishops and bishops attending the Lambeth Conference. During the war, although nearly 70 years of age, he was an active member of the National Guard of the City of London. He was keenly interested in musical matters, and held, among other positions, that of Chairman of the Royal Academy of Music. He was married, but had no children.

14. **Lord David Dundas,** aged 67, a Scottish judge, came of legal stock, his father being George Dundas, afterwards Lord Manor, of the Scottish Bench, and his grandfather a Writer to the Signet. From Edinburgh Academy he went to Balliol, then to Edinburgh University, and was called to the Scottish Bar in 1878. In 1897 he took silk, in 1903 became Solicitor-General for Scotland, and in 1905 was raised to the Bench and took the title of Lord Dundas. He was noted for his sound judgment and alert mind as well as for his kindly disposition. He rendered great service to Edinburgh University as a member of the University Court. His wife, Helen, daughter of David B. Wauchope, predeceased him in 1897.

15. **Colonel Sir Herbert Charles Perrott, Bart., C.H., C.B.,** aged 72, was the elder son of Sir Edward George Lambert Perrott, his mother being descended in the female line from John Evelyn, the diarist. He was educated at Ipswich School, served as a Volunteer, and later became Lieutenant-Colonel of the 3rd Battalion the Buffs. He will be remembered for his work during more than forty years for the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, of which he ultimately became Secretary-General in 1910 and Bailiff of Egle in 1915 in succession to the Duke of Connaught. He raised the Order from a small organisation to a great national institution. The Ambulance Association and Ambulance Brigade were organised under his supervision. In 1914 he was elected Vice-Chairman of the Joint War Committee of the Order of St. John and the British Red Cross Society. He received the C.B. in 1902 and the C.H. in 1918. He married Ethel Lucy, daughter of Captain Marcus Hare, R.N., in 1901, and had two daughters. The baronetcy became extinct with his death.

16. **J. Campbell Mitchell, R.S.A.,** who was born at Campbeltown in Argyllshire in 1865, forsook a legal career when still a young man to become an artist. He became an Associate of the Royal Scottish Academy in 1904, and a member in 1919. Examples of his land- and

seascape paintings, noted for their beauty of colour and poetic feeling, are in various public galleries both within and outside of his native country.

18. **Sir John McClure, LL.D., D.Mus.,** who was born at Wigan in 1860, was of Scottish ancestry. He was educated at Owens College, Manchester, and Trinity College, Cambridge, served as University Extension Lecturer for six years, and from 1888 to 1894 was Professor of Astronomy at Queen's College, London. In 1891 he was appointed Headmaster of Mill Hill School, a Nonconformist institution, and during his thirty years of work there, raised it to the front rank among the public schools of the country. He was knighted in 1913 in recognition of his many services to education. He was Hon. Secretary, then President, of the Incorporated Association of Headmasters between 1904 and 1913, and in 1920 was elected Chairman of the Congregational Union of England and Wales. He had one son and two daughters.

— **Major-General Sir David Watson, K.C.B.,** a distinguished Canadian soldier and journalist, was born in Quebec in 1871. He owned and edited the Quebec *Chronicle*. As a soldier he held a long-service medal for service in the Canadian Militia and accompanied the first Canadian contingent to England as a battalion commander in the war. He rose to be commander of the 4th Division, was seven times mentioned in dispatches, and received many honours. He was created a K.C.B. in 1916.

20. **Sir Frederick Fryer, K.C.S.I.,** aged 77, the first Lieutenant-Governor of the province of Burma, was a Dorset man and was, on the maternal side, a grandson of John Richards, a well-known Victorian M.P. He entered the Indian Civil Service in 1863, and, on the annexation of Upper Burma, was appointed Commissioner of the Central Division. In 1888 he was made Financial Commissioner of Burma; in 1895 Chief Commissioner. When the province was raised to the status of a Lieutenant-Governorship, he became the first holder of the office, which he filled for nearly six years. He retired in 1903. His wife, a daughter of Mr. W. C. L. Bashford, J.P., died in 1920, but he left a son.

21. **Oscar Beringer,** who was in his 78th year, was known as a pianoforte teacher of more than ordinary ability. He started life as an infant prodigy pianist, appearing at the Crystal Palace. Later he studied at Leipzig and under Tausig in Berlin. In 1871 he opened a school of his own in London, but closed it in 1898 owing to the pressure of his work as professor at the Royal Academy of Music. He was a friend of Charles Dickens and composed an opera, only performed privately, of which Dickens wrote the libretto.

22. **Lady Feodora Georgina Maud Gleichen** was a great-niece of Queen Victoria. Her father, Admiral Prince Victor of Hohenlohe-Langenburg, the son of Queen Victoria's half-sister, Feodora, was brought up as an Englishman and entered the Royal Navy. Her mother was the daughter of Admiral of the Fleet Sir George Seymour.

Lady Feodora lived in St. James's Palace and devoted her life to the study and practice of sculpture, in which she achieved considerable success. Among the best known of her works are a figure of Queen Victoria executed for the Victoria Hospital in Canada in 1895, a fountain in Hyde Park, the Edward VII. Memorial at Windsor, and the Florence Nightingale Memorial at Derby. She was in her 61st year.

24. **Sir Edward Carter Kersey Gonner, K.B.E.,** Professor of Economic Science in Liverpool University, was born in 1862 and educated at Merchant Taylor's School and Lincoln College, Oxford. He became a lecturer for the London Extension Society and at University College, Bristol, and acquired the Liverpool professorship in 1891. He was twice President of the Section of Economics and Statistics of the British Association. He was awarded the C.B.E. in 1918 and the K.B.E. three years later. He wrote a number of books on economic questions.

24. **Lord Lewis Harcourt,** Colonial Secretary, 1910-15, was the son of Sir William Harcourt and was born in 1863. He was educated at Eton and became his father's secretary. In 1904 he represented the Rossendale Division of Lancashire as a Liberal, in 1905 he became First Commissioner of Works. In 1910 he was appointed Secretary of State for the Colonies, holding this post until the formation of the Coalition Government in 1915, when he returned to the Office of Works. He was also for a short time at the Board of Trade. He was made a Privy Councillor in 1905, and in 1916 was raised to the peerage as Baron Nuneham of Nuneham-Courtenay and Viscount Harcourt of Stanton Harcourt. He was at various times Trustee of the Wallace Collection, the British Museum, and the National Portrait Gallery. He married in 1899 the only daughter of Mr. Walter Burns, of New York, and niece of Mr. Pierpont Morgan, and left one son and three daughters.

26. **Alexandre Duval,** who was in his 77th year, was the founder of the famous Duval restaurants in Paris. The son of a butcher who, from humble beginnings, left his son a small fortune, he occupied a unique position in Parisian life. A "boulevardier," who provided a fertile source of wit for the author of revues, his company was not disdained in good society, in which he was as successful as in business.

27. **The Rev. Richard Lee,** whose age was 75, was Headmaster of Christ's Hospital, London, from 1876 until his retirement, on the removal of the institution to Horsham, in 1902. Himself a pupil of the school, he graduated in Classics at Jesus College, Cambridge, and took his M.A. in 1872. His first teaching post was at Weymouth, but in 1870 he became an assistant in the counting-house at Christ's Hospital, was then appointed a Lower Grammar Master, and in 1874 an assistant Upper Grammar Master. He also served curacies during this period. His strong personality and organising power led, two years later, to his appointment as Headmaster. If he does not rank as one of the greatest of headmasters, he nevertheless brought the School successfully through a difficult period in its existence and proved himself a fine organiser and firm disciplinarian.

MARCH.

1. **Dr. John Casper Branner,** born in 1850, once President of the Leyland Stanford University, California, was a citizen of the United States, but will be long remembered in Brazil for the value of the scientific researches as a botanist and geologist which he performed in that country at various dates since 1875. In 1883 he was made Topographical Geologist in the U.S.A. of the Pennsylvania Survey, after which he became Professor of Geology at Indiana University. He was appointed to a similar post at Leyland Stanford University in 1891, and later became its Vice-President and President. In 1899 and 1911 he directed scientific explorations in Brazil. His writings were numerous, and included a volume on the geology of Brazil and a work on ceramics.

2. **Henri Bataille,** the famous French dramatist, was born at Nîmes in 1872, and was brought up partly in Paris, partly in the South. He first studied to be a painter and entered the Ecole des Beaux Arts in Paris, but his talent for poetry and drama came uppermost, and after attracting attention with a volume of poems, "Le Beau Voyage," he settled down as a dramatist, making his first great success with "La Lepreuse," produced in 1896. Since then his reputation steadily increased, until in "Le Scandale," in 1909, he reached the acme of achievement. Among other well-known plays were "Maman Colibri," "La Vierge Folle," "La Femme Nue," and "Les Flambeaux." The world was again reminded of his poetic talent in 1916 by the appearance of "La Divine Tragédie," a book of war poems.

2. **Alfred von Planta,** aged 65, Swiss Ambassador in Berlin since 1919, was a native of Graubünden. A distinguished political career at home culminated in the presidency of the National Assembly in 1914. From 1915 to 1918 he was Ambassador in Rome.

3. **Sir Donald Macmaster, Bart., K.C., D.C.L.,** a prominent Canadian jurist and member of Parliament, was born in Eastern Ontario in 1846, of a family of Scottish settlers, his mother being a Cameron. He graduated brilliantly at McGill University, became a member of the Quebec Bar and later of the Ontario Bar. He acquired a large practice at Montreal and soon became recognised as one of the leaders of the Canadian Bar. He was Crown Prosecutor in many notable cases, and in 1904-5 was chosen arbitrator in a dispute between the Newfoundland Government and the Reid-Newfoundland Railway. In 1879 he entered the Ontario Legislature as Conservative representative of his home division, Glengarry, and from 1882 to 1886 sat in the Dominion House, but he did not make the mark there that was anticipated. Several visits to London in connexion with Privy Council appeals led to his decision in 1905 to settle there in order to devote himself to Privy Council cases. About four years later he was returned to Parliament by the Chertsey Division of Surrey, which he represented until his death. He was a strong Unionist and Imperialist, but made his chief mark, not as a speaker, but in Committee work. His first wife was a Miss Macdonald, of Lancaster, Ontario ; and his second, a daughter of Mr. Isaac Deford, of Baltimore, U.S.A., played a great part in his public life. His only son was killed in the war, but he left two daughters. He was created a baronet in 1921.

— **Dr. Benjamin Moore,** aged 55, Whitley Professor of Bio-Chemistry at Oxford University, came from Belfast to study medicine at University College, London. After an interval spent as Professor of Physiology in Yale University, he returned to England and in 1902 was appointed to the newly-founded Chair of Bio-Chemistry at Liverpool, becoming Dean of the Medical Faculty there. During the war he turned to public health problems and advocated precautionary measures in connection with the manufacture of T.N.T., which were adopted. He was the author of several semi-popular scientific volumes and text-books, and was joint initiator of the "Biochemical Journal." His life was devoted to the promotion of modern State-aided hygiene.

— **Mrs. Julian Marshall,** aged 79, was for many years a well-known figure in the musical life of London. Her intelligence and taste gave fame to the South Hampstead Orchestra, of which she was the conductor for nearly thirty years. Not the least of her services to music were the performances of Brahms' symphonies, given at a time when they were yet little known to the general public.

4. **The Rev. Henry Boyd, D.D.,** aged 91, Principal of Hertford College, Oxford, for nearly forty-five years, came of a Scottish family, but was born and educated in London, and graduated in *Lit. Hum.* at Exeter College. In 1854 he was ordained to a curacy in Lincolnshire, removed to one in Cornwall in 1856, and then for twelve years, from 1862, worked in London as perpetual curate of St. Mark's, Victoria Docks. In 1874, Mr. T. C. Baring, a college friend of Boyd's, assisted in the foundation of the second Hertford College, formerly Magdalen Hall, by bestowing a munificent endowment for Fellowships and Scholarships, and appointed his friend to a Fellowship. This was followed by appointments as Dean and Divinity Lecturer. In 1877 the head of the College died and Boyd succeeded him, holding the post until his death. He was Vice-Chancellor of the University from 1890 to 1894. A great lover of art, and an accomplished water-colour painter of architectural subjects, he has left a great monument to his memory in the form of the new hall and chapel in his college, and the physical laboratory. They were

designed by Sir T. S. Jackson, R.A., but Boyd had a hand in the design, and the main credit for their existence is due to him.

8. **W. H. Laurentz,** born in 1875, was a famous French lawn tennis player who first played for France against other nations in 1912. In 1921 he won the World's Singles and Doubles Covered Courts Championship at Stockholm. He was one of the greatest players so far produced by France.

10. **The Rev. Malcolm Campbell Taylor, D.D., LL.D.,** who was born in 1831, was a favourite Scottish minister of Queen Victoria. He was minister of Crathie when the Queen established a Royal residence in the North of Scotland, and he probably owed his appointment to the Chair of Ecclesiastical History in Edinburgh University, which he held from 1876 to 1908, to the Queen. He was secretary to the University Court, Edinburgh, until 1915, and had been a chaplain to the King in Scotland since 1901.

11. **Anastasia, Dowager Grand Duchess of Mecklenburg-Schwerin,** who was born in 1860, was the daughter of the Grand Duke Michael of Russia, fourth son of Tsar Nicholas I. She married at the age of 19, her husband, who became the Grand Duke Frederick Francis III. of Mecklenburg-Schwerin, dying in 1897. Her son abdicated from the dukedom in 1918. One of her daughters is the Queen of Denmark; the younger married in 1905 the German Crown Prince.

— **Augustus Désiré Waller,** Director of the Physiological Laboratory, University of London, was born in Paris in 1856, the son of a well-known English physician. He was educated at Geneva and at Scottish Universities, taking his M.D. at Edinburgh. He devoted himself to physiological research and first became widely known through his study of the electric currents of the human heart and his invention of the electrocardiogram. He devised a balance for regulating the administering of chloroform, and also investigated the electrical phenomena of plants. During the last two years of his life he had originated and executed much work on apparatus for displaying and recording emotional states by means of a mirror galvanometer. He was a Fellow of the Royal Society and held many other distinctions. He married a daughter of Mr. George Palmer, M.P. for Reading.

17. **Heinrich Suter,** a famous Swiss mathematician, was born in the Canton of Zürich in 1848. Quite early he showed a distinct mathematical bent, and he studied in Zürich and Berlin under well-known masters. Already in 1871, with his doctor's thesis (Part I. of a history of the science of mathematics), he gave promise of future fame. Part II. appeared in 1875, and he then turned to the study of Arabic and Persian in order to master the oriental mathematicians from the earliest times, and translated various works of theirs. Of his own books on mathematics and astronomy probably the finest is "The Arabian Astronomers and Mathematicians and their Works" (1909), which covered the period 750-1600.

— **Edward Bellasis, J.P.,** aged 70, had been Lancaster Herald for forty years and was for five years Registrar of the College of Arms. An able antiquary, his "Laws of Arms" appeared in 1879, his "Westmorland Church Notes," in two volumes, in 1888 and 1889. He also published several biographical studies, including one in 1893 on his father, Mr. Serjeant Bellasis, the friend of Cardinal Newman.

19. **General Max Clemens von Hausen** was born at Dresden in 1846 of a military family. He entered the Berlin Kriegsakademie, and from 1875 to 1897 was on the General Staff. In 1900 he was placed in command of the 12th Army Corps, and from 1902 to May, 1914, was War Minister in the Saxon Government. He commanded the Third German

Army in Belgium at the outbreak of the war, but after the retreat of the Marne, when his Army was temporarily broken up, he retired on grounds of age and ill-health.

20. **Sir Everard Duncan Horne Fraser, K.C.M.G.,** spent practically all his official life, which began in 1880, in China. From 1901 to 1911 he was Consul-General at Hankow, and was then transferred in the same capacity to Shanghai. He was made a K.C.M.G. in 1912.

21. **Dr. John Theodore Mertz, Hon. LL.D., D.C.L.,** was a chemist and mathematician of high rank, a pioneer of industrial electricity, and a philosophical thinker of no mean order. Born in Manchester in 1840, his father being headmaster of the Chorlton High School, he was educated in Germany and at Glasgow University. He became technical manager to the Tharsis Copper Works Company at Hebburn and manager of the Blaydon Chemical Works. In 1881 he was made a joint director of the Swan Electric Light Company, the first electric lamp manufacturing company founded in England. He also became a chairman of the Newcastle-upon-Tyne Electric Supply Company, which he helped to found. His power of philosophical thought was well displayed in a literary output extending over thirty-five years. He is the author of "The History of European Thought in the Nineteenth Century," "Religion and Science," "A Fragment on the Human Mind," and other literature. He married Alice Richardson, of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, who, with two sons and a daughter, survived him.

24. **Professor William Beecroft Bottomley, Ph.D.,** aged 58, was educated at Lancaster and at King's College, Cambridge, and became biological tutor at St. Mary's Hospital Medical School. After being a University Extension lecturer, he was made Professor of Biology at the Royal Veterinary College, and from 1893 until his retirement in 1921, owing to ill-health, he occupied the Chair of Botany at King's College, London. He was well known for his researches in the nutrition of plants and was the founder of the South-Eastern Co-operative Agricultural Society. He left a widow and two sons.

— **Denys Cochin,** French soldier, philanthropist, chemist, orator, and man of letters, was for many years a strong member of the Right as a Deputy for Paris in the French Chamber. On the outbreak of war he joined the Government of National Defence as a Minister of State and was sent on a mission to Athens. He was held in great esteem for his wise counsels and humane spirit outside of as well as within his country.

26. **Ernest Alfred Vizetelly,** best known as the friend, translator, and biographer of Zola, was the son of Henry Vizetelly, of Venetian descent, a pioneer in England of pictorial journalism. He was born in Paris in 1853, and during the siege of Paris in 1870-71 helped his father as one of the youngest known war correspondents. In 1887 he returned to England to join his father in his new publishing business. The firm was prosecuted for its translations of three of Zola's novels and was liquidated. Ernest, forced to start life afresh, refused to recognise as lasting the hostility to Zola, and in 1891 a translation from his pen of Zola's famous novel, "La Débâcle," appeared in a weekly paper and was followed by a long and successful series of Zola translations. In 1904 was published his "Emile Zola, Novelist and Reformer," one of the best and most complete biographies of this great author. He was married to a French lady, Marie Tissot, and died in London.

— **Professor Alfred Blaschko,** aged 64, a well-known dermatologist and authority on venereal diseases, was born in Freienwalde and completed his medical education at Stettin. In 1883 he settled in Berlin as a practising doctor, but his publications at about this time showed the great interest he took in research work, especially in connexion with

industrial disease, and he left untouched practically no branch of dermatology. In 1897 he went to Memel to study leprosy in the lepers' colony there, his recommendations at the subsequent leprosy conference in Berlin finding general recognition. His life-work was eventually the combating of venereal disease, on which he wrote some authoritative works. He was the joint founder in 1902 of the German Society for the Prevention of Venereal Disease.

29. **Vladimir Nabokow,** aged 25, the son of a former Russian Minister of Justice, early ruined a promising diplomatic career by his championship of the Jewish cause and his opposition to the Government "pogroms." He became a leader of the Cadet Party and a member of the first Duma, on the downfall of which latter he devoted himself to journalism and was Joint Director, with Milioukov, of the "Retch." A violent anti-Bolshevik, he accepted a post in 1918-19 as Minister of Justice in the democratic Government of the Crimea. He was murdered by one of the "Black Hundred."

30. **Sir Walter Charleton Hughes, C.I.E.,** was educated at King's College, London, entered the Bombay Public Works Department in 1868 and became Secretary to Government in the Department in 1887. His name will live in connexion with his work on the Bombay Port Trust and Improvement Trust. He lived to see the successful execution of his schemes for rebuilding the congested areas of Bombay and for enlarging the docks. He received the C.I.E. in 1900 and was knighted in 1906. He left a widow, two sons, and a daughter. He was in his 72nd year.

— **Sir John C. Eaton,** head of the famous T. Eaton Company of Toronto and Winnipeg, the largest department stores in Canada, inherited the business from his father in 1907, when he was thirty. An efficient business man, he was universally loved and respected by his thousands—said to be over 25,000—of employees, and introduced many social reforms into business life, including the Saturday half-holiday, welfare work, athletics, and pensions. He left a widow and four sons.

APRIL.

1. **Charles Francis Joseph, Ex-King of Austria-Hungary,** the last Hapsburg monarch, was born in 1887, the eldest son of Archduke Otto, younger brother of the Archduke Francis Ferdinand, and a great nephew of the Emperor Francis Joseph. A shy and simple youth, he scarcely appeared in public until his marriage, in 1911, with the Princess Zita, daughter of Duke Robert of Parma. When on November 21, 1916, the old Emperor died, he was succeeded by the Archduke Charles, and in December the new Emperor and his consort were crowned King and Queen of Hungary. The reign of the Emperor Charles was troubled by the war, and the military and political collapse of Austria-Hungary was followed on November 11, 1918, by Charles's abdication from the throne of Austria, and on November 13 from that of Hungary. He left Austria under British protection and took up his residence in Switzerland. In April, 1919, the Austrian Parliament formally deposed him. He made no attempt to regain his position in Austria, and two attempts in the spring and autumn of 1921 to regain the Hungarian throne were fiascos. He was, after the second attempt, taken on board a British warship to Madeira and died at Funchal in the presence of his wife. Five sons and two daughters were born before his death.

— **Gertrude Page** (Mrs. Alexander Dobbin), the novelist, had an English father, but married a Rhodesian cattle-ranch owner and went to live in Rhodesia. She was a prolific writer of light novels, many of which dealt with ranch life. They are well known in England as well

as in the Dominions. "Paddy the Next Best Thing" has been dramatised and was, at the time of her death, being played in London. "The Edge o' Beyond" has also been dramatised and filmed.

2. **Dr. Henry Newton Dickson, C.B.E.,** geographer, was born at Edinburgh in 1866, and educated at the University there. He became Lecturer in the School of Geography at Oxford, going from there to University College, Reading, as Professor of Geography and Commerce. In Reading he carried out important investigations in connexion with the establishment of the London Metropolitan Water Board, and from 1915 performed an invaluable service to this country by forming and building into a reliable organisation the geographical section of the Intelligence Department of the Admiralty. He was President of the Royal Meteorological Society in 1911-12 and of the Geographical Section of the British Association in 1913. The series of geographical hand-books on various countries issued by his section at the Admiralty, some of which have become available for public use, have proved the value of his broad view of geography as a necessary foundation for the study of history, politics, and economics, and of several kindred branches of pure science. In 1910 he became principal assistant editor of the 12th edition of the Encyclopædia Britannica.

— **The Rev. Archibald Geikie Brown,** for many years one of the leading Nonconformist preachers in Great Britain, was born at Brixton in 1844. At first a tea broker, he became a minister, founded a Baptist Church at Bromley, Kent, and in 1872 built the East London Tabernacle, of which he remained the pastor for fifteen years. He withdrew then, on account of a religious controversy, from the Baptist Union, was pastor for ten years at West Norwood, and from 1907-10 was pastor of the Metropolitan Tabernacle. He was five times married, and lost his fifth wife a month before his death.

3. **Frederick Villiers,** a well-known war-artist and correspondent, was born in 1852 and educated in France, subsequently studying art in London. He began his career as an artist for the *Graphic* in Serbia in 1876. From then onwards he gave his services as an artistic and descriptive journalist in almost all campaigns of note. In the Russo-Turkish War of 1877, in Egypt in 1882 with Lord Wolseley, with Lord Kitchener at Khartum, in the South African and the Balkan Wars, to mention only a few of his experiences, his pen and pencil were busy. In 1914, notwithstanding his years, he went with the armies to France, then travelled East through many continents. The *Graphic* and the *Illustrated London News* contain some of his best work, and he wrote several books describing his adventures. He left a son and a daughter.

— **Sir John Kirk,** a great philanthropist, was born at Kegworth, Leicestershire, in 1847, and educated at the Castle Donnington Grammar School. For nearly sixty years he was engaged in active social work, and his name is familiar to the public in connexion with the Ragged School Union—afterwards the Shaftesbury Society and Ragged School Union—whose services he entered in 1867, becoming its Secretary in 1879. The survival of the Society in the difficult years following the passing of the Education Act, 1870, was largely due to him. He was associated with the birth of the Cripples' Mission and the Holiday Homes. He was knighted in 1907 subsequent on a presentation to him of a public testimonial. He was a man of firm purpose, but modest and tolerant. Lady Kirk and four sons and three daughters survived him.

6. **Madame Arabella Goddard,** a famous pianist of the Victorian era and the widow of James W. Davison, for many years musical critic to *The Times*, was born in Brittany of English parents in 1836. She came to England as a child and made her début as a pianist in 1850 in London. Until her retirement in 1878 she was in continual request for all orchestral

and chamber concerts, and also had a reputation in the colonies and abroad.

7. **Professor Albert Venn Dicey, K.C., D.C.L.,** aged 87, was a Jurist of international reputation and was for twenty-seven years Vinerian Professor of English Law at Oxford. His father was Senior Wrangler in 1811, his mother was a daughter of James Stephen, Master in Chancery. He was educated at King's College School and Trinity College, and was called to the Bar by the Inner Temple in 1863. In 1870 his book "On Parties" appeared, in 1876 he was appointed Junior Counsel to the Commissioners of Inland Revenue, holding this office for fifteen years. In 1879 his reputation as a legal writer was established by his treatise on "Domicil," which he embodied later in a larger book "The Conflict of Laws." He became the first Vinerian Professor of English Law at Oxford in 1882, his brilliant series of lectures there on "The Law of the Constitution" ranking as a classic. The title of Professor Emeritus was conferred on him on his retirement in 1909.

Although a keen party politician, Dicey never entered Parliament, but from the time of the Home Rule Bill in 1886 he devoted all his debating and literary power to the cause of Liberal Unionism, and he published several political works. He married Elinor, daughter of John Bonham-Carter, M.P., in 1872.

8. **W. N. Cobbold,** the footballer, was born in 1863, the son of the Rev. E. A. Cobbold. He went to Charterhouse and Cambridge, played for Cambridge for four consecutive winning years, and was chosen to play for England from 1883 to 1888. He will probably be remembered as the most famous Association football forward of all time. He became a successful Army tutor, and was for years one of the best-known "coaches" in England.

9. **Sir Patrick Manson, G.C.M.G., M.D., F.R.S.,** aged 77, the pioneer of tropical medicine, was the son of an Aberdeenshire laird, and graduated M.D. at Aberdeen University in 1866. In the same year he went out to Formosa and set to work at once studying the causes of and remedies for the innumerable tropical diseases existing. His wonderful tracing of the mosquito as the carrier of "elephantiasis" and his discovery of the process of the disease, were the foundations of the science of tropical medicine and hygiene. His personal work on malaria and his discovery that only certain species of mosquito carry this disease, were another step forward, and his theories, though disputed for a time, were completely justified by experiments conducted with malaria-fed mosquitoes in 1900. He became medical officer to the Colonial Office in 1897, and in 1898 helped to establish the London School of Tropical Medicine. His labours were carried on until 1912, when he was made G.C.M.G. He married in 1875, and left a son and three daughters.

— **General Erich von Falkenhayn,** Prussian War Minister and Chief of the General Staff on the Field during the war, was born in 1861. In 1897 he went to China as a military instructor. After holding various important military posts, he was appointed Prussian Minister of War in 1913, with the rank of lieutenant-general. On the resignation of General Moltke in 1914 after the first battle of the Marne, he replaced him as Chief of the Staff. Although successful in several campaigns in the East, his failure to support the Austrian offensive against Italy in the Spring of 1916 and that of the German troops at Verdun combined to bring about his downfall, and he was relieved of his post in August, 1916. Later he conducted the operations against Rumania successfully.

10. **Sir John William Benn, Bart., D.L., J.P., L.C.C.,** the "Father" of the L.C.C., was born in 1850, his father being a Congregational minister. By his energy he ultimately became director of the trade printing and publishing firm of Benn Bros. He stood for Parliament on several

occasions, and was successful in obtaining a seat for Devonport from 1904 to 1910, but he was chiefly known for his services to the Progressive cause on the London County Council, of which he had been continuously a member since its establishment in 1889. He became Chairman of the Council in 1904-5, was knighted in 1906, and created a baronet in 1914. He married Elizabeth Pickstone, of Hyde, and had four sons and two daughters.

11. **The Earl of Gosford** (Sir Archibald Brabazon Sparrow Acheson), **K.P.,** Vice-Chamberlain to Queen Alexandra, was born in 1841, the eldest son of the third Earl, his mother being a daughter of the tenth Earl of Meath. He succeeded to the earldom in 1864, and in 1876 married Lady Louisa Montagu, daughter of the seventh Duke of Manchester. In 1886 he became Lord of the Bedchamber to the Prince of Wales, and in 1901 was appointed Vice-Chamberlain to Queen Alexandra. He will be remembered chiefly for his social gifts, his charm as a companion, and his old-world courtesy. He and his wife, who was Lady of the Bedchamber to Queen Alexandra for many years, belonged to the more intimate Court circle. His eldest son, born in 1877, succeeded to the title. He left another son and three daughters.

12. **A. W. Bacot,** the well-known entomologist and typhus investigator, started life as a city clerk in London. As a boy he devoted his leisure to the study of insect life, and a paper read before a scientific body ultimately led to his appointment as entomologist to the Lister Institute of Preventive Medicine. He was honorary entomologist to the War Office, and during the war was engaged in the search of remedies for trench fever, to which he himself fell victim. His name will be remembered as a leader in the campaign against tropical disease, in connexion with which he carried out many hazardous experiments on himself. He worked for the Yellow Fever Commission in Sierra Leone, and at the time of his death was occupied in evolving an antidote for typhus.

13. **Monsieur Bonin,** the famous French examining judge, whose name is associated with most of the sensational cases of the last five years, was attached to the Seine Assize Court. He was transferred from Versailles to Paris just in time to deal with the inquiry into the *pseudo* Rodins. Immediately afterwards the notorious Landru affair completely engaged public attention, and the cold, methodical tactics of the judge proved a match for the popular prisoner, together with whom he was, for a couple of years, probably the most talked of man in France. He also handled the Bessarabo affair. He was still in the forties.

— **Sir Ross McPherson Smith, M.C., D.F.C., A.F.C.,** the noted pioneer of aviation who flew to Australia from England, was born and bred in Australia, served in Gallipoli during the war, and joined the Air Service in 1917. In 1918 he made a series of flights which brought him universal fame, and in 1919 accomplished successfully, with his brother, Sergeant Bennett, and another, a flight to Australia which brought him his knighthood. He and Bennett were killed in a test flight at the Brooklands Aerodrome. He was 29 years of age.

— **The Right Hon. Thomas Burt** may aptly be styled the last of the "Old Guard" of Labour. The son of a North Shields coalminer, he spent his early youth working in the mines under conditions of great hardship, but at the age of 14 he began to study. In 1861 the Northumberland and Durham miners formed a Trade Union, of which Burt was elected general secretary, holding the office for forty-eight years. Within six years of its foundation, he had induced the Northumberland coal-owners to "recognise" his union, which implied the raising of wages and reduction of hours. In 1874 he was elected M.P. for the Borough of Morpeth, and was one of the first two members who came directly

from the working class. In 1892 he was appointed Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Trade, and in 1905 a member of the Privy Council. He was a typical representative of the old school of trade unionism. He served on numerous conferences and Royal Commissions. He married, in 1860, Mary Weatherburn, a miner's daughter, who survived him, with three sons and a daughter.

14. **Dr. Huyshe Wolcott Yeatman-Biggs,** aged 77, Bishop of Coventry from 1918 to 1921, was educated at Winchester and Cambridge. After holding several minor appointments, he became Bishop-Suffragan of Southwark in 1891, and was entrusted with the plans for the division of the diocese, and the organisation of the Collegiate Church of St. Saviour's. In 1905 he was translated to the Bishopric of Worcester, a large and inconveniently scattered diocese. Here, too, it became a question of dividing the diocese, and it was solved by the establishment of the Bishopric of Coventry, to which Dr. Yeatman-Biggs was transferred, at his own request, in October, 1918. Without laying claim to profound erudition, the Bishop was a lover of learning and deeply interested in antiquarian subjects. He was a devout High Churchman, and a keen advocate of the work of laymen in the Church. He married in 1875, the daughter of the fourth Earl of Dartmouth, who predeceased him, leaving two sons and a daughter.

15. **Gerald Biss,** aged 46, was well known as a motoring journalist, novelist, and criminologist. He was the only surviving son of Dr. Cecil Yates Biss, a pioneer of the open-air treatment of consumption, and was educated at the Leys School and Trinity Hall, Cambridge. Besides his journalistic work, he wrote some successful novels, in which his strong leaning towards the study of criminology is apparent.

17. **The Dowager Countess of Derby** was Lady Constance Villiers, eldest daughter of the fourth Earl of Clarendon, and was born in 1840. She married in 1864 the Hon. Frederick Arthur Stanley, afterwards sixteenth Earl of Derby, who died in 1908. During her husband's tenure of the Governor-Generalship of Canada she enjoyed great popularity, and was always well known for her hospitality. Her son, the seventeenth Earl of Derby, K.G., was twice Secretary of State for War and Ambassador to France.

— **Miss Emily Elizabeth Constance Jones, D.Litt.,** late Mistress of Girton College, obtained first-class honours in the Moral Sciences Tripos of 1880. In 1884 she returned to Girton as resident lecturer in Moral Sciences, and was elected mistress in 1903. Her gift of organisation was of great value to the College, in which a number of improvements were carried out during her term of office. She resigned her post in 1916, and devoted her time to writing, both original work and translation. She was the author of several books on logic and ethics, and was entrusted with the important task of editing the sixth and seventh editions of Prof. Sidgwick's "Methods of Ethics" and other works. Miss Jones contributed the article on Sidgwick to Hastings' "Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics." She received from the University of Wales the honorary degree of D.Litt.

18. **Professor Otto Braun,** well known in Germany and Switzerland for his many philosophical treatises, was born at Dorpat in 1885, and came at an early age under the influence of Schelling and, more particularly, of Rudolf Eucken. Braun was primarily interested in the historical aspect of philosophy and its application to the problems of the present day. He was Professor of Philosophy at Basel University.

— **Otto Hué,** the well-known German Majority Socialist leader, born in 1868, was an authority on all industrial questions, particularly those connected with mining, and played an important part in the Miners'

Congress at Geneva in 1920. He was chosen to represent Germany as an industrial expert at the Spa Conference.

19. **Sir Alfred Pearce Gould, K.C.V.O.,** the eminent surgeon, was born in 1852, the son of a Baptist minister. He was educated at University College and University College Hospital; graduated M.B., B.S. with two gold medals and a scholarship in 1874, obtaining his M.S. degree with gold medal two years later, and the F.R.C.S. in 1877. He served on the staff in University College Hospital, and from 1877 to 1882 was assistant surgeon and anatomy lecturer at Westminster Hospital, after which he became assistant surgeon to the Middlesex Hospital, being appointed full surgeon in 1896, and consulting surgeon on his retirement from active service in 1916. He held numerous important offices at different times. He was Vice-President of the Council of the Royal College of Surgeons in England in 1908-9, was an examiner in surgery for several universities, and was Vice-Chancellor of the University of London in 1916-17. He was an excellent general surgeon and an inspiring teacher. A busy practical life left him but little time for writing. The "Elements of Surgical Diagnosis," first published in 1884, is probably his best-known work, and he was joint editor of the second edition of the "International Text-book of Surgery."

21. **Sir James Hayes-Sadler, K.C.M.G., C.B.,** who was in his 71st year, was an experienced colonial administrator. After some years of military service he became a political agent in 1881 in Baroda. This was followed by experience in a similar position in Afghanistan, Kotah and Thalawar, and Muscat, and in 1893 he was Consul-General in the Persian Gulf. In 1901 he was appointed Commander-in-Chief in Uganda, and from 1905 to 1909 he was Governor of British East Africa. From then until his retirement in 1914 he was Governor of the Windward Isles. He left one son.

— **Miss Marjorie Pickthall,** the Canadian poet and novelist, was born in England, of English parents, and went to Toronto as a child. Her first book, "The Drift of Pinions," published in Montreal in 1913, aroused a good deal of attention, and John Lane published her second volume of poems, "The Lamp of Poor Souls," in 1916. Methuen brought out her first novel, "Little Hearts," in 1915. She was not yet 30 years of age when she died.

— **Sir Alfred Bray Kempe, D.C.L., F.R.S.,** aged 72, Chancellor of the Dioceses of London, Southwell, St. Albans, Peterborough, Chichester, and Chelmsford, and for twenty years Treasurer of the Royal Society, came of a distinguished and intellectual family. He was educated at St. Paul's School and Trinity College, Cambridge, taking his degree as 22nd Wrangler. He was called to the Bar in 1873 by the Inner Temple, of which he became a Bencher in 1909. He made a speciality of ecclesiastical law, but his taste for mathematics, science, and music was also very marked. He published several essays and memoirs on mathematics. His complicated duties in connexion with the Royal Society were carried out with unfailing zeal and diligence. He married first Mary, second daughter of the late Sir William Bowman, Bart., and secondly Ida, daughter of the late Judge Meadows White, Q.C., and had two sons and a daughter.

22. **Llewelyn Williams,** the distinguished Welsh barrister, was the son of a Carmarthenshire farmer, and was born in 1867 at Llansadwrn, in that county. He was educated at Llandovery College, and won an open scholarship in modern history at Brasenose College, Oxford, where he graduated M.A. and B.C.L. After some years of journalistic work, first in South Wales and then on the "Star," he was called to the Bar in 1897. Joining the South Wales circuit, he was appointed Recorder of Swansea in 1912, and of Cardiff in 1915. From 1906 to 1918 he

represented the Carmarthen district in Parliament. In 1919 he published a collection of studies on the Tudor settlement entitled "The Making of Modern Wales," a work of considerable historical value.

22. **Eduardo Suárez Mujica,** a distinguished Chilean diplomat and statesman, aged 62, was made Under Secretary of Foreign Affairs at the age of 23. In 1888 he retired into private life, but from 1903 to 1909 sat in Congress, and at the close of this term was Minister of Justice and Public Instruction and founded the Library of Chilean Authors. He then served as Minister of Chile, first in Mexico and Cuba, then in the U.S.A. He was one of three diplomats who, in 1914, served as mediators between the U.S.A. and Mexican Governments. Among other important positions held by him was that of U.S. arbitrator on the International Court created to consider certain questions pending between the U.S.A. and Italy, and he was a member of the governing board of the Pan-American Union.

23. **Lord Leopold Arthur Louis Mountbatten, G.C.V.O.,** first cousin of H.M. King George V. and second son of H.R.H. Princess Beatrice, was born in 1889 and matriculated at Magdalene College, Cambridge, in 1907. He was gazetted in 1914 to the King's Royal Rifle Corps, but his physical delicacy prevented his taking any active share in the war. He distinguished himself, however, as A.D.C. and was mentioned in despatches. He was promoted captain in 1916, and resigned his commission in 1920 with the honorary rank of major.

— **Sir Henry Erle Richards, K.C.S.I., K.C.,** aged 60, was descended from a long line of famous legal men, and after going to Eton and New College, Oxford, was himself called to the Bar by the Inner Temple in 1887. He was a notable success during his five years' tenure, from 1904, of the great office of Legal Member of the Government of India, and was responsible for some significant reforms. He returned to England, having taken silk in 1905, and was made Counsel to the India Office. From 1911 he occupied the Chichele Chair of International Law and Diplomacy at Oxford. He married, in 1897, the elder daughter of Mr. Spencer Butler, of Lincoln's Inn.

24. **Lady Stamfordham,** wife of the King's Secretary, was formerly Miss Constance Neville, and was descended from the ancient family of Nevilles of Audley End and Billingbear. She was married in 1881 to Major Arthur John Bigge, who was created Baron Stamfordham in 1911. Lady Stamfordham gave her husband much assistance in his responsible work. Her only son, Captain the Hon. John Neville Bigge, was killed in action in 1915, but two daughters survived her.

25. **Lady Georgina Meriel Buchanan,** daughter of the sixth Earl Bathurst, was born in 1863 and was married at the age of 21 to Mr. (afterwards Sir) George Buchanan, who was then attached to the British Embassy at Vienna. In 1910, after serving successively at Darmstadt, Rome, Berlin, and Sofia, Sir George was promoted to be Ambassador at St. Petersburg. At the outbreak of the war Lady Georgina devoted herself to ameliorating distress in Russia, organising homes for refugees, nursing, and taking part in various other works of charity. Her striking personality and great social gifts admirably fitted her for the wife of a diplomat. She left one daughter, the novelist, Miss Meriel Buchanan.

27. **The Right Rev. and Ven. John Edward Mercer, D.D.,** Canon of Chester and Archdeacon of Macclesfield, was Bishop of Tasmania from 1902 to 1914. Born in 1856 at Eccleshill, Bradford, he went from Rossall School to Lincoln College, Oxford, taking his degree in 1879. Bishop Mercer was the author of "What is the World External to Mind?" (1907), "The Science of Life and the Larger Hope" (1909), "Nature Mysticism" (1913), "The Problem of Creation" (1917), "Some Wonders of Matter"

(1918), and "Why do we Die?" (1919). He married first, in 1882, Josephine Archdall, and secondly, in 1916, H. Ethel Bennion.

28. **Paul Deschanel,** President of the French Republic from January to September, 1920, was a distinguished statesman with a considerable knowledge of historical, administrative, and judicial affairs. Born in 1856 at Brussels, the son of the famous exiled French professor Emile Deschanel, the future President embarked on his political career at the age of 20 as Secretary to the Minister of the Interior. Nine years later he entered the Chamber, of which he was President from 1898 to 1902. He became reporter of the Foreign Office Estimates Committee in 1905, and was re-elected President of the Chamber in 1910. M. Deschanel was an ardent supporter of the Entente Cordiale. A wife, two sons, and a daughter survived him.

MAY.

6. **Henry Pomeroy Davison,** aged 55, a well-known American banker, started his banking career at the age of 19, and in 1896 had acquired the position of Chief Cashier to the Liberty National Bank in New York, being elected a Vice-President and Director in 1900, and President in 1901. He was instrumental in organising the Bankers' Trust Company. Coming under the eye of Mr. J. P. Morgan, the famous banker, during a period of crisis in the financial world, he was taken into his firm as a partner in 1909. During the early days of the war he helped to carry through the arrangements for most of the Allied loans floated in the U.S.A., and was an ardent supporter of the Allied cause. In 1917, he organised the American Red Cross.

8. **Professor Wilhelm Wislicenus,** who was born at Zürich in 1861, was the eldest son of Johannes Wislicenus, a world-famous organic chemist, and had a mother also descended from antecedents of chemical fame. Educated at Wurzburg, he moved to Tübingen in 1903 and became Professor of Chemistry at the University there. He will always rank as one of the foremost organic chemists of his time.

12. **Sir Arthur Frederick Peterson, K.C.,** Judge of the Chancery Division since 1915, who was born in 1859, was a cousin of the late Sir William Peterson, of McGill University. He was a scholar of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, and was called to the Bar by the Inner Temple in 1886, afterwards migrating to Lincoln's Inn, of which he became a Bencher. He took silk in 1906, and in 1915 was appointed a Justice of the Chancery Division at the early age of 56. Already known as an acute and sound lawyer, he brought to his work as a judge a quick and subtle mind, and in expert circles his judgments won general approval. He represented the Foreign Claims Office on the "German Crimes Committee" in 1918. He was unmarried.

13. **Sir Walter Alexander Raleigh,** the famous English scholar, was born in 1861, his father being Dr. Alexander Raleigh, an eminent Scottish Congregational divine. He was educated at University College, London, and King's College, Cambridge, and began his professional career as Professor of English Literature to the ~~Chief~~ College, Aligarh. After two years there, health compelled him to return to England. He spent a year teaching at Owens College, Manchester, and in 1890 was appointed Professor of English at Liverpool, remaining there for ten years. From 1900 to 1904 he occupied the English Chair at Glasgow and was then appointed to the new Chair of English at Oxford. The Oxford School of English, as it existed at his death, was conceived by him, and was almost his personal creation. Principally known as a literary critic, his chief study was really life and character, especially English life and character. His first

book, "The English Novel," appeared in 1894. His best-known works are probably "Style," belonging to his Liverpool period, and "Shakespeare," written for the "English Men of Letters Series" shortly after he went to Oxford. "Wordsworth" (1903), which belongs to his Glasgow period, is admittedly the best English book on the poet. His last published book, "England and the War," consisted of essays devoted to his favourite study, the English character. Commissioned by the Air Ministry to write the official history of the Air Force during the war, he was taken ill while making a flight abroad to study the chief scenes of air warfare in the East, and died on his return to England.

14. **The Right Hon. William Abraham, P.C., LL.D.,** a Welsh M.P. for thirty-five years, was born in Glamorganshire in 1842. He went to his village school until he was ten, then became a mine hand. A natural gift of oratory, combined with an instinct for organising, caused him later to organise the South Wales miners, and as a result of his advocacy of trade unionism the Amalgamated Association of South Wales Miners was founded. In 1877 he moved to the Rhondda Valley district, and there for over twenty years bent his energies on establishing the sliding scale principle of regulating wages. Forced to give way on this point after the strike of 1898, he accepted the new order of things, and after the formation of the South Wales Miners' Federation was its president until 1912. From 1885 to 1920 he sat in Parliament, first as a Radical, and later as a Labour member. He was universally known by the name of "Mabon," originally used by him in Eisteddfod competitions, and was much respected and beloved in his constituencies. He was made a Privy Councillor in 1911, and was a member of the Royal Commissions on Labour and Mining Royalties.

— **Sir Henry Angst, K.C.M.G.,** was born at Regensburg, near Zürich, in 1847. He lived for some time in London on account of his business connection with a Swiss firm of silk merchants, whose head was for many years Swiss Consul-General in England. He returned to Switzerland, and in 1886 became British Vice-Consul at Zürich, being promoted to Consul-General for Switzerland ten years later. He was an antiquary and collector of European repute, and had been director of the Swiss National Museum since its foundation in 1893. Always a warm friend of England, he did invaluable service to Great Britain during the South African War by his promptitude in securing a valuable military map of the Transvaal which had been ordered in his country by the Kruger Government. He was created C.M.G. in 1902, and K.C.M.G. in 1906. He resigned his office in 1916.

15. **Sir Leslie Ward,** aged 70, famous as a caricaturist under the pseudonym "Spy," was the son of E. M. Ward, R.A., his mother, Henrietta Ward, being also a painter. His artistic bent being evident at an early age, he was articled to an architect. Not caring for this profession, he succeeded in entering the Royal Academy painting school, and at first turned his attention to portrait painting. His genius for caricaturing attracted the attention of Sir John Millais, and an introduction to the proprietor of *Vanity Fair* resulted in the beginning of the wonderful series of celebrities in caricature which converted him into a celebrity himself. His own book, "Forty Years of Spy," was published in 1915. He was knighted in 1918.

— **Sir William Comer Petheram, K.C.,** aged 86, Chief Justice of Bengal for ten years, was called to the Bar by the Inner Temple at the age of 34, rose rapidly in his profession, and took silk in 1880. In 1884 he was appointed Chief Justice of the North-West Province High Court, and in 1886 was transferred to a similar position in Bengal. He was a most able exponent of the law; his judgment in 1891 in connexion with the prosecution of a vernacular newspaper under a section of the Indian criminal code became historic. He wrote a number of books on Indian

law. He was Vice-Chancellor of Calcutta University for some years. He married, in 1863, Isabel, daughter of Sir W. Congreve, Bart.

17. **Dr. Fidel Valdéz,** an eminent Bolivian statesman and lawyer, was at one time Secretary of the Treasury, and in 1908 was elected Vice-President of the Bolivian Republic. Afterwards he acted as Justice and Chief Justice of the Supreme Court.

18. **Professor Charles L. A. Laveran,** famous as the discoverer of the parasite of malaria, was born in Paris in 1845, his father being a military surgeon and professor at the Val-de-Grâce School of Military Medicine. He followed in his father's footsteps, joined the staff of the school in 1874, and was sent in 1878 to Algeria, where he remained till 1883. It was here that he became interested in the study of malaria and established the theory that malaria was a mosquito-borne disease. In 1884 he was appointed Professor of Military Hygiene and Clinical Medicine at Val-de-Grâce, relinquishing these posts for work at Lille and Nantes in 1894, and retiring from active practice in 1897. He was elected a member of the French Academy of Science in 1895, and was joint founder and first President of the Société de Pathologie Exotique. In 1907 he was awarded the Nobel Prize for Medicine.

19. **Dr. George Wyndham Kennion,** Bishop of Bath and Wells for over twenty-five years, was the son of a Harrogate doctor, and was born in 1845. He was educated at Eton and Oriel College, Oxford, and was ordained in 1870. After a considerable experience of parish work, he was selected in 1882 as Bishop of Adelaide, South Australia. He filled this see until his call home in 1894 as Bishop of Bath and Wells, resigning from the latter position in 1921 owing to illness. He married, in 1882, Henrietta, daughter of Sir Charles Dalrymple Fergusson, Bt., Governor of South Australia from 1868 to 1873.

20. **John Gregory,** the shoemaker poet of Bristol, was born in 1831 at Bideford, in Devon, and became a shoemaker's apprentice when 11 years old. In 1856 he married and settled in Bristol, where, except for a few years spent at Cardiff, he remained until his death. He was one of the founders of the Co-operative and Trade Union movements, and was at one time President of the Bristol Trades Council. For many years he was head of the boot-repairing shop at Clifton College. His first book of poems, "Idylls of Labour," was published when he was 40 years old and was followed by several other volumes. Although his poetry did not, in his lifetime, receive all the recognition it deserves, it won for him a small civil pension and, late in life, in 1912, the honorary degree of M.A. from Bristol University. Alike in his poetry and personality he showed himself a profound nature lover. His wife predeceased him in 1921. His son, Sir Richard Gregory, is the editor of *Nature*.

21. **Professor Michael Mayr,** Chancellor of the Austrian Republic from November, 1920, to June, 1921, was born in Lower Austria in 1864, but made the Tyrol his home. He transferred his allegiance from the Conservative-Clerical to the Christian-Socialist Party, and after the separation of Austria and Hungary became, firstly, Secretary of State for Constitutional Reform, then Chancellor, but was superseded after very few months. He was for many years Professor of Modern History at Innsbruck University.

22. **The Ven. Arthur William Upcott, D.D., Archdeacon of Hastings,** was notable for his success in re-establishing Christ's Hospital at its new rural home at Horsham on the retirement of his predecessor, the Rev. Richard Lee. Born in 1857, of Devonian stock, he was educated at Sherborne School and Exeter College, Oxford. After teaching experience gained at St. Mark's, Windsor, and at Westminster School, he returned to St. Mark's in 1884, when he was ordained, and became headmaster

two years later, exchanging this position for the headmastership of the Clergy Orphan School at Canterbury in 1891. In 1902 he was elected the head of Christ's Hospital, then being transferred from London to Horsham. Although not, like Lee, a master of Draconian discipline, he made a wider appeal. He was eminently successful in keeping the school abreast of the times, and developed to the full the unique religious opportunities. During his headmastership he proceeded to the degree of D.D. at Oxford. After seventeen years rule he retired and became rector of Brightling, Sussex, and Archdeacon of Hastings. He left a son and a daughter.

26. **Dr. Ernest Solvay,** who was born in Brabant in 1838, made his name as the successful pioneer of the modern method of manufacture of commercial soda. This ammonia-soda process was first worked in England, under his patent, in 1873, by the firm of Brunner, Mond. He inaugurated and endowed the Solvay International Institutes of Chemistry and of Physics. Among numerous honours he was a Doctor of the University of Brussels and an honorary member of the Royal Institution in London.

28. **Lord Middleton,** aged 77, famous as a stock-breeder and sportsman, was the son of the eighth baron, and was born at Bridlington, Yorkshire, in 1844. After several years spent abroad and in the Scots Guards, he married, in 1869, the only daughter of Sir Alexander Penrose Gordon-Cumming. He devoted himself whole-heartedly to agriculture, and his achievements in improving the breeds of hunters, shire horses, and shorthorns will bring him lasting recognition. He acted for many years as President of the Yorkshire Agricultural Society, and, among other positions connected with agriculture and horse-breeding, was President, in 1904, of the Royal Agricultural Society, and a member of the Royal Commission on Horse-Breeding. His wife predeceased him by a few months, and he left no issue.

JUNE.

1. **Rutland Barrington,** well known to early lovers of the Gilbert and Sullivan Operas, in which he made his name, was born in 1853, his real name being George Rutland Fleet. On coming of age he started his theatrical career in minor parts in light comedy. In 1877 a part was procured for him in Gilbert and Sullivan's "The Sorcerer," in which he created Dr. Daly, and thus entered on a long and successful career in these composers' famous operas. The only one in which he had no part in its first production was the "Yeomen of the Guard," but he actually appeared in them all. His quiet, heavy manner was fraught with a comic dignity magnificently suited to his parts, and no one could be so ridiculously pompous. He played in other comic operas, and had a short period of unsuccessful management at the St. James's Theatre. From 1896 he took part for several years in musical comedy pieces in George Edwardes's company at Daly's Theatre, and in later years was seen chiefly in comedy and farce. He was the "Lady Gay" who contributed to *Punch* accounts of race meetings.

— **Dr. Ellis Thomas Powell, LL.B., D.Sc.,** a voluminous writer on financial, economic, and public questions, was born in 1869, and educated at Ludlow Grammar School and London University. From 1909-20 he was editor of the *Financial News.* A man of varied interests, one of his many books dealt with "The Psychic Element in the New Testament." He left a widow, one son and two daughters.

2. **Sir John David Rees, Bart., K.C.I.E., C.V.O., M.P.,** was born in 1854 and educated at Cheltenham College, passing into the Indian Civil

Service. His ambitious temperament and mental alertness soon brought him advancement, and he was private secretary at Government House to three successive Governor-Generals. He spent his leave in travel and mastered Russian and four Indian languages. Early in the present century he retired from the Service, and came home to acquire a prominent position in City life and in politics. Entering Parliament as a Liberal, he constituted himself the spokesman of reaction against the policy of Indian reform. "The Real India" and "Modern India" are books of his belonging to this period. After the General Election of 1910 he turned Unionist, and from 1912 had represented East Nottingham. This change was accompanied by a complete reversion of his views on India, and he became a vigorous supporter of Indian reforms. He was brought into public notice as a Parliamentary speaker to an extent seldom before reached by an ex-civilian of the Indian Service. During the war he was Director of the Prisoners of War Information Bureau. He was awarded a baronetcy in 1919. He died as the result of an accidental fall from a Scotch express. He left a widow, Mary, sister of the fourteenth Lord Dormer, and a son and daughter.

2. **Dr. William Carruthers, Ph.D., F.R.S., F.L.S., F.G.S.,** a noted botanist, was born in 1830 in Dumfriesshire. He was educated for the Presbyterian ministry, but his marked taste for science decided his life-work. Becoming assistant in the Department of Botany of the British Museum in 1859, he became head in 1871. In that year he was elected Fellow of the Royal Society and became consulting botanist to the Royal Agricultural Society. His special province was palæontology and the carboniferous flora, and he was the pioneer in England of seed testing, especially in connexion with pasture grass. He was President of the Geologists' Association, the Linnean Society, the Royal Microscopical Society, and the Biological Section of the British Association.

4. **Dr. William Halse R. Rivers,** a noted anthropologist, was born in 1864 and educated at Tonbridge and St. Bartholomew's Hospital. The products of his brilliant intellect, much influenced by Freud, yet critical of him and more advanced, have been valuable to psychologists and biologists alike. "Instinct and the Unconscious," published in 1921, embodies his entire life-work as well as war experience. He had many professional distinctions; was President of the Royal Anthropological Society and the Folklore Society and Fellow and Prælector in Natural Sciences at St. John's College, Cambridge. He was President of the British Association Anthropological Section in 1911, and was awarded the Royal Medal of the Royal Society in 1915.

— **Professor Hermann Diels,** aged 73, was a famous archæologist, and was, until 1920, Professor of Classical Philology in Berlin University. Born near Wiesbaden, he was educated at Berlin and Bonn Universities and became a teacher. In 1881, so great was already the value of his researches in the domains of Greek philosophy and philology, that he was, at the age of thirty-three, elected a member of the Berlin Academy of Science, succeeding Professor Mommsen as its secretary in 1895. He was appointed a Professor in Berlin University in 1882.

12. **Dr. Wolfgang Kapp,** the founder and Vice-President of the extreme Pan-German "Fatherland Party," will be remembered as the leader of the reactionary *coup d'état* of March, 1920, when for five days he occupied the position of German Chancellor. President Ebert's appeal to the working classes, however, met with an immediate response, and the insurrection was promptly suppressed. Kapp fled to Sweden, where he remained for two years. Returning to Germany in April, 1922, he was arrested for high treason, but died as the result of an eye-operation at Leipzig before the case could be heard.

13. **Gaston Carlin,** Swiss Minister in London for eighteen years, was born in Löwenburg, in the Bernese Jura, in 1859, his father being a

lawyer. He studied in Leipzig, Paris, and Berne, and in 1883 was attached to the Embassy in Rome. In 1895 he was appointed Minister in Rome, and in 1902 in London, where he remained until 1920. He then served for two years as Swiss Minister to the Netherlands. and was appointed to Berlin shortly before his death.

14. **Daniel Conner Lathbury,** who was in his 92nd year, was the eldest son of a literary parson. Educated at King's College, London, and Brasenose College, Oxford, he was called to the Bar, but never practised, and became a journalist at once. He was connected in early days with the *Daily News*, the *Saturday Review*, the *Spectator*, and the *Economist*, but he made his name during his brilliant editorship of the *Guardian*, from which he was dismissed, ostensibly for denouncing the policy which led England into the Boer War, also for giving rein to his opinions on various debated Church matters. The *Pilot*, started by him on leaving the *Guardian*, found active support even with his political opponents, but was doomed to failure after a few years. He was a journalist of remarkable distinction and courageous independence. His wife was a daughter of Professor Bonamy Price.

— **Major H. Hesketh Prichard, D.S.O., M.C.,** who died at the age of 45, was the son of a Scottish military officer, and was born in India, but educated in Great Britain. He became a notable cricketer, traveller, big game-hunter and naturalist, and also, in collaboration with his mother, the daughter of General B. W. Ryall, a well-known Indian cavalry officer, wrote a few romantic novels. His most important work was done as a teacher of marksmanship during the war, an account of which he gave in his book "Sniping in France" (1920). He was twice mentioned in despatches, and received the D.S.O. and M.C. and the Military Order of Avis. He married in 1908 Lady Elizabeth Grimston, daughter of the Earl of Verulam, and left two sons and a daughter.

19. **Admiral Sir Lewis Beaumont,** born in 1847, entered the Royal Navy in 1860 and saw much distinguished service abroad. From 1894 to 1899 he was Director of Military Intelligence at home, and from then until 1900 Commander-in-Chief in the Pacific, after which he was transferred to the Australian Command until 1903. He received the K.C.M.G. in 1901, the K.C.B. in 1904, and the G.C.B. in 1911. He became Admiral in 1906, and retired from the service in 1912. His wife, an American, died in 1907.

21. **Take Jonescu,** once Prime Minister of Rumania, was a brilliant orator and a distinguished lawyer. Before the war of 1914-18 he had already made a name in Rumanian and international politics, and during the European crisis he consistently supported the Allied cause. It was largely owing to his influence that Rumania joined the Allies in 1916. In the autumn of the same year he became leader of the Conservative Party, and thereby acquired a position of recognised power. After the war he assisted in the formation of the Little Entente.

22. **Field-Marshal Sir Henry Wilson, Bart., K.C.B., D.S.O., M.P.,** was born in 1864, his father being James Wilson, D.L., J.P., of Edgeworthstown, Ireland. He was educated at Marlborough, obtained a commission in the Army, and saw active service in the Burmese Expeditions of 1885-89. He then entered the Staff College, gained rapid promotion and the D.S.O. in the South African War, and was recognised as a military teacher of unusual brilliance. In 1907 he succeeded to the Chair of the Staff College and in 1910 was at the War Office, where he had already served from 1903 to 1906, as Director of Military Operations. In 1914 he went to France as Assistant Chief of the General Staff, commanded the Fourth Army on the Western Front, and was made K.C.B. and lieutenant-general. In 1916 he went with Lord Milner's Mission to Russia, had a brief interval at home in charge of the Eastern Command,

and was then appointed British Military Representative on the Allied War Council. Early in 1918 he was made Chief of the Imperial General Staff. In July, 1919, he was promoted to Field-Marshal, in October created a baronet. His success during the war, in which he was undoubtedly one of the great figures, was due partly to his foresight, long before, of the German menace. Elected to Parliament in February, 1922, as a member for North Down, he openly embraced the cause of Ulster. He was murdered in front of his London house by two men connected with the Irish Republican Army. Plainly his devotion to Ulster was the cause of his death. He married in 1891 a daughter of G. C. Wray, J.P., of County Donegal, but left no heir.

24. **Dr. Walter Rathenau,** German Minister of Foreign Affairs, was born of Jewish parents in Berlin in 1867, his father being Emil Rathenau, the founder of the Allgemeine Elektrizitäts Gesellschaft. He was educated at Berlin and Strassbourg Universities and succeeded his father as President of the A.E.G. in 1915. On the outbreak of war he evolved a scheme for organising the German industries for war purposes, occupying a position of much significance at the Prussian War Office. After the collapse of the German Empire he became an active founder of the Democratic Party. He was appointed Minister of Reconstruction early in 1921 and Minister of Foreign Affairs in January, 1922. The Wiesbaden agreement for the part payment of German reparations, concluded in the summer of 1921, was negotiated by him. Not long before his death he was responsible for the negotiating of the Russo-German Treaty with Tchitcherin at Rapallo. He wrote a number of books, the most popular of which was "Von Kommenden Dingen," a criticism of socialism, published in English under the title "In Days to Come." He was murdered while driving through a suburb of Berlin, and his death was imputed to the Monarchists.

25. **Sir George Robert Parkin, K.C.M.G.,** was born in New Brunswick in 1846, the youngest of thirteen children. He became a teacher, then by dint of economy entered New Brunswick University, where he distinguished himself in literature and science. He resumed his teaching, but owing to the influence of Edward Thring, the reformer, with whom he had been corresponding, broke this off to spend a couple of years at Oxford and in European travel. Returning to his school at Fredericton he accomplished fifteen years of headmastership. Then, fired by the desire to assist in promoting the welfare of Canada, he accepted an English invitation to undertake a lecturing tour through the Colonies, to set forth the advantages of Imperial unity. Two books were a result of this tour, and he also became correspondent of *The Times* in Canada. From 1895-1902 he was busy, as headmaster, with the development of Upper Canada College, Toronto. He then finally abandoned teaching to become the organising representative of the Rhodes Scholarship Trust, making his headquarters in London. He was made C.M.G. in 1898 and K.C.M.G. in 1920. A firm believer in the future of Canada, he was a missionary of Empire to whom the British nation owes a great debt. His wife, a son, and four daughters survived him.

26. **Prince Albert I. (Albert Honoré Charles) of Monaco,** aged 73, was the son of Prince Charles III. A typical naval man, he spent most of his spare time and fortune in oceanographical and meteorological studies, and his devotion to the advancement of science was recognised by many high scientific honours. He became known as a savant of real distinction. He was twice married and left a son by his first marriage.

JULY.

1. **Colonel Robert Charles Goff,** aged 84, was an amateur etcher of unusual merit. Of Irish descent, he joined the Regular Army as an officer when only 17, fought in the Crimean War, and served until he attained

his colonelcy in 1878. He did not learn etching until early in the seventies, from a brother officer. He executed over two hundred plates, prints of which are at the British Museum and are well known. No artist without professional training has turned out so much excellent work. It consists chiefly of landscape, with architecture. He was a member of the Royal Society of Painter-Etchers. He was twice married, and left a widow. He had travelled extensively, and died in Switzerland.

1. **Edward Davinet,** whose age was 83, was a native of France, but migrated to Switzerland when still a youth and became known there as an architect, in particular of hotels. The Spiezerhof in Spiez, the Rigi-Kulm Hotel, and the Römerbad, in Badenweiler, were constructed from his designs. He was also responsible for the planning of a Bern suburb. He was Inspector of the Bern Art Museum.

5. **Sir John Sandys,** Emeritus Professor of Oratory at Cambridge, was born at Leicester in 1844, and was the son of a missionary. From Repton he went with a scholarship to St. John's College, Cambridge, and a brilliant college career culminated in a fellowship at his college and a classical lectureship. In 1870 he became tutor of St. John's, and held the post until his resignation in 1900. He is chiefly known as the Public Orator of Cambridge University, to which post he was elected in 1876. On his resignation in 1919 he had filled the position for longer than any of his predecessors. His work in both classical and English literature was of remarkable range and soundness, the stream of his editorial publications being continuous. Of these, the "Bacchæ" of Euripides (1880) and the "Constitution of Athens" of Aristotle (1893) were fine examples of his scholarship, and he contributed several articles to the 11th edition of the "Encyclopædia Britannica."

7. **Sir William Nelson, Bart.,** born in 1851, was the founder and chairman of the Nelson Line of steamships. This line, established in 1889, had, at the time of his death, risen to a position of great importance in the Argentine trade, on account of both its cargo and passenger fleet. He left three sons and five daughters. His youngest daughter married the Duke of Westminster as his second wife in 1920.

8. **Percy Thomas, R.E.,** whose age was 76, was the son of a keen picture collector, an intimate friend of Whistler, who established in his house an etching plant for the benefit of the famous artist. Mr. Thomas was a constant exhibitor of etchings at the Royal Academy since 1867, and was one of the chief promoters of the Royal Society of Painter-Etchers and Engravers. The British Museum owns a fairly complete set of his works.

10. **Sir George Prothero, K.B.E., Litt.D.,** historian, and editor of the *Quarterly Review*, was born in 1848, the eldest son of the Rev. George Prothero, Chaplain to Queen Victoria and Canon of Westminster, his mother being also a woman of rare intellectual gifts. He was educated at Eton and King's College, Cambridge, was elected a Fellow of his college in 1872, and was for a time a master at Eton. Having gained experience as an historical lecturer in the University Extension movement, he was appointed lecturer at King's, then assistant tutor, and, in 1881, senior tutor. The latter post he held for eleven years, becoming also, in 1884, University Lecturer in History. He occupied the Chair of History at Edinburgh from 1894 to 1899, and had since then been the editor of the *Quarterly Review*. He was President of the Royal Historical Society from 1901-5. During the war he was Director of the Historical Section of the Foreign Office, and in 1920 was awarded the K.B.E. His works include "Select Statutes and other Constitutional Documents," 1894. From that year he was editor of the "Cambridge Historical Series," and from 1901 had edited the "Cambridge Modern History."

He started, but never finished, an "English Historical Bibliography." He married, in 1882, Mary Butcher, daughter of the Bishop of Meath.

12. **Sir Thomas Glen-Coats, Bart., C.B.,** aged 76, traced his descent from the family of Coats, already famous in Glasgow business in the sixteenth century. He was educated at Queenwood College, Hampshire, and entered the well-known thread firm of J. & P. Coats, founded by his grandfather, and of which he ultimately became the chairman. He was created a baronet in 1894 and assumed the additional surname of Glen soon after. He represented West Renfrewshire as a Liberal from 1906-10. He was Lord-Lieutenant of the County in 1908 and received the C.B. in 1911. His wife predeceased him, but he left two sons and a daughter.

— **Admiral John Moresby,** 92 years of age, was the son of Admiral of the Fleet Sir Fairfax Moresby. An active naval career was coloured by service in the Baltic during the Russian War of 1854-55 and in the defence of Shanghai against the Taepings. In 1871 Moresby, then a captain, was appointed to serve on the Australian station. Devoting his time to exploration work, he discovered the finest harbour on the southern coast of New Guinea. It became the seat of Government, and was named Port Moresby after its discoverer. From 1878 to 1881 he was captain of the Bermuda dockyard, and retired in 1885 with the rank of vice-admiral, attaining the rank of admiral on the retired list. A ready writer, his "Discoveries and Surveys in New Guinea" appeared in 1876, and what is practically an autobiography, entitled "Two Admirals," in 1909. He was a widower, but left one son and four daughters.

19. **Alfred Rayney Waller, M.A.,** by whose death English literature was deprived of an able and scholarly editor, was born at York in 1867. He worked in London as a journalist for fourteen years, during which time he wrote two books, one a life of Cardinal Newman, the other a short religious allegory. He also edited Florio's "Montaigne," a standard edition of Hazlitt, and various other classics, and translated Molière's Plays. In 1902 his editorial talent found full scope in his position as Assistant Secretary, then Secretary, to the Cambridge University Press, which post he held at the time of his death. This great publishing house owes much to his learning and business ability. He was part editor of "The Cambridge History of English Literature," the inception of the work being his.

22. **Rear-Admiral John Saumarez Dumaresq, C.B., C.V.O.,** was born in 1873 in New South Wales. He entered the Royal Navy, and specialising in torpedoes, was engaged at the Admiralty in connexion with the equipment of torpedo vessels. In 1913 he became Flag Captain, and received the C.B. for the manner in which he commanded his ship in the battle of Jutland. He was in command of the Australian Fleet from 1919. He died at Manila. He married, in 1907, Christian, daughter of the Rt. Hon. Sir Charles Dalrymple, and had two sons and two daughters.

24. **George Thorne,** born in 1856, came of a family of actors, his father, four brothers, and three sisters being on the stage. He made his name in Gilbert and Sullivan Opera, which he played for twenty-three years in this country and in America. A comedian of rare artistic feeling, he will be remembered by Savoy lovers as the originator of the tragic end to the part of Jack Point in "The Yeomen of the Guard."

— **General Maistre,** a distinguished French soldier, was born at Joinville in 1858. As General of Brigade he commanded the 21st French Army Corps at the First Battle of the Marne, and in 1917 obtained the command of the 6th Army and was responsible for the carrying of the Hindenburg Salient and the victory of Malmaison. In 1917 he served in Italy, but returned to command a part of the armies in France in 1918.

28. **Dr. Thomas Allan Ingram,** who was in his 53rd year, was an Irishman by birth and was an M.A. and LL.D. of Trinity College, Dublin. After a short business career he devoted himself to the study of economics and law, and in 1903 joined the staff of the "Encyclopædia Britannica." During the preparation of its 11th edition he acted as editor on law and economics. He had been editor of *Hazell's Annual* since 1913.

29. **Charles Henry Tawney, C.I.E.,** aged 85, a distinguished orientalist, was the son of the Rev. Richard Tawney, Vicar of Willoughby. From Rugby he entered Trinity College, Cambridge, was bracketed Senior Classic in 1860 and elected a Fellow of his College. In 1864 he went out to Calcutta as a Professor in the Presidency College, of which he was appointed Principal in 1876. He also acted after that date as Registrar of Calcutta University, and was three times Director of Public Instruction in the Province of Bengal. He was awarded the C.I.E. in 1888 and retired in 1892. In 1893 he was appointed Librarian to the India Office, and while there pursued the studies which made him one of the foremost contributors to the knowledge in England of Sanskrit literature. He married, in 1867, a daughter of Charles Fox, M.D., who died in 1920, and by whom he had a large family. One son, Mr. R. H. Tawney, is the distinguished economic author.

AUGUST.

1. **Dr. Alexander Graham Bell,** aged 75, was the inventor of the telephone. The son of a notable elocution lecturer at Edinburgh, he was educated at Edinburgh University and University College, London. Having migrated to Ontario, he was, in 1873, appointed Professor of Physiology at Boston University. He made several notable inventions, but his supreme achievement was the invention, patented in 1876 and 1877, of the telephone system, the first telephone exchange being established in 1878. He was a D.Sc., Oxford, and a medallist of the Royal Society. He served as President of the American Association to Promote Teaching of Speech to the Deaf.

2. **Sir Richard Vassar-Smith, Bart.,** Chairman of Lloyds Bank, was born at Wotton, Gloucestershire, in 1843. He entered his father's firm of agents and carriers to the Great Western Railway, and from the age of 27 until his death held the position of head of the concern. Eventually he joined the Board of the Worcester City and County Bank, a credit institution which was absorbed by Lloyds Bank in 1889, and in 1910 he was elected Chairman of Lloyds Bank. His sound, shrewd judgment, and enterprising though cautious spirit, fitted him ideally for the position, and in 1917 he was rewarded for his services by a baronetcy. He held, at various times in his career, important public offices, notably those of President and Chairman of the Council of the Institute of Bankers, Chairman of the Committee of the London Bankers' Clearing House, and Chairman of the Central Association of Bankers. He also did important work, especially in educational matters, for his natal county. He married, in 1866, Mary Partridge, of Malvern, and left one son and three daughters. His second son died in 1920.

5. **Lord Charles Scott Dickson,** the Lord Justice Clerk and President of the Court of Session in Scotland, was born in Glasgow in 1850 and educated at the High School there and at the Edinburgh and Glasgow Universities. He entered the legal profession, practised as a solicitor in Glasgow for two years, and was called to the Scottish Bar in 1877. He acquired a large practice, and was for many years one of the two leading junior counsel in Scotland. In 1896 he became Solicitor-General for Scotland and Q.C., and in 1903 a Privy Councillor. From that year

until 1906 he served as Lord Advocate. In 1908 he was elected Dean of the Faculty of Advocates, and in 1915 was raised to the peerage and appointed Lord Justice Clerk. As a barrister he was a tactful, concise pleader, with a wonderful knowledge of case law and tremendous powers of work. As a judge he was no less successful than at the Bar. Personally, he was a charming and kindly man and was especially fitted to occupy the Dean's chair. A Conservative in politics, he represented the Bridgeton Division of Glasgow in Parliament from 1900 to 1906 and the Central Division from 1909. He was a Deputy-Lieutenant for Edinburgh and LL.D. of Glasgow and Aberdeen. He left two sons.

6. **The Rev. James Iverach,** who was 83 years of age, was born at Caithness, entered the Free Church, and in 1874 obtained a living at Aberdeen. This proved only a prelude to a career as a university teacher. In 1887 he was appointed Professor of Apologetics at Aberdeen College and in 1905 Principal of the College, exchanging his old chair for that of New Testament Literature in 1907. His books, notably "Is God Knowable?" and "Christianity and Evolution" have a world-wide circulation. He resigned his professorship in 1920, but remained Principal of the College. He was married, and left a son and four daughters.

8. **Sir John Rankine, K.C.,** Professor of Scots Law in Edinburgh University until quite shortly before his death, was the son of the Rev. John Rankine, D.D., and was born in Ayrshire in 1846. He was educated at the Universities of Edinburgh and Heidelberg and was called to the Scottish Bar at the age of 23. He was appointed to the Edinburgh chair of Scots Law in 1885 and became Q.C. in 1897. Especially interested in the law relating to land, he edited a standard work on leases, and his treatise on the law of land ownership in Scotland became a recognised authority. He was unmarried.

10. **Miss Isabel Anne Dickson, O.B.E.,** was born in Scotland in 1872, and was educated at St. Leonard's School, St. Andrews, then at Girton College, Cambridge. After serving as acting Principal of the Women's College in the University of Sydney, New South Wales, she returned to England and became Principal of Bedford College, University of London. She was one of the first women inspectors of schools under the Board of Education and was the first and only woman Assistant Secretary in the Civil Service, having been appointed Assistant Secretary at the Board of Education about three years before her death.

— **Edward Heneage, first Baron Heneage,** was born in 1840, and came of a family which had been settled in Lincolnshire since the time of William Rufus. His father was Liberal member for Grimsby. After leaving Eton and holding a commission in the 1st Life Guards, he inherited the family estates in 1864, and, following the family traditions, represented Lincoln as a Liberal from 1865-68. He returned to the House as member for Grimsby in 1880, and sat continuously, first as a Liberal, then, after the introduction by Gladstone of the Home Rule Bill, as a Liberal Unionist, until 1892. He lost his seat in that year, regained it in 1893, but lost it again in 1895 and retired. In 1896 he was raised to the peerage. Under Gladstone's third ministry he filled for a time the offices of Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster and Vice-President of the Committee of Agriculture. When the Prime Minister introduced the Home Rule Bill in 1886 he resigned from office and ranged himself definitely with the Liberal Unionists. He was Chairman of their Associations Council for seven years. He married, in 1864, Lady Eleanor Hare, youngest daughter of the second Earl of Listowel, and left two sons and four daughters.

— **Dr. Gisbert Kapp,** who was in his 70th year, was an engineer known for his inventions, especially for the improvement of dynamos. Born near Vienna, his father was German, his mother Scottish. He

studied at Zürich, then came to England. From 1882-85 he worked for the electrical engineering firm, Crompton & Co., then brought out dynamos of his own, and set up in London as a consultant. In 1894 he went to Berlin as general secretary of the German Association of Electrical Engineers, editor of the *Elektrotechnische Zeitschrift*, and lecturer at the Charlottenburg Technical School. He remained there for about ten years, returning to England to fill the Chair of Electrical Engineering at Birmingham University, which he held till 1918. He published a number of technical works. He left two sons.

11. **Dudley Hardy, R.I.,** a popular black-and-white artist, was born at Sheffield in 1867. He studied art at Düsseldorf, Antwerp, and Paris, and became a member of the Royal Water Colour Institute, the Society of Oil Painters, the Royal Miniature Society, the Pastel Society, etc. A versatile artist, he will be chiefly remembered for his humorous black-and-white drawings, and for his poster work, which, from about 1894, was instrumental in raising the standard of English poster work. He was twice married and had a son and a daughter.

12. **Arthur Griffith,** President of the Irish Republic, was born in Dublin in 1872. He first followed his father's calling of compositor, but soon changed it for that of a worker on the Rand, where he was nicknamed by the miners "Cuguan," meaning "the Dove." On returning to Ireland he adopted this as his pen-name, and in 1899 began to edit the weekly *United Irishman*, soon attracting attention with his political and economic articles. He became well known by his pamphlet "The Resurrection of Hungary," in which he expounded his political theory, founded on the Hungarian politician, Deák's, policy, of salvation for Ireland, not through violence, but economic development. This policy be propounded publicly in Dublin in 1905, calling it the Sinn Fein policy, and began to edit a weekly called *Sinn Fein*. In 1914 he became the editor of *Nationality*, which was accepted as the official organ of his party. On the outbreak of the 1916 rebellion he was imprisoned for a short time, and on his release found himself President of a much strengthened party supported by the British Government. He was subsequently ejected from the presidential chair by de Valera, and was imprisoned for long periods between 1918 and 1921. He was elected Chairman of the delegation of peace plenipotentiaries, and it was his signature which appeared on the Peace Treaty between Great Britain and Ireland. In January, 1922, he was elected President of Dail Eireann in succession to de Valera. He died suddenly of cerebral hæmorrhage.

Griffith was a man of thought rather than of action. He was unconvincing as an orator and expressive only with his pen. Nevertheless his strength of character, clearness of vision, sympathy with the Southern Unionists, and strenuous opposition to the fanaticism of the Irish extremists influenced enormously the trend of national politics. He never ceased to denounce the policy of de Valera and his party, and believed in the co-operation of all creeds, classes, and political views in Ireland. His death at so critical a time in the history of his country could not be other than an irreparable loss.

— **Sir Albert Kaye Rollit,** aged 80, was born at Hull. He began life as a solicitor, with a practice in Hull and London, and became President of the Incorporated Law Society. He followed up success in the law by becoming a shipowner, and in Parliament, in which he represented South Islington as an Independent Conservative from 1886 to 1906; he concerned himself with both legal and commercial questions. He was strongly opposed to Tariff Reform, and, becoming a Liberal, lost his seat. Since 1911 he had acted as Consul-General for Rumania in London. In 1896 he married, as his second wife, Mary, widow of the third Duke of Sutherland, but they had lived apart since 1912.

14. **Viscount Northcliffe** (Sir Alfred Charles William Harmsworth, Bart., first Viscount Northcliffe of St. Peter-in-Thanet and Baron Northcliffe of the Isle of Thanet) was born on July 15, 1865, at Chapelizod, near Dublin, and was the eldest of a family of fourteen children. His father, Alfred Harmsworth, was of Hampshire origin, and was an accomplished barrister. His mother was the daughter of William Maffett, a well-known Dublin land agent and banker. She was a woman of great intellect and strong character, to whom Lord Northcliffe always said he owed much. In 1867 the family moved to Hampstead, and he went first to Stamford Grammar School and then to Henley House School, West Hampstead. In his early days he was said to be exceptionally studious, energetic, and eager for knowledge, and while still at school he showed his bent towards journalistic work. In 1882 he left home and turned his attention entirely to writing, often contributing leading articles to papers of good standing. In 1884 the after-results of pneumonia obliged him to live out of London. He obtained work with Iliffe & Sons, newspaper proprietors, at Coventry, and here gained great experience on every side of the business. In 1887 he returned to London, formed a general publishing business, and, after other ventures, founded *Answers*, which, after some vicissitudes, eventually prospered. This was the germ of the Amalgamated Press, which grew to such vast proportions later. In 1894 he acquired, and successfully reorganised, the *Evening News*, and in that year equipped and financed the Jackson-Harmsworth Arctic Expedition. In 1896, by founding the *Daily Mail* and running it on entirely new and ambitious lines, he practically revolutionised popular journalism. Such was the success of this paper that during the Boer War its sale was over 600,000 copies a day, and it was being printed in duplicate in Manchester and London; in 1905 he established a Continental edition of it in Paris. His next venture was the foundation of the *Daily Mirror*, started as a women's paper, then converted into the first British halfpenny illustrated daily. His services to journalism were recognised in 1905, when he was raised to the peerage as Baron Northcliffe. In the following year he and his brother, Lord Rothermere, created the Anglo-Newfoundland Development Company, an enormous paper-making enterprise in Newfoundland. In 1908 *The Times* newspaper came into the market, and by the purchase of this world-known journal one of Lord Northcliffe's dearest ambitions was fulfilled. During the Great War his influence on British policy and on British and foreign opinion was probably at its height. He advocated a large aerial fleet, he exposed the shortage of ammunition, and he favoured compulsory military service. In 1917 he accepted the offer to go to America as Chairman of the British War Mission to the U.S.A. From 1918 he gave his services to the country as Director of Propaganda in Enemy Countries. In 1921 he went on a world tour. He left no issue.

15. **Dr. Sophie Bryant,** aged 72, who was accidentally killed while mountaineering in Switzerland, was born in Dublin, her father being the Rev. Dr. Willcock, a prominent participator in the Irish national educational movement. She entered on her higher education at Bedford College, London, but at nineteen married Dr. William Hicks Bryant, of Plymouth. Left a widow within a year, she resumed her studies and became mathematical mistress at the North London Collegiate School for Girls. In 1884 she received the Doctorate of Science in the University of London, being the first woman to achieve this distinction. In 1895 she succeeded the famous Miss Buss as headmistress of the North London School, retiring from the post in 1918. The standing of the school when she left it was the best testimony to the manner in which she upheld the high standard already established by her predecessor. Among other activities she served in 1894 on the Royal Commission on Secondary Education, and was, in 1900, the first woman elected to the Senate of London University.

18. **Ernest Lavisse,** a French historian of note, member of the Académie Française, and once head of the Ecole Normale Supérieure, was born in the Aisne Department in 1842. He was educated at the college of which he eventually became the head, and worked for a time under Victor Duruy, the famous historian and Minister for Education under the third Napoleon. From being a history master he became an assistant professor at the Sorbonne in 1883, and in 1888 filled the chair of modern history there. He was elected to the Académie Française in 1892, and from 1894 was editor of the *Revue de Paris.* One of the prime movers in the French educational system, he played a great part in the creation of French universities. He published a number of important historical works, and is well known for his edition, with Rambaud, of the "General History from the Fourth Century to the Present Time" and for the "History of France to the Revolution."

— **William Henry Hudson,** unsurpassed as an English writer on nature, spent his youth on the South American plains, where he acquired a knowledge and love of birds, animals, and plants which appeared in the "Naturalist in La Plata" and other books dealing with the land of his youth. On his return to England he was soon absorbed in the beauties of the English country, and his sketches of village life and personality won general admiration. Besides taking a high place as a field naturalist and scientific observer, the vigorous lucidity of his English, combined with an almost mystical, a Celtic, feeling towards nature, gave his writing a rare and lasting attraction. Popular recognition came to him slowly, and in 1901, after much of his best work had been published, he was awarded a Civil List pension. This he resigned in 1921, when fame came to him in more practical form. His published works are numerous. Among them may be mentioned "Birds in Town and Village," "Nature in Downland," "Birds and Man," and his last book (1921), "A Traveller in Little Things."

— **Dame Geneviève Ward,** aged 85, a great tragic actress, was born in New York. She spent much of her girlhood in travelling in Europe, and when still in her teens made an unfortunate marriage with Count Constantine de Guerbel, a young Russian, who proved a rascal, and whom she left almost at once. He died a few years later, but she never remarried. Her fine voice decided her to train as an operatic singer. She made her début in Milan in 1856, and was loudly acclaimed in France, Italy, England, and in the U.S.A. and Cuba. At the height of her triumph in the last-named country her singing voice gave out and never returned. Her speaking voice, however, was magnificent. She began to study for the stage, and after taking various parts in England, France, and the U.S.A. she went into management on her own account at the Lyceum. Here she produced Herman Merivale's "Forget Me Not," in which she played the heroine. The play became her chief property, and she acted it all over the English-speaking world. It was at the Lyceum, under Sir Henry Irving, after 1893, that her work as a tragedy actress found its greatest scope. Among her parts were those of the Queen in "Richard II.," Volumnia in "Coriolanus," and Lady Macbeth. She had a superb presence, a majestic voice and carriage, and a wonderful power of emotion and gesture. She received the Order of Dame Commander of the British Empire in 1921 in recognition of her services to dramatic art.

22. **Michael Collins,** aged 30, Commander-in-Chief of the Irish Free State Forces, was the son of a County Cork farmer and the youngest of eight children. He was educated at the National School in his parish of Woodfield, Clonakilty, and entered the Civil Service in the employ of the Post Office in London, after which he was for some years a London bank clerk. Always a keen Irishman, the Irish Rebellion found him in his native land, and he was one of those who seized the Dublin General Post Office on Easter Monday, 1916, for which deed he was imprisoned until Christmas. He became an ardent worker for the cause of Irish freedom,

and in 1918 was again imprisoned for sedition. In that year he was elected to the Dail Eireann as representative for Cork, and later became its Finance Minister, and was highly successful in raising loans both at home and in Great Britain and America. At this time a price was said to have been put on his head by the authorities, but he continually eluded their grasp. His visit to London as one of the peace plenipotentiaries, his fight for the Treaty in the Dail with his friend, Arthur Griffith—who predeceased him by ten days—and his fearless advocacy of it at elections, will long be remembered. He was elected Commander-in-Chief of the Army in July, and was head of the Provisional Free State Government. He was shot by Irregulars while performing a tour of inspection of the National Troops' outposts in Southern Cork, and died fighting.

By reason of his great physical courage, good humour, and handsome presence, he was the most popular leader of the Free State Government. His lack of education notwithstanding, his speeches were not wanting in a certain rugged eloquence, and in tact.

22. **Sir Thomas Brock, K.C.B., R.A.,** a sculptor of distinction, was born in 1847. When nineteen he began studying under J. H. Foley, R.A., one of the most brilliant sculptors of the day. Entering the Royal Academy Schools, he gained the Gold Medal in Sculpture in 1869, and when Foley died in 1874 he was entrusted with the completion of his unfinished works. Thereafter his life was filled by a continuous stream of commissions. His work, although not strikingly original, was that of a man of highly accomplished talent and steady achievement. Portrait busts and statues constituted a large part of his output; he also produced some distinguished monumental effigies and idealistic figures. His most prominent work is the Queen Victoria Memorial in front of Buckingham Palace. Other well-known ones are the memorial to Lord Leighton in St. Paul's Cathedral, the bust of Longfellow in Westminster Abbey, one of Queen Victoria exhibited in 1901, and King Edward VII. exhibited in 1911. He was elected a member of the Royal Academy in 1891. Other honours included that of D.C.L. of Oxford. He was married and left several children.

27. **Sir Jacob Lewis Van Deventer,** a great Boer soldier, was born in the Orange Free State in 1874. He took part in the Boer War, but accepted the new *régime* on the declaration of the Union, and greatly distinguished himself during the Great War, both in the operations against De Wet and in the campaign in South-West Africa. He was promoted Brigadier-General and selected to command a division in East Africa, where his skilful leadership contributed greatly to the success of the operations. From early in 1917 until the end of the war he occupied the position, vacated by General Smuts, of Commander-in-Chief of the forces of the Union of South Africa.

SEPTEMBER.

1. **H.R.H. The Duchess of Albany** (Princess Helena Frederica Augustine) was the third daughter of Prince George Victor of Waldeck and Pyrmont in Germany, and was born in its capital, Arolsen, in 1861. In 1882 she was married to Prince Leopold, Duke of Albany, a son of Queen Victoria, and they resided at Claremont, near Esher. Their daughter, Princess Alice, who married Prince Alexander of Teck, was born in 1883. In the year following the Duke of Albany died; a posthumous son was born a few months later. In 1899 this son was obliged by Queen Victoria to accept the vacant Duchies of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha, and until his majority and marriage the Duchess resided with him at Coburg. She then returned to England. She died at Innsbruck while on a visit to her son. She will be chiefly remembered in England

on account of her charities, especially in connexion with hospitals and social work of various kinds. She was the founder of the Deptford Fund, an organisation connected with women employed at the great cattle market, and was a valuable member of the International Bureau for the Suppression of White Slave Traffic.

1. **Edmund Blair Leighton, R.I.,** a painter of many popular oil subject pictures, was the son of an artist, and was born in London in 1853. He was educated at University College School and entered a City office, but studied art in the evenings. He entered the Royal Academy Schools from Heatherley's in 1874, his first picture being accepted in the Academy in 1878. This picture is now in the Royal Holloway College Gallery. He exhibited in the Royal Academy every year until 1920. His pictures, which dealt with many periods, are noted for their accuracy of detail and finished technique. He left a son and daughter.

2. **Sir Francis Gore-Browne, K.C.,** who was born in 1860, was a brother of the Bishop of Kimberley. He was educated at Harrow and New College, Oxford, and was called to the Bar by the Inner Temple in 1883, becoming a K.C. in 1902. He acquired a considerable reputation for his mastery of company law, on which he wrote a text-book. He acted during the war as Chairman of the Civil Service Arbitration Board and of the Rates Advisory Committee of the Ministry of Transport. He was knighted in 1921. He left two sons and a daughter.

— **Frederick William Dickinson,** chief editor and a member of the board of directors of Reuter's Agency, was born in 1856. He was educated at Tonbridge School and was distinguished by his knowledge of languages. He was in the service of Reuter's for nearly fifty years, and had held the post of chief editor for twenty. He left two sons and two daughters.

4. **Sir Partab Singh** (Major-General H.H. the Maharajah Sir Partab Singh Bahadur, G.C.B., G.C.S.I., G.C.V.O.), Regent of Jodhpur, was born in 1845, and was the second son of the Maharajah of Jodhpur, Takht Singh. In 1878 he became Dewan to his elder brother, and, on the latter's death in 1895, was appointed Regent to his nephew, a minor. From 1902 to 1911 he acted as Maharajah of the Bombay Presidency, but abdicated in that year to resume the regency of Jodhpur for his grand-nephew. He first saw active service on the Kabul Mission in 1877, was a staff officer during the tribal disturbances on the North-West Frontier in 1897-98, and commanded the Jodhpur Lancers, a regiment formed and trained by himself, against the Chinese Boxers in 1900-1. He was attached to headquarters staff in France during the great European War.

— **George R. Sims,** aged 75, a popular journalist and dramatist, was born in London and educated at Hanwell Military College and at Bonn. He abandoned a business career for journalism very early in life, worked for *Fun* and the *Weekly Dispatch,* and was the editor of *One and All* when not much over thirty. As a journalist he was best known for the page called "Mustard and Cress," which he had contributed under the pen-name of "Dagonet" to the *Referee* every Sunday since its foundation in 1877. He was also highly successful as a playwright in farce and especially in melodrama. Among the better known of his prolific stage productions are "Two Little Vagabonds," "The Lights o' London," "Harbour Lights," and a number of pantomime librettos. A highly versatile man, he was also a criminologist and social reformer. In 1917 he published a book of recollections entitled "My Life."

5. **Marcel Sembat,** one of the famous pre-war leaders of the French Socialist Party, was at one time a member of the Budget and Foreign Affairs Committee of the Chamber. His career belongs to the days when, under the brilliant leadership of Jean Jaurès, the united Socialist

Party in the Chamber helped to make the Radical-Socialist Party the strongest political force in France. After the outbreak of the Great War he took office as Minister of Public Works. Since the war, his party had crumbled away, and he took little part in politics for several years before his death. He was political editor of *L'Œuvre*, and was also a keen art critic. He died suddenly within a month of his sixtieth birthday. His wife, well known as a painter of modern decorative subjects, committed suicide out of grief a few hours after his death.

7. **Thomas James Cobden-Sanderson,** aged 81, was the founder of the Doves Bindery and the Doves Printing Press, and was the last survivor of the great côterie of Victorian craftsmen headed by William Morris. The son of a Somerset House official, he was educated at Trinity College, Cambridge, and in 1871 was called to the Bar. Owing to ill-health, he went abroad after a few years, and there met Anne, one of the daughters of Richard Cobden, whom he married in 1882. It was his association with the families of Burne-Jones and Morris which caused him to abandon his legal career, to which he felt ill suited, and to become a bookbinder, training under the well-known binder, De Coverley. His work soon became conspicuous by its beauty and individuality, and in 1900 he extended his activities to book-printing. His masterpiece in printing was an edition of the Bible, in five vellum-bound quarto volumes, published between 1903 and 1905.

— **Léon Bonnat,** an eminent French painter of subject pictures and portraits, was born at Bayonne in 1833. He started life as assistant to his father, who had set up as a bookseller in Madrid. The rich colour and bold effect of his painting shows how profoundly he was influenced by the Spanish masters. He painted his first picture when he was 17. Not long afterwards his father died, and with an allowance from the Municipality of Bayonne he went to Paris to study art. At the age of 24 he was placed second in the competition for the Prix de Rome, and went to Rome to continue his studies. His "Good Samaritan," exhibited at the Salon of 1859, was bought by the State. He continued to paint subject pictures, and achieved one of his greatest triumphs in 1872 with his "Paysanne d'Ustaritz." After 1874 he devoted himself chiefly to portrait painting, and depicted a number of the famous men and women of his day with much insight and great strength of execution and beauty of colour. He acquired a number of honours; in 1905 he was appointed Director of the Ecole des Beaux Arts in Paris.

10. **George Saunders, O.B.E., LL.D.,** born in 1859 in Perthshire, was the son of a Dundee man, and was educated at Dundee High School and at Glasgow University and Balliol College, Oxford. He acquired an intimate knowledge of German and German life at Bonn and Göttingen Universities, and in 1888 went as a journalist to Berlin for *The Times*. In 1898 he was appointed the resident correspondent of *The Times* in this capital, and from 1908 was for five years its Paris correspondent. His services during the war in the Intelligence Department of the Foreign Office were rewarded by the O.B.E. He was an LL.D. of Glasgow. He left two sons; a third was killed in the war.

— **Wilfrid Scawen Blunt,** poet, diplomatist, politician, and much else besides, but chiefly poet, was born at Petworth, Sussex, in 1840, of an ancient Sussex family. His father, a Grenadier Guard, died when Wilfrid, the younger of two sons, was two years old. He was educated at Stonyhurst and Oscott, and in 1858 entered the diplomatic service. He was appointed successively to The Hague, Athens, Frankfurt, Madrid, Paris, Lisbon, and Frankfurt again. In 1867 he became second Secretary at Buenos Aires, and in 1869, in which year he married, was transferred to Berne, from which post he resigned at the end of the year. In 1872 his elder brother, Francis, died, and he inherited the family

estates. For the next ten years he travelled in Spain, Asia Minor, and Algeria, journeying in 1876 through Mesopotamia. These travels he described in "The Future of Islam." Always an ardent champion of small nations and minority causes, he took part in 1881-82 in the Egyptian National Movement, and later travelled in India. In 1885 and 1886 he made vain attempts to enter Parliament as a Home Ruler, and in 1887 his sympathy with Irish Nationalism landed him in prison for two months.

Prejudiced and uncompromising in politics, the artistic side of him held courage, modesty, and generosity. His irreproachable artistic taste was displayed in a few excellent pieces of sculpture, painting, and architecture, but chiefly in his poems. Of the latter the best are probably "Love Lyrics," "The Idler's Calendar," "Esther," and "The Love Sonnets of Proteus," published in 1880. His influence on the younger generation of poets was so great that a committee of them, including W. B. Yeats and John Masefield, presented him in 1914 with a special tribute to mark their respect for his poetry. His "Diaries," published in 1920 and 1921, are also noteworthy. He was likewise renowned as a breeder of Arab horses at his seat at Crabbet. His wife was the daughter of the first Earl of Lovelace. He left one daughter, Judith, who married the Hon. Neville Lytton, Lord Wentworth.

13. **Rev. Arthur Herman Gilkes,** who died at the age of 73, was Headmaster of Dulwich College from 1885 to 1914. The son of a chemist at Leominster, he was educated at Shrewsbury and Christ Church, and was for twelve years, until his call to Dulwich, assistant master at his old school. He had a nervous manner but definite views, especially on education, and his Socratic mode of administration had a far-reaching influence in the school, and won for him there genuine admiration and affection. He was regarded as one of the great headmasters of his time. He did not take Holy Orders until after he had resigned the mastership in 1914. From 1915 to 1917 he was curate of St. James's, Bermondsey, and had, since then, been Vicar of St. Mary Magdalen at Oxford. He left four sons.

21. **Sir Julian Stafford Corbett** was born in 1854 and educated at Marlborough and Trinity College, Cambridge, obtaining a first in the Law Tripos of 1876. He was called to the Bar in the following year by the Inner Temple and practised until 1882, when he began to publish romances which revealed his taste for sport and travel. In 1896 he accompanied the Dongola Expedition as special correspondent of the *Pall Mall Gazette*. The development of his interest in naval strategy is traceable in various works, such as "Drake and the Tudor Navy" (1898), "England in the Mediterranean" (1904), and he made a number of studies for the Navy Records Society. In 1903 he was chosen Ford Lecturer at Oxford, and in 1910 "The Campaign of Trafalgar" established his status as a naval historian. When the necessity arose to appoint an official naval historian of the Great War, he was selected for the post and was appointed Director of the Historical Section, Committee of Imperial Defence. He had already completed before his death the first two volumes of the history. They bear testimony to his remarkable gifts as a naval historian. He was knighted in 1917. He left one son and one daughter.

22. **The Hon. Sir Charles Wade, K.C.M.G.,** Justice of the New South Wales Supreme Court, was born in New South Wales in 1863 and went to Merton College, Oxford, where he obtained honours in Classics. In 1886 he was called to the Bar by the Inner Temple and returned to New South Wales to practise. In 1891 he was appointed Crown Prosecutor, and in 1903 he entered the Legislative Assembly. A strong Liberal, he joined the Cabinet in 1904, becoming Attorney-General and Minister of Justice, and also K.C. By his perseverance a Liquor Act and a Gaming

and Betting Act were passed. He was Premier from 1907 to 1910, and from 1917 to 1920 was Agent-General for New South Wales in London. He was knighted in 1918, and created K.C.M.G. in 1920, in which year he was appointed to the Supreme Court of his native State. He had two sons and two daughters.

In England he was famous in his youth as a Rugby three-quarter. He played three times for Oxford against Cambridge, four times for South against North, twice for England against Scotland, once against Ireland, and four times in succession against Wales. He also played cricket and rowed in his College eight.

22. **Sir Charles Santley,** aged 88, a famous baritone, was the son of an organist. He trained as a singer in Milan and made his début in opera at Pavia in 1857, appearing on the London operatic stage for the first time in 1859. His regular connexion with the London operatic stage ceased in 1870, and his reputation rests mainly on his fine work in oratorio and ballad singing. His first appearance at an English musical festival was at Birmingham in 1861, although he had, already in 1858, come to the front as a singer of sacred music. From 1863 he was universally accepted as the chief of English baritone singers, and thereafter accomplished many years of enthusiastic work, both as singer and teacher. He was knighted in 1907. He wrote several books dealing with music, also a volume of reminiscences. He was twice married.

26. **Earl Spencer, K.G., G.C.V.O.** (Charles Robert Spencer, sixth Earl Spencer, and Viscount Althorp, etc.), who was the only son of the fourth Earl by his second wife, Adelaide, only daughter of Sir Horace Beauchamp Seymour, was born in 1857. He was educated at Harrow and Trinity College, Cambridge, and entered the House of Commons in 1880 as Liberal member for North Northants. He exchanged his seat to represent Mid Northants from 1885 to 1895 and again from 1900 to 1906. He occupied the now obsolete office of Groom-in-Waiting to Queen Victoria under the Home Rule Administration of 1886, and in 1892 was appointed Vice-Chamberlain of the Household, and a Privy Councillor. From 1900 to 1905 he acted as a Liberal Whip in the Unionist Parliament. Under Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman's Administration in 1905 he was appointed Lord Chamberlain and raised to the peerage as Viscount Althorp of Great Brington. In 1910 he succeeded to the earldom on the death of his half-brother, John Poyntz Spencer, the Liberal statesman. He was created G.C.V.O. in 1911 and Knight of the Garter in 1913. He was also the recipient of a number of foreign Orders. In the House of Commons he took little part in debates, but was a popular member, chiefly conspicuous for his smart appearance. In the House of Lords he was not a prominent figure, as duties at Court occupied him. His period of office as Lord Chamberlain, which he resigned in 1912 owing to ill-health, and which entailed the duty of official censor of the drama, was marked by his formation of an Advisory Board to deal with the censorship of plays. He married in 1887 the Hon. Margaret Baring, daughter of the first Lord Revelstoke. She died in 1906. Of the three sons and three daughters who survived him, the eldest son, Albert Edward John Spencer, who succeeded to the earldom, was born in 1892.

27. **Philippe Godet,** a well-known Swiss literary historian, was a native of Neuchâtel, where he lived and, in his 73rd year, died. A lawyer by profession, he made his name as a literary critic. He wrote for the "Bibliothèque Universelle" for nearly thirty years. His great work, "L'histoire littéraire de la Suisse française," appeared between 1887 and 1893.

OCTOBER.

2. **Colonel Edmund Grove-Hills, C.M.G., C.B.E., F.R.S.,** Royal Engineers, Secretary of the Royal Institution, Treasurer of the Royal Astronomical Society, and a Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society, was distinguished for his contributions to astrophysics, geodesy, and geography. He was for some time Chief of the Topographical Section of the War Office, and was, throughout the war, on the headquarters staff of the Eastern Command. He was the inventor of the suspended photographic zenith-telescope, installed by him not long before his death at the Durham University Observatory, of which he was Honorary Director.

5. **The Marquis (Luiz) de Soveral, G.C.M.G., G.C.V.O.,** Portuguese Minister in London for many years, was a well-known figure in London society and was famous for his friendship with King Edward. Trained in the diplomatic service in Vienna, Berlin, and Madrid, he came to London as First Secretary of the Portuguese Legation in 1885, and except for an interval of two years, 1895-97, when he returned to Lisbon as Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, had lived in London ever since. He became Portuguese Minister in 1891, and resigned on the establishment of the Republic in 1910. He was made a marquis by his Sovereign as a reward for his work in confirming the old Anglo-Portuguese Alliance. His social gifts earned him the designation of "the most popular man in London" and he filled a place that probably no foreigner has held in England in the past.

— **Professor Hermann L. Strack,** the celebrated Orientalist, was born in Berlin in 1847 and at the age of 30 was chosen Extraordinary Professor of Theology at Berlin University. He published many works on theology and religious history and was one of the greatest authorities on post-biblical Jewish writings. Himself a Gentile, a large part of his activities was devoted to the defence of the Jews and to opposing anti-Semitism. Of his published works the most important is his Introduction to the Talmud.

7. **Sir Lancelot Hare, K.C.S.I., C.I.E.,** aged 71, was a son of Thomas Hare, the political reformer and originator of a scheme of proportional representation which his son supported actively during the last years of his own life. He entered the Indian Civil Service and became Lieut.-Governor of Bengal. His name became known during his lieutenant-governorship of Eastern Bengal and Assam from 1906-11, five of the six and a half years of the stormy existence of this province as a separate administration. His health was broken down by the struggle there against the anti-partition agitation. Not very long before his death he published a pamphlet on "The Transferable Vote System," in support of his father's principles, also a work on "Currency and Prices." He married, first, the elder daughter of General Sir John Nation, secondly, in 1916, Miss Marjorie Maudslay.

— **Montague Glückstein,** born in 1854, was a man of remarkable business capacity. He had been the head of the great catering firm of J. Lyons & Co. since its foundation, and its chairman since 1917. He was also chairman of the large tobacco firm of Salmon & Glückstein. His wife, two sons and one daughter survived him.

— **Edouard Clunet,** whose age was 75, was one of the most eminent French barristers and authorities on international law. He was also a specialist in theatrical law. He founded the famous *Journal of Private International Law* in 1870 and was the author of a number of books and pamphlets. He was President of the Institute of International Law, and had often been chosen to defend French interests before the Hague Tribunal.

7. **Miss Marie Lloyd** was a popular variety actress and singer. Born in 1870, her real name was Wood. She first appeared on the music hall stage in 1885 and throughout her life enjoyed a popularity that never waned. At the time of her death, indeed, she was booked up for several years ahead. She had appeared at various Drury Lane pantomimes. She drew large salaries and was renowned for her generosity. She was three times married and had one daughter.

10. **Isaac Guggenheim,** the American copper "King," was the eldest of the seven sons of Meyer Guggenheim, and was born at Philadelphia in 1854. Besides being the head of the metal firm of Guggenheim Brothers, he was a director of several other influential metal firms and of the Mexican Union Railway. He and his brothers built, at a huge cost, an annexe to Mount Sinai Hospital in New York, and a building for the National Jewish Hospital for Consumptives at Denver.

14. **Mrs. H. L. Bischoffsheim,** aged 85, née Clarisse Biedermann, was the daughter of the Court Jeweller of Vienna. She married Mr. Henry Louis Bischoffsheim, a famous London City magnate, in 1856. Of handsome appearance, and with great social gifts, she won the favourable regard of Queen Victoria and was known for many years in London as a society hostess. She and her husband were also well known for their charitable undertakings. They founded at Woburn Sands the Daneswood Sanatorium for Jewish Consumptives. She had been a widow since 1908, and left two daughters, one of whom is married to Earl Desart. A very successful picture of her when a little girl was painted by Sir John Millais.

15. **Rev. James Hastings, D.D.,** a great Biblical scholar and editor of Encyclopædias was a native of Aberdeenshire and was ordained Free Church minister in 1884 with a small living, which did not fully occupy his activities. He decided to start a monthly magazine, which he called the *Expository Times*, most of the first number of which he wrote himself. The magazine was still appearing, almost in its original form, at the time of his death. Having started successfully on a career of editorial work, his next venture was a "Dictionary of the Bible" in several volumes. Various other biblical works and dictionaries were compiled by him, his *magnum opus* being the well-known "Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics" in twelve volumes, which appeared between 1908 and 1921. From 1897 to 1901 he occupied the living of Willison Church, Dundee. He resigned pastoral work altogether in 1911. He received the Dyke Acland Medal for Biblical Research in 1913. He was married and left a son, also a Free Church minister, and a daughter.

16 **Colonel Sir Arthur Davidson, K.C.B., G.C.V.O.,** had a distinguished career in the Army and saw active service in Afghanistan, in the Boer War of 1881, at Tel-el-Kebir in 1882 and in the Bechuanaland Expedition of 1885. From 1890 to 1895 he was A.D.C. to Commander-in-Chief H.R.H. the Duke of Cambridge. He then entered the household of Queen Victoria, first as Groom-in-Waiting, then as Equerry-in-Waiting. Under King Edward he filled the posts of Assistant Keeper of the Privy Purse and Assistant Private Secretary. Since 1910 he had been Extra Equerry to King George and Equerry to Queen Alexandra. He held a number of foreign orders and military decorations and had been K.C.B. since 1910.

18. **Sir James Galloway, C.B., K.B.E., F.R.C.P., F.R.C.S.,** was born in Calcutta, and educated at an Aberdeen School and at the University there, where he became an examiner in medicine. He then served on the Staff of London Hospital, and in 1894 was appointed to the medical staff of Charing Cross Hospital, of which hospital he was, at the time of his death, senior physician and lecturer on medicine. He accompanied the Armies to France during the war as consulting physician. The

holder of many public appointments, he was awarded the C.B. in 1917 and the K.B.E. in 1918. He had two sons and two daughters.

19. **Sir William Stevenson Meyer, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I.,** High Commissioner for India since 1920, and the first holder of that office, was born in 1860 and educated at University School and College, London. Entering the Indian Civil Service, he was Deputy Secretary of the Indian Government, Financial Department, by 1896, and Financial Secretary by 1906, afterwards becoming Chief Secretary of the Government of Madras. From 1913 to 1918 he was Financial Member of Council, and was created G.C.I.E. and K.C.S.I. during those years. Although an able official his financial administration has been much criticised and part of the responsibility for the defective equipment of the Mesopotamian Expedition during the European War has been imputed to him. He was a firm believer in the future of India as a great self-governing Dominion. His wife died in 1914 and his only son was accidentally killed as a schoolboy.

20. **Baron Stephan Burian,** aged 71, who was twice Austro-Hungarian Minister for Foreign Affairs during the war, was of mixed Hungarian and Slovak nationality. He had served as Austro-Hungarian Consul-General at Moscow, and as Consul in Sofia and Minister in Athens. He became Minister for Foreign Affairs in January, 1915, but was superseded by Count Czernin in December, 1916, and became Joint Minister of Finance, a post he had held before. He returned to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs from April to October, 1918.

21. **The Right Hon. Lord Walter Gordon Lennox** was the youngest son of the Sixth Duke of Richmond and Gordon and was born in 1865. He was educated at Eton and Christ Church and became private secretary to Lord Salisbury. From 1888 to 1894 he sat in Parliament as Unionist member for the Chichester Division, occupying the post of Conservative Whip. From 1891-92 he was Treasurer of the Household.

22. **The Rev. Lyman Abbott,** chiefly famous as editor of the American *Outlook*, was born in 1835, and educated at New York University. After practising at the Bar for several years he became pastor of a Congregational Church. He eventually succeeded to Beecher's posts as pastor of Plymouth Church, Brooklyn, and editor of the *Christian Union*, a weekly journal, which changed its name later to the *Outlook*, and which he made the most powerful organ of religious opinion in the United States. He was the author of a number of books. He had four sons and two daughters.

24. **George Cadbury,** the famous Quaker cocoa manufacturer, chairman of Cadbury Brothers and at one time chief proprietor of the *Daily News*, was also known as a philanthropist and social reformer. He was born in 1839 at Edgbaston, near Birmingham. His father was a tea and coffee merchant, and cocoa manufacturer in a small way, both his parents coming of good Quaker stock. When George was 22 he and his elder brother Richard took over the cocoa factory which, after a hard struggle, was by 1864 a highly successful concern, chiefly owing to the simple expedient, devised by the younger brother, of eliminating the fats when making chocolate instead of, as was generally done, counteracting them. In fifteen years' time extension had become imperative, and it was then that, notwithstanding much opposition, the factory was moved to the country at Bournville, and a village was built on garden city lines, according to Cadbury's plan. That the move was a success can be judged by the fact that at the time of his death the village was housing over nine thousand workers. In 1891 the whole property was made over to a trust under the Charity Commissioners. Always a staunch member of the Society of Friends he established a Quaker settlement in his old family house at Woodbrooke. The formation of the Free Church Council was due in large part to his co-operation. All his life he was an active

worker in the cause of housing and other social reforms, and he was persistent in his refusal of honours. In 1901 he became part proprietor of the *Daily News*, ultimately assuming entire control, which he afterwards abandoned to his sons. He was one of the founders of the National Old Age Pensions Society. He was twice married and had six sons and five daughters.

25. **Sir William Hartley,** aged 76, whose name was universally known as a jam manufacturer, was a Lancashire man. On leaving the local school at Colne at the age of 13, he assisted his mother in her small grocery shop, and soon built up a good business as a jam and jelly manufacturer, making his final business headquarters in 1886 at Aintree. He was consistently generous with the fortune he acquired from his trade. London and Liverpool Hospitals and Liverpool University owe much to his beneficence. He was knighted in 1908. He left a widow, one son, and seven daughters.

26. **Dr. Cargill Gilston Knott, F.R.S., D.Sc.,** aged 66, general secretary of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, started in life as assistant to the Professor of Natural Philosophy in Edinburgh University, and was then lecturer on applied mathematics. He was, for eight years, Professor of Physics at the Imperial University of Japan, and conducted the magnetic survey of that country. His publications included a work on magnetic strains, for which he was awarded the Keith prize, and various works on physics.

28. **Dr. Alexander Crum Brown,** Professor Emeritus of Chemistry in Edinburgh University, was born in 1838 and educated at the Royal High School at Edinburgh, Mill Hill School near London, and at Edinburgh, Heidelberg, and Marburg Universities. He became a lecturer on Chemistry at Edinburgh in 1863 and occupied the Chair of Chemistry there from 1869 to 1908. He was actually trained as a medical man, and although he devoted himself to the study of Chemistry rather than practical medicine his talents were so versatile that it was said he could have filled brilliantly any other Chair for which he might have been chosen. He was an M.D. of Edinburgh, F.R.S. London and Edinburgh, F.R.C.P. Edinburgh, and D.Sc. London. He also had the rare distinction of holding the LL.D. degree of each of the four Scottish Universities. He was President of the Chemical Society of London in 1892-93. A chemist of world-wide reputation, he was also known as a savant and scholar and was an excellent linguist. His half-brother, Dr. John Brown, is known as the author of "Rab and his Friends" and other literary works. His father, grandfather, and great-grandfather were all famous in their day as Biblical scholars.

— **Edwin A. Pratt,** aged 68, a journalist, and for ten years a member of the editorial staff of *The Times*, was best known as an authority on the economics of railway working, on which he wrote a number of works. The most important of these dealt with problems caused or intensified by the European War, and were of international as well as of national interest. His books on agricultural organisation, the licensing trade, and other industrial subjects revealed his strong anti-Socialist tendencies. Of his works on transport the chief are: "The Rise of Rail Power in War and Conquest, 1833-1914" (1916), and "British Railways and the Great War," published in 1921.

31. **Father Bernard Vaughan,** the famous Jesuit preacher, was born in 1847, of an old Roman Catholic family, in Herefordshire. Of the thirteen children of Colonel J. F. Vaughan he was the sixth son. Five out of the seven sons became priests, the eldest being Herbert Vaughan, the late Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster, and all six daughters took the veil. His early education owed much to the influence of his mother's personality. From Stonyhurst he joined the Society of Jesus and was

ordained in 1876. He was for twenty years rector of the Church of the Holy Name in Manchester, and in 1900 moved to London and by a course of sermons on the sins of society aroused great popular interest. His dramatic style of oratory, combined with great fearlessness and sincerity, and an unusual insight into human character, soon made him the most popular Catholic preacher of the day at the church of the Jesuit Fathers in Farm Street. He also toured on the Continent and in America, China, and Japan as a preacher and lecturer. He was a vigorous opponent of socialism and of modernism generally. Although not a great scholar, he wrote several books on social problems and religion, and undoubtedly, with his preaching, fulfilled an important mission by rousing numbers of people from their former religious indifference. In his work among the poor of London he was particularly successful in organising working-class clubs.

NOVEMBER.

1. **Alfred Capus,** the famous French journalist, dramatist, and novelist, was born at Aix-en-Provence in 1858. He was educated as an engineer but took up journalism instead. His brilliant political articles in the *Gaulois* soon brought him fame, which was heightened by the appearance of several novels, "Qui Perd Gagne," "Faux Départ," "Années d'Aventures." From 1895 onwards he increased his reputation with a succession of social plays, all of which were well received. His comedies were distinguished by their robust optimism. His philosophy, which proved as valuable in his political journalism as in his plays, was expressed in the saying "Tout s'arrange," which has become almost a proverb. As political editor of *Figaro* since the war, his fine literary style and political optimism were a great national asset. He was elected a member of the Académie Française in 1914 and shortly before his death was promoted Commander, of the Légion d'Honneur. He left a widow.

2. **Dr. George Buchanan Gray,** aged 57, was born at Blandford, Dorset, his father being the Rev. Benjamin Gray. He was educated at New College and University College, London, then at Mansfield College, Oxford, where he won a number of scholarships and prizes, and at Marburg. He became tutor of Mansfield College, holding this post for over thirty years, and had, since 1900, been Professor of Hebrew and Old Testament Exegesis in Mansfield College. A great Hebrew scholar and a great teacher, his teaching was marked by its reliability and human quality, his books no less by their soundness of judgment and deep scholarship. He contributed various articles to the "Encyclopædia Britannica." Apart from his original works, among which "Forms of Hebrew Poetry," 1915, may be mentioned, his completion in 1921 of the late Professor Driver's great edition of the Book of Job completed his reputation as critic, commentator, and philologist. He had one son and one daughter.

10. **Robert Comtesse,** aged 75, who was President of the Swiss Federal Council from 1904 to 1910, was a native of Neuchâtel. He was elected to the Federal Council in 1899. A lawyer by profession, he was responsible, as Chief of the Finance Department, for the framing of the law establishing the Swiss National Bank.

11. **Monseigneur Léon Livinhac,** Archbishop of Oxyrhynchus, had been the head of the Société des Pères Blancs, the great Algerian missionary society working in Northern Africa, the Sudan, Equatorial Africa, and Uganda, for thirty-two years. Born in the diocese of Rodez, he entered the mission in 1873. After a short period as a teacher of its seminary he went to the Victoria-Nyanza district of Uganda at the head of a mission. Such was its success that in 1884 he was elected the first

bishop of the apostolic see of Victoria-Nyanza. In 1890 he returned to the headquarters of the mission in Algeria, becoming its head in 1892, in succession to its founder, Cardinal Lavigerie.

11. **Alfred E. T. Watson,** Racing Correspondent of *The Times* from 1908 to 1920, was not only a great racing journalist but an excellent musical and dramatic critic. Born in 1849, his inclinations led him to the stage, then to the study of writing and music. With the intention of becoming a dramatic critic he went on tour with an operatic company and himself wrote several successful plays and operettas, one of which, "The Elfin Tree," was the first piece played by the Carl Rosa Company in England. He joined the staff of the *Standard*, of which he became the dramatic and musical critic. His interest in hunting and racing and his many friendships with influential men caused him to turn a great deal of attention to racing journalism, and it was to Lord Northcliffe personally to whom he owed his position on *The Times*. He was well-known as "Rapier" of the *Sporting and Dramatic News* and as the editor of the Badminton Library of Sport and the *Badminton Magazine*.

12. **Mrs. Murray Hickson,** novelist and poet, was the only daughter of Judge Greenhow and a great-niece, on her mother's side, of the writer, Harriet Martineau. In addition to poetry and prose articles in the Press, her books "Concerning Teddy" and "A Latter-Day Romance" are well-known. Her husband was Mr. S. A. P. Kitcat, at one time a prominent cricketer. She left no children.

16. **John George Griffiths, C.V.O.,** President of the Institute of Chartered Accountants from 1897 to 1899, was born in 1845 of a Welsh father and a French Huguenot mother. He was for a short time in the Army, then became an accountant, eventually becoming senior partner of Deloitte & Co. He was an original member of the Council of the Institute of Chartered Accountants. He acted as advisory accountant for the Khedive during the 1875 inquiry into the finances of Egypt, and also to most of the telegraph cable companies and a number of important railway companies. He received the M.V.O. in 1916 and the C.V.O. a year later.

17. **Luke Wright,** aged 76, Secretary for War in President Roosevelt's Government, was the son of Judge Wright of the Tennessee Supreme Court. During the Civil War he served in the Confederate Army, then read for the law and was admitted to the Tennessee Bar. He was chosen Democratic member of the Philippine Commission in 1900-1, acting as its president in 1903-4, and becoming Governor-General of the Philippine Islands. From 1906-8 he was American Ambassador to Japan, and was then, until March, 1909, Secretary for War.

18. **Marcel Proust,** a French novelist of far-reaching fame, who died at the comparatively early age of 51, will go down to posterity as the author of one unfinished book, a book written in many volumes, over a number of years, and in many thousands of words. His writing is remarkable for its psychology, its penetration into the human mind, and its wonderful descriptions both of places and of mental conditions. His attempt to construct a series of connected works is comparable with that of Balzac in the "Comédie Humaine." "Du Côté de Chez Swann" began the series in 1913. "A l'Ombre des Jeunes Filles en Fleurs" followed five years later, was awarded the Prix Goncourt in 1919, and established its author as a novelist of European reputation. "Le Côté de Guermantes," in two volumes, built up the third and fourth sections of the series, and in 1921 and 1922 appeared the two volumes of "Sodome et Gomorrhe." Further instalments of this colossal work were left by the author at his death.

19. **Dr. Iwan Bloch,** aged 51, who died at Charlottenburg, was a well-known German medical historian, and authority on sexual science. He

was for many years an editor of the *Zeitschrift für Sexualwissenschaft*, the chief international journal on sexual matters.

20. **Austin Brereton,** whose name is well known as the official biographer of Sir Henry Irving, was a dramatic critic and writer of high standing. Born at Liverpool in 1862, he was at 19 already dramatic critic in London of the *Stage*, and soon started a journal of his own, *Dramatic Notes*. Other papers on which he served were the *Illustrated American* of New York, and the *Sphere*. He was for many years secretary to Irving, and was, from 1909 to 1911, manager to H. B. Irving, whose biography he also wrote. He published a number of books dealing with stage life, history, biography, and dramatic criticism, and several also of topographical interest.

24. **Baron Sidney Sonnino,** a great Italian statesman, was born in 1847 of a Florentine father and an English mother. So serious a student was he that at the age of 18 he took a law degree at Pisa University, and two years later entered the diplomatic service. After several years as attaché to Italian Legations at Madrid, Vienna, Berlin, and Versailles, he returned to Italy to study economic and agrarian conditions, on which he produced several works. He also founded in 1878 the weekly political and economic review, *Rassegna Settimanale*. In 1880 he entered Parliament as a Conservative and soon made a name as a critic of Government finance. In the first Crispi Cabinet of 1887 he was Under-Secretary for the Treasury, and from 1893 to 1896 held the portfolios of Finance and the Treasury with brilliant results, extinguishing, with his bold taxation policy, a deficit of over 6,000,000*l.* in the Budget. Though his own Administrations, in 1906 and 1909, lasted only 100 days each, he and his small personal party exercised throughout his career an influence on home and foreign policy which could never be ignored. In 1915 he took office as Foreign Minister. Although he had, in earlier days, advocated the formation of the Triple Alliance between Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Italy, the breach between his country and the Central Powers in 1915 and Italy's entry into the war on the side of the Allies was manipulated by him. He was blamed for the disadvantageous position held by Italy at the Peace Conference and for the narrowness of his vision of Italian interests in the Adriatic and South-Eastern Europe, but there is no doubt that he was a great and genuine patriot. Though he always sat in the exact Centre of the Chamber, many of his views were markedly Liberal in character. [The notice in the ANNUAL REGISTER for 1921, under November 30, refers to Baron Sidney Sonnino in error. It should have referred to Baron George Sonnino, Baron Sidney's brother, who was born in 1844 and was twice returned to Parliament as representative of Florence.]

— **Robert Erskine Childers,** the leader of the Irish rebels, who was sentenced to death by a Military Court of the National Army for having firearms in his possession without authority, and duly executed, was an Englishman with an Irish mother. Born in 1870, his father was Mr. R. C. Childers, Professor of Oriental Languages, his uncle was Chancellor of the Exchequer under Gladstone. From Cambridge he obtained a post in the Committee Office of the House of Commons, where he remained for fifteen years and served in the South African War. During the Great War he was in the Naval Air Service and won the D.S.O. He was always an advocate of Irish Home Rule, on which, in 1912, he published a book, "The Framework of Home Rule." After the Armistice he espoused the Republican cause in Ireland and was conspicuous in organising propaganda work on behalf of Sinn Fein. An intimate friend of de Valera, over whom he is said to have exercised great influence, he lost no opportunity of opposing the Irish Peace Treaty and was recognised to be the most dangerous enemy of the Free State in the Sinn Fein ranks. He was the author of several books on the art of war, and of a novel entitled "The Riddle of the Sands;"

practically the whole of Volume V. of "*The Times* History of the War in South Africa" came from his pen. He married an American and had two sons.

25. **Horace Smith,** aged 86, for nearly thirty years a London Police Magistrate, and also a poet and writer of much charm, was the son of a merchant. He was educated at Highgate School, King's College, London, and Trinity Hall, Cambridge, and was called to the Bar by the Inner Temple in 1862. He became Recorder of Lincoln in 1881 and in 1888 was appointed a Metropolitan Police Magistrate, sitting first at Dalston and Clerkenwell, afterwards at Westminster. He retired in 1917. He was known not only as the author and editor of legal works but as the compiler of several volumes of poems. He also contributed to *Punch*. He left a widow, three sons and three daughters. His eldest son is headmaster of Sherborne.

26. **Henry John Elwes, F.R.S.,** botanist and traveller, was the grandson of the architect, John Elwes, who built Portland Place, Portman Square, and a great part of Marylebone. Born in 1846, he was educated at Eton and abroad and served for five years in the Scots Guards. A traveller over many continents, he was, in 1886, scientific member of the Indian Embassy to Tibet. He was at one time vice-president of the Royal Horticultural Society and was connected with other kindred bodies. He will be remembered for his monumental work, written between 1906 and 1913, on "The Trees of Great Britain and Ireland." He left a son and daughter.

— **Harry J. Powell,** aged 69, was one of the earliest English pioneers in the scientific manufacture of glass. He not only improved the nature and colour of stained glass, but was a designer of the first rank. The results of his glass-making experiments can be seen in the windows of Salisbury, Liverpool, and New York cathedrals. The vacuum flask, invented by Sir James Dewar, was first made by him, and during the war he worked out a special glass which the Admiralty used in connexion with submarine mines. At the time of his death he was completing a book, "Glass-making in England."

27. **Mrs. Alice Meynell,** the distinguished poetess, was the younger daughter of Mr. J. T. Thompson, her sister being Lady Butler, the famous "battle-scene" artist. She was brought up in Italy and while still in her girlhood produced "Preludes," a small volume of poetry of most remarkable and subtle distinction, which aroused immediate admiration in the literary world. For many years after her marriage to Wilfrid Meynell, a journalist of note, she published no more volumes of poetry, but her prose contributions to literary magazines and dailies, notably to the *Pall Mall Gazette*, were eagerly absorbed by the discriminating reader, so lofty and refined were her style and matter. She also did excellent work as a reviewer. Although her poetical output, for so long a life, was comparatively small, about a quarter of it belonging to her last year, it was all of a unique choiceness and refinement. The exquisite "Shepherdess of Sheep" is perhaps her best-known poem. Much of the verse of Francis Thompson, whom she befriended, was written of and to her. She left a widower and a large family.

28. **Monsieur Gounaris,** the best known of the five Greek ex-Ministers executed at Athens for high treason (see under Greece), was Finance Minister in 1908-9 and Prime Minister from March to August, 1915. He was deported in 1917 but returned to Athens in 1920, as War Minister first, then again as Prime Minister, resigning the latter position in May, 1922.

— **Nicholas Stratos,** also executed at Athens for high treason, first held office in 1909. After serving as Minister of Marine under Venezelos, he deserted the Venezelist Party and became an Independent.

28. **Nicholas Theotokis** came of a good Corfiote family and made a name as a diplomatist. He served as War Minister during practically the whole period of the Constantinian restoration. He and the three undermentioned gentlemen shared the fate of Mm. Gounaris and Stratos.

— **General Hadjianestis** was placed by Theotokis in command of the Greek Army in Asia. He accompanied King Constantine into exile in Switzerland. He was accused of showing complete incapacity during the retreat from the Turkish onslaught at Afrun Karahissar.

— **Monsieur Baltazzis** was Minister for Foreign Affairs under Gounaris in the Cabinet formed in April, 1921.

— **Monsieur Protopapadakis** was Minister of Finance for five months in 1915 under Gounaris, and was also Minister of Finance and Supplies in 1921 and 1922. He became Prime Minister in May, 1922.

30. **Sir Norman Moore, Bart., M.D.,** who was in his 76th year, was a Lancashire man, and was educated at Owens College, Manchester, and St. Catherine's College, Cambridge. He then entered as a medical student at St. Bartholomew's Hospital, where the whole of his working life was spent, and to which institution he rendered remarkable service, ending his career as consulting physician to the hospital from 1911 to the date of his death. Possessing considerable literary gifts, he was even better known as a biographer, especially of medical men, than as a physician, and contributed over four hundred articles to the "Dictionary of National Biography." His written works covered a variety of subjects —topography, etymology, medical science, biography. A "History of St. Bartholomew's Hospital," on which he had spent the leisure time of thirty years, was published by him in 1918. He was created a Baronet in 1919. He was twice married and left a son and a daughter. One son was killed in the war.

— **Sir Isaac Bayley Balfour, K.B.E.,** who had held the Chair of Botany at Edinburgh for thirty-four years, was born in 1853, and was the son of John Hutton Balfour, who had held the same Chair for a similar term of years. He was educated at Edinburgh, Strassburg, and Würzburg Universities, and at the age of 26 was appointed Regius Professor of Botany in Glasgow University, removing to fill the Sherardian Professorship of Botany at Oxford four years later. At Oxford he helped to found *The Annals of Botany* and was one of its editors. At the time of his death it was the first botanical journal in the world. From 1888 until his resignation in 1921 he occupied the Edinburgh Chair of Botany, being also King's Botanist for Scotland and Regius Keeper of the Royal Botanic Garden, Edinburgh. He was especially distinguished as a systematic botanist, and his whole career was fruitful of discovery and practical result to botanical science. He was created K.B.E. in 1920. He left a daughter, his only son having died during the war.

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4. **Sir Francis Fleming, K.C.M.G.,** aged 80, was called to the Bar by the Middle Temple in 1866. Starting his colonial career as Crown Solicitor for Mauritius, he had, on his retirement in 1901, held office in eleven colonies. His experience included the Colonial Secretaryship of Mauritius and of Hong-Kong, and the Governorship (1892-95) of Sierra Leone and (1895-1901) of the Leeward Islands. He was known as a leading Roman Catholic layman. He was created C.M.G. in 1887 and K.C.M.G. in 1892. His only child, a son, was killed in the Great War.

8. **Sir Ernest George, R.A.,** a distinguished architect, was born in London in 1839, and received his artistic education in the Royal Academy Schools, where, in 1859, he won the gold medal for Architecture. He began to practice two years later with Thomas Vaughan as a partner, on

whose death in 1871 he was joined by Harold Peto, and later by A. B. Yates, all well-known men in the profession. His work lay chiefly in designing country houses, the list of which is a long one and covers many of the southern and western counties of England. His work is also to be seen in London, notably in Harrington Gardens and Collingham Gardens, Kensington, the whole of which streets were designed by him. So were the Royal Exchange Buildings, the Royal Academy of Music at Marylebone, and the Golders Green Crematorium. The Shirpur Palace in India must not be forgotten. Sir Ernest received in 1896 the Gold Medal for Architecture bestowed annually by the Sovereign. In 1908-9 he was President of the Royal Institute of British Architects. He was elected an A.R.A. in 1910 and an R.A. in 1917, and was knighted in 1911.

9. **Lord Sudeley** (Charles Douglas Richard Hanbury-Tracy), whose age was 64, will be remembered chiefly for his efforts, from 1910, to promote the better educational use of museums and picture galleries by means of guide lecturers. His naval career was cut short in 1863 by the death of his father, the second Baron. He began reading for the Bar and entered Parliament, representing Montgomery from 1863 to 1877 as a Liberal, in which latter year he succeeded his elder brother in the peerage as the fourth Baron Sudeley. From 1880 to 1885 he was Lord-in-waiting to Queen Victoria. In Parliament he showed great activity, especially in connexion with naval schemes, and his ability was generally recognised both there and in wider circles. He was for seventeen years on the board of the P. and O. Steamship Company and was a director of the engineering firm of Sir William Armstrong & Co. Owing to his untiring advocacy, late in life, museums gradually developed into educational instruments of increasingly recognised value. He married, in 1868, Ada, daughter of the Hon. Frederick J. Tollemache, and niece of the eighth Earl of Dysart, and had three sons and five daughters. His wife, with one son and four daughters, survived him.

12. **Thomas W. Lyster,** ex-librarian of the National Library of Ireland, was born in Co. Kilkenny in 1855. He was educated at a Dublin school and Trinity College, Dublin, became Assistant Librarian in the National Library in 1878 and Chief Librarian in 1895. Under his care the library increased enormously in importance. He was the author of some valuable books, which included a translation of Düntzer's "Life of Goethe," and edited Hall's "History of English Literature" and a volume of English poetry for young students which became a standard text-book.

— **John Wanamaker,** the founder of the world-known department stores in the U.S.A., was born in Philadelphia in 1838, of very humble origin, and started life as an errand boy. Having, with much care and thrift, amassed a little capital, he and a friend started a small clothing shop in Philadelphia. In 1876 he started his first department store in that city, and in 1896 opened in New York a similar establishment, which was highly successful. He served as Postmaster-General from 1889-93 and held various important positions on religious societies, notably the Y.M.C.A.

— **Mrs. Irene Osgood** was of Franco-Spanish descent, was born in Virginia, but lived for most of her life in France and England. She made her name as the author of several books on birds, and also wrote a number of novels. She married first Mr. Osgood (whose name she finally resumed), secondly, Captain C. P. Harvey, thirdly Mr. Robert Harborough, the author.

14. **Herbert Burrows,** aged 77, a co-founder with the late Mr. H. M. Hyndman (see "A.R.," Obituary, 1921, p. 155) of the Social Democratic Federation, was the son of a Chartist leader and peace advocate. After being a pupil teacher, he entered the Inland Revenue service, where he

remained for forty years. He had been actively interested in Socialism since 1870. He also took an active part in the peace movement, and sat on the National Peace Council and on the committees of the International Arbitration and Peace Association and the International Arbitration League.

15. **Eliezer Ben Jehuda,** the famous Hebrew lexicographer, who died at Jerusalem, was born near Vilna in 1858, his family name being Perlman. He went to Palestine in 1870 and had been settled at Jerusalem since 1881. The pioneer of domestic, as contrasted with purely literary Hebrew, and probably the first to make Hebrew the language of the home, Ben Jehuda was for many years engaged on the compilation of an exhaustive dictionary of the Hebrew language. Though still incomplete at the time of his death, the dictionary is a most valuable achievement, from a literary as well as a practical standpoint.

— **Sydney Prior Hall, M.V.O.,** aged 80, was well known as a painter of Court ceremonials. His pictures included the marriage of the Duke and Duchess of Connaught for Queen Victoria and that of the Princess Royal and the Duke of Fife for King Edward VII. Educated at Merchant Taylors' School and Pembroke College, Oxford, he executed some noteworthy illustrations in the Franco-Prussian War and later accompanied various members of the Royal Family on foreign tours. He married, first Emma Holland, then Mary Gow, the water-colourist.

16. **Lord Marcus Talbot de la Poer Beresford, K.C.V.O.,** was the fourth son of the fourth Marquess of Waterford, and was born on Xmas Day, 1848. Almost his entire career was connected with the Turf, on which he was a great figure. A personal friend of King George and King Edward, he was, for over thirty years, in charge of the Royal racing stables. He had been Extra Equerry to the King since 1890. He was created M.V.O. in 1901, C.V.O. in 1909, and K.C.V.O. in 1918. His wife, the eldest daughter of Major-General C. W. Ridley, C.B., predeceased him in 1920, leaving no children.

— **Gabriel Narutowicz,** who was elected first President of Poland on December 10, was assassinated in Warsaw six days later on the occasion of his first public appearance. He was born in 1865 at Telschi, in the Government of Kovno, and was educated at St. Petersburg, then in Zürich as an engineer. He became a Professor in Zürich University and for many years took a prominent part in Swiss engineering. After the Great War he was appointed Polish Minister of Public Works under Grabski, and later Minister of Foreign Affairs, resigning this position to fill the presidency, to which he was elected by the combined votes of the Left Parties and the National Minorities.

18. **Sir Carl Ferdinand Meyer, Bart.,** who was in his 71st year, was born in Hamburg of Jewish parents, and was naturalised a British subject in 1877. He was well known as a mining magnate and held important positions on the boards of the chief South African mining concerns. He was a supporter of the Shakespeare National Memorial Theatre, towards which, in 1909, he gave 70,000*l.* He was created a baronet in 1910. His wife, formerly Miss Adèle Levis, with a son and daughter, all of whom were admitted into the Catholic Church, survived him.

20. **The Maharajah of Cooch Behar** (Sir Jitendra Narayan Bhup Bahadur, K.C.S.I.), who died in London on his 36th birthday, had, like his father, a friend of King Edward VII., made England his second home. His marriage—a love match—with Princess Indra, daughter of the Gaekwar of Baroda, in London, in 1913, aroused much interest. In the same year he succeeded his elder brother as Maharajah. He left two sons and three daughters.

20. **Aubyn B. R. Trevor-Battye,** who was born in 1855, was the second son of the Rev. W. W. Battye. He studied natural science at Oxford University and became an explorer. He was the first Englishman to explore Kolguev Island in Barent's Sea, and was zoologist to the Conway Arctic Expedition in 1896. He wrote and edited a number of books on travel and natural history.

21. **Sir Edmund Robbins, K.B.E.,** a well-known journalist and for many years manager of the Press Association, was born in 1847, the second son of Mr. Richard Robbins of Launceston. At the age of 11 he was apprenticed to a local paper, and in 1865 came to London to serve on the Central Press, becoming one of the chief sub-editors. When the Press Association was formed in 1870 he was appointed one of the three principal sub-editors and acquired the managership ten years later. During the war and afterwards he was Secretary of the Admiralty, War Office, and Press Committee. The K.B.E. was conferred on him in 1917. His special aim in connexion with the Press Association was the distribution of accurate and politically impartial news. His wife and three of his four sons survived him.

22. **Professor Friedrich Delitzsch,** the well-known German Assyriologist, was the son of the theologian, Franz Delitzsch, and was born in 1850. He studied at Leipzig University, where he was appointed Extraordinary Professor of Semitic Studies at the early age of twenty-seven. In 1881 he wrote "Where was Paradise?" in which he identified the Garden of Eden with Mesopotamia. Two lectures, entitled "Babel and Bible," delivered in 1903, aroused a storm of criticism from German Evangelists. He became Professor of Semitic Studies at Breslau in 1893 and at Berlin in 1899.

23. **Sydney Southgate Pawling,** head of the famous publishing firm of William Heinemann, Ltd., was one of the most prominent personalities in the publishing world. Born in 1862, he came, owing to the death of both his parents, under the guardianship of his uncle, Charles E. Mudie, the founder of Mudie's Library. He went to Mill Hill School, then worked for sixteen years in his uncle's business. In 1893 he and William Heinemann set up together as publishers, and the firm soon rose to fame. H. G. Wells, W. E. Henley, and many other literary and artistic celebrities were associated with the firm from their early days.

24. **Emil Frey,** once President of the Swiss Federal Council, and a radical leader of note, was born in 1838 and educated at Basle and Jena University. He took part, as a volunteer, in the American Civil War, and entered home politics as a member of the governing body of Basle in 1866, at the same time occupying an editorial post on the radical *Basler Nachrichten.* From 1882 he was for some years Ambassador to the U.S.A. and returned to Switzerland to become, in 1890, a member of the Federal Council, being elected its President in 1894. He did notable legislative work in connexion with the Army and with the protection of workers.

25. **Professor George Samuel Sale, M.A.,** aged 91, who had held the Chair of Classics in Otago University, New Zealand, for thirty-seven years, was in turn, miner, farmer, administrator, editor, and teacher. Born at Rugby in 1831, his father being a schoolmaster, he was educated there, and at Trinity College, Cambridge, where he obtained a fellowship and classical lectureship. Emigrating to New Zealand on account of his health, he took up sheep farming, then became editor of the *Press,* a leading Christchurch paper. His next experiences were on the Otago goldfields, and were followed by administrative posts under the Government of Canterbury. In 1870, upon the foundation of Otago University, he was appointed to the Chairs of Classics and English Literature, abandoning the latter chair in 1877 and resigning that of Classics in 1908.

He took a leading part in the reconstruction, in 1874, of the New Zealand University system and sat on the New Zealand University Senate for over thirty years. He left a widow, one son, and a daughter.

27. **Professor T. W. Rhys Davids, D.Sc., Ph.D., LL.D., D.Litt.,** aged 79, a distinguished scholar and an authority on Pali and Buddhist literature, was the son of a Congregational pastor. From Breslau University he entered the Ceylon Civil Service, where, among other posts, he held that of Archæological Commissioner. Returning to England he became Professor of Pali and Buddhist Literature at University College, London, and Professor of Comparative Religion at Manchester University. From 1885 to 1904 he was secretary and librarian of the Royal Asiatic Society, and was president of the Pali Text Society, which he founded. He did much for the advancement of Oriental study and published a number of books. He left a widow—also a writer on Buddhism—one son and two daughters.

— **The Rev. James Cooper, D.D.,** Emeritus Professor of Ecclesiastical History in Glasgow University, was a Scottish church leader of considerable note. Born in 1846, he was educated at Elgin Academy and Aberdeen University. For many years an outstanding figure in the Assembly of the Church of Scotland, he became its Moderator in 1917. Although he was a convinced Presbyterian, he worked ardently for the wider and catholic unity of the Church, and will be remembered chiefly for his work in this connexion. The Ecclesiological Society was founded by him in 1886. His distinction as a scholar was recognised by honorary degrees from Aberdeen, Durham, and Dublin Universities. He published several works. He left a widow.

— **Mrs. Max Green** was Johanna, younger daughter of John Redmond, M.P., and was well known as the author of several Irish plays which were produced in London and Dublin. She married in 1913, Max Green, Chairman of the Irish Prisons Board, who was shot dead by a thief in March. She left two children.

28. **Sir George Faudel Faudel-Phillips, Bart., G.C.I.E.,** Lord Mayor of London in 1896-97, the year of the Diamond Jubilee of Queen Victoria's reign, was born in 1840, his father being a wealthy Jewish merchant who had also served as Lord Mayor of London. He entered his father's firm of warehousemen and manufacturers in Newgate Street, and when the firm became Faudel's Ltd., became its chairman. His municipal career began in 1884, when he served as Sheriff of London and Middlesex. He was created G.C.I.E. for his services in raising, during his mayoralty, 550,000*l.* for the relief of Indian famine sufferers. He was president of the Royal Hospitals of Bridewell and Bethlehem and of the Jew's Hospital and Orphan Asylum at West Norwood, and was a governor of Christ's and St. Bartholomew's Hospitals. His wife, a daughter of Mr. J. M. Levy, proprietor of the *Daily Telegraph*, died in 1916, leaving two sons and three daughters.

— **Emile Moreau,** the French playwright, whose age was 70, claimed to be the author of "Madame Sans-Gêne." He first wrote it as a drama, but at the suggestion and with the collaboration of Sardou, treated it as a comedy, and with it achieved world-wide fame. He specialised in historical drama and operatic libretti, and first achieved fame at the age of twenty-six with "Parthénice," a one-act play, produced by Mme. Sarah Bernhardt. He was awarded the Prix de Rome in 1883 for a cantata, "Le Gladiateur," and won various other awards.

— **Colonel Hugh Drummond Pearson,** aged 49, had a distinguished career as an African explorer. Educated at St. Paul's School and Woolwich, he obtained a commission in the Royal Engineers, and saw active service in the Tirah Expedition and in China. In 1913 he received the Murchison Award from the Royal Geographical Society for his ten

years' work on the survey of the Sudan. He died of fever at Um Dafog in South-Western Darfur, where he was engaged on the delimitation of Franco-British frontiers in the Central Sudan.

31. **Wilfrid Ewart,** aged 30, a writer of much promise, was descended on both sides from distinguished soldiers. His father, Mr. Herbert Ewart, is the son of a Crimean Veteran; his mother, Lady Mary Ewart, is the youngest daughter of the Earl of Arran. Owing to delicate health he was educated privately, and when sixteen published a volume on poultry. During the Great War he served in France. Later he travelled in Ireland, and contributed to *The Times* a number of articles, afterwards collected into a book. A novel, "Way of Revelation," picturing English life during the war, was immediately successful. He was accidentally killed by the stray bullet of a reveller, in Mexico City, while on a journey through Mexico for literary purposes.

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