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1931

MADE IN GREAT BRITAIN

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PREFATORY NOTE.

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

MR. RAMSAY MACDONALD'S SECOND LABOUR MINISTRY.

(TOOK OFFICE JUNE 8, 1929.)

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Lord Privy Seal	/ Mr. J. H. Thomas (till June 6).
Chancellor of the Exchequer	* \ Mr. Vernon Hartshorn (from June 6).
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Foreign	Mr. Arthur Henderson.
Dominions and Colonies	Lord Passfield (till June 6).
Colonies	Lord Passfield (from June 6).
Dominions	Mr. J. H. Thomas (from June 6).
War	Mr. Tom Shaw.
India	Mr. Wedgwood Benn.
Air	/ Lord Thomson (till October 5).
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Board of Education	Sir C. P. Trevelyan.
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Minister of Pensions	/ Sir J. B. Melville, K.C. (till October 13).
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War	Mr. Hugh Dalton.
	Mr. A. Short.
	Lord Russell.
	Lord de la Warr (till June 6).
	<u>Lord</u> Marley (from June 6).

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Parliamentary Secretaries:—

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<i>Agriculture and Fisheries</i>	/Dr. C. Addison (till June 6), * Earl de la Warr (from June 6).
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<i>Oversea* Trade</i>	. Mr. G. B. Gillett.
<i>Transport</i>	. Lord Ponsonby.

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<i>Solicitor-General</i>	Mr. John O. Watson, K.C.

ANNUAL EEGISTEE

FOE THE YEAK

1930.

PART I.

ENGLISH HISTORY.

CHAPTER I.

THE COAL BILL AND THE NAVAL CONFERENCE.

THE close of the Parliamentary session of 1929 had left the Labour Government in a highly precarious position. Its fate was bound up with that of the Coal Bill which it had shortly before introduced ; and this measure had provoked a hostility which seemed to render somewhat remote its chances of ever becoming law. The attack on the second reading had, it is true, been warded off (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1929, p. 114); but there was every reason to fear that Mr. Lloyd George would renew his attempts to wreck the Bill, and that they would ultimately prove successful. Hence the early downfall of the Government seemed more than a possibility.

The closing days of the year, however, brought a change over the political scene. As a result of close consultation with the members of his party, Mr. Lloyd George consented to modify his attitude to the Bill, and, instead of striving for its rejection, to endeavour, by means of suitable amendments, to turn it into a workable measure. This decision of the Liberals, which was announced on January 3, meant that a reprieve was being granted to the Coal Bill, and to the Government with it, though the fate of both still depended upon the Liberal criticisms being satisfactorily met.

Shortly afterwards (January 14) a frontal attack on Mr. Lloyd George's position within the Liberal Party was made at the annual meeting of the Liberal Council by Lord Grey, who was again elected President of that body. Lord Grey stated that the Council still maintained its position as a separate body within the Liberal Party. It could not, he said, join the main section,

because it still felt a complete want of confidence in Mr. Lloyd George's leadership, and objected as strongly as ever to the party being dependent on a personal fund. This objection was shared by many Liberals who did not belong to the Liberal Council; it had led to much bickering in the party in the latter half of 1929, with a loudly voiced demand for more light on the disposal of the so-called "Lloyd George Fund." Mr. George refused to satisfy this curiosity; nevertheless, at a meeting held at the National Liberal Club on January 20, he received a vote of confidence from the overwhelming majority of the members of the Parliamentary Liberal Party. He made a conciliatory reply to Lord Grey, expressing regret that he was perpetuating disunion at a time when the party was making headway and strengthening its hold on the country, and appealed to him to "give the party a chance."

In the same speech Mr. George dealt with the political situation, and defined anew the relation of the Liberal Party to the Government. He charged the Prime Minister with still hankering after the two-party system, and with an unwillingness to recognise the fact that in the present Parliament there were three parties which counted. He contemptuously repudiated the suggestion that there had been collusion between himself and Mr. Churchill for the purpose of defeating the Government. The reason why the bulk of the Liberals had voted against the second reading was because the Government had not signified its intention of making the concessions which they demanded. The Liberals recognised that, with a three-party system, it was no longer the first duty of an Opposition to oppose, and they were willing to co-operate with the Government, but only on certain conditions which had not yet been fulfilled. Failing this, they were driven back on independent action and judging each measure on its merits, though giving the benefit of the doubt to the Government.

Mr. Lloyd George's speech was a hint to the Government that he would like to have some definite promise from them of a measure of electoral reform. The Commission which had been set up to report on the subject (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1929, p. 98) was showing little sign of life, and Mr. Lloyd George was now of opinion that he could obtain better results by a kind of "direct action" behind the scenes. His overtures were not rejected, and the prospects of a *rajiprochement* between the Labour and Liberal Parties became brighter.

The trade returns for 1929, which were issued early in January, again showed a very heavy adverse balance, considerably heavier than that of the preceding year (382,294,000Z. against 351,736,000Z.). They gave no indication that Britain was on the way to recover her lost foreign markets. There had been some improvement, it was true, in the export of coal, but this was more than offset by the continued decline in the exports of other leading articles, especially cotton goods.

The Government's attitude in face of the trade depression was stated by Mr. Thomas in an address given on January 10 to a representative gathering of business men at Manchester. He said that the Government could do something to stimulate home trade by developing docks, railways, and harbours, and by providing cheap electricity and power, but what it could do for the export trade was infinitesimal compared with what business could do for itself. As a small contribution, however, the Government intended to revive a number of commercial diplomatic posts which the late Government had abolished for reasons of economy, and institute some new ones. There would also be some more trade missions like that which Lord D'Abernon had led to South America.

In addition to declaring the intentions of the Government—such as they were—Mr. Thomas on this occasion made himself the mouthpiece of the great financial interests in order to convey from them a message of encouragement to the industrial world. Speaking, as he said, with the authority of the banking world, he announced that the City was prepared to support any plans that would help to place industry upon a broad and sound basis. Schemes for reorganising and modernising industries would receive the most sympathetic consideration from the City and its co-operation in finding the necessary financial support. For the first time, he said, the whole forces of British finance were prepared to stand behind industry, if it came forward with real schemes of reorganisation.

Mr. Thomas's statement aroused considerable interest at the time, and was thought to portend some important change in British banking policy. In fact, however, Mr. Thomas was merely giving publicity to a policy which the banks had privately been pursuing for some time, and his announcement was not immediately followed by any great expansion of commercial credit. Unlike many members of the Labour Party, Mr. Thomas was far from laying the blame for the trade depression at the door of the banks ; he defended them warmly against the charge that they were indifferent to the interests of trade and commerce, or were hampering and stopping development, and in particular paid a tribute to the efforts made by the Governor of the Bank of England to steer the country through its present period of financial stringency.

On January 2 Mr. Snowden, in company with Mr. Graham, went to The Hague to represent Britain at the second conference on the Young scheme of reparations. On arriving home from The Hague on January 21, Mr. Snowden declared himself highly satisfied with the results of the conference. He considered that the settlement which had been reached would put the question of reparations on a workable footing, and would give every country a feeling of satisfaction. The gains which he had secured

for Great Britain at the first conference had been fully maintained, and the vexed question of the liquidation of private property (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1929, p. 87) had been finally disposed of. The most important achievement of the conference, in his opinion, had been the settlement of the question of Eastern European reparations, which for ten years had poisoned the political atmosphere in that part of the world, and he dwelt with not unjustifiable complacency on the part which he personally had played in promoting a more reasonable attitude among the parties concerned.

The principal concern of the Government during the vacation was to prepare for the forthcoming Naval Conference (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1929, p. 85). Mr. MacDonald naturally assumed the leadership of the British delegation, with Mr. Alexander, the First Lord of the Admiralty, as his principal colleague. On January 8 the Japanese delegation arrived in London, and in the course of the next few days its leader, Mr. Wakatsuki, had frequent conversations with Mr. MacDonald for the purpose of comparing Japanese and British requirements.

The main outlines of British policy were made clear in a number of important statements issued before the conference met. On January 10 the First Lord of the Admiralty announced that the Admiralty were no longer insisting on seventy cruisers as the absolute minimum of British requirements in that line, as they had done at the Geneva Conference in 1927. In view of the improved international outlook, and especially of the moral effect of the Kellogg Peace Pact, they were now prepared to limit the number to fifty, provided that corresponding limitations were made by other Powers. Below this figure, however, they could not go, as even if the major Powers of the world were at peace, a naval force of this size was needed to meet the responsibilities of the British Empire, as was shown by the recent troubles in Palestine.

On January 13 the Government issued to the Press the text of its reply to the French Government's memorandum of December 20 setting forth its views upon certain questions connected with the conference. The British Government deprecated any attempt to take up fixed positions, from which it might be difficult to recede, before the conference opened. Nevertheless it called attention to the fact that it had always preferred a limitation of types, tonnages, and guns within the various categories to that of " global tonnage." Still, it declared itself ready to discuss with an open mind the " transactional proposal " contained in the French memorandum. The Government accepted the French view that there was a close interdependence between the various defensive armaments of a country, but did not see in this a reason for not dealing with one separately, considering that the approach to disarmament could **be best facilitated** by attacking the **problem in detail**.

On January 15 the Prime Minister, speaking to representatives of the British and foreign Press, dwelt on the spirit in which Britain would approach the conference. The Government, he said, were convinced that the various instruments concluded since the war for strengthening the security of nations—the Kellogg Pact, the Covenant of the League of Nations, the Washington Treaty of 1922, the Locarno Treaties, and the Optional Clause—were an adequate basis on which the world could make some real steps towards disarmament. The risks of war having gone down, military forces should be reduced accordingly. Great Britain was quite willing to act on these lines, but only on condition that other Powers did the same. She would not disarm just to set an example to other Powers, or do anything merely as a gesture.

The conference was formally opened on January 21 in the Royal Gallery of the House of Lords by King George in person, this being the first public ceremony in which His Majesty had taken part since his illness. In welcoming the delegates, he emphasised the universal desire of the peoples to prevent a repetition of the "grim and immense tragedy" of the Great War, and the part which could be played in such an endeavour by a limitation and reduction of naval armament. The delegates, he said, had been entrusted by their Governments with the high mission of continuing the task begun at Washington, and he believed them to be animated with the single-minded intention of working, not for any selfish and exclusively nationalistic purpose, but to remove once and for all the obstacle of naval competition from the path of ordered and civilised progress. He urged them each to be willing to sacrifice some small portion of his special needs as a contribution to the common good, so that their deliberations might benefit not only the nations they represented but also mankind generally.

On the proposal of Mr. Stimson, seconded by M. Tardieu, Mr. MacDonald was unanimously elected Chairman of the conference. In his opening address, Mr. MacDonald said that the eyes of the whole world were almost literally upon the conference. The world was expecting that they should deliberate and negotiate on the assumption that, having put their names to Pacts of Peace, they meant to honour their signatures. It was praying that they should not only relieve it of burdens, but establish it more securely in the ways of peace. It would be the task of the conference to value the securities at present afforded to the nations by the guarantees created during the past few years, and to agree mutually how far they could, on the assumption of an enduring peace, reduce arms. There was probably in the naval programmes of the leading Powers a margin between real security needs and actual or projected strengths, and the world expected the conference to eliminate that margin.

Thanks were returned to the King and Mr. MacDonald by the leaders of each of the other delegations, viz., Mr. Stimson (America), Mr. Fenton (Australia), Colonel Ralston (Canada), M. Tardieu (France), Sir Atul Chatterjee (India), Professor Smiddy (Irish Free State), Signor Grandi (Italy), Mr. Wakatsuki (Japan), Mr. Wilford (New Zealand), and Mr. Te Water (South Africa). One and all endorsed the peaceful sentiments expressed by the King and Mr. MacDonald, and declared themselves ready to co-operate with the utmost good-will in the task of finding a solution to the problems before them.

On the next day (January 22) Mr. MacDonald broadcast a message to the American people, and took the opportunity to give a specific denial to a statement which, as he had been told, was "very widely scattered," that Great Britain, while talking of disarmament, was showing no example. He gave figures proving that Britain since 1921 had made great reductions in her land forces, in every class of warship, and in her air force. He added that it depended on the conference whether they were to go farther in the same direction. They could not go farther alone ; indeed, if they did not get an agreement, they might be forced to expand.

On January 17 and the succeeding days a conference took place between representatives of the Government and of the various branches of agriculture. The proceedings were not made public, but it transpired later that the agriculturists had insisted on demands to which the Government could not accede. Hence the conference, while furnishing to the Government some valuable information, for practical purposes proved abortive.

Parliament reassembled on January 21. The first business of the House of Commons was to vote a supplementary estimate of over 4,000,000*l.* to tide the Unemployment Insurance Fund over the next few weeks, till the new Bill should come into force. The number of unemployed continued obstinately to rise, and was now 200,000 above the maximum number for which the Fund had originally been expected to provide. The effect of this phenomenon on Labour opinion was naturally the reverse of soothing, and Sir Oswald Mosley in the course of the debate found it advisable to remind the House that no member of the Government had undertaken to improve the unemployment position in seven months. He deprecated any endeavour to judge the Government on its work over so short a period, but he was unable to mention any time within which it could promise better results.

On January 23 the House of Commons voted 1,250,000*l.* for the sugar subsidy. The largeness of the sum showed that the sugar-beet production was flourishing, but the support accorded to it was still begrudged by the mass of the Labour Party, largely because of its adverse effect upon employment in the cane-sugar refining industry. To allay their misgivings, the Minister of

Agriculture dilated upon the educative value of the beet-growing experiment, maintaining that it had raised the standard of farming over a large area.

On January 24 the House of Commons gave a second reading, by 118 votes to 71, to a private member's Bill providing that henceforth no proceedings should be instituted in any Court against any person for schism, heresy, blasphemy, blasphemous libel, or atheism. Those in favour of the Bill saw in the existing blasphemy laws an instrument of religious persecution; those against it feared that it would remove one of the signs which still marked England as a Christian country. On February 25, while the Bill was in Committee, the Government announced its desire to see inserted in it a provision making it a punishable offence for anyone to outrage the religious feelings of another by blasphemous speech or writing. The promoters of the Bill—all members of the Labour Party—thereupon withdrew it, stating that they preferred the law as it stood to this provision.

On January 27 Mr. Henderson asked the House of Commons to ratify the action of the Government in signing the Optional Clause of the League of Nations Covenant. He maintained that this step was a logical consequence of Britain's adherence to the Pact of Paris, and in fact that it was only by the acceptance of such obligations to submit to arbitration that the members of the League could give real life and value to the Pact. Sir Austin Chamberlain objected to the omission on this occasion of the reservation which Mr. Henderson had made when pledging Britain to accept the Optional Clause at the League of Nations meeting in September, 1924, viz., that disputes arising out of war-like operations undertaken by the British Empire in support of the League should not be referred to the Permanent Court for settlement. Mr. Henderson contended that such a provision had been rendered unnecessary by the new reservation which enabled disputes of this kind to be referred to the Council of the League of Nations, in his opinion a more suitable body for dealing with them. Sir H. Samuel supported the Government on behalf of the Liberals, and the Conservative amendment was defeated by 278 votes to 193, after which the motion for ratification was carried without a division.

In signing the Optional Clause the Government had declared its intention of seeking the ratification of Parliament. With the Russian Agreement fresh in his memory, Lord Midleton, on January 29, somewhat ironically asked the Government in the House of Lords whether it intended to seek the ratification of the Upper House also. Lord Carson recalled the opinion given by the Attorney-General a couple of months previously, viz., that, as the signing of a treaty was an Executive act, the ratification of it by Parliament meant ratification by the House of Commons only (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1929, p. 110). He said that,

having examined the question, **he could** find no authority **for** the view that "Parliament" could mean anything else than both Houses, and he complained that the House of Lords was being deprived of a valuable privilege. Lord Parmoor tried to smooth matters over by pointing out that the right of making treaties was really part of the Royal Prerogative, and if the House of Commons was consulted, it was only in order that full publicity might be assured in the representative House before His Majesty was asked by his Ministers to ratify. Hence in the context both of the agreement to sign the Optional Clause and of the agreement with Russia, it was quite clear that "Parliament" meant the House of Commons. Obviously a Labour Government could not submit such documents to the House of Lords, constituted as it was, before presenting them to the King for ratification. To this argument no answer could be made, and the Opposition Peers had to content themselves with warning the Government not to use the word "Parliament" in future where it meant "House of Commons."

The House of Lords completed its consideration of the Unemployment Insurance Bill on January 27. It sent the measure back to the Lower House with two important changes. One was that a time limit of one year was set to the operation of the Bill. The other was that a new test of disqualification for benefit was substituted for the one at which the House of Commons had arrived after so much discussion and brain-cudgelling. On Lord Darling's suggestion the House of Lords solved the problem by adopting the rule used by the National Union of Railway men, which insisted more clearly than that approved by the House of Commons on the duty of the applicant to look for work.

These amendments were discussed by the House of Commons on January 30, and rejected by large majorities. The House of Lords thereupon bowed to its will in the matter of the disqualification test, but adhered to its insistence on a time limit (February 3). Great indignation was expressed by the Labour Party at this act of defiance. The Government, however, did not consider the occasion suitable for taking up the challenge. It accepted the principle of a time limit for the Bill, and merely proposed that it should be lengthened from one year to three. To this the majority in the House of Lords did not demur, being satisfied that its authority had been sufficiently asserted.

At the end of January the Government announced the establishment of an Economic Council which should advise the Government on matters affecting the economic life of the nation. The nucleus of this body was formed by a staff of five economists of repute, not one of whom was known as a Socialist. The Council contained in addition a number of Ministers and some fifteen persons of note representing various shades of opinion. As far as could be gathered from statements of the Prime Minister,

the formation of this body was meant to fulfil the Labour Party's election pledge to create an advisory council which should be a "thinking brain" for the nation in economic matters (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1929, p. 34). It was to be subject to the general direction of the Prime Minister, and to be at the service of Departments interested in economic matters for purposes of study and research—in fact, to take over and expand the functions of the existing Committee of Civil Research.

The Government was by this time ready to proceed with the Coal Bill. After the decision taken by the Liberal Party on January 3, Mr. Lloyd George had put himself in touch with Mr. Graham, and had indicated to him the changes which he would like to see introduced into the Bill. Mr. Graham had frequent consultations with him during the vacation, and gave his suggestions the most careful consideration. The result was that on January 21, the day before Parliament met, the Government tabled a number of amendments to the Bill which it intended to move in the Committee stage.

The most far-reaching of the new proposals was to appoint three Commissioners to take the initiative over the whole area of the coal-fields in promoting colliery amalgamations: that is to say, they were to provide facilities where owners started such schemes voluntarily, and apply compulsion where they were unwilling. Another important amendment was that in estimating the value of undertakings for the purposes of amalgamation, any increased value attributable to the quota scheme under the Bill should be disregarded. It was also now provided that a time limit of about three and a half years should be fixed for the marketing schemes under the Bill, in order that Parliament might review their working after they had been allowed a fair trial.

These alterations on the whole satisfied the Liberals as far as they went while they did not estrange any section of the Labour Party. Certain associations of mine-owners, it is true, protested against the new proposals, but the Government considered that they could be disregarded. More serious was the objection still felt by the Liberals against the quota system, which had been left unaltered. Mr. Graham continued his conversations with Mr. Lloyd George to see if agreement could not be reached on this point also. In order not to wreck the Bill at the outset, he accepted a suggestion of Mr. George's, that the discussion of the first part of the Bill, which contained the quota proposals, should be taken after the discussion of the second part, which was in the main acceptable to the Liberals.

As the new proposals of the Government meant an additional expenditure under the Bill, Mr. Graham, on January 28, moved a money resolution to cover the increased cost. He was unable to state the exact amount, but estimated that the district

committees of investigation, whose principal duty would be to watch the marketing schemes in the interest of consumers, would require about 35,000Z. and the Commissioners, who would need to be assisted by a large technical staff, about 250,000Z. The resolution, being recognised on all hands as a necessary preliminary to further discussion on the Bill, met with no opposition. The Conservatives, however, expressed a fear lest, as it stood, it might render invalid certain amendments to the Bill which they desired to move. Mr. Graham recognised the objection as reasonable, and redrafted the resolution in such a form as to allow scope for all reasonable amendments. It was then carried without a division.

The discussion of the Coal Bill in Committee commenced on February 4. In accordance with his promise to the Liberals, Mr. Graham immediately proposed that Part I. of the measure should be postponed. The Unionists, feeling hurt that they had not been consulted on the matter, protested energetically, but they were powerless against the combined forces of the other two parties. Discussion therefore commenced with the consideration of Part II., dealing with hours of work. The Conservatives proposed an amendment that a 90-hour fortnight should be substituted for the 7½-hour day. It was thought that this would make it easier for the employers to keep down the cost of production under the new arrangement. The miners' representatives were strongly averse to the proposal, which they thought would enable the owners always to exact the maximum number of hours for the minimum of wages. The Government supported the miners, and the amendment was defeated by 292 votes to 197.

In the discussion on the clause for establishing a National Industrial Board for the industry, the Conservatives in vain tried to secure a reduction in the number of miners and coal-owners on that body, which by the Bill was fixed at twelve out of seventeen. A proposal that representation on the Board should be given to non-political unions also led to some vehement attacks by miners' members on the dissident "Spencer Union" in Nottinghamshire, which now had 17,000 members. The proposal was eventually rejected by 266 votes to 132.

At this stage Mr. Maxton tried to introduce a little more Socialism into the Bill by moving that the National Board should be empowered to fix minimum wages for all grades of mine-workers at or above the highest district rate. He was supported by a number of the mining members. Mr. Graham, however, dismissed the suggestion as quite impracticable, and likely to increase unemployment and seriously hamper the export trade. Mr. Maxton insisting on a division, the amendment was lost by 313 votes to 21.

The amendments dealing with amalgamations were moved by Mr. Graham on February 13. He rested the general case for amalgamation on the report of the Royal Commission of 1925,

which had stated that " it was desirable in the public interest and for the efficiency and prosperity of the industry at home and abroad that amalgamations should take place." So far the initiative had been left wholly in the hands of the coal-owners, and they had made little progress in the direction desired. It was therefore now proposed to place a power of initiative in the hands of three, or possibly five Commissioners, one of whom, it was intended, should be a lawyer familiar with industrial and commercial practice, a second, some one familiar with administration in colliery districts, and a third a business man who had already had experience of amalgamation in other industries. Voluntary amalgamations would still be permitted, and would even be encouraged by the provision that the existing capital brought into them should remain exempt from stamp duty, as heretofore. But the Commissioners would have the power to prepare compulsory schemes where they thought necessary, subject to rights of appeal on the side of the collieries to the Railway and Canal Commissioners and the Courts. Mr. Graham further stated that the Government would accept the Liberal view that the basis of valuation should be the assumption of a willing buyer and a willing seller, and that any value attributable to the marketing schemes or other portions of the Bill should be excluded.

The Conservative Party was strongly opposed to this part of the Bill. Sir P. Cunliffe-Lister and Sir R. Home warned the Government that amalgamations forced on an unwilling body of coal-owners would do no good, and might even lead to serious abuses. Mr. Runciman also doubted whether it would be possible always to secure the services of men of the ability required to make the experiment a success. Sir H. Samuel, on the other hand, believed that amalgamations were desirable and necessary, and that if the coal-owners could not see the benefits of them, they must be forced into them by the State. On behalf of the Liberal Party he welcomed the amendment, though he would have preferred to see mining royalties abolished first. One or two mining members avowed that they welcomed this proposal as the first step to nationalisation. Mr. Graham, in his reply, was scarcely at pains to conceal the fact that he had introduced the proposal less from a conviction of its merits than in order to secure Liberal support. The amendment was finally carried by 281 votes to 142. On the proposal of a Liberal member Mr. Graham agreed to increase the number of Commissioners to five, on the understanding that part of the services should be on a part-time basis.

Mr. Graham made it clear, in his closing speech in this debate, that the limit of his concessions to the Liberals had been reached, and that the Government would on no account withdraw the introduction of the quota system from the Bill. To have done so would have meant coming into sharp conflict with the Miners' Federation, which on the previous day had expressed an uncom-

promising demand that Part I. of the Bill, which provided for quotas and price-fixing, should be kept inviolate. Sooner than break with the miners, the Government preferred to defy the Liberals. The latter had ample time to consider their course, as the debate on the Coal Bill was suspended while Mr. Graham was away in Geneva at the Tariff Truce Conference. Mr. Lloyd George maintained an inflexible hostility to the quota system, and in the end brought the majority of the Liberal members round to his view, though at the final party meeting before the debate one member openly declared his intention of voting for the Government, and several others refused to pledge themselves to follow Mr. George.

The discussion of Part I. of the Bill was commenced on February 27. An amendment was immediately moved by a Liberal member, Mr. C. Davies, to take the regulation of production out of the Bill. The chief Liberal objection to this provision, as explained by the mover of the amendment and by Mr. Lloyd George after him, was that a quota would lead to restriction of output, and this in turn would inevitably raise the price of coal, which would be a disaster for many industries in the country. Sir L. Worthington-Evans supported the amendment on behalf of the Conservatives, arguing that the Bill would penalise efficient owners and prevent new capital coming into the industry. He accused the Labour Party of trying to strangle the industry in order the more easily to nationalise it.

To the cry that the Bill meant "dear coal" a Welsh mining member, Mr. Bevan, retorted that slightly dearer coal was better than cheaper colliers, while Mr. Hartshorn openly supported Part I. of the Bill because it would pave the way for nationalisation. Mr. Graham pointed out to the Liberals that the adoption of the amendment would destroy not only Part I. of the Bill, but all the rest as well, including the features of which they approved. He could not expect the owners to assist him in working the amalgamation schemes if they were not given some assurance with regard to prices. Further, if conditions were left as they were, the reduction of working hours would mean an increase in the cost of production, which the owners could not stand without obtaining some equivalent. The disappearance of the Bill would mean a dislocation in the industry and an intensifying of the distress among the miners, which would eventually cost the country millions more.

Mr. Graham's appeal failed to move the Liberal leaders. Mr. Lloyd George once more joined his forces to those of the Conservatives in an endeavour to wreck the Bill. The division turned out an almost exact replica of that which had taken place on the second reading (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1929, p. 114). The Government again succeeded in mobilising nearly the full strength of the Labour Party. The Conservatives also mustered

in full force for the first time since the second reading of the Coal Bill. The bulk of the Liberals voted with Mr. Lloyd George for the amendment. Four, however, supported the Government, and eight abstained. This Liberal defection again just turned the scale in favour of the Government, the voting figures being 271 for the amendment and 280 against—a Government majority of nine. Labour members cheered for several minutes on the announcement of the result. Mr. Graham, worn out by his labours of the previous months, collapsed at the end of the debate, and had to take a few days complete rest.

The victory of February 27 did not by any means bring the Government to the end of its troubles over the Coal Bill. There were still to be discussed various provisions relating to the quota and the fixing of prices to which both Conservatives and Liberals took objection, and which yet were regarded by the Government as vital. Hence for a time the fate of the Bill, and with it of the Government, was still in doubt. A Conservative amendment, to delete the proposal allowing a levy on coal in order to subsidise export, was actually carried against the Government by eight votes on March 11. As the Government, however, had originally inserted this clause against its will and merely to oblige the coal-owners, it regarded the defeat as being really a blessing in disguise, and was not deflected by it from its determination to go on with the Bill. This proved to be a simpler task than it had anticipated, in consequence of certain movements which now took place within the Liberal Party.

The action of those Liberals who had saved the Government brought up in an acute form the question of discipline within the party, all the more as the Chief Whip, Sir R. Hutchinson, sent in his resignation after the division. A party meeting was held on March 4 to consider the situation. A vote of confidence was passed, with one dissentient, in Mr. Lloyd George as leader, and Sir R. Hutchinson was induced to withdraw his resignation. But no pledge was enacted from members that they would obey the party decisions unreservedly, and though unity was apparently restored, no guarantee was given that members would not again go their own way if questions arose on which they felt strongly. Mr. Lloyd George, in fact, was given to understand that any attempt on his part to join with the Conservatives in defeating the Government for purely party purposes would not be tolerated.

Not many days elapsed before Mr. George gave a striking indication that he had laid the lesson to heart. He had announced his intention of opening a debate on unemployment on March 10, and in the light of his previous proceedings it was generally expected that he would make full use of the opportunity which such a subject offered to deliver a crushing attack on the Government. This assumption was confirmed by the issue, on the day before

the debate, of a manifesto from the Liberal Party headquarters, stating that the truce between the Liberals and the Government was now at an end, that the patience of the Liberals was exhausted with the Government's dilatoriness in grappling with the unemployment problem, and that they were about to issue a challenge to it which might bring about its downfall.

The expectations thus aroused were completely belied by the actual speech which Mr. George delivered. He refused to move a hostile resolution, expressed sympathy with Mr. Thomas's difficulties, and kept the Liberal unemployment scheme well in the background. Mr. Thomas once more pleaded that the rise in unemployment figures was due to forces of world-wide range entirely beyond the power of the Government to control. Once more, too, he found his most severe critic in Mr. Wheatley. The debate left the position of the Government—and of the unemployed—unaffected, and the threats of the Liberal manifesto came to nothing. An official statement was issued that it had been unauthorised.

Mr. George's new-born tenderness for the Government proved to be no passing phase, and was soon made to stand them in good stead on an even more critical occasion.

On March 20 the House of Commons discussed in Committee the clause of the Coal Bill providing for the fixing of district minimum prices. The Government considered this provision to be vital, as without it the coal-owners were hardly likely to accept the amalgamation schemes. The Liberals were on principle against the clause, and some of them had put their names to a Conservative amendment for its deletion. At a party meeting held before the debate, however, it was decided, on Mr. Lloyd George's suggestion, that all members of the party should abstain from voting on the amendment. The decision was loyally obeyed, and the Government in consequence, instead of suffering defeat, obtained a majority of forty-five.

This act marked the beginning of a new relation between the Liberal Party and the Government which profoundly modified the political situation. Mr. Lloyd George explained the Liberal attitude as due to a desire not to embarrass the Government at a critical stage of the Naval Conference. This excuse, which was believed by no one, could not be made to apply to proceedings of a like nature which immediately followed. After some negotiations between Mr. Lloyd George and Sir Herbert Samuel on the one side, and Mr. Graham on the other, the Liberal Party, on March 27 decided not to put down or support any vital amendments on the Committee or Report stages of the Coal Bill and to abstain from voting on the third reading. Their tolerance was soon put to a severe test. On April 1 a Conservative amendment was brought forward for omitting the quota system. The Liberals had previously declared that they were against this provision,

on the ground that it would raise prices to the consumer. Sir Herbert Samuel now stated, amid some chaffing from the Conservatives, that they were prepared to swallow their objections in order not to wreck the Bill. The Government in consequence secured a majority of forty-seven.

The third reading of the Coal Bill in the House of Commons was taken on April 3. Mr. Baldwin stated that the Conservative Party were still quite unreconciled to compulsory amalgamations and statutory price rings. He found comfort, however, in the reflection that the Bill involved a complete abandonment of the Free Trade principle that in no circumstances should the price of any necessary article be raised by artificial means, and he hinted that what a Labour Government had done for coal a Conservative Government might one day do for wheat. Liberal members could only answer that they still did not like Part I. of the Bill, but that as their principal objections to the measure had been met, they had no sufficient ground for voting against it. Mr. Graham mentioned that since the Bill had been launched far-reaching schemes of amalgamation had been brought forward, and promised that every effort would be made to persuade minorities to come in of their own free will. In the division the bulk of the Liberals abstained from voting, and the third reading was carried by 277 votes to 234.

Throughout the debates on the Coal Bill, the Left Wing of the Labour Party loyally supported the Government. This did not mean, however, that they had returned to their allegiance, or in any way altered their opinion on the requirements of party discipline. In January their attitude towards the Unemployment Bill (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1929, p. 103) had been considered by the district councils of the Independent Labour Party throughout the country, and had been emphatically endorsed by all of them with the exception of Scotland, which expressed disapproval by a small majority. Thus encouraged, they held themselves at liberty to repeat their former conduct, should occasion arise, and were before long again at loggerheads with the Party Whips.

The action of the district councils of the Independent Labour Party in upholding Mr. Maxton and his colleagues in their policy of revolt finally decided Mr. MacDonald to sever his connexion with that body, of which he had been a member since 1894. He accompanied his departure with no sentimental expressions of regret; on the contrary, he administered a stern rebuke to his whilom comrades, telling them that the I.L.P. had lost both its grip of Socialism and its sense of the meaning of "Comrade," that it was salt which had lost its savour and was henceforth good for nothing. Such language was naturally not calculated to heal the breach in the Labour ranks.

In the Conservative Party also at this time the spirit of disunion manifested itself in a dangerous form. A threat of

disruption came from the extreme Protectionists who advocated their policy under the title of " Empire Free Trade." In spite of the chilling reception accorded to this policy in November by the House of Lords (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1929, p. 106), its protagonist, Lord Beaverbrook, the Press magnate, continued to propagate it energetically in the journals under his control, and to enrol adherents under the title of " Crusaders/" On January 29 a Conservative member moved a resolution in favour of Empire Tree Trade in the House of Commons. Mr. Lloyd George exposed the weaknesses of the policy in his most trenchant style, and Mr. Snowden declared that if it meant anything it meant the taxation of imported food and raw materials, to which the Government would never consent. A significant feature of the debate was the silence of the Conservative leaders. The motion was eventually talked out.

A few days later (February 5) Mr. Baldwin, addressing a large Conservative gathering in London, once more declared Safeguarding and Imperial Preference to be the corner-stone of Conservative policy, while repeating his usual pledge about not taxing food imports. This was not sufficient for the extreme Protectionists, and a couple of days later Mr. Amery, speaking at Birmingham, while endorsing his leader's declaration on Safeguarding, expressed regret that he had not at least left himself some loophole for advocating a tax on food, if necessary. So strongly did he feel on the subject that he offered to withdraw from the Conservative Shadow Cabinet if Mr. Baldwin insisted, though he disclaimed any intention of carrying on disruptive activities.

Lord Beaverbrook was not restrained by such scruples. On February 17 he issued a manifesto stating that the heads of the Conservative Party were in league with the heads of the other two parties to stamp out the new idea which he had introduced, and that he consequently owed them no allegiance. He therefore announced that the Empire Crusade was now transformed into a new party—the United Empire Party—which would seek by every means to place before the electors and carry out the principles for which the Empire Crusade was launched, without regard to the tactical needs of any other party. At the same time he took steps to organise the new party as a separate political body, with its own campaign funds, candidates, and election agents. In this work he had the active co-operation of Lord Rothermere.

The Conservative leaders took a very serious view of the new development. Mr. Baldwin issued a statement in which, while declaring his devotion to Empire Free Trade as an ideal, he pointed out that at present there were insuperable obstacles in the way of its realisation. For one thing the Dominions had declared with one voice that they would not have it. To impose it by force on the Crown Colonies would in many cases reduce

them to bankruptcy, besides causing friction with foreign countries which had trading rights there ; and its introduction into Mandated Territories presented even greater difficulties. To make Empire Free Trade an issue at the next election would consequently only split the Unionist Party and ensure the triumph of the Socialists. He therefore implored Lord Beaverbrook to drop his impracticable idea and work with him for the practical policy of Safeguarding, Imperial Preference, and Imperial development.

Mr. Baldwin followed up this appeal by entering into personal communication with Lord Beaverbrook. As a result of their conversations, on March 4 he delivered an address to the Council of the National Union of Conservative and Unionist Associations, in which he reiterated his former views on Conservative policy, with one significant addition. He adhered to his pledge that food taxes would not be made an issue at the next General Election ; but he expressed his willingness that the question should be submitted to the people by means of a referendum, thus reviving a proposal which had been put forward, though not for the same purpose, in 1893 by Lord Salisbury and in 1911 by Mr. Balfour. Its effect on this occasion was magical. Lord Beaverbrook immediately declared that the " momentous announcement " of the leader of the Conservative Party had altered the political outlook almost to the point of transformation and that he was prepared to re-enter the Conservative fold. In accordance with this announcement, he at once took steps to liquidate his new party and merge it once more in the main Conservative body. Lord Rothermere, however, continued to maintain a separatist attitude, and took over the direction of the United Empire Party.

Whatever might be their other preoccupations, the Conservatives neglected no opportunity of harrying the Government over the Russian Trade Agreement; and of such opportunities there was no scarcity. The pledge given by the Russian Ambassador to abstain from hostile propaganda (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1929, p. 110) was hardly dry upon the paper before the Comintern subjected the patience of the Government to a severe test. On January 1 a new Communist paper came out in London under the title of the *Daily Worker*, and it signalised its first appearance by giving prominence to an inflammatory message from the Comintern. The Conservative Press naturally seized on this message as a proof of the worthlessness of the Russian Government's promises. For a time Mr. Henderson ignored the incident, but to silence Press criticisms he at length represented to the Soviet Ambassador that the message was calculated to impede good relations between the two countries. When Parliament met, Conservative members pressed Mr. Henderson to inform them what answer, if any, the Ambassador had given him, but he refused to satisfy their curiosity. All he would say was that no further action was contemplated, and he hoped matters would

be satisfactory. The Opposition called his attention to some further instances of breaches of the pledge to abstain from propaganda, but he treated them as beneath his notice.

By this time a large section of public opinion in England had—largely as the result of a newspaper agitation—become greatly excited over the persecution of religion which was being carried on by the Soviet Government in Russia. On February 12 the Houses of the Convocations of Canterbury and York passed strong resolutions of protest, and the Archbishop of Canterbury stated that he was taking steps to have a careful inquiry made into the facts. On the next day he announced in a speech in the House of Lords that the Bishops were ordaining a day of prayer to seek mitigation of the persecution. He disclaimed any intention to make the matter into a political issue, preferring that the Soviet Government should be swayed by the voice of British public opinion. In the House of Commons, however, the Government was urged by a Conservative member on the same day to bring the question of religious liberty in Russia before the League of Nations. Mr. Henderson in reply said that the reports on the religious situation in Russia were receiving the serious consideration of the Government, but he did not think the course suggested would serve the object in view. He promised, however, that the Government would, where possible, use all its influence in support of the cause of religious liberty and the freedom of religious practice.

The Conservative anti-Soviet campaign reached its climax with an attack on the Government's policy delivered by the Earl of Birkenhead in the House of Lords on February 20. Unlike the Archbishop of Canterbury, Lord Birkenhead refused to separate the Soviet Government's persecution of religion from its breach of the pledge regarding propaganda, and he urged the British Government to take action on both counts. In the name of those who held that Britain could never maintain peaceful and fruitful relations with the Soviet Government while it remained what it was, he entreated the Government to acknowledge frankly that it had been misled, and not go on denying facts which were known to every Foreign Office in Europe and the New World.

Lord Parmoor in reply once more stated categorically that in the matter of propaganda the Government made no distinction between the Soviet Government and the Comintern, and he did not deny that provocation had been given from the Russian side. Nevertheless he would not admit that the Government had made any mistake. The creation and maintenance of friendly relations with Russia was in their opinion a matter of paramount importance, and nothing which the Soviet Government had so far done necessitated a rupture. Lord Cushendun stigmatised the policy of the Government as weak and undignified, and Lord Newton held up the policy of the United States, which kept the Bolsheviks at

arm's length, as an example to be followed. Apart from his colleague, Lord Ponsonby, Lord Parmoor found no supporter in the Upper House.

At the end of February it was announced that Sunday, March 16, had been fixed by the Archbishops of Canterbury and York as a day of prayer on behalf of those suffering from persecution in Russia. The Government thereupon issued instructions that prayers for this purpose should not be offered at compulsory military parade services in the Army. The Conservative Party, both in the Press and in Parliament, tried to construe this step into an interference with religious liberty; Mr. MacDonald was assailed with questions on the subject on March 4, and a lengthy debate took place on it in the House of Lords two days later. The Government naturally pleaded that to force soldiers and sailors to attend such services against their will might be regarded as an official condemnation of the Russian Government which might lead to a diplomatic protest, and charged their opponents with acting from political motives. Mr. MacDonald, however, promised to consult the other party leaders, and finally an arrangement was made which satisfied all parties. The report of the British Ambassador in Moscow for which the Government had asked was received on March 5, but was not made public, in spite of requests from the Opposition. Soon after news was received that the anti-religious "pressure," as it was diplomatically called by Mr. Henderson, had been relaxed, and the agitation died down.

While public feeling was at its height, the Archbishop of Canterbury had instituted his promised inquiry into the anti-religious policy of the Russian Government, with a view to discovering how far the allegations of persecution were justified. On April 2 he laid the results of the investigations conducted on his behalf before the House of Lords, in a very striking speech. He made it clear that since the end of 1928 at any rate religious officials had been subjected by the Government to severe disabilities, the practice of religious worship had been seriously hampered, and the religious teaching of the young had been made almost impracticable. He maintained that the treatment of religion by the Russian Government amounted to a persecution which was an offence against the common order of civilisation, and which consequently could not be overlooked by the British Government in its diplomatic intercourse with Russia. He therefore called upon the Government to make representations to Russia. He recognised that the Soviet Government could not be asked to change its attitude towards religion, because that attitude was its own religion. But he thought they had a right to ask that in pursuing it they would pay some heed to the claims of justice.

The Archbishop's speech, while serving as an effective expression of public opinion, had very little effect on the Government.

Lord Parmoor stated that any representations which the Government might make must be carefully safeguarded by two conditions—first, overwhelming proof of religious persecution, and secondly, some certainty that by intervention they did not increase the very evils which it was intended to diminish. And in any case, if representations were to do any good, he thought it essential that Britain should cultivate friendly relations with Russia—a view with which the Archbishop in the main concurred, though some Conservative peers vehemently dissented.

On February 12 the Government successfully resisted an attack made from Conservative quarters on its ownership of the postal and allied services. An agitation for transferring these services to private hands had been conducted for some time with growing intensity, and now reached its culmination with a proposal in Parliament that a Committee should be appointed to consider the advisability of transferring these services to an *ad hoc* public corporation. The justification for such a change was found in the fact that the telegraph services continued to be run at a loss and the telephone did not yield nearly so large a profit as in some other countries; also that of late years losses of registered letters had been unpleasantly frequent. The Postmaster-General explained the increase in the number of registered packets lost by the new fashion adopted by bankers and others, since paper money was introduced, of sending large remittances through the post. This had attracted the professional thief and had rendered the task of the Post Office much more difficult. Speaking generally, he maintained that when faults were pointed out, the Post Office system enabled them to be corrected more rapidly than they were in private industries outside, and as proof of the efficiency of the British Post Office he referred to the commanding position which it had occupied at the recent Postal Union Congress in London. The motion was lost by 187 votes to 51.

Not content with retaining those communication services which it already possessed, the Government soon after extended its ownership in this field. On February 26 the Postmaster-General announced the decision of the Government to conduct wireless telephony with India and the Dominions through their own stations at Baldock and Rugby. The Conservatives were considerably taken aback by this statement, as they had confidently expected that this service would be handed over to the Imperial Communications Company, in accordance with a request made by it some months previously. The reason given by the Postmaster-General for refusing the request was that in the opinion of independent experts whom he had consulted the Post Office system was equally efficient with that conducted by the Company through its Beam stations, and would cost the Government much less, besides being more elastic and adaptable to new inventions.

The friends of the Communications Company in the House of Commons, led by Sir E. Hilton Young and Mr. Amery, made another attempt on March 26 to deflect the Government from its purpose. It was represented that the issue was not really one of public versus private ownership, since the Company was virtually a public body. Nor was the first consideration in the matter economy, but rather Imperial interests. These would be served better by the Company, as all its stations lay within the Empire, whereas the Post Office would have to co-operate with America and other countries. The Postmaster-General ignored this argument, and contended that he had served the national interests by adopting the course which commended itself on financial and technical grounds.

The Road Traffic Bill, which had been discussed by the House of Lords before Christmas (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1929, p. 107), and had finally passed its third reading there on February 4, was given a second reading by the House of Commons without a division on February 18. Some of its provisions, however, were strongly criticised in the debate, notably the abolition of the speed limit. The House of Commons had already shortly before given a second reading to a Bill empowering local authorities to run omnibuses beyond the boundaries of their own districts, and on February 20, on the proposal of the Minister of Transport, this was incorporated with the Road Traffic Bill, not without strong protest from the Conservatives.

In the middle of February Mr. Graham, the President of the Board of Trade, went to Geneva to represent Great Britain at the "Tariff Truce" Conference arranged by the League of Nations. The Government had from the first been strongly in favour of the idea (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1929, p. 76); the Conservative Party and an influential section of the business world were as strongly against it. At Geneva Mr. Graham signed a Draft Convention which the Conservatives regarded as a very one-sided affair; and soon after his return from Geneva, the whole idea of a tariff truce was vehemently attacked in the House of Commons by Sir P. Cunliffe-Lister and other Conservative speakers (March 4). The chief grounds of their hostility were that such an arrangement would tie the hands of Great Britain in any attempts to bargain, and that the Dominions were strongly opposed to it. Mr. Graham, in reply, pointed out that the draft Convention discussed at Geneva did not set out to stabilise tariffs at their present level but only to prevent them from rising higher during the next two or three years, so that reductions might still take place of which Britain would get the benefit. The Government regarded this Convention merely as a first step, and would spare no efforts to obtain further results. That the Dominions would not work with them was no argument. They did not believe that the idea of the Empire as a self-contained

economic unit was practical politics ; they intended to combat economic restriction and tariffs wherever they found them, in order to minister to the freedom of commerce over the widest possible field. On a vote being taken, the House upheld Mr. Graham's action in attending the conference by 286 votes to 212.

In order to combat the " uglification " of the English countryside, which was causing such concern to all lovers of Nature, Sir E. Hilton Young introduced in the House of Commons, on February 21, a Rural Amenities Bill on behalf of a Committee which had been considering the subject. The chief provision of the Bill was the extension of the powers of town-planning authorities so that they should no longer be confined to land already suitable for building or ripe for development. It also proposed to stimulate and assist voluntary effort. The objects of the Bill received warm approval from all sides of the House, and the chief complaint against it was that it did not deal with all the evils which might conceivably have been brought within its scope. The Minister of Health, however, sounded a note of caution. While admitting that something had to be done, he pointed out that the extension of the urban into the more rural areas was bound to go on, and it was not easy to work out in practical detail the lines on which this development was to be controlled and justice done to all the various interests. From his interviews with the people directly affected, he found that agreement was not nearly so universal as one might have imagined from the debate in the House. Nor could he even promise that special facilities would be given for the later stages of the Bill. However, he hoped that one effect of their debate would be to stimulate local authorities and other bodies to use their powers to the utmost. The Bill was eventually read a second time without a division, but, as the Minister had anticipated, time was not found for its further discussion during the session.

The Estimates for the civil and military services for the year 1930-31 were published early in March. Their total amounted to 417,909,208/., an excess of 54,845,449/. over the corresponding Estimates for the preceding year. Of this sum about 30,000,000/. represented expenditure entailed by the new Local Government Act, for which provision had already been made. For the remaining 25,000,000/. the Labour Government had itself been responsible during its first year of office through its extension of various social services.

A debate on the Naval Estimates took place in the House of Commons on March 17. The First Lord of the Admiralty, Mr. Alexander, stated that the vote for which he was asking—51,739,000/.—was 4,126,000/. less than that of last year. He pointed out that this was within 190,000/. of the figure submitted **for 1914**, the last pre-war estimate, which, calculated on pre-war

rates, meant a reduction of 39·5 per cent. Taking the actual effective services of the Navy alone, the reduction was 46 per cent. Part of the reduction of the previous year was due to internal economies in administration, but the bulk of it was only rendered possible by a slowing down in the rate of new construction. The Government found a justification for this *in* the general trend of world affairs and the general outlook for peace, while at the same time they showed by this course their sincerity in the cause of an all-round reduction of armaments. On the other hand, they did not believe in unilateral disarmament, and they were convinced that the provision which they had made was adequate.

The fact that the Naval Conference was still sitting, and was at that moment in a critical stage, imposed a certain restraint on Conservative members, who showed themselves more anxious than some members of the Labour Party not to say anything which might prejudice the success of the conference. Nevertheless, they did not allow the Government to escape criticism, and Mr. Churchill in particular subjected it to quite a lengthy indictment. He censured it severely for having before the conference opened announced its intention of fixing Britain's cruiser requirements at fifty in place of seventy, instead of waiting to see whether other Powers would make a corresponding reduction. He complained that sufficient provision was not being made even for the carrying out of this reduced programme. He also found fault with the Government for further reducing the personnel of the Navy at a time when the United States was greatly adding to its man-strength—not to mention the fact that it was thereby increasing unemployment. Mr. Alexander retorted that the Conservatives never seemed to be able to get away from the circumstances that existed before the war, and took no account of the pacific developments that had occurred since. The vote was ultimately agreed to without a division.

On the next day (March 18) a debate took place on the Air Estimates, which this year amounted to 17,850,000/., an increase of 890,0002. over the total of the previous year's estimates. The Under-Secretary for Air, Mr. Montague, pointed out that, in spite of an addition of five squadrons in the year just closing, the British Air Force was still substantially exceeded in terms of first-line strength by those of the United States, France, and Italy, and that, as compared with the gross figures of five years ago, there was an actual reduction in the present year which was in striking contrast with the very large increase in the Air expenditure of the other Powers during the same period. Nevertheless, the Government was determined not to be drawn into a competition in Air armaments, and not to countenance any expansion which could possibly be avoided. The Minister stated that once again in 1929 the Air Force in the Near East had on various occasions shown itself to be an invaluable, and at the same time inexpensive

and humane instrument for the preservation of order—in Palestine, Arabia, and in the Soudan.

Sir S. Hoare remarked on the irony of a Labour Minister paying the same tribute to the work of the Air Force in the Near East which, when made by himself as Air Minister, had been received with hostile criticism by the Labour Party. He complained that the Government did not seem to have a definite Air policy, and asked in particular whether it intended to go on building up to the limit of fifty-two squadrons for home defence fixed by the previous Government, and what steps it intended to take to bring about general Air disarmament. No answer was given to either question. Sir P. Sassoon congratulated the Government on having maintained continuity in Air policy. A Labour member moved that the vote for 32,000 men should be reduced by 30,000, which would have been equivalent to abolishing the Force. On a division this proposal obtained twenty-two votes.

For thus opposing the Government on the Air Estimates, the pacifist group in the Labour Party—which was largely though not wholly identical with the Left Wing—received a reprimand from the Party Whips. Their reply was to repeat the offence in an aggravated form. On March 24 Mr. Shaw, the Minister for War, introduced the Army Estimates, which were for 40,000,000/., a reduction of 605,000Z. on the expenditure of the previous year. While declaring that the policy of the Government was to obtain reduction of armaments by agreement, he made it clear that there was no immediate intention of reducing the Army numbers, and suggested that those who were in favour of abolishing the Army at the present juncture were suffering from a curious form of inverted nationalism. In spite of this appeal the pacifist group persisted in moving a resolution calling upon the Government to commence disarmament at once, and twenty-one of them voted for it in the division.

While not going far enough to please the pacifists, Mr. Shaw made a concession to anti-militarist sentiment which greatly outraged the Conservatives, by withdrawing the Government grant from the Cadet Corps. This step called forth indignant protests from various military and educational experts, who declared that the Cadet Corps were a valuable instrument for the formation of character and did not engender militarism. Mr. Shaw, however, refused to be moved. At the same time an attempt was made in Parliament to nullify another action of the Government showing the same anti-militarist spirit. In the previous September the Government had removed certain disabilities attaching to the conscientious objectors who had been taken back into the Civil Service after the war. Conservative members now objected on principle that it was not fair to obviate all distinctions between those who had served their country and

those who had refused to do so during the war. The Government's reply was that the time had come to forget differences in war service, and its action was upheld by the House by 213 votes to 149.

The Government further gratified the anti-militarists by inserting in the annual Army and Air Force Bill a provision abolishing the death penalty for cowardice. Conservative members tried hard on April 3 to secure the retention of the penalty for those who induced others to show cowardice. The Minister of War, acting, as he informed the House, against the advice of his military counsellors, declined to accept the amendment, and after a heated debate it was rejected by 288 votes to 165. A Labour member moved an amendment to abolish the death penalty for desertion. Mr. Shaw announced that the amendment would be left to a free vote of the House, though he personally was against it, and it was carried by 219 votes to 135.

The question of the proper use to be made of the Air Force was the subject of an instructive, if inconclusive, debate in the House of Lords on April 9. Lord Trenchard, the former Air Marshal, called attention to the disparity between the Air Force of Great Britain and those of the United States, France, and Italy, and went on to suggest that the Air arm might be used to an even greater extent than hitherto for the work of pacification in the Near and Middle East. The value of that work was freely acknowledged by distinguished representatives of the Army and Navy who spoke later, but at the same time they pointed out certain drawbacks attaching to the Air Force which in their opinion precluded it from taking the place of military and naval forces to the extent suggested by Lord Trenchard. Lord Thomson, the Secretary for Air, stated that the Government had no intention of competing with the other leading Powers in Air armament. He considered that the British Air Force in its present state was strong enough to act as a deterrent against invasion, and he thought this was all that should be required of it for purposes of home defence. On the question of extending its use in Eastern regions he declined to express any opinion, and merely stated that it was being carefully considered by the Government.

During the whole of the session Mr. Snowden was subjected to constant pressure both in Parliament and outside to declare his intentions with regard to the safeguarding and McKenna duties. He yielded so far as to announce on February 20 that he would introduce his Budget before Easter instead of waiting till after, as was the custom ; but he still obstinately refused to give away any Budget secrets. As a final protest against his reticence, Mr. Baldwin on March 13 moved a formal vote of censure on the Government for increasing trade uncertainty and unemployment by its policy. Mr. Snowden defended himself with great vigour, maintaining that uncertainty was inevitable wherever protective duties existed. He asserted that ever since the Government

came into office there had been an organised conspiracy, or at least a deliberate endeavour, on the part of certain interests to create financial and business uncertainty, and with it unemployment, in order to discredit the Government. He stoutly defended the Free Trade position, and so assured himself of the support of the Liberals. The motion was defeated by 308 votes to 235.

The report of the Channel Tunnel Committee appointed in March, 1929 (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1929, p. 7), was issued on March 14. The Committee considered it probable, on the evidence submitted to them, that a tunnel could be successfully constructed, but thought an element of doubt must remain until a pilot tunnel had been first driven through. The cost of the pilot tunnel was estimated at 5,000,000/., and of the later tunnel at 25,000,000/?. The majority of the Committee were of opinion that such a tunnel, if constructed, would on the whole be of economic benefit to the country by creating new traffic and so increasing trade. One member, however, Lord Ebbisham, vehemently dissented from this view, holding that while the tunnel would certainly bring loss to some trades, such as shipping and agriculture, its resultant advantages to others were uncertain.

In the early part of the year the Government received urgent appeals for assistance from the sugar planters in the British West Indies and in Mauritius. In response it offered in the middle of March to join with the Colonial Governments in bearing a portion, up to 15 per cent., of any loss that might be incurred in financing the coming crop. On March 25 the subject was raised in the House of Lords, and Lord Olivier, who had just investigated the conditions in the West Indies on behalf of the Government, ridiculed the Government's offer, saying that much more energetic steps were needed if the planters were to be saved from bankruptcy and the sugar industry from extinction. Lord Passfield maintained that Great Britain was doing all that could be expected of it by continuing the existing preference on colonial sugar, which cost the country 2,500,000Z. a year, and declined to put any further burden on the taxpayer for the sake of the planters.

On March 27 Mr. Ormsby-Gore, in the House of Commons, reproached the Chancellor of the Exchequer with sacrificing the interests of the colonies to his doctrinaire prejudices against Imperial preference. A vague hope was thereupon held out by the Government that something might be done in the Budget, but the state of the country's finances eventually put such a step out of the question.

Of the rise in the unemployment figures which had taken place since the Government came into office, a notable proportion had been contributed by the Lancashire cotton industry. The steps taken to "rationalise" the industry had so far led to no improvement in trade, and it was obvious that the process would have to be carried much further if it was materially to strengthen

Lancashire's competitive power. This in turn was bound to involve dismissals of workpeople on a large scale, so that the prospect before the latter was gloomy indeed. On March 27 Sir Herbert Samuel called attention in Parliament to the serious state of affairs in the industry both for employers and workers, and asked the Government what had become of the sub-committee of the Committee of Civil Research which had been appointed to investigate conditions in the cotton trade. Mr. Graham replied that the Committee had almost concluded its labours and would shortly present its report. He did not, however, hold out any hope that the Government would be able to lend active assistance to the industry.

By the end of March the number of unemployed had risen to over 1,600,000—the highest figure for over eight years, except for a few weeks during the coal strike of 1926. The Unemployment Insurance Fund was again becoming strained to breaking point, and after an interval of less than six months the Government again had to come to its assistance. On the previous occasion, the Minister of Labour had definitely ruled out the method of borrowing as being "dishonest/" seeing that the debt of the Fund—40,000,000/.—was already as much as it could ever hope to pay back. Nevertheless, she now felt constrained to adopt that course as the least evil of those open to her. Accordingly on March 28 she asked Parliament to grant leave to the Fund to borrow yet another 10,000,000/. While recognising the humiliating nature of her position, she pleaded that she had been driven to it by circumstances which could not have been foreseen or controlled. The provisions of the new Unemployment Act, which had just come into force, had added about 40,000 to the live register; the bulk of the increase in unemployment was due to world causes over which the Government had no control. After some scathing criticisms of the Government's management of the Fund from the Conservative benches, the resolution was assented to without a division.

When the actual Bill authorising the loan was brought forward a few days later, Mr. Winston Churchill delivered a slashing attack on the Government's handling of the problem of unemployment insurance. He did not spare previous Governments either for having allowed the Unemployment Exchanges to devote their energies chiefly to the paying out of benefits and neglect the equally important task of helping applicants to find places. He was, however, especially severe on the present Government for having exposed the Fund to increased dangers of exploitation, and asserted that this state of things had demoralised the administration of the Fund—a statement which was vehemently denied by the Minister of Labour. Even Mr. Churchill, however, could suggest no alternative method of dealing with the immediate problem, and the Bill was read without opposition in all its stages.

By the time it reached its third reading (April 9) the number of registered unemployed was over 1,650,000, a figure at which, it was calculated, the new provision made for the Fund would not carry it over more than twenty weeks.

At an early point of the session it had become obvious that time would not permit the Government to carry through the whole of its legislative programme, and that a selection would have to be made. The Trade Unions strongly pressed the claims of the measures in which they were chiefly interested, especially the amendment of the Trade Unions Act. The Government, however, after much consideration, decided to give priority to a Slum Clearance Bill, the text of which was issued on April 1. On April 7 Mr. Greenwood, the Minister of Health, moved the second reading in the House of Commons. He had no difficulty in showing that fresh legislation for dealing with the slum evil was needed, as new slums were being formed faster than the old ones were being cleared. His own proposals, however, were not very drastic; the chief of them were that in areas marked for clearance local authorities should be empowered to call upon the owners to demolish the property instead of having to purchase it and demolish it themselves, and that Exchequer assistance should in future be given in the form of a grant *per capita* of the persons to be rehoused instead of a block grant. The Bill was favourably received by the House, and after some friendly criticism was given a second reading without a division. Soon after Parliament rose for the Easter vacation.

By this time the Naval Conference, which had opened on the same day as Parliament, was drawing to a close, after no less arduous a session. Although all the countries represented at the conference were united in a desire to limit and even reduce their Naval armaments, the task of framing an agreement which would enable them to do so proved extraordinarily difficult. The reason was that each country affixed to its desire a condition from which it would on no account recede. Great Britain insisted on a cruiser strength sufficient to protect her trade routes. The United States insisted on parity with Great Britain. Japan demanded a certain ratio to the United States Navy. France claimed liberty to maintain a large submarine force. Italy demanded parity with France. The problem of the conference was to adjust these various requirements, and so prevent competitive building.

Some time elapsed before the delegates discovered the proper procedure for tackling the essential problem before them. During this period the conference was still pervaded by the atmosphere of "good-will" with which it had opened, and official reports of its progress were optimistic. When, however, actual proposals for limitation or reduction came to be discussed, difficulties showed themselves similar to those which had wrecked the

Geneva Conference of 1927, and the tone of the official reports, while still hopeful, became less confident. As week after week went by without the announcement of any positive results, the public began to lose interest in the proceedings of the conference. It received a great shock when, in the middle of February, it was announced that the United States delegation was claiming the right to build another battleship of the *Rodney* type, of 35,000 tons. The claim was almost immediately withdrawn; yet the fact that it had been put forward even for an instant left an unpleasant impression, as showing that national ambitions and rivalries were still uppermost in the minds of the delegates. Pacifist members of the Labour Party began to bring this charge openly, and to prophesy the breakdown of the conference. Two of them in the debate on the Navy Estimates drew down upon themselves a stern rebuke from the First Lord of the Admiralty for calling into question Britain's good faith in the matter.

On February 10 the Prime Minister stated in the House of Commons that "progress was being made all along the line," but he pleaded for patience in view of the extreme delicacy and difficulty of the negotiations in hand. The political crisis in France, which led to the recall of the leading French delegates to Paris in February, caused an interruption of about a fortnight in the work of the conference. On March 9 the Prime Minister broadcast a message to the people of the United States and Canada in which he expressed confidence in the outcome of the conference. By this time, in fact, the differences between Great Britain and the United States had been practically eliminated. Within the next fortnight also the United States and Japan arrived at a fairly definite understanding on the question of ratio, and Great Britain showed willingness to make concessions to the French point of view with regard to the distribution of tonnage in various categories.

One problem, however, obstinately defied all the efforts of the conference to find a solution—that of adjusting the French and the Italian claims. Italy claimed parity with France. France would not consent to this unless she were given some guarantee of security by Great Britain and America. Great Britain and America refused absolutely to be drawn into any "entangling alliance/" or to undertake obligations beyond those to which they were already committed. After weeks of work, the experts found themselves unable to produce figures which would serve as a basis for Franco-Italian discussions, and at length on March 20 gave up the task in despair. The prospects of producing a Five-Power Pact were thus rendered exceedingly remote. In fact, a few days later Signor Grandi actually proposed to Mr. MacDonald that the conference should adjourn for six months, during which Italy and France should try to

compose their differences, and that meanwhile a Three-Power Pact should be concluded between Great Britain, America, and Japan.

Mr. MacDonald, in spite of the deadlock, did not yet give up hope of bringing about a Five-Power Agreement. During the next fortnight he studied the situation closely in company with the French delegates to see if some means could not be found of satisfying the French demand for security without committing Great Britain to any new military obligation. The secrecy in which these negotiations were enveloped proved highly trying both to the country and to Parliament. Nevertheless the Opposition leaders carefully refrained from troubling the Prime Minister in any way. Some of the Conservative rank and file, however, were unable to exercise similar patience, and on April 7 they endeavoured by means of questions in Parliament and moving the adjournment of the House to extract from the Prime Minister a pledge that he would not accept any interpretation of the League Covenant involving Britain in new commitments without first consulting the League of Nations and Parliament. Mr. MacDondald refused to give any such undertaking, but declared his willingness to make a statement to the House should the other party leaders, after consulting him, lay before him a request to that effect.

The attempt to secure a Five-Power Pact was finally abandoned on April 10. On the same day an agreement covering all classes of ships was finally reached between Great Britain, the United States, and Japan. Mr. MacDonald at once informed the House of Commons of the fact, and further stated that the conference would be adjourned on the understanding that Great Britain, France, and Italy should continue their efforts to come to an agreement on the questions that particularly concerned them. The announcement was received with general satisfaction, and, on the direction of the Opposition leaders, comment from their benches was reserved till further information should be supplied.

The results of the conference were summed up in a White Paper issued on April 16. From this it appeared that all the Powers represented at the conference had agreed not to lay down any of the replacement ships of 35,000 tons each which they were entitled to build under the terms of the Washington Treaty during the years 1931-36 inclusive. Great Britain, the United States, and Japan further undertook to proceed at once with the reduction in numbers of their capital ships to 15, 15, and 9 respectively, instead of waiting till the expiration of the Washington Treaty. With regard to other classes of vessels, it had not yet been found possible to reach an agreement embracing all the Powers represented at the conference, France and Italy being still unable to come to terms. As between Great Britain, the United States, and Japan, however, complete agreement had been

reached on (a) the category system of limitation of capital ships, aircraft carriers, cruisers, destroyers, and submarines ; (b) the figures within these categories, and (c) the question of transfer between 6-in. cruisers and destroyers. The maximum total tonnage for cruisers, destroyers, and submarines was fixed as follows : Great Britain, 541,700 ; United States, 526,200 ; Japan, 367,050. Great Britain was allowed 15 8-in. cruisers of a tonnage of 146,800, and the United States 18 of 180,000 tons ; of these, however, not more than 15 were to be completed by 1935. By a safeguarding clause Great Britain retained for herself the right to exceed these figures in case her position should be threatened by the building programmes of other Powers (*i.e.*, France or Italy).

Financially, it was pointed out, Great Britain would benefit from the new treaty by avoiding the expenditure for the replacement of battleships under the Washington Treaty, which would probably have amounted to something like 50,000,000/. by the end of 1936. Further, the saving which would result from the immediate reduction to 15 capital ships was estimated at 4,000,000Z. Also the fixing of the maximum tonnage for other classes of vessels at 541,000 instead of the 737,500 laid down at the Geneva Conference was reckoned to mean a saving in prospective expenditure of 13,000,000Z. An even more important result of the first stage of the conference was stated to be the elimination of competitive building in cruisers and auxiliary craft between Great Britain, the United States, and Japan, with all that this implied in the mutual improvement of their political relations.

The conference was wound up at a plenary session held at St. James's Palace on April 22. It was agreed that the conference should be held to have taken the place of the conference which had been fixed at Washington, seven years before, for 1931, and that the next international naval conference should be held—unless circumstances in the meanwhile should have rendered it unnecessary—in 1935. It was further decided that the present gathering should be known as "The London Naval Conference," and the treaty which it had drawn up as "The London Naval Treaty." In summing up the achievements of the conference, Mr. MacDonald stated that they had travelled far compared with Washington or Geneva, though they were still short of their desires. They had found the world's Navies on the eve of serious and dangerous expansion, and they had at least been able to call a halt to this for the time being. The Three-Power Agreement on building programmes was no mean achievement. The European problem was harder to resolve, and until it was resolved there must be a safeguarding clause. This, however, was certainly not put in as "an easy way to get round the treaty," and he hoped that it would never have to be used.

The hope that the conference would mark the beginning and

not the end of the movement for naval disarmament was expressed by all the other heads of delegations. After the signing of the treaty, M. Briand paid a glowing tribute, which was heartily endorsed by the other delegates, to the manner in which Mr. MacDonald as chairman had conducted the proceedings of the conference, and presented him with the gold pen which had been used for the signatures. The conference was then declared formally " adjourned " in order to give France and Italy a chance of settling their difficulties, and the foreign delegates left London.

Early in the year the intervention of the Government in a trade dispute was sought by representatives of the Yorkshire woollen industry, where the task of framing new wage agreements was proving unusually difficult. A Court of Inquiry which was set up, with Lord Macmillan as chairman, came to the conclusion that heavy reductions in wages were necessary for the welfare of the industry. An attempt of the employers to enforce such reductions met at first with general resistance from the side of the workpeople, and at the beginning of April most of them ceased work, On April 15 the General Council of the Trade Union Congress decided to go to the financial assistance of the woollen textile unions. In spite of this offer, however, the struggle was carried on by the workers in a half-hearted manner, and by the beginning of June practically all of them had accepted the owners' terms.

CHAPTER II

THE NEW TAXATION.

THE accounts for the financial year 1929-30, published on April 1, showed a deficit of 14,523,000?. in place of the surplus of 4,096,0002. which Mr. Churchill had estimated. Revenue had amounted to 734,188,7482. against an estimate of 746,000,0002. The most serious shortage had been in the yield of the stamp duty, which, as a result of the depression on the Stock Exchange, had produced over 5,000,0002. less than expected. Excise returns also had fallen short of expectation by nearly 3,000,0002., on account of the decreased consumption of alcoholic liquors. The excess of expenditure over the estimate, amounting to some 7,000,0002., was chiefly accounted for by the increased grant for unemployment benefit, a measure that Mr. Churchill naturally could not have foreseen. The net profits of the Post Office had been 9,200,0002.—about 1,100,0002. more than in the previous year, and motor duties had amounted to 694,0002. more.

In framing his Budget for 1930-31, Mr. Snowden found himself confronted with an estimated expenditure of 782,000,0002., of

which the main items were made up as follows : sinking fund and interest on National Debt, 350,400,0002. ; Fighting Services, 120,089,0002. ; Civil Services, 295,686,0002. The total was about 40,000,0002. more than the expenditure for which Mr. Churchill had budgeted twelve months before. Over 19,000,0002. more was required for unemployment benefit and widows' pensions, and 15,000,0002. more for relief of rates under the De-rating Act which had just come into force (April 1). The latter liability was a heritage from the previous Government; the former had been incurred by the present Government on behalf of the " first instalment " of its professed socialistic policy—a very inadequate one in the eyes of the more advanced section of the Labour Party.

In accordance with the promise which he had given earlier in the year (*vide* p. 25), Mr. Snowden introduced his Budget on the unusually early date of April 14, four days before the Easter recess. • In contrast to Mr. Churchill's performances on similar occasions, Mr. Snowden's Budget speech was essentially a business statement, devoid of oratorical embellishments, and aiming rather at the merits of conciseness and lucidity. As a financier, too, he showed no sign of Mr. Churchill's venturesome and innovating spirit. His proposals proved to be of the most orthodox character, and to be based on the sound, if humdrum, principle of " paying one's way."

Dealing first with the revenue and expenditure of the preceding year, Mr. Snowden pointed out that tobacco had continued its good Budget record of recent years and yielded a surplus of 2,800,0002., which he understood to be a result, in a large measure, of the " social and economic equality of the sexes." The surplus of 500,0002. yielded by the entertainment duty he took to be indicative of the boom in talking films. The income tax yield, though below the estimate, was in excess of that of previous years, so that, judged by this criterion, industry seemed to be holding its ground. For the second year in succession Mr. Churchill's plan of setting aside a fixed sum of 355,000,0002. for interest and redemption of the National Debt had meant a certain slackening in the efforts made to redeem the debt; that is to say, the sum actually applied to debt redemption was nearly 5,000,0002. less than the 50,000,0002. which had been fixed as the amount of sinking fund in 1923, and which had actually been paid every year afterwards until Mr. Churchill altered the arrangement in 1928. The cause of the deficiency was the high interest on the Floating Debt. The country seemed just now to have entered on a period of cheap money, and he was hopeful therefore that in the coming year the Churchill arrangement would work satisfactorily ; otherwise he would have altered it.

In the interests of financial probity, Mr. Snowden proposed to wipe out the deficit of 14,500,0002. on last year's working by **making special provision for additional debt redemption of**

5,000,000Z. in the current year, 5,000,000/. in the next year, and 4,500,000Z. in the year after. This brought the total expenditure which he had to meet to close on 787,000,000Z.—over 45,000,000Z. more than Mr. Churchill had had to provide in the previous year. As this sum was nearly 50,000,000Z. more than the revenue for the preceding year, it was obvious that heavy additional taxation would be required.

Although called upon to raise so much larger a sum, Mr. Snowden, on grounds of principle, decided to forgo two small sources of revenue which had been used by his predecessor. One was the duty of 10l. on bookmakers' certificates—the last vestige of the "inglorious" betting tax, as he called it—the disappearance of which would cost the Exchequer 180,000Z. in the current year and 200,000Z. in a full year. The other was the safeguarding duties on lace, cutlery, gloves, and gas mantles. These were all due to expire in the course of the year—the first-named on June 30, the others on December 21. Mr. Snowden now stated that they would not be renewed. The consequential loss of revenue would be 523,000Z. in the current year, and 823,000Z. in a full year. Mr. Snowden further said that he would dearly have liked to indulge his Free Trade proclivities by repealing the MacKenna Duties and the Silk Duties, but to his great regret the financial position which he had inherited from his predecessor did not permit him to sacrifice the important sum of 10,000,000Z. a year which these brought in. The same applied to the Government's pledge to remove all the existing food duties.

Allowing for the loss of the safeguarding duties, Mr. Snowden computed that taxation on the existing basis would bring him in a revenue of 739,645,000Z. This left him with the task of finding some 47,000,000Z. of new money. For some 16,000,000Z. of this sum he was able to draw on the Suspensory Fund which Mr. Churchill had created for financing the de-rating scheme. This source, it is true, was somewhat illusory, as the whole of this money had been drawn upon for debt redemption, and would have to be replaced by fresh borrowing. Nevertheless, Mr. Snowden now reckoned it as part of his assets, and so reduced to 31,000,000Z. the sum which he had to raise by fresh taxation.

In his search for additional revenue he naturally, as he said, "looked first to beer," on which alone amongst alcoholic liquors the duty had been reduced since the war. Mindful, however, of the fact that beer was an important article of consumption with the working-classes, he forbore from taking any step which would increase its price, and merely raised the beer duty by 3s. per standard barrel—the equivalent of 1d. per gallon—after obtaining an undertaking from the brewers that they would not alter the quality. The yield of the additional duty he estimated at 2,750,000Z. in the current year and 3,100,000Z. in a full year.

For raising the remainder of the amount which he required—

practically 29,000,000Z.—Mr. Snowden, faithful to his well-known views on fiscal matters, resorted to direct taxation, distributed in such a manner as to fall entirely on the wealthier classes. He proposed, in the first place, to raise the standard rate of income tax by 6d. to 4s. 6d. in the pound, at the same time revising the graduations in such a way as to protect small incomes, whether earned or unearned, from further liability; thus there would be no increase in the income tax of an unmarried person or widow with an income not exceeding 485Z. or of a married man with three children with an income not exceeding 735Z. Secondly, the initial rate of surtax (as Mr. Churchill had rechristened the super-tax) would be increased from 9d. to 1s. in the £, and the rate on incomes of 50,000Z. and over from 6s. to 7s. 6d. Thirdly, the rate of duty on estates would be increased by from 1 to 10 per cent, until on estates of over 2,000,000Z. it reached 50 per cent, instead of the present 40 per cent. The increase in income tax, allowing for graduations, was reckoned to produce 21,000,000Z. in the current year, and 24,000,000Z. in a full year; the increase in surtax, 7,500,000Z. in the current year, and 12,500,000Z. in a full year; and the increase in estate duty, 3,000,000Z. in the current year and 7,000,000Z. in a full year. Thus the total increase in direct taxation for the current year was estimated at 31,000,000Z. This gave the Chancellor a surplus of something over 2,000,000Z., which he retained for contingencies.

In the course of his speech Mr. Snowden announced a number of administrative proposals dealing with tax evasion which would be embodied in the Finance Bill. He also stated that it had been his intention at first to insert in the Finance Bill some provision for the taxing of land values, but on further consideration he had come to the conclusion that it would be better first to provide for the valuation itself in a separate Bill, and he accordingly announced that such a Bill would be introduced in the course of the session. With a certain inconsistency, Mr. Snowden at the conclusion of his speech half apologised for having increased the burden of taxation, even though he had laid the additional weight upon backs well able to bear it, and expressed his confident belief that, in the absence of unforeseeable calamities or heavy increases of expenditure, no further increases of taxation would need to be imposed in the following year.

The debate on the Budget resolutions was opened by Mr. Churchill in a speech which was at once an attack on Mr. Snowden's financial policy and a defence of his own. He totally disagreed with Mr. Snowden's view that direct taxation, if judiciously used, might be made to produce all kinds of beneficial results. He held on the contrary that it was at best a regrettable necessity, and that Governments most truly consulted the interest of the nation by allowing money, according to the well-known Treasury phrase, "to fructify in the pockets of the people." Consequently he had

always endeavoured, when Chancellor, to keep direct taxation as low as possible, even in preference, if need was, to " austere and drastic reduction " of national debt. Now, too, in spite of the great increase in expenditure, for much of which the Socialist Government was itself responsible, he saw no need for increasing taxation ; had he been in office he would have preferred to let the pace of debt reduction be a little slower. He ridiculed the view put forward at one point by Mr. Snowden that the new addition to the income tax would be paid by none but the " idle rich," and prophesied the direst results to trade, industry, and employment from the new burdens laid upon wealth.

Mr. Maxton denounced the Budget even more vigorously than Mr. Churchill, but for precisely opposite reasons. In his opinion the wealthy were being let off far more lightly than they deserved. A frontal attack should have been made on the great aggregations of wealth in the country, and plans should have been made for extending the area of public ownership and control. Instead, they found a purely opportunist Budget, with the stabilisation of the capitalist system of society as its guiding principle, a policy against which he recorded his strongest dissent.

Mr. Maxton's disapproval of the Budget might have caused the Government serious apprehension, had it not been offset by the cordial approval of Mr. Lloyd George. The Liberal leader thought that the Chancellor might have extracted rather more from the brewers without causing a rise in the price of beer. He also expressed keen disappointment at the absence from the Budget of any tax on land values; on the strength of his experience twenty years before, he was very doubtful whether a separate valuation Bill would ever get through Parliament. In other respects, however, he had no fault to find with the Budget. There was a certain amount of expenditure which had to be met, and of the two ways of meeting it, by taxation or by borrowing, he thought the latter by far the more objectionable. He did not altogether approve of the way in which the Government was piling up benefactions, but the Conservative Party had no right to complain, since in their election campaign they had openly boasted of having outdone the Socialists in this respect.

Mr. Snowden, in replying to the debate, said that the Conservatives, in criticising his taxation proposals, spoke as if money taken by the State in taxation was thrown down a sink. He held that this was a complete fallacy, and that wise national expenditure was the most economical form of national saving. On the other hand, he had no desire to overthrow violently the capitalist system, and believed in making industries as prosperous as possible in preparation for the day when they would be placed under public ownership and control.

Mr. Snowden's taxation proposals, as was to be expected, gave rise to a great outcry from the classes affected by them.

He was accused of perpetrating class legislation, and of destroying the reserves of capital from which alone industrial development could be fed. On May 1, in the course of the debate on the Budget resolutions, he made a vigorous reply to his critics. He put the question pointedly to the Conservative Party, what items of national expenditure would they reduce? Did they contemplate repudiation of the National Debt? or compulsory reduction of the rate of interest on the National Debt? or would they economise in the expenditure on the fighting forces? or on any item of the social services? Of course, they could give no answer to these questions; and the real point at issue between him and them was, who was to pay. The Tory policy was, in their own phrase, "to broaden the basis of taxation," which meant, in practice, relieving the rich, and putting a burden on the poor. It should not be forgotten that the non-income-tax paying portion of the community contributed largely to the national revenue through indirect taxation. To the argument that the increase in the income tax placed fresh burdens on industry, he replied that in the past seven years income tax had been reduced from 6s. to 4s. without producing the slightest beneficial effect upon trade. To raise money by indirect taxation—as the Conservative Party would have done—would have had just as bad an effect on trade by reducing the demand for commodities. Lastly, the argument that high taxation would drive capital out of the country was a hoary fallacy which experience had proved to be groundless, one proof being the volume of the death duties, which had continually increased during the last thirty years.

At the same moment that the Budget aroused the apprehensions of the industrial world by increasing taxation, a prospect of relief opened to its most hard-pressed sections from another quarter. By this time the body to which Mr. Thomas in his Manchester speech had referred as "the City" (*vide* p. 3), was ready to come to the assistance of industry in the manner there foreshadowed. On April 15—the day after the presentation of the Budget—a company was registered, under the name of "the Bankers Industrial Development Company, Limited," with a nominal capital of 6,000,000£., with the object of "receiving and considering schemes submitted by the basic industries of the country for the purpose of their rationalisation, either by industries or by regions," and "in the case of schemes which might be approved, providing, through existing agencies, such moneys as might seem to be essential." The company was stated to have the support of a very considerable portion of the most influential banking and financial institutions of the country; the head of the directorate, which was honorary, was Mr. Montagu Norman, the Chairman of the Bank of England. The Government was not formally connected with the new venture; nevertheless, Mr.

Thomas hastened to announce it at the earliest possible moment to the House of Commons as an eminently gratifying piece of intelligence. His satisfaction was not shared by the more socialistic members of his party, one of whom sardonically asked him whether he had supplied all the directors with a copy of "Labour and the Nation."

On April 16 a temporary Commercial Agreement was concluded between Britain and the Soviet Government, to serve as a *modus vivendi* pending the conclusion of a full Treaty of Commerce and Navigation. The Agreement accorded most-favoured-nation treatment to the subjects of both nations. In addition it accorded to the Soviet Government the remarkable privilege of establishing in Great Britain a Trade Delegation, consisting of its Trade Representative and two deputies, which should receive all diplomatic privileges and immunities, and even possess immunity for its offices. A Protocol attached to the Agreement stated that the contracting parties were animated by the intention to eliminate from their economic relations all forms of discrimination, and that they would be guided only by commercial and financial considerations. The grant of immunity to the Trade Delegation was strongly criticised by Conservative speakers in the House of Lords on May 6, but without effect.

The issues of party discipline raised by Mr. Maxton's "rebel" group, and the question of its future relation to the Government, gave rise to great searching of heart at the annual conference of the Independent Labour Party, which opened at Birmingham on April 19. The conduct of the group in Parliament, in particular its defiance of the Government over the Unemployment Bill (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1929, p. 101), was brought up for judgment, and more than one speaker pointed out that such an attitude, if persisted in, could only lead logically to severance from the Labour Party. This was a consummation which Mr. Maxton and his associates could not yet face with equanimity. In anticipation of such an argument they had prepared a statement, which was read by Mr. Maxton at the conference, claiming for members of the I.L.P. the right, while remaining in the Labour Party, of voting against the Government when it was untrue to the principles of Socialism. In the end a resolution of congratulation and support for the rebel group was carried by a large majority, and Mr. Maxton was once more elected chairman of the Independent Labour Party without opposition. Lest there should be any doubt as to where its sympathies lay, the conference on the next day gave a formal endorsement without dissent to Mr. Maxton's statement.

When Parliament met after the Easter recess, the chief subject of political interest was still the Coal Bill, which now had to run the gauntlet of the House of Lords. The changes introduced into the Bill to placate the Liberals had aroused strong hostility

in a large section of the coal-owners, a body which was well represented in the Upper House. It was to be anticipated that the measure as it had finally emerged from the House of Commons would not be allowed to pass through the House of Lords without serious alterations, the political effect of which could not be foreseen. Thus the discussions of the Bill in the Upper House assumed an unusual importance for political as well as economic reasons.

The second reading of the Bill was moved on April 29—immediately after the Easter recess—by the Lord Chancellor in a speech which strongly impressed the House by its earnestness and argumentative force. Lord Sankey reminded the House that eleven years previously, as head of a Royal Commission, he had come to the conclusion that nationalisation was the only cure for the ills of the coal industry. He was of the same opinion still, and while he recognised that such a step could not be carried out by a minority Government, he recommended the present Bill chiefly because it would pave the way for nationalisation. The Bill was accorded a mixed reception by a number of coal magnates who considered it rather from the business than the political point of view. It was agreed on all hands, however, that it should be given a second reading, and that alterations should be proposed in Committee by those who disliked its various provisions.

The Conservative Party in the House of Lords had no desire to provoke a conflict with the Lower House over the Coal Bill. It was therefore debarred at the outset from introducing such changes in it as were certain to be rejected in the other House. The discussion in consequence was largely unreal, and on frequent occasions the Conservative majority, from motives of political expediency, permitted the defeat of amendments of which it approved in principle. There were, however, two alterations of importance which, in the opinion of the Conservative leader, Lord Salisbury, might conceivably be accepted by the House of Commons if backed by the authority of the expert opinion in the other House. One was that the power to initiate and compel amalgamations should be vested not in the special Commission to be set up for the purpose, but in the Board of Trade. The other was that in the matter of working time there should be substituted for the rigid maximum of seven and a half hours per day, a "spread-over" of ninety hours per fortnight. Further, as the Liberals in the House of Commons had voted against the district levy, it seemed safe to delete this provision also. Accordingly the Bill was sent back to the Lower House at the end of May with these three alterations, and certain changes in wording.

Immediately after the Budget resolutions had been disposed of, the Government introduced into Parliament a Consumers' Council Bill, the text of which had been issued shortly before. The object of the Bill was to invest the Food Council, which had

been established in 1925, with the compulsory powers which experience had shown to be necessary if it was to exercise any real influence on retail prices. Two kinds of powers were contemplated in the Bill—one to obtain information, the other, to fix prices in certain cases. Mr. Graham, in moving the second reading of the Bill on May 8, pointed out that of recent years retail prices in many commodities had not fallen to nearly the same extent as wholesale prices, and it was therefore reasonable to conclude that some control of the former was necessary. The ideal solution, he thought, would be for the Government to control prices through controlling supply, but that being out of the question for the present, the next best thing was to give the Consumers' Council power to fix prices in respect of a few great central commodities. If the Council were left without such powers, its recommendations would be defied as those of the Food Council had been.

The proposal to invest the new Council with compulsory powers for obtaining information met with general approval throughout the House. But the idea of allowing a Governmental body to fix prices was viewed with great disfavour by the Opposition parties, and even by some of the Ministerialists. Sir P. Cunliffe-Lister, on behalf of the Conservatives, immediately moved the rejection of the Bill on this ground, stigmatising it as the "apotheosis of bureaucracy." Sir H. Samuel, on behalf of the Liberals, said that it might be advisable in certain cases to allow the Council to fix prices in order to combat the evil effects of monopoly or combination. The Bill, however, seemed to them to go much too far in this direction, and therefore they would vote for the second reading, but suggest drastic alterations in Committee. The bulk of the Liberal Party followed the lead of Sir H. Samuel, and helped the Government to secure a majority of sixty-four for the second reading.

The first parliamentary discussion of the Naval Treaty of London took place in the House of Lords on May 8. It was opened by Lord Bridgeman, the former First Lord of the Admiralty, who expressed grave misgivings at some of its provisions, and was anxious to know what would be its effect upon British policy of naval construction. He found fault with the Government for having failed to secure an agreement of all the five Powers to reduce the size of all battleships that were to be built in the future, thus leaving the door open to competition. He further criticised them for having consented to lower the limit of Britain's cruiser strength from 70 to 50 without securing any corresponding concession from the other Powers, and he pointed out that, under the conditions allowed for replacement, it would not be possible for Britain to have even 50 cruisers by 1936. The treaty was further criticised adversely by Lord Carson, Lord Jellicoe, and Lord Wester Wemyss, but it was defended by Lord Reading, Lord Parmoor,

in replying for the Government, stated that the Board of Admiralty were much nearer in opinion to the policy of the Government than to that of its critics in the present debate, who advocated nothing except trying to obtain security by force of numbers. On the question of cruiser strength, he pointed out that Lord Bridgeman had based his calculations on the assumption that the life of a cruiser would be only 16 years, whereas they were in fact allowing 20 years, which would enable them to bring the number up to 50. In regard to the future, he stated that the Government had not as yet any fixed programme, but its intention was to work as far as possible so that replacement might be provided for within the time contemplated by the agreement.

On May 15 a survey of the work of the conference was given by Mr. MacDonald in the House of Commons. For estimating the value of its achievements, it was necessary, he said, to remember that since the failure at Geneva in 1927 a great deterioration in the peace spirit had taken place. Although many pacts had been signed for the securing of peace, deplorably little trust was placed in them. The nations were undoubtedly falling back into their old mentality, and the arguments that were familiar in 1914 were coming back unblushing and unashamed in 1930. It was therefore necessary to make a sturdy effort to change that mentality, and while there was still time to save Europe and the world from what was called "the next war."

For that purpose it was requisite, in the first place, that there should be an agreement between Great Britain and the United States. There was a view prevalent in certain quarters that Britain could bring this about merely by letting the United States go its own way, on the ground that there could never be a conflict between the two countries. This view left out of account the fact that other countries would build against the United States even if England did not; consequently Britain could not be indifferent to what that country was doing in the matter of naval construction.

This agreement having been achieved, there were two objects for which the Naval Conference had to strive. The first was to stop competition in naval armaments which had already begun and which might easily prove more dangerous than the actual size of the various fleets. This object was in his opinion so important that it would have been worth while, if necessary, to increase the size of the fleet in order to attain it. In point of fact such a sacrifice had not been necessary. They had as regards three Powers succeeded in stopping competition without giving anything by way of expansion, and from the other two Powers they had obtained declarations that they would earnestly strive to adopt the same course.

The second objective of the conference was reduction. To this only three Powers had so far agreed, but he was in hopes

that the other two would eventually fall into line. The agreement was for a comparatively short time—only till 1936—but he did not doubt that thereafter it would be continued and strengthened by other conferences.

Summing up the achievements of the conference, Mr. MacDonald said that it had done some very good and very essential preparatory work which should be neither magnified nor minimised. Before they could have an effective scheme for providing security, land problems and air problems would have to be faced and co-ordinated. It was a good beginning that every representative of the Five Powers had gone back to his country determined to do everything he could to advance the cause of peace.

Mr. MacDonald's view that the conference had at least partially succeeded was endorsed by Mr. Lloyd George, who said that it had solved the problem of the great seas but not of the narrow seas. This was indeed the general opinion, but it by no means commanded universal assent. A considerable body of Conservative opinion had throughout looked upon the proceedings of the conference with the deepest suspicion, and now regarded the Treaty of London as a grave betrayal of the national interests. Mr. Churchill now—not for the first time—made himself the spokesman of this view. He denounced the proposed Naval Agreement on the ground that, so far from securing parity for Great Britain with the United States, it was the formal acceptance by Great Britain of a definitely inferior sea power, and that its provisions would have the effect of ensuring that that inferiority was attained before the treaty came to be revised in 1936. He prophesied that the signature and ratification of the treaty would be "a memorable and melancholy event in British history." He confessed himself unable to understand how expert naval opinion had come to accept 50 instead of 70 as the figure for Britain's cruiser requirements, and he urged Parliament to subject the issue to a stringent examination before committing itself to a "lamentable" decision.

In order to reinforce his contention that Britain should retain a free hand for the construction of cruisers, Mr. Churchill quoted an instruction which at the time of the Washington Conference in 1922 had been sent to Mr. Balfour emphasising this very point. It was at once pointed out that he was committing a breach of privilege by quoting from a Cabinet document which had never been published. Mr. Churchill at first tried to defend himself on the ground that it was an administrative and not a Cabinet document which he had cited, but the House refused to recognise the distinction. There was nothing secret in the information which he had disclosed, and he could easily have conveyed it in a different form. Nevertheless he was sharply censured both by Mr. MacDonald and by Mr. Lloyd George for infringing a constitutional rule of the highest importance, and Mr. Baldwin, though he

found some extenuating circumstances, was constrained to concur in the same judgment.

Mr. Churchill's view that the proposed Naval Treaty should be discussed in detail by Parliament before being ratified was not shared by the responsible leaders of the Conservative Party. It found favour, however, with a large part of the rank and file, and, without seeking the sanction of their leaders, about a hundred private members of the Conservative Party put their names to a motion for rejecting the third part of the treaty, dealing with cruisers. In this way they forced the hands of their leaders, and Mr. Baldwin, after consulting with them, undertook himself to propose that the Naval Treaty should be submitted to a select committee of eleven members to report upon, if the Government would allow facilities for a debate.

The Prime Minister having consented, Mr. Baldwin brought forward his motion on June 2. He pointed to the example of America, where the treaty was being considered by a committee of the Senate. There was, he said, a widespread feeling that the treaty left the country with inadequate means of defence, and therefore the verdict of such a committee as he advocated would have a calming effect on public opinion. The Prime Minister replied that Mr. Baldwin's proposal involved a change in procedure for which he could see no justification—a view which was shared by a good many Conservatives. The motion was ultimately rejected by 282 votes to 201.

The Government had to face another attack on the Naval Treaty on July 1, this time from the two ex-High Admirals, Earls Beatty and Jellicoe, who criticised it severely in the House of Lords. Usually these authorities took opposing views on naval questions, but on this occasion Lord Jellicoe warmly supported the strictures passed by his colleague. The debate went over familiar ground, and elicited no new fact or argument of importance. The Government was still able to rest its case on the advice given by the present Board of Admiralty, and was unimpressed by the fact that the ex-Admirals would have given far different advice if they had been consulted.

On May 12 a somewhat lugubrious debate took place in the House of Commons on the condition of agriculture. Early in the year (January 17-19) the Government had held a conference with representatives of agriculture to discuss ways of improving the industry (see p. 6). Since then the prices of agricultural produce had fallen considerably, and a cry of distress had been raised by the farming community at mass meetings held in various parts of the country. The Minister of Agriculture, Mr. Buxton, was able to offer them only cold comfort, and gave no indication that the Government had any constructive policy for assisting agriculture such as they had promised at the time of the General Election—a point on which Conservative speakers did not fail to

lay due stress. A suggestion made by Mr. Lloyd George, that the question should be taken out of the arena of party politics and considered by a joint conference representing all parties, met with considerable approval, but not sufficient to win the consent of the Minister. A motion to reduce the vote for the Ministry was defeated by 239 votes to 147.

The Finance Bill embodying the proposals of the Budget was presented for its second reading on May 20. Its rejection was moved by Sir Robert Home, who criticised it from the point of view of the great industrialists. He asserted that the Budget had already deepened the depression in trade circles and engendered a feeling almost of dismay. He charged the Chancellor of the Exchequer with taking up a completely cynical attitude towards the half a million people on whom he was imposing additional taxation. These, he said, included all the great industrial and commercial companies of the country. Mr. Snowden glibed at them for allowing their plant and equipment to fall into a state of obsolescence, and yet by taxing their reserves he was depleting the resources from which they could make the necessary renewals. The result would inevitably be to "hamstring industry and petrify employment." He hinted broadly that if the present high rate of taxation was continued, those on whom the burden was thrown would find means to evade it.

The view that the existing taxation was a menace to industry was shared by Sir H. Samuel. But he thought it not unjust that the Chancellor should go for money to where money was, and he greatly preferred that revenue should be raised by direct rather than by indirect taxation. He supported the Budget for this reason, and also because it granted no concessions to the extravagant demands of the Labour extremists and made moderate provision for disarmament. Mr. Snowden, in replying to the debate, maintained that the large companies in the years after the war, when they were making huge profits, did not create reserves but paid excessive dividends, and that was the reason why they were so badly off now. He would not admit that the Budget would interfere with capital savings; if people saved less now than formerly, he thought the reason was that since the war there was not the same disposition to save as there had been formerly. The second reading of the Bill was eventually carried by 282 votes to 206—a majority of 76.

The decision to terminate the safeguarding duty on lace provoked a great outcry in Nottingham, the centre of the lace manufacture. It was no less unpopular with the workpeople than with the employers, although Labour speakers in the House of Commons asserted that the whole benefit of the duty had gone to the employers. Appeals were made to Mr. Snowden both in and out of Parliament at least to institute an inquiry into the conditions prevailing in the industry, **but** he would grant **no**

concession. That his stubbornness was not profitable from an electoral point of view soon became evident. It happened that one of the Conservative members for Nottingham died at this juncture. The by-election for filling the vacancy was fought on the safeguarding issue, and the Conservative candidate was returned with a greatly increased majority.

A debate on fiscal policy which took place in the House of Lords on May 21 served to bring into relief the differences which prevailed in the Conservative Party on the subject. Lord Elibank brought forward a motion in favour of a comprehensive policy of safeguarding, anti-dumping, and Imperial economic unity. Lord Salisbury, while declaring himself strongly in favour of Imperial Preference, put in a caveat against food taxes. He admitted that this attitude seemed illogical on the surface, but maintained that really it was based on the sound calculation that so long as food was not taxed, duties on other articles would never be allowed to rise so high as to become a burden to the consumer. Lord Beaverbrook, on the other hand, insisted that taxes on food were an essential part of the Empire Free Trade policy. The differences between the Conservative spokesmen on the subject did not prevent the motion from being carried by a large majority.

The reports of unrest in India which commenced to arrive in April caused serious uneasiness both to the Government and the public. The Government decided to allow the Viceroy a perfectly free hand for dealing with the situation, a course the wisdom of which was not questioned in Parliament, though it was criticised outside. The Secretary for India kept the House of Commons periodically informed of the course of events in India, though he could add little to what was reported in the newspapers. Early in April impatience was expressed by some members at the non-appearance of the report of the Simon Commission, but the Minister explained that the delay in its publication was due solely to technical difficulties arising from its bulk and from the necessity of issuing it simultaneously in England and in India.

At the end of April the Viceroy—whom a section of the Conservative Press loudly accused of weakness and a section of the Labour Press of harshness—consulted the Home Government as to whether he should order the arrest of Mr. Gandhi. A decision in the affirmative was taken at a Cabinet meeting held on April 30. On the next day a statement to this effect appeared in the political correspondence of three London journals. The Government was gravely annoyed at this disclosure of its intentions, which might easily have led to their frustration, though in fact no untoward result followed. As its decision had been secret, it suspected a leakage of information, and determined to make use of its powers under the Official Secrets Act. The statement was traced to a certain well-known journalist, who by the direction of the Attorney-General was subjected to a long and

searching cross-examination. In the end it was established that he had received no forbidden information, but had merely used his faculty of "intelligent anticipation."

The conduct of the Government was adversely criticised as evincing a disposition to interfere with the liberty of the Press. On May 13 the Attorney-General gave a full account of his proceedings to the House of Commons and assured it that no stigma whatever attached to the journalist concerned. This so far satisfied the House that no direct censure was passed on the Government. At the same time the House made clear its determination that there should be no interference with the liberty of the Press to publish "intelligent anticipations/' however inconvenient they might be to the Government of the day. The Press itself was not so easily satisfied, and made vigorous representations to the Government with a view to securing the repeal, or at least modification, of the Official Secrets Act.

As the news from India continued to become more and more grave, it was felt that the situation required fuller treatment than could be provided by Ministerialist answers to questions. Advantage was taken of the India Office vote, which came up on May 25, to hold a full debate on Indian affairs—the first in Parliament for over two years. It was opened by Lord Winterton, the former Under-Secretary of State for India, who assured the Government that it had the support of the Conservative Party in the measures which it was taking to maintain peace and order in India. Mr. Benn, the Secretary of State for India, gave a lengthy survey of the conditions in that country, chiefly with the object of showing that the disturbances there had been sporadic and largely due to purely local causes. While expressing sympathy with the nationalist aspirations of the Indians, he made it clear that the Government intended to maintain the *status quo* until the conference should have met. Mr. Benn's statement satisfied both branches of the Opposition, who recognised the need of presenting a united front on the Indian question, but was bitterly resented by the Labour extremists, one of whom charged him with "doing the dirty work of Imperialism."

India was not the only country in regard to which the Government at this time found itself constrained to resist nationalist demands and to adopt an Imperialist attitude. In March a delegation had come to England from the new Egyptian Government for the purpose of concluding a treaty on the basis of the draft which had been agreed upon between Mr. Henderson and Mahmud Pasha in the previous August (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1929, p. 71). For a time negotiations proceeded smoothly, and there seemed to be every prospect of their reaching a successful termination. On the question of the Sudan, however, the Egyptians made demands which went considerably beyond the provisions of the draft treaty, and to which Mr. Henderson found

himself unable to accede. Frantic efforts were made on both sides to find a formula on which they could agree, but at length, on May 8, after a sitting which lasted on and off for nineteen hours, the effort was given up as fruitless. The announcement of the breakdown of negotiations in the House of Commons was received by the Conservatives with exultant cheers.

While Britain's relations with Egypt thus reverted to their old unsatisfactory condition, new anxieties arose for the Government in connexion with Palestine. In March an Arab delegation from Palestine had come to England to lay before the Government certain demands relating to the administration of that country. These included the grant of representative government, the prohibition of Jewish immigration, and the prevention of the purchase of land from Arabs by Jews. In the course of the next few weeks a number of conversations took place between the Delegation and members of the Government. On May 13 the Colonial Office issued a statement to the effect that the sweeping constitutional changes demanded by the Delegation had been found wholly unacceptable, since they would have rendered it impossible for Great Britain to carry out her obligations under the Mandate.

Almost immediately afterwards the Colonial Office suspended over two thousand immigration certificates which the Palestine Administration had placed at the disposal of the Jewish Agency for the purpose of bringing Jewish immigrants into the country. The Zionist Organisation protested against this step as a violation of the spirit if not the letter of the Mandate, and indignation meetings were held by Jews all over the world. The British Government was accused of basely surrendering to Arab hooliganism. On May 27 the Prime Minister made a statement in which he reaffirmed the Balfour Declaration, but laid stress on the need for holding the balance fairly between conflicting interests in Palestine. This statement, and other pronouncements of members of the Government, failed to satisfy Jewish opinion, and relations between the Government and the Jewish Agency for Palestine became seriously strained.

In the first three weeks of May the Conservative Party conducted an intensive educational campaign in the country on the benefits of Safeguarding and Imperial Preference. Thousands of meetings were held, and speeches were delivered by Mr. Baldwin and the other party leaders. At the same time a house-to-house canvass was carried out, and voters were asked to sign a pledge to further the Conservative policy for "Home and Empire."

Concurrently with this offensive in the country, the Conservatives began to adopt a more aggressive attitude in the House of Commons. The failure of the Government to solve the unemployment problem did indeed afford them an opportunity too tempting to be missed of getting even with the Labour Party for the taunts to which it had subjected their own Government for a less con-

spicuous failure in the same field. In spite of Mr. Thomas's efforts, the number of unemployed rose persistently from week to week ; it had long since passed a million and a half, and showed every likelihood of reaching two million before the year was out. The task of driving the lesson home in the House of Commons was entrusted to Mr. Neville Chamberlain, and on May 19, in a debate on the subject, he mercilessly exposed the difference between the professions of the Government at the time of the election and its performances in office. He did not confine himself to criticism, but boldly advocated Safeguarding as a remedy. Mr. Thomas would not hear of this, but confessed that he could not see any other means of stopping the rise in the unemployment figures. A motion having been brought forward to reduce the salary of the Lord Privy Seal, the Conservatives did their best to make it effective by mustering 247 votes on its behalf. The Liberals and fifteen "left wing" Labour members were so little satisfied with the defence of Mr. Thomas that they abstained from voting, with the result that the Government majority was reduced to fifteen.

The prestige of the Government was not a little shaken by this narrow escape, and it soon suffered a further shock from an attack made upon it from within. Sir Oswald Mosley, who as Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster acted as a kind of Junior Minister of Unemployment, had long chafed at the lack of enterprise shown by his chief, Mr. Thomas, in dealing with the unemployment problem, and had been anxious to embark on a more vigorous policy. In conjunction with his colleagues, Mr. Lansbury and Mr. Johnston, he had early in the year drawn up a Memorandum advocating drastic steps for remedying the evil, such as raising a huge loan for financing work plans and pensioning off all workers over sixty. The Memorandum was kept under consideration by the Government for several months, though at no time was there any likelihood that its proposals would be accepted. Early in May they were definitely rejected *in toto*. Sir Oswald Mosley thereupon, finding himself completely at variance with the policy of the Government as outlined by Mr. Thomas in the debate in Parliament on May 19, and by Mr. Snowden in a speech which he had made on May 14, resigned from the Government (May 20).

Not content with thus showing his disapproval of the Government's inaction, Sir Oswald, at a party meeting held a few days later, brought forward a motion formally expressing dissatisfaction with its unemployment policy. This feeling was certainly not confined to Sir Oswald and the extremists in the party. Nevertheless his motion, being equivalent to a vote of censure, was generally regarded as being too violent a method of giving expression to it. There was in consequence a rally to the side of the Government, and the motion was defeated by 202 votes to 29.

At this critical moment the continuance of Liberal support,

which seemed more than ever necessary to the Government, became more problematical. Since his volte-face over the Coal Bill in March, Mr. Lloyd George had been carrying on unofficial conversations with the Prime Minister for assuring Liberal support to the Government in return for a pledge that a measure of electoral reform would be introduced in the lifetime of the present Parliament. Mr. Lloyd George desired the reform to take the form of proportional representation, a proposal which the Prime Minister personally was willing to entertain. The bulk of the Labour Party, however, while willing to accept the system of the alternative vote, displayed a rooted objection to proportional representation. The result was that the negotiations between the Prime Minister and Mr. Lloyd George came to nothing, and the Government was left without any guarantee of Liberal support.

Encouraged by the dissensions within the Labour Party, the Conservatives on May 28 made a renewed attempt to trip up the Government over its unemployment policy, Mr. Baldwin moving a reduction in the vote for the Lord Privy Seal. On this occasion the Prime Minister undertook the defence of the Government, but he was unable to make out a better case than the Lord Privy Seal had done before him. He pleaded that the general fall in world prices had changed the nature of the problem in the course of the last twelve months, but he failed to propound any scheme for tackling it in its new form. Sir O. Mosley pitilessly exposed the shortcomings of his former colleagues, and insisted on the need of some new and more effective governmental machinery for dealing with the problem. In this plea he was warmly supported by Mr. Lloyd George, who reproached the Prime Minister with having omitted to carry out his election pledge to set up a special committee for dealing with unemployment. He also promised the Government full Liberal support in any endeavour it might make to carry out the policy laid down in "Labour and the Nation."

The Prime Minister's speech, as was to be expected, was considered unsatisfactory by the "rebel" group in the Labour Party. Nevertheless, the greater part of them, recognising that Mr. MacDonald's energies had hitherto been absorbed by the Naval Conference, decided to give him another chance, and voted for the Government in the division. The Liberals again abstained, and the Government in consequence secured a majority of 29, a result which they considered not unsatisfactory in the circumstances.

Almost immediately after this debate Mr. Thomas exchanged the office of Lord Privy Seal for that of Secretary of State for the Dominions (June 6), which he had filled so ably in 1924. The reason given for the transference was that he might be in a position to supervise the arrangements for the Imperial Conference which was to be held in the autumn. Lord Passfield

retained the post of Colonial Secretary, which thus for the first time became separated from that of the Secretary for the Dominions. The Prime Minister himself took over from Mr. Thomas the chief direction of unemployment policy. The offices vacated by Mr. Thomas and Sir Oswald Mosley were entrusted respectively to Mr. Vernon Hartshorn and Major Attlee, both of whom would have entered the Ministry earlier had they not been members of the Simon India Commission. Certain other Ministerial changes were made at the same time. Mr. Buxton resigned from the Ministry of Agriculture for reasons of health and was succeeded by Dr. Addison, while Mr. Ben Turner's place at the Ministry of Mines was taken by Mr. Shinwell.

On May 29 Sir C. Trevelyan, the Minister of Education, introduced his long-awaited Bill for raising the school-leaving age to 15. Six months had elapsed since the text was first published, and in the interval the draft had been enlarged by the addition of provisions for a kind of concordat with the voluntary schools on the question of religious instruction. The Minister stated that the object of the Bill was two-fold—on the one hand to furnish a year's additional education to about 400,000 children, on the other hand to relieve the Labour market to an equal extent. It was for this reason, he said, that the Government were anxious that the measure should come into force in the spring of next year. Lord Percy was of opinion that the educational institutions could not possibly be ready by that time to receive so large an influx of pupils, and thought that the relief promised to the Labour market would prove illusory. For these reasons he moved the rejection of the Bill, but without success, the second reading being carried by 289 votes to 223.

Early in the summer the Government was confronted in a new field with the problem of holding the balance between the aesthetic and the material interests of the nation (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1929, p. 85). A firm of contractors had ascertained that the land adjoining Hadrian's Wall in Northumberland contained vast quantities of whinstone, a material of great value for building purposes, and proposed to extract it for the benefit of the building industry in Great Britain. Their operations would have left the Wall intact, but would have rendered the approach to it difficult and spoilt its aspect. As the Wall was the noblest Roman relic in Great Britain, a loud outcry was at once raised against the proposal in academic and other learned quarters, and the Government was widely petitioned to prevent it being carried into effect. Mr. Lansbury, the First Commissioner of Works, went very carefully into the question, and himself paid a visit to the spot. As a result of his investigations, he informed the House of Commons on June 2 that he was opening negotiations with a view to having the quarrying confined to a limited area in which it could do no serious harm. He also announced that a Bill was being prepared

which would give his department adequate powers to protect the surroundings of ancient monuments, in addition to the power of scheduling ancient monuments which they already possessed.

In a debate in the House of Lords on June 3, the Secretary for Air, Lord Thomson, vouchsafed some information regarding the two giant airships which the Government had constructed, and the trial trips of which had been followed by the public with keen interest for several months. He stated that the period of trial for them was not yet over, though it was drawing to a close. The Government, he said, was determined that every possible risk in their use should be eliminated; hence the delay in putting them into service. In the same speech he stated that the air mail to India was functioning with remarkable regularity and punctuality, and would probably be extended to Australia by the end of the year. There were at the present moment in the British Empire something like 22,359 miles of air route in regular operation—a mileage second only to that of the United States. Imperial air routes could not be developed without subsidies, and in practice this had meant a monopoly of subsidy for one company—Imperial Airways. He thought this unfortunate if inevitable, but he could say that the company was doing its work very efficiently.

On June 5 the Prime Minister informed the House of Commons that the Government had decided that the Channel Tunnel scheme should not be proceeded with. The reasons were fully set forth in a White Paper issued the next day. They were summed up as consisting in "the element of doubt as to the feasibility of construction, the weakness of the economic case, the great cost, the long period before which the capital expended could fructify, and the small amount of employment provided/' in addition to formidable objections from the military point of view. Hence, in spite of the somewhat favourable report of the majority of the Committee of Inquiry, the Government came to the conclusion that "there was no justification for a reversal of the policy pursued by successive Governments for nearly fifty years in regard to the Channel Tunnel."

The advocates of a Channel Tunnel refused to take this decision as the end of the scheme. On June 30 Mr. Thurtle, a Labour member, brought forward a motion in the House of Commons urging the House to recommend that every facility should be given for the project to be undertaken at the earliest possible moment, by private enterprise if not by the State. An animated debate took place in which a number of speakers either made light of the recommendations of the Commission or interpreted them differently from the Government. The motion, on being left to a free vote of the House, was in the end defeated by 179 votes to 171. The bulk of the supporters of the motion came from the Labour Party, and of the opponents from the Conservatives.

The House of Commons considered the Lords' amendments to the Coal Bill on June 5 and 6. On the previous day the Executive of the Miners' Federation had recorded its demand that the Bill should be passed in the form in which it had originally left the Commons. Having no desire to quarrel with the Federation, the Government moved the rejection of all the amendments inserted by the Lords, save those of a purely drafting character. On the question of restoring the district levy, which the Lords had taken out of the Bill, they were met by the combined opposition of the Liberals and Conservatives, but were able to override it; on other matters the support of the Liberals gave them an easy victory.

On June 6, the day before the Whitsun recess, the attention of the Government was again called by Conservative members to the uncontrolled manner in which Russian Communist propaganda was being carried on in Britain and the British Empire, and the cry was again raised to terminate the Trade Agreement. Mr. Henderson admitted that propaganda of an objectionable kind was going on, but pointed out that before he could act, it would be necessary for him to bring the responsibility home to the Russian Government. The Government, he said, had set up machinery to test all the information that was available, and would be guided by its findings. He promised that if the Russian Government was shown to be really responsible, the Government would either break off relations, or ask Parliament to release them from the pledges which they had given in earlier debates.

The first part of the Report of the Indian Commission duly appeared on the day fixed, June 10. By this time public interest in the Indian situation had been wrought up to a high pitch, and this fact combined with the intrinsic interest of the work to procure for it an extraordinary vogue. The first impression of 10,000 copies, published at three shillings, was sold out in two days, and to meet the demand the Government published a second impression, of 28,000 copies which was taken up with almost equal rapidity.

The second volume of the Report, containing the recommendations, was published on June 17, and was on the whole accorded a highly favourable reception in the Press. The Government at first refrained from expressing any opinion on its merits, and in consequence a rumour spread abroad that it intended to ignore the recommendations at the forthcoming Round Table Conference. In India, on the other hand, the Nationalists asserted that the proposals of the Report represented Britain's definite plan for dealing with India. To make its position clear, the Government, on July 2, issued a statement to the effect that it adhered to its original plan of entering the conference with a perfectly free hand and an open mind, and the Report, therefore, would neither form the sole agenda of the conference, nor be

excluded from it. It described the Report as a "document of enormous authority and intrinsic value, by far the most constructive contribution to the solution of the problem of the political situation in India that we have," but it pointed out that it was a Report only and in no sense a decision of the Government or of Parliament.

When Parliament met after the Whitsun recess, the Conservative Party again raised the issue of unemployment, chiefly in order to discover whether the Government had formulated any new plan. The Prime Minister in the course of his reply formally suggested that a conference of all three parties should be held to consider the problem, along with that of agriculture. Mr. Lloyd George at once declared his willingness to enter such a conference without tying the Government's hands in any way. The Conservative reply was not given at once, but on the next day Mr. Baldwin sent a letter to the Prime Minister declining the invitation. The reason given was that in the Conservative view Safeguarding was an indispensable element in any scheme for bringing relief to the country's industries, and there was no prospect that the other parties would accept this remedy, if they would so much as consider it.

One of the first steps taken by the Prime Minister in his new capacity was to summon a conference of representatives of local authorities to discuss with the Government the possibilities of further co-operation in measures for the relief of unemployment. The conference met at the Guildhall in London on June 17, and was attended by over 200 delegates from municipal and similar associations and by a number of Cabinet Ministers. The discussion made it clear that the local authorities in the main had already anticipated necessary public works to the furthest point possible, and that their financial resources were being severely strained. The chief practical suggestions put forward were that British materials should be used as much as possible in the relief works even at a higher cost, and that departmental delays should be reduced to a minimum. The Minister of Transport pointed out that apart from new schemes there was much to be done in finishing off work already executed, and he urged the local authorities to concentrate their attention on work which would give relief in the coming winter. The Government in the end declared itself unable to increase its grants save in the case of certain necessitous districts which had absolutely come to the end of their means. It undertook, however, to release local authorities from the obligation to employ men from other areas, as there were now very few districts which had not as many unemployed as they could cope with.

As an outcome of the conference, the Minister of Health on July 12 brought forward a Public Works Facilities Bill for expediting the procedure by which local authorities could obtain

powers for undertaking works for the relief of unemployment. It was proposed that up to December 31, 1933, such powers should be obtainable through a draft order from the Minister instead of through a private Bill, as at present. Some protests were raised by Conservatives against this new encroachment of bureaucracy, but the passage of the Bill was not opposed.

One result of the Conservative "Home and Empire" campaign in May was to reopen the breach between Mr. Baldwin and Lord Beaverbrook which had been closed a couple of months before by the "referendum" compromise. The official statement of Conservative policy—as also the addresses of Mr. Baldwin—laid stress on the fact that the question of taxing imported food would not be made an issue at the next election. Lord Beaverbrook showed great annoyance at this proceeding; he accused the Conservative headquarters of breaking faith with him, and resumed his Press attacks on Mr. Baldwin's leadership. He proposed that Conservative candidates should be free to advocate food taxes at the next General Election and announced his intention of running candidates of his own against those who refused to do this. As in his previous campaign, he acted in close conjunction with Lord Rothermere, who had been opposed to the referendum plan from the first.

A considerable section of the Conservative Party shared Lord Beaverbrook's discontent with the official policy. Their ill-humour now vented itself on the head of the chairman of the Conservative Party organisation, Mr. J. C. Davidson, who had never made any secret of his opposition to food taxes. Matters were made so unpleasant for him that at the end of May he resigned from his position, which was taken over temporarily by Mr. Neville Chamberlain. Mr. Baldwin for a time ignored the attacks upon himself, and devoted his attention to the formulation of a constructive policy. On June 9, addressing an agricultural gathering in Suffolk, he definitely ruled out the idea of protection for agriculture, on the ground that the industrial districts would never vote for such a degree of protection as would be of any use to agriculture. At the same time he outlined his own agricultural policy, which was to fix a guaranteed price for home-grown wheat, to stop the dumping of bounty-fed oats, and to place a duty on barley. The proposals were well received by the agricultural community, and did something to restore its old faith in the Conservative Party.

Shortly afterwards Lord Rothermere, in a letter to the Press, put forward the suggestion that in future before an election the leader of the party should announce publicly what would be the composition of his next Cabinet, in case he was called upon to form one. Mr. Baldwin's patience was by now exhausted, and he determined to hit back. He took the unusual course of convening, on June 24, a meeting of Conservative members of the

House of Commons and candidates to discuss the questions which had been raised. At the meeting he made a "fighting" speech, declaring that he stood by the agreement which he had made with Lord Beaverbrook in March, and that he would stand no dictation from the Press Lords. A resolution was moved pledging the meeting to support Mr. Baldwin's safeguarding and agricultural policy, and approving the retention of the referendum in the party programme "in present circumstances." After a long discussion, which revealed considerable diversities of view, and which was wound up by an earnest appeal for unity from Sir Robert Home, the resolution was carried with one dissident.

Some notable indications were afforded about this time that support for the ideas of Safeguarding and Imperial Preference was by no means confined to the political followers of Mr. Baldwin. Declarations in favour of such a policy were made by several public bodies, including the Manchester Chamber of Commerce, formerly the very headquarters of Free Trade belief. Even more significant was a resolution passed on July 2 by a representative gathering of bankers urging that reciprocal trade agreements should be made between the nations constituting the British Empire, as a condition of which Great Britain should retain her open market for all Empire products while being prepared to impose duties on all imports from other countries. The resolution referred to the plea put forward four years before by a similar gathering of bankers for the removal of restrictions on European trade, and it justified the advocacy of an opposite policy on the ground that the hopes then expressed had not been realised; on the contrary, the restrictions had been materially increased, and the sale of surplus foreign products in the British market had steadily grown.

Striking evidence was similarly forthcoming that the mind of Labour was moving in the same direction. At the Conservative meeting of June 24, one speaker had ventured to suggest that if the Conservatives did not make up their mind quickly to adopt the policy of Empire Free Trade, they might be forestalled by the Labour Party. Colour was lent to this prediction by the publication just at this time (June 26) of a report of an Economic Committee which had been appointed by the Trade Union Congress to investigate the question of "Economic Groups," and its immediate endorsement by the Council of the Trade Union Congress. The Committee was of opinion that it was impossible for Britain to maintain any longer its traditional policy of economic isolation, and that it was imperative for her to join some "economic group." By this term was meant "a group of nations allied together to maintain, as far as possible, balance between supplies of raw materials and food-stuffs on the one hand, and manufactured goods on the other, free trade being maintained within the group. but, if necessary, protection against outsiders,"

made **for the formation of** three such groups, to any one of which Britain might belong, though by the nature of things it could belong to one only. The groups were the European, the British Commonwealth, and the Anglo-American. After examining the claims of all three, the Committee gave a decided preference to the British Commonwealth group, and it recommended that efforts should be made to bring about as full a development as possible of the economic relations between the constituent parts of the British Commonwealth.

The decisions taken by the Government in regard to the administration of East Africa were announced in a White Paper published on June 19. They followed closely the recommendations made by the Hilton Young Commission three years before. A High Commissioner was to be appointed for Kenya, Uganda, and Tanganyika. His duties were to be, on the one hand, to advise the Home Government on matters of policy, especially native policy, and, on the other hand, with the assistance of a Council nominated by himself, to administer and legislate in respect of railways, ports, and harbours, Customs and similar services in all three territories. There was to be no change for the present in the constitution of the Legislative Council of Kenya. The Government's policy, it was stated, was based on the view that the interests of the African natives should be paramount, and that they were exercising a trust on their behalf which they could not delegate or share.

On June 25 the First Lord of the Admiralty announced that the naval construction programme for 1930 would comprise three 6-in. gun cruisers, one destroyer flotilla of one leader and eight destroyers, and three submarines, besides four sloops and a net-layer. He estimated the total cost at about 9,000,000Z., to be spread over three years. He was at pains to point out that these ships were required to replace others which had passed the age limit, and had no connexion with the programmes of other Powers. The announcement was received with a very bad grace by the pacifists in the Labour Party, and efforts were made by them to deflect the Government from its purpose, but without success.

On June 26 a debate took place in the House of Commons on the forthcoming Imperial Conference. Speakers of all parties* professed themselves in favour of closer Imperial unity; Sir Herbert Samuel, however, pointed out that there were other means of promoting such unity besides tariffs, whereas Mr. Amery held that closer economic unity offered the most hopeful prospects of Imperial development. Mr. Thomas, speaking for the first time in his new capacity, stated that the Government would enter the conference with a free hand and with the single desire to achieve all that was possible in the interests of the whole Empire. He warned his hearers, however, that England would

not be able to impose her own ideas on the Dominions, which would resent any suggestion that their business should be run from London.

On June 24 the House of Lords debated whether it should insist on the amendments to the Coal Bill which the Lower House on June 6 had refused to accept. The proposal with regard to amalgamations was not revived. Over the rest of the field, however, the struggle was renewed. The fact that the district levy had been opposed by the Liberals in the House of Commons, and that certain sections of the mining population were known to be not averse to a "spread-over" of hours, encouraged the Conservatives to hope that they would be able to defy the Lower House successfully on these two points. Accordingly Lord Salisbury moved the re-insertion of the amendments for deleting the district levy and for permitting a ninety-hour fortnight—the latter in a somewhat modified form—and they were carried by large majorities.

In order to placate the Peers, the Government, when the Bill again came before the House of Commons, allowed the district levy to drop, but they would not permit any tampering with the seven-and-a-half-hour day. Lord Salisbury was still not satisfied, and when the Bill came before the House of Lords for the third time on July 15, he asked it to insist upon the "spread-over" amendment. The Lord Chancellor warned the Conservatives not to provoke a conflict with the Lower House, and his appeal was reinforced by Liberal speakers, who pointed out that in any case the Eight Hours Act was due to expire next July, and the question of hours would then again have to come up for revision. The Conservative Peers were, however, obstinate and carried the motion by 168 votes to 36.

In supporting the proposal for a "spread-over" Lord Salisbury had emphasised the fact that it was entirely permissive, and that it need not be adopted in any district unless both employers and workmen agreed to do so. This proviso afforded the Government a loophole to escape from the dilemma in which the decision of the Lords had placed them. As the Lords had conceded something, they once more approached the Miners' Federation with a request to reconsider their attitude to the "spread-over" plan. The Executive discussed the matter on July 16, and reluctantly decided to fall in with the Government's suggestion to accept the Lords' amendment, with the proviso, however, that no spread-over scheme should become operative without the acquiescence of the Mining Association and the Miners' Federation.

Fortified with this decision, Mr. Graham on July 21 moved in the House of Commons that the House should no longer disagree with the amendment of the Lords regarding the spread-over, but should accept it with the proviso laid down by the Miners' Federation. As the latter body had gone a long way

towards meeting the wishes of the Lords, he pleaded very strongly that the House should accept the amendment without a division. The Conservatives were not disposed to carry the controversy further, and complied with his request.

The Bill came before the House of Lords for the last time on July 22. Lord Salisbury made no objection to the Commons' amendment, but in order to make sure that the Miners' Federation should not use their new power unfairly, he proposed to add certain words bringing out still more clearly the strictly permissive character of the provision. The Lord Chancellor refused to accept his amendment and warned him that the Government had gone to the limit of conciliation and compromise. Lord Melchett, who had been one of the strongest supporters of the principle of the spread-over, also begged him to withdraw his amendment. It would, he said, have a bad psychological effect as showing mistrust of the miners' leaders, and would prevent the creation of the atmosphere of good-will which would be necessary in the important wage negotiations impending in the industry. In response to this and other appeals, Lord Salisbury withdrew his amendment. The Commons' amendment was then agreed to, and the long struggle over the Bill was at last at an end.

By the end of June the Government was still a long way from completing the legislative programme which had been set forth in the King's Speech more than twelve months before (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1929, p. 55). A considerable section of the Labour Party urged the Premier to continue the session into August in order to catch up with the arrears; nor was he personally averse to the project. He found, however, on inquiry, that it would be impracticable, and therefore determined to wind up the session at the end of July, as usual. To make this possible he was compelled not only to abandon all thought of bringing in fresh legislation, but also to throw over two important measures which had already passed their second reading, but which were proving in Committee much more contentious than had been anticipated, namely, the Consumers' Council Bill and the Education Bill.

The report of the Committee appointed in August, 1929, to inquire into the state of the Lancashire cotton trade was published on July 4. It did little more than bear out and emphasise the conclusions already reached through the investigations conducted by the industry itself. It pointed out once more that the troubles of the industry were due in part to deficiencies in its own organisation, and laid stress on the need for larger amalgamations and for closer co-operation between the manufacturing and marketing branches. At the same time it gave an assurance to the industry that financial assistance for proper schemes of reorganisation would be readily forthcoming. Mr. Clynes, who had presided over the later stages of the inquiry, said that while the report showed that much would have to be done before the Lancashire

cotton industry was restored to health, there was no reason whatever to doubt its eventual recovery ; that was why the Government had decided to publish the report in spite of misgivings in certain quarters. The Government, he said, strongly supported the recommendations of the report, and urged the industry to give them effect.

The Road Traffic Bill made its reappearance on the floor of the House of Commons on July 4, after having been considered for some months by a Standing Committee. The Minister of Transport again had to fight hard for the retention of the clause abolishing the speed limit for private cars, a question on which feeling ran high both among the public and in the House. An animated debate took place on a motion that such cars should be subjected to a speed limit of 35 miles an hour. On being left to a free vote of the House, the motion was rejected by 180 votes to 99. The rest of the Bill passed without difficulty.

On July 9 the Government was once more brought to the verge of defeat by a combination of the Opposition parties, and once more it was saved by Liberal defections. In the course of the discussion on the Finance Bill, Mr. Snowden had asserted that many firms had squandered the huge profits they had made in the post-war boom instead of using them to re-equip their works, and he mentioned certain firms by name. It was subsequently shown by Sir Robert Home that the charge against these firms was unfounded, and Mr. Snowden was forced to withdraw his assertion in regard to them. Mr. Lloyd George thereupon suggested at a Liberal Party meeting that an amendment should be moved to the Finance Bill to exempt from income tax profits used for purposes of re-equipment. Opinion in the party was divided on the matter, and Mr. George only carried his point with difficulty. When the amendment was moved on July 9, Mr. Snowden rejected the proposal unceremoniously. He also made it clear that the Government considered the question one of confidence. Mr. Lloyd George stated that he had no desire to defeat the Government ; no one, he said, wanted to turn them out. Nevertheless he persisted in carrying the motion to a division. The Conservatives had not a full muster in the House, and there seemed to be no danger of the Government being defeated ; all the same a number of Liberals, including several who had supported Mr. George at the party meeting, thought it more prudent to abstain from voting. Their caution was justified. The Conservative rally proved unexpectedly large ; it was said afterwards that fifty Conservative members had been lying in wait in a neighbouring building, and on a given signal had come up to the division lobby "at the double." The Government scraped through with a majority of three.

Mr. Lloyd George's attempt to damage the Government at first threatened to recoil upon his own head. Several of his

followers, who desired least of all things to overthrow the Government at the present juncture, did not conceal their irritation with him for having so nearly led them into a trap, and took steps to prevent the repetition of such tactics. The Labour Party also considered that his conduct had demonstrated the futility of consulting with him on the methods of relieving unemployment. However, at a party meeting held on July 14, Mr. George managed to patch up his position within the Liberal Party. He assured the meeting that he had had no intention or desire of defeating the Government and had entered into no intrigue or manoeuvre for doing so. On his side he pleaded for more loyal adherence to party decisions, even if they should involve the defeat of the Government. The net result of the meeting was a resolution that in future party meetings should be held every week while Parliament was sitting. The Prime Minister also, in spite of the mutterings of his followers, announced that his conversations with Mr. Lloyd George on the subject of unemployment would be continued. Somewhat paradoxically, Mr. George's position was on the whole strengthened by the incident, his indispensability both to his own party and to the Government having been more clearly brought to light.

On the same day (July 11) the Government became involved in a dispute of a remarkable character with a section of its followers. A proposal was before the House of Commons that certain gentlemen should be appointed Public Works Loans Commissioners for the ensuing five years. Certain Labour members of the left wing took strong exception to the name of Lord Hunsdon, on the ground that at the time of the coal strike in 1926 he had said that the miners should be starved into submission. Mr. Pethick-Lawrence, who was in charge of the Bill, shrank from taking a decision on his own responsibility, and moved to report progress—a step for which he was upbraided with cowardice by Conservative speakers. The motion was carried by 160 votes to 44.

At a meeting of the Parliamentary Labour Party held on July 17, Mr. Snowden insisted that Lord Hunsdon's name should be retained on the list of Commissioners, and he carried his point in the teeth of strong opposition. At the same time, however, the Government consented to leave the matter to a free vote of the House. When the discussion was resumed on July 23, a number of Labour speakers bitterly attacked Lord Hunsdon, but Mr. Snowden held fast to the view that men were not to be disqualified from voluntary public service on account of their political views. After a heated discussion the amendment was rejected by 209 votes to 63, the minority consisting entirely of Labour members.

In continuance of the aggressive policy which the Conservative Party had for some time been pursuing in the House of Commons, Mr. Baldwin on July 16 formally moved a vote of censure on

the Government for reversing the policy of safeguarding and for refusing to consider the imposition of duties on imported food-stuffs. The most significant feature of Mr. Baldwin's speech was its omission of any reference to the taxing of food or the referendum. Through his anxiety not to commit himself on this matter he succeeded in placing himself in the dock rather than the Government. Mr. Lloyd George described his state of mind as ^k"muzzy," and both he and Mr. Snowden mercilessly exposed his vacillations and evasions on the question of food taxes. Mr. Snowden made a spirited defence of the Free Trade point of view, and declared that, while the Government would be prepared to discuss any proposal at the forthcoming Imperial Conference, it was determined not to alter its fiscal policy. The motion was eventually defeated by 312 votes to 241.

The Finance Bill emerged from the Committee stage on July 17 with little alteration. The Unionists had not shown themselves anxious to expedite discussions, and Mr. Snowden had not displayed any great desire to placate them; consequently much Parliamentary time had been spent to little advantage. In the Report stage Mr. Churchill brought forward again the proposal for exempting from income tax sums spent on the reconditioning of plant and machinery which had nearly brought about the downfall of the Government when moved from the Liberal benches in Committee. Sir H. Samuel now explained that it had been put forward for the consideration of the Chancellor of the Exchequer in the hope that he would agree to devise a practicable proposal at a later stage of the Bill, and Liberals had been disappointed with his reply. Mr. Snowden again refused to entertain the proposal, on the ground that it was not difficult for any sound business to obtain the money needed for reconditioning—a statement which was vigorously contested by subsequent speakers. On this occasion the Opposition did not show itself inclined to endanger the Government, and the motion was rejected by 246 votes to 142.

On July 17 the House of Commons was thrown into a ferment by the behaviour of two Labour members who resorted to highly unparliamentary methods of drawing attention to their grievances. One, Mr. Brockway, tried to extract from the Prime Minister a promise to allow a discussion on India before the recess, and refused to desist at the bidding of the Speaker. He was still arguing the point when another Labour member, Mr. Beckett, dumb-founded the House by picking up the Mace and commencing to walk off with it. The suspension of both members was moved by the Prime Minister, and eagerly supported by the bulk of those present. Mr. Brockway, however, found twenty-six members to side with him, and Mr. Beckett six. There was a strong feeling in all quarters that further disciplinary action should be taken against Mr. Beckett for his gross affront to the House.

The Prime Minister refused to do so on behalf of the Government, but the Parliamentary Labour Party on July 23 placed on record its strong disapproval of his action, and called upon him to apologise to the House, but without effect.

Before the House had recovered from the shock of Mr. Beckett's escapade, its feelings were even more deeply outraged by another member from the same group. On July 26 Mr. Sandham, one of the six members who had voted against Mr. Beckett's suspension, asserted in a public speech that Socialist members took bribes and got drunk without incurring the censure of their leaders, and that their conduct was in keeping with the traditions of the House. Attention was called to the matter by Lord Winterton, a Conservative, on July 28. Mr. Sandham repeated his charges before the House, and, on the suggestion of the Prime Minister, his conduct was referred to the Committee of Privileges.

When Mr. Sandham was called before the Committee of Privileges, he repeated his charges in general terms, but refused to give specific details. The Committee, therefore, after a brief sitting, came to the conclusion that his charges had not been proved, and that he had been guilty of a breach of privilege in making them in a public speech outside the House and deserved to be censured. In accordance with this decision, Mr. Snowden on July 30 formally moved that Mr. Sandham should be admonished by the Speaker. After a somewhat acrimonious debate the motion was carried by 304 votes to 13. The Speaker then delivered his admonition, which was entered in the Journals of the House. More than twenty years had elapsed since the last occasion on which a member had been similarly "admonished."

On July 17 the Government issued the text of its reply to the proposals of M. Briand for a European Federal Union. Sympathy was expressed with the desire of the French Government to promote closer co-operation among nations, and so strengthen the safeguards against another European war. The actual proposals, however, were treated with more reserve, and the opinion was expressed that an exclusive and independent European Union such as was suggested might emphasise or create tendencies to inter-continental rivalries which it was important in the general interest to diminish or avoid. In the view of the British Government, it was said, the purpose of the French Government could be effectively secured by so adapting their proposals as to bring them fully within the framework of the League of Nations.

The drain on the Insurance Fund caused by the continuous increase of unemployment was by now once more bringing it to the verge of insolvency, and the Government found itself compelled on July 18 to apply to Parliament for permission to borrow another 10,000,000*l.* on behalf of the Fund, thus raising its indebtedness to 60,000,000*l.* The application was described by the Government spokesman as "regrettable but unavoidable/

Conservative members were inclined to question whether the need was so unavoidable as the Government made out, but they could not put forward any alternative method of dealing with the immediate situation, and the Government was readily granted the powers which it requested. The Minister of Labour on the next day expressed herself as confident that the Fund would require no further assistance till Parliament met again after the summer recess ; as to what would happen after that, she did not venture any prediction.

It was recognised on all hands that the serious position of the Fund was not a party matter and that it called for treatment on national lines. Accordingly, immediately after this debate a Committee of six, containing two members from each party, was appointed to consider means of saving the Fund from further indebtedness. At the same time Mr. Lloyd George associated with himself certain members of his party in his discussions with the Prime Minister on the wider aspects of the unemployment problem, and so gave them a more formal, if not more binding character.

The introduction of a vote of over 6,000,000Z. for shipbuilding on July 21 gave rise to an attack from two sides on the Government's programme of naval construction. From the Labour benches Lieutenant-Commander Kenworthy charged the Government with starting a new race in naval armaments and with being false to the policy of "Labour and the Nation," and he advocated a naval holiday till the World Conference on Disarmament in 1931. Mr. Churchill, on the other hand, saw in the programme a confirmation of his view that the Treaty of London would reduce Britain to a position of permanent naval inferiority and would leave her without the means to protect her trade routes. On behalf of the Government Mr. Alexander pointed out that if it was asking for 13,000,000L for the next two years, it had already saved as much by cancellations in the programmes of the previous two years. His defence, however, did not satisfy Lieutenant-Commander Kenworthy, who remarked that his speech might just as well have been given from the other side. A Socialist motion to reduce the vote on account of its extravagance was rejected by 239 votes to 27, and a Conservative motion to reduce it as a protest against its inadequacy was negatived by 219 votes to 135.

On July 24 a Liberal member drew the attention of the House of Commons to the serious state of British foreign trade, as evidenced by the fact that there had been a drop in the figures of the last six months of 128,000,000Z., or 15 per cent., as compared with those for the previous six months, evenly divided as between imports and exports. His chief object seemed to be to reaffirm his Free Trade faith in the midst of adverse circumstances. The President of the Board of Trade agreed with him

that the condition of trade was bad—a fact which he attributed in large measure to the operation of a "remarkable accumulation of forces" against British trade and industry. He deplored the fact that the resolutions of the World Economic Conference of 1927 had so far produced so little effect, but he thought that was **all** the more reason why Britain should persist in its present policy.

The Conference on Electoral Reform which had been appointed by the Prime Minister in the autumn of 1929 (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1929, p. 98) closed its labours in the last week of July without producing any result. The discussions of the conference soon made it clear that neither the Conservatives nor the Labour Party were anxious for any change in the existing system; that the Labour Party would not on any account accept proportional representation; and that they would consent to the alternative vote only on condition of certain reforms being introduced—such as the abolition of plural voting—to which the other parties would not consent. After fifteen sittings had been held, the Chairman, Lord Ullswater, came to the conclusion that it was hopeless to look for agreement on any matter of consequence, and he accordingly wrote a letter to the Prime Minister stating that he did not see any point in continuing the conference.

The Finance Bill passed its third reading on July 25 by a majority of 38. Sir L. Worthington-Evans, who moved its rejection, pointed out that Mr. Snowden had borrowed more to support the unemployed than he had added to the Sinking Fund, so that he had not really reduced the national liability. The Chancellor's fidelity to Free Trade principles, however, won him an enthusiastic eulogy from a Liberal speaker, Mr. Leif Jones. Mr. Churchill took the opportunity to indulge his most cutting vein of sarcasm at Mr. Snowden's expense, dubbing him "twin Victorian dodo," to his Liberal admirer, and ironically congratulating him on having crowded out a great part of the Socialist legislative programme through the way in which he had needlessly prolonged the debates.

In a debate on the Foreign Office vote on July 29, Mr. Churchill tried to throw on the British Government the blame for the disorders which had recently taken place in Egypt. He maintained that the root of the trouble was the insistence of the Government that the draft treaty which had been negotiated should be confirmed by a Parliament in Egypt elected by manhood suffrage. The Prime Minister pointed out that Lord Lloyd in 1926 had also proposed to advise the Egyptian Government to conduct elections on the existing electoral law, which provided for manhood suffrage. **All** that they had done was to advise Mahmud Pasha not to narrow the franchise, and they would do the same again should the circumstances arise. For this statement the Prime Minister was criticised by Mr. Lloyd George, who thought it might possibly be construed into an interference in the internal affairs of Egypt.

The Government by this time had definitely announced that a Round Table Conference would be held between British and Indian delegates in the autumn. The invitations in India were left in the hands of the Viceroy. At home the Opposition parties expressed a desire that they also should be represented. The Government was well aware that the presence of Conservatives at the conference would be resented in India; nevertheless, after anxious consideration, it decided that it was important at all costs to make the conference as thoroughly representative as possible of British opinion. The Premier's announcement, on July 29, that the other two parties would be invited to nominate representatives to the conference was received by them with great satisfaction, which, however, did not extend to his further announcement that no member of the Statutory Commission would be given a seat on the conference. A strong section of the Conservative Party, led by Sir Austen Chamberlain and supported by Lord Reading, were anxious that Sir John Simon should also be a delegate to the conference. To this request the Prime Minister would not accede, but he stated that members of the Commission would undoubtedly be able to serve the conference in a consultative capacity.

On July 30 attention was called in the House of Commons by Conservative members to the continued shortage of recruits for the Army, and it was suggested that the Government was not taking sufficient interest in the matter. The Minister of War did not deny that he was an out-and-out pacifist, but he said that as long as the Government decided that a certain number of men was necessary for the Army, he should regard it as his duty to provide the men. The difficulty, he pointed out, was still not to obtain applicants, but applicants who came up to the required standard of physical fitness. He would not admit that the system of unemployment benefit was any hindrance to recruiting; he thought that a far more serious obstacle was the lack of sufficiently favourable conditions in the Army to attract the right class of men. He was also of opinion that peace propaganda had a great effect upon recruiting, but refused to see in that any reason why the Government should deviate in the slightest from its peace policy and principles.

The Committee which had been appointed to consider the remuneration of Ministers of the Crown issued its report on July 30. It had come to the conclusion that the existing scale of salaries was in some respects anomalous and in others inadequate, and that a proper adjustment would not involve any large increase of expenditure. Nevertheless it felt that the present time was inopportune for revision save in one particular only—the salary of the Prime Minister. It was pointed out that the circumstances of his position—the costly house which he had to maintain and the entertainments which he had to provide—rendered his salary

of less value than that of any other Minister. He was under the further disadvantage that when he went out of office he could not supplement his income in the same way as other ex-Ministers. The Committee therefore strongly recommended that the Prime Minister's salary should be increased at the earliest opportunity from 5,000Z. to 7,000Z. per annum.

On June 30 a new treaty was signed between the United Kingdom and Iraq at Bagdad "on terms of complete freedom, equality, and independence," to become operative upon the entry of Iraq into the League of Nations in 1932. In the House of Commons on July 30 Sir S. Hoare and Sir E. Hilton Young, on behalf of the Conservatives, gave their blessing to the treaty, at the same time criticising it on the ground that there was no mention in it of national minorities. Dr. Shiels, the Under-Secretary for the Colonies, pointed out in reply that the treaty would not come into operation until Iraq had become a member of the League of Nations and until Britain's mandatory responsibilities towards Iraq had been terminated, and that thenceforward the minorities would be under the protection of the League.

The last act of the Government before Parliament rose was to announce an agricultural policy in the shape of a number of administrative measures to be carried out in the near future and legislative proposals to be submitted in the next session. The chief aim of the policy was the reform of marketing and production in order to secure the best advantage from the home market. The crux of the problem, however, the position of cereal farming, was left untouched, in view of the possibility that the decisions of the approaching Imperial Conference might materially change the character of the problem. The announcement was received with great satisfaction on the Ministerial benches, but was criticised by Opposition speakers as holding out very little hope to the agricultural industry.

Parliament rose for the summer vacation on August 1. Among the measures which received the royal assent on the same day were the Finance Act, the Coal Mines Act, the London Naval Treaty Act, the Unemployment Insurance Act, the Road Traffic Act, and the Housing (Slum Clearance) Acts for England and Scotland. In the King's Speech mention was made of the fact that Prince and Princess Takamatsu from Japan had visited London in the summer, and that the restoration of more settled conditions in Afghanistan had rendered possible an exchange of representatives with that country.

CHAPTER III.

FISCAL POLICY AND THE IMPERIAL CONFERENCE.

THE close of the Parliamentary session was followed by the usual lull in political activity. In the first week of the vacation, however, the general silence was broken by a couple of campaigning speeches from Mr. Baldwin and Mr. Neville Chamberlain, in which they reiterated the agricultural proposals already set forth by the Conservative leader, poured scorn on Lord Beaverbrook's "Empire Free Trade" policy, and appealed for unity in the party in view of a General Election which might be upon them at any time.

At the same time the complacency of the Liberal Party was somewhat rudely disturbed by a challenge to its Free Trade faith from an unexpected quarter. At the Liberal Summer School, which met at the beginning of August, Mr. E. D. Simon declared that he was no longer satisfied with the orthodox defence of the Free Trade standpoint, and that he thought the time had come for them to review their position in the light of present-day conditions. He was severely taken to task for his heretical opinions by some eminent Free Traders who were present, but after hearing their explanations he declared that his doubts were still entirely unallayed.

Meanwhile the idea that Safeguarding might provide a remedy against trade depression and unemployment continued to gain ground in commercial circles. On August 7 the Executive Council of the Association of British Chambers of Commerce, after ascertaining the views of over 100 Chambers of Commerce in all parts of the country, laid before the Government a report which stated that the situation was growing steadily worse and that certain steps were urgently needed to prevent further deterioration; and of these the first to be mentioned was an extension of Safeguarding.

The Free Traders on their side were also not idle. At the end of August a body calling itself the "National Association of Merchants and Manufacturers" issued a rejoinder to the bankers' resolution in favour of fiscal reform which had attracted so much attention a few weeks before (*vide* p. 55). The list of signatories, which included a large number of highly prominent bankers, industrialists, and economists, with Lord Grey of Fallodon at their head, showed that the Free Trade phalanx, in spite of numerous defections, was still very powerful in these quarters. The signatories stated that they could not think the reasons advanced in the bankers' resolution adequate for a reversal of Britain's long-established system of free ports and open markets. In 1926, they said, the bankers had rendered a service by calling attention to the dangers of the tariff policy which the nations

were then pursuing. These consequences were now being felt in increased measure, and what was required therefore was a reiteration and emphasising of the advice given four years ago rather than a proposal to do the very things against which they had then warned the nations.

At the annual conference of the Miners' Federation on August 11, the President, Mr. T. Richards, expressed, on behalf of the workers in the industry, a tempered satisfaction with the new Coal Bill. In addition to the "spread-over" clause there were, he said, many weak features in the Act which stamped it clearly as the work of a minority Labour Government; nevertheless he believed that if the coal-owners had faith in the possibilities of the industry and made a genuine effort to put into operation the machinery provided by the Act, an all-round improvement in the industry might be effected. He promised them the goodwill and co-operation of the miners, though he complained that they had not been given a great voice in the machinery for operating the Act.

The Lambeth Conference of Bishops, which met early in August, discussed among other things the subject of birth control. The question whether this practice was permissible had for some years been increasingly exercising the minds of churchmen, and they were now looking anxiously for guidance to their spiritual leaders. The majority of the Bishops felt the necessity of making some concession to the popular demand, and gave a guarded sanction to the practice of birth control in certain exceptional cases. A considerable minority, however, was against giving any countenance to the practice, and bitterly resented the action of the majority. Thus the decision of the conference, like the compromise on the Prayer Book, while it prevented secession, tended to weaken the internal unity of the Church of England and to estrange some of its most earnest members.

Throughout the month of August the unemployment problem was closely studied by the two conferences which the Government had appointed to deal with the subject. Before either of them, however, was in a position to offer any suggestion, the Independent Labour Party urged upon the Government's acceptance its own ready-made programme for solving the problem. On August 22 it issued a manifesto urging the Government "to concentrate upon reabsorbing the unemployed into industry by increasing the purchasing power of the workers," and setting forth a number of proposals—naturally of a Socialistic nature—for attaining this end and otherwise reducing unemployment. At the same time it announced that the whole party would engage in a nation-wide effort to secure the adoption of this programme at the National Labour Party Conference in October, and embodied its main proposals in a resolution to be moved at the conference.

Shortly after the publication of the Government Committee's Report on the state of the cotton industry (*vide* p. 58), the first attempt was made to take practical advantage of the offer put forward by the leading banks in April to come to the assistance of industry in certain circumstances (*vide* p. 37). A scheme was proposed for forming a merger of a large number of concerns in the Egyptian or fine cotton spinning section of the Lancashire textile industry, and application was made for financial assistance to the Bankers' Industrial Development Company. The Company declined to participate on the ground that part of the funds to be advanced would be used for compensating certain existing interests, an object outside the scope of the Company. The decision created great surprise and keen disappointment in all sections of the cotton industry ; one of the promoters of the scheme, Mr. Hammersley, a Conservative member of Parliament for Stockport, roundly declared that it was a hollow farce to pretend that helpful finance would be forthcoming for the cotton trade through the Bank of England. Mr. Snowden, however, a short time afterwards defended the bankers, throwing the blame on the traditional individualism of the Lancashire manufacturers, and their unwillingness to abandon old ideas and methods.

As there was obviously a difference of opinion between the manufacturers and the Bank of England, the Government determined to ascertain for itself how far the industry was in fact carrying out the recommendations of the cotton report of July. For this purpose Mr. Clynes and Mr. Graham visited Manchester on October 22, and conferred with representatives of all branches of the cotton industry. As a result of their inquiries they urged upon the industry the importance of doing all it could to help itself, especially by promoting closer co-operation between all of its various sections, and again promised the assistance of the Government wherever it was likely to be of use.

On August 25 the Permanent Mandates Commission to the Council of the League of Nations issued a Report reviewing the conduct of Great Britain, as Mandatory Power, in connexion with the disturbances in Palestine in the previous autumn. The Commission approved of the measures taken by Great Britain to restore and maintain order after the disturbances, but passed certain strictures on its general administration of the country, insinuating that it was not fulfilling its mandatory obligations either to the Jewish or the Arab sections of the population. The British Government took these criticisms in very bad part, holding them to be inspired by prejudice, and immediately published a long memorandum on its administration of Palestine in which it replied with no small asperity to the charges of the Mandates Commission. About the same time it sent an agricultural expert, Sir J. Hope Simpson, to Palestine to report to it on the agricultural possibilities of the country.

The sixty-second Trade Union Congress opened at Nottingham on September 2. The Government sent to the Congress a * fraternal delegate " in the person of Mr. Clynes, the Home Secretary. The chairman, Mr. J. Beard, the president of the Workers' section of the Transport and General Workers' Union, utilised his position to deliver in his opening address a vigorous counterblast to the propaganda of the Independent Labour Party. He ridiculed the slogan of " Socialism in our Time," and affirmed that there was not even a desire for it in the Labour movement. Even the programme of " Labour and the Nation," he said, was not sacrosanct ; it should be their guide and not their Bible, and they should be at any time prepared to modify it in accordance with the lessons of practical experience. He condemned in the strongest terms the section of the Labour Party in Parliament which sought to embarrass the Government, and declared them to be a serious danger to the party.

The Congress devoted the greater part of the second day to a consideration of the Report of the Economic Committee on the organisation of the Empire as an economic unit (*vide* p. 55). Mr. Beard, in his presidential address, had already declared that the trade union movement made no fetish of Free Trade, and that their avowed policy was " the regulation and conscious control of economic factors and forces," though this formula did not commit them to a policy of tariffs either. The recommendations of the report for constituting the British Empire as an " economic group " were now warmly advocated by Mr. Bevin, who declared that Mr. Graham's tariff truce efforts had proved a failure, and that it was therefore necessary for the British Empire to make the most of its own resources. The report met with strong opposition, chiefly from speakers of more advanced views, but on a card vote a motion to refer it back was defeated by 1,878,000 votes to 1,401,000.

A special significance attached to this vote in view of the approaching Imperial Conference, which, it was known, would deal with the question of closer economic union within the Empire. The greater part of the proceedings of the Congress were taken up with resolutions of a more academic character, *e.g.* in favour of State pensions for all workers at sixty, a working week of forty-four hours including meal times, and State control of banking. Before rising, however, it returned to the world of realities to discuss in a sober and practical spirit the question of family allowances, on which a Special Committee had reported to it some time before. Although the majority of the Committee favoured the proposal, the Congress now rejected it, partly on the ground that it would involve too great a strain on the national finances, partly because it might adversely affect the rate of wages. The Congress showed itself anxious to know what efforts the General Council was making to bring about the repeal of the

Trade Unions Act of 1927, and though assured that everything possible was being done, it passed by acclamation a resolution instructing the Council to press for the repeal of the Act and calling upon the Government to deal with the question at the opening of the next session.

The growing desire within the business community to bring about a change in the fiscal policy of the country led to the formation in September of a new organisation having this task for its sole object. The moving spirit was Sir W. Morris, the well-known motor manufacturer, whose own business was one of the stock examples of the benefits of Safeguarding. In conjunction with a number of other prominent industrialists, Sir William succeeded on September 25 in bringing into being an organisation which called itself the "National Council of Industry and Commerce" as a non-party body which should devote itself to securing the protection of home industries against foreign competition and the promotion of closer trade relations between the different parts of the Empire. With this object in view the Council announced that it would give vigorous support to Parliamentary candidates who adhered whole-heartedly to its policy, and also that it would put candidates of their own in the field where there was none whom they could support.

At the same time that Sir William Morris was thus mobilising a force against Free Trade, the Federation of British Industries sought by means of a referendum to ascertain the views of its constituent members on fiscal policy. The result, which was published on October 17, showed that the feeling within the Federation in favour of Safeguarding was much more pronounced than anyone had anticipated. About three-quarters of those consulted replied, and of these only 3.9 per cent, were in favour of retaining the existing Free Trade system, while 96.1 per cent, were in favour of a change. It was stated that no single group within the Federation showed a majority in favour of Free Trade. On the strength of this vote the Council of the Federation immediately passed a resolution "to press by every means in its power for the establishment of a fiscal system which would combine protection at home with the widest possible extension of Imperial Preference."

During the month of September the Cabinet was actively engaged in making preparations for the two great conferences on Imperial issues which were impending—the Imperial Conference which was to open on October 2, and the Indian Round Table Conference which was immediately to follow it. The former was arousing public interest to an unusual degree, as it was expected to deal with the problem of establishing closer trade relations between the different parts of the Empire, a matter in which the business community was deeply concerned. Both the Federation of British Industries and the General Council of the Trade

Union Congress had devoted much thought to the possibilities of the conference. Widely divergent as were these bodies, they had held joint consultations on the matter, and had arrived at the same conclusions on certain points. On September 24 they joined hands in addressing to the Prime Minister a memorandum in which they emphasised the necessity for adequate machinery for economic consultation between the various parts of the British Commonwealth, pointing out that, as things were, better machinery existed, in the shape of the Economic Organisation of the League of Nations, for the discussion of economic questions between Britain and foreign countries than of Commonwealth economic problems. In order to promote the formulation and practical application of a constructive Commonwealth trade policy, they urged that a Commonwealth Trade Conference should be held as soon as possible to consider every question affecting inter-Commonwealth trade, and in particular to ascertain definitely the views of the Dominions as to what further reciprocal arrangements could be made for increasing that trade. The memorandum further proposed that a permanent Commonwealth Economic Secretariat should be established, to watch and report upon the steps taken between conferences, to give effect to the decisions arrived at, and to study both questions raised at the preceding conference and any questions which might arise in the interval.

The Imperial Conference opened on October 2. It met at a time when nearly all the constituent members of the Empire were faced with economic problems which were causing them grave anxiety. Great Britain was in the tenth year of an uninterrupted and in many respects unparalleled trade depression, and the tenth year, like a *decumanus fluctus*, was proving the most shattering of all. For the first eight months of 1930 British imports had been 12 per cent, less and exports 19 per cent, less than for the corresponding period of 1929 ; and there was no prospect of improvement. Australia was in the throes of a financial crisis which was crippling the purchasing power of her population. Canada was at her wits' end to find markets for her wheat ; and the farmers of New Zealand and South Africa were also severely hit by the fall in the prices of their staple products.

This abnormal economic situation invested the conference of 1930 with an unusual significance in the eyes of a great part of the public, both in England and the Dominions. For months before it met, the belief had been gaining ground that in some way it might be able to guide the Governments of the Empire into new courses where they would find material relief for their suffering peoples. On the strength of this belief some of the Dominion Premiers had put themselves to great inconvenience in order to attend the conference personally. The British Government studiously refrained from raising any expectations ; but it was well aware that a large part of the business world was looking to

it to extract from the conference some substantial benefit for British trade and industry.

The chief British delegates to the conference were the Prime Minister and Mr Thomas, the Secretary for the Dominions. Ireland was represented by its Foreign Secreatry, Mr. McGilligan, the Prime Minister being too unwell to attend. India was represented by Mr. Wedgwood Benn and the Maharajah of Bikaner. All the other Dominions were represented by their Prime Ministers—Canada by Mr. Bennett, Newfoundland by Sir J. Squires, South Africa by General Hertzog, Australia by Mr. Scullin, and New Zealand by Mr. Forbes. Of all the leading delegates, General Hertzog was the only one who had attended the last Imperial Conference in 1926.

In opening the conference Mr. MacDonald, who was elected chairman, stated that, according to the provisional agenda which had been drawn up, the problems with which the conference would have to deal fell into three classes. The first concerned the relations of the members of the British Commonwealth with one another in the political or constitutional field. Under this head their chief task would be to consider the Report of the Conference on the Operation of Dominion Legislation, on the modifications and adaptations which were required in the existing legal structure of the Commonwealth in order to bring it into accord with the declarations of the conference of 1926. The second class of problems concerned the influence which the Commonwealth as such might exercise in international affairs and especially in the maintenance of world peace. The third class concerned the possibility of bringing about closer co-operation between the members of the Commonwealth in the economic sphere.

Although in his enumeration Mr. MacDonald placed the economic problems last, he laid a certain emphasis upon them by remarking that they "raised issues of fundamental importance." Subsequent speakers did not hesitate to declare them unequivocally to be paramount. Mr. Bennett said that no previous conference had before it questions of such urgency and such basic importance for the economic welfare of the Empire as those which were now arising. Mr. Scullin said that it would be impossible to exaggerate the importance of the economic issues which they would have to discuss at that conference, or the significance which the various peoples of the British Commonwealth of Nations were attaching to their discussions of those matters, and he expressed the opinion that their success would be judged by the progress which they should be able to achieve towards Empire economic co-operation. Mr. Forbes said he felt that a great deal was expected from the conference in its consideration of economic subjects, and that any failure on their part to take some definite steps towards the promotion of increased inter-Imperial trade would be the cause of great

disappointment throughout the Commonwealth. General Hertzog declared in so many words that just as the conference of 1926 had busied itself mainly with inter-Commonwealth State relations, that is to say with abstract principles as to status and competency, so it would in his opinion be the task of the present conference to apply itself more particularly to the solution of questions of an economic and fiscal nature. Only the Irish representative, Mr. McGilligan, struck a somewhat different note by declaring that for his country the recognition of their position as a free and sovereign State came before all other considerations, & that he would press above all things for the removal of the 'last elements of the old system of Imperial control.

Thus the first meeting of the conference settled beyond question that the main problem with which it intended to deal was that of devising some means of co-operation in the economic field between the component parts of the British Commonwealth, at any rate between Great Britain and the various Dominions. At its second plenary session on October 8, the conference immediately came to grips with the task which it had set itself. Mr. Thomas, in opening the proceedings, emphasised the necessity of putting forward some practical proposals for solving the difficulties and problems with which they were all faced. He confined himself, however, to setting forth in detail the particular difficulties under which Great Britain was labouring, and failed to suggest any practical remedy, or to make any mention of Imperial Preference, much to the disappointment of those who had always looked upon him as a sound Imperialist. He promised that Great Britain would contribute suggestions later on, but for the present left the initiative to other speakers.

The Dominion representatives were nothing loth to respond to the invitation. Mr. Bennett had already announced at the first meeting that he came fully prepared to give a lead to the conference, and he now proceeded to unfold his plan. It was in brief that a preference should be created throughout the Empire in favour of Empire goods. For this purpose he offered the Mother Country and all the other parts of the Empire a preference in the Canadian market in exchange for a like preference in theirs, based upon the addition of a 10 per cent. increase in prevailing general tariffs or upon tariffs yet to be created. He was careful to point out that the proposed preference should not be considered as a step towards what was called " Empire free trade,"⁵¹ which, in his opinion, was neither desirable nor possible.

Mr. Bennett made no secret of the fact that, with all his eagerness for Empire co-operation, he stood for the policy of " Canada first," and that he expected the other speakers similarly to give precedence to the interests of their own countries. His surmise, however, that even on this basis a policy of reciprocal preference **would** be acceptable proved to **be in** the main correct. **The**

representatives of Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa, after elaborately setting forth the commercial requirements of their own countries, concurred in the conclusion that tariff preference was the best way in which they could help Britain and¹ Britain could help them. The spokesmen of the Irish Free State and of Newfoundland declared themselves favourable to the idea, though they did not press it. Only the representative of India struck a note of dissent, declaring that India was not prepared to depart from her present policy of discriminating protection, and could not commit herself to any general scheme of tariff preference within the Empire.

In urging on Britain's acceptance the policy of reciprocal Preference, the Dominion spokesmen were breaking no new ground, but were merely carrying out an intention of which they had long given notice and of which the Government was perfectly well aware. Nevertheless it was unable even now to come to any decision on the subject. It was indeed placed by the discussion in no slight quandary. On the one hand, it was difficult to see how preferences could be given to the products of the Dominions without raising the prices of foodstuffs to British consumers. On the other hand, a refusal to enter into reciprocal arrangements with the Dominions might mean the loss to the British manufacturer of valuable markets. Unwilling to face either of these risks, the Government still temporised, and instead of giving a definite reply referred the proposals of Mr. Bennett and the other speakers to various Departments for further examination.

Before expressing any opinion on the subject of Imperial Preference, the Government sought to learn from the heads of the Delegations how far it could count on the co-operation of the Dominions in the execution of three schemes which it had in view, primarily with the object of assisting the British farmer. One was the fixing of quotas for home-grown and imported wheat ; the second was the bulk purchase by the Government of imported food-stuffs ; and the third was the establishment of Import Boards. These matters, like the proposals of the Dominion representatives, were referred to committees, and the conference for the time being faded out of the popular ken.

While the Preference proposals of the Dominion Premiers were thus coolly received by the Government, they were hailed with delight by the greater portion of the Conservative Party. Mr. Baldwin immediately voiced the sentiments of his followers by announcing that in the name of the Conservative Party he subscribed to the great principle of Imperial Preference embodied in Mr. Bennett's offer, whatever the Socialist Government might do. But in the eyes of many he somewhat weakened the force of this declaration by adding that the party, while guided by the views expressed at the conference, would formulate its own

proposals for carrying them into effect. He promised that these proposals would be submitted to the people at the next General Election for their final assent, but forbore to say whether they would include food taxes—the question in which large numbers of Conservatives were principally interested.

A few days later (October 15), Mr. Baldwin amplified this statement in a letter to Mr. Chamberlain containing a full outline of the policy which he intended to put before the country at the next General Election. In this declaration, besides bringing together various proposals which he had made separately in the course of the summer, he introduced some new ideas which recent developments had suggested. In the forefront of his programme he placed economy in public expenditure, to be followed as soon as circumstances would permit by a reduction of direct taxation. Next came the reform of unemployment insurance, followed by Safeguarding. In order to prevent "dumping" and give the British manufacturer a breathing space, protection would commence with an emergency tariff on all imported manufactured goods. For the relief of agriculture a number of measures were promised, of which the chief was to guarantee the price of home-grown wheat; while to encourage the production of wheat a "quota" system would be introduced for ensuring that a definite proportion of the flour used for baking bread in England should be made from home-grown wheat. Finally the principle of Imperial Preference would be applied to the fullest extent possible, and this without any reservation as to a referendum or a second General Election.

Mr. Baldwin's programme was announced at a critical moment both in his own career and in the affairs of the Conservative Party. The appeal made by the Conservative leaders at the beginning of the vacation for greater unity within the party had produced very little fruit. Discontent with Mr. Baldwin's leadership became, if not more widespread, at any rate more vocal, chiefly among that section of his followers which had set its heart on the taxation of imported food-stuffs. The Press magnates also, Lord Beaverbrook and Lord Rothermere, prosecuted their campaign against him with unabated vigour, partly for this and partly for other reasons. Their efforts to organise new parties led in one place to a situation which occasioned no small distress to the Conservative headquarters, with corresponding amusement to their opponents. At the by-election in the South Paddington constituency, in London, the local Conservative Association put forward a candidate who at first declared allegiance both to Mr. Baldwin and to Lord Beaverbrook. Being informed peremptorily by Mr. Chamberlain, as head of the party organisation, that he must make his choice of one or the other, he elected to follow Mr. Baldwin. Thereupon a candidate appeared on behalf of Lord **Beaverbrook's** Empire Free Trade Party. A further split in the

Conservative vote was threatened by the emergence of a third candidate in the name of Lord Rothermere's United Empire Party ; while to complete the comedy, the last-named refused to withdraw even at the bidding of Lord Rothermere himself.

Mr. Baldwin's programme was scrutinised by Lord Beaverbrook and immediately pronounced to be unsatisfactory, because it contained no mention of food taxes. Nor was Lord Beaverbrook singular in raising this objection ; it was shared by many Conservatives who would have nothing to do with the Empire Free Trade Party but had set their hearts on food taxes. A number of the malcontents, led by the well-known " die-hard," Colonel Gretton, refused to accept Mr. Baldwin's dictation and demanded that his policy should be considered by some body representative of Conservative opinion. Although the request was contrary to the usual Conservative procedure, Mr. Baldwin thought it advisable to comply, and he took steps to convene a meeting of Conservative peers, members of the House of Commons, and candidates, nominally to discuss his statement of policy, but really, as every one was aware, the question of the leadership of the party.

The meeting was fixed for October 30. On the day before, a sensation was created by a report in the Press to the effect that a memorandum, signed by forty-four Conservative members of Parliament (whose names were given), had been handed in to the chief Conservative Whip demanding Mr. Baldwin's resignation from the leadership of the party. The report proved to be a fabrication ; but it had a basis of truth in the fact that a certain number of Conservative members had held a meeting at which they came to the conclusion, partly on personal grounds and partly on grounds of policy, that it was time for Mr. Baldwin's leadership to be brought to a close, and that the meeting of October 30 should be utilised for that purpose.

The meeting was opened by Mr. Baldwin with a speech in which, after asserting the right of the leader of the Conservative Party to lay down the policy for the party, he explained and justified the standpoint he had taken up on the fiscal question. By a show of hands the meeting emphatically endorsed his policy of the " free hand " in fiscal matters, there being only one dissident—Lord Beaverbrook. Mr. Baldwin then stated that he had been asked to resign from the leadership of the party, and that in ordinary circumstances he would at least have given the matter his consideration, but in present circumstances (*i.e.* at the bidding of the Press lords) he would not even consider it, unless it was the will of the party ; in which case he would retire from politics and leave the field free to his successor. On concluding his speech, Mr. Baldwin withdrew from the meeting, which proceeded to consider the question of the leadership, with Lord Salisbury in the Chair.

A motion was brought forward by Colonel Gretton that a

change of leadership in the party was necessary in the national interest. The reasons alleged were that Mr. Baldwin's leadership lacked vigour, determination, and foresight, and, what was still more important, that he surrounded himself with advisers—commonly referred to irreverently as "the old gang"—who, to say the least, did not inspire universal confidence. On the other side, it was pointed out that Mr. Baldwin was trusted by the general public as no other Conservative leader was, that in fact he was one of the greatest assets of the party, and that he could not be replaced. On a ballot being taken, it was found that 116 had voted for the motion and 462 against. It was thereupon moved that the meeting affirm its confidence in Mr. Baldwin as leader of the party, and pledge itself to support him loyally in Parliament and the constituencies, and this was carried *nem. con.*

The satisfaction of Mr. Baldwin's supporters at this result was somewhat damped by the announcement on the next day that the Empire Free Trade candidate had been successful in South Paddington. Soon after, however, their spirits were again raised by the news of a Conservative gain from Labour in a by-election at Shipley, in the wool-manufacturing district of Yorkshire, fought entirely on the issue of Safeguarding. Conservative opinion in the North of England had, indeed, been consistently solid in favour of Mr. Baldwin; the agitation against him had come principally from certain parts of London and from the South coast seaside resorts.

Shortly before these events, the whole country had been plunged into gloom by an aerial disaster of exceptional gravity and horror. On October 4 the giant airship R101 left its shed at Cardington for a trial trip to India, which, it was confidently hoped, would finally demonstrate its capacity to serve as an instrument of inter-Imperial communication. At two o'clock the next morning, when flying over the North of France, it struck the side of a hill near Beauvais, burst into flames, and was rapidly reduced to a total wreck. Of the fifty-four persons whom it carried, forty-six perished in the flames almost immediately, and two from their injuries a little later. The death roll was but little larger than that of the airship R34, which had similarly come to grief when making a trial trip a few years earlier. But it derived a peculiar poignancy both from the terrible fate of the victims and from the distinguished names which many of them bore; they included Lord Thomson, the Minister for Air, a man highly respected by all parties, Sir Sefton Brancker, the Director of Civil Aviation, and a number of Britain's leading aeronautical experts, men of a skill and knowledge which could not easily be replaced. From this fact alone, apart from the monetary loss involved—the airship had cost about 650,000Z. to construct—the disaster assumed the proportions of a national calamity.

Lord Thomson's place as Air Minister was taken by Lord

Amulree (formerly Sir William Compton Mackenzie), a well-known lawyer. A Court, consisting of Sir John Simon and two assessors, was immediately set up to conduct an independent inquiry into the loss of the R101. The inquiry, which commenced on October 28, was thrown open to the public, and the Government placed at the disposal of the Court the fullest facilities for obtaining information.

The Annual Conference of the Labour Party opened at Llandudno, on October 6, under the chairmanship of Miss Susan Lawrence, the Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Health. The agenda contained a large number of resolutions on the subject of unemployment submitted by various branches, some of them of a character which seemed to portend trouble for the Government. Miss Lawrence, in her presidential address, did her best to allay the discontent. She pointed out that unemployment was a world-wide phenomenon, and described it as "the sort of price the workers paid for the capitalist system." She especially laid stress on the fact that misery in one country might be caused by the unrestricted play of private enterprise in another, and that it was not in the power of any one country to deal with the roots of these evils by means of a purely national policy. She made the most of the somewhat slender achievements of the Government during its period of office, pleading on its behalf that, while its main policy was constructive, its first business had been to produce emergency measures for the relief of poverty. In conclusion, she impressed upon the delegates the urgent need of preserving the unity of the party and preventing any weakening of its strength in face of the forces of reaction which were arrayed against them.

Whether as a result of Miss Lawrence's speech or from some other cause, the Government met with unexpectedly smooth waters in most of the meetings of the Congress which discussed its activities. The Prime Minister carried the Congress with him when he addressed it on the second day on the Government's record. Mr. Maxton, it is true, in accordance with the decision of the Independent Labour Party, moved a formidable resolution accusing the Government of timidity and vacillation, and calling on it to embark upon a full Socialist policy and if necessary to make an appeal to the people. But at the same time he disclaimed any personal antagonism to the members of the Government, and gave no hint of any desire to eject them; and his criticisms proved to be so little to the taste of his audience that his motion was defeated by an overwhelming majority.

Later in the same day, however, another appeal to the spirit of discontent within the Congress came much nearer to upsetting its loyalty. A motion was brought forward instructing the National Executive to go fully into the proposals contained in the memorandum on unemployment presented to the Cabinet by Sir Oswald

Mosley and to report upon them, although they had already been rejected by the Government (*vide* p. 48). Sir Oswald took the opportunity to explain in a brief speech the differences between his policy and that of the Government. Although the conference was already somewhat jaded with its labours, it listened to him with marked attention and sympathy, and at the close accorded him an ovation. The motion was officially opposed by Mr. Lansbury on behalf of the National Executive ; nevertheless on a card vote it was defeated only by a narrow majority—1,251,000 votes to 1,046,000. The conference further showed its partiality for Sir Oswald by electing him to the National Executive, while it rejected Mr. Thomas.

On the third day of the conference the Independent Labour Party challenged the Government on its Indian policy, Mr. Fenner Brockway moving a resolution in support of the Indian movement for independence and calling for the transfer of political power from British to Indian hands. Mr. Brockway found little sympathy in his audience, and after a few speeches had been made in defence of the Government, the conference closed the discussion by carrying "the previous question." An attempt of Mr. Brockway to commit the party to a policy of complete disarmament was similarly discomfited. On the other hand, the conference defied both the Executive and financial realities by passing a motion in favour of conferring pensions on all workers over sixty.

Some light on the financial position of the country at this juncture was thrown by Mr. Snowden in a speech which he made to a gathering of bankers and merchants at the Mansion House on October 15. He began by deprecating an attitude of pessimism as to the future, reminding his hearers that the country had recovered from an equally serious position a hundred years before. He also pointed out that in spite of the great volume of unemployment there were abundant evidences that at least a very large part of the population were enjoying a standard of life higher than they had done in the past. Nevertheless he had to admit that the state of trade was reacting unfavourably on his Budgetary prospects. Customs and excise revenue was not coming up to expectation, stamp duties were much below the mark, and income tax was doubtful. The tremendous drop in market values had also greatly reduced the amount of the estates to be assessed for death duty. He considered it therefore not improbable that there might be a deficit on the present financial year. He promised his hearers that he would do everything in his power to avoid imposing new taxation, as he believed the psychological effect of any increase in taxation at the present time would be very bad indeed. But he admitted that for this purpose he might have to "outrage his strict financial principles," and perhaps do things which he could not justify in ordinary circumstances.

The Conference of the National Liberal Federation which met at Torquay, on October 16, devoted itself chiefly to reaffirming its faith in Free Trade. Mr. Lloyd George showed himself somewhat less ardent in the cause than most of his followers by declaring that he would be prepared to examine the question of tariffs without prejudice, provided that a similar procedure was adopted with regard to Free Trade. Mr. George informed the meeting that the Government agreed with him as to the steps which should be taken to relieve unemployment, but differed as to the speed at which they should be executed, declaring that it could move no faster than it was doing. He himself affirmed his continued faith in the scheme which he had put forward before the last General Election, and maintained that the money required could still be raised by a loan without causing dislocation in industry.

On October 20 the Government, having received and considered the report of Sir J. Hope Simpson (*vide* p. 69), issued a statement of the policy which it intended to pursue in regard to Palestine. In accordance with the terms of the Mandate, it promised a certain measure of self-government to the country in the near future. At the same time it announced its intention of bringing Jewish land purchase and Jewish immigration almost to a standstill. A strong protest was immediately entered against this step by Dr. Weizmann, the President of the Jewish Agency for Palestine, who declared that it would "go a long way towards denying the rights and sterilising the hopes of the Jewish people in regard to the National Home in Palestine." The decision of the British Government was regarded by Zionists as a gross breach of faith, and created among Jews in all parts of the world a wave of intense anti-British feeling, which found particularly strong expression in the powerful Jewish community of the United States.

The statement was also severely criticised by a number of leading non-Jews, including Mr. Baldwin, Mr. Lloyd George, and General Smuts, besides some prominent members of the Labour Party. The volume of protest and remonstrance became too powerful for the Government to ignore, and the Prime Minister and Lord Passfield hastened to declare that the Memorandum had been misunderstood, and that there was no intention of altering British policy or curtailing Jewish rights in Palestine. As the Zionists received this statement with scepticism, they gave it to be understood that they would reconsider the matter and issue in due course a statement which should clear away the misconceptions that had arisen.

The speeches of the Dominion representatives at the meeting of the Imperial Conference on October 8 naturally gave a great stimulus to Protectionist propaganda in England. A vigorous rejoinder was delivered by Mr. Snowden in an address to a Free Trade demonstration at Manchester on October 20. Britain's

free-trade policy, he said, was being gravely menaced by a powerful combination of interested persons, aided for the time being by a temporary wave of world-wide trade depression. It would, he said, be a recommendation for protection if protected countries were themselves prosperous, but they were not. He affirmed without fear of contradiction that there was behind the movement for protection and tariffs a sinister attack on wages, to be carried out in a backhanded way, by depreciating the real value of wages and increasing the cost of living for the benefit of employers. Further, his own experience in connexion with the motor duties had convinced him that the introduction of a tariff system would lead to lobbying and the corruption of Parliament. He pointed out that there was in protectionist countries a growing revolt against the sufferings endured by the peoples from their protectionist policy, and warned the country against changing its well-tryed fiscal policy in a moment of panic.

On October 27 the London Naval Treaty was duly ratified at 10 Downing Street by representatives of Great Britain and the Dominions (with the exception of Ireland, which was debarred for the moment by some technical difficulty), the United States, and Japan. Mr. MacDonald, at the close of the ceremony, delivered a broadcast address in which he said that the signature of the treaty had already brought an enormous benefit to the relations between the three Powers concerned. He was certain that at no time in their history had the relations between the Governments of the United States and Japan and the Governments of the British Commonwealth of Nations been closer or more cordial than in the period which had elapsed since that event. And what was true of the Governments was also true of the peoples, and would become increasingly so as time went on and the essential fairness and value of the treaty were better understood.

On the approach of Armistice Day the Government took steps to put an end to a commemorative practice which no longer seemed to it to accord with the spirit of the time. It had for some years been a virtual obligation on officials of foreign countries visiting London to lay a wreath on the appropriate war memorial. After taking unofficial soundings, the Government now formally proposed to all the countries which had fought on the Allied side in the war that this obligation should cease as from the next Armistice Day, though of course foreign officials, like the general public, would still be free to lay such wreaths in their private capacity. In many quarters this action was interpreted as a slight on the memory of those who had fallen in the war, and protests were raised against it in the House of Commons on October 28. The Prime Minister, however, warmly disclaimed any such intention on the part of the Government, and maintained that its whole purpose had been to prevent a ceremony

which should be simple and spontaneous from becoming a mere formula of international courtesy.

Towards the close of the vacation (October 25), Mr. Lloyd George, in a public speech, weighed in the balance the claims of the Labour and Conservative leaders on Liberal support, and with some hesitation concluded that the former represented the lesser of two evils. The Liberal Party, he said, was in the disheartening position of having to choose between keeping in office a Government in whose capacity and policy they had very little confidence, and replacing it by one in which they had no confidence at all. They could not say that their experience of the present Government had been in the least satisfactory, but they had no guarantee that Mr. Baldwin would not plunge into worse courses. At the same time he warned the Prime Minister not to presume too much on the Liberal Party's difficulties, or to place it in a position in which its very self-respect would force it to hit out.

CHAPTER IV.

THE LABOUR-LIBERAL CONTACT.

PARLIAMENT reassembled on October 28, after a vacation somewhat shorter than usual. A longer session accorded well with the designs of the Government. In its second King's Speech it again laid before Parliament a programme far too crowded to be carried out completely in the time at its disposal, even in the most favourable circumstances. Three measures known to be highly contentious were taken over from the previous programme—the School-leaving Age Bill, the Consumers' Council Bill, and the Bill for amending the Trade Union Act of 1927. These were flanked by two Agricultural Bills which were equally likely to give rise to prolonged debates. In addition the Government undertook to push forward the ratification of the Washington Hours' Convention, the amendment of the Factory Acts, and the setting up of a new passenger traffic authority in London—three steps to which it had long been pledged—and to introduce legislation dealing with the taxation of site values, with town-planning, and with the preservation of rural amenities. A measure of electoral reform was also promised, but without any specification of details. Of the long-awaited scheme for relieving unemployment there was no hint in the Speech; the only proposals relating to this subject were to set up a commission which should inquire into the whole question of Unemployment Insurance, and to make further financial provision for the Unemployment Insurance Fund.

Though the subject of unemployment occupied but a modest place in the Government's programme, the House of Commons

was soon given to understand that it was still uppermost in their minds. In answer to a question from Mr. Baldwin, the Prime Minister stated that they intended to devote the time of Parliament up to Christmas first and foremost to unemployment emergency measures; and in the next place to the consideration of two proposals which* might have an important indirect influence on the relief of unemployment—the School-leaving Age Bill, and the Bill for the improvement of agriculture. Before attempting to deal further with the problem, the Government would wait for the advice of the Royal Commission which it was intended to set up. The proposal to appoint such a commission was, he said, due to a desire to obtain recommendations which would be free from all party taint, and arose directly out of the conferences which had been held during the vacation.

The debate on the Address turned chiefly on the same subject. Major Elliot, a member of the three-party conference on unemployment, and other speakers also, protested against the decision of the Government to set up a Royal Commission without consulting the conference or waiting for its final report. Complaints were made on all sides, including the Labour benches, that the Government had put forward no positive policy for dealing with unemployment. Mr. Hartshorn, the Lord Privy Seal, tried to allay the discontent by pointing out that there were now 150,000 people employed on schemes promoted exclusively by the Government, and that their number would probably rise to 200,000 by the end of the year—a record not equalled by any Government since 1920. He admitted, however, that that was not a very satisfactory way of meeting their troubles, and that any other steps which the Government might take—such as promoting industrial efficiency or stimulating agriculture—could only have a very gradual effect.

In addition to unemployment, the state of agriculture provided a theme for much lugubrious discourse in the course of the debate, and Conservative speakers showed a disposition to condemn in advance the Government's agricultural proposals as inadequate. Mr. Maxton, *more suo*, complained that the Government's programme was based on a Liberal and not on a Socialist philosophy; and his attack was pressed home by an amendment from the Labour back benches calling for a full-blooded Socialist policy. Defenders of the Government urged that it could not push on with Socialist legislation in the present state of parties without courting defeat; and only eleven Labour members were bold enough to vote for their taking the risk.

More critical for the Government was a Conservative motion (November 3) calling attention to its failure to propose adequate measures for dealing with the industrial crisis and the unemployment problem. Once more the fate of the Government depended upon the uncertain votes of the Liberals. The promise of an

Electoral Reform Bill in the King's Speech had made on them a favourable impression, which, however, was largely obliterated by a semi-jocular remark of the Prime Minister, that the chief object of the Bill would be "to deal with the escapades of parties which were too wealthy to observe the law with strict accuracy." The bulk of the Liberals were fully in sympathy with the vote of censure, yet at the same time they could not see that anything was to be gained by turning the Government out. Up to the moment of the debate, therefore, the party had not been able to make up its mind what course to adopt.

As it happened, the Conservatives also were not anxious to bring about a defeat of the Government on the eve of the India Conference. On this account Mr. Chamberlain, in moving the resolution, took care not to appeal too strongly for Liberal support. He framed a powerful indictment of the Government, bringing against it, somewhat ironically, the same charge which Labour members had levelled against the Conservative Government in a similar debate a couple of years before—that it was the only section of the House which did not realise the gravity of the problem. He was, however, considerate enough to devote a large part of his speech to an advocacy of Safeguarding, and so afforded the Liberals an excuse for parting company with him. Sir Herbert Samuel at once took advantage of his opportunity, and announced that, to avoid the mere appearance of countenancing Protection, he would not support the motion. At a Liberal party meeting held later on the same day Mr. Lloyd George advocated a similar course, and the bulk of those present promised to abstain from voting.

The Government having thus been placed out of danger, the debate resolved itself largely into a somewhat academic discussion of fiscal policy. Mr. Graham stated the case for the retention of Free Trade with great fullness. Mr. Lloyd George (like Sir Oswald Mosley earlier in the debate) expressed the view that the question of Free Trade or Protection had little relevance to the problem of unemployment, and warned the House against fanatical devotion to one idea. At the same time he described Protection as "at best only a gamble." A number of Labour members expressed profound disappointment with the Government's programme, and one of them, Mr. Bevin, the trade union leader, urged them to adopt the Liberal unemployment scheme. In the division, however, party loyalty reasserted itself. Not only the trade unionists but even the dissident Socialist group voted solidly with the Government, with the result that it secured a majority of 31.

One immediate effect of this debate was to precipitate a crisis in the ranks of the Liberal Party. In spite of the party decision to abstain, five Liberals had voted for the Conservative motion and four against. The chief Liberal Whip, Sir R. Hutchinson,

immediately resigned his post, he himself having been one of those who voted against the Government. A successor to him was with some difficulty found in the person of Sir A. Sinclair. The new Liberal Whip tried hard to obtain a promise from all members of the party that his behests would be obeyed, but in the end he had to forgo such an assurance. Nor was this the worst blow to the unity of the party. Sir John Simon made public a letter which he had written some days before to Mr. Lloyd George and in which he had announced his intention in future critical divisions of following the dictates of his conscience, regardless of tactical considerations. He had no longer, he said, the slightest confidence in the Government, and he had no mind to "carry offers of assistance to the point of subservience"—an implied reproach to which Mr. Lloyd George made no answer.

While the debate on the Address was still in progress, the three-party conference on Unemployment Insurance concluded its labours, without having achieved any result. In breaking up, it repeated the protest already made in the House of Commons against the proposal of the Government to set up a commission to inquire into the same problem, pointing out that it was in a position to supply the Government with all the information it could require. The Liberal members of the conference went further, and made public the proposals, based on the Liberal unemployment policy, which they had laid before the conference, but which had not obtained the assent of the other sections.

The first motion after the Address had been carried was one from a private member (November 5), urging the Government to come to the assistance of the iron and steel industry, which, it was stated, was being ruined by foreign "dumping." The Government did not contest the allegation, but it ruled out of court the remedies proposed by the mover—the imposition of a protective duty or, alternatively, the grant of a subsidy. At the same time it recognised its obligation to help the industry by all means in its power. For the time being these did not go further than promoting regional organisation in the industry, and developing work on roads and bridges in conjunction with the local authorities, this being, in the Government's opinion, the best immediate help it could give the industry "in existing circumstances/

For the relief of an allied industry—shipbuilding—which was now at its lowest point of depression for many years, the Government had a scheme of wider and more immediate application. The Cunard Steamship Company was planning to lay down two gigantic vessels which should compete with the fastest German steamships—the *Bremen* and the *Europa*—for the transatlantic traffic. On November 10 Mr. Graham asked the House of Commons to authorise the Board of Trade to enter into an

agreement with the Cunard Company for the insurance of these vessels. The cost of the first of them, he said, which it was proposed to lay down at once at Clydebank, was estimated at from 4,000,000Z to 4,500,000Z., and it was thought that in the open market insurance could not be raised for more than about 2,000,000Z. He therefore proposed that the Government should make itself responsible for all that part of the insurance which was not raised in the open market, at a premium of 1[^] per cent. He pointed out that the work was expected to provide employment to about 5,000 men for three years, and so would save about 250,000Z. a year in unemployment insurance. In the discussion which ensued, doubts were expressed whether the premium was not too low and whether the ships might not be unnecessarily luxurious, but the proposal on the whole was very favourably received by all sides of the House and was readily endorsed.

The first item of its legislative programme to be taken up by the Government was the School Attendance Bill, which was brought forward for the third time by Sir C. Trevelyan on November 6. In its present form the Bill was not saddled with the provisions relating to denominational schools which had been largely responsible for its failure to pass in the summer. The Minister recommended the measure on the same grounds as on the former occasion—that it would contribute to educational progress and to the relief of the Labour market. The opposition, which was again led by Sir Eustace Percy, was this time concentrated more particularly on the provision of maintenance allowances—not so much on principle as because the country in its present condition could not afford the expense. Mr. Lloyd George, in a public speech a few days earlier, had expressed a similar doubt. The Liberals, however, gave their support to the second reading, while reserving to themselves the right to amend the Bill in Committee, and with their help the Government obtained a majority of 67.

The Bill entered into rougher waters on November 11, when a financial resolution was brought forward to provide funds for the maintenance grants which it sought to authorise. The Left wing of the Labour Party thought the scale of the grants—which were limited to 5s. a week per child—too low, and made no secret of its dissatisfaction. The bulk of the Liberals considered the provision at least inexpedient at the present juncture, and at a party meeting decided to abstain from voting. Thus when the debate opened, the issue was by no means certain. Mr. Maxton at first sought leave to move an amendment to increase the grant, but when this was disallowed, he and his friends decided that it was better to make sure of what the Government offered than to run the risk of losing even so much. They were confirmed in this resolution by a speech from Sir John Simon in which, true to his letter to Mr. Lloyd George, he announced

his intention of voting against the motion. **With** their support the Government obtained a majority of 29, in spite of the fact **that** seven Liberals voted with the Opposition.

The debate was marked by a scene which showed once again the "touchiness" of a section of the Labour Party on all matters affecting the good name of the working class. A Conservative speaker, in opposing the resolution, stated that working-class parents were not at all desirous of leaving their children at school for the extra year provided by the Bill. A Labour member cried out "that is a lie." He was ordered by the Chairman to withdraw the remark, but refused, and a motion was brought forward for his suspension. No fewer than forty of the back-bench Labour members voted against the motion, and when the figures were announced they cheered loudly and shouted "Well done, the Labour Party."

When the Bill entered the Committee stage, the Liberals informed the Minister of Education of certain alterations which they desired to be made in it. After some negotiation, he accepted their suggestions in regard to two important points. One was that local authorities should be empowered to inquire into the means of applicants for the maintenance grant, instead of accepting their declaration; the other—to which, as he confessed later, he consented "with great reluctance and regret"—was that the date on which the Act should come into operation should be postponed from April, 1931, to September, 1932. On November 25 the Parliamentary Labour Party was informed by him of the arrangement, and gave its approval with ten dissentients.

In accordance with this agreement or bargain, Sir D. Maclean on December 2 formally moved that the Act should not come into operation till September, 1932. The Minister of Education once more stated that he greatly regretted the alteration in the date, which would make the Bill useless for the relief of unemployment, and that he accepted it only in obedience to *force majeure*, as represented by the union of the Opposition parties. He admitted, however, that from the purely educational point of view the change was not wholly undesirable, and the fact that it would afford time for making an arrangement with the voluntary schools was also in its favour. After some discussion the amendment was carried by 260 votes to 183.

In his speech at the annual Guildhall banquet on November 10, the Prime Minister surveyed briefly the tasks which faced the Government at the present juncture. He ranged them under three heads—Imperial co-operation, foreign policy, and unemployment. The first, he said, called above all things for "spiritual understanding," without which nothing that they built could give satisfaction. In foreign affairs, he said, the policy of the Government had been to "advance a positive policy of peace and settlement based on negotiation and confidence.

ending ultimately in agreement." At Geneva in particular they had tried to rally the forces making for world healing and world confidence. He noted, however, that there had been a recrudescence of "war talk," and he warned the nations that Great Britain could not allow itself to be isolated in the risks it was taking to secure peace. In the matter of unemployment, he pointed out that the problem was caused by a kind of economic "earthquake," in the face of which not only Britain but many other countries were wellnigh helpless. What the Government was trying to do was to put the country in a position to produce effectively and sell efficiently when the earthquake was over, and he was confident that Britain could surmount its difficulties if it made proper use of its skill and resources.

The twelfth Armistice Day was observed throughout the country in the same solemn and serious spirit as had characterised its predecessor. The noisy jaunts which had accompanied the earlier celebrations seemed to have become a thing of the past. There was no falling off in the crowds which thronged to the various ceremonies; and for the first time in three years the King was able to be present at the service at the Cenotaph.

On November 12 Lord Passfield moved in the House of Lords that a joint committee of both Houses of Parliament should be set up to consider the reports on closer union in East Africa which had been presented in the course of the previous two years by Sir Hilton Young's Commission and by Sir Samuel Wilson, and also the White Papers in which the Government had outlined its policy. The Government, he said, had no desire to shirk their responsibility, but they were anxious before coming to a final decision to acquaint themselves with all points of view, and they thought this could best be effected through the medium of a Joint Committee. The proposal was welcomed by Lord Lugard, a former Governor of East Africa, and the Archbishop of Canterbury, and though criticised by certain speakers who shared the dislike of the Kenya settlers for the White Papers—especially the one on native policy—was allowed to pass by agreement. A few days later it was also accepted without discussion by the House of Commons, and the Committee was thereupon appointed.

On November 13, Dr. Addison, the Minister of Agriculture, moved the second reading of the first of the Government's proposed agricultural measures, the Land Utilisation Bill. The object of this measure was not so much to assist those already engaged in agriculture as to transfer new settlers from the towns to the land, and so increase agricultural production, and indirectly relieve unemployment. For this purpose it proposed to empower the Government, and place funds at its disposal, to establish large-scale demonstration farms, to undertake reclamation and drainage work, and to provide and equip small

holdings—a task which hitherto had been left to the County Councils. Dr. Addison explained that the intention of the Government was not to supplant the County Councils, but to supplement their work, especially in districts where there were large numbers of unemployed.

The Bill was severely criticised by representatives of agriculture on the Conservative benches, partly because it did nothing to assist agriculture, partly because, in their eyes, it was likely to cause a huge waste of public money. The demonstration farms they considered unnecessary, and they thought it the wrong time to put more men on the land when those already engaged in farming could not make it pay. On the other hand, the Bill was enthusiastically praised by Mr. Lloyd George, who said it was "a measure after his own heart," and congratulated the Minister on having taken his courage in both hands and given the country a feeling that "something was being done." The Liberal Party for once was solid behind its leader, and with its support the Government obtained the comfortable majority of 81 for the second reading of the Bill.

For financing the Bill it was proposed to authorise the issue out of the Consolidated Fund of a sum not exceeding 5,000,000?. for acquiring and holding land for use as demonstration farms, and for reconditioning land and other purposes; a sum not exceeding 700,000Z. for similar purposes in Scotland; and such sums as might be required for the provision of small holdings; also a sum not exceeding 1,000,000Z. for large scale farming experiments. Conservatives were aghast at the proposal to give a spending department *carte blanche*, but after some discussion this resolution was also agreed to by a majority of 75.

The financial risks which the Bill involved were exemplified by a debate which took place the next day on the condition of the fruit industry. It was pointed out that British fruit growers were being ruined by the "dumping" of foreign fruit at prices below that of production in this country. Dr. Addison recognised the difficulty, and held out hopes that something would be done to meet it by the Marketing Bill which he was about to introduce. He admitted that the simplest way to solve the problem would be by prohibiting the entry of "dumped" fruit, but he pointed out that various treaty obligations rendered this course impossible.

The problem of "dumping" as it affected agricultural producers was again pressed on the attention of the Government in both Houses of Parliament on November 26. In the House of Lords, Lord Olivier once more took up the cudgels on behalf of the West Indian sugar producers, who, as he had pointed out more than once before, were being driven from the British market by the "dumping" of sugar from Cuba and Czecho-Slovakia. The result of this, he said, was to make sugar "ridiculously cheap" to the British consumer, and he pleaded that an increase

in price might be tolerated to save the West Indian sugar industry from ruin. To this suggestion the Government turned a deaf ear. Lord Passfield admitted that the position in the sugar-producing colonies was grave, and was in danger of becoming worse, but he held out no hope that the Government would be able to do more for them than they had already done. He pointed out that it was difficult to legislate against dumping in this case, because one of the countries which carried on the practice most vigorously was the British Dominion of Queensland in Australia. The only comfort he could give to Lord Olivier was that the Preference on Imperial sugar was not likely to be diminished for at least another three years.

At the same time, in the House of Commons, a motion was brought forward deploring the inaction of the Government in face of the heavy losses caused to British farmers by the "dumping" of foreign cereals, especially wheat. The mover, like a good Conservative, tried to throw the chief part of the blame on Russia, which this summer had made a reappearance on the British wheat market after an absence of many years. The Secretary for the Overseas Trade Department, Mr. Gillett, like a good Socialist, stoutly defended Russia against the charge, pointing out that Russia was taking the best price which she could get, and that the lion's share of the "dumping"—if there was such a thing—was done by Canada. Sir D. Maclean stated what he called the Liberal view in a quotation from a speech made by Mr. Asquith in 1921. It was there laid down that while free-traders were not bound by their creed to submit tamely to "dumping," it was necessary, before they took action against it, that they should be satisfied, first that it was actually being carried on, secondly that the methods suggested for counteracting it were not likely to do more harm than good. Since that day till now, added the speaker, there had been no case proved; if it were, he should be prepared to prohibit rather than impose tariffs. The motion was eventually negatived by 224 votes to 139.

The Government was so anxious to make progress with the Agricultural Bill and to get it passed before Christmas, that it resorted to an unusual procedure. Anticipating that the Conservatives would put down a large number of amendments, the Prime Minister on November 24 moved that the Chairman of Committees should have power to select the amendments to be discussed and voted upon. This method—known as the "kangaroo" closure—was occasionally used in the Committee of the whole House, but had only once before been resorted to in a Standing Committee—in the discussion on the Railway Bill in 1921. Mr. Baldwin now objected strongly to this curtailment of members' rights, protesting that it was quite unnecessary, as his party had no intention to use obstructive tactics. Mr. Lloyd George, however, strongly supported the motion, and, after some debate, it was carried by a large majority.

The Imperial Conference concluded its labours on November 14, not because it had completed its programme, but because some of the Dominion Premiers were impatient to return home. Among the subjects which it had left practically untouched were the maintenance of international peace and the establishment of an Imperial Economic Secretariat. In regard to the most important of the matters which actually came before it, the conference was guided by two committees which it had set up—one on constitutional matters, under the chairmanship of Lord Sankey, and the other on Economic Co-operation, under the chairmanship of Mr. Graham. There had also been committees dealing with War Graves, Imperial Communications, Civil Aviation, Oversea Settlement, Forestry, Research, and General Economic Questions.

On the constitutional side the conference achieved useful if not striking results by filling in and strengthening the outlines which had been drawn by the conference of 1926. The thorny question raised by Ireland, of the right of the Privy Council to hear appeals, was, it is true, not decided; but in other respects the legislative independence of the Dominions was confirmed and fully established wherever it had been left in doubt by the decisions of 1926. It was also agreed that henceforth any alterations in the law touching the succession to the Throne or the Royal Style and Titles should require the assent of the Parliaments of all the Dominions. For the solution of disputes which might arise between members of the British Commonwealth, it was decided to recommend the adoption of a voluntary system by which a Tribunal should be constituted *ad hoc* in the case of each dispute to be settled, in preference to a permanent Court. The statement of the 1926 conference, that the Governors-General were to be representatives of the King only, was confirmed, and its logical implications were developed. The Imperial Government also undertook to recommend that Dominion High Commissioners should on all ceremonial occasions rank immediately after Secretaries of State.

The question of the Singapore base was discussed by representatives of the United Kingdom, the Commonwealth of Australia, and New Zealand. It was recommended that the policy of the ultimate establishment of a defended naval base at Singapore should be maintained and that the air base should be completed, but that the completion of the docks and the defence works should be postponed for five years, and then reconsidered in the light of the conditions prevailing.

In the economic sphere, all parts of the Commonwealth found themselves united in a desire that every practicable step should be taken to promote and develop inter-Imperial trade. The task of translating this desire into a reality was, however, found to be beset with very grave difficulties. The British

Government declared at the outset that the interests of the United Kingdom precluded an economic policy which would injure its foreign trade or add to the burdens of the people; and it soon came to the conclusion that this principle rendered impossible its acceptance of Mr. Bennett's offer, or even any extension of the existing Imperial preferences. Mr. Snowden stated as much as early as October 20, in his Free Trade address at Manchester; but for some reason the Government did not formally communicate its decision to the other heads of delegations till some three weeks later. At the same time it announced that the existing preferential margins accorded by the United Kingdom to other parts of the Empire would not be reduced for a period of three years.

The imposition in the United Kingdom of duties on imported food or raw material having been ruled out, the Committee on Economic Co-operation devoted special attention to the question of a quota of Dominion wheat milled in the United Kingdom. On behalf of the United Kingdom delegation it was stated that no price guarantee could be given for Dominion wheat, and the discussion was therefore confined to the question of securing for the Dominions the guaranteed share of the import requirements at world prices. In the time at its disposal, the Committee was not able to frame an acceptable scheme for attaining this end. It did not, however, regard the attempt as hopeless, provided that further time were allowed for studying the problem. Accordingly, on the suggestion of Mr. Bennett, it was decided that in the course of the next twelve months an Imperial Economic Conference should be held at Ottawa to consider this and other cognate questions.

On the suggestion of the Committee on Economic Co-operation, the conference paid a tribute to the work of the Empire Marketing Board, and recommended that it should be assured a minimum annual income, and that its scope should no longer be limited to marketing in the United Kingdom. The conference especially commended the efforts of the Board to concentrate and develop in the most appropriate centres scientific team work upon problems of interest to the Commonwealth as a whole.

The conference was wound up at a plenary session held on November 14. The proceedings were more or less formal, the chief business being the adoption of the report, which was carried without discussion. In making their farewell speeches, the Dominion speakers were loud in their praises of the way in which Mr. MacDonald had performed the functions of Chairman, and expressed their high appreciation of the warmth of their welcome in London. Most of them did not disguise their disappointment that the conference had done so little to advance the cause of Imperial co-operation, but they recognised that Britain was the best judge of her own interests and was perfectly

within her rights in rejecting their Preference proposals. The Prime Minister, in making the closing speech, remarked that even where they had failed to agree they had been busy reconciling differences, and that, as far as he and his colleagues were concerned, the effect of contact with the Dominion representatives had been most exhilarating. He was, he said, still of the opinion that the British Commonwealth was to be kept together by other things than material interests, and he refused to believe that the bonds which were uniting them were in any danger of being weakened.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer soon made it clear that the Government's pledge with regard to Preferences involved a minimum of change in its fiscal policy. In answer to questions in Parliament, he emphasised the fact that it was made subject to the right of Parliament to rescind altogether the duties on which the Preference was given, or to the time limit fixed for them. There was therefore no guarantee that the pledge might not become illusory. Mr. Snowden also stated that the Government adhered to its intention of allowing the duties on cutlery, gas mantles, and leather and fabric gloves to lapse on December 22, and paid no attention to the warnings of representatives of these industries that loss of trade and unemployment would result.

In pursuance of the same policy, Mr. Graham announced that the Dyestuffs Act, which was due to expire on January 15, would not be renewed. To the Conservatives this was a much more severe blow than all the rest, as they had not expected that the Government would go to such lengths in the assertion of its Free Trade principles. They at once made indignant protests, and Mr. Baldwin announced his intention of raising the matter in Parliament at the earliest opportunity.

At the same time Mr. Snowden made yet a third announcement, which attracted general attention less from its intrinsic importance than from its novelty. The British Broadcasting Company had lately launched a scheme for the promotion of grand opera in England, and the Government now came forward with a promise to assist it to the extent of 17,500Z. per annum for five years. This step met with a good deal of criticism. Many people were of opinion that public interest in opera in England was too slight to justify Government support; others thought the intention of the Government praiseworthy, but considered that the state of the national finances did not permit the expenditure of even so small a sum on what was after all only a luxury. The decision was the subject of a good deal of questioning in Parliament, but was not formally opposed.

One reason why Mr. Snowden made so light of Safeguarding and Imperial Preference was because he thought there were other ways, both simpler and safer, of improving British trade. In a public speech, on November 22, dealing with the state of

trade, he mentioned as one cause of the depression the defects in British business methods, as compared with those of their competitors. Industries, he said, were living too much on tradition, were not applying themselves to new methods, and were not alive to changed conditions. Evidence came to the Government Departments every day that there was a lack of enterprise on the part of British manufacturers in pushing their goods in foreign markets. Every one of their Trade Commissioners was constantly complaining of this lack of enterprise, and the Dominion Premiers at the Imperial Conference had given him instances of the same thing.

The protracted investigations of the Imperial Conference caused it to overlap with the India Round Table Conference, which had been fixed to begin on November 12. While its committees were still at work, the delegates from India commenced to arrive. They included representatives of the Indian States—mostly the ruling princes in person—of the Mohammedan communities, and in fact of all sections of India except the Congress. The chief British representatives were the Prime Minister and the Lord Chancellor, and they were assisted by three other Ministers and four delegates each from the Unionist and Liberal parties.

The conference was opened on the appointed day by the King in person in the Royal Gallery of the House of Lords. His Majesty, in a brief speech, recalled the fact that nearly ten years before he had sent a message to the Indian Legislature on its first appointment. In the interval there had been not only in India but throughout all the nations forming the British Commonwealth a quickening and growth in ideals and aspirations of nationhood which defied the customary measurement of time. It was therefore no matter of surprise that it should have become necessary to estimate and review the results of what was begun ten years before and to make provision for the future.

The King having withdrawn, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald was elected chairman of the conference. Addressing the delegates, he said that the declarations made by British sovereigns and statesmen from time to time, that Great Britain's work in India was to prepare her for self-government, had been plain. Progress had been slow, but they were now met to register by agreement a recognition of the fact that India had reached a distinctive point in her constitutional evolution. Speeches in a similar strain were made by the Gaekwar of Baroda, the Maharajah of Jammu and Kashmir, Sir Muhammad Hydari on behalf of the Nizam of Hyderabad, Mr. Srinivasa and Mr. M. A. Jinnah for the British Indian delegation, and Mr. Ba Pe for Burma. A "business committee" of sixteen was then appointed, of which the British members were the Marquis of Reading and Sir S. Hoare.

The first plenary session of the conference opened on

November 17, with Mr. MacDonald in the chair, and lasted five days. The Government made no statement of policy, desiring first to hear the views of the Indian delegates. Over thirty speeches were made, representing all shades of Indian opinion. All the speakers showed themselves to be animated by a desire to obtain for India equality and Dominion status. They were also all agreed that the grant of provincial self-government recommended by the Simon Commission was not sufficient—or no longer sufficient—to satisfy India's legitimate political aspirations, and that the time was ripe for some form of internal unification. The Hindu Party, led by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, demanded a central Indian authority at Delhi. To this the Princes, led by the Maharajah of Bikaner, would on no account consent, but they expressed their willingness to come into a Federal system, for which in fact most of them showed great eagerness.

The Chairman, in summing up the debate, said that the simple fact that they were all met together was a new phenomenon, indicating that the future would be different from what the past had been. The mere fact of listening to all the speeches of the debate had been a recognition of status which could not be taken back. They were not there, however, to make speeches, but to come to a practical agreement, and in that connexion he thought that the speeches of the Princes had been remarkably helpful—in fact, they had revolutionised the situation. The practical difficulties in their way, however, must not be underrated. Any constitution they might frame must meet two requirements: it must work, and it must be capable of evolving. He would, he said, await with expectation not unmixed with anxiety the result of the work of their committees.

Not all sections of the British public were as desirous as the Prime Minister that the conference should come to a successful issue. There were some who feared that the Government, if faced with a united demand from the Indian representatives, might weakly make concessions which would endanger the British suzerainty. This view was expressed by Mr. Churchill with his usual forcefulness in a speech which he made to an Anglo-Indian gathering on December 10. In the fervour of his patriotism Mr. Churchill allowed himself to use a number of expressions eminently calculated to offend every section of opinion in India. He described the Indian nationalist claims as "absurd and dangerous pretensions" which so far had been met by nothing but "soft deprecations and placatory words" by the British Government both in India and at home, and he affirmed categorically that there was no hope of their being satisfied at the present juncture. Coming as it did at a critical stage in the proceedings of the conference, Mr. Churchill's speech raised a storm of protest and criticism, to which many Conservatives and Anglo-Indians contributed. The Prime Minister described

it as a " mischievous speech, expressive of nothing except an antiquated relationship between Imperial authority and the people who come under its sway " ; and Sir Herbert Samuel repudiated it with equal severity on behalf of the Liberal Party.

The White Paper on Palestine was the subject of an animated debate in the House of Commons on November 17. It was opened by Mr. Lloyd George, who, as one of the original signatories of the Balfour Declaration, felt a special responsibility for seeing that the policy there laid down was put into effect. He criticised the White Paper as being contrary to the spirit of the Declaration and equivalent to a revocation of the Mandate. If this Government felt that it could not carry out the Mandate, then, he said, it should make way for one which could. Dr. Shiels, in replying for the Government, dwelt on the difficulties of the task imposed on the Government of doing justice to the claims both of the Jews and of the Arabs. He maintained that the outcry against the White Paper was due to a misunderstanding of its provisions, and that in reality it was fully in accord with the Memorandum of 1922 and the Report of Sir J. Hope Simpson. This statement was received with a good deal of scepticism by Mr. Amery and other speakers, who, according to their own professions, would have been satisfied if the Government had really based its policy on the Report. The Prime Minister endorsed the statements of Dr. Shiels, and incidentally paid a glowing tribute to the work of the Jewish colonists in Palestine. After listening to his defence, however, Sir H. Samuel said that he doubted whether the critics of the White Paper would feel reassured.

The subsequent debate did not alter the situation. Sir H. Samuel and other speakers scouted the idea that there was not ample room in Palestine for large numbers of new Jewish settlers. Mr. Alexander declared that the Government had no intention that there should be any crystallisation of the formation of the Jewish National Home at the present stage, and Dr. Shiels stated that every opportunity would be given for the development of the Jewish National Home, consistent with the obligations imposed on them by the other side of the Mandate. At the same time, however, he declared that the White Paper still stood ; so that the intentions of the Government in the matter were left in complete uncertainty. The one definite statement of policy which emerged from the debate was that the Government intended after Christmas to guarantee a loan of two and a half millions for development work in Palestine, primarily to provide for those landless Arabs who could be shown to have been dispossessed as a result of land passing into Jewish hands, and further to promote both Jewish and Arab settlement with any balance that might be available.

While Imperial affairs were thus giving ground for anxiety, trouble had again been brewing in the coal-fields. The existing

wage agreements were due to terminate on December 1. The task of renewing them would in any case have been difficult, and on this occasion was rendered more so by the fact that on the same date Part I. of the Coal Mines Act, reducing the maximum number of working hours to seven and a half, was to come into force. When they first introduced the Coal Bill, the Government had reckoned that by this time the marketing schemes to be launched under it would already have been in operation for some months, and that the industry would have profited by them sufficiently to enable it to stand the reduction of hours. This calculation had been upset by the long delays in the passage of the Bill; the marketing schemes still belonged to the future, and the profits of the industry had not in fact increased. The coal-owners, therefore, early in November announced that when hours were reduced they would reduce wages correspondingly. The miners with one voice refused to consent to the proposed reduction, which was in fact calculated to deprive the Coal Act of the greater part of its value in their eyes. The Minister of Mines impressed upon both parties the necessity of finding a *modus vivendi*, but he was unable to offer any suggestion which should be acceptable to both; and the prospect of a stoppage in the coal-fields became imminent.

A delegate conference of the Miners' Federation was held on November 20 to consider the position. The meeting had before it a letter from the Mines Department, stating that in a few days a National Industrial Board would be constituted in accordance with Part IV. of the Coal Mines Act. In view of this fact, it was decided to advise the districts to forward to the Board particulars of all matters in dispute. At the same time the conference expressed its resolve to offer every possible resistance to attempts to reduce wages, and protested against the endeavours of certain coal-owners to enforce a spread-over of hours.

The constitution of the Board was announced the next day. It consisted of seventeen members, with Sir H. Morris, K.C., as chairman. The Mining Association had refused on principle to take any part in the setting up of the Board, and Mr. Shinwell had chosen the six statutory representatives of the coal-owners on his own responsibility.

True to their principles, the coal-owners at once stated that they would neither give evidence before the National Board nor regard its decisions as binding. The Board nevertheless commenced its labours, and on November 27 made certain recommendations to the parties in the South Wales coal-field. Both here and in other places where eight hours were still being worked, the owners were offering to maintain the existing wage rates temporarily, provided the men would accept a "spread-over" arrangement of hours of work. The men on the whole were willing, but by the terms of the Coal Act they had to obtain the

consent of the Miners' Federation (*vide* p. 58). A delegate conference of the Federation was held on November 28, and after a long discussion it decided by a large majority to veto the "spread-over" in all districts. The majority consisted mainly of delegates from districts where the seven-and-a-half hour day was already in vogue, and where consequently there was no threat of a reduction of wages.

While thus closing the most promising avenue to an agreement, the conference telegraphed to the men in the affected districts advising them to endeavour to make temporary arrangements to work seven-and-a-half hours a day on the best terms they could obtain, until the conference should meet again in the following week. The Government also made eleventh-hour efforts to avert a stoppage. Mr. Shinwell and Mr. Graham had interviews with representatives of both the Mining Association and the Miners' Federation, and Mr. Shinwell telegraphed to both owners and men in the affected districts urging them to continue negotiations.

These peace endeavours were not without result. The miners in South Wales, and in all the English districts affected, disregarding the decision of the Miners' Federation, entered into temporary arrangements with the owners on the basis of a spread-over. In Scotland, it is true, the men showed greater hesitation to flout their official instructions. Nevertheless, when the fateful December 1 arrived, the Secretary for Mines was able to announce that no state of emergency existed, and that the prospects of averting a stoppage were hopeful.

The Minister's optimism was not justified by events. The clouds which had for a moment dispersed soon collected again. On the third day of the next week the stoppage in Scotland, instead of terminating, spread to those districts where the men had remained at work. The Government interviewed representatives of the coal-owners and of the Miners' Federation, and found both sides in an unyielding mood. The Prime Minister, on December 3, made a final appeal to the Executive of the Miners' Federation to use their influence at the delegate conference which was to be held the next day to procure a reversal of the decision with regard to the spread-over. As, however, he was not able to announce any concession on the part of the coal-owners, the Executive would make him no promise.

The actual course of the conference was more favourable than these auguries had given reason to anticipate. At an early stage of the proceedings, the danger of a national strike was exorcised by a decision not in any event to contemplate such a step. The conference then considered the suggestion of the Prime Minister, that it should approve of spread-over applications for say three months. The three officials of the Federation—Mr. Richards, the president, Mr. Cook, the secretary, and

Mr. Edwards, the treasurer,—pleaded earnestly *in* the cause of peace, pointing out that if the advice of the Government was rejected, the sympathy and support of the whole country would be alienated from the miners. The meeting, embittered as it was, recognised the force of this appeal, but it was still unwilling to rescind formally its resolution of the previous week. Eventually a way out of the difficulty was found by means of a compromise resolution which left the districts free to choose their own course, subject only to the obligation of informing the secretary of the Federation within a week.

This decision eased the situation, though it did not bring entire relief. The arrangements already made in England and Wales were not interfered with. In Scotland also an arrangement was reached between the owners and the miners within a couple of days. The workers in the important coal-fields of Lancashire hesitated for some time on the brink of a stoppage, but at length they also, on December 20, accepted the "spread-over" terms of the owners. Thereupon, on December 22, the Miners' Federation held another conference which, by a small majority, confirmed provisionally the "spread-over" arrangements already made, thus conferring upon them the stamp of legality which they had hitherto lacked.

Even with this development the crisis was not yet past. New differences arose between the employers and the miners in South Wales and Scotland, where agreements had been made for a few weeks only. The men announced that they would not renew the agreements on the same terms ; and when the year closed there was no prospect of a settlement in either district.

Concurrently with the trouble in the coal-fields, a similar crisis arose in connexion with the railways. The year 1930, so far as it had gone, had been one of very heavy losses for all the great railway companies. While traffic had fallen off considerably, expenses had been increased by the termination of the agreement made in 1929 by which wages had been temporarily reduced by 2½ per cent., and the reversion to the old scales of pay {*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1928, p. 78; 1929, p. 117). The companies, after considering the position, came to the conclusion that they could not continue running the existing services, much less add to them, without effecting a great reduction in costs. The only field in which any large reduction seemed possible was that of wages. Accordingly, on November 13, the directors of the four large groups summoned representatives of the three railwaymen's associations to an interview, in which they explained to them the position and submitted to them proposals for drastic reductions in wages—six shillings a week for adults and three shillings for juniors and women, besides greatly reduced pay for overtime. The railway workers' associations denounced these terms as outrageous, and submitted counter proposals. After

some negotiation the dispute was referred to the National Wages Board, which had not met by the close of the year.

On November 25 Mr. Baldwin addressed a largely attended meeting of the Council of Conservative and Unionist Associations on the subject of Conservative policy. He was given an enthusiastic reception, which seemed to betoken that the party was once more united under his leadership. He informed the meeting that the Central Office of the party was busy giving shape to the policy which he had already outlined. Plans were being prepared for the imposition of an emergency tariff, and the method of applying a wheat quota had already been definitely fixed. He deprecated the attacks on the "old gang," as they were called, who had done such good service for the party in the past. He reminded his audience that, should he be called upon again to form a Cabinet, he would be free to choose his colleagues, and he hinted that in such a case he would not overlook the claims of the younger men.

Mr. Baldwin naturally had much to say on the subject of the Imperial Conference, over which the Conservative Party as a whole had worked itself up to a state of great indignation; so much so that it had resolved to move a vote of censure on the Government at the first opportunity. A day having been obtained, Mr. Baldwin, on November 27, formally moved that the Government should be censured for failing to formulate any effective proposals for the extension of Empire trade, and for its refusal to consider the offers made by the Dominions. The facts alleged were not in dispute; and Mr. Baldwin, on the strength of them, now indicted the Government for having "failed in vision and courage," insinuating that a Conservative Government would have turned Mr. Bennett's offer to far better account.

Mr. Thomas, who replied for the Government, flatly denied this. Mr. Bennett's offer, he said, simply meant that they were to put a tax on imported wheat for the benefit of Canada, and receive practically nothing in return. He went so far as to characterise it as "humbug"—to the great scandal of Conservative members—and maintained that if Mr. Baldwin had been in office he could not possibly have accepted it. The proof was that while at first he had subscribed in the name of his party to Mr. Bennett's proposal, a few days later he declared that they had adopted the quota system in preference to a tariff on wheat. The Dominions, Mr. Thomas went on, never disguised from them that their policy was to place their own countries first. Were they then to be condemned because they said, "Our policy is Great Britain first"? The only person in the House, he said, who could conscientiously vote for the motion was the member for South Paddington—the sole representative of Lord Beaverbrook's Empire Free Trade Party.

In the subsequent debate, Sir Herbert Samuel endorsed Mr.

Thomas's opinion that no Conservative member could have accepted Mr. Bennett's offer in the terms in which it was made. Speaking on behalf of the Liberal Party, he held that the Government in the Imperial Conference had taken the right course, and deserved commendation rather than censure. Mr. Amery returned to the charge by saying that the Government were to blame for rejecting not Mr. Bennett's actual proposal, but the principle of which the proposal was an illustration. Mr. Snowden, in closing the debate, brushed aside such a distinction as idle, and twitted the Conservatives on not knowing where they stood in the matter of food taxes. He challenged them to go to the country in the next election on a policy of taxing food, and said that the Government would desire nothing better. The motion was ultimately negatived by 299 votes to 234—a majority of 65.

A debate on similar lines, which took place in the House of Lords on December 2, proved in every way more satisfactory to the Conservatives. Lord Hailsham, who moved the vote of censure, framed his indictment of the Government with more vigour and incisiveness than Mr. Baldwin, adding the charges of obstinacy and ill-will to that of lack of courage and vision. The reply for the Government was made by Lord Sankey, who dwelt chiefly on the achievements of the conference in the constitutional sphere. The Liberals in the House of Lords did not side with the Government so unreservedly as those in the Lower House. Lord Buckmaster admitted that Mr. Bennett's proposal as it stood was wholly unacceptable, but he regretted that it should have suffered such severe treatment at the hands of the Government. Although a Free Trader, he declared that he would not have been averse to a tax on food if they could have secured a genuine *quid pro quo*. The Liberal peers did not vote with the Government, and the motion was eventually carried by 74 votes to 10.

To the troubles of the Government there was now added increased friction with the more pronounced Socialists. Following a decision of the Independent Labour Party Conference in April, the National Council of that body at this time attempted to carry out a "purge" of its too-swollen ranks. It demanded from its members the acceptance in writing of certain conditions, one of which was that they would obey the decisions of the I.L.P. Conference, or, in cases of emergency, of the National Council or the I.L.P. Parliamentary Committee, even where these conflicted with the decisions of the Labour Party Whips. In fact, as the secretary put it, the I.L.P. now claimed formally to be "an autonomous unit within the federal structure of the Labour Party"; and it aimed at excluding from its ranks those who were not prepared to subscribe to and work for the programmes of "Socialism in our time" and "Internationalism in our time." The demand created a great stir within the I.L.P., and drew a sharp letter of protest from Mr. Shinwell, the Minister of Mines, who

challenged the right of anyone to exclude him from the group so long as the I.L.P. remained affiliated to the Labour Party.

On its side, too, the Government at this time was trying to draw the reins tighter, and it had recently called certain of its followers to account for breaches of party discipline. An incident soon occurred which brought its differences with the I.L.P. to a head. In the middle of November a by-election was proclaimed in East Renfrewshire in Scotland, and the local Labour Association put forward a candidate who declared his adhesion to the new programme of the Independent Labour Party. The Labour Party headquarters thereupon disowned him, and forbade members of the party to speak on his behalf. A large number of I.L.P. members at once announced their intention of defying the ban, and on the same night half a dozen of them left London for Scotland to take part in the campaign. The family quarrel in the Labour ranks continued throughout the election, and brought about a substantial reduction in the Labour poll.

Mr. Maxton and the advocates of "Socialism in our time" were not the only section of the Labour Party which ventured to differ from the Government on matters of high policy*. Sir Oswald Mosley, who had already given evidence of his disregard for authority, held equally decided views of his own, and he was also not without a following. On December 6, in company with sixteen other Labour members of Parliament and Mr. A. J. Cook, he published a manifesto setting forth his plan for meeting what he called the "emergency situation" in which the nation found itself. His proposals included the establishment of import Boards, a protective tariff, a short-term policy of constructive works, and a "producer's policy" in finance. The novelty of his programme, however, lay not so much in its actual content as in the Executive agent by which it was to be carried out; this was an "emergency Cabinet" of five members, invested with quasi-dictatorial powers. The manifesto was not taken very seriously by the bulk of the public, which was less interested in its proposals than in the light it seemed to throw on the extent of Sir Oswald Mosley's ambitions. The Cabinet decided to ignore it, considering that the Mosley-Cook alliance was not more likely to bear fruit than the Maxton-Cook alliance of a couple of years previously (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1928, p. 64). Many thoughtful people, however, welcomed the manifesto as a timely protest against the inefficacy of Parliament and the banalities of the party conflict.

On December 1 certain sections of the new Road Traffic Act came into force. Henceforth, it was to be incumbent on all applicants for licences to sign a declaration of physical fitness to drive, and no new licences were to be issued for motor-cycles to anyone under 16 and for heavy motor vehicles to anyone under 21. On the same date, too, careless and dangerous driving became

punishable offences, even though no accident ensued. The formal abolition of the speed limit, however, for which these regulations were meant to provide a substitute, was postponed till January 1. Shortly afterwards a force of mobile police was put on the roads to ensure compliance with the requirements of the new statute.

A few days later (December 13), the Ministry of Transport made public the draft Highway Code which it had prepared in accordance with the provisions of the new Road Traffic Act. In this document an effort had been made for the first time to codify the existing unwritten etiquette of the road as it applied to all users of the highway, whether motorists, horse-drivers, cyclists, or pedestrians. The recommendations of the Code were not meant to be obligatory, even after they had been ratified by Parliament. It was pointed out by the Ministry, however, that in either criminal or civil proceedings failure to observe them might be taken into account as establishing liability.

On December 1 the Minister of Labour once more went through the disagreeable task of requesting the House of Commons to authorise the Unemployment Insurance Fund to borrow another 10,000,000/., and so bring its total liability to 70,000,000?. The debt at the present moment, she informed the House, stood at 56,000,000/., and it was increasing at the rate of 40,000,000/. a year. With its new borrowing powers the Fund could hold out till the middle of April, if the number of unemployed remained stationary, but only till the middle of March if, as seemed not improbable, they rose to two and a half millions. Miss Bondfield defended the Employment Exchanges vigorously against the charges of maladministration and slackness of administration frequently brought against them, especially in Conservative quarters. Most of the complaints that the Fund was being abused she declared to be unfounded. The most serious abuse, to her mind, was committed in a perfectly legal manner by certain employers who arranged part time employment in such a way as to make unemployment benefit supplement wages—a development never contemplated when the Fund was established.

Miss Bondfield's defence of the administration of the Fund did not satisfy the Conservatives, and on their behalf Sir H. Betterton moved that the limit of the Fund's Borrowing powers should be put at 69,000,000Z., as a protest against the way in which the whole principle of insurance was being flouted. It was high time, he maintained, to draw and maintain a clear distinction between insurance and relief, and to place the fund on an actuarial insurance basis. Sir J. Simon also criticised the existing system, saying that obviously with so many unemployed something would have to be done besides coming at intervals to ask for an increased grant for a loan, which was in fact no loan, because every one knew that it would never be repaid.

The amendment was eventually rejected by 274 votes to 214, and the resolution was then agreed to without a division.

In the course of the debate, frequent reference was made from the Opposition benches to the Unemployment Insurance Commission which the Government proposed to set up. The Government was criticised for not having taken this step much earlier, and was accused of adopting it now simply as a means of hiding its own shortcomings. In reply it was stated definitely on behalf of the Government that the commission was meant to be one of action, and that it would set to work almost immediately, and present interim reports to the Government. The Conservatives were somewhat sceptical, and when the actual Unemployment Insurance Bill came up for its second reading on December 8, they moved its rejection until the Government had declared its policy for dealing with the abuses of the Fund. The Minister of Labour now gave even more positive assurances, and the Bill was read a second time by a majority of 95. The commission was constituted almost immediately afterwards, and it commenced to hear evidence before Christmas.

No sooner had the commission entered upon its labours than a cry of alarm was raised by the Council of the Trade Union Congress. This body took strong exception to the inclusion in the commission's terms of reference of "the arrangements which should be made outside the Unemployment Insurance scheme for the unemployed who are capable of, and available for, work," contending that no one subject to unemployment should be "outside the scheme." It was also offended at not having been consulted by the Government before the inquiry was decided upon. For these reasons it recommended the Trade Unions (December 17) to refuse for the present to tender evidence before the commission, and announced its intention of laying its grievances before the Government.

The increased provision for the Insurance Fund did not cover all the calls made by unemployment on the public purse. On December 11 the Minister of Labour asked for a Supplementary Vote of 10,500,000/. for what was called "transitional benefit"—which was really poor relief paid out from the Exchequer instead of from local funds—thus bringing the total for the year under this head to 22,000,000/. The Conservatives again protested against the confounding of poor relief with insurance. In reply, Mr. Buchanan, one of the Clydeside group, in a speech which deeply impressed the House, made an impassioned appeal to the Government not to create a new class of "untouchables." A motion to reduce the Vote was defeated by 274 votes to 225.

The agitation aroused earlier in the year by the threat to Hadrian's Wall (*vide* p. 50) bore fruit at this time in the shape of a new Bill for the protection of ancient monuments. For the most part the new measure merely consolidated and strengthened

the Act of 1913 dealing with the subject. In addition it empowered the Government to acquire land round ancient monuments and also to prohibit the export of the whole or part of an ancient monument, whether a dwelling-house or not. This provision was aimed at the growing practice of wealthy Americans of purchasing old houses which had for them historic associations and having them transported bodily to America. The Bill met with a sympathetic reception in the House of Lords when its second reading was moved by Lord Ponsonby on December 11, though some exception was taken to the clause prohibiting export.

A few days later (December 16), Lord Parmoor moved the second reading of a Bill to empower the Trustees of the British Museum and the National Gallery to make loans of their treasures overseas. The idea of this measure was to enable Great Britain to make some return to the countries which on various occasions had allowed their artistic treasures to be exhibited in England. The Trustees themselves were strongly averse to such an innovation, except in so far as it might apply to purely British products ; in respect of other objects, they thought that the risks of sending them abroad far outweighed the advantages. This point of view was now put forward with much force by members of the House who were also Trustees of the institutions mentioned ; and their arguments so much impressed the Government that it consented to adjourn the debate in order to consider the matter further.

After disposing of the Unemployment Insurance Bill, the Government was in a position to turn to those parts of its programme which were not concerned either directly or indirectly with the relief of unemployment. The Trade Unions had long been urging it to fulfil the pledge which it had given them from the moment it assumed office—to remove the restrictions placed upon their activities by the Trade Union Act of 1927. It was well known that such an endeavour was likely to encounter strong opposition not only from the Conservatives but also from the Liberals ; and the Government naturally had been in no hurry to embark on so perilous an undertaking. Hitherto it had always been able to plead that there were measures of more urgent importance to be laid before Parliament. Now, however, that the Agricultural Bill and the Education Bill were fairly under way, the Trade Unions refused to be put off any longer, and subjected it to a pressure which it could not resist. Taking his courage in both hands, the Prime Minister accordingly announced on December 3 that a Bill to amend the Trade Union Act would be introduced before Christmas. At the same time, in order to disarm Liberal hostility as far as possible, he announced a couple of days later, amid much Unionist merriment, that an Electoral Reform Bill would also be introduced before Christmas.

Before these announcements were made, the Liberals had **arranged to hold** a party meeting on December 5 and 6 in order to

discuss, among other things, the future relations of the party with the Government. On the second day, Mr. Lloyd George addressed the meeting on this subject. Six weeks before he had declared the Government to be utterly incompetent; and after his experience of them in the interval he more than ever considered them unworthy of confidence. He was still, however, loth to turn them out, for fear that they might be replaced by a Protectionist Government, and also because he thought the Liberal chances at the next election would improve with time. He pretended to attach no great importance to the Premier's promise of electoral reform; it could only mean the alternative vote, which was not what the Liberals wanted, though this also might be useful for preventing the Conservatives from coming into power on a minority vote. Taking all things into consideration, he advised his party to go on supporting the Government as long as their consciences would allow them, though he refrained from indicating at what point the strain on their consciences would become too severe.

The Parliamentary Liberal Party met on December 11 to consider Mr. Lloyd George's counsel. The cryptic nature of his utterances had left them doubting whether he had not secretly entered into some compact with the Government—a proceeding to which most of them were strongly averse. The Chief Liberal Whip had in the interval sought to allay these suspicions by a categorical denial of such rumours; and Mr. George now gave a similar assurance in equally strong terms. For Sir John Simon this was not sufficient; he denounced the policy of giving even temporary support to the Socialist Government, and called upon the meeting to declare at once that it would oppose any amendment of the Trade Union Act. The rest of the party, including Sir R. Hutchinson, were not prepared to go so far as this, and after some discussion endorsed Mr. Lloyd George's speech of the previous week, as qualified by subsequent statements. The formula adopted was that the Liberal and Labour Parties were to maintain "contact" without entering into any "compact."

The Government interpreted the decision of the meeting to mean that the Liberals would allow the Trade Union Act to be amended if they obtained a definite promise of the alternative vote. In accordance with the constitution of the Labour Party, it sought permission to make this promise at a joint meeting of the Parliamentary Labour Party and the National Executive of the Labour Party (December 18). Although the Labour Party as a whole was not violently opposed to the alternative vote, as it was to proportional representation, no section had any strong affection for it, and there was no pretence that its introduction by the Government would be due to anything but tactical considerations. Mr. Maxton went so far as to say

that it **would** be submission' to Liberal "blackmail." The Prime Minister, however, laid stress on the fact that by means of this concession they might avoid an early election, which might be highly inopportune ; and he so far carried the meeting with him as to secure endorsement for his policy by 133 votes to 20, about half of the members of the party abstaining from voting.

On the next day the Home Secretary, amid derisive cheers from the Conservatives, duly laid before Parliament the Government's Electoral Reform Bill. Its chief provision was that Parliamentary elections in future should be on the principle of the alternative vote ; and with this were associated a number of minor reforms in the electoral system for which the Labour Party had long been agitating.

Concurrently the text was issued of the Trade Disputes and Trade Union Amendment Bill. The drafting of this measure was an extreme example of "legislation by reference," and in many important places its precise meaning was highly obscure. It gave the impression, however, of conceding substantially all the chief demands of the Trade Unions. As far as could be gathered, the sympathetic strike was to be legalised, and permitted to extend into a general strike. "Contracting-in" for payment of the political levy was to be abolished and "contracting-out" restored. Civil servants and municipal employees were to be given their old right of joining a trade union ; and "peaceful picketing" was again to be permitted within certain limits. It was announced that the second reading would be taken as soon as Parliament reassembled after the Christmas vacation.

The decision of the Government not to renew the Dyestuffs Act (*vide* p. 94) involved it in a dispute with the House of Lords in which it again came off second best. On behalf of the Conservatives, Sir P. Cunliffe-Lister on December 5 moved in the House of Commons that the Act should be prolonged for another five years, till January 15, 1936. If the Act were allowed to lapse, he said, there was a danger that the dyestuffs industry, which had been built up so laboriously and so successfully in the last ten years, might find itself unable to withstand the full force of foreign competition; and through the contraction of the dyestuffs industry the country might find itself at a critical moment without an adequate supply of expert chemists, as had happened in the war. The opponents of the motion made light of these fears, and laid stress on the fact that the Lancashire cotton industry, which occupied many more people than the dyestuffs industry, was, according to its own account, severely penalised by the restrictions on the free import of dyes. After a debate which did not follow strictly party lines, the motion was negatived by 255 votes to 225.

While the Commons thus upheld the decision of the Government, the Lords sought to counter it in a different way. When

the Expiring Laws Continuance Bill came before the Upper House on December 15, Lord Hailsham moved that the Dyestuffs Act, instead of coming to an end on January 14, as proposed by the Government, should be continued till December 31. After a discussion in which much the same arguments *pro* and *con* were advanced as in the House of Commons, the motion was carried by 87 votes to 14, and the Bill as thus amended was sent back to the Commons on the same day.

The Government decided to take up the gage thrown down by the Upper House, and on the next day Mr. Graham moved that their amendment should not be accepted. In the discussion which ensued, some Labour members spoke against the motion, and the voting again did not strictly follow party lines. The result was to secure for the motion a majority of six. This was sufficient to save the Government, but not their proposal. The Conservative majority in the Lords had no hesitation in insisting on their amendment. The Government, fearing lest their majority might vanish altogether, did not deem it prudent to join issue with them, and allowed the amendment to stand, the more readily as to insist might have endangered the Rent Restriction Act which formed part of the Expiring Laws Continuance Bill.

On December 16 the House of Commons, on a motion from the Liberal benches, spent yet another sitting in discussing unemployment, with no other result than to expose once more its own helplessness in face of the problem. The immediate object of the Liberals was to discover exactly how much the Government had spent on the relief of unemployment, and how many men they had placed in work by means of their schemes. The Minister of Transport gave them a mass of figures which they did not find very enlightening, but which satisfied them that only the fringe of the problem was being touched. Mr. Churchill intervened in the debate to repeat a proposal which he had already made outside the House, that there should be a special Committee of Parliament to deal with economic matters, and he took occasion to expostulate with the Liberals for keeping in office a Government for which Mr. Lloyd George himself could scarcely find names hard enough ; he compared the Government to a prisoner under sentence of execution and Mr. George to a clever attorney who kept on finding reasons for postponing the evil day. In reply, Mr. George could only declare once more that, however bad the present Government might be, a Protectionist one would be worse.

Towards the close of the session an incident occurred which greatly discredited the Parliamentary Conservative Party in the eyes of its most active supporters in the country. On December 10 a Conservative member moved a resolution emphasising the need for public economy. The discussion had not gone very far when **a Labour member** pointed out that a quorum was not present,

and the House was "counted out." Only a few days previously Mr. Baldwin had placed economy in the forefront of the Conservative programme, and Conservative members were constantly paying lip-service to the cause. Not unnaturally therefore the Conservative Press raised a great outcry at their glaring failure on this occasion to act up to their professions ; and though the headquarters were really more to blame than the private members, their slackness was held to have inflicted no small harm on the Conservative cause in the constituencies.

While the irritation caused by this affair was at its height, four Conservative members of Parliament, with Sir Robert Home at their head, sent a letter to the Press (December 15) which presented some striking analogies to the manifesto issued shortly before by Sir Oswald Mosley (*vide* p. 103). Like that document, it dwelt on the gravity of the national situation, and appealed to the public over the heads of the party leaders, in the hope of finding more wisdom in the plain citizen than in the professional politician. It did not, indeed, suggest any startling changes in policy, merely declaring economy and a reform of the fiscal system to be the chief remedies for the country's ills. But it laid stress on the need of sacrifice and discipline on the part of all classes, and warned the people that democracy itself in Great Britain was on its trial.

Throughout this session Conservative members of the House of Commons displayed their usual persistency in questioning the Foreign Secretary on Russian affairs, and on more than one occasion they extracted from him information which seemed to show that his relations with the Soviet Government were far from satisfactory. On October 29, in answer to questions from Conservative members, he stated that, acting on information received from the special Committee he had set up (*vide* p. 52), he had represented to the Soviet Ambassador that his Government had not been observing the pledge against propaganda which had been exchanged in the previous year; and that the Ambassador had given the usual reply, that his Government could not control the activities of the Third International. He was at once reminded by his questioners that both he and the Prime Minister had expressly declared that the Soviet Government could not be dissociated from the Third International; but the only reply he could make was that on this point he and the Russian Ambassador placed different interpretations upon the pledge.

Later in the session he found it necessary to protest twice within a few days to the Soviet Government against action on its part prejudicial to good relations between Russia and Great Britain. His first complaint, made at the end of November, was that in the indictment of eight professors who were then on trial at Moscow for conspiracy against the Soviet Government, remarks were made which in his opinion reflected adversely and **without reason upon** the British Government. Conservative

speakers, while welcoming this display of spirit, did not fail to point out that a similar protest had been made on behalf of France three weeks earlier in much more vigorous language. They further called Mr. Henderson's attention to the fact that on November 25 an address in English had been broadcast from Moscow inciting British workers to revolution. The Minister promised to inquire into the matter, and when the offence was repeated on December 2, he pointed out to the Soviet Ambassador that such action was a breach of the Trade Agreement.

On December 8 he informed the House of Commons of the answers which the Soviet Government had made to the protests lodged by the British Ambassador at Moscow. On both the points raised, they were conciliatory in tone but evasive in substance. With regard to the charges brought against Great Britain in the indictment of the professors, it was said that these were based on the confessions of the accused which the Public Prosecutor could not ignore, and that both he and the Court had paid practically no attention to them in the course of the trial. As to the broadcast message of which complaint was made, this, it was stated, was sent out from a station which was not under the censorship of the Government. Surprise was expressed that the British Government found its tone offensive, but all the same an undertaking was given that a stricter watch would be kept over such messages in future. These answers were received with ridicule by members of the Opposition, and they pressed the Minister to say whether he thought them satisfactory, but he refused to commit himself.

Parliament rose on December 19 for the Christmas vacation. By that time the Education Bill and the Agricultural Improvement Bill had got through their committee stage. The Education Bill would have reached its third reading had it not been for difficulties raised by Roman Catholic members of the Labour Party, who demanded that the Government should assist the Roman Catholics to provide the increased school accommodation which the new Act would render necessary. The text had also been issued of an Agricultural Bill and of a Bill for co-ordinating the London traffic services. Thus, in seven and a half weeks, fair progress had been made with the Government's legislative programme. But the Government's life throughout had been hanging by a thread, and its most serious trials had still to be faced.

Towards the end of the year, a certain uneasiness was created among the general public by an attempt, which was only half repulsed, to prevent the opening of cinemas on Sunday. A test case having been brought, the practice was declared to be illegal, on the strength of an unrepealed statute dating from the eighteenth century. It was thus open to any person to act as common informer and prosecute any theatre management which should hold a cinema show on Sunday. The cinema producers in London, however, having received assurances from the County

Council that it would not interfere with them, resolved to continue the performances as usual. Almost immediately an information was actually laid, but it was withdrawn before the hearing was concluded. Thus the amusement of the London public suffered no interruption. Nevertheless it came as a shock to many people to learn that certain of the laws regulating Sunday observance were not as obsolete as they were usually thought to be, and a movement for procuring their revision began to gather force.

The year closed without bringing any improvement in trade or employment, or any prospect of such improvement. After Christmas the number of unemployed leaped up to over two and a half million, and commercial activity was at its lowest ebb. Yet in spite of the continued depression, there had probably been less actual privation in England in 1930 than in any previous year, on account of the wide extension of the social services. But this could no longer be described as an unmixed benefit. On the one hand, evidence accumulated throughout the year that the *morale* of the unemployed was being undermined by continued idleness and the receipt of the "dole." On the other hand, the burden of financing unemployment benefit was undoubtedly proving a serious obstacle to the recovery of trade. Thus the interests of the tax-paying and the benefit-receiving classes tended to become more sharply opposed, and this fact in turn reacted unfavourably on the relations of Capital and Labour, which, after drawing closer for a few years, now showed signs of drifting asunder again.

The India Conference continued its labours almost without intermission until the end of the year. In some respects it made marked progress ; on December 12 an interim report was issued by the Committee on Federal Structure, stating that a gratifying measure of agreement had been reached in this field. The problem of the minorities, however, presented greater difficulties ; the demands put forward by the Moslems proved quite unacceptable to the Hindus, and a deadlock ensued which had not been resolved by the end of the year. But already the Congress had achieved one result which placed it on a line with the other two great conferences held during the year. Like them it marked the final abandonment by Great Britain of one of the Imperialist pretensions which had characterised the Victorian age. At the Naval Conference, by consenting to "parity" in naval armament with the United States, Britain waived her claim to be "mistress of the seas." At the Imperial Conference she resigned the last shadow of her *imperium* over the Dominions. And at the India Conference she pledged herself no longer to look upon the Indians as a "subject race." Public opinion had been fully prepared for these changes by post-war developments, and now took them as a matter of course ; though naturally many people, **from** the influence of early training, found it difficult to reconcile **themselves to the new order.**

IMPERIAL HISTORY.

CHAPTER I.

IRELAND.

NORTHERN IRELAND.

THE new session of Parliament opened on March 11, in the absence of the Prime Minister, who did not return from his voyage to New Zealand till the 17th. The legislative programme outlined in the King's Speech was small, consisting for the most part of measures already promised, or modelled on legislation recently passed in Great Britain, in pursuance of the "step by step" policy. In the debate on the Address the Nationalist and Labour Opposition members directed their chief attacks on the Government's failure to reduce unemployment. Mr. Andrews, Minister of Labour, in replying, claimed that the position, while serious, showed improvement. He stated that the percentage of unemployed in the shipbuilding industry was 13·3 as against 37·1 in 1926, and in the linen industry 16·2 as against 47·7 in 1925.

The most important and most controversial measure of the session was the Education Bill, introduced to give effect to agreements reached between the Government and representatives of the Protestant Churches and the Orange Order, and in other respects to amend the Education Act of 1923. Its principal objects were to "make secure the position of simple Bible teaching in public elementary schools" (as the King's Speech stated); and to provide for the representation on Regional and Borough Committees—by which transferred schools are controlled—of the "transferors of schools," that is of their former managers, in most cases clergymen.

The Bill was introduced in the House of Commons by Mr. Robb, Parliamentary Secretary of the Ministry of Education, and after debate on April 9 and 10 received its second reading by 31 votes to 12. It was hotly attacked by the Nationalist members on the ground that the Government had given way to the demands of the Protestant Churches, while leaving the grievances of the Roman Catholic minority untouched. They declared that the system of "simple Bible teaching," even though the particular version of the Bible to be taught was left optional,

was contrary to the principles of their Church, and that therefore their schools could not be transferred. They claimed that non-transferred schools should be placed on a level with the others, as regards public grants. The Government refused to acknowledge this claim ; but in Committee they introduced an Amendment to the effect that, in the case of non-transferred schools, grants of 50 per cent, of the cost of building should be given. Part of the demand of the Opposition was thus met, but it continued to oppose the Bill. It passed its third reading on May 21 by 17 votes to 10.

In his ninth Budget statement, on May 17, the Right Hon. H. M. Pollock, Minister of Finance, stated that revenue from all sources for the year 1929-30 amounted to 11,126,0002., and expenditure to 11,109,0002., leaving a surplus of 17,0002., after allowing for Imperial Contribution provisionally fixed at 874,0002. For the year 1930-31 he estimated expenditure at 11,603,0002., Imperial Contribution being provisionally fixed at 150,0002., the increase being mainly due to the full effect of de-rating now being felt. He proposed some increases and alterations in Estate Duties, similar to those introduced in Great Britain, and also increases in motor taxation, based on the recent Report of the Commission on the subject. Mr. Pollock pointed out the great increase in the cost of social services, from under two millions in 1922-23, to over four millions in the year under consideration. With this had gone a diminution of the Imperial Contribution from the inflated figure of eight millions fixed in 1920 to the sum of 150,0002. now provisionally fixed by the Joint Exchequer Board. He concluded his statement with words of warning : " As between our revenue and expenditure, the financial position of the State has now reached the verge of danger-point, and I feel it my duty to impress upon the House, and so far as my words can carry, warn the local authorities and the ratepayers of the Province that in respect of State assistance the limit has been reached, and that they must rely on their own resources for any further expenditure they contemplate. The only alternative is heavy additional taxation."

A Parliamentary and Local Elections Bill, chiefly designed to prevent personation, was passed through all its stages at the beginning of the session (second reading, March 20). A Motor Vehicles and Road Traffic Bill, making insurance against third party risks compulsory, introducing penalties for "joy-riding," ' ' and in other respects providing against accidents on the road, was passed at the end of the year (second reading, October 21).

The agitation in favour of further temperance legislation, especially Local Option, continued during the year, but with less activity in view of the defeat of the Local Optionist candidates at the previous year's elections. As an instance of the progress

of temperance, Mr. Pollock, in his Budget statement, quoted the drop in the revenue from Spirits from 1,611,000Z. in 1923 to 1,048,000Z. in 1930.

In Belfast the Municipal Elections on January 25 excited little interest, and there were few contests, representation being left practically as before. The Municipal authorities continued to meet severe criticism for not having carried out more drastic measures of reform as recommended at inquiries in previous years. Considerable improvements were carried out in the Health Services, and the infantile mortality in the city was the lowest on record.

The farmers of the Province suffered from a poor harvest, though in some directions prices for live stock improved. Industrially the severe depression continued. There was an increase of the unemployment figures during the year. The linen trade had again a very trying year, in the face of increased tariffs especially in the United States, and the lack of demand generally. Exports of linen showed a further fall. The tobacco and rope industries, however, showed some recovery, and in shipbuilding some improvement was recorded, Harland & Wolff registering the largest output of any shipbuilding firm in the world.

THE IRISH FREE STATE.

The year 1930 was the least eventful politically since the Irish Free State came into existence. The Dail sat on fifty-nine days only. Legislation was small in quantity, and not of such a kind as to arouse excitement or heated controversy.

On March 27 the Government was defeated by 64 votes to 62 on the second reading of a Bill to increase the allowances to Old Age Pensioners, introduced by a *Fianna Fail* Deputy, and supported by Labour and some Independents. The Minister for Finance had previously opposed the Bill, on the ground that it would impose a charge of 300,000Z. on the taxpayers, while not benefiting the most necessitous classes. On its defeat the Government promptly resigned, and the election of a new President of the Executive Council by the Dail took place on April 2. The name of Mr. De Valera, Leader of *Fianna Fail*, was first proposed, but rejected by 93 votes to 54, only the members of his own party voting for him. Mr. O'Connell, Leader of the Labour Party, announced that, while his party had voted for the Pensions Bill, it could not support any candidate for President who did not explicitly acknowledge the authority of the *Oireachtas* (Parliament), or whose election might endanger the foundations of the State. Mr. O'Connell's own name was then put forward, but rejected by 78 votes to 13, only his own party voting for him and *Fianna Fail* abstaining. Mr. Cosgrave was finally re-elected by 80 votes to 65 the opposition being composed of *Fianna Fail*

and Labour. His Cabinet was reconstituted as prior to the defeat.

The two by-elections during the year made no change in party representation. The vacancy in Longford-Westmeath caused by the death of Mr. Killane (*Fianna Fail*) was filled by the election of Mr. James Geoghegan, K.C., of the same party (June 13) ; and Major Brian Cooper, formerly Unionist member of the British House of Commons and lately Government member for Co. Dublin, was succeeded by Mr. T. A. Finlay, K.C. In each case the majority was large, and the result was to be anticipated from the character of the constituency. The position of parties at the end of the year was accordingly as follows : *Cumann na nOaedheal* (Government), 64 ; *Fianna Fail*, 55 ; Labour, 13 ; Independents, 11 ; Farmers, 6 ; National League, 2 ; Independent Republican (expelled from *Fianna Fail*), 1 ; making, with the Speaker, a House of 153.

The principal legislative measure in the earlier part of the session was the Greater Dublin Bill, which received its second reading on February 26 and 27 by 71 votes to 58, and became law in the summer. By this measure the regime of City Commissioners in Dublin was brought to an end, and popular control re-established. The city area was enlarged by the inclusion of the residential districts of Pembroke, Rathmines, and Rathgar, and a new coastal borough was established consisting of *Dun Laoghaire* (Kingstown) and the adjoining districts. Councils for the city and the coastal borough were established, consisting of 35 and 15 elected members respectively ; but in each case administration is mainly in the hands of a manager. Another innovation was the establishment in the city of a Commercial Register by which five members of the Council are elected on a special property franchise.

The first election to the new Councils took place on September 30. The voters showed a marked disinclination to support the candidates of political parties, and the so-called Constitutional Group of business men had the chief success in each. The new City Council met for the first time on October 14, when Alderman Alfred Byrne, a former member of the old Nationalist Party and now in the Free State Senate, was elected Lord Mayor.

The Budget statement of Mr. Blythe, Minister for Finance, was made on April 30. He took a cheerful view of the situation and prospects, asserting that the shrinkage in revenue which had continued for some years now appeared to have ceased. For the year just ended there was a surplus of about a quarter of a million. For the year 1930-31 he estimated revenue at 24,237,000Z., and expenditure at 24,224,000Z. Three minor changes were made in taxation, a duty of 101. a year being imposed on motor hawkers, the tax on old motor cars being reduced, and the duty on wines being reduced in accordance with an agreement with France.

In his statement Mr. Blythe emphasised the satisfactory position of the State with regard to loans, the total of these amounting to less than one year's revenue. A few days later the Third National Loan, required for productive purposes, was issued (May 10). It was a loan for 6,000,000Z., bearing interest at 4½ per cent, and issued at 93½, and was rapidly subscribed, for the most part in Ireland.

Among Acts passed during the year should be mentioned the Vocational Education Act, which provides for the continuance of the education of children after the school-leaving age, and also makes far-reaching improvements in the system of technical instruction; the Wild Birds Protection Act; the Game Protection Act; and the Illegitimate Children (Affiliation Orders) Act.

In order to enable the Dublin hospitals to meet their heavy financial difficulties, the Public Charitable Hospitals (Temporary Provisions) Bill was introduced by an Independent member (second reading, February 22), and passed in spite of considerable criticism. This measure permits the holding of sweepstakes on behalf of hospitals, and the scheme was later extended to benefit institutions in other parts of the country as well as Dublin. The first sweepstake under the scheme was held in November, and proved highly successful financially, the total amount subscribed being given as 658,618Z., and the hospitals benefiting to the extent of 131,724Z. The holding of such sweepstakes, however, aroused considerable opposition on moral and social grounds, and certain hospitals refused to participate.

On February 12 the first Censorship Board was appointed by the Minister for Justice under the Censorship of Publications Act of 1929. During the remainder of the year twelve periodicals and forty-four books were from time to time prohibited from circulation by the Minister on the advice of the Board, as being indecent or obscene or unduly devoted to matter relating to crime or as advocating contraception.

Among economic matters the question of tariffs continued to excite most discussion, *Fianna Fail* pressing for a high general tariff, and production primarily for the home market, while the Government continued its cautious policy of "selective protection.*" The actual foreign trade of the country showed an increase, and the adverse trade balance, which stood as high as 19 millions in 1926, was reduced to 11 millions for the year ending April, 1930. It is worthy of note that the value of cattle exported increased, as did also that of motor tractors from the Ford factory in Cork during the earlier part of the year. Agriculture, however, felt the effects of the general world depression, to say nothing of the poor harvest, and much attention was given to the question of how help and relief might be afforded to the farmers. A Commission on the question of De-rating was set up, but had not reported at the end of the year.

The electricity supply from the Shannon was brought into full operation in the cities and towns, and was gradually being extended to the country districts. The demand for current, both domestic and industrial, has exceeded expectations, and it is stated that the entire output of the works, as at present developed, will shortly be absorbed, this necessitating an extension for which the scheme allows.

The year witnessed a number of developments in the external relations of the Free State. Monsignor Paschal Robinson, Papal Nuncio, arrived in Dublin on January 14. Ministers were appointed by France and Germany, in addition to the Minister previously appointed by the United States. The Free State ratified a number of League of Nations and International Labour Conventions, and the Dail approved of the signature of the Optional Clause of the Statute of the Court of International Justice. Early in the year it was announced that the Free State would be a candidate for one of the Temporary Seats on the Council of the League of Nations, and a strong delegation, headed by the Ministers for Finance and Education, was sent to the Assembly in September. Previous to the election a statement was issued by the delegation, explaining that the country was standing for election on its own merits, not as representing any group. Along with Norway and Guatemala it was elected on September 17, receiving 36 votes.

The Government was also represented at the meetings of European countries to discuss M. Briand's proposals for European federation. In a Note on the subject dated July 17, sent in reply to M. Briand's Memorandum, it was pointed out that Ireland, in view of her geographical position and close racial connexions with the American and Australian Continents, found her interests less exclusively European than did Continental countries. The Note urged that any such scheme of European union should be worked in the closest co-operation with the League of Nations.

At the Imperial Conference the principal Irish representatives were Mr. McGilligan, Minister for External Affairs, Mr. Hogan, Minister for Agriculture, and Mr. Fitzgerald, Minister for Defence. President Cosgrave was prevented from attending owing to illness. Speaking at the beginning of the conference, Mr. McGilligan asserted that the most important part of its work, from the Irish standpoint, was the settlement of the constitutional position of the members of the Commonwealth. The delegation therefore pressed for the ratification of the proposals of the conference on Dominion Legislation of 1929, which was carried out, though the question of appeals to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, to which it also attached great importance, was left unsettled. Mr. McGilligan, however, made it clear, speaking on the economic side of the conference's activities, that the Irish

Free State was prepared to enter into plans for the development of Inter-Commonwealth trade to the mutual advantage of the parties concerned, provided that such plans would not hamper the internal economic development of Ireland.

CHAPTER II.

CANADA.

THE two outstanding events of 1930 were the General Election, which completely reversed the trend of political affairs, and the Western Wheat Marketing crisis which overshadowed the general economic situation throughout the year.

On February 20 the fourth (and last) session of the Fourteenth Parliament was opened at Ottawa by the Governor-General, Lord Willingdon. In forecasting the legislation of the session, the Speech from the Throne reviewed conditions in the Dominion during the past year, claiming prosperity for every branch of industry save agriculture and asserting that recovery from seasonal slackness evident at the close of 1929 was already visible. It also commented on the expansion of foreign trade and the measures taken to extend the Trade Commissioner services in various parts of the world, as well as further development of Government steamship lines.

After the opening ceremony, the House of Commons held a brief sitting. Eight new members—six Liberals and two Conservatives—were introduced. Two new Senators, Mrs. Norman F. Wilson (the first woman Senator of the Dominion) and Mr. Robert Forke, late Minister of Immigration, were also introduced before the Senate adjourned.

In the debate on the Address, in reply to the Speech from the Throne, Mr. R. B. Bennett, the Conservative Leader, criticised at some length the Government's fiscal policy, and charged the Government with having failed to give adequate protection to Canadian industries. Mr. Bennett said that he noted from recent figures of trade and employment, that the country was less prosperous than in the corresponding period last year, and that Canada's purchases from the United States showed a steady-growth while those from Great Britain showed a decrease.

The Prime Minister, Mr. Mackenzie King, replied that the criticisms of the Opposition leader had been confined mainly to the exceptional economic circumstances of the past few months—particularly the collapse of the stock market and the deferred wheat exports—with no general prospective of the four years' record of the Government and the steady progress of the country. He intimated that tariff developments in Washington might be one feature justifying an early appeal to the electorate, but in any

event the Government, in tariff and other matters, would legislate for the benefit of Canada as a whole, and would be influenced only by Canadian considerations, not by policies of other countries. Referring to the 1929 London Conference on Dominion Legislation (whose recommendations were subsequently approved by the Canadian Parliament), the Prime Minister said that the House would be given the opportunity to discuss thoroughly the question of status before any ratification took place either at Westminster or Ottawa: London was not trying to dictate to Canada, but was prepared to give effect to any changes in the constitution desired by the Dominion Parliaments. Canada had tried to secure the Imperial Economic Conference for Ottawa, but it was found impossible to get agreement among the Dominions for the conference to be held anywhere except in London.

In the Estimates tabled on February 27 for the fiscal year, totalling 399,358,101 dollars (as compared with 404,245,140 dollars for 1929-30), the principal increases were on account of Public Works, Civil Aviation, Post Office, Pensions, and National Health. Substantial reductions were made in the votes for railways and canals, immigration and soldier settlement.

In introducing a Bill (March 4) to place an embargo on the export of liquor to the United States, the Government raised a highly controversial issue. Explaining the object of the Bill (which had been approved in principle at a Liberal caucus and was supported by a considerable body of public opinion), Mr. Mackenzie King said it was not in any sense a prohibition or temperance measure, but was designed to prevent smuggling and rum-running. He explained the existing system under which Excise officials of the Dominion Government supervised the withdrawal of liquor from distilleries and breweries, collected duties and granted clearances, and said that the system which had been devised for the collection of revenue had resulted in making Government officials the link between the producers of liquor and the criminal gangs who were engaged in violating the laws of a friendly country. It was intended that the new Bill should prohibit the clearance of any liquor-laden vessel where it was evident that the intention was to ship liquor into a country where the entry of liquor was prohibited. Although the measure was in general terms, it would apply particularly to the United States, the Government of which had made representations on the subject. After protracted debate—during which Conservative speakers urged a reciprocal treaty with, or *quid pro quo* from, the United States—this Bill passed both Houses.

Trade relations with New Zealand came before the House in the same month (March), when a debate took place on an Opposition motion for the immediate rescinding of the Order-in-Council extending to New Zealand the benefits of Canada's reciprocal trade agreement with Australia. The Finance Minister, Mr.

Dunning, announced that negotiations had already begun for a separate trade treaty, but this would necessarily take considerable time, and the Government believed that meanwhile there should not be any arbitrary abrogation of the standing arrangement that would be impolitic at the outset of new negotiations.

Opposition members laid stress on the increasing imports of New Zealand butter into Canada, especially in the winter months, under the Preferential tariff, competing with Canadian farmers and having the result in the past few years of lessening domestic production, thus aggravating the unsatisfactory financial returns of agriculturists.

Although the motion for rescinding was defeated, the existing trade arrangement with New Zealand was terminated in October.

Negotiations for a new commercial treaty with Newfoundland were also pursued, following a visit (March) from her Prime Minister, Sir Richard Squires. The basis suggested was the admission duty-free into Newfoundland of Canadian agricultural machinery, fishing equipment, and educational supplies, with the concession of most-favoured-nation treatment to other commodities, in return for the provision by Canada of an annual subsidy for a steamship service between Sydney, N.S., and St. John's, Newfoundland.

An amendment to a motion to go into supply, proposed (March 31) by Mr. A. A. Heaps (Labour, Winnipeg), that "in the opinion of this House the Government should take immediate steps to deal with the question of unemployment," caused a lively debate. The Prime Minister, recognising the difficulties which all Governments had encountered in their efforts to discover a satisfactory solution to the problem, gave a broad survey of unemployment conditions in other countries, but pointed out that in Canada municipalities and provinces by the provisions of the Constitution have to assume responsibility for the alleviation of unemployment conditions within their own boundaries. It was not, the Premier contended, a Federal matter nor had any Province so far appealed to the Federal Parliament for assistance in dealing with the question. Continuing the debate, Mr. Stewart, Acting Minister of Immigration, said that the Government was prepared to encourage, so far as was practicable, immigration from Great Britain, but they could not guarantee work all the year round. He announced that a conference would take place later in the year with a view to reaching a mutual agreement in respect of the number of immigrants to be brought in, and the sharing with the Western Provinces the assimilation and permanent placing of incoming persons.

The Budget was introduced by Mr. C. A. Dunning on May 1. This was the Finance Minister's first Budget, and his statement, which had been awaited with keen interest, effected important changes in Canada's fiscal and tariff policy.

Mr. Dunning began by reviewing the general economic situation. He noted increases in trade between Canada and South America; a decrease in the unfavourable visible trade balance between Canada and the United States; no material change in the trade with Africa, but a decrease of both imports and exports between Canada and Asiatic countries, as well as a decline in exports to Great Britain and European countries. Canada had effectively marshalled her resources to meet the problems arising from the delayed marketing of grain and the shock of the stock market debacle last autumn, and he claimed that fundamental conditions were essentially sound. He estimated the revenues for the last fiscal year ended March 31 at 447,322,000 dollars [89,464,400Z.], compared with 461,647,000 dollars in the previous year, and placed expenditure at 402,815,000 dollars [80,563,000Z.], compared with 380,301,496 dollars, 39 per cent, of which was directly attributable to the war. In regard to the National Debt, he said that credit was due to the Government for retiring out of surplus revenues two loans totalling 80,000,000 dollars, and reducing interest charges since 1922 by 20,000,000 dollars to the present level of 113,000,000 dollars [22,600,000?.]. He placed the total of the funded and unfunded debt at the end of the fiscal year at 2,250,837,336 dollars [450,167,467?.], of which 1,637,000,000 dollars was payable in Canada, and the balance almost equally in London and New York.

He had a less satisfactory story to tell about the Canadian National Railways. The financial drain of the railways on the Federal Treasury had been just short of 10,000,000 dollars [2,000,000/.], and it had been necessary to float new bond issues, with a Government guarantee, to the extent of 120,000,000 dollars [24,000,000?.].

Turning to the trade situation, Mr. Dunning said the year had witnessed a decline of 244,000,000 dollars in exports, which totalled 1,145,000,000 dollars, and, as imports were valued at 1,248,000,000, dollars, there had been an adverse trade balance of over 103,000,000 dollars [20,600,000Z.]. The trade balance with the United States had, however, shown an improvement, exports to that country increasing by 15,250,000 dollars, and imports falling by 20,500,000 dollars.

In the course of his speech, Mr. Dunning indicated changes in the tariff, covering more than 500 items or almost half the total. The fundamental feature of the revision was a widespread and generous improvement in the British Preference rates. Of the total of 1,188 items in the tariff schedule, 589 permitted British goods at special rates covering a range of imports valued at 200,000,000 dollars. The principal commodities affected were iron and steel, machinery, electrical equipment, enamelled hollow-ware, farm tractors, tea, vegetables and fruits.

As regards vegetables, fruits, and other edible commodities,

the tariff changes were accompanied by a counter-availing duty (a policy aimed to curtail American dumping), whereby Canada would impose upon certain products imported from another country rates equivalent to those imposed by that country upon identical Canadian products when these rates became higher than those enumerated in the Canadian tariff.

Criticisms of the Budget were made by the Conservatives, who asserted that the counter-availing duty clause suggested the dictation of Washington, and that the new British preferences affected goods in which Great Britain had little chance of competing in the Canadian market, while the Progressives regretted "that more effective consideration was not given to agriculture and labour in Canada, also that the changes in iron and steel duties would result in increased cost of construction and machinery." Further, "that the best interests of Canada would be served by a more substantial increase of British preference particularly on textiles, with the modification or abandonment of the regulations requiring 50 per cent, of the British Empire content which largely nullifies the effect of the preference given." Mr. Irvine, a prominent Progressive, reproved Mr. Dunning for "dropping the cut flowers of British Preference on the mangled corpse of Free Trade," but on the whole the Budget was well received throughout the country, and passed the House of Commons (May 15) by 114 votes to 86.

In the course of the Budget debate, the Prime Minister surprised the House by announcing that the General Election would take place at the earliest feasible date to enable representatives of the elected Government to be present at the Imperial Conference. Shortly after this announcement, the heads of the three parties agreed to drop several controversial measures and to facilitate the passing of all uncontentious legislation.

Parliament was prorogued by the Governor-General on May 30. In addition to those already recorded, the principal enactments of the session included: the provision of increased pensions to ex-service men; adoption of an 8-hour day for all Government employees; setting up of a separate Divorce Court for Ontario (along the lines of all other Provinces except Quebec and Prince Edward Island); agreement with the Manitoba Government for the return of the control of the Province's natural resources; approval of the Sockeye Salmon Treaty with the United States; amendment and consolidation of the Canada Grain Act; appointment of a separate ministry of Fisheries; ratification of the international agreements for the reduction of naval armaments, and adherence to the Optional Clause (League of Nations).

The opening of the General Election campaign immediately followed dissolution of Parliament.

Mr. Bennett delivered his "keynote speech" at Winnipeg on June 10. He made a comprehensive arraignment of the late

Government, and accused it of vacillation and timidity at a time when Canada, struggling as she was for economic self-sufficiency, needed a strong and capable administration.

Before entering the field, Mr. Mackenzie King reorganised his Cabinet, Dr. Cyrus McMillan of Prince Edward Island being appointed Minister of Fisheries, and Mr. W. F. Kay, Minister without Portfolio, to fill the place of the late Mr. Robb as representative of the Protestant elements of Quebec. Captain Ian Mackenzie, of British Columbia, was also appointed Minister of Immigration to succeed Mr. Robert Forke on June 20.

In his opening election speech at Brantford, Ontario, on June 16, the Prime Minister reviewed the Government's record since it first assumed office in 1921, elaborating its fiscal and trade policies, and asking for a mandate from the people of Canada to send to the coming Imperial Conference representatives of an administration which had achieved so much in promoting inter-Empire trade and Empire unity.

The third Parliamentary group, consisting of the United Farmers of Alberta, the Progressives and Liberal-Progressives of Manitoba and Saskatchewan, issued no united manifesto. One new feature of the election was the formation of a separate party by the Progressives of Saskatchewan, who nominated a number of candidates in opposition to every candidate whether Liberal, Conservative, or Farmer. Their platform was extremely radical, including the nationalisation of the Canadian Pacific Railway, free trade approached by way of Free Trade within the Empire and the referendum, and recall for elected members who ran counter to their constituents' wishes. The United Farmers of Alberta, under the leadership of Mr. Robert Gardiner and Mr. E. J. Garland, were perhaps the most powerful of the small groups. They advocated "group government" and representation in Parliament on a vocational basis, and refused coalition with either Liberals or Liberal-Progressives.

In the course of the campaign, Mr. King and Mr. Bennett addressed large gatherings in every province, and their principal speeches were broadcast by a national wireless "hook-up" throughout the Dominion.

In Ontario the Conservative cause was greatly strengthened by the activities of the Premier of the Province, Mr. G. Howard Ferguson, who took strong exception to a statement made by Mr. Mackenzie King during a debate on unemployment and the responsibility of the Governments of the Provinces, when he said he would not give "a five-cent piece" to any Tory Government. This pronouncement was subsequently taken up by many speakers and newspapers, and Mr. Ferguson's forceful electioneering addresses in his own Province did much to influence the voting of its constituents. Polling took place on July 28, by which date both the Prime Minister and the Leader of the Opposition had returned to the capital.

The result of the polling gave a decisive victory to the Conservatives who secured¹ 139 seats against the Liberal's 86, United Farmers' 10, Liberal Progressives' 3, Labour's 3, Progressives' and Independents' 4. Five members of Mr. King's Cabinet were defeated, including the Minister of Finance, whose Budget had formed a major issue of the election, and Mr. T. A. Crerar, a former Progressive leader, while in Quebec, hitherto a stronghold of traditional Liberalism, 20 of the 65 seats were gained by Conservatives. Striking successes were also obtained by Conservatives in Manitoba. In both cases sectional causes contributed largely to this result.

Mr. Mackenzie King formally tendered the resignation of his Government on August 6, and on the same day Mr. R. B. Bennett visited the Governor-General, and took oath of office as Prime Minister. Three days later his Cabinet was sworn in, being composed as follows :—

Prime Minister, Finance, and External Affairs	-	Mr. R. B. Bennett.
Justice	- - - - -	Mr. Hugh Guthrie.
Interior	- - - - -	Mr. T. G. Murphy.
Labour	- - - - -	Senator G. D. Robertson.
Agriculture	- - - - -	Mr. Robert Weir.
Railways and Canals	-	Mr. R. J. Manion.
National Revenue	- - - - -	Mr. E. B. Ryckman.
Trade and Commerce	-	Mr. H. H. Stevens.
Immigration and Mines	-	Mr. W. A. Gordon.
Postmaster-General	- - - - -	Mr. Arthur Sauve.
Public Works	- - - - -	Mr. H. A. Stewart.
Marine	- - - - -	Mr. Alfred Duranleau.
Fisheries	- - - - -	Mr. E. N. Rhodes.
Solicitor-General	-	Mr. Maurice Dupre.
Pensions and National Health	-	Dr. Murray MacLaren.
Secretary of State	-	Mr. C. H. Cahan.
National Defence	-	Col. D. M. Sutherland.
Ministers Without Portfolio		Sir George Perley.
		Mr. J. A. Macdonald.

The Premiers of Alberta, Saskatchewan, and Manitoba at once waited upon the new Premier, and offered to co-operate in every possible way to relieve unemployment. In accordance with Mr. Bennett's election promise, an emergency session of Parliament was opened on September 8, during which a Bill was passed providing 20,000,000 dollars for unemployment purposes on the basis of Provincial Governments and Municipalities spending an equal amount for necessary public works. On September 16 Mr. Bennett introduced a new high tariff measure, which he described as effecting not a general tariff revision but only changes that would give employment to a large number of men and women in Canada, and would ensure that so far as possible the needs of the Canadian people should be provided by Canadian

¹ At dissolution the party standing was: Liberals 123, Conservatives 90, Progressives 7, United Farmers 11, Liberal Progressives 9, Labour 3, Independent 2.

producers. The new rates principally affected iron and steel, textiles, shoes and agricultural implements, and came into immediate operation. In the course of the debate, the Prime Minister placed on record pledges from the manufacturers of Canada to maintain prices at their existing levels.

After the passing of this emergency legislation, Parliament was prorogued on September 22, and on the following day Mr. Bennett sailed for England to take part in the Imperial Conference, accompanied by Mr. Hugh Guthrie, Minister of Justice, Mr. H. H. Stevens, Minister of Trade and Commerce, and Mr. Maurice Dupre, Solicitor-General, with a body of technical advisers. They were later joined in London by Mr. C. H. Cahan, Secretary of State, on his return from Berlin, after a conference with the German Government for a final settlement of war reparations.

The Imperial Conference opened on October 2 (see p. 72). Within a few days the Canadian Prime Minister placed before the delegates a proposal for economic co-operation based on the principle of Empire Preference. In the first place, he said, the principle must be approved or rejected, and on this he asked for a definite answer. As a concrete proposal, for discussion on its business merits, Mr. Bennett offered to the Mother Country and to all the other parts of the Empire a Preference in the Canadian market in exchange for a like preference in theirs, based upon the addition of a 10 per cent, increase in prevailing general tariffs or upon tariffs yet to be created. He further suggested that if the principle were approved, committees should be set up in each of the countries concerned to examine his offer, and an adjourned Economic Conference should be held for the discussion of their reports early in 1931. These proposals were generally endorsed by the other Dominion representatives, but at a later stage of the conference the British Government intimated that they could not accept the principle of Imperial Preference. An adjournment to Ottawa for the discussion of the various economic proposals that had been made was, however, agreed to, and the conference closed on November 14.

At the termination of the conference, Mr. Bennett (who had already received several civic honours) paid short visits to Dublin, Belfast, Glasgow, and Edinburgh, and crossed to France to visit the war graves and discuss with the French Government the operation of the Franco-Canadian Trade Treaty. He left London for Canada on December 5.

In the meantime the wheat situation had continued to cause grave anxiety in the Dominion. The Premiers of the three Prairie Provinces had made arrangements with the heads of the banks concerned to secure the carrying on of credit to the Wheat Pool without recourse to enforced selling or compelling the Provincial Governments to implement their guarantees. They also visited Ottawa to make representations to Sir George Perley, Acting

Prime Minister, for Federal assistance to meet the acute plight of the Western grain growers, the price of whose products, according to the President of the Farmers' Organisation, had dropped over 30 per cent, while the average decrease on other commodities had been only 9 per cent., leaving agriculturists generally in the most serious position known for many years.

Mr. J. I. McFarland, a well-known grain exporter, who had attended the Imperial Conference as one of Mr. Bennett's technical advisers, was appointed in November as General Manager of the Central Agency of the Wheat Pool, in succession to Mr. E. B. Ramsay who had been appointed Chairman of the Federal Board of Grain Commissioners. Mr. McFarland, while defending the action of the Pool in its methods of "orderly marketing," announced the adoption of a new overseas policy by which the Pool would withdraw its representatives and close its agencies in London and Paris and other oversea centres, and in future use all ordinary established facilities for wheat marketing. This, he stated, was designed to create a friendly feeling where there had hitherto been doubts and ill-feeling, and remove the misconception that the policy of the Pool was to "combat the world."

Immediately upon his return to Canada (December 13), Mr. Bennett took up the economic problem and held conferences with Federal and Provincial Ministers as well as banking leaders.

General Elections were also held during the year (June) in New Brunswick and Alberta, and both resulted in the return of the Governments. In New Brunswick the Conservatives secured 31 seats and the Liberals 17; in Alberta the United Farmers secured 40, Liberals 10, Conservatives 6, Labour 4, and Independents 3. In three Provinces there was a change in the Premiership. In Prince Edward Island, in May, the Hon. W. M. Lea succeeded the Hon. A. C. Saunders, on his acceptance of a judgeship; in Nova Scotia, in August, the Hon. G. S. Harrington succeeded the Hon. E. N. Rhodes, on his entering the Dominion Cabinet, and in Ontario, in December, the Hon. G. S. Henry succeeded the Hon. G. Howard Ferguson, on his acceptance of the Canadian High Commissionership in London, rendered vacant by the death of the Hon. Peter C. Larkin (February).

CHAPTER III.

THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA—SOUTH-WEST PROTECTORATE —SOUTHERN RHODESTA.

SOUTH AFRICA.

COMPARED with many other countries South Africa was not markedly affected by the tidal wave of economic depression which swept the world in 1930. As Mr. Havenga, Minister of Finance,

informed his constituents at Fauresmith, Orange Free State, on the eve of his departure for the Imperial Conference, the Union had been enjoying a period of prosperity, during which its economic position had greatly been strengthened; a series of surpluses had enabled the Government to reduce the National Debt and generally to prepare for leaner times.

Under the circumstances, the Premier, General Hertzog, and his ministerial delegates to the conference, Mr. Havenga and Mr. Fourie (Mines and Industries), might have had justification for the complacent assumption that their mission to London would be undertaken at a time when the political barometer was set "fair." Any such comforting hope, however, was frustrated by the "turbulent irresponsibility"—to quote the Premier's phrase—of a small group of Nationalist extremists who again raised secession as a political issue (see ANNUAL REGISTER, 1929, p. 140). A section of General Hertzog's followers, blindly ignoring repeated ministerial assurances that the status declaration at the Imperial Conference of 1926 safeguarded South Africa's right to the fullest expression of national independence, called a meeting at Bloemfontein for the purpose of founding a Republican League. The policy of this organisation was further developed at a subsequent conference at Potchefstroom. Its objects were to be achieved on "purely constitutional" lines, but the severance of the tie with Great Britain was to be complete. The promoter aimed at the creation of a South African, and not a Dutch, republic, to embrace all white citizens of the country irrespective of race or faith. As a first step towards this end, it called for a complete revision of the Act of Union on the ground that expressions of loyalty to the King implied a bond and duty to a foreign power which "upsets our internal racial relations and leaves us open to the danger of undesirable foreign interference/'

Before sailing from Cape Town on August 1, General Hertzog made an important statement bearing on the recrudescence of the republican spirit. South Africa's independence and equality with the other dominions and Great Britain was complete, he said, but the Bloemfontein republicans did not want to be disillusioned; they preferred to cling to their old inferiority complex as the only means of nourishing their grievances. "Not one jot or tittle of our independence will be sacrificed," added the Premier in outlining the Union's Conference policy. "I am convinced that we possess complete independence. The people of South Africa will be prepared to an ever-increasing extent heartily to maintain co-operation with Great Britain and the other Dominions, but co-operation will depend on national independence. Every nation worthy of the name will prefer isolation rather than subservient inferiority. In no circumstances may the right to secede from the British Commonwealth be taken from South Africa."

Even this spirited declaration of independence did not wholly

succeed in pacifying the extremists, who were not alone in doubting the Union's capacity for freedom of action. For this scepticism General Hertzog and his ministerial colleagues, by reason of their words and actions prior to the 1926 conference, were largely responsible. As the Cape Town correspondent of *The Times*, writing on the day General Hertzog sailed for Southampton, pointed out: "For years General Hertzog and Mr. Havenga believed that the claim that South Africa is completely free within the Commonwealth was so much 'eye wash.' They thought this freedom was nothing but empty words and resounding platitudes. At the Imperial Conference of 1926 they learnt for the first time that the freedom of South Africa within the Commonwealth was a real thing. They were convinced themselves, and they have been labouring ever since to convince their followers here. But conviction comes slowly to a people like the South African Dutch, who, to tell the truth, are now asked to unlearn much that General Hertzog taught them before he was converted."

General Hertzog still further explained the attitude of the Union Government towards the Imperial Conference in an interview which he gave Reuter's representative when the *Arundel Castle*, the vessel in which he was travelling to England, reached Madeira. He regarded as paramount the recognition by the conference of the Union's independence. Under no condition could he admit uncertainty on that point. He was sure that, subject to their independence being recognised, the people of South Africa would be prepared cordially and increasingly to co-operate with Great Britain and the other dominions. South Africa regarded the declaration of the 1926 Imperial Conference as its Magna Charta, dispelling all doubt as to its free relations with other countries. South Africa had no reason to believe that Great Britain or her people had any wish or intention to go back on that undertaking, and it would be the duty of the South African delegation to see that nothing was taken away from what had already been given.

Regarding the economic aspect of the conference, the Premier emphasised that it was the policy of the Union Government to give a tariff preference to some of Great Britain's manufactures, provided Great Britain extended a similar preference to South African products. The Union Government was therefore prepared to enter an agreement over a definite period provided that the industries of South Africa, at present in their infancy, could go ahead and develop. South Africa realised that the best market for her produce was Great Britain, and it was the policy of the Union Government to develop that market, as well as other markets of the world, and to find new outlets for export trade wherever possible.

In his speech at the opening of the conference on October 1, General Hertzog emphasised the South African viewpoint. He

said he was conscious of the very important functions devolving upon the delegates finally to adjust the outstanding constitutional questions consequent upon the decisions arrived at in 1926. The essentials of that task had, however, been settled so exhaustively by the report of the Inter-Commonwealth Conference of the previous year that that portion of their labour might very well be looked upon as completed except for the purpose of formal sanction on some matters of detail. The Premier added that the people of South Africa viewed with some concern the prospective abolition of existing tariff benefits ; but he wished to make it quite clear that he looked upon the fiscal policy of a country as in essence so closely associated with the economic life and well-being of its people that only the particular circumstances and requirements of the State and people concerned could claim a voice in deciding upon it. South Africa would welcome an examination of the possibility of extending existing economic and trade relations by the adoption of inter-Commonwealth trade agreements providing for the extension of reciprocal tariff benefits on a fair and reasonable basis, and for periods sufficiently lengthy to create confidence and stability.

General Hertzog's farewell speech was a very clear indication that the conference had not, from a South African point of view, achieved the desired objects. " I should, perhaps, be insincere," said the Premier, " to pretend that the conference has borne the fruit which we and the other Dominions had hoped for. I think, however, it would be very unfair, and even ungenerous, if we were to leave England and say that we are disappointed in not having achieved what we hoped for, because we know the circumstances in which the British Government has been labouring and the very difficult problems it has had to contend with, and for that reason may I say here that I and my colleagues came here with the knowledge that we should have to see that our expectations did not run too high, and our expectations not having run too high we have no great disappointments to carry away with us."

This opinion was not confined to the Premier's political adherents. General Smuts, as leader of the Opposition, speaking at the Bloemfontein Congress of the South African Party, was even more critical of the negative results : " What might have been the most brilliant, the most successful and greatest of all the Imperial Conferences," he said, " had ended in disillusion and disappointment for every part of the British Commonwealth. What an opportunity there was, such as may not easily come again ; what a chance for successful business arrangements which would have benefited all parts of that Commonwealth which are now in a common wave of sore trials. If the final settlement of Dominion status had gone hand in hand with a great gesture of fellowship and comradeship, with the holding out and the grasping of a helping hand all round in this common hour of trial, what a

landmark the conference would have been in the history of the Empire."

General Hertzog returned to Cape Town on December 1, and two days later he addressed the National Party Congress in Bloemfontein. As an authoritative summary of the Government view of the conference the speech was widely quoted. Speaking on the constitutional question, the Premier expressed wholehearted satisfaction with the work done.

"With the formal renunciation by the British Parliament of all its claims or legal rights," he said, "the independent position of South Africa, equal in extent and purport with that of Great Britain or any other free State, not only in theory but equally in its practical application, stands at the free disposal of the people of South Africa to use or misuse at their own free will. No State knows greater freedom/' He added that after the decisions of the Imperial Conferences of 1926 and 1930 there was no single reason why Dutch and English-speaking South Africans should not meet in statesmanship and in politics in the spirit of one consolidated South African nation.

The economic results of the conference were summarised in less optimistic terms. At present, said the Premier, there was not the slightest chance of an extension of preferential tariffs in England. The seriousness of the matter, from a South African point of view, had been made perfectly clear. Unless the Union could find a wider market for its produce within the Empire in a reasonable time, her economic policy in regard to Commonwealth Preference would have to undergo considerable revision—revision which in the event of the abolition of the existing Preference for South African products on the English market, would in all probability be fundamental. General Hertzog hoped that this would not happen, for he believed that the necessity for meeting the wishes of the Dominions would quickly be recognised by the British people themselves.

Although in the opinion of many leading Nationalists General Hertzog had secured for South Africa a freedom at once "absolute, unlimited, and unquestionable," it became increasingly apparent that other and equally influential members of his party differed from him on the constitutional question, and that the republican issue was again to be forced into prominence. So tense, indeed, did the position become that the Premier repeated his intention to resign (8th ANNUAL REGISTER 1929, p. 140), unless he received unswerving allegiance. His denunciation of republicanism, at a Pretoria Nationalist meeting, on December 10, was an impressive indication of the firmness of his resolve. He announced his intention of using every ounce of his strength, every vestige of his influence, to counter subversive propaganda and obviate disastrous consequences to the country.

Nevertheless, even this trenchant criticism of Left wing intrigue

did not wholly reassure the electorate. There was doubt and perplexity in both political parties. Many English-speaking South Africans were inclined to regard the Premier's action as a tactical manoeuvre in Nationalist reconciliation, a belief which appeared to be fostered by General Hertzog's opposition to the " God and King " oath for boy scouts, and his attack on General Smuts who, as leader of the South African Party, had publicly congratulated the Premier upon his anti-republican declaration.

The most notable event of the Parliamentary session, which was inaugurated by the Governor-General, the Earl of Athlone, on January 16, was the adoption of the Women's Enfranchisement Bill. It was introduced by the Premier on March 3, and it passed its third reading on April 10. Bills for the enfranchisement of women had previously been before Parliament on no fewer than eighteen occasions. Under the new measure all women of 21 years and over will be entitled to vote.

It was announced early in February that the King had approved the appointment of the Earl of Clarendon as Governor-General of the Union in succession to Major-General the Earl of Athlone, K.G., whose extended period of office would expire at the end of the year. Nationalist extremists, who had passed resolutions favouring the appointment of a South African, were resolutely opposed by the Premier. His three-fold argument was that, firstly, there was no man in South Africa outside politics who could pccup}^ the position ; secondly, that the country was too small; and thirdly, that though South Africa had the fullest right to make such appointment, to do so would be to widen tenfold the existing division between the two white races.

The Earl of Athlone, Princess Alice, and their daughter Lady Mary Cambridge, departed from the Union early in December, travelling overland through Africa. Their departure was everywhere, and by every section of the community, received with manifestations of regret.

SOUTH-WEST PROTECTORATE.

During the proceedings of the Mandates Commission of the League of Nations, at Geneva, consideration was given to the report on the South-West Protectorate. The Union Government was represented by Mr. te Water, High Commissioner in London, and Mr. Courtenay Clark, of the South-West Administration. The report gave expression to the increasingly cordial relatioij* between the mandatory power and the League, and the commission noted with satisfaction the definition given by the Union Government of its powers under the mandate. Mr. te Water informed the Commission that the Protectorate was passing through a period of great stress owing to drought. The inhabitants were facing the situation with courage, **and** the Government was doing **its** best to alleviate distress.

Subsequently, in the course of an interview, Mr. te Water explained that certain rectifications arising out of the settlement of the Portuguese Angola—South-West frontier boundary were still under negotiation with the Portuguese authorities. The commission had expressed approval of the enactment of the South-West Railways and Harbours Act which vested the dominion of the railways in the Union Government, subject to the terms of the mandate.

Mr. Werth, the Administrator of the South-West Protectorate, appointed a commission in August to examine the possibility of establishing produce markets in various territories along the West Coast. The commission was authorised to visit the Belgian Congo, French Congo, Nigeria, Togoland, Gold Coast, Sierra Leone, French Senegal, and the Canary Islands.

General Hertzog, during his European visit, visited Geneva, and addressed the Assembly of the League of Nations on September 12.

SOUTHERN RHODESIA.

Sir Francis Newton, who had held office for six years as High Commissioner in London, resigned the position towards the end of the year in order to retire to private life in Rhodesia. He was succeeded in November by Mr. J. W. Downie, a former Minister of Mines.

Material progress was made with the oft-debated Walvis Bay railway project. After prolonged negotiations the Governments of Southern Rhodesia, Bechuanaland, and the South-West Protectorate agreed to a reconnaissance of the route, and Mr. J. L. S. Jeffares, a well-known engineer, was appointed as leader of the survey party. This preliminary work is expected to occupy six months from the date of commencement. The proposed route is from Dett (between Bulawayo and Wankie, on the main line to the north), round the north-west corner of Makarikari Lake, down the Botetle River to Rakops, Van Zyl's Cutting, and Sandfontein. At Gobabis the line, when completed, will connect with the South-West system (see ANNUAL REGISTER, 1929, p. 142).

The eventual relationship of Northern and Southern Rhodesia has been the subject of speculation ever since 1923, when the rule of the British South Africa Company came to an end. During 1930 hitherto tentative suggestions for the amalgamation of the two territories became a live political issue. On both sides of the border there was a definite feeling in favour of closer union, although it was also generally recognised that the gradual development and recognition of mutual interests would do more to create a spontaneous desire for amalgamation than hasty political action.

In September, Sir Cecil Rodwell, Governor of Southern Rhodesia, communicated with Lord Passfield on the subject of

the note sent to the Secretary of State for the Colonies by the elected members of the Legislative Council of Northern Rhodesia, asking whether His Majesty's Government would accept representations for an amalgamation of the two territories under a constitution similar to that of Southern Rhodesia. Sir Cecil intimated that Southern Rhodesia would welcome initial discussions. A conference was suggested between representatives of His Majesty's Government and the two territories concerned.

In the House of Commons on December 11, Dr. Shiels (Under-Secretary for the Colonies) said the Government had already indicated that unless there was a *prima facie* case for amalgamation, a conference would merely raise false hopes ; but if they found that any degree of amalgamation was possible, he had no doubt they would be glad to arrange an interview.

CHAPTER IV.

AUSTRALASIA.

AUSTRALIA.

1930 was a year of trial for Australia. The economic perplexities which she had to face presented special difficulties to a young and vigorous community, which has had less than her share of stress. Almost forty years have passed since the bank failures of the 'nineties, and many years of prosperity almost persuaded Young Australia that a special measure of well-being was its due. Early in 1930 came the sharp intimation that Australia, too, had to conform to standards of living, based upon world conditions. Speaking at a conference of State Premiers at Canberra on February 20, Mr. J. H. Scullin, the Federal Prime Minister, foreshadowed a period of economic stress, though he did not suggest the dark times which, in fact, came upon Australia later in the year. As Mr. Scullin said, after the World War, peak prices brought prosperity to Australia, and she did not share in the slump which followed. Good seasons, high prices, and plentiful loan money had checked the downward movement so far as Australia was concerned. But, in the end, world-wide depression, coupled with the low prices ruling in overseas markets for wheat and wool, brought about the inevitable result. An unresponsive loan market made it necessary for Australia " to tighten its financial belt," to use Mr. Scullin's phrase. The story of Australia in 1930 is primarily concerned with the reaction of the Australian people to the pains and penalties associated with " a tightened financial belt," which inexperience made it particularly difficult for Australia to suffer.

Mr. Scullin amplified his programme of economy in a statement to the House of Representatives on March 13, in which he explained more fully the effect of Australia's over-borrowing, and emphasised the necessity for decreasing imports and increasing the volume of exportable products for which a demand prevails. On July 22 a conference between the Loan Council, which is responsible for Federal and State debts, and leading Australian bankers decided upon a scheme by which the loan commitments of the Australian Governments might be met. For this purpose credits available in London from the sale of exports were pooled, and exchange was first provided to cover the interest upon Government loans overseas, say 30,000,000Z. a year. The balance of the credits overseas, say 60,000,000J., was then available for the payment of imports and other purposes, and no more. The review of Australian legislation which follows can only be understood in the light of this drastic need for curtailing imports, if the financial stability of the Commonwealth and States was to be assured.

The session of the Federal Parliament opened at Canberra on March 12. The debates quickly showed that the Conference of State Premiers was right in its diagnosis that the main problems with which the community was faced were financial, and that it was all-important to re-establish confidence in Australia in the London financial market. Nevertheless, the Scullin Ministry presented a legislative programme including some momentous constitutional changes, among them a proposal that the electorate should surrender its privilege of being consulted by referendum before constitutional changes were made. A Bill to this effect was introduced on March 13, together with a measure giving the Commonwealth Parliament, as opposed to the State legislatures, full power in industrial matters. The first Bill provided for the amendment of section 128 of the Constitution by an absolute majority of each House of Parliament, together with the assent of the Governor-General, and, in the course of the second reading debate, Mr. Scullin claimed that the Federal Parliament could not properly carry out its duties unless the Bill was passed. Nowhere else was Parliament trammelled with what are called "State rights." Moreover, the existing system resulted in difficulties owing to varying interpretations of the Constitution by the High Court. "Important changes," added Mr. Scullin, "should not be decided by the Court, but by Parliament." The Bill dealing with industry gave the Federal Parliament legislative powers in connexion with all disputes between employer and employed, instead of the existing power to legislate when "industrial disputes extended beyond the limits of one State." These Bills for the amendment of the Constitution were rejected by the Senate by large majorities.

On May 29 Mr. Brennan, the Attorney-General, introduced

an Arbitration Act Amendment Bill, with the object of repealing certain disabilities imposed upon trade unionists by the Bruce Ministry. The Bill abolished the chief penalties for disobedience to the awards of the Arbitration courts, and gave an unqualified preference to trade unionists. This Bill was also rejected by the Senate. On April 4 a measure, designed to restrict imports, in accordance with the policy enunciated on March 13, was introduced into the House of Representatives and became law. This included absolute prohibition of a selected list of commodities and partial prohibition of others, the Minister for Trade and Customs being left with power to ration up to 50 per cent, of the latter imports in 1929. A surcharge duty of 50 per cent, duty on other goods was legalised, among them being ale, matches, knitted piece-goods, furniture, perfumery, fancy goods, cinema films, boots and shoes, pianos, and motor bodies and tyres. In explaining the measure, Mr. Scullin said that it would have the effect of reducing imports by 12,000,000Z. Combined with the action of the Australian banks in restricting credit, and certain increases in the tariff, Mr. Scullin anticipated a reduction of imports amounting to 40,000,000/. The measure was Australia's answer to critics in Britain, added Mr. Scullin, who told them to put their house in order by balancing imports and exports, and reducing their loans. Altogether fifty-eight Bills were dealt with during the five months of the Federal session, eighteen of them being measures necessary to bring into effect the Ministry's Budget proposal of a sales tax.

The Federal Budget was to have been introduced by Mr. Ernest Theodore, Treasurer of the Scullin Ministry, but he resigned on July 7, following upon the report of Mr. Justice Campbell, acting as Royal Commissioner, upon the purchase of the Mungana mining leases by the Queensland Government, at a time when Mr. Theodore was State Premier. Mr. Justice Campbell's report severely criticised Mr. Theodore's action. Though Mr. Theodore complained that the report was "a most dastardly piece of partisanship," and that he was "condemned unheard," he asked Mr. Scullin to relieve him of his duties as Federal Treasurer, and Mr. Scullin agreed to do so. The Labour Ministry was thus deprived of its best political brain, and Mr. Scullin was forced to add to his heavy duties by assuming the office of Treasurer. The Budget prepared by Mr. Theodore was introduced by Mr. Scullin on July 10, and included a sales tax of 2½ per cent, on the sale prices of all commodities sold in Australia, other than by primary producers. The Budget was accompanied by a new schedule of Customs and Excise duties, and included important changes in the income tax rates, the desire of the Government being to raise 14,000,000Z. to cover the existing financial shortage. Drastic as were these financial proposals, they did not suffice. On November 6 Mr. J. A. Lyons, who acted as Treasurer during Mr. Scullin's absence

at the Imperial Conference, proposed further Customs and Excise duties, estimated to yield rather more than 3,500,000Z. a year. He also proposed a super tax of 1½ per cent, upon all incomes derived from property, yielding other 1,500,000/. As Mr. Lyons, said, "Parliament must recognise that no further drift in Commonwealth finances could be permitted, and that the balancing of the Budget was an essential step for the restoration of the credit of Australia."

The action of the Federal Government was largely due to a meeting of the Federal Loan Council at Canberra on August 5, at which Sir Otto Niemeyer, an official of the Bank of England, addressed the members on the general financial situation in which the Commonwealth found itself. Sir Otto was specially invited to Australia by the Scullin Ministry for the purpose. He emphasised the necessity for improving the trade balance, and reducing the cost of production in industry, and was emphatic in pointing out that loans from Great Britain or elsewhere would be no solution of the difficulty, unless a firm effort was made in Australia itself to arrest the financial drift. Sir Otto Niemeyer's frank diagnosis was not welcomed by all Australians, but the State Premiers accepted his general conclusions, and agreed to take stern measures with the object of balancing their Budgets. Representatives of the Commonwealth and States duly met on August 18 and passed resolutions pledging themselves to balance their 1930-31 Budgets, and maintain similar balanced Budgets in future years. The resolution added, "This Budget equilibrium will be maintained on such a basis as is consistent with the repayment or conversion in Australia of existing internal debts maturing in the next few years."

Unfortunately, the Australian Labour Party, which not only elects Labour Ministers but controls their political actions when in office, refused to adopt the decisions of the Federal and State Premiers. At a meeting of the Executive of the Australian Labour Party in Melbourne, early in October, very different Budget proposals were prepared for submission to the Labour caucus which was to meet on October 27. The proposals included nationalisation of banking, the utilisation of Australian credit to stimulate industry and liquidate loans, the reduction of interest on banking credits, and the initiation of negotiations with Great Britain with view to a reduction of war debts. When the Labour caucus met, the agreement reached by the Premiers was repudiated in favour of a policy of "nationalising credit," and using the Commonwealth Bank as the medium for carrying out the scheme. Responsible members of the Labour Party such as Mr. Lyons, the Acting Treasurer, and Mr. Fenton, who acted as Prime Minister during Mr. Scullin's absence in London, pointed out the futility of the proposals. Finally, Mr. Lyons left the caucus to its devices and proceeded to put forward his own Budget

measures, and press on with the flotation of a 28,000,000/. loan, necessary to meet Australia's immediate indebtedness. This conversion loan was successfully issued in December, the subscribers numbering 117,000. The result was a personal triumph for Mr. Lyons, though his action deprived the Scullin Ministry of the support of a large section of militant Labour. Later, the Australian Government placed an issue of 5,000,000Z. of Commonwealth bills in London, so her immediate financial needs were satisfied.

Other financial measures taken towards the end of the year were a reduction of the rate of contribution to the National Debt Sinking Fund, which was proposed by Mr. Lyons on November 28. The amount thus taken for revenue was 1,950,000Z., though 4,900,000Z. was still available for Commonwealth debt reduction during 1930-31. A Gold Bounty Bill was introduced in the House of Representatives on December 10, whereby a bonus was payable for ten years at the rate of 11. on each fine ounce of gold produced, exceeding the average production of the various mines during the past three years. The Cabinet hoped thereby to put 10,000 more men into employment, while other supporters of the Bill claimed that 10,000,000Z. more capital would be attracted to Australia. The Bill was sharply criticised by the Nationalist Opposition, led by Mr. Latham. Another Bill which met with criticism was the Wheat Advance Bill, calling upon the Commonwealth Bank to make advances to growers up to 3s. a bushel f.o.b., which was introduced into the Federal House of Representatives on December 12, and passed its third reading. The Government had previously proposed an advance of 2s. 6d. a bushel, but the Commonwealth Bank refused to go beyond 25. The larger amount was fixed by the Labour caucus. Mr. Gullett, Deputy Leader of the Commonwealth Opposition, described the Bill as the first round in the war against the Banks. Later the Commonwealth Bank offered to advance wheat growers 2s. 6d. f.o.b., and the Federal Ministers advised the acceptance of this as a "desirable compromise/" but the Labour Party caucus insisted upon the 3s. advance under Commonwealth guarantee. The matter had not been settled when Parliament adjourned on December 18.

The appointment of Sir Isaac Isaacs as Governor-General was announced on December 3. When Sir Adrian Knox, who had been Chief Justice of the Federal High Court since 1919, resigned on March 31, Sir Isaac Isaacs took his place. He had been a judge of the High Court since 1906, and had previously been a member of the Convention which, in 1897, framed the Commonwealth Constitution. Granting that it was desirable that an Australian should be appointed Governor-General, no better choice could have been made. But critics of the change regarded it as weakening the Imperial connexion. On May 1 Major-General Walter Adams Coxen was appointed Chief of the

General Staff, in succession to Lieutenant-General Sir Harry Chauvel. In his last report to Parliament, published on July 25, Sir Harry Chauvel urged a revision of Australia's defence policy, emphasis being laid upon the necessity for fully training the permanent staff, responsible for the instruction of the militia unit in Australia.

Federal politics necessarily overshadowed those in the State legislatures in a year when problems of overseas trade and international finance were uppermost. Nevertheless, there was a constant interchange of Federal and State influences. Thus the action of the Labour Party caucus mentioned above was largely due to the success of Labour in the New South Wales elections in October, which resulted in Mr. Lang, the Labour leader, becoming Premier in place of Mr. Bavin on November 4. Labour gained twelve seats at the General Election, and thereby secured a working majority in the House of Representatives, though the Nationalists and Country Party were dominant in the Upper House. Mr. Lang's election policy definitely included the abolition of the Legislative Council; accordingly the New South Wales Premier at once asked Sir Philip Game, the State Governor, to agree to forty new appointments to the Upper House. Sir Philip refused, though it was stated unofficially that the Governor was willing to make such appointments as were necessary to carry out the Labour Government's policy. On November 27 two Bills were introduced in the Legislative Council, the first repealing the Act whereby the Upper House may not be abolished without a referendum, and the second abolishing the Council. The first Bill was passed without a division, and the second secured a second reading on December 4. The constitutional controversy then passed from Parliament to the law courts, and, on December 15, the New South Wales Supreme Court heard a suit brought by two members of the Upper House for an injunction to restrain the President of the Legislative Council from presenting to the Governor the Bill abolishing the Council. By a majority of four to one, the Court decided that the Abolition Bill could not be presented to the Governor for the Royal Assent without a referendum. The Court granted a perpetual injunction, on the ground that the New South Wales legislature was not sovereign but subordinate, and that a referendum to the electorate was, therefore, necessary before the Council could be abolished.

In Victoria, Mr. Hogan's Labour Ministry continued in office throughout the year, but in South Australia the Butler Government was defeated early in April, and a new Cabinet was formed by Mr. Hill, the State Labour leader. Parliament met on May 27, the speech of the Governor including the announcement of a Bill to abolish the Legislative Council. Mr. Hill's financial policy, which aimed at balancing the State Budget in accordance with the decision of the Conference of Premiers, unfortunately aroused

the opposition of his own party, including, as it did, reductions in the salaries of members of Parliament and Civil servants. The deficit on the year was 1,625,000Z., so stern measures were necessary. Replying to his Labour critics in the House of Assembly on November 4, Mr. Hill said that the Government's policy, though unpopular, would be pursued, and he claimed that it had the approval of right-thinking Australians, including a large majority of the workers.

The Queensland Budget presented by Mr. Barnes, the Treasurer, on October 2, showed a small surplus, thanks to departmental savings totalling approximately 1,000,000J.

Unlike New South Wales and South Australia, the General Election in Western Australia resulted in a Labour defeat. Mr. Collier resigned after holding the Premiership of the State for six years, and his place was taken by Sir James Mitchell, who formed a Nationalist-Country Party Coalition Cabinet on April 23. Acute unemployment, and a reaction against the high tariff policy with which Labour is identified in Australia, were the chief causes of Mr. Collier's defeat. In a financial statement submitted to Parliament on September 23, Sir James Mitchell explained how he proposed to make good the pledge given to the Premiers' Conference. With a revenue of 10,104,000?., the Government proposed expenditure totalling 10,098,000Z.; there was a small surplus. Sir James Mitchell added that no loan money would be expended in future, except on work that was immediately reproductive.

In Tasmania the main problems facing politicians were of a financial type, the State railways showing a loss of no less than 1,678,000Z. in six years. A joint committee of public accounts at Canberra, reporting on August 7, made a series of important recommendations on the subject of Tasmania's financial disabilities, and suggested aids to meet the special circumstances in the island State.

Miss Amy Johnson's lone flight from England to Australia in May, and Wing-Commander Kingsford Smith's spectacular dash, by which he lowered the aviation record between England and Australia to ten and a half days, excited intense interest throughout the Commonwealth, as did the return of Sir Douglas Mawson's Antarctic Expedition. Sir Douglas reached Melbourne on April 9, and reported the discovery of a whaling area worth millions of pounds. The expedition had also mapped out 500 miles of Antarctic coastline. Thanks to the generosity of Mr. Macpherson Robertson, who contributed 16,000Z. to the cost, Sir Douglas Mawson was able to return to the Antarctic at the end of 1930 and complete his research. The segment of Antarctica which lies immediately south of Tasmania, is an area to which Australia attaches special importance.

DOMINION OF NEW ZEALAND.

Though the economic and financial position of New Zealand during 1930 was far from easy, there is no record of difficulty and stress such as Australia experienced. Sir Otto Niemeyer and Professor T. E. Gregory, the Bank of England experts, went on to New Zealand after their investigations in Australia, and conferred with the Dominion Government on banking, currency and exchange problems. Their verdict was that there was no basic trouble in New Zealand comparable to the economic difficulties with which the sister Dominion was faced. Her sound financial methods would enable New Zealand to balance her trading account with no effort more troublesome than minor changes in taxation. Indeed, the chief event in New Zealand during 1930 was the death of the veteran statesman, Sir Joseph Ward [see under Obituaries], and the succession of Mr. G. W. Forbes to the leadership of the United Party and the Prime Ministership. Sir Joseph Ward was unable to attend Parliament after October, 1929, and announced his resignation on May 15. He died on July 8, at the age of 74, and was buried at the Bluff Cemetery, Invercargill. A profound belief in the potentialities of New Zealand, a remarkable capacity for work, and considerable financial ability had made Sir Joseph a power in the Dominion throughout a long political life, and the tributes to his memory in the Press and Parliament showed that his countrymen realised that an Elder Statesman had passed away.

Sir Joseph Ward's successor, George William Forbes, was a farmer by profession, and had been a Member of Parliament twenty-two years before the Premiership came to him. His special subject was land settlement, but Mr. Forbes showed sound political judgment during the months he deputised for Sir Joseph Ward, as Deputy Prime Minister. Mr. Forbes formed his Cabinet on May 28, all Sir Joseph Ward's colleagues being retained, with the exception of Mr. Wilford who came to London as New Zealand High Commissioner. Sir Joseph himself remained in the Cabinet, without a portfolio.

Mr. G. W. FOEBES	-	-	-	Premier, Minister for Finance, Customs, and External Affairs.
Mr. E. A. RANSOM	-	-	-	Minister for Lands and State Forests.
Sir APIRANA NGATA	-	-	-	Minister for Native Affairs.
Mr. H. ATMORB	.	.	.	Minister for Education.
Mr. W. A. VEITCH	-	-	-	Minister for Railways.
Sir THOMAS SIDNEY	-	-	-	Attorney-General and leader of the Legislative Council.
Mr. W. B. TAVERNER	-	-	-	Minister for Work and Transport.
Mr. P. A. de la PERELLE	-	-	-	Minister for Internal Affairs, Industries, Commerce, and Tourists.
Mr. J. G. COBBE	-	-	-	Minister for Defence and Justice.
Mr. J. B. DONALD	-	-	-	Postmaster-General.
Mr. A. J. STALLWORTHY	-	-	-	Minister for Health.
Mr. 8. G. SMITH	-	-	-	Minister for Labour.
Mr. A. J. MURDOCH	-	.	*	Minister for Agriculture and Mines.

After the swearing-in ceremony on May 28, Mr. Forbes issued a statement outlining his policy. He emphasised the necessity for finding remedies for unemployment, and recalled the need for sound finance, in view of the big losses made by New Zealand railways during the past year. Mr. Forbes was handicapped by the fact that the United Party was in a minority in the House of Representatives, and could only hold office with the consent of the Labour Party, though, in political conviction, Mr. Forbes and his followers in the United Party were much nearer to the New Zealand Opposition, led by Mr. Coates, the ex-Premier, and Mr. Downie Stewart. A "no-confidence" motion was moved by the Reform Party, in the form of an amendment to the Address, when Parliament met at the end of June, and Mr. Forbes secured a vote of confidence, the numbers being 47 votes to 24. The reunion of the United Party and the Reform Party, led by Mr. Coates, is likely to be an active issue in New Zealand politics in the near future, in view of the General Election in November, 1931. The existing reliance upon Labour cannot be as satisfactory to Mr. Forbes as an understanding with his earlier allies of the Reform Party. It must be admitted, however, that the course of business during the 1930 session did not reveal an immediate prospect of co-operation between the two parties, and, during the debates upon the Customs Acts Amendment Bill, Mr. Forbes complained of "deliberate and arranged" obstruction by the Reformers, a phrase which suggested continued co-operation with Labour rather than an adjustment of the unfortunate differences which prevent fusion between the United and Reform Parties.

The third session of the twenty-third New Zealand Parliament was opened on June 26 by Lord Bledisloe, the Governor-General, who succeeded Sir Charles Fergusson in February. The Governor-General's speech was delivered on June 26, and announced the drastic curtailment of public expenditure which Mr. Forbes embodied in his first Budget on July 24. In view of probable decreases in Customs revenue, and the loss of revenue from railways, the Prime Minister foreshadowed a Budget deficiency exceeding 3,000,000. Various economies accounted for 1,680,000. of the deficiency, and the rest was made good by extra taxation, including a 10 per cent. increase in the income tax, a tax upon cinema films, and other imposts. The resulting revenue was estimated to be 25,120,000. and the expenditure 24,874,000., leaving a margin of about 250,000. Mr. Forbes stated that the public debt on March 31 amounted to 267,000,000., showing a net increase of 8,570,000., including a sum of 5,379,000. brought forward from the previous financial year. He added that the Government's policy was to restrict further capital expenditure as far as possible to directly productive purposes. Land settlement was being vigorously proceeded with, and idle Crown lands, suitable for farming, were being made productive as quickly as possible.

Several changes in the Customs duties included in the Budget were not accepted without sharp dissent from interested parties. Thus, American film distributors protested strongly against the tax of 25 per cent, on the net receipt from non-British films, and the Film Distributors' Association ceased accepting contracts to distribute American films in New Zealand for a time. Distributors of British films, paying only 10 per cent., accepted the changed rate. New Zealand motorists were indignant at the imposition of an extra 3d. per gallon on petrol, making 7d. per gallon, pointing out that this meant that motorists would contribute no less than 4,000,000Z. a year in special taxation. Canadian exporters were antagonised by the fact that their cars were deprived of the benefit of the British preferential rate, this being a retaliation against Canada's increase of the duty upon New Zealand butter from one cent to four cents per lb., following upon the accession of Mr. Bennett, the Conservative leader, to power in Canada. Mr. Forbes travelled to England for the Imperial Conference by way of Canada, in order to discuss this thorny matter with the Canadian authorities. Similar trouble threatened with Australia, but, as New Zealand was not directly affected by the recent changes in the Commonwealth tariff, Mr. Forbes agreed that none of the increased duties should apply to Australian products, except by agreement with the Australian Government, or after six months' notice. As a result of preliminary conversations between the Australian Minister for Customs (Mr. Fenton) and the New Zealand Minister for Internal Affairs (Mr. de la Perrelle), Mr. Forbes added that he anticipated more satisfactory trade arrangements would shortly exist between the two Dominions. Mr. Forbes defined the policy of the Government in regard to Imperial Preference thus: "In view of the Customs barriers which are being erected in many countries against Empire products, it is considered that New Zealand should so arrange its tariff policy as to be able to meet the altered conditions. During recent years there has been a decrease in the proportion of British-made goods imported into the Dominion, and it is proposed to make increases in the Imperial Preference on 158 items of the tariff. The total number of items is 449, and the number of items upon which Preference is granted is 295. Hence, the Government proposes to increase the rate on about one-half of the items on which Preference is now accorded."

The general policy of the Forbes Government in relation to the Mother Country was defined in a debate in the House of Representatives on August 11, just before Mr. Forbes left to attend the Imperial Conference. The Prime Minister stated his intention to maintain a close and intimate political and economic association with the United Kingdom. "We have no complaints and no demands. The New Zealand Government is of opinion that the next important problem in inter-Empire constitutional re-

lationships is no longer one of freedom and equality, but of consultation and co-operation. Our efforts will be principally aimed in this direction at the Imperial Conference. In foreign policy and defence, New Zealand must be largely guided by the experience and necessities of the United Kingdom/' Mr. Coates, Leader of the Opposition, approved Mr. Forbes's statement. It may be added that Sir Michael Myers, the Chief Justice, addressing the New Zealand Law Conference on April 22, made an emphatic plea for the retention of the Privy Council as the ultimate appellant tribunal of the Empire. He described the Privy Council as the finest tribunal in the world, and the one remaining tangible link between Britain and the Dominions.

The necessity for economy brought about drastic reductions in the defence force of New Zealand, which were announced by Mr. Cobbe, Minister of Defence, on December 16 and December 30. The Territorial Forces were abolished, and no fewer than 110 headquarters and regimental officers were retired, including Major-General Young, General Officer Commanding the New Zealand military forces. The reduction of the Defence Department to a mere skeleton was strongly opposed by the National Defence League. The policy of economy also brought about drastic changes in the Railway Department, the basis being the report of a Commission of Inquiry, under the chairmanship of Mr. R. Masters, a prominent business man, which was published on October 2. The Commissioners suggested that the management of the railways should be removed from political control, by the appointment of a Board of Directors with full and complete power. It was also proposed that the capital of the railways should be written down by 10,000,000[^]., including 8,100,000Z. written off in 1929, and that a reserve fund of 2,000,000Z. should be built up. A drastic curtailment of railway construction was announced on December 22.

Unemployment, another pressing problem in New Zealand, was also the subject of inquiry by a committee, which was appointed by the Coates Government in 1928, and issued a supplementary report, published on February 25, 1930. The report urged the creation of a permanent organisation to deal with unemployment, but insisted strongly upon the dangers incidental to an unemployment insurance scheme of the British type. Instead, the committee suggested the inauguration of an Employment and Sustenance Fund, to be used chiefly in providing or finding work for the unemployed, and, failing that, providing sustenance payments as prescribed. Two-thirds of the fund should be raised by industry and the workers. The Government's Unemployment Bill was introduced in the House of Representatives on July 16, and generally followed the recommendations of the committee, the funds being provided by a levy of 1Z. 10a. a year on adult male workers, estimated to produce 600,000J.

together with a 50 per cent, subsidy from New Zealand funds. All workers over twenty years of age, except the sick and unemployed, were required to contribute. If work cannot be provided under the Act, sustenance is payable at rates not exceeding *11s.* a week for adult males, *17s. 6d.* for a wife, and *4s.* for each child, the period of payment not exceeding thirteen weeks. The Unemployment Bill was passed by the Legislative Council on September 26.

The unrest in Samoa, which had caused anxiety to the New Zealand authorities for many months (see ANNUAL REGISTER, 1929, p. 155), persisted into 1930. On January 14, the Mau (a League of Samoans) was proclaimed a seditious organisation, and the cruiser *Dtmedin* landed parties to reinforce the police on the island. The Mau had picketed places in Apia and along certain main roads, throwing stones at passing cars, and, at night, laying coconut logs across the roads and forcing motorists to stop. It would seem that the older chiefs, who originally organised the Mau, lost control of the organisation. It fell into the hands of "larrikin" elements, who beat native policemen, and even arrogated to themselves some of the functions of government, agents of the Mau being armed with batons and offering to act instead of the regular police. Colonel Allen, the Samoan Administrator, displayed considerable restraint in permitting the Mau to exist as long as it did. On February 4 the New Zealand Government decided to enrol a new force of military police for service in Samoa, and Mr. J. G. Cobbe, the Minister of Defence, went to Apia to confer with the Administrator. This action was fully successful. The surrender of the wanted rebels was followed by the return of most of the Mau natives to their villages, and represented a victory for the forces of law and order. On March 20 the situation in Samoa was so improved that Sir Joseph Ward, then Prime Minister, announced the disbandment of the military police force which had been trained for service in Samoa, but was still in camp outside Wellington.

A party of British, South African, and Canadian farmers made a tour through New Zealand in the early months of 1930, studying the possibility of increasing the exchange of New Zealand products for those of their own countries. The return of the Byrd Antarctic expedition to Dunedin on March 10 was also an occasion for public rejoicing, during which Admiral Byrd expressed his pleasure that New Zealand had been selected as a base for the expedition. He added that his Polar flight had resulted in the discovery of 280,000 miles of new territory, which he had named Marie Byrd land. The Byrd expedition was officially entertained by the New Zealand Government on April 9 at Wellington, when Admiral Byrd presented Mr. Forbes with the New Zealand flag which the expedition had carried to the South Pole, together with the American national emblem.

CHAPTER V.

INDIA.

THE year was momentous in the history of India, for while on the one hand the civil disobedience movement, organised by the National Congress, led to widespread tumult and to the dislocation of trade and industry, on the other hand the publication in June of the Report of the Statutory Commission was followed in the late autumn by the assembling in London of the Round Table Conference, comprising delegates from British India and the Indian States and also from the three political parties at home, **for** the purpose of reaching the largest measure of agreement on the liberalising of the Indian Constitution. During the plenary sittings in November, it became clear that the system recommended would be on the lines of the federation of the "two Indias," and in committee, in December, that at the centre there would be responsibility of the Federal Executive to the Legislature, subject to transitional safeguards.

On New Year's Day the National Congress at Lahore followed the announcement that complete independence of India was the aim of the party by a resolution declaring that every obligation and concession which an independent India would inherit should be investigated by an independent tribunal, and, no matter how incurred or given, should be repudiated if it was not found to be just and justifiable. The injurious effect upon the price of Indian Government securities of this resolution and of the prospect of the early renewal of the policy of civil disobedience was checked by the India Office announcement on January 28 that H.M. Government had no intention of allowing a state of things to arise in India in which repudiation of debt could become a practical possibility. The session of the National Congress had barely closed before a serious split developed over the election of a new working committee, the membership of which Mr. Gandhi proposed to limit to his nominees. The result was the formation of a new party of ultra-independents bound only in principle to the Congress programme. In response to one of the resolutions the majority of members of the Central and Provincial Legislatures elected on the Congress ticket resigned their seats; but Mr. V. J. Patei continued for the time being to retain his Presidentship of the Legislative Assembly.

January 26, fixed as "Independence Day" for demonstrations throughout the country, passed uneventfully, except for the spectacular hoisting in big centres of the newly devised national **flag**. On the previous day the Viceroy (Lord Irwin), inaugurating the winter session of the Legislative Assembly at Delhi, declared he would discharge to the full the responsibility resting upon

him and his Government for the effective maintenance of the authority of the law. On March 4 he received a letter from Mr. Gandhi announcing the intention, if certain impossible conditions were not accepted forthwith, to inaugurate civil disobedience by breaches of the law under which the production of salt is controlled by Government regulation.

On March 12 Mr. Gandhi, accompanied by eighty volunteers, began his slow spectacular march of 200 miles on foot from his *ashram* (settlement) near Ahmadabad to Dandi, a village on the sea coast of Surat, to the accompaniment of world-wide newspaper description and comment. In the villages through which he passed he made bitter speeches, and urged the headmen and other minor officials to desert their posts with a view to paralysing the administration. On several occasions he expressed resentment at his non-arrest, which did not accord with his tactical aims. Meanwhile Mr. Vallabhai Patel, his chief lieutenant in Gujarat, had been imprisoned for addressing a prohibited meeting, and the arrest and imprisonment of others prominently associated with the movement had begun. Mr. Gandhi and his followers reached Dandi on April 5, and inaugurated their lawless campaign at dawn next morning by the making of salt on the seashore, but met with the minimum interference from the police. For a few weeks there was an orgy of illegal salt making in many parts of the country—even in places inland where no salt deposits of any kind could be found. Mr. Gandhi enlarged his programme of civil disobedience, and authorised a "non-violent" raid upon the Government salt depot at Dharsana. He was arrested on May 5 at his camp at Jalalpur, near the sea coast of Surat, and was interned at Yaravada jail, near Poona, under Regulation 25 of 1827, to be kept under restraint for reasons of State.

The defiance of constituted authority was meanwhile gathering momentum, and though the tide of unrest sometimes ebbed and sometimes flowed, the anxieties of the authorities and the severe strain imposed on the police, who often had to call the military to their assistance, was scarcely ever relaxed. The Congress organisations exercised much tyranny in their interference with the rights and liberties of the public, and Government found it necessary to proscribe the working committee of the Congress and the so-called provincial war councils. Funds were supplied by, and in some cases extorted from, the mercantile and trading classes. Happily important elements in Indian life, notably the Mahomedans, were not attracted to the subversive movement. Both the Congress President (Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru) and his venerable father, Pandit Motilal Nehru, were convicted of breaches of the law and imprisoned, the latter to be released on grounds of ill-health some weeks later; the former to serve his sentence and soon to be reimprisoned for another breach of the law. The Congress theory that civil disobedience should be non-violent

broke down constantly in practice, and had no effect in checking revolutionary excesses.

A startling instance of the resource and daring of the revolutionary element occurred at Chittagong (Bengal) on the night of Good Friday, April 18-19, when a band of about 100 insurgents armed with modern weapons raided and destroyed the railway and police armouries, taking over 1,000 rifles and other arms, and killing a British sergeant-major, an Anglo-Indian, and four Indians. The Viceroy found it necessary to re-promulgate by ordinance the expiring sections of the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act, this being the first of many ordinances directed against both revolutionary and semi-revolutionary activities. Before the end of the year Lord Irwin, to his great reluctance, had to renew some of the ordinances which had run for the six months to which by statute such special instruments are limited.

Bombay city, whither the direction of the Congress campaign was transferred from Allahabad early in the year, was throughout the most persistent centre of lawlessness, conflicts between great mobs and the police being of almost weekly occurrence, but all the large towns suffered repeatedly, while in many portions of the countryside there was much destruction of forest and other Government property, and the non-payment of land taxes was advocated. Women took an active part in many of the demonstrations, and pro-Congress papers abounded in allegations of brutality on the part of the harassed and overworked police. Frequently arrests on a large scale were necessary; and during the nine months to December 31, no less than 54,000 persons were convicted of civil disobedience offences. Of these some 23,000 were in prison at the end of the year. The work of schools and colleges was much impeded, and there was widespread picketing of examination centres to prevent the appearance of candidates.

Mention must be made of two specially serious events of the late spring. On April 23, in a savage outbreak at Peshawar, British and Indian troops had to contend at close quarters with a turbulent mob, incited by Congress and Communist intrigues with discontented peasants and the frontier tribes. There were heavy casualties, and European women and children were evacuated from the city. During the disturbances the 2/18 Royal Garhwal Rifles were withdrawn, owing to the unsatisfactory conduct of two platoons who had refused to return to the scene of disorder. Sir Norman Bolton, who had been Chief Commissioner of the Frontier Province since the close of 1924, had a severe nervous breakdown and was replaced by Mr. S. E. Pears, Resident of Mysore. On May 8 furious attacks were made upon the police by huge mobs at Sholapur (Bombay Presidency); several members of the force were killed, and various public buildings as well as **liquor** shops were destroyed. By May 11 the effective police

force had been reduced to less than 80 men who had at times to deal with a mob of approximately 10,000. Troops were sent to the city, and on May 13 martial law was proclaimed.

The disturbed state of the country had to be taken into account by Sir George Schuster, the Finance member, in submitting his Budget at the end of February. It showed a deficit of 795,000?., and included proposals for raising the import duty on cotton piece-goods from 11 to 15 per cent., in order to further protect the Bombay mill industry, which was suffering from severe Japanese competition. In response to an earnest appeal from His Majesty's Government for consideration to be given to the serious effect of the proposal upon Lancashire, the Government of India proposed an additional protective duty on certain classes of piece-goods of non-British origin. The differentiation, though it did not commit the Legislature to the principle of Imperial Preference, was strongly opposed from the Nationalist benches, and when it had been passed in a substantially modified form, Pandit M. M. Malaviya resigned his seat in the Assembly, threw in his lot With the civil disobedience movement and later was arrested. Similarly, Mr. V. J. Patel resigned his Presidentship of the Assembly at the end of April to join the movement. In tendering his resignation to the Viceroy (who administered a dignified rebuke in reply), Mr. Patel [wrote](#) that, even while he occupied the chair of the Assembly, he was in complete sympathy with "every movement designed to create a condition with might make it difficult, if not impossible, for the British rulers to carry on in the country." Later he was sentenced to six months' imprisonment for breaches of the law, but after some weeks was released on account of ill-health.

The Legislative Assembly was dissolved by the Governor-General nearly a year later than the completion of its triennial term, and most of the provincial Councils similarly came to an end by proclamations of the respective Governors. The Congress party boycotted the elections, and Congress "volunteers," including many women of education, picketed the polling booths in the effort to make the elections inoperative. There were many uncontested returns, and in all instances the seats were duly filled. Among the new members of the fourth Legislative Assembly were three illiterate members of the depressed classes, elected by Congress influence as a protest against the existing system.

At no time during the year was the Government free of anxiety regarding some portions of the North-West Frontier. The position was difficult, at times even critical, on the Peshawar, Kohat, and Bannu borders. Towards the end of the first week in August, there was a fresh irruption into the Peshawar district of from 5,000 to 10,000 Afridis. On August 9 and 10 gangs of raiders actually attacked various parts of Peshawar city, but by the 12th they were in full retreat over the border, having been effectively shelled. In the Bannu district, at the end of August, it was

found necessary to disarm the villages near the border ; during the process resistance sprung up and a British officer was killed. After protracted negotiations the attempt of the political authorities to reach a settlement with the Afridis broke down in November. Since the undertaking of military operations was inadvisable on many grounds, a scheme was adopted to institute the minimum pressure to overcome the recalcitrance of the tribes. Their repeated incursions into administered country had been mainly based upon the caves and other hiding-places on the Kajuri and Akakhel portions of the Peshawar plain. It was decided therefore to continue across the Kajuri plain the road from Peshawar which had led to Bara Fort, and to construct subsidiary roads to link up with the main Khyber road, providing one or more fortified points as might be required.

When in the late summer an ebb in Congress activities was discernible, the subterranean activities of the terrorists and anarchists were renewed. They were shown in the murder at Dacca on August 29 of Mr. F. J. Lowman, Inspector-General of Police, Bengal; in the attempted murder and serious wounding of one of his brother officers, and in the murderous assault in broad daylight in the streets of Calcutta on August 26 of Sir Charles Tegart, the distinguished Commissioner of Police, Calcutta. In September a large store of bombs and other preparations for revolutionary crime was discovered in the Punjab, and early in October attempts to assassinate police officers were reported from various parts of India. On "December 8 three Bengalis, armed with revolvers, made a raid upon the secretariat of the Bengal Government in Calcutta, and shot dead in his room Lieutenant-Colonel N. S. Simpson, I.M.S., Inspector-General of Prisons, and wounded Mr. J. W. Nelson, the Legal Remembrancer, while other high officials had narrow escapes with their lives. Two of the assailants shot themselves, and the other was severely wounded. On December 23, at the Convocation of the Punjab University at Lahore, the Governor, Sir Geoffrey De Montmorency, was wounded in the arm and back by a young student firing a revolver at close range, and narrowly escaped assassination. A sub-Inspector of Police was killed, and a lady doctor was also wounded.

While India was seething with political excitement and resultant communal disturbances, patriotic men were seeking ways of peace. In the spring, under the chairmanship of Sir A. P. Patro, leader of the non-Brahmin party of the South, a conference representative of all the non-Congress parties and the various minority communities met at Delhi to seek a settlement of communal and other differences, and did work of substantial value. The reception in India of the Report of the Statutory [Simon] Commission (*q.v.* ANNUAL REGISTER for 1929), published on June 10 and 24, was unfavourable. On the other hand, Lord Irwin's speech at the brief summer session of the Indian Legislature on

July 9, defining the scope of the Round Table Conference, to meet in London in the autumn had a reassuring effect on Nationalist opinion. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Mr. Jayakar utilised the opportunity to seek reconciliation between the point of view of Government and that of the imprisoned Congress leaders with a view to their co-operation in the conference. The negotiators were afforded facilities for seeing Mr. Gandhi and the ^{tjya}Sehrus in prison, and later the Nehrus were taken to Poona[^]comer with Mr. Gandhi. The Congress leaders put forward a series of demands which no Viceroy could have accepted, one of them being that the conference in London, instead of being open and free, should be limited to the drawing up of a scheme of Dominion status Government. Sir T. B. Sapru and Mr. Jayakar issued a statement on September 5, afterwards presented to Parliament (Cmd. 3728), giving the story of the abortive negotiations. The names of the delegates to the conference were announced in September and October, and the final list was found to be remarkably representative when allowance was made for the abstention of the Congress Party.

The non-co-operation did not extend in pro-Congress journals to exclusion of news of the conference, both before and after its formal opening on November 12, such as had been attempted in relation to the sittings of the Statutory Commission in India. On the contrary, prominence was given both to reports of the proceedings and to tendentious telegrams from correspondents in London. The steadfast earnestness, sincerity, and dignity with which British statesmen of all three parties took friendly counsel with Indian leaders of varied schools of thought, so that there might be response on appropriate lines to Indian National sentiment, was the more impressive as coming at a time when subversive activities were maintained to the serious damage of India's future.

Indian trade and finance would in any case have been affected by world-wide depression and the fall of prices. The economic difficulties, both of the middle classes and the peasantry, increased by the public upheaval, added to the prevailing discontent, and was vigorously exploited to that end. The most persistent and successful feature of the civil disobedience movement was the boycott of British goods. Large numbers of young men, boys and even women in the great cities were set to picket shops and otherwise to harass and intimidate dealers in British goods, particularly in cotton piece-goods. The movement had a damaging effect upon British trade with India, which, from this and other causes, underwent heavy reduction. The fall in wholesale price levels was no less than 18 per cent. Mainly on this ground the value of United Kingdom goods imported into the country fell to Rs 7435 lakhs, as compared with Rs 10551 lakhs in 1929.

Amid all the trouble, Lord Irwin strengthened his remarkable

hold on the regard and esteem of the Indian public. Suggestions that he should accept an extension of the Viceroyalty did not mature, owing, it is understood, to his own disinclination to do so. In December the announcement was made of the appointment as his successor of Viscount Willingdon, Governor-General of Canada, who was Governor of Bombay during the Great War and afterwards Governor of Madras. At the close of November, General Sir Philip Chetwode succeeded Field-Marshal Sir William Birdwood as Commander-in-chief.

The appointment of Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra, late member of the Viceroy's Executive, to be the next High Commissioner for India, with effect from July, 1931, was announced in December. His predecessor, Sir Atul Chatterjee, brought to completion the building of new headquarters, India House, Aldwych, erected and equipped at a cost of some 324,000/., and formally opened by the King on July 8. The event was the appropriate prelude to the summoning and assembling of the Round Table Conference, since India House approximates the visible direct representation of the Government of India in London to that of the various self-governing Dominions.

On May 5 an earthquake in Burma almost destroyed the ancient capital of Pegu, a town of 14,000 inhabitants, with heavy loss of life and destruction of property. The news in December that the Round Table Conference had accepted the principle of the separation of Burma from India was joyfully received, but meanwhile a pretender to the Burmese throne led a rebellion in the Tharrawaddy district, in which there were brutal outrages, Government officers, Europeans and Burmese and private persons without distinction of race or station being murdered. Operations against the rebels were rendered difficult by the skill of their disposition in heavy jungle country. In July Shikapur city, in Sind, was invaded by floods from the Indus, and some 56,000 inhabitants had to seek refuge in Karachi, Quetta, and other towns. Over one hundred villages were submerged, and serious damage was done.

FOREIGN HISTORY.

CHAPTER I.

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

THE tenth anniversary of the League's foundation in 1929 gave rise to a widespread realisation of the remarkable progress which, in so short a time, it had achieved. A far less confident spirit prevailed in 1930, particularly in the latter part of the year, when it was felt on many sides that the League had reached a very critical period. The Great War had more than ever receded into the past. The popular reaction against it had been replaced in many countries by new and powerful political movements. Not only had the pace of the peace movement slackened : the League of Nations was confronted with an acute economic crisis and a dangerous spirit of disillusionment which could not fail to influence the policies of some of its most powerful members.

In spite, however, of this singularly inauspicious atmosphere, several international events big with promise for the pacification of Europe took place during the year, and the League of Nations consolidated its position in many spheres.

International Disarmament.—The progress of the League's Preparatory Commission for the World Disarmament Conference had been impeded by a profound disagreement between the principal naval powers concerning the methods of naval limitation. After four and a half years of abortive attempts at agreement, a conference of the five principal naval Powers, the British Empire, the United States, Japan, France, and Italy, met in London at the end of January, 1930. This ended in an agreement between the first three Powers which was left open to the adherence of France and Italy, when once they had settled their mutual differences. The conference limited and defined the tonnage and character of all ships of war possessed by the British Empire, the United States, and Japan.

Encouraged by this comparative success, which, though it achieved no perceptible reduction, did at any rate eliminate the phantom of competition between the three great naval Powers, the Assembly in 1930 decided that the Preparatory Disarmament Commission should be convened at an early date for its final meeting. The view was strongly expressed in the Assembly that

the Commission should finish its work on this occasion so as to enable the Council to summon a general conference on the Reduction and Limitation of Armaments as soon as possible. The Commission actually met on November 6, and when it dissolved on December 9 it had elaborated and adopted a Draft Disarmament Convention which gave rise to a welter of criticism and discussion towards the end of the year. "Never before in the history of the world," said M. Loudon, President of the Commission, in his closing speech, "have the nations, which are so jealous of their sovereign rights, contemplated the international regulation of their means of national defence."

It is provided in the Draft Convention that armies are to be restricted through limiting the total number of men serving with the Colours, both conscript and professional, and that there shall be limits fixed for the period of military service in those countries which decide to retain the conscription system. As for the navies, both the number of ships, the number of officers and men, and the amount of money allocated in the national Budgets for naval armaments are to be subject to limitation. In the air forces, the personnel, the number of aeroplanes and airships and their horse-power are to be limited. There is to be limitation also of the total amount provided in the Budgets for military material of all kinds, and there is to be a Permanent Disarmament Commission set up which—like the Mandates Commission in its own sphere—will watch over the loyal execution of the Disarmament Treaty and sanction, with proper safeguards, any temporary increase of national armaments to meet grave emergencies.

Arbitration.—By the end of 1930 thirty-six States had signed and ratified the Optional Clause of the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice, thereby recognising the jurisdiction of the Court for the solution of all disputes which might arise between themselves and other States so bound concerning the interpretation of treaties, an alleged breach of treaty or the reparations to be paid for such a breach. Thus the authority of this central tribunal has been greatly increased.

But this is only part of the remarkable advance in arbitration which is to be recorded. A report published early in 1930 showed that no less than 106 bilateral treaties had, in the first ten years of the League's life, been registered with the Secretariat for the purpose of providing peaceful means for the solution of international disputes. Over forty of these treaties absolutely exclude any possible resort to force, others suspend the right of the aggrieved State to take action until various forms of conciliation, mediation or arbitration have been tried. These treaties, the total of which has recently increased, are in addition to the general provisions for peaceful settlement contained in the Covenant of the League, and to the obligations of the Kellogg Pact not to resort to war as an instrument of national policy,

The General Act for the Pacific Settlement of Disputes, an instrument which covers all forms of international quarrels which do not come within the scope of the Optional Clause, had, by the end of 1930, received the adherence of nine States, and the Imperial Conference held in London in November, 1930, decided to recommend its acceptance by the Governments of the British Empire. A further step for the prevention of war was the adoption during the Assembly in September of the Convention on Financial Assistance to States Victims of Aggression. This was immediately signed by twenty-eight States, including Great Britain, whose delegates had successfully argued for the inclusion in the Convention of a clause making the grant of credit to any State attacked or menaced with attack conditional upon its Government having loyally co-operated in the general reduction of armaments.

Political Action of the Council.—No political disputes of any great magnitude came before the Council in 1930. The Council itself brought to a conclusion the long-drawn dispute between Rumania and Hungary concerning the position and rights of Hungarian Optants in the former country. A brief revival of the quarrel between Paraguay and Bolivia was swiftly suppressed by the Council, and a minor controversy between Greece and Bulgaria settled by the arbiter whom the Council appointed. For the first time the whole question of the international protection of minorities (and not merely methods of procedure for receiving petitions) was the subject of prolonged debate in the Assembly. It is now assumed that the Council's discharge of its responsibilities in this matter will be regularly reviewed by the Assembly as a matter of routine. This is held by many to be one of the best ways of remedying the notorious defects in the system.

Towards the end of the year German opinion was inflamed by reports of ill-treatment, not only of Galicians, but of many German electors in the Polish General Election, and this led to the German Government bringing the matter, in the form of a dispute with Poland over the Upper Silesian Convention, before the Council of the League in January, 1931.

The Permanent Mandates Commission.—1930 was a very busy year for the Permanent Mandates Commission, and a severe test of statesmanship was set the Council and Commission alike by the acute conflict between the Zionists and the British Government concerning the future of the Palestine Mandate, in view of the outbreaks which had taken place in Jerusalem and elsewhere in August, 1929. The report of the Mandates Commission allotted to the British Government no small measure of responsibility for the bloodshed that had been caused, owing to the inadequacy of the forces available to maintain order, and reaffirmed in the most definite manner the obligations of the mandate, which are the establishment of a Jewish national home in Palestine under

conditions which will safeguard the rights of non-Jewish inhabitants. Mr. Henderson, having assured the Council of the League that his Government had no intention of suspending Jewish immigration as a whole, the scene of the conflict shifted to the British Parliament, in view of a White Paper issued by the Government, after a special inquiry into the economic conditions in Palestine by Sir John Hope Simpson, which appeared to make future Jewish immigration dependent upon the economic capacity of the country.

The position of Iraq was another problem of importance. When the British Government announced its intention to withdraw from that country, and to recommend Iraq's admission to the League, the Council instructed the Mandates Commission to report upon the conditions necessary for the termination of a mandatory regime. The Commission, among other things, expressed its anxiety concerning the future of Kurdish, Christian, and Jewish minorities in Iraq after the British withdrawal, and pointed to the necessity of measures for their protection under the guarantee of the League.

The Economy of Europe.—In the sphere of economic policy, 1930 was definitely a year of set-backs and delays. None of the recommendations of the World Economic Conference of 1927 had been carried successfully into effect. The movement to reduce tariffs by international agreement having failed, a proposal was introduced by Mr. Graham, President of the Board of Trade in Great Britain, that States Members of the League should agree not to increase their tariffs for a limited period while further negotiations were undertaken with a view to reduction. This Tariff Truce Conference, as it was called, met with a very scanty measure of success ; it did not receive the adherence of sufficient States to make it of any practical value. The Assembly in September, however, showed the determination of a great many statesmen and experts, who saw the disaster to which economic nationalism might bring the whole structure of the League, that the League should come to grips with the crisis in all its aspects. The Assembly instructed the League Economic Committee to draw up concrete proposals for future negotiations, which should cover the proposals of the States which had taken part in the Warsaw Agricultural Conference ; the Most Favoured Nation Clause ; concerted action with regard to every aspect of dumping, and the creation of some permanent organ to settle by conciliation and arbitration disputes arising from commercial conventions. The Committee was further asked to co-operate with the International Labour Office in studying the causes of unemployment and the possibility of removing them.

It is particularly because of this deadlock which faces the economic programme of the League that importance is attached to the plan for a federal regime in Europe, proposed by M. Briand,

the French Foreign Minister. His **plan**, to which he had **briefly referred** in the Assembly of 1929, was contained in a memorandum sent in May, 1930, to all European Governments.¹ M. Briand envisaged an embryonic European Federation or "United States" having a regular conference, an executive committee and a permanent secretariat. The functions of the Federation and the attributes of its proposed organs covered almost the whole field of action of the League. This caused opposition among most of the States Members of the League who were not closely allied to France, and led to a considerable modification of the plan at a conference of European States held at Geneva early in September. The conclusions of this conference were unanimously endorsed by the Assembly at its meeting on September 16. According to the decision then reached, a committee of the League itself was set up under the title, "Committee of Enquiry for European Union," with M. Briand as Chairman and Sir Eric Drummond, Secretary-General of the League, as its Secretary. The Committee is to thrash out plans for close and consistent co-operation between European States in all matters that may assist the League, and make definite proposals to the Assembly in 1931.

The League and the Colour Problem.—In the sphere of labour the event of the year was the adoption by the International Labour Conference of the League in June, 1930, of a Convention for the restriction and eventual abolition of forced labour, more particularly in colonial and mandated areas. The Convention was adopted after inquiries and discussions which had occupied the three previous years. By Article 1 each State which ratifies it undertakes "to suppress the use of forced or compulsory labour in all its forms and within the shortest possible period." A transitional period of five years is fixed during which forced labour may be used under a variety of safeguards for public purposes only, and as an exceptional measure. There is reason to fear that the Convention will not be applied in the countries where it is most needed, except as the result of a great uprising of public opinion, which has hardly as yet developed.

While the adoption of the Forced Labour Convention is certainly a victory for humane principles, the discussions in the League Assembly upon the Anti-Slavery Convention of 1926 could only be regarded as a defeat for the forces of humanity. Being aware of the notorious violation of this treaty, which was intended*to put a final stop to slave-owning and slave-trading, the British Government proposed the establishment of a permanent Commission for the purpose of seeing that the Convention was carried out. This was violently opposed by States such as Abyssinia, against which the worst accusations are levelled, supported by France, Belgium, and others, on the grounds that the

¹For text of this Memorandum, see under Public Documents.

sovereignty of States precluded the establishment of any supervisory body. The position was definitely unsatisfactory when the Assembly rose, but already an international Commission, whose Chairman was appointed by the League Council, had been sent to Liberia at the request of the Government of that country. Its revelations of the prevalence of slavery and the appalling ill-treatment of native labour were destined to create a profound impression, and to give a fresh impetus to the anti-slavery movement.

The Routine of International Co-operation.—Co-operation between Governments in a large number of technical matters and for various humanitarian purposes was maintained and developed through the League to a remarkable degree during the year. A Committee appointed by the Council in 1929 struggled with the problem of the reorganisation of the Secretariat; during its discussions the integrity and impartiality of this international civil service seemed to be jeopardised by Italian and German proposals, which tended to make the higher officials virtually the nominees of their Governments. No agreement on this most contentious point was reached. But the Assembly in September, 1930, adopted, as a means of vindicating the Secretariat's independence, the following oath to be taken by all officials entering the League's service :—

" I solemnly undertake to exercise, in all loyalty, discretion, and conscience, the functions which have been entrusted to me as an official of the Secretariat of the League of Nations."

The following States were elected members of the Council for three years in the place of Canada, Finland, and Cuba, who retired : the Irish Free State, Norway, and Guatemala. The term of appointment of the judges of the Permanent Court of International Justice having expired, the following were elected to serve as members of the Court from January 1, 1931, to December 31, 1939 :—

M. Mineitciro Adatchi (Japanese).
Rafael Altamira y Crevea (Spanish).
Commendatore Dionisio Anzellotti (Italian).
Antonio Sanchez de Bustamante y Sirven (Cuba).
Jonkheer Willem Jan Mari van Eysinga (Netherlands).
Henri Fromageot (French).
Gustavo Guerrero (Salvadorian).
Sir Cecil James Barrington Hurst (British).
The Hon. Frank B. Kellogg (American).
Baron Rolin Jaequemyns (Belgian).
M. Negulesco (Rumania).
Count Michel Rostworowski (Polish).
Walther Schucking (German).
Francisco Jose Urratia (Colombian).
Wang Ghung-Hui (Chinese).

The Health Organisation extended its activities to all parts of the world. It helped, for instance, to reorganise the public health services of Greece, Bolivia, and China. It maintained and regularised the system of the exchange of medical officers for research purposes. It made great progress in co-ordinating medical efforts against the growth of diseases such as malaria, tuberculosis, sleeping sickness, cancer, and leprosy.

The Central Opium Board worked vigorously, and there were more seizures of illicit drugs in 1930 than in any previous year. Several astonishing revelations of the extent of the dangerous drug traffic were made in the League's Opium Committee, including Russell Pasha's report on the situation in Egypt. Since it became apparent that this traffic could only be stopped by attacking it at the source, a decision was taken to convene a special conference on the limitation of the manufacture of dangerous drugs. This will meet in May, 1931.

The organs of the League for intellectual co-operation, for facilitating communications and transit, and for the settlement of refugees, continued their normal activities, and, owing to the patient pressure of the Howard League for Penal Reform, a new question, that of the welfare of prisoners and their protection against harsh and inhuman treatment, has come within the scope of the League.

During 1930 the League of Nations held its place in international life as a valuable and, indeed, indispensable means of co-operation between Governments, at least in questions where profound national pride are not involved. It would be impossible, however, to resist the impression, that powerful national movements were arising in Europe which at present were outside the scope of the League, and which were in some danger in the future of jeopardising its main work for the preservation of peace, unless some more powerful incentive could be found to rally together the forces of co-operation and conciliation than the memory of a great war which had begun to fade into the distant past.

CHAPTER II

FRANCE AND ITALY.

FRANCE.

AMONG the most important of the numerous international conferences of 1930, in which France participated, was the second conference of the Hague which opened on January 3. M. Andr  Tardieu, Prime Minister, personally headed the French delegation, and he was both praised and blamed for the virtual relegation of M. Briand, Foreign Minister, to a secondary place. M. Loucheur and M. Ch ron were also delegates, and they were

accompanied by no fewer than thirty experts. An accord had already been reached on many points, but there remained a number of delicate problems, notably that of sanctions in the event of Germany's failing to fulfil her financial obligations under the Young Plan after the evacuation of Rhineland, and the statutes of the Bank of International Settlements. France was stirred by the stand which Mr. Snowden made for British claims, and was still more stirred by his application of the epithet "grotesque" to the arguments of M. Chéron. The general results of the conference were, however, in conformity with French wishes, and M. Tardieu unquestionably increased his prestige in his own country.

From the Hague he had to proceed to London to take part in the Naval Conference with M. Briand and M. Leygues, Minister of the Marine, as his colleagues. He had, in a memorandum, and in a speech, stated French requirements, which were in opposition to those of Italy. France demanded greater strength than Italy, because its interests lay far outside the Mediterranean, while Italy demanded parity with France. It was obvious from the beginning that these two conceptions of national needs could not be brought into harmony at London, and, so far as France and Italy were concerned, the proceedings resolved themselves into a duel. The French case was that so-called parity really meant French inferiority, for while Italy could concentrate its fleet in the Mediterranean, France could never, in any circumstances, bring its full strength into the Mediterranean. This point of view was strenuously upheld by M. Tardieu, and as Italy likewise refused to modify her pretensions, it was clear at an early stage that on the main matter an agreement would be confined to Great Britain, the United States, and Japan.

Parliamentary duties obliged M. Tardieu to absent himself from London. He returned to Paris to defend the Social Assurance Law which was the object of a debate in the Chamber of Deputies. It was announced, in the session of February 7, that although many administrative measures had to be taken, the law would come into operation on July 1. The Government obtained a vote of confidence by 315 votes to 257. Back in London, M. Tardieu issued a statement which signified that France proposed to have, by the end of 1936, a total tonnage of 724,479; and this programme could not be changed unless the political conditions were changed. The idea of a Mediterranean Locarno, as it was called, was put forward—that guarantees should be given to France—but it came to naught, as did the project of a Consultative Pact. Italy's figures, it was said on behalf of that country, depended on those of France, and while Italy was ready to reduce her fleet rather than to build up to the French level, she could not depart from the principle of parity.

It should be made clear that M. Tardieu expressed the national

sentiment, and the downfall of his Government on February 17 was in no way due to this naval deadlock. Indeed, M. Tardieu, who was indisposed, and was not in the Chamber, was not personally involved in the Parliamentary conflict. M. Charon, defending the Budget, repelled an article in the Revenue Bill, introduced by the Finance Committee, concerning the salaries of married women. It was proposed that married women who work in their husbands' businesses should have a right to deduct their salaries from the common earnings for purposes of taxation. The issue appeared to be trivial, but M. Chéron made it a question of confidence, and was defeated by 286 votes to 281. It was generally admitted that the overthrow of the Cabinet was—to employ the accepted but inaccurate expression—accidental. In any case the naval negotiations in London were brought to a standstill, since France was virtually unrepresented.

M. Doumergue, the President, after prolonged consultations, induced M. Chaumets, one of the Radical leaders, to take up the succession of M. Tardieu. On February 21 the Cabinet was constructed. It leaned heavily to the Left, and both M. Tardieu and M. Maginot, the Minister of War, refused their collaboration. M. Steeg was the Vice-President with the portfolio of Justice; M. Briand remained at the Foreign Office; prominent members were M. René Besnard, M. Albert Sarraut, M. Daladier, and M. Loucheur. But when, on February 24, the new Government faced the Chamber, it was immediately defeated amid cries of "Vive Tardieu!" There voted against the Government 292 members, and for it 277. It will be seen how finely balanced is the Chamber; a few votes from the Centre may turn the scales to the Left or the Right.

Not until March 2 did M. Tardieu form his new Cabinet. He took for himself the post of Minister of the Interior. His Vice-President and Minister of Justice was M. Raoul Péret. M. Briand, who has acquired the habit of serving under Prime Ministers of all party colours, was still Foreign Minister; while M. Paul Reynaud was appointed Finance Minister, and M. Germain Martin, Budget Minister. M. Maginot returned to the War Office, and M. J. L. Dumesnil took the place of M. Leygues as Minister of the Marine. Another notable Minister was M. Pierre Laval, who went to the Department of Labour. It should be observed that, just as M. Chaumets had invited M. Tardieu to join his Cabinet, so M. Tardieu offered places in his Cabinet to the Radicals. The unhappy experience of the Radicals engendered the bitterest feelings, and M. Tardieu from that moment was ostracised by the Radicals. Nevertheless, by rallying the Centre, he obtained a majority of 53 (316 to 263). On the day that this result was obtained—March 6—there were the noisiest demonstrations in Parliament, and there were even attempts to prevent M. Tardieu from making his voice heard. It was fifteen minutes before he

spoke his first complete sentence ; he stood quietly and smilingly, while the Opposition shouted continuously. Thereafter he was assailed day after day in the Chamber, and, as he said towards the end of the year in a political speech, he had sometimes to put the question of confidence three times in a single day. Nevertheless his majorities were usually in the neighbourhood of fifty.

The Budget was finally accepted on April 16, a few days after the beginning of the new fiscal year—April 1. It provides for a revenue of 50,409,229,750 francs, and a projected expenditure slightly less. The ratification of the Young Plan was also obtained at the end of a night sitting on March 30. It was approved by 527 votes against 38, but although it would appear that only a small minority was hostile to the Plan, it was not without difficulty that the measure was carried. An impartial writer observed : " By a paradox which those who are not acquainted with Parliamentary intrigues find it difficult to understand, it was from the side of the Radicals, whose wishes were fulfilled by the decisions of the Hague, that the principal offensive came. Unable to pronounce against the Young Plan and the evacuation of Rhineland, they sought to adjourn the debate on the pretext that M. Briand was in London. M. Tardieu, who was indefatigable in the course of the discussions, finally prevailed over his opponents, and the imposing majority which he obtained will furnish the proof to foreign countries of the pacific intentions of France.*" It should be remarked, since the tactics of the Radicals were to exploit an imaginary difference of policy on the part of M. Tardieu and M. Briand, that in fact the vote which made possible the evacuation of Rhineland was obtained by M. Tardieu in the absence of M. Briand. Many times, in the course of the year, it was necessary to refute the suggestion that M. Tardieu would tolerate an independent policy at the Quai d'Orsay, or that M. Briand would submit to directions which were in contradiction to his own views ; and both M. Tardieu and M. Briand publicly affirmed that they respected the essential principle of Cabinet solidarity and were in full accord. These affirmations, if they require corroboration, were amply corroborated by the facts. On April 5 the Senate in its turn ratified the Young Plan with its pendant agreements by 284 votes to 8.

Thus the fourth stage in the series of preliminaries to the evacuation of the occupied zone—the drafting of the plan, its acceptance, its ratification by Germany and its ratification by France—was reached. The Bank for International Settlements at Basle was organised, the German certificates were received, and an international loan was floated for the partial commercialisation of the German debt. It is true that in his statement to the Senate, M. Tardieu argued that, theoretically, it could be held that the eight months allowed for evacuation, stipulated in an agreement with the late Herr Stresemann, might be prolonged,

since there had been delays in the establishment of the conditions ; but he also intimated that when the formalities had been carried out the evacuation would be accomplished with all despatch. He indicated that should Germany subsequently repudiate the agreement, Germany's creditors would recover their liberty of action ; but he expressed himself unreservedly in favour of a Franco -German understanding. In short, with proper precautions—among them the dismantling by Germany of certain fortifications—he promised that the evacuation would be expedited. As the necessary measures were duly taken, the evacuation was completed by the specified date (July 1) without any complication arising ; and thus M. Tardieu and M. Briand made an important step towards a return to normal European relations, and what was called " the liquidation of the war."

The final sitting of the London Naval Conference was held on April 22, and France and Italy signed portions of it but were not included in the definite agreement as to figures. The French Parliament, on April 24, approved slight alterations in the Social Insurance scheme before it adjourned, and it came into operation as promised on July 1. It also passed a tax reduction Bill which lightened the burden of the taxpayers by nearly two milliard francs. Some of these reductions were intended to encourage stock market transactions which had become stagnant, and besides the cutting of charges on Bourse operations the Bill reduced the luxury tax and the taxes on theatres and restaurants.

On May 3 President Doumergue and a number of Members of Parliament left France for Algeria, where the hundredth anniversary of the French establishment in North Africa was celebrated ; and there were, following this visit, naval manoeuvres off the Algerian coast which were considered in some quarters as a demonstration against the menace of an increase in Italian naval construction.

On May 17 M. Briand sent out his much-heralded questionnaire on the organisation of a Federal Union for Europe, accompanied by a lengthy memorandum. Some significance was seen in its synchronisation with the formal declaration that the Young Plan had come into operation and the consequent instructions issued by M. Tardieu that the French military authorities should proceed to evacuation. " The hour," said the Briand commentary, " has never been more propitious nor more pressing for the inauguration of constructive work in Europe. The solution of the principal material and moral problems will soon have liberated the new Europe from all that has weighed most heavily upon its psychology as well as upon its economy." It was proposed—and this was the portion of the provisional scheme which met with the greatest opposition—that there should be a European assembly, a permanent committee, and a permanent secretariat. Although it was denied that this organisation, modelled upon that

of the League of Nations, took the European body outside the League, it was to this point that most of the adverse comment was directed as tending to set up a rival organisation to the League. It was also denied that there was any opposition to the United States, but nevertheless it was considered by the Paris Press that the adoption by the United States of a Bill which imposed the highest tariffs in its history gave some impetus to the Briand proposal. There was a formal protest against these tariff schedules.

In the course of the year replies were sent to the Quai d'Orsay on the Briand memorandum, and it was evident that a good deal less than the United States of Europe, as the vague scheme was originally called, was under consideration. On the need of a further rapprochement of European nations there was unanimity, but there was a remarkable diversity of attitude on what is practicable at this moment, and many reservations were made. Moreover, the opportunity was taken by countries which favoured the revision of the treaties, to assert that European Federation should be based on foundations of justice. Problems of minorities, of disarmament, of territorial dispositions, were brought up; and M. Briand was criticised at home for having furnished this opportunity of raising matters which France thinks should be left alone. On the other hand, anti-revisionist countries, notably the members of the Little Entente, showed anxiety lest existing arrangements should be disturbed. Needless to say, these anxieties and these criticisms were irrelevant at this juncture; for revision could not be regarded by France as a preliminary to the founding of some sort of European conclave. There was likewise a conflict of opinion on the subject of whether European economics or European politics should have the most predominant place in the prospective organisation. Again, some countries desired to include Turkey and Russia, which are not members of the League, and others urged that non-members of the League should not be invited until a later date. Further, pertinent inquiries were made as to the relations of countries which have great extra-European interests to the organisation, and also the relation of their colonies, which are, of course, non-European, to the organisation. It should be added that at Geneva, on September 16, the League Assembly passed a resolution expressing its conviction that the collaboration of European governments in all domains was of capital importance for the maintenance of peace, and inviting them to pursue their deliberations. These discussions, though they extended far beyond the limits of France, were nevertheless an extremely important part of France's 1930 record.

On June 12, after explanations by M. Briand, the French Chamber almost unanimously ratified the General Arbitration Act, and the so-called Optional Clause of the World Court.

The naval dispute between France and Italy continued, and Signor Mussolini's speeches, regarded as menacing in France, did not mend matters. But on July 7 France took the decision of suspending shipbuilding operations until the end of the year; and Italy was informed that no new keels would be laid down. On July 11 the Italian reply was received. It was to the effect that Italy did not intend to continue with its naval programme which called for the laying down of twenty-nine new warships. It was hoped that the naval truce would provide ample time in which to reach satisfactory agreements concerning not only the naval question but the Tripoli frontier and the status of Italians in Tunis. This expectation was not fulfilled, and at the end of the year the Franco-Italian problems were unsolved.

When M. Tardieu closed the Parliamentary session somewhat abruptly on July 12, the Socialists and Radicals protested. M. Tardieu vigorously retorted that his opponents, by their obstructionist tactics, prevented the carrying out of his programme which included the allocation of five milliard francs for national re-equipment—namely, the improvement of roads, docks, canals, railways, and the encouragement of agriculture.

After the evacuation of the Rhineland, it was complained that German nationalists had made reprisals on those Rhinelanders suspected of separatist tendencies or of friendliness to the occupying troops. M. Briand informed the German Ambassador, Dr. Von Hoesch, that these incidents were particularly regrettable, and were calculated to impede the policy of reconciliation. There were, however, further manifestations which caused a certain change of sentiment in France, and which rendered M. Briand's position difficult. The negotiations between France and Germany on the subject of the Sarre were suspended in Paris on July 8, and an official note from M. Georges Pernot, Minister of Public Works, expressed the hope that the conversations would be renewed. Germany, desirous of recovering its sovereignty in the Sarre before the date of 1935 fixed by the Versailles Treaty for a plebiscite of the inhabitants, declared herself ready to compensate the concession of such sovereignty by according advantages to France. For France these advantages could only be found in an economic arrangement which would maintain the principle of Franco-German co-operation in the working of the Sarre mines.

In August widespread opposition to the new Social Assurance Law resulted in a strike of the textile and metallurgical workers in the North. These strikes of protest were settled without much trouble, but the authorities wisely refrained from enforcing the Act too drastically, and pursued the policy of allowing it to be adopted gradually.

An important speech by M. Tardieu, on September 28, defined in sharp outline the policy of France towards the problem of

peace. He asserted that France's foreign policy was not an improvisation or the sport of personal action, but was conceived and carried out by successive Governments with the permanent control and ratification of Parliament. The people of France desired peace, and was striving to organise it both politically and economically. The basis of this organisation was to be found in security, arbitration, and disarmament, and France declined to permit the order of these three terms to be inverted. Therefore, pending progress in guarantees by contract supported by the necessary sanctions, France would take such steps as its sovereignty and protection demanded. Within these limits France was reducing land, sea, and air armaments, and no country had shown more good-will for moral pacification and conciliation than France. Without regret and without fear, France would remain calm, strong, and watchful. This was perhaps the clearest statement of French policy that had been made; it reflected French opinion after the German elections which saw the relative triumph of Herr Hitler. M. Briand also laid stress on the need for security as a condition of disarmament.

Parliament resumed its sittings on November 5, and it was soon obvious that the Government was in difficulties. It was not that the majorities for the Government diminished, but the Opposition was even more energetic and unrelenting in hostility. On November 14, by a curious paradox not uncommon in French politics, the Radicals, the Socialists, and the Communists, voted against M. Tardieu and M. Briand after a debate on foreign policy, in which both Ministers reaffirmed the principles of vigilance and pacifism, and bore testimony to their unity of views. The Right and the Centre, which are generally taken to be more doubtful of France's pacific foreign policy, voted for M. Briand and M. Tardieu.

This debate was followed by another which threatened more serious consequences. There were some bank failures, and one banker named Oustric was inculpated on various charges. M. Raoul Peret, Minister of Justice, was attacked because, as a lawyer, he had been consulted by M. Oustric. The Government obtained 318 votes against 271 in the early hours of November 15. But two days later, M. Peret thought fit to resign from the Cabinet. M. Tardieu immediately appointed as his successor M. Henri Chéron. The incident raised the whole question of whether Deputies, Senators, and Members of the Cabinet should continue, and how far they should continue, their practice of the law while in office. It might have ended there, but two other Members of the Government, M. Falcoz, Under-Secretary for Public Works, and M. Eugène Lautier, Under-Secretary for Fine Arts, tendered their resignations on the ground that they had been clients of the Oustric bank, and desired to give evidence unhampered by Governmental connexions before a special committee which was investigating

the situation. There was another interpellation on November 28, and M. Tardieu's majority fell to fourteen. Even this second incident would probably not have proved fatal in the Chamber ; but the Senate which, as an indirectly elected body, rarely takes it upon itself to overthrow Ministries, was emboldened to bring about M. Tardieu's downfall. There is in the Senate a small majority of Radicals and associated groups, and on December 4 a vote of confidence in the Government was refused by 147 votes to 139. The Cabinet resigned.

M. Barthou was called upon to form a Ministry of concentration, but the Radicals refused to enter the Government unless the Republican-Democratic Union, the most important party of the Right, usually known as the Marin group, was excluded. M. Tardieu and his friends, for whom the Republican-Democratic Union had consistently voted, refused to enter the Government unless the Marin group was represented. When M. Barthou renounced his task, M. Pierre Laval attempted to form a Ministry, but the Radicals then refused to work with M. Tardieu, and M. Laval refused to work without him. To M. Theodore Steeg, a Radical Senator, the office of Prime Minister was then offered. It seemed almost impossible that he should succeed, for he could count neither on the Centre nor the Right, and Socialist support of the Radicals is deemed alarming by the Centre and Right in that it suggests the revival of the ill-fated *Cartel des Gauches*. He persevered, however, and while chiefly relying on the Radicals he detached a few members from the Centre groups. On December 13 he announced the formation of his Cabinet with M. Georges Leygues as Minister of the Interior, M. Cheron as Minister of Justice, M. Briand as Minister of Foreign Affairs, M. Germain Martin as Minister of Finance, M. Louis Barthou as Minister of War, and with M. Albert Sarraut, M. Camille Chautemps, M. Daladier, M. Painlevé, M. Loucheur, occupying other posts. It still seemed doubtful whether the Steeg Cabinet would survive its first contact with the Chamber. It was menaced with the fate of the Chautemps Cabinet earlier in the year. But when the test came, on December 19, some of the members of the Centre groups abstained from voting, the Socialists voted for the Government, and by 291 votes to 284 the Government was saved. The victory was a precarious one, and the following day M. Steeg closed the session by decree amid protests. The year ended, therefore, with the Steeg Cabinet delicately and doubtfully constituted.

ITALY.

Although during the year political activities were pursued with Fascist vigour and thoroughness, the main preoccupation in Italy, as in most other countries, was with the economic and financial crisis. The gravity of the situation was perhaps only realised

by the mass of the nation when, in the course of a Cabinet Meeting held on November 18, Signor Mussolini announced that the Budget showed already, after the passage of four months only of the financial year, a deficit estimated at 729 million liras (about 8 millions sterling). In view of this serious condition of the national finances the Cabinet decided to reduce the salaries of all public servants by 12 per cent. The communique in which this unwelcome measure, affecting about half a million persons, was made known, promised at the same time that the cut " must and will lead to a further acceleration of the adaptation of retail to wholesale prices and to a reduction in rents." The communique further stated that " the programme of the IXth year " (of Fascism) " consists in adapting the whole economic life of the nation to the value of the lira, proved by three years of stabilisation, in the formula, 1 pre-war lira equals 3.66 lire, raised to the round figure of 4 in view of the diminished purchasing power of gold."

Subsequent events made still more clear the Government's intention to take advantage of the Budget deficit to carry through to its logical conclusion its financial policy of the valorisation of the lira, announced by Signor Mussolini at Pesaro in 1926 and put into effect at the close of 1927. Deflation of costs was to follow currency and credit deflation, and an economy campaign was to be launched with the object of fixing prices at four times the pre-war level and make the " ninety quota " (*i.e.*, the value of the lira as compared with the pound sterling) an actual reality. This was to be effected, not by State regulation of prices—the last traces of this policy disappeared at the time when rent control was abolished—but by reductions in salaries and wages which would in turn make it impossible for the public to continue to pay for goods and services at inflation rates. Accordingly, on November 28 the Presidents of the Confederation of Industries and of the Confederation of Industrial Workers announced that the two organisations had decided to reduce wages by 8 per cent., except in the case of the lowest paid workers or those working short time. Following the example of the members of the Government, whose salaries have been diminished in the same proportion as those of civil servants, the General Fascist Confederation of Industries advised a diminution of 25 per cent, in the sums received by Presidents of Joint Stock Companies as their share of the company profits, while the salaries of business managers also were to be reduced by 12 per cent, on the analogy of those of Members of Parliament.

Parallel with this action as regards salaries and wages the various Fascist organisations recommended a lightening of charges for other items in the cost of living. After some preliminary hesitation the Association of landlords recommended a 10 per cent, reduction in the rents of houses and of business premises. The almost immediate and general realisation of this reduction

went far to lighten the burden of the economy campaign, the brunt of which had hitherto been borne by the salaried and wage-earning classes. Similarly the National Fascist Confederation of Commerce was successful in bringing about reductions in the retail prices of bread, macaroni, meat, fish, groceries, etc. These price reductions were enforced by the authorities, and any failure on the part of shopkeepers to accept the new scales was immediately punished by the closing down of their shops for varying periods and sometimes also by fines. The newspapers enthusiastically supported the economy campaign, urging the public to assist the Government by refusing to pay high prices and by reporting any cases of infractions on the part of the shopkeepers.

Meanwhile the Government, faced by the growing Budget deficit, proceeded to a revision of the estimates of expenditure for the current financial year and adopted measures by which a saving of 300 million liras could be effected. At a meeting of the Cabinet (December 20) the Government also reconsidered the preliminary estimates for the year 1931-32. The figures for expenditure were reduced by 378 million liras and estimated receipts by 1,019 millions. In spite of these measures the Government anticipates a deficit in the national accounts of 575 millions.

Evidence of the economic crisis in Italy was provided not only by the Budget deficit—due to increased expenditure for earthquake relief, military defence, and public works for the relief of unemployment—but also by various other symptoms to which reference was made by Signor Mussolini in a speech delivered before the National Council of Corporations on October 1. These symptoms were the number of dishonoured protested bills of exchange, the number of bankruptcies and failures, the increase in unemployment, and the falling off in the State revenues. The question of unemployment was resolutely tackled in the summer when the Government and the various municipalities announced an imposing programme of public works. These works include the construction of dwelling-houses, hospitals and other public buildings, road-making, railway construction, and land reclamation. According to a Fascist Order Sheet, issued on August 18, the number of men absorbed by these works, which had the great advantage of adding to the capital wealth of the nation, would be over 200,000. At the same time the Order Sheet frankly admitted that these measures were by no means an adequate solution of the unemployment problem. How well justified this somewhat discouraging statement was may be seen from the growth of the unemployment figures during the later half of the year. In June the total number of persons unemployed was estimated at 322,291 ; by the end of December it had risen to 642,149.

In foreign affairs the chief subject of interest was the progress of the negotiations to arrive at a naval agreement with France.

Naval affairs came to the fore in consequence of the London Naval Conference, at which Italy was represented by Signor Grandi, the Foreign Minister, and Admiral Sirianni, the Minister for the Navy. It had been hoped by the promoters of naval disarmament that Italy and France would have been able to arrive at an understanding before the conference began, but these hopes were not realised. Thus, when the conference opened, the sharp conflict of views between Italy and France became immediately apparent. Signor Grandi had come to London with orders to maintain at all costs the position taken up a considerable time previously by Signor Mussolini and defined by the phrase "parity with France." In other words, Italy was willing to accept with reference to naval armaments "any figure, however low, provided it is not exceeded by any other Power on the Continent of Europe." Italian insistence on this point, on the one hand, and the equally strong determination of France not to accept it, proved an insuperable obstacle to the stipulation of the hoped-for Five-Power Pact, and brought home for the first time the dangerous state of Italo-French relations. Unfortunately this public demonstration of the differences between France and Italy, while it had the beneficial result of attracting the attention and stimulating the peace-making efforts of foreign statesmen, had also the regrettable effect of crystallising the position as regards the two parties themselves and of lessening considerably the psychological factors making for settlement.

The conference, however, while compelled to accept merely a Three-Power Pact, separated in the hope that Italo-French differences would be eventually dissipated by means of further conversations between the two countries. These hopes were encouraged by an extremely statesmanlike and conciliatory speech made by Signor Grandi before the Chamber on May 9, in the course of which the Foreign Minister declared that Italy was ready immediately to take up the negotiations which had been interrupted, and expressed his conviction that the Italo-French differences must and would be settled in the interests of a general European settlement. The hopeful impression thus created was destroyed almost immediately by a series of rather alarming speeches made by Signor Mussolini during his progress through Tuscany and the North. Speaking at Leghorn (May 11) the Duce declared that the world did not know "to what temperature would rise the passion of the whole Italian people should the independence of Italy or the Fascist revolution be attacked." At Florence (May 18) the Duce, after extolling the "stern and warlike face of Fascist Italy," gave as his view that although "words are beautiful things, rifles, machine-guns, ships, aeroplanes, and cannon are still more beautiful." A few days later at Milan Signor Mussolini was in a more sober mood, and claimed that Italy was only arming because others were arming.

The public was given later to understand that these warlike statements had been provoked by M. Briand's refusal at Geneva to accept proposals there made by Signor Grandi as to the procedure to be adopted in the forthcoming conversations between the two countries. This explanation did little, however, to mitigate the very bad impression produced by these words in foreign countries, especially in France. For some time after this very little was heard about the Italo-French conversations, while on the contrary naval competition between the two countries seemed to have entered upon a more intensive phase. Italy, taking advantage of the freedom left her by the failure to arrive at a Five-Power Pact, had within a few days only of the conclusion of the conference announced her new naval programme (April 30), which included one 10,000-ton cruiser, two flotilla leaders, four destroyers, and twenty-two submarines. In a speech to the Chamber a month or so afterwards, Admiral Sirianni, Minister of Marine, claimed that this programme was merely the natural development of Italy's previous naval building programme. Italy proposed under the new estimates, which showed an increase of 243,532,370 liras (about 2,600,000? sterling) on those of the previous year, to spend the sum of 600,000,000 liras (about 6,450,000Z sterling) on fresh constructions. The Minister also, in his remarks about the London Conference, defended the Italian right to parity with France as being the "only formula which in our opinion gives reciprocal guarantees of security." The same position was taken up by Signor Grandi in a speech to the Senate (June 3), during which he made public for the first time an offer made by Italy to France whereby the two countries would suspend their 1930 programmes for the duration of the Italo-French naval conversations. A further proof of the improvement in the atmosphere between the two countries was afforded by the welcome given by M. Briand to this Italian proposal for a naval holiday and by the official French Note accepting that offer until the end of the year. For the remainder of the year the more general negotiations for a settlement continued between the two countries with some interruptions.

During the year there was also a commercial *rapprochement* between Italy and the Soviet Republic. A Commercial Treaty was signed in Rome on August 2, which was officially described as "the beginning of a more intense economic collaboration between the two countries." Although the terms of the treaty have not been made public, it is generally understood that extensive credit facilities are being granted to the Soviet Government, and that Italian exporters to Russia receive a substantial Government guarantee. Still greater interest was aroused when in the autumn Signor Grandi had a conversation in Milan with M. Litvinoff, People's Commissary for Foreign Affairs. Assurances were given that the conversations were concerned with economic and commercial questions and had no political significance.

Another important political visit was that of Tewfik Rushdi Bey, the Turkish Prime Minister, to Rome in November. Although the existence of a general pact between Germany, Russia, Hungary, Bulgaria, Greece, and Turkey for a revision of the peace treaties was denied, the possible formation of such an alignment cannot be altogether ignored. While Signor Mussolini's views on the necessity of this revision were repeated once more during the past year, perhaps the best comment on the Russian and Turkish visits is to be found in his speech on the occasion of the March on Rome celebrations. The only possibility of Italian pacific expansion, said the Duce, was towards the East. Italian friendships and alliances were explained by this fact. The "Danubian" and Eastern policy was dictated by vital reasons. This same trend in Italian policy was also manifested in Italy's reply to M. Briand's "Pan-European" proposal in the course of which the Fascist Government declared its disagreement with any scheme of this kind which excluded Turkey and Russia.

The friction between the Italian Government and the Vatican, which had been such a paradoxical and for many a painful feature of the year of the Conciliation, was greatly eased during the past twelve months. On the first anniversary of the Lateran Treaty, Count de Vecchi, the Italian Ambassador accredited to the Holy See, paid a visit to the Pope and presented His Holiness with a beautiful gift from the Italian Government. Two days previously Signor Turati, the Secretary of the Fascist Party, had also visited the Vatican, where he had a lengthy audience with the Pope. The Fascist programme with regard to women's sports was also sensibly modified to meet Roman Catholic views, while many attributed special significance to Signorina Mussolini's visit to the Pope previous to her marriage and to the Pope's references to the families of the future bride and bridegroom. Towards the end of the year, however, two slight clouds appeared on the horizon as a result of the objections raised by the Vatican to the marriage, on October 25, of Princess Giovanna, third daughter of the King, to King Boris of Bulgaria, and of his Holiness' criticism in his Christmas speech of the importance given in Bulgaria to the ceremony, in the Cathedral at Sofia, held after the Roman Catholic marriage at Assisi. The Pope in the same speech somewhat unexpectedly claimed that Protestant propaganda in Rome was an offence against the sacred character of the city and therefore a breach in the Concordat signed in February, 1929, between Italy and the Holy See.

Relations with Bulgaria were improved by Princess Giovanna's marriage, and similarly the friendship between Italy and Belgium was further cemented by the marriage of Prince Umberto, the heir to the Italian throne, to Princess Marie-José of Belgium on January 8.

The history of the year was saddened by two earthquakes

following closely upon each other which caused considerable loss of life and destruction of property. The first took place on July 23 and affected a wide area between Naples and Foggia. The shock occurred in the early hours of the morning, caused the death of some 2,000 persons, and in addition about 5,000 were rendered homeless. The relief operations were carried out with admirable thoroughness and promptitude. The Government voted 100,000,000 liras for relief works, and began immediately to plan and build new earthquake-proof houses for the homeless. By November 4 practically all the 961 houses required had been completed and handed over to the population.

The second earthquake occurred in the Marche district on October 30. Fortunately this shock was far less severe, and the number of dead amounted to thirteen only. The Government voted a sum of 30,000,000 liras to assist those persons whose houses had been destroyed or damaged.

In spite of the national economic anxieties the close of the year 1930 found the Fascist Government probably as strong as it ever has been. In fact, the general view that Fascism was not an "article of exportation" was during the course of the year expressly disclaimed by Signor Mussolini, who on the contrary declared (October 27) that Fascism was of "universal application, its ideas, doctrine, and realisation." Similarly a Fascist Order Sheet, commenting on the success of the National Socialist Party in the German elections, declared that for every country the choice of the twentieth century must lie between Fascism and Bolshevism.

That Fascism has not entirely conquered even the whole of Italy was, however, admitted by Signor Mussolini, who acknowledged that there were still irreconcilable elements among the liberal and professional bourgeoisie. The truth of this statement was confirmed a short time later when the Government announced the arrest of twenty-eight individuals who were working against the Government. Six of these persons were tried before the Special Tribunal (December 22), and two, who had been editing and distributing a clandestine newspaper, *UAlleanza Nazionale*, which attempted to bring about a coalition of all non-communist parties to oppose Fascism, were sentenced to fifteen years' imprisonment. A large number of communists were also tried and sentenced during the year by the Special Tribunal.

In September Signor Turati, who had acted as Secretary of the Fascist Party for five years, resigned his post and was succeeded by Signor Giuriati. Signor Mussolini referred in cordial terms to the valuable services rendered to the Fascist revolution by Signor Turati, and declared that Signor Giuriati would continue his predecessor's policy.

CHAPTER III.

GERMANY AND AUSTRIA.

GERMANY.

FROM the moment of the conclusion of the negotiations for the Young Plan and the signing of the final Protocol at the Hague, the Muller Cabinet was doomed. Its position had been completely undermined by the weakness it had shown throughout 1929 in face of the increasing seriousness of the financial problem and the growing violence of the propaganda of the Right. In December, 1929, the Social Democrat Finance Minister, Dr. Hilferding, had resigned. His successor, Dr. Moldenhauer, did not fulfil the expectations entertained of him. Only their anxiety not to interrupt the reparation negotiations restrained the middle-class parties from overthrowing the Cabinet.

At the end of March the Government resigned, the immediate cause of its downfall being a failure to secure agreement on the method by which money was to be raised for meeting the increasing requirements of unemployment insurance. The Centre, as the one strong middle party, now became the dominant factor. Dr. Briining became Chancellor, and he retained in their posts the Foreign Minister, Dr. Curtius (German People's Party), the Defence Minister, General Groener (unattached), the Finance Minister, Dr. Moldenhauer (German People's Party), and the Minister of Posts, Dr. Schatzel (Bavarian People's Party). New members who entered the Coalition from the bourgeois minority parties were Dr. Wirth (Centre) as Minister of the Interior, Dr. Stegerwald (Centre) as Minister of Labour, Herr Dietrich (Democrat) as Minister of Economy, Dr. Bredt (Business Men's Party) as Minister of Justice, von Guerard (Centre) as Minister of Communications, Dr. Schiele as Minister of Agriculture, and Herr Treviranus as Minister for the Occupied Territory. The two last-named were formerly members of the German National People's Party. Herr Treviranus had left this party when it launched its campaign for organising a plebiscite against the Young Agreement, and had founded the "Conservative People's Party," which so far had not attained to any great importance. After the evacuation of the Palatinate and the Rhineland, and after the abolition of the Ministry for the Occupied Territory in the autumn, Herr Treviranus remained in the Cabinet as Minister without portfolio, and in that capacity embarrassed the Government on several occasions by his too-outspoken utterances on foreign affairs. The new Minister of Agriculture, Dr. Schiele, on assuming office, resigned his representation and membership of the German National Party, but remained President of the Reich Agricultural Association, an agrarian organisation which was in

close touch with the German Nationalists and favoured a protective policy. By the admission of Dr. Schiele into the Cabinet, and by combining the general finance measures with the agrarian proposals, the Chancellor succeeded in obtaining the support of a portion of the German Nationalists.

It was not for long, however, that the Government could place any reliance on this support, on account of its failure to bring about any change in the regime in Prussia, where the Cabinet had been in the hands of the Social Democrats for a decade. The attempt to broaden the basis of the Government by including the German People's Party in the existing Coalition of Social Democrats, Democrats, and Centre, finally came to grief in January, 1930. Thus in Prussia the Social Democrats, under the leadership of the energetic Prime Minister, Dr. Braun, were able to strengthen their position still further at the same time that the Government of the Reich, which leaned strongly to the Right, was attempting to reduce the social services and to develop a far-reaching agrarian policy.

The new Reich Government inherited from its predecessor a financial situation with which the Finance Minister, Dr. Moldenhauer, was unable to cope. Like his predecessor, he underrated the effects of the trade depression and unemployment, and the consequent drop in the receipts from taxation, and found the task of balancing the Budget beyond him. He was succeeded in June by the Minister of National Economy, Herr Dietrich. The Ministry of Economy was carried on temporarily by the State Secretary, Dr. Trendelenburg. Similarly no successor was appointed to the Minister of Justice, Dr. Brecht, who resigned in November, after the Business Men's Party had already parted company with the Government. In April the Government managed to secure a small majority in Parliament for its proposals for meeting the Budget deficit, which consisted chiefly in new taxes on consumption and an increase in the turnover tax. Soon after it was found that the provision made was inadequate, that the promised reduction in taxation was impracticable, and that the Budget could not be passed in its present form.

In April, at the beginning of the financial year, there was a deficit of over 1.6 milliards of marks. In addition there were outstanding deficits from the two previous years amounting to 2.3 milliards of marks. The Budget was balanced with difficulty through the raising in October of an emergency loan of 125,000,000 dollars, but in the current year also the expenditure on unemployment insurance and the decline in taxation receipts were reckoned to produce a deficit of not less than 1.2 milliards of marks. The difficulty of covering the old and new deficits could be imagined from the fact that the total debt of the Reich in the middle of the year was not less than 8.5 milliards. The floating debt alone rose in March from 1736 to 1938 millions, and on October 1 still

amounted to 1290 millions. Similarly the revenue receipts of the Reich for the first half of 1930 amounted only to 4.58 milliards, which was about 550,000,000 marks less than the estimate. The continued decline in trade made it probable that there would be a still greater drop in tax receipts, and compelled the Government at last to tackle the problem of the public finances more energetically. In the financial year 1929, a national income of about 70 milliards of marks had been subjected to a tax burden of nearly 20 milliards of marks. In 1930 this proportion was exceeded. While the national income showed a decline of at least 10 milliards of marks, the burden of taxation, in spite of numerous economies, became considerably heavier, especially on account of unemployment.

At first the Minister of Finance declared that he could cut out only 100,000,000 marks from an estimated expenditure of 11.5 milliards. The Government thereupon embodied its first comprehensive scheme of economy in the Budget for 1931. This scheme aimed at a saving of about a milliard of marks. At the same time a Bill (*Plafondgesetz*) was introduced, the object of which was to put a stop to the automatic increase of the public burdens, and to fix a definite Budget total for three years for the Reich, the provinces, and the municipalities. The Government, however, was unable to obtain a majority either for this its first attempt at really drastic economy, or for the new taxes which it required for the immediate present. It therefore had recourse to paragraph 48 of the Constitution of the German Reich, to which hitherto only those parties of the extreme Right who were longing for a dictatorship had pinned their hopes. The most important passage of this much-discussed paragraph runs as follows :—

" In cases where public security and order are seriously disturbed or threatened in the German Reich, the President of the Reich is empowered to take the measures necessary for restoring public security and order. . . . The President of the Reich must without delay inform the Reichstag of all such measures. On the request of the Reichstag these measures must be withdrawn."

In virtue of this provision of the Constitution, which suspends the legislative activity of Parliament, the President of the Reich, on July 17, issued the enactments which the financial situation had rendered necessary. On the next day the Reichstag passed a Social Democrat resolution calling for the cancellation of these Acts. The President of the Reich thereupon dissolved Parliament, and ordered a General Election to be held not later than September 14.

The expectation of the Government, that the new Reichstag would be easier to manage than the one elected in May, 1928, was disappointed. The municipal elections of 1929 had shown that the economic suffering of the country told in favour only of the **extremists of the Right and the Left**, and created apathy in the

middle parties. In the interval the income of large sections of the population had been further reduced, the number of unemployed had risen enormously, and comparatively well-to-do classes had fallen into distress. Recognising their danger, the middle parties sought to create a united front which should be able to offer an effective resistance to the extremists. These efforts did not go beyond the initial stages. The Democrats founded a new party called the German State Party, but they received little support. The expansion of the new party, which aimed at combining all the Liberal forces, was blocked by the jealousy of the leader of the German People's Party, Dr. Scholz, who was not willing to give up the independence of his party. After the elections, when it was too late, Dr. Scholz resigned the presidency of his party. A "People's National Union of the Reich" also split off from the German State Party, which thereupon became merely another designation for the Democrats. On the other side the German Nationalists who had broken away from Herr Hugenberg, and among whom was also Hugenberg's predecessor, Count Westarp, were unable to attach themselves to any of the existing parties. Thus the election presented the sorry spectacle of no less than twenty-four parties seeking the suffrages of the electors.

The advantage which the extremists derived from the divisions among the middle parties and from the economic conditions exceeded all expectations. A third part of the German people voted for the National Socialists led by Hitler, and for the Communists. The National Socialists indulged in an unprecedented orgy of demagogic propaganda and promises, against which the bourgeois parties and the Social Democrats could make no headway. The Hitlerites won over the masses of the despairing and weary, of the hungry and disillusioned, by promising to every one the fulfilment of his desires, and work and bread for all. In this way the National Socialists made themselves the second strongest party with 6.4 million votes (18 per cent.). Political conviction and acceptance of the party programme had little to do with this success. The National Socialists owed their victory principally to a small but well-trained group of youthful and enthusiastic agitators, who expounded the party programme according to the requirements of the moment, and skilfully concealed their complete ignorance of economic matters. The party programme itself was a mixture, as vague as it was pompous, of nationalist, anti-capitalist, and anti-semitic tags. The immediate objects of the National Socialist Party were the cancellation of the Young Agreement, liberation of Germany from the reparation burdens in general, abolition of the Stock Exchange and of interest, and so forth. Hitler greeted his victory with the significant words "Heads will roll . . ."

Owing to the largeness of the poll, the new Reichstag consisted

of 576 members, instead of 490 as in the previous one. The German Nationalists lost 38 seats, the German People's Party 15, the Social Democrats 9, and the Democrats 5. The National Socialists gained 95 seats, the Communists 23, the Centre 7, and the Bavarian Centre, known as the Bavarian People's Party, 2 seats. The Reichstag elected on September 14 is exceedingly difficult to classify. Up to the end of the year the numerous fractions and groups had not definitely located themselves. Allowing, however, for a certain measure of fluidity, they may be placed as follows :—

On the left are 107 National Socialists, 41 German Nationalists, 23 deputies of the Business Men's Party, and 21 deputies of the " Party of the German Agricultural Population."

The *Moderate Right* includes 30 deputies of the German People's Party, 14 deputies of the " Christian Socialist People's Service," 6 deputies of the German Peasants' Union, 6 deputies of the People's National Union of the Reich, 4 deputies of the Conservative People's Party, 3 Hanoverians, and 19 deputies of the Bavarian People's Party.

The *Middle* includes 68 deputies of the Centre and 14 deputies of the German State Party (Democrats).

The *Left* consists of 143 Social Democrats and 77 Communists.

That the Brüning Government was able to continue along the course on which it had begun, and carry on the administration with the help of the so-called Dictatorship paragraph, was due to the fact that in consequence of the election results it obtained the support of the Social Democrats. Although the emergency regulations of the Government were to a large extent directed against the Social Democrats, they nevertheless voted for the Cabinet, which in any other case would have resigned or else have attempted to bring the National Socialists into the Government. Such an experiment seemed to the Social Democrats too dangerous, especially in the field of foreign policy. Moreover, by supporting the Brüning Government in the Reich, the Social Democrats ensured the support of the Centre for the continuance of the Coalition Government in Prussia, which was dominated by the Socialists. Consequently the Opposition was confined to a minority composed of the extreme Right and the Communists.

The extremist parties, especially the National Socialists, organised their adherents on military lines, and had at their disposal troops ready for fighting. The chief task of the Government during the winter months was to prevent a union of these elements of disorder with the masses of the unemployed. For this purpose it first took steps to assure itself of the money required for assisting the unemployed, and so to stop up the sources of discontent in many towns. The deficit of about 500,000,000 marks under which the Institute for Unemployment Insurance was labouring at the beginning of the year was wiped out by increasing

the contributions from 3.5 to 6.5 per cent, of gross wage. This increase was keenly felt by workers and employers alike, and it constituted a heavy burden on industry, yet one which there was not means of avoiding.

The number of unemployed more than doubled in the course of the year, and at its close amounted to nearly 5,000,000, which was far higher than the record figure of 1926. Through the unemployment the municipalities also found themselves in a critical financial position. Under the faulty system of the Unemployment Department of the Reich, unemployment insurance is paid only for a certain period, on the expiry of which applicants are turned over to the Welfare Offices in the towns. As the increase in unemployment is not so much seasonal as due to trade depression, and as the majority of the unemployed cannot for the time being be reabsorbed in industry, a considerable portion of the burden falls on the municipalities, which are ill equipped to cope with it. The great manufacturing towns of the West were especially hardly hit, and at the end of the year were faced with ruin. In almost all municipalities the local imposts, especially those levied on trade and industry, had to be increased on several occasions in the course of the year, and in many towns, among them Berlin, the autonomous municipal administrations were subjected to State supervision.

As in most other countries, unemployment in Germany was a visible expression, and one that came home to everybody, of the world-economic crisis, which began with the collapse of the American stock market and the rapid fall in the prices of raw materials. Nevertheless the German crisis was not a mere reflection of the world crisis. The slump which had set in slowly in 1928 was quickened in the next year by the crashes on the world market, and was rendered catastrophic by the serious political situation at home. What the election results of September 14 might really mean for Germany was quickly shown by the returns of the Reichsbank, which within four weeks after the election had to pay out a milliard of marks in gold and securities, and at the same time to increase its advances by 700,000,000 marks. It was also compelled at this moment of deepest depression to raise its discount rate to 5 per cent, after it had been reduced in the previous half-year from 7 to 4 per cent., in six stages. That a still greater restriction of credit could be avoided was due to the fact that the Reichsbank obtained assistance from the 125,000,000 dollar credit of the Reich. This mark of confidence on the part of foreign countries stopped the withdrawal of foreign money. The note circulation rose in the course of the year from 3.6 to 4.2 milliards, with a gold stock of 2*2 milliards, so that the note cover varied between 50 and 60 per cent.

Through the liquidity of the money market, combined with a revival in loan business, the Stock Exchange losses of the year

1929 had been partly made good early in 1930. This movement was interrupted first through the protracted course of the Hague negotiations, and then through a change in the chairmanship of the Reichsbank, which was taken by the former Chancellor of the Reich, Dr. Luther, in place of Dr. Schacht, who resigned. In the succeeding months the German Stock Exchange became utterly stagnant. The share index fell from 120 in January and 122 in April to 85 towards the end of December. Industry suffered from a lack of orders, which led to the closing down of many works ; and its troubles were made worse by a constant restriction of the supply of capital. The influx of short-term credits was officially estimated at 779,000,000 for 1927, 1,335,000,000 for 1928, and 1,152,000,000 for 1929. In 1930 it sank to about 500,000,000 marks. Foreign capital had suffered serious losses on shares, partnerships, and similar business in Germany, and was now rather shy. In spite of this, German foreign indebtedness remained a serious problem, as short-term debts amounted to nearly 12 milliards and long-term debts to over 9 milliards of marks. Foreign partnerships are estimated at 4 milliards and foreign holdings of property at 2 milliards of marks. Whereas just before the war Germany had a credit balance of at least 20 milliards, at the end of 1930 a comparison of foreign investments in Germany with German investments abroad showed a balance in favour of foreign countries of about 22 milliards.

The inadequate fall in the cost of living caused the trade unions to fight bitterly to maintain the wage level. Nevertheless a number of marked reductions in wages took place, averaging 7 per cent., without involving any long or widespread strikes. These reductions were effected with the greater ease because the Government cut down the salaries of officials as from 1931 by 6 per cent, and of Ministers by 20 per cent. By thus showing its determination to reduce the cost of administration, the Brüning Government regained some of the confidence which it had lost, especially as the economies effected by the reduction of salaries were meant to serve for the relief of taxation. The other emergency measures which were put into force with the silent tolerance of the now helpless Parliament also aimed at lightening the burden of taxation and reducing the costs of production for industry. For the time being these urgent tasks pressed into the background the larger political problems, and no progress was made in the sphere of the reform of the Reich and simplification of the administration, of which so much had been heard in the previous year (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1929, p. 193).

For German finances the most important event of the year was the signing of the Hague Final Protocol on January 20. The Young Agreement was accepted in the Reichstag on March 12 by 266 votes to 193, amid lively protests from the parties of the Right. Dr. Karl Melchior and Dr. Paul Reusch were appointed

as German delegates On the Board of Management of the Bank for International Payments. In May the General Agent for reparation payments stated in his final report that during the five years for which the Dawes Plan had been in operation Germany had fully discharged its obligations, and that all sums due had been regularly transferred. The Reparations Commission also stated that all the preliminary conditions for bringing the Young Plan into operation had been fulfilled. The Reparations Commission, and with it the German War Burdens Commission, were dissolved. In June the first Young loan was issued, Germany participating to the extent of 36,000,000 marks. At the end of June the territory still occupied in the Rhineland and the Palatinate was evacuated.

With this step the goal towards which Stresemann's endeavours had been directed for many years was finally attained. In consequence, however, of the changed political situation at home, especially after the September elections, Stresemann's successor, Dr. Curtius, found it difficult to persevere in the foreign policy which now at length had justified itself in a manner obvious to every German. The opposition to the policy of understanding was certainly fostered by the failure of the Geneva negotiations on disarmament to produce any results, while on the other side the growth of the National Socialists aroused doubts in foreign countries on the practicability of the policy founded on the Locarno Pact. Resolutions were actually brought forward in the Reichstag denouncing the Young Agreement and the Treaty of Versailles. These were rejected at the end of October by the Reichstag Committee for Foreign Affairs. At the same time, however, it was resolved by a majority to petition the Government to take all possible steps for securing the execution of the disarmament provisions of the Peace Treaty.

The opposition to the Young Plan, which was not confined to the extremists and which, even while the Hague negotiations were still in progress, had received a wide extension through the publication of Dr. Schacht's memorandum at the end of 1929, was greatly stimulated by the world economic crisis. Even in quarters where the advantages of the Young Plan over the Dawes plan were recognised, the idea spread that the agreements made had been stultified by the steep fall in prices and the rise in the value of money. It was argued that the German national income had shrunk not only in nominal but also in real value, and that consequently the burden imposed by the Young Plan was heavier than had been intended. The German Government did not allow itself to be influenced by these considerations so far as actually to appeal to the Committee provided by the Young Plan ; nevertheless an active propaganda was carried on against the existing agreements. The American tour of the former President of the Reichsbank, Dr. Schacht, attracted marked attention.

His speeches, and the greater complaisance which the Government was forced to show to the extremists after the September election, did not improve Germany's position abroad. The evacuation of the Occupied Territory was the one event in the year on which it had cause to look back with satisfaction in the sphere of foreign affairs.

AUSTRIA.

During 1930 the Fascist threat to democracy grew month by month, with the usual summer interval for the sake of the tourist traffic, until it reached what is likely to prove to have been its zenith in September, when the moderate Schober Cabinet was overthrown (September 25), to be replaced by a Clerical-Fascist coalition under Herr Vaugoin, the reactionary Minister of War. After a brief period in office, during which the country was ruled with a high hand, the unfavourable election results and the growing nervousness in financial and industrial circles made the position of this Ministry untenable and it resigned, to be followed by another moderate Cabinet headed by Dr. Ender, with Dr. Schober as Vice-Chancellor. The Heimwehr-Fascist danger remained in existence at the end of the year as at the beginning, for there was no more possibility for the Ender than for the Schober Cabinet to undertake the disarmament of the Heimwehr, while one of its chief supporters, Herr Karl Vaugoin, retained throughout all Government changes the portfolio of war. Nevertheless, internal dissensions among the Heimwehr, which had appeared at intervals throughout the year, became so acute by December, 1930, that the danger of a counter-revolution was greatly reduced, and the country again afforded a breathing-space.

Early in the year the Chancellor, Dr. Johann Schober, started on a series of political visits to other countries which led to a general improvement in relations and—in the case of his visit to The Hague—of a very important change in Austria's international situation through her liberation from all reparation obligations.

Great satisfaction was caused in Austria by the announcement from the Hague Eastern Reparations Conference on January 20, that Austria had been freed from her theoretical burden of reparations as well as from the so-called "Administration Debt"—that is to say sums claimed from Austria by the Succession States at the break-up of the Monarchy which had not been funded. Austria had been saddled with these, although they were largely liabilities of the former Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. None of these debts were ever more than dead-letter claims against impoverished Austria, but the fact of their existence and the general lien on Austrian state-revenues which went with them, had kept Austria in an exasperating and unnatural state of tutelage since the break-up of the Monarchy. Their abolition left Austria free at last to

seek a foreign loan, with the debt for relief credits (funded in 1928) as her only permanent liability from the war.

Dr. Schober next visited Rome, where he arrived on February 2. Great anxiety was evinced in the Little Entente States that he intended to allow Austria to play a role in Signor Mussolini's "encirclement" policy directed against Yugoslavia. In Tyrol there was much dissatisfaction that an Austrian Chancellor should pay a visit to the head of that State which was oppressing its Austrian brothers in Italian South Tyrol. In this criticism of Dr. Schober's visit the Socialists joined, but the Chancellor insisted that it was purely a courtesy visit to remove the strained relations which had subsisted since Monsignor Seipel, two years before, had angered Signor Mussolini by a mildly-worded speech in the Austrian Parliament, referring to the sufferings of the South Tyrolese. If there was no tangible result of Dr. Schober's visit to Rome, Italo-Austrian relations certainly became more cordial subsequently, and the South-Tyrolese enjoyed some unimportant alleviations of their hard lot, although there was no diminution of the Italian campaign for the suppression of the native German language.

The subsequent treaty of friendship between Austria and Italy was ratified by the Austrian Chamber, on February 21, without discussion in open session. As a silent protest against the oppression of the South Tyrolese, the North Tyrolese deputies left the Chamber before the vote was taken. Yugoslav opinion was calmed, the Belgrade newspapers declaring that Dr. Schober's journey was not a success from the Italian standpoint, as despite all his friendliness, he had been insistent that no suspicion must be aroused that Austria could be drawn into any combination hostile to Yugoslavia.

On February 21 Dr. Schober went to Berlin, accompanied by Austrian economic experts, and revived negotiations for a commercial treaty which had been under discussion for two years. The result of this visit was the Austro-German Treaty which was signed in Berlin on April 12. Small mutual concessions were made, but to avoid the obligation of making further concessions to other countries with whom she already had "most favoured nation" treaties, Germany felt compelled to refuse to satisfy the majority of Austria's demands. As Austria's adverse trade balance with Germany amounts to nearly one-third of her total trade deficit, there was considerable dissatisfaction in Austria at the failure to obtain better terms from the "German brother." On April 27 Dr. Schober left for Paris. This visit was the counterpart of those already paid to Rome and Berlin, and was intended to dispel fears in Paris that Austria aspired to become the bridge between Rome and Berlin. Dr. Schober did his best to allay French concern at the growth of Nationalism in Austria as typified in the Heimwehr, and prepared the way for Austria's new loan, From

Paris Herr Schober went to London on May 2, primarily, as he stated, to express his gratitude for the general support of Great Britain (and particularly that of the British Minister to Austria, Sir Eric Phipps) at The Hague. Dr. Schober was received by King George V., and issued a statement expressing his appreciation of the way in which the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Snowden, had supported Austria's demand to be freed at The Hague from her reparations obligations. He had the satisfaction of learning in London, that although the British Government was still concerned at the toleration of illegal armed forces in the country, it was nevertheless confident that none could be found better capable of maintaining peace than himself.

In April the usual Sunday collisions between Heimwehr and Socialists recommenced, in consequence of the revival of the Heimwehr policy of holding provocative marches, parades, and manoeuvres in Socialist areas. There was a march through the Triesting valley near Vienna on April 1, in the course of which a number of incidents occurred involving shooting and the intervention of gendarmerie with fixed bayonets. For the following Sunday Dr. Zimmerl, the (Clerical) Deputy-President of the Vienna Diet, ordered a monster-demonstration against the Socialist municipality, threatening that if the Socialists did not alter their policy before a ten days' ultimatum, which he had delivered, should have expired, he would employ "illegal means" to coerce them. Elaborate police precautions were consequently taken for his march of 20,000 Clericals and Nationalists around the Ringstrasse on the 7th, but rain fell in torrents and there were no disorders. Four days later, a document, issued by the Heimwehr leaders, dealing with the military manoeuvres which they had just held under their new leader, the youthful Prince Starhemberg, showed the extent to which these irregular and illegal troops were able to treat the law and international treaties with contempt. The report dealt with the activities of Heimwehr, cavalry, engineers, and machine-gunners. At about this period a section of the Heimwehr made great efforts to win over the Chancellor, Dr. Schober, to an original method of removing from them the reproach of being an illegal force. They suggested that "disarmament" in Austria should be carried out by rigorously depriving their opponents, the Republican Defence Corps, of their weapons, while allowing the Heimwehr to retain theirs, at the same time conferring on the Heimwehr the title of a "national militia" so that there would be no armed irregulars left in Austria. The Powers were sounded respecting the proposal, but, owing to the determined opposition of France, it was not proceeded with. On April 14 the Republican Defence Corps held manoeuvres of 40,000 of their men as a counter-demonstration to the Starhemberg manoeuvres of the Heimwehr. On April 24 a sensation was caused in Austria by the revelation of the Diplomatic Correspondent of

the *Daily Telegraph*, that the Secretary-General of the League of Nations had been furnished by the Austrian Chancellor with a report on the state of internal disarmament. Although official endeavours were made in Vienna to explain away the report as a matter of pure routine, it had to be admitted finally that Dr. Schober had found it necessary to deal at length with the armament of the Heimwehr and Republican Defence Corps, and to plead that although he had been unable to carry out the disarmament, the authority of the State had nevertheless sufficed during the preceding six months to hold in check any serious disorders by the party armies. On April 4 the Heimwehr concentrated 10,000 men for a Sunday parade in the strongly Socialist industrial town of St. Polten, near Vienna. As usual, great expense was caused to the State by the special concentration of police and military, who were served out with live rounds. Other parades on the same day were held at Mftdling and Laxenburg. In the latter places the Socialists took no counter-measures, but at St. Polten they concentrated 10,000 men. Very severe measures were taken by the military, under the orders of Herr Karl Vaugoin, the Minister of War (at the expense of the Socialists only), to avert a collision, and despite several highly critical moments, peace was maintained. On April 27 one Vienna newspaper only published the reply of the League to Dr. Schober's report on the state of disarmament which had been kept secret in Austria. The League strongly urged complete disarmament of the irregulars, and it was quite understood in Vienna that some definite step must be taken before there could be any hopes of a new loan. Dr. Schober, in reply, gave a promise to introduce into Parliament a Bill designed to secure general disarmament of the irregular forces. It was duly introduced later, but proved a dead letter, the Government never having anything like sufficient strength to issue orders for confiscation of the big Heimwehr depots of arms and ammunition, the location of which was known to all the provincial authorities who, however, were generally in full sympathy with the Heimwehr.

The Heimwehr, who considered that Dr. Schober owed his appointment as Premier to their approval of his candidature, had long been dissatisfied with his efforts to hold the scales balanced between themselves and the Socialists, but on the news of his disarmament promise to the League becoming public, their attitude became one of barely concealed hostility, and Prince Starhemberg stated publicly, on May 12, that any attempt to put the plan into effect would expose the Chancellor to the open enmity of the Fascist irregulars. In pursuance of this threat, Major Waldemar Pabst began to put into operation his plans for infecting the troops, police, and gendarmerie with the principles of Fascist revolt. Pabst had fled from his native Germany after the defeat of the Kapp Putsch of 1920, which he had organised, with a warrant

out against him for arrest for high treason against the German Republic. He took refuge with the reactionaries in Tyrol, and, with the connivance of the local authorities, was given a false passport in the name of "Peters," and became Chief of Staff to and military organiser of the Heimwehr. He it was who made a powerful striking force out of a sort of anti-Socialist debating and beer-drinking society. While its Austrian leaders indulged in bombastic speeches, the Prussian Pabst kept quiet and worked. His activities became so dangerous to the State that, on June 14, he was arrested without warning at his Vienna headquarters by orders of the Minister of Interior, Dr. Schumy, acting with the approval of the Chancellor himself. He was expelled by aeroplane from Austria as a dangerous alien the following day, and settled down with his Italian Fascist friends in Venice. Among the minor grounds for his expulsion was the administration to the Heimwehr of the so-called "Korneuburg Oath" (drafted by Pabst) which foreswore the Constitution and democracy.

This was the first time in the history of the Heimwehr movement that any Austrian statesman had ventured to deal drastically with its revolutionary plans, and from this moment the resentment of the Heimwehr was concentrated on Dr. Schober and Dr. Schumy. The former revealed in the Austrian Chamber that during September, 1929, there had actually been given a warning to Austria by the Powers that intervention was under consideration, and that at The Hague he had been called upon to carry out internal disarmament in order to satisfy the bankers. The Heimwehr declared that under the Schober Cabinet they were not safe in Vienna, and moved their headquarters to Graz. Angry demonstrations were organised against Dr. Schumy, who had to be accorded special police protection at all his public appearances. On August 4 there was another "civil war rehearsal" by the Heimwehr in St. Polten at the cost to the State of some thousands of pounds. Socialist counter-demonstrations were surrounded by Herr Karl Vaugoin's troops, and forced to entrain and leave the town under the muzzles of machine-guns.

On September 4 Prince Ernst Riidiger von Starhemberg, a hot-blooded scion of the old Habsburg aristocracy, succeeded, after a series of intrigues, in carrying out a "palace revolution," displacing the joint generalissimos of the Heimwehr, Dr. Steidle and Dr. Pfrimer, and securing his own election as sole commander. Despite his past record of Nationalist activities (he fought with the German "diehard" battalions in the Baltic provinces against Poland at the conclusion of the World War, was connected with the Hitler *Putsch* in Munich, and later raised and illegally armed several private battalions of Heimwehr jaegers), it was first assumed that he would follow a milder course than his predecessors. It was soon revealed, however, that if he had not supported all their threats of violence and revolution, it (yap because

he preferred to issue such threats himself. He soon adopted the phraseology of his friend, Adolf Hitler, and endeavoured to mould the Heimwehr on the lines of the German National Socialists, though (as the result of his mother's Clerical influence) without their hostility to the Catholic Church. The small Austrian National Socialist Party, however, remained hostile to him. All reactionary groups in Austria, of course, were greatly heartened by the triumph of the German "Nazis" at the Reichstag elections of September.

During the third week in September, Dr. Schober was once again overthrown during his absence from Austria on national business (at the League Assembly), as he had been some years previously by the intrigues of the extremist Clericals grouped around Monsignor Seipel. A libel suit brought with only partial success by Herr Strafella, a protege of Dr. Rintelen, the pro-Heimwehr Governor of Styria, against the official Socialist organ, the *Arbeiter Zeitung*, was made the occasion for wrecking the Schober Cabinet. Herr Strafella, whom the Heimwehr and the Minister of War, Herr Vaugoin, sought to place in the responsible position of General Manager of the most valuable Austrian State asset, the Federal Railways, had been the object of various charges in the *Arbeiter Zeitung*. These included corruption, incorrect behaviour, not having clean hands, and being the political protege of the pro-Heimwehr Governor of Styria, Dr. Rintelen. His experience as manager of a small provincial tramway concern in Graz (where he suppressed a local strike somewhat harshly) was declared in no way to fit him for the bigger position which it was sought to give him only on political grounds. His real object, declared the Socialist newspaper, was to "milk" the federal railways, for the benefit of the Clerical Party, and to obtain control of certain secret funds of the railway for the benefit of the Heimwehr.

Much dirty linen was washed during the case, which revealed that secret State Railway funds, made up of commissions from big contractors, existed, and had been employed in various dubious ways. The judge found that Herr Strafella, however, had known nothing of the existence of these funds, and that the majority of the charges brought by the *Arbeiter Zeitung* were not made out. But although he fined the editor about 140Z., he held that the *Arbeiter Zeitung* had justified its charges of "incorrectness" in certain of Herr Strafella's house-speculations during the inflation period, as well as those that he had "unclean hands" in respect of certain option transactions, and that he was a political protege. Dr. Seipel, according to his custom whenever his supporters were about to bring about a political crisis, had established an alibi by going abroad a few days earlier. Herr Vaugoin, the Vice-Chancellor, tried to force the resignation of his chief, Dr. Schober, by demanding that the Cabinet should show its contempt for the

verdict of the Court by immediately appointing Herr Strafella to the chief position on the Austrian Federal Railways, and backed up the demand by tendering his own resignation on September 22. Dr. Schober insisted that it was impossible to make such an appointment, at least pending the decision of the appeal which Herr Strafella had entered. Any other action, he said, would be tampering with the course of justice. As the Clerical party, which formed the backbone of the Cabinet, immediately ranged itself behind Herr Vaugoin, Dr. Schober was left with no alternative but to resign, which he did on September 25. President Miklas, who had not accepted the previous resignation of the Vice-Chancellor, Herr Vaugoin, accepted that of Dr. Schober, and, on September 26, Herr Vaugoin accepted the President's invitation to form a Cabinet. The Pan-Germans refused further co-operation with the Clericals out of loyalty to Dr. Schober, and the Landbund (Agrarian) Party took the same course. On September 30 Herr Vaugoin formed a Minority Cabinet of Clericals and Heimwehr (Fascists), the latter being represented by Prince Starhemberg, the Commander-in-Chief of the Heimwehr, who became Minister of the Interior, and Dr. Hueber, the leader of the Salzburg Heimwehr, who was given the portfolio of Justice. Nominally this Cabinet was formed purely to conduct elections, but actually its brief existence showed that it had made a bold bid to carry through a bloodless Fascist revolution. All the key-positions in the State were controlled by extreme Right reactionaries. The Chancellor, Herr Vaugoin, as Minister of War, for many years had been purging the army of all but reactionary Clerical elements, and the majority of his officers were Monarchist at heart. In the hands of the former Chancellor, Dr. Schober, who was also Police President, the Vienna police had remained a loyal, constitutional and Republican body, and thus the biggest obstacle to a Heimwehr *Putsch*. But now Prince Starhemberg, at the Ministry of the Interior, controlled the police, and when it became apparent that Dr. Schober was going to contest the elections, it was intimated to him that he would have to leave the police and be replaced by a nominee of Prince Starhemberg. The Austrian Courts had always been subject to some extent to political influence, and the appointment of Dr. Hueber assured that this should in future be Heimwehr influence. Herr Strafella was immediately appointed by Herr Vaugoin as General Manager of the railways, despite the verdict of the Courts, and this vital service was thus also placed under Heimwehr and ultra-Clerical control. Two days after taking office, Prince Starhemberg (as Heimwehr commander) issued a communique stating that the Heimwehr had laid its hand on the rudder of State, and would never release it whatever the result of the elections—not even if they showed a Socialist majority. The Socialists, of course, took up the challenge, warning the country to be prepared for a *Putsch*,

and characterising Prince Starhemberg's declaration as high treason.

The elections were fixed for November 9, and in the intervening period Austria was governed by the Clerical Fascist Cabinet with a very high hand. Confiscations of newspapers which published any reference to the Heimwehr plans for a dictatorship became a daily event, and Austria's most staid sheets shared this fact equally with sensational boulevard journals. In defiance of the permanent prohibition of parades in military formation in Vienna, issued by the Socialist Governor of the State of Vienna, Herr Seitz, the Heimwehr held a whole series of such demonstrations, and were covered by the Government. Revelations of the intrigues of the deported Major Pabst with Italy against Austrian interests led to the newspapers publishing them, including the *Neues Wiener Tagblatt* and the *Neue Freie Presse*, being confiscated. Prince Starhemberg's secret interview with M. Gtaibfls, the Fascist Minister of War in Hungary, gave rise to fears in Budapest that the Fascist wave of reaction was about to sweep down from Germany over Austria into Hungary. The official organ of the Landbund now published in full the secret Heimwehr plans for a dictatorship and a Fascist constitution. The Heimwehr leaders vied with one another in the violence of their language, and in their contempt for the Constitution and for democracy. The Powers finally became alarmed when the *Frankfurter Zeitung* and other foreign newspapers revealed that the Monarchist Heimwehr commander from Styria, General Ellissen, was planning to rush a few thousand determined men to the capital on November 18, and proclaim a dictatorship in the interests of the exiled Habsburgs. Dr. Schober's deputy with the police, Hofrat Pamer, informed Herr Vaugoin that the police would at all costs uphold the Constitution. Three days later he was removed from office, and placed on the retired list. Herr Vaugoin now invited Major Pabst to return to Austria, but in order to soothe foreign opinion, it was arranged that he should not do so until after the elections. From November 4 to November 8, the Army and the country police carried out, on the orders of Herr Vaugoin and Prince Starhemberg, a series of raids on factories, working-men's clubs, and Socialist party headquarters, on the plea that they were disarming the Republican Defence Corps. The Socialists, however, refused to be provoked, and very few arms were seized except those which the Socialists had, with the approval of Herr Vaugoin, concealed from the Entente Disarmament Commission at the end of the war.

The result of the elections showed that Austria, despite the rigid party discipline of the Clericals reinforced by the influence of the Roman Catholic clergy on the peasantry, had rejected reactionary Clericalism and Heimwehrism. The Socialists returned **the** strongest party with 72 seats (a gain of one), the Clericals lost

7 seats, securing 66, Dr. Schober secured 20 seats, and the ultra-Fascist wing of the Heimwehr, standing as the "Heimatblock," secured 8. Dr. Seipel's united front against Socialism had been shattered by the defection of Pan-Germans and Landbund (who supported the Schober-Block), and Herr Vaugoin was faced with the necessity of resignation. He clung to office, however, until November 30, and, in the interim, constant but unsuccessful efforts were made to force Dr. Schober to enter a coalition to include representatives of the Heimwehr. In the end he obtained very much his own terms, and on December 3 another Coalition Cabinet, this time of Clericals and Schober-Block, was formed by Dr. Otto Ender, the Governor of Vorarlberg as Chancellor, with Dr. Schober as Vice-Chancellor and Minister of Foreign Affairs. Herr Vaugoin remained as Minister of War. Largely as the result of their failure at the elections and the thwarting of their hopes of a *Putsch*, the Heimwehr began to show signs of breaking up during December. Major Waldemar Pabst announced that he could have nothing more to do with a movement wherein the party politicians had so much influence and which was so weakened by internal dissensions and jealousies.

CHAPTER IV.

SOVIET RUSSIA — ESTONIA — LATVIA — LITHUANIA — POLAND —
CZECHOSLOVAKIA — HUNGARY — RUMANIA — YUGOSLAVIA —
TURKEY—GREECE—BULGARIA—ALBANIA.

THE UNION OF SOCIALIST SOVIET REPUBLICS.

THE beginning of the year witnessed an aggravation of the food crisis which had already become serious in 1929 (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1929, p. 207). Nearly all kinds of supplies were rationed, and the various countries composing the Union deemed it advisable, in view of the scarcity, to prohibit the export of food-stuffs.

The nationalisation of the rural areas proceeded apace, too rapidly, in fact, in the opinion of its initiators, Stalin first and foremost. According to figures issued by the Commissariat of Agriculture, 4,393,100 farms had been nationalised by January 20, 1930, 8,015,100 by February 1, 10,936,300 by February 10, 13,675,900 by February 20, and 14,264,300 by March 1. In the Ukraine, by March 1, 62.8 per cent, of all farms and 68.5 per cent, of the whole soil had been nationalised. There was a real rush of the peasants to enter the *Kolchosy* (the abbreviated Russian denomination of the collectivised farms), with the aim of saving something, however little. The *Kulak*, against whom the policy of nationalisation was chiefly directed, hoped to gain influence

in the new system of rural organisation. The local authorities, on their side, carried through the work of nationalisation with the utmost ruthlessness. They went so far as to nationalise the houses of the farmers, and the whole of their cattle and poultry. This merciless policy of the ultra-Communists seems to have provoked indignation among the Army, which consists mostly of the sons of farmers, and there were rumours of discord between Stalin and Voroshilov, the Head of the Army.

At this stage of affairs there appeared in all the Soviet papers, on March 2, a sensational article by Stalin entitled, "Intoxicated by Success." It dealt with the Kolchos movement, and in it the dictator strongly condemned the forcible methods of collectivisation hitherto used, and proposed the adoption of a milder policy. This article of Stalin was generally compared to the famous speeches of Lenin which preceded the inauguration of the N.E.P. (New Economic Policy, *vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1921, pp. 193-4). On the same date, March 2, a model form of agreement for voluntary collectivisation, the so-called *artel* of farmers, was published. This *artel* is for use by a co-operative group of farmers who join together with the object of carrying out agricultural labour. BV it the soil, the seed, the machines, the working cattle, and the cattle kept for breeding are common property, while in private ownership there remain the dwellings of the farmers, the gardens, the small cattle and poultry, and one milch cow. On March 14 the Central Committee of the Communist Party (but curiously enough not the Government) adopted a series of resolutions in accordance with the newly published ideas of Stalin. One of the resolutions was that the closing of fairs should be stopped, that rural markets should be held again, and that the sales should not be restricted to the goods of the peasants only. This meant a relaxation of the rigorous policy hitherto pursued of prohibiting every kind of private trade. Another resolution dealt with the religious question. The Party decided that churches in any district should not be closed except on the demand of the overwhelming majority of the population, and that the resolutions of the population should be confirmed by the Executive Committee of the district. Insults to the religious feelings of the peasants were made punishable. This last resolution can be regarded as a concession by the Communist Party to the indignant protests raised all over Europe and America against the reported persecution of religion in the Union.

Opinions differed greatly on the merits of the economic five years' plan (*piatilyetka*), and it is still too early to say whether it has succeeded or not. The governmental and party organs spurred on the population to make every effort for achieving the great task, and a new industrial loan was launched with the object of carrying through the five years' plan within a period of four years only.

After an interval of two and a half years, a Communist Party Congress—the sixteenth since the birth of the party—was held in Moscow (June 26—July 13). It was attended by 2,000 delegates. In a speech of ten hours* duration, Stalin reviewed the internal condition of the Soviet Union and its relations with foreign countries. He declared himself for a policy of peace and for economic co-operation with the outer world. He further stated that the Soviet Government would be prepared to repay a small part of the Russian pre-war debts on condition of receiving credits from the respective countries. In internal affairs he demanded the continuation of industrialisation by all possible means, and the collectivisation of the peasantry. The policy of Stalin, the so-called "Generalnaya linia" (general line), was again approved. The leaders of the Right opposition, Uglanov, Tomskey, and Rykov, accepted unreservedly the decisions of the Congress on matters of principle. Stalin, who managed the Congress very skilfully, did not work for the expulsion of the opposition as he had done in the case of the Trotzkyists. As a result of the Congress, his position as dictator was strengthened, and he became as supreme as Lenin had been in his time. The elections to the Central Committee (which consists of 71 members and of 67 candidates) caused a sensation. Not only Rykov and Tomskey but also Bukharin were elected. Rykov retained his position in the political bureau. This body, which ultimately decides the policy of the Union, now consisted of ten members—Voroshilov, Kaganovitch, Kalinin, Kirov, Kossior, Kuibyshev, Molotov, Rykov, Rudzutak, and Stalin. The new men were Kaganovitch, Kirov, and Kossior, all staunch supporters of the policy of Stalin. Tchi-cherin was not re-elected.

Further progress was made with the administrative reforms (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1929, p. 205), which aim at eliminating the *okroug* and making the *rayon* the political and economic unit. Siberia was divided on July 23 into three areas, *viz.*, the Western Siberian district (*kraj*), the Eastern Siberian district, with its capital at Irkutsk, and the district on the Pacific.

The terrorist activities of the G.P.U. (the State Secret Police) continued during the year, and became especially marked towards the end. One plot discovered by the police, on September 22, led to the arrest of a group of alleged counter-revolutionaries who were charged with seeking to cut off the supplies of the working people. Three days later—on September 26—forty-eight of this group were shot; twenty-three of them were former officers and industrialists. At the end of October a group of engineers and specialists, occupying confidential positions and including men with reputations extending beyond the frontiers of the Soviet Union, were arrested on the charge of forming a plot to undermine the economic edifice of the Union and overthrow the Soviet Government. The names of those arrested were Professors Ramsin,

Kuprianoff, Laritcheff, Kalinnikoff, Tarnovsky, Fedotoff, Otchkin, and Sitnin. They were stated by the police to have formed an illegal industrial party which maintained relations with Russian counter-revolutionaries abroad and with foreign statesmen hostile to the Soviet Government, among whom there were named M. Poincaré and M. Briand, and also Sir Henri Deterding. The trial took place in Moscow (November 25—December 7), and was preceded by the usual campaign in the Press against the arrested and their alleged accomplices outside the frontiers of the Union. Meetings and demonstrations of the working people were arranged. Professor Ramsin and his colleagues, at the very beginning of the trial, confessed that they had really tried to undermine the actual regime, and that they had entered into relations with the Russian counter-revolutionaries abroad. They said that a plan for intervention had been prepared originally for 1930, but had ultimately been postponed till 1931. In his last statement Ramsin confirmed his depositions, and said that the magnificent successes of the Socialist work of reconstruction had made a deep impression on him, and had converted him from his anti-Soviet ideas. The Soviet Attorney-General, Krylenko, laid stress in his speech on the danger of foreign intervention. "Nobody," he said, "can deny the existence of an agreement between France, Poland, Rumania, and the Border States directed against Moscow, Poland plays the first fiddle in the fight against the Soviet Union. Deterding has declared that the fight against Moscow is a fight which pays. Poincaré is the spiritual originator of the war against the Union." Furthermore, Krylenko asserted that among the supporters of Ramsin and his group abroad were also the Russian Social Democrats. On December 7 sentence of death was passed upon the accused Ramsin, Laritcheff, Kalinnikoff, Fedotoff, and Tarnovsky, while Otchkin, Kuprianoff, and Sitnin were sentenced to ten years' imprisonment. The Central Executive Committee, however, reduced the sentences on Ramsin and the others condemned to death to ten years' imprisonment and loss of citizen rights for five years. The sentence on Otchkin and the others was reduced to eight years' imprisonment.

No issues of major importance arose in the field of foreign policy. The plot of the Soviet representative in Mexico led to a disruption of diplomatic relations with that country. On April 16 a provisional commercial agreement was concluded with Great Britain, and on October 2 negotiations were opened with regard to Russian pre-war debts. Relations with England were also affected by the Lena Goldfield affair. The Court of Arbitration, which was chosen by both parties, decided on August 26 that the Union should pay 13,000,000Z. to the Lena Goldfield Company. The refusal of the Union to do so was severely criticised in the British Press.

The new tariff policy of the Brüning Cabinet in Germany was

not favourably received in Russia. In June German representatives went to Moscow to carry on negotiations for the further development of the relations between the two countries on the basis of an agreement concluded for three years on January 25, 1930.

In August a new commercial treaty was concluded with Italy, by which the Union was granted a credit of 75 per cent, of the value of its orders in Italy. By the new treaty Italy was allowed to export twice as much to the Union as previously. On November 24 Litvinoff met the Italian Foreign Minister, Signor Grandi, at Milan, an event which raised much comment in the Press. On the whole relations with Italy became closer. It was to Italy's advantage to export her machinery to Russia and to secure Russian grain in case of war. She supported the Soviet Union in Geneva on the question of disarmament. At the conference of the Preparatory Commission on Disarmament, held in November and December in Geneva, the Union was represented by a delegation with M. Litvinoff at its head. The attitude of the Soviet delegation was the same as in previous conferences. It issued a Memorandum declaring that the majority of the members of the Preparatory Commission had no real desire for a reduction of armament, that the new project of the Commission had no value, and that there was even a possibility of an increase of armaments.

Relations with France became worse during the year. On October 11 negotiations with China were resumed, but were discontinued again on the 23rd. On December 4 they were again resumed, and three Commissions were formed. The Chinese left Moscow at the end of the year, and the matter thus was left in abeyance.

Important changes took place during the year in the higher Governmental positions. Litvinoff, an old friend and co-worker of Stalin, was nominated Foreign Commissary, a post which he had really administered for some years. He was succeeded as Vice-Commissary by M. Krestinski, the Russian Ambassador in Berlin for nearly eight years. He is in charge of the Western question, while the East is administered by M. Karakhan. M. Stomoniakov is in charge of economic questions and of relations with the former Russian Border States. The Ambassador in Berlin is now Leo Khintchuk, a prominent Soviet economist. The President of the Council of People's Commissaries of the Great Russian Republic, M. Syrtzov, who was only nominated in 1929, was removed from his post owing to disagreement with Stalin, and was replaced by D. E. Sulimov, who had been working in the Ural industry but was otherwise unknown. Syrtzov tried to form a group in the party, and this gave rise to rumours of serious disturbances in the Union. Leshava, the Vice-President of the Council, was likewise removed and replaced by Janson, the Commissary of Justice of the Great Russian Republic.

On November 7 Rykov, the leading personality in the Union, who, since the death of Lenin, had held the post of President of the Council of People's Commissaries, was given leave of absence for a month. On December 19 he was removed from his post, as also from the post of the President of the Council of Labour and Defence (S.T.O.). His place was filled by Molotov, one of the closest supporters of the dictator. Molotov has been a member of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party since 1924, and member of the Presidium of the Central Executive Committee of the Soviet Union since 1929. Ordshonikidse, another friend and countryman of Stalin, was nominated President of the Supreme Council of Economy, which controls all plans of industrialisation. Kuibyshev, the previous holder of this post, was made President of the *Gosplan* (States Plan Commission), instead of Kryshanovski, who became Vice-President of this body. Kryshanovski had been one of the closest co-workers of Lenin, and is the author of Lenin's plan of the electrification of the Union.

Changes were also made in the Commissariat of War. Unshlicht, who for seven years had been Vice-Commissary and who was no soldier but the representative of the party in the Army, resigned. Two Vice-Commissaries were now appointed, a civilian, Gamarkin, and a General, Uborevitch. Rudsutak, Commissary for Transport since 1924, was removed; his successor is Rukhimovitch, who has been Vice-President of the Supreme Council of Economy. The Commissary of Labour, Uglanov, who was attacked at the last Congress of the party on account of his adherence to the Opposition, was removed from his post and replaced by Zechon, a former metal worker and official of the party (otherwise unknown.)

The Commissariat of Commerce was divided into two offices, the Commissariat of Supplies (Internal Trade) under Mikoyan, and the Commissariat of Foreign Trade under Rosenholz. The Commissariat of Finance was also reorganised.

The Council of Labour and Defence (S.T.O.), a highly important body in the Soviet administration, now consists of the following members: President, Molotov; Vice-Presidents, Rudsutak, Kuibyshev, and Andreyev; Stalin, Ordshonikidse, Voroshilov, Yakovlev, Grinko, Mikoyan, and Kalmanovitch, most of whom are devoted supporters of the dictator.

ESTONIA.

On February 9 and 10 M. Otto Strandman, the head of the Estonian State and Government, paid an official visit to the Polish President in Warsaw. Beyond cementing the friendship between the two countries, the visit had no political significance. M. Strandman was received in Poland with great enthusiasm. During a halt at Vilna, he made a short speech in which he declared that

he was particularly glad to find himself in the birthplace of two such eminent Poles as Mickiewicz, the national poet, and Marshal Pilsudski, the great Polish leader. The Polish President, Professor Moscicki, returned the visit in August.

On April 3 General Unt, commander of the garrison at Tallinn (Reval), was shot in the back by some one unknown, and subsequently died in hospital. The murderer escaped, but the police were certain that he was a member of the Estonian Labour Party (consisting of Communists), and accordingly the Minister of the Interior ordered the dissolution of this party.

Although the harvest was good, farmers suffered from the fall in grain prices and also from the importation of cheap corn from Russia. To protect them against this competition, the Government, in the latter half of July, passed a law introducing a monopoly of the foreign trade in grain, which, on the whole, proved effective.

Estonia's relations with Germany, which had not been too friendly, were somewhat improved by a visit paid by M. Einbund, President of the Diet, and other members of the Diet to Berlin in May, on the invitation of Herr Loebe and other members of the Reichstag.

LATVIA.

On April 8 M. Gustav Zemgals, President of Latvia, completed the third year of his term of office and retired. He was succeeded by M. Albert Kvesis, a prominent jurist and member of the Farmers' Union Party. Shortly before the end of the year dissensions in the Cabinet led to the resignation of M. Ozolin, Minister of Communications. M. Celmins, the Prime Minister, succeeded, however, in averting a defeat in the Saeima, and remained in office, but with a very precarious majority.

Latvian producers suffered in the summer not only from the fall in prices but also from the dumping of grain, timber, and other articles from Russia, which was facilitated by the Customs privileges enjoyed by the Soviet Government under the Russo-Latvian Trade Agreement. To protect the farmers, it was enacted in July that importers of foreign grain should be compelled to purchase a certain proportion of home-grown corn. The economic crisis was aggravated by reckless expenditure, both private and public, which seriously affected the financial stability of the country.

In December a number of Communists were tried on a charge of agitating on behalf of the Comintern (Third International). Eleven prisoners were acquitted, but twenty-one were sentenced to various terms of imprisonment, with or without hard labour.

The census taken on February 11 showed the total population of Latvia to be 1,895,063, against 1,844,805 in 1925.

An Arbitration Treaty with **the** United States was signed at Riga on January 14,

LITHUANIA.

In April the criminal police at Kovno carried out an extensive round-up of Communist leaders, and seized a large quantity of Communist literature and correspondence with Moscow. This action put a stop to Communist activity in Lithuania for the time being.

Another source of anxiety to the Government was the behaviour of M. Valdemaras, the former Dictator of Lithuania, who still had many adherents. Early in the year he granted an interview to the Lithuanian Press, containing statements which, in official quarters, were regarded as akin to high treason. In May he was summoned before a Court of Honour on account of certain derogatory remarks against the leaders of his party, but he refused to appear. Later, the authorities came to the conclusion that his presence in Kovno was a menace to public tranquillity and order, and on July 24 they had him deported to an isolated village in the interior where he was kept under strict police surveillance. A few weeks later the head of the Criminal Investigation Department, Colonel Rusteika, was set upon and wounded, and the crime was commonly attributed to the instigation of the supporters of M. Valdemaras.

On November 24, after several months of negotiation, a Trade Agreement between Lithuania and Latvia was signed at Kovno, whither M. Celmins, the Latvian Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs, had gone for the purpose. Immediately afterwards negotiations were commenced between Lithuania and Estonia for a similar purpose. Earlier in the year the Lithuanian public had taken in very bad part the visit paid by the Estonian Premier to Poland (*vide* Estonia). On February 14 there was a noisy demonstration outside the Estonian Legation in Kovno, and M. Zaunius, the Lithuanian Foreign Minister, declared that Estonia had abandoned its neutrality in the frontier dispute by allowing its President to take part in a public demonstration in Vilna.

There was no improvement in this year in the relations between Lithuania and Poland. In July M. Grinius, a former President of Lithuania, publicly expressed the opinion that the time had come for the Lithuanian Government to modify its attitude towards Poland on the question of Vilna. M. Zaunius, however, and the Lithuanian Press strongly dissociated themselves from M. Grinius, and made it clear that their claim to Vilna was unabated. A frontier incident in May had led to a riotous anti-Polish demonstration in Kovno. In March Lithuania refused to attend the session of the Commission for Communications and Transit-Traffic of the League of Nations, because the report which it would have to consider involved the question of the status of Vilna. In August Lithuania complained to the League of Nations of

infringement by Poland of the frontier arrangement, and Poland made counter charges. At the end of the year a conference of Lithuanian and Polish representatives met at Berlin to find a mode of settling such incidents.

In April the Government concluded a contract with the Swedish Match Company, by which, in consideration of a loan of 6,000,000 dollars, the Company received the monopoly for the production and sale of matches in Lithuania for thirty-five years.

On the tenth anniversary of Lithuanian independence in July, M. Tubelis, the Prime Minister and acting President of Lithuania, exchanged telegrams with Kalinin, the President of the Executive Committee of the Soviet Union, containing assurances of mutual sympathy and friendship.

Festivities commenced in the spring to celebrate the quincentenary of the death of Vytautas (Witold), the Lithuanian national hero. They culminated in September with the depositing of a portrait of Vytautas in the War Museum in Kovno. Long orations were made on past Lithuanian glory, and oaths were taken to remain true to the memory of the great prince and to win back Vilna, the ancient capital of Lithuania.

POLAND.

When, at the end of 1929, the Ministry of the " Colonels " was overthrown and M. Bartel became Prime Minister (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1929, p. 213), hopes were entertained by the more democratic parties that Parliament would now be given a larger voice in the conduct of affairs. M. Bartel soon undeceived them. In his declaration of policy on January 10, he informed the Sejm—" to avoid all misunderstandings "—that the change of Cabinet meant no departure from the fundamental principles and ideas of state-craft which had been the basis of the regime established by the revolution of May, 1926. The Government, he said, was sincerely desirous of working in co-operation with Parliament; but he made it clear that in the last resort it was always prepared to fall back on the use of force.

In answer to this challenge, the Centrolew (Centre and Left Oppositions) made a declaration in which they reminded him that they had overthrown M. Switalski because they demanded a change of system, and not merely of personalities. A change of system, they said, meant that the Constitution and the Statute of Silesian Autonomy must be applied in full; that the revision of the Constitution must itself be carried out in a constitutional way; and that the arbitrary conduct of the Government, the repression of public liberties, and the misuse of public funds must cease.

The divergence of view revealed in these statements led to prolonged and bitter strife in the course of the session. Even

when M. Bartel tried to be conciliatory, obstacles were placed in his way by the Government *bloc*, which consisted largely of the dethroned " Colonels " and their supporters. On the Budget, it is true, the Centrolew in the main supported the Government, declaring that this was for the benefit of the State and not of a party. The result was that the Budget obtained its third reading and was sent up to the Senate on February 12, not without a number of amendments displeasing to the Government, such as reductions in the Votes for the Ministries of Military and Foreign Affairs by two and three million zloties respectively. In March, however, in spite of a strong warning from the Premier, motions of no-confidence were passed against Colonel Prystor, the Minister of Labour and Social Welfare, and M. Czerwinski, the Minister of Education and Religion. M. Bartel thereupon resigned (March 15).

In order to avoid further strife, the President formed the design of prolonging the Ministerial crisis till April 1, when he would be legally empowered to prorogue the Sejm and promulgate the Budget in the form in which it had left the Senate. Accordingly he put forward dummy candidates for the Premiership, who wasted time in make-believe negotiations. After some hesitation, the Speaker, on his own responsibility, summoned the House to meet on March 29. The Government *bloc* at first threatened to stop the proceedings by force, but eventually a compromise was reached by which the House was allowed to sit on condition that it dealt only with the Budget and that no speeches were made. The conditions were faithfully observed; the Budget became law without the amendments inserted by the Senate, and a scene was avoided. A few hours later Parliament was prorogued, and Colonel Slavek, the Chairman of the Government *bloc*, formed a Cabinet, with almost the same personnel as the preceding one.

Colonel Slavek announced that the existing Sejm had spoken its last word, and that there would soon be a new election. An attempt was made to falsify the first part of his statement by a number of deputies who, on May 9, presented to the President a petition for an extraordinary session. As the number of the petitioners was more than the legal requirement, viz., one-third of the members, the President complied, and summoned the Sejm to meet on May 23. He neutralised this concession, however, by adjourning Parliament two hours before it was due to meet, and closing the session two days before the expiration of the adjournment.

To this *coup* the Centrolew retorted by organising a " Congress for the Defence of Law and Public Liberties," which met at Cracow on June 29, and was attended by about 8,000 people, instead of the 50,000 who had been expected. A number of strongly-worded resolutions were passed, including one calling on the President to resign, and describing him as a man who had forgotten the words of his oath. The Government was greatly

incensed with these resolutions ; it forbade the papers to publish them, and talked of prosecuting a number of those who had been prominent in the Congress for bringing the Head of the State into hatred and contempt. On further consideration, however, it decided to let the matter drop.

Marshal Pilsudski had now come to the conclusion that the best way out of the impasse would be to secure a Parliament in which he could command a majority. He proceeded to take the requisite steps for attaining this end, with his usual thoroughness. On August 23 he replaced Colonel Slavek as Prime Minister, and on August 30 dissolved Parliament, fixing the General Election on the 16th of November for the Sejm, and the 23rd for the Senate. He assumed personal control of his party's election campaign, and headed the Government list of candidates for both Houses, at the same time inducing a number of prominent men in various walks of life to figure on the lists. On September 10, as soon as their Parliamentary immunity had expired, he ordered the arrest of 19 ex-Deputies of the Opposition Parties, including M. Witos, the leader of the Peasant's Party and a former Prime Minister, and these were joined on September 26 by M. Korfanty, the Silesian nationalist leader. They were all imprisoned in the fortress of Brzesk (Brest-Litovsk), to await their trial by the civil courts for alleged civil or political crimes. All open-air processions and manifestations were prohibited. In addition, Marshal Pilsudski conducted a propagandist campaign with great skill and used all the resources of the Government to intimidate and handicap the Opposition.

On September 14 a Socialist procession came into conflict with the police in Warsaw, and some shooting took place, but otherwise there were no disturbances. The repressive measures of the Government did not cause so much resentment as might have been expected, because many people who had no great liking for Marshal Pilsudski considered that a strong Government would be in the best interests of the country.

The Marshal's attempt to secure a parliamentary majority was crowned with complete success. In the Sejm the Government secured 249 seats out of 444, and in the Senate 76 seats out of 111. Marshal Pilsudski immediately resigned the Premiership, which he had assumed for the period of the election only, and left Poland in order to take a long rest cure in Madeira. Colonel Slavek again became Prime Minister, with a slightly reconstructed Cabinet. When Parliament met on December 9, M. Switalski and M. Rackiewicz, both supporters of the Government, were elected Marshals of the Sejm and the Senate respectively. The President's message stated that the chief business of the new Parliament would be the reform of the Constitution.

The first step of the Government was to procure certain alterations in the parliamentary rules of procedure, with a view to ex-

pediting the work of the Sejm. The Budget having been introduced, members of the Opposition violently attacked the Government for having permitted the political prisoners incarcerated at Brest-Litovsk to be subjected, as they alleged, to cruel maltreatment by the Army officers who were in charge of the fortress. Public opinion was deeply stirred by these charges, and several organised protests were made. On November 23 the prisoners were transferred to the civil gaols, from which they were afterwards released on bail.

In the summer and autumn Eastern Galicia was the theatre of a campaign of sabotage and arson, directed against the Polish cultivators, and carried out by members of the Ukrainian Military Organisation, which was known to be inspired from Berlin. To restore order, the Government despatched punitive expeditions which treated the offenders with great severity. Lurid accounts appeared in the foreign Press, notably in the *Manchester Guardian*, of the brutalities said to have been committed by the Polish troops. On behalf of the Polish Government it was stated that the accounts were greatly exaggerated, and that any excessive rigour which might have been shown was due to extreme provocation.

On March 17 a Provisional Commercial Treaty between Poland and Germany was signed at Warsaw. By this agreement—the fruit of five years of laborious negotiation—Poland was to be allowed to export fixed contingents of agricultural products and Silesian coal to Germany, and Germany to export equivalent contingents of manufactured articles to Poland, while each country was to enjoy "most-favoured-nation" treatment at the hands of the other. A little later relations between the two countries became somewhat strained on account of some frontier incidents, and the friction was intensified by an indiscreet speech of the German Minister, Herr Treviranus, in August, and by an anti-Polish campaign carried on by the "Nazis" in the autumn. The ratification of the Treaty was in consequence put off, and had not yet taken place by the end of the year.

On the initiative of the Polish Government, a conference of agricultural experts and administrators from all parts of Central and Eastern Europe was held at Warsaw at the end of August. The States represented were Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Poland, Rumania, and Yugoslavia. The conference lasted three days, and was able to make some important recommendations. It was decided to set up a permanent Bureau, and to hold similar conferences annually.

In February the tenth anniversary of Poland's acquisition of a sea-board was celebrated throughout the country with great enthusiasm. In the course of the celebrations, M. Kwiatkowski, the Minister of Commerce, announced that three large Baltic-American steamships, with a total tonnage of 39,000, were being acquired to maintain a regular service between Gdynia and the United States, and would henceforth sail under the Polish flag.

In May the President of the Danzig Senate, Dr. Sahm, complained to the League of Nations that the Polish Government, contrary to its treaty obligations, was developing the port of Gdynia into a rival to Danzig, and so gravely injuring the trade of Danzig. The Polish Government replied that it could not admit any obligation restricting its right to develop Polish territory as it thought best. At the same time it professed the greatest interest in the prosperity of Danzig, and denied that the development of Gdynia was causing it any injury.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA.

The Coalition Government formed in December, 1929, with M. Udrzal (of the Czechoslovak Agrarian Party) again as Prime Minister, continued in power throughout the year 1930. The composition of the parties upon the support of which it depended in Parliament remained substantially unchanged. The main elements of the Government majority were the Agrarian and Socialist Parties, both Czechoslovak and German, with whom were associated the Czechoslovak Popular (Roman Catholic) Party, and two minor Czechoslovak bourgeois parties (the National Democrats and the Traders Party).

In the course of the year only one small change took place in the composition of the Government bloc. Towards the end of the year a tiny group—the four members of a German bourgeois party (Deutscher Arbeits- und Wirtschaftsgemeinschaft), who had during the General Election made common cause with the German Agrarians, and formed a joint Club with them in the new Parliament—left the Ministerial ranks. This insignificant secession in no way menaced the position of the Government, which still possessed the biggest majority ever recorded in the history of the Czechoslovak Parliament, having the support of 205 members in a House of 300. It was noteworthy that the four members (known from the names of their leaders as the Rosche-Kafka group) did not revert to the policy of negation pursued by all the German Parties up to the year 1926, and even after their secession from the Government ranks voted during the Budget debates in support of certain items (*e.g.*, the Votes for the President, for the Chambers of Parliament and the ministerial departments presided over by German Ministers). They also continued their membership of the German Agrarian Club, though they reserved to themselves complete freedom of action in Parliament. By leaving the Government ranks the Rosche-Kafka group desired merely to secure greater freedom of action, in view of the growing radicalism of the German electorate in the towns, whence most of their supporters were recruited.

The two nationalist German Parties (the German Nationalists

and the National Socialists) adhered rigidly to their radical nationalist programmes, their radicalism receiving a fillip from the results of the autumn elections in Germany. Unswerving opposition was also offered to the Government for electioneering purposes by the German Christian Socialist (Roman Catholic) Party, which had been represented in the previous Government. On the other hand, the party of the Slovak Populists (Catholics), under the leadership of Monsignor Hlinka, showed much more consideration for the Government, in contrast to the stormy tactics it had adopted in former years when it was in Opposition. The weakening of the Hlinka Party, as a result of the last General Election, caused it to lose much of its influence in the local administration of Slovakia and in public life generally, so that it could be safely left out of the Government. This state of affairs brought about a more conciliatory attitude on the part of the Slovak autonomists, as well as a calmer atmosphere generally in Slovakia. This change was partly due to the removal of Deputy Tuka from the leadership of the party—his conviction for high treason having been confirmed by all the Courts of Appeal in 1930—for Tuka was the initiator of the radical and irresponsible activities of the autonomists, and it was only upon his removal that the party began to rid itself of the Magyarised elements who were unable to reconcile themselves with the existence of the Czechoslovak Republic. A further sign of the same process was the fact that at the close of the year M. Drobny, the Head of the Slovak Provincial administration, whom the Hlinka Party regarded as one of their representatives, resigned his post, and further that a Slovak, Dr. V. Fajnor, the Judge of the Bratislav High Court, was nominated to the highest judicial post in the Czechoslovak Republic—that of President of the Supreme Court at Brno.

The Communist Party continued to oppose the Government on principle. Although it had suffered very considerable losses at the polls, this party still possessed some thirty seats in Parliament, where it continued to take up an uncompromisingly negative attitude. In the course of the year it split into two sections, one of which remained faithful to Moscow while the other broke away from it. This disintegration in the party lessened its influence with the masses, which began slowly to turn away from the Communist leaders, and resume their place in the ranks of the other Socialist parties.

Thus the Coalition Government, under the Premiership of M. Udrzal, was not faced in Parliament with any opposition serious enough to menace its existence. Difficulties, however, arose from the composition of the Coalition itself. Containing as it did representatives of both bourgeois and socialist elements, it was under the constant necessity of finding a compromise between the conflicting interests of the agricultural and the industrial classes, and between those of the employers and the

workers. The demands of the Agrarians, formulated in sharp **and** comprehensive terms, were frequently in direct conflict with the vital interests of the Socialist parties, and the dissensions between the two elements at times threatened the very existence of the Coalition. By means, however, of judicious compromises a split was avoided.

In 1930 the chief problems facing the Government were of an economic nature, and arose out of the general economic depression which had set in after a three years' period of good trade at the close of 1929. The big Udrzal Coalition thus became a Cabinet of economic concentration.

To combat the chronic agricultural crisis, Parliament, at the instigation of the Agrarian Parties, passed a number of measures designed, on the one hand, to protect the home producer against imports and promote the export of agricultural products, and, on the other hand, to strengthen and facilitate the organisation of production and home consumption. They provided, among other things, for the baking of bread from home-grown flour and rye, the compulsory mixing of at least 75 per cent, of home-produced flour with all foreign flour used in the country, surcharges on the corn and live-stock duties, and the introduction of import licences.

For improving the lot of the unemployed (the number of whom was officially given at the end of November as 155,000), the period of unemployment pay was increased from thirteen to twenty-six weeks, and the State contribution was augmented. To mitigate the consequences of the economic depression for these and for other classes, there was formed at the close of the year a fund of 150,000,000 crowns, while items amounting to over 2,000,000,000 crowns were included in the 1931 Budget for expenditure on productive investment. The social measures of the year included also several designed to improve the material situation of the State employees (a thirteenth month's pay at Christmas equivalent to 70 per cent, of the normal month's pay, and a readjustment of rank and promotion); further, the placing of pre-war on a level with post-war pensions, an increase in war disability pensions, provisional extension of house tenants' protection, and a partial increase in the subsidy given to the building trades.

The difficulties in which the bourgeois Coalition had found itself in 1929, and which led to the General Election of the autumn of that year, had entailed a postponement of the Budget usually passed early in the autumn of each year, so that provisional estimates only were passed for the first part of 1930. The normal Budget for that year, submitted to Parliament in January, 1930, showed expenditure of 9366*9 million crowns (compared with 9534*3 millions for 1929), and revenue of 9419*8 million crowns, **showing a surplus of 53,000,000.**

The Budget for 1931, which was submitted to Parliament by the Minister of Finance in the autumn of 1930 and which was duly passed before the end of the year, abandoned temporarily the policy of stability which had been maintained for the five preceding years. The expenditure was increased by 500,000,000 crowns as compared with previous Budgets. Despite the fact that the moment was one of economic depression, this increase was made in order to provide for certain urgent payments which were entailed by the new measures passed by Parliament. The total expenditure for 1931 was fixed at 9838.5 million crowns, and the revenue at 9843.8 millions, so that even this Budget showed a surplus of 5.3 millions.

In connexion with the Budget the financial arrangements of the local government bodies were partially revised. Some hardships arising out of the local government laws of 1927 were removed, and needs of the local bodies were met by new provisions touching the duties on beer and the tax on earnings.

The new adjustment of German reparations under the Young Plan brought also for Czechoslovakia a final settlement of her financial obligations arising out of the Peace Treaties. By agreements signed in part at The Hague on January 20, and in part at Paris on April 28, 1930, Czechoslovakia obtained concessions analagous to the reduction of the reparation obligations of the vanquished countries. The sum which the Czechoslovak Republic was to pay into the common reparations fund for the State properties located within her territories was entirely deleted. Her contribution to the costs of the war of liberation which resulted in the attainment of Czechoslovak independence (the so-called Liberation Debt) was definitively fixed at thirty-seven annual instalments of 10,000,000 gold marks each. The Czechoslovak Minister of Finance included in the Budget for 1931 an item of 114,000,000 crowns for the purpose of meeting the instalment for that year. By this readjustment, the financial obligations of Czechoslovakia arising out of the Peace Treaties, originally estimated at approximately 29,000,000,000 crowns, were reduced to the sum of 1,190,000,000 crowns.

Simultaneously with the fixing of the Czechoslovak contribution to the Liberation Debt, Czechoslovakia was allotted a share in the Hungarian and Bulgarian reparations (1 per cent., estimated to amount to 25,000,000 crowns). The importance of this was that it placed Czechoslovakia among the reparation creditor countries, and ensured her an active part in all future negotiations touching reparation questions.

The conferences at The Hague and Paris also brought a solution of the vexed question of the expropriation of Hungarian landowners in the Little Entente countries—the so-called "optants" (*vide* Hungary and League of Nations). By this settlement, the Little Entente countries consented to form, out of the proceeds of their

reparation receipts, a Land Fund (Fund A) **for** the satisfaction of the claims of the Hungarian optants, and to allow the Mixed Courts to continue, but they were not called upon to make any change in their own land laws, and it was stipulated that they should not pay more in compensation than was required by domestic law and prevailing practice. Unfortunately, these concessions on the part of Czechoslovakia did not have the desired effect of bringing about a more friendly feeling on the part of Hungary, which still refused to become reconciled to the situation created by the Treaty of Trianon, and continued to agitate for treaty revision no less steadfastly, if less demonstratively, than before.

In the course of the negotiations at The Hague a definitive agreement was likewise arrived at concerning all the debts contracted by Czechoslovakia to France and Italy during the war for the maintenance and equipment of the Czechoslovak troops in Italy, France, Russia, and Siberia, and for other purposes during the two post-war years (supplies of military material for the army, and of foodstuffs). These debts were also considerably reduced. That due to Italy (with interest as from January 1, 1924) was finally fixed at 191,000,000 lire, that is, about 330,000,000 Czechoslovak crowns, and will be paid off in thirty-seven annual instalments of 2.5 million gold marks, or 20,000,000 crowns each. The debt due to France was, after reduction, fixed at 260,000,000 francs, that is, 340,000,000 Czechoslovak crowns, to be paid off in fifty years by annual instalments of 10,000,000 francs each. These agreements completed the final consolidation of the entire Czechoslovak war debt.

The eleventh conference of the Foreign Ministers of the Little Entente countries was held at Strba, on June 25-27, soon after the return of King Carol to Rumania. At this meeting agreement was reached on the policy to be adopted at the autumn session of the League of Nations, particularly with regard to M. Briand's scheme for a United States of Europe, as well as to a possible restoration of the Habsburg dynasty in Hungary, should the question arise, as it easily might, in view of the coming-of-age of the eldest son of the late Hungarian King, the ex-Emperor Charles. In this matter the Little Entente reaffirmed its policy of opposition, which years ago had received international sanction. At the June conference there were also adopted the "Statutes" of the Little Entente, which laid down that the conference should be held regularly every year, and in other respects formulated with precision the procedure of negotiation as it has developed **in** the course of the eleven conferences held to date.

At the Strba Conference (June 27) there was also concluded a commercial treaty between Czechoslovakia and Rumania. On the other hand, as a consequence of several agricultural measures passed by Parliament, it was found necessary at this period to

proceed to the revision of the commercial treaty concluded with Hungary in 1927, and on June 15 six months' notice of the denunciation of this treaty was given. The negotiations conducted at the eleventh hour with the object of concluding at least a provisional treaty failed, and thus, from December 16, commercial relations between the two countries have not been under the regulation of any treaty. The causes of this tariff conflict which are likely to prove damaging to both parties—a fourth of all Hungary's agricultural exports go to Czechoslovakia—were wholly unconnected with politics, and arose purely from the economic situation in Czechoslovakia and in particular from the agricultural crisis.

Demonstrations against German films at Prague, in September, prompted the German Foreign Minister to give utterance to unfriendly remarks, which fortunately did not mar the relations existing between Czechoslovakia and Germany: the demonstrations in the capital passed off without serious consequences, and the momentary conflict, or rather misunderstanding, was soon smoothed over.

Among the political events of consequence were two jubilees celebrated in 1930. The first was the tenth anniversary of the passing of the Constitution (February 28) by the Convention Parliament. The second jubilee of political significance was that of the eightieth birthday of the President of the Republic (March 7, 1930), celebrated by the whole nation with one accord. Parliament passed a law consisting of the words "Thomas G. Masaryk has deserved well of the State," and these words have been engraved in marble over the Speaker's chair in both Chambers. The celebrations, which were of unprecedented extent and fervour, gave expression to the universal conviction that the first President of the Czechoslovak Republic has not only contributed in the highest degree to bringing the State into being, but by his authority, wise statesmanship, and indefatigable labour continues to be the most powerful influence for the consolidation of the Republic.

HUNGARY.

At the very beginning of the year, Count Bethlen's abilities as a negotiator were put to a searching trial by The Hague Conference (Jan. 2-20) which was called to resolve the complex question of the "Oriental Reparations." The point of view of the Hungarian Government, as set forth at The Hague by Count Bethlen (Jan. 10), was as follows: that although Hungary's capacity of payment was fixed in 1923, when its financial and economic situation was infinitely better than at present, the country was ready to continue the yearly sacrifice of 10,000,000 gold crowns up to 1943, as it was then stipulated. It would,

however, be against the most elementary principles of equity to exact more while the burdens of Bulgaria were alleviated and those of Austria annulled. Also, while willing to make concessions in order to liquidate the past, Hungary could not give up the principle of mixed courts of arbitration, this being the only safeguard of the Hungarian "optants" against the arbitrary expropriations of the Little Entente.

In spite of this declaration, the settlement ultimately accepted by Count Bethlen not only maintained the obligation of Hungary to pay reparations, but even increased it—under different names—to an annuity of 13.5 million gold crowns. As to the "optants," Hungary had to participate in the common fund which was formed to assist them, and was thus forced to contribute to the indemnification of its own citizens who had suffered hardship at the hands of the "Successory States." Even these precarious results were obtained thanks only to the help of Italy and Great Britain, which set their face against the extravagant demands of the Little Entente.

If, under these conditions, Count Bethlen, on his return (Jan. 26), was hailed as the saviour of the country by his party and decorated by the Governor, it was not so much for what he had achieved as from a spirit of loyalty and in recognition of the gallant fight he had made against crushing odds. These considerations, however, weighed little with the Opposition, which vehemently attacked the Premier when he gave an account of his proceedings in Parliament (Jan. 30). The Liberal leader, Rassay, even went so far as to accuse the Premier and the Government of being disqualified to deal with the question of the "optants" on account of having personal interests in the affair, and the Socialists roundly charged him with having defended these interests and those of his class at the expense of the country. Count Apponyi struck a middle note between the extremes of praise and blame, and induced public opinion to take a more equitable view of the affair.

The Opposition, however, could not be pacified, and seized upon every opportunity to weaken the position of the Government. Thus, riotous scenes of disorder were witnessed in the House of Commons (Feb. 4 and 11) during the discussion of a proposed revision of the communal law of Budapest; the proposal to reduce the number of the seats in the Council was especially denounced as a manoeuvre to serve the anti-democratic tendencies of the Government. A source of still greater anxiety to Count Bethlen was the discontent in his own party and its slow disintegration. He also found difficulty in mollifying the smallholders, whose embitterment was expressed at a great mass meeting on February 4. The attacks of the "Christian Nationalist" leader, Wolff (Feb. 6), occasioned by a speech of Count Klebelsberg, which was considered by his partisans as a veiled

promise of a revision of the " *numerus clausus* " law, were also symptomatic of a certain loosening of the bonds in Count Bethlen's following.

Meanwhile unemployment had grown to such an alarming extent that the Government felt it necessary to open an urgent inquiry (Feb. 12), to which the leaders of the Trade Unions were also invited. The Government obtained a short respite from Socialist attacks by promising to spend 83,000,000 pengOs on public works. A surprising result of all this effervescence was the resurrection of the old pre-war Liberal Party which, under the leadership of M. Rassay, created a new spirit of cohesion amongst Count Bethlen's opponents (Feb. 10). The popular subject of the revalorisation of the war loans was immediately seized upon by the new party as a means of raising prejudice against the existing regime (Feb. 29).

The tenth anniversary of the appointment of Governor Horthy (March 10) was celebrated by Parliament and official Hungary all over the country, and accompanied by an amnesty and the distribution of insignia and promotions customary on such occasions. Amongst those last, the most notable was the sudden elevation of the Minister of War, Gombos, from the rank of Major, to that of General. The rejoicings were somewhat marred by the reiterated " *demarches* " which the Government was obliged to make in Czechoslovakia, on account of the violent and often slanderous attacks published in its Press against Governor Horthy. Equally discordant with the festive atmosphere were the renewed signs of distrust of the Government which increased *pari passu* with the deterioration in the economic position. Among them were the solemn declaration of M. P. Rassay that the Government had forfeited all claim to represent the country in its struggle for the revision of the Trianon Treaty (March 5); the joint attacks of Socialists and Democrats against the Minister of Justice, Zsitvay (March 6), for unduly restricting the decree of amnesty, and the continual bickerings over the proposed amendment of the Communal Law, which culminated in a decisive defeat of the Minister of the Interior, Scitovszky (March 7). The pessimistic character of the new Budget (March 18) unfortunately justified the general uneasiness.

To improve the economic position of the country, efforts were made to extend commercial relations with other countries, and to raise a new foreign loan. With these ends in view, a provisional Customs agreement was made with Rumania (Feb. 28), a visit was paid by the Minister for Foreign Affairs, M. Walko, to Angora (March 24), and an exchange of views took place between the Hungarian Minister of Commerce and Herr Curtius in Berlin (April 17). The visit of Count Bethlen to Signor Mussolini, in the course of which he was also received by the King of Italy (April 11), although officially explained as an act of pure courtesy,

was also principally meant to serve this object. Coming in the midst of these serious preoccupations, the acquittal, from patriotic motives, of Prince Widischgractz, notorious for his connexion with the French bank-notes forgery, by a jury of honour composed of Generals, provided a humorous touch which was much appreciated by the average citizen.

Meanwhile a bitter struggle was waged in Paris at the new conference on " Oriental Reparations " round the questions which had been left in suspense at The Hague. The divergence of views, resulting from a rather arbitrary interpretation of § 250 of the Treaty of Trianon on the part of Czechoslovakia, threatened to upset the agreements made at The Hague and the coming into force of the Young Plan. They were only settled thanks to the ability of M. Loucheur and an energetic pressure on the part of the Entente. The signature of the Agreement of Paris (April 27), although it entailed concessions on the part of Hungary, had at least the advantage that the contracting of a new international loan was made possible for it through the restitution of its financial freedom. This took effect when the Financial Council of the League of Nations released Hungary from the control of the Reparations Commission (May 13).

The ratification of the Paris Agreement by the Hungarian Parliament (May 13) did not take place without renewed attacks on the Government, although the delusive prospect of a loan helped to gild the pill. Yet when Count Apponyi demanded once more an extension of secret suffrage (May 23), he had to rest content with vague promises from Count Bethlen, and this at a moment when the renunciation by Archduke Aibrecht of all pretensions to the throne (May 22) had greatly increased the influence of the Legitimist Party and its leader. The discussion of the Budget having been terminated in the House of Commons (June 6), Count Bethlen was left free to resume his diplomatic activity. He commenced it with a meeting with Signor Grandi, Italy's Minister for Foreign Affairs, in Budapest (June 14), followed immediately after (June 17) by the negotiations with the British Government in London. The support accorded by Messrs. Snowden and Henderson to certain claims of Hungary at The Hague and Paris Conferences amply merited a visit of gratitude, but everybody knew that its chief object was the discussion of the terms under which a loan could be contracted on the London market by Hungary. In spite of the attacks of the Socialist Press, Count Bethlen was received in London with sympathy, and although nothing definite resulted, a certain propagandist success was obtained by the Hungarian Premier, to which his meeting with Lord Rothermere and the subsequent conversion of that nobleman to the Count's policy no doubt contributed. Count Bethlen's efforts were somewhat hampered by the revival of rumours that a restoration of

the Habsburg dynasty in Hungary was imminent. They were suggested no doubt by the approaching coming of age of Archduke Otto (June 25), and they were treated with some seriousness by the Little Entente Conference and its Press service. Events, however, gave the lie to these factitious alarms.

Meanwhile, as a result of the agricultural crisis, the popularity of the Government declined greatly. The great opposition meeting in Debreczen (June 2) was attended not only by the Progressive Parties, but also by many of those who had hitherto supported the Government. Count Hunyady left the Governmental Party (June 3), Mr. Teleszky, former Minister of Finance in the Bethlen Cabinet, refused to vote for the Budget (June 16), Count Hadik and Count Szechenyi declared themselves against the Government, and the attacks of Bishop Balthazar (July 3) attained a pitch of virulence hitherto unexampled on the part of a high dignitary of the Church.

As usual, Count Bethlen had recourse to an "ad hoc" solution, this time by throwing a sop to the powerful Agrarians. He sought a remedy for the crisis in a sort of "bonus" (premium) to be granted to the producers of cereals (three pengos per quintal), to compensate their losses consequent upon the fall of the price of these commodities on the world market. Although all the Opposition and authoritative Agrarian leaders, such as G. Gaal, and even a great many of his own party, clearly pointed out the dangers of such a course, his powers of persuasion, reinforced by party discipline, carried the project through (July 15). This occasioned the last and most violent conflict in the House of Commons, which ended with the exodus of the Socialists, after the Opposition had in vain appealed to the Premier to seek a solution in other directions, such as in the retrenchment of the costly bureaucracy and lavish State machinery, or even in a Customs Union with Austria and Italy.

During the parliamentary vacation (July 11—Oct. 27) the Agrarian position grew worse, and in spite of the "bonus" unrest increased among the masses. The Communist demonstrations of July 1 and August 1 were the precursors of more serious uprisings. The publication of the harvest results, showing a deficit of 1,300,000 quintals of wheat, 1,100,000 quintals of barley, 5,050,000 quintals of corn, 7,200,000 quintals of potatoes, and 5,500,000 quintals of beet, hardly contributed to allay the discontent. The Government made a great effort at the Agrarian Conferences of Bucharest and Warsaw (July 22 and Aug. 29), to come to an agreement with the surrounding countries for compensating this loss by raising prices and through a mutual limitation of production, but no results had been obtained by the end of the year.

The celebration of the millenium of the Hungarian Saint Emeric drew multitudes and many of the leaders of the world's Catholicism to Budapest, but the imposing festivities (Aug. 17-21),

the pomp and lavish expenditure, were hardly in accordance with the depressed condition of the people. The spirits of the public were further upset by the alarming news which arrived at the same time of a Legitimist "putsch." The War Minister, GflmbOs, a bitter opponent of the House of Habsburg, issued an open order for the arrest of Archduke Otto, if ever he should cross the frontier. This drastic step aroused violent protests on the part of the Legitimist leaders, Count Zichy and Count Apponyi (Aug. 26), following upon a dementi duly authorised. Much more serious was a mass protest of the unemployed (Sept. 1) organised by the Socialist Party. Owing to excesses committed by the Communists, who insinuated themselves into their ranks, the police intervened, and the meeting was broken up with heavy bloodshed. In view of the gravity of the unemployment problem, the death at this juncture of the Minister for Public Welfare, Mgr. Vass (Sept. 9), whose wise counsels had often proved useful, was felt as a serious loss. He was succeeded, after a few weeks, by another high dignitary of the Catholic Church, Mgr. Ernst.

The session of the League of Nations in Geneva (Sept. 11) was less important to Hungary on account of its actual resolutions, than of the opportunity it afforded Count Bethlen to discuss with M. Mironescu a "rapprochement" with Rumania as well as the co-operation of the Agrarian States in general. An important exchange of views also took place between Herr Curtius and the Hungarian Premier, and a visit to Berlin was arranged. On his return, Count Bethlen delivered a very pessimistic speech to the Governmental Party (Oct. 8), which was considered by many of his supporters as a confession of his impotence to remedy the situation. Meanwhile all hope of obtaining a loan in the near future vanished, and with it the investment programme which was to give work to the unemployed. The Premier's visits to Kemal Pasha in Angora (Oct. 29), and to Chancellor Briining in Berlin (Nov. 22), were intended largely to compensate this disappointment by creating new markets for Hungarian exports. But the Press of France and the Little Entente looked upon this series of visits as part of a deeply-laid plan for the creation of a "revisionist league" under the leadership of Italy, of which Germany, Austria, Bulgaria, Turkey, and Hungary were to form the members. Although emphatically denied by Count Bethlen, this supposition undoubtedly contributed largely to the failure to secure a renewal of the commercial treaty between Hungary and Czechoslovakia, which lapsed on December 16, to the great disadvantage of both countries. These were the last negotiations conducted by M. Walk6, Count Gy. Karoljd having been nominated Minister for Foreign Affairs in his place on December 9. At home the "Christian Communal" Party gained a victory at the communal elections of Budapest (Dec. 23), but this was too slight to assure a real help to Count Bethlen against the SociaUsts and Democrats,

and he had the mortification of witnessing at the end of the year the constitution of a new Opposition Party composed of Agrarians, the class which had furnished until now the most faithful of his supporters.

RUMANIA.

In the early part of the year the Cabinet of M. Maniu underwent various changes as the result of internal dissensions, due chiefly to friction between the two sections of the National Peasant Party, the Tsaranists and the Transylvanian Nationalists. Their differences led to the resignation in March of the Minister of War, General Cikoski, by which the stability of the Government was somewhat shaken. The Government laid part of the blame for its troubles on the insidious attacks of the Liberal Press. When, therefore, a Liberal paper published a report that the Government intended to de valorise the leu, it took the opportunity to force rapidly through the Chambers a law against the circulation of alarmist rumours, and in virtue of its new powers confiscated several papers which had published full reports of the Congress of General Averescu's Party. This severity displeased many of its own supporters, who recalled the protests made by the National Peasant leaders when in opposition against the Liberal policy of muzzling the Press.

During all this time an active agitation had been going on for the restoration to the Throne of Prince Carol, who had been legally excluded from the succession since January 4, 1926. The Army was attached to him, and his claims were strongly urged by M. Mihalacke, the leader of the influential Peasant wing of the National Peasant Party. Also since the death of M. Buzdugan in the autumn of 1929, the weakness of the Regents had turned public opinion against them. Even the Regents themselves were not averse to his return, and his only real opponents were the Liberals.

Having received sufficient assurances from his friends, Prince Carol, on June 6, landed from a military aeroplane on the aerodrome at Bucharest. He was enthusiastically welcomed by the troops, and received with every mark of affection by his brother, Prince Nicholas. On the next day, at a Council of Ministers, M. Mihalacke urged M. Maniu to support his claim to the Throne. The latter, however, declined, on the ground that it would not be proper for a Government which had taken the oath of loyalty to the Regents to propose their abolition. In order, however, not to stand in the Prince's way, he resigned, and a new Ministry was formed by M. Mironescu. Thereupon the Regents also resigned. On June 8 the National Assembly of Senate and Chamber was convoked, and on the motion of M. Mironescu it repealed almost unanimously the law excluding Carol from the Throne, and proclaimed him King of the Rumanians with the style of

Carol II. The child King Michael was recognised as Crown Prince with the title of Prince of Alba Julia. On June 9 Carol formally assumed the kingship and issued his royal proclamation.

It was the ambition of the new King to form a National Government in which all parties should be represented. At first the Liberals, under M. Vintila Bratianu, showed themselves bitterly hostile to him, and would not even recognise the validity of his Proclamation from the Throne. He therefore at first entrusted M. Maniu with the formation of a Cabinet, M. Mironescu having resigned immediately on his accession. In the middle of July the Liberal Party issued a manifesto stating that they would give their full support to the Crown, in order to restore the normal life of the country. A Coalition Government, however, was still impracticable, owing to the opposition of M. Maniu. In taking this course M. Maniu failed to secure the support of all the members of his own Cabinet, and he accordingly resigned on October 6. On October 10 M. Mironescu, who had been Minister of Foreign Affairs under him, formed a Government consisting wholly of members of the National Peasant Party, but without M. Maniu and M. Vaida-Voevod, who had been his Minister of the Interior. It was generally thought in political circles that this Government was merely a stop-gap, and would eventually be incorporated in a "Government of National Concentration." M. Mironescu, however, emphatically denied that his Government was in any way provisional.

King Carol opened Parliament for the first time in his reign on November 15, receiving a great ovation from the Chamber. The Liberals refused to participate in the work of the Chamber, much to the disappointment of the King, who sent special messages to them to induce them to change their mind. The death of M. Vintila Bratianu, on December 23, removed a great obstacle to co-operation.

The economic situation of the country at the beginning of 1930 gave grounds for confidence, as both revenue and trade had improved in the preceding months, chiefly as a result of the excellent harvest. The agreement reached at The Hague, which allowed Rumania to retain her previous share of reparation payments, gave great satisfaction in Rumania, and brought about a rise in Rumanian securities abroad. Before long, however, a deterioration set in, owing to the fall in the prices of grain. Before the summer was out, many of the peasant farmers found themselves in great difficulties, in spite of another abundant harvest. In order to avoid any increase of taxation, and also to persevere with the stabilisation of the leu, the Government adopted a policy of rigid economy. The Budget for 1930 was drawn up on a new system, and for the first time for many years set forth the revenue and expenditure in a comparatively clear form. It also embodied a number of important reforms introduced into the financial administration in 1929.

The Budget for 1931, presented in December, at first showed expenditure of 32,472,000,000 lei. This figure was attained only by drastic economies, including the cutting down of the salaries of officials by 16 per cent., and reductions in the Votes for all Ministries save those of War and Finance. The King also, on his own initiative, directed that the allowances for the Royal Family should be cut down by 22 per cent.—a step which earned him much popularity. On representations being made by M. Auboin, the French financial adviser attached to the National Bank of Rumania, the Estimates were reduced by another 1,000,000,000 lei.

In his latest quarterly report, M. Auboin stated that the gold stock of the National Bank had been maintained at a high level since the stabilisation of the leu, and that the financial year 1930 had closed without a deficit. He asserted that since the advent to power of the National Peasant Party in 1928 the financial situation of the country had considerably improved as a result of good harvests, better methods of book-keeping, and stricter financial control. Nevertheless, it was still difficult to obtain foreign loans, and Rumanians themselves invested abroad much of the limited capital which they possessed.

In the course of 1930 a number of States took advantage of the law of 1929 by which Rumania undertook to grant tariff reductions to those countries which should enter into commercial agreements with her before August 31, 1930. Such agreements were concluded with Italy (February 25), Turkey, Germany, Poland, and Czechoslovakia (May and June), Great Britain (August 6), the United States (August 20), and France (August 29). The Commercial Treaty with Greece, which expired in September, was renewed. The draft of a new treaty with Hungary was also initialled in August.

In the latter part of July an Economic Conference was held between Rumania, Yugoslavia, and Hungary to discuss the replies which they should send to the questionnaire issued by the Economic Conference of the League of Nations. Three months later (October 18-20) representatives of the Agrarian States which had taken part in the conference in Warsaw in July (*vide* Poland) met in Bucharest, and decided on a number of measures designed to eliminate wasteful competition between the agricultural industries of their respective States. Rumania, along with Poland, Yugoslavia, and Hungary, signed a resolution for the fixing of export quotas, but Czechoslovakia, Latvia, and Estonia refused to sign, and Bulgaria made certain reservations.

On October 8 Rumania signed the Optional Clause of the Permanent Court of Arbitration, subject to certain reservations.

Under the Administrative Reform Act of 1929, the Government of M. Maniu, in the early part of the year, divided the Kingdom into seven regions, each under a Director, with a view to decen-

tralisising local administration. The seven regions were : Banat, Ardeal (Transylvania), Bukovina, Bessarabia, Munteria, Oltenia, and Moldavia. The Ministries for the Banat, Bessarabia, Ardeal, and Bukovina were abolished. Another step taken by the same Government was to establish an independent Bureau of Construction (*Casa autonoma a Constructilor*), to promote the erection of cheap dwellings for the working-class. The new Bureau was analogous to those already set up for the management of railways and State monopolies, and for the reconstruction of roads, i.e., it was to consist of experts and business men appointed for long terms and authorised to conduct enterprises on purely economic lines, under the supervision of the Ministry of Labour, and with the aid of State grants.

Serious anti-Jewish riots and demonstrations took place in the latter half of July in Bukovina and the County of Marmaros, and the Government had to take stringent measures to suppress them. In the same month about 100 persons were arrested in Bessarabia on the charge of being implicated in Communist activities.

YUGOSLAVIA.

Both in word and deed King Alexander and his principal Minister, General Zhivkovitch, in 1930, strove to consolidate the regime which had been instituted on October 3 of the preceding year, when the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes was transformed into the Kingdom of Yugoslavia (*vide ANNUAL REGISTER*, 1929, p. 230). At the New Year reception in the Palace, the King declared that the main problem of the future was not the question of the individual branches of the nation (i.e., Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes), but the development of the whole race. An official communique issued six months later, on July 4, made clear what was involved in this policy. It declared the Manifesto of January 6, 1929 (establishing the Dictatorship), and the Law of October 3 (instituting new administrative divisions) to be the basis of the new regime. The object of the new Manifesto, it said, was to finally abrogate the old system of administration, a return to which was neither desirable nor possible. The historical frontiers of the old provinces were described as "obstacles to national development," which had "disappeared for ever," and the new division into nine Banovine was declared to be "definitive." Further, the Government announced its continued determination to exclude the political parties from the administration of the State, since they had "lost their right to exist," and could never reappear under their old form. Ministers were to enter the Government as individuals, and not as representing any local, political or religious group. The Yugoslav Sokols were to replace all former religious or local organisations as the instrument of national culture.

The actions of the Government throughout the year were in consonance with these declarations. The Press was kept under a strict censorship, and liberty of speech was suppressed. Contact between the politicians, and still more the journalists, in the capital and those in the provinces was discouraged. Of the Opposition leaders, some—notably M. Pribichevitch—were kept under strict observation. Others were enticed to the side of the Government by the offer of places in the Cabinet. In order to impress public opinion, local bodies in all parts of the kingdom were encouraged to send deputations of homage to the King. For this purpose, thousands of free railway passes were issued to peasants in Croatia and other parts, and those who refused to attend made themselves liable to petty persecution.

Political trials naturally figured prominently in the record of the new regime. At the end of March twelve persons were sentenced at Sarajevo on a charge of Communism, and twenty more at Osijek, in Croatia. Of all these trials, the most sensational was that of Dr. Macek, the Croat Peasant leader, who on April 24 was charged, along with twenty-three other Croats, mostly students, before the new Court for Defence of the Realm, with terrorist designs. The Government spared no pains to secure a condemnation by depriving Dr. Macek of his chief counsel on the eve of the trial, and by extorting confessions from witnesses by means of torture. Leading advocates, however, came forward spontaneously to defend Dr. Macek, and at the trial all the witnesses withdrew the admissions which they had made under torture. In the end, Dr. Macek and eight others were acquitted, but the rest received sentences ranging from fifteen years to six months. From various cases which came to light, it was generally believed that mishandling of political prisoners was a regular part of the system of government.

On June 29, the anniversary of Kossovo (1389), of Sarajevo (1914), and of the Constitution of 1921, a festival of the newly-inaugurated " State " Sokol Society was held at Belgrade on an unprecedented scale. Over 30,000 Sokols attended, and large delegations came from Czechoslovakia, Poland, and Rumania, and from the Yugoslavs of America. This was followed, early in September, by a great military parade in Belgrade, attended by over 100,000 visitors, at which King Alexander presented to fifty-eight infantry and ten cavalry regiments the new Yugoslav colours which were to take the place of the old Serbian colours. Not without a pang he declared that henceforth their " old and glorious " flags belonged to the national history.

Yugoslavia's attitude to Bulgaria in 1930 was much more conciliatory than in any year since the war. At The Hague Conference she exerted herself to procure the most favourable terms for Bulgaria, and after the Conference, on January 22, the Yugoslav Foreign Minister expressed his genuine regret that

Bulgaria had not been treated as **well** as Austria and Hungary. At the Bulgar-Yugoslav Frontier Conference also the Yugoslav delegation showed an unexpectedly accommodating spirit, which enabled a settlement to be reached with commendable despatch (*vide* Bulgaria). The Macedonian outrages in March (*vide* Bulgaria) caused bitter resentment in Yugoslavia, but the Government, while insisting on its rights with firmness, abstained from provocation, and as the Bulgarian Government was equally reasonable, the growing amity between the two countries was not disturbed.

With Italy, on the other hand, the tension became if anything more acute. Great indignation was aroused throughout Yugoslavia by the execution at Trieste on September 5 of four Slovenes who had been found guilty of a bomb outrage in the previous year on the Fascist newspaper office in that city. The trial was considered in Yugoslavia to have been unfair, and the execution of the sentence precipitate. The four victims were looked upon in many parts of the country as national martyrs, and a Mass for their souls was celebrated at the Town Church of St. Mark at Zagreb, in the presence of a large crowd, mostly of Dalmatians and Istrians. Shortly before this, bad feeling had been created by the refusal of Italy to institute an inquiry into the ramming of a Yugoslav steamer, the *Kara George*, by an Italian steamer, as a result of which a large number of Yugoslav and Czech Sokols who were returning from the Belgrade celebrations were killed or injured. Feeling was further inflamed by allegations made without foundation in the Roman Press of orgies which were taking place on board at the moment of collision.

In spite of these popular outbursts, the policy of the King and his Government was distinctly pacific. In December M. Marinkovitch, the Foreign Minister, paid a visit to Athens, and declared that a Balkan Union was only a matter of time, but that it could be brought about only on the basis of the *status quo* and mutual confidence. King Alexander also, in an interview with a French Press correspondent, emphasised his own and his people's desire to remain at peace with all neighbouring States, without any exception.

On April 6 the Serbian Orthodox Patriarch, Dimitrije, died at the age of eighty-four. On April 12, Varnava (Barnabas), Metropolitan of Skoplje, was elected in his place.

Yugoslav foreign trade for 1929 showed a favourable balance of 327,000,000 dinars, owing chiefly to a good wheat harvest. In the course of 1930 the economic situation deteriorated, and in the autumn Ministers addressed meetings in all parts of the country in order to allay the discontent caused by the spread of distress among the peasantry.

On February 1 a memorial tablet to Princip and Chabrinovitch, the murderers of the Archduke Francis Ferdinand, was unveiled at Sarajevo, on the scene of the tragedy. Although the military

and civil authorities took no part in the ceremony, the Government was severely criticised in many parts of Europe for allowing it to take place.

TURKEY.

At the beginning of the year the Turkish Government and people were engaged in a desperate struggle to maintain the exchange value of Turkish currency. The piastre, of which the par value is 110 to the pound sterling, was at the beginning of 1929 steady at 975, but it commenced to fall rapidly in October, and by December 5 had dropped to 800. The Government at first attributed the decline to speculations of foreigners on the Constantinople Bourse, but later recognised that the real cause was the drop in Turkish exports due to bad harvests, coupled with heavy Government purchases abroad and the resumption of payments in respect of the foreign debt. Having thus diagnosed the evil, the Government took energetic measures to combat it. All purchases abroad by Government Departments were suspended, and banks and companies were forbidden to buy foreign currency without official sanction. In addition, an attempt was made to mobilise the whole nation, and especially the women, for a campaign of economy by means of urgent appeals to eschew all imported goods as far as they possibly could. The Ghazi himself set the example by discarding his European clothing and appearing in Turkish homespuns, and drinking linden tea instead of coffee ; and his efforts were enthusiastically seconded by the mass of the population.

By these means the Government succeeded in raising the exchange value of the piastre to 1030 and keeping it steady there for some time. It was assisted in the autumn by a favourable harvest. To help further in the stabilisation of the currency, the Grand National Assembly on June 11 passed a Bill for establishing a State Bank, with a capital of 15,000,000Z.T.

The financial crisis had a remarkable reaction in the political field. At the beginning of April the newspaper *Yarin* published a series of articles bitterly attacking the Government for its mis-handling of affairs, especially in the economic sphere. On April 6 the editor was arrested, and subsequently he was fined and imprisoned. Nevertheless, the paper was allowed to go on appearing and to continue its attacks, to which Ismet Pasha, the Prime Minister, replied almost apologetically in the Government organ. The reason for this strange proceeding became apparent some months later. In the first week in August the Ghazi summoned some leading politicians, among whom was Fethy Bey, the Turkish Ambassador in Paris, to Yalova, where he had gone for his health, to confer with him on the economic and political situation. Immediately afterwards Fethy Bey, with the full

concurrence of the Ghazi, resigned his Ambassadorship, and announced that he would form a new party, to be called the Free Republican Party, which would stand for financial and economic reform, a fresh system of taxation, freedom of the Press and of thought, and the lessening of State interference in business. He was joined by a number of prominent Deputies, and was thus able to lead a recognised Opposition in Parliament.

In March and April conversations took place in Angora between the Government and representatives of the bondholders of the Ottoman National Debt on the subject of the further payments of interest on the debt. At first the representatives would not hear of any modification of the arrangement made with the bondholders in June, 1928. Eventually, however, an agreement was reached that Turkey should make no payments in the current year, that the Government should enter into a new agreement with the bondholders, and that Turkey should call in a foreign financial adviser. As a result of this arrangement, M. Charles Rist, Assistant Governor of the Bank of France, visited Angora on June 1, and spent a month there in investigations.

The Budget for 1930-31, voted by the Grand National Assembly on May 20, showed an estimated expenditure of 22,260,000Z.T, with a surplus of revenue over expenditure of 13,000Z.T.

In the summer Turkey had to deal with a serious rising of the Kurds under her rule. It was heralded by raids from Persian Turkestan into Turkish territory at the end of June. The Kurds were well armed and well led, and among them were a number of proscribed Turks and Kurdish officers of the Turkish Army. At the end of July the Government found it necessary to have 50,000 troops and gendarmery and 100 aeroplanes in the field against them. The task of subduing them was rendered extremely difficult by the fact that they could always retire across the border into Persian territory among their own fellow-tribesmen. Turkey made strong representations to the Persian Government about closing the frontier, but Persia, though willing, had not sufficient troops at her disposal for this purpose. There was much talk of Turkey asking for a rectification of the frontier which would give her strategic positions on the eastern or Persian side of Mount Ararat, or of Turkish troops crossing into Persia. They were actually reported to have done so on August 14, but the report was not confirmed (*vide Persia*).

On June 10 the Turco-Greek Agreement regarding the exchange of populations (*vide Greece*) was ratified by the Grand National Assembly. A tribute was paid by Tewfik Rushdi Bey, the Foreign Minister, to the part played by Signor Mussolini in bringing about the agreement. On February 3 a Treaty of Arbitration and Conciliation was concluded with France, and on June 1 the Grand National Assembly ratified the Commercial Treaty which had been negotiated with Great Britain.

In its zeal for the new spelling, the Turkish Government this year took a step highly inconvenient to foreigners. With the adoption of the Latin alphabet, an unfamiliar form had been given to many well-known place-names. Thus Angora became Ankara, Trebizond Trabzon, Smyrna Izmir, and Constantinople Istanbul. In order to enforce the universal adoption of the new forms, the Turkish Government decided to return all postal matter on which the old names appeared.

GREECE.

Throughout 1930 M. Venizelos, as Prime Minister, retained the confidence of the Cabinet and Parliament. At the end of 1929, two of his Ministers, MM. Argyropoulos and Pappas, who belonged to the party led by General Kondylis, resigned on account of the publication in the Press of a letter from the General violently criticising the Government. At the same time, however, they resigned from his party, thus dissociating themselves from his criticisms. For the rest of the year there was no Ministerial or Parliamentary crisis.

The results of The Hague Reparations Conference, which M. Venizelos attended personally, were on the whole highly satisfactory to Greece. The sums assigned to her, when set against her own payments for War Debt, meant that on the balance the Greek Treasury would benefit by 706,000Z. for fourteen years and 344,000Z. for another twenty-two years.

The great event of the year was the liquidation, after nearly seven years of negotiation, of the questions at issue between Greece and Turkey. Both countries had by this time become reconciled to the settlement laid down by the Treaty of Lausanne, and neither any longer coveted territory in possession of the other. In a speech in the Chamber on February 10, M. Venizelos expressed his conviction that Turkey was entirely pacific in intentions and policy, and had no designs on Western Thrace. Greece too, he declared, was all for peace, and realised that her future lay in establishing prosperity within the limits set by her present frontiers. She therefore had no need for naval supremacy over Turkey in the ^Egean, while Turkey on her side knew that a modification of the position in the Mediterranean in her favour would not be tolerated by the Great Powers. He saw no reason, therefore, why a pact of friendship on the basis of naval parity should not be signed between the two States.

As an earnest of her pacific sentiments, Greece at the beginning of the year decided that the battle-cruiser *Salamis* should be abandoned, and that provision should be made only for increasing the light craft and aeroplanes. She was met by Turkey

in a similar spirit, with the result that on June 9 a Convention was signed at Angora which at last settled the vexed questions connected with the exchange of populations. Greece was to pay Turkey a sum of 425,000Z. ; Turkey was to accept the Greeks of Constantinople as unexchangeable ; and Greece agreed that those Greeks who had fled from Turkey with Ottoman passports when Mustapha Kemal entered Constantinople should not be allowed to return.

The Convention met with strong opposition in Greece, on the one hand from the refugee organisations, on the other from the political opponents of M. Venizelos. The former contended that the rights assured to the refugees by the Treaty of Lausanne were being infringed, the latter that the interests of the country were being sacrificed. M. Venizelos adopted a firm tone and would make no concession. When the motion for ratification came before the Chamber, he declared that he would regard any Liberals who voted against it as having thereby left the party. This threat was effective, and on June 26, after a debate of three days, the Convention was ratified by 191 votes to 19. It came into force a week later.

Immediately afterwards negotiations were begun with Turkey for the settlement of other questions outstanding. These were rapidly brought to a successful termination, and on October 25 M. Venizelos, accompanied by M. Michalokopoulos, the Greek Foreign Minister, and a number of officials, left for Angora in order to sign a Pact of Friendship and Arbitration, a Treaty of Commerce and Navigation, and a Treaty for the Limitation of Naval Armaments between Greece and Turkey. These were all duly signed on October 30. At a banquet given at Angora on October 28 by Ismet Pasha, M. Venizelos declared that his presence symbolised the end of the Graeco-Turkish conflict which had lasted for ten centuries ; and he was reported to have remarked after an interview with the Ghazi: " We have agreed on the future of the Near East."

At the beginning of the year the Refugee Settlement Commission, after settling nearly a million refugees, found that it was approaching the end of its labours. It accordingly concluded a Convention with the Greek Government for winding up the organisation at the end of the year, after which the Government would be responsible for the administration and welfare of the refugee settlements. The Convention was approved at the end of February by the Financial Committee of the League of Nations. It was stated by M. Venizelos in the Chamber in June that from first to last Greece would have expended nearly 80,000,000Z. on relieving, maintaining, settling and compensating the refugees.

On October 5 a conference opened in Athens between representatives of six Balkan Powers—Greece, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Rumania, Albania, and Turkey. The conference was promoted

by M. Papanastassiou, a former Prime Minister of Greece, and was quite unofficial, but it had the warm support of the Governments concerned, and created great enthusiasm in Athens. It sat for eight days, and attained a considerable measure of agreement. In a message sent to the countries represented, it declared that the conference had demonstrated the community of sentiment of the Balkan peoples, and the possibility of an understanding which would make for their general political union. As if to drive the lesson home, M. Venizelos made a statement to Bulgarian journalists who had come to Athens that for the sake of peaceful relations he was willing to cede to Bulgaria a port in Western Thrace and make other concessions.

In June Treaties of Friendship and Arbitration were signed with Austria and Hungary.

Some trouble was experienced with Communists at the beginning of the year, and on February 14 the police raided the Communist headquarters at Athens and seized certain documents. On October 30 supporters of General Pangalos made an abortive attempt to overthrow the Government, and some twenty-seven persons, most of them Army officers, were taken into custody. Earlier in the year the ex-Dictator, after being kept in confinement for some years, had at last been brought to trial on a charge of having committed a breach of trust when Minister of State, and on April 7 he had been condemned to two years' imprisonment and five years' loss of civil rights.

Celebrations of the centenary of Greek independence were commenced on March 25, and continued throughout the month of April.

Early in March the Chamber authorised the Government to negotiate a loan of 8,000,000*l.* for the construction of roads and drainage works. In April the Government entered into a contract with a Sheffield firm for the reclamation of a large area of waste land at a cost of 6,500,000*z.*

BULGARIA.

Bulgaria was one of the countries vitally concerned in the deliberations of The Hague Conference on Reparations held in January. She entertained hopes that the conference would benefit her in two ways—by fixing definitely the total of her liabilities, and by making the burden of her annual payments less onerous than it had hitherto been. The first of these expectations was fulfilled, but not the second. Under the terms of the Agreement reached, she was called upon to pay an annual instalment of 400,000*z.* as at present, then an increased instalment for another ten years, and finally 500,000*z.* for sixteen years, after which the debt would be deemed to be extinguished.

The creditor Powers represented at the conference considered this settlement highly favourable to Bulgaria, as they had consented to accept much less than they had previously claimed. This view was on the whole shared by the Bulgarian Government, and when the Bulgarian representatives returned from The Hague to Sofia, they declared that the country owed a deep debt of gratitude to the Powers which had brought about the settlement. The mass of the population, however, were unable to see the matter in this light. They had been hoping for a moratorium and a reduction in the annual payments. Hence when the Reparations Agreement was laid before the Sobranje, it met with fierce opposition from all the Opposition groups, and the motion for ratification was carried only after four days of violent debate.

Soon after this the antagonism between the groups forming the Democratic Entente, from which the Government was drawn, came to a head, and M. Tsankoff, the President of the Sobranje, withdrew his support from the Government. In spite of this defection the Government, on February 28, obtained a vote of confidence in the Sobranje by 133 votes to 111. The Government, however, still felt that it could not dispense with the support of the Tsankoffists, and to secure this the Prime Minister, M. Liaptcheff, after trying a number of combinations, finally on May 15 completely reconstructed his Cabinet, giving to M. Tsankoff the post of Minister of Education, and retaining only three of his former Ministers—M. Bouroff, the Minister of Foreign Affairs ; M. Molloff, the Minister of Finance ; and General Bakarjjeff, the Minister for War. On the next day the Prime Minister declared in the Sobranje that the new Government would pursue the same policy as the last, and was given an enthusiastic vote of confidence.

The year 1930 witnessed a marked improvement in the relations of Bulgaria with Yugoslavia. One main cause of dispute and irritation between the two countries was removed by the agreement which was reached on February 6 by the Bulgar-Yugoslav Frontier Commission, which had begun its sittings in the previous November. The chief provision of this Agreement was that five Mixed Commissions should be appointed to supervise the voluntary liquidation of properties situated astride the frontier, the President to be a Bulgarian judge when the Commission was adjudicating on the Bulgarian side of the border, and a Yugoslav when on the Serbian side. The Agreement was signed on February 14 and ratified by the Sobranje on March 21.

The prospect of improved relations between Bulgaria and Yugoslavia opened up by this Agreement was the reverse of pleasing to the Macedonian revolutionaries, who felt themselves most secure in the animosity between the two countries. They accordingly took immediate steps to fan the dying flames of ill-will. Between March 3 and 9 they carried out four bomb outrages in Serbian villages near the frontier, taking care to leave clear traces

of their identity. Thus the new-born amity between the two countries was subjected to a severe strain. At one moment a breach did actually seem to be imminent. Though the Bulgarian police arrested a number of suspects, the Belgrade Government considered the measures taken to be insufficient, and on March 18 expressed their opinion to Sofia in no equivocal language. The Bulgarian Government thereupon, on March 24, ordered the arrest of all militant members of both the Mihailoffist and the Protogueroffist factions of the Revolutionary Organisation and the leading Committeemen of both, thus declaring war on the body which had so long dictated its relations with Yugoslavia.

The measures taken by the Government to follow up this show of energy did not satisfy the Yugoslavian Government, and on May 15 the Yugoslavian Foreign Minister uttered at Geneva a solemn warning to Bulgaria that if she did not put a stop to the aggression of the Macedonian komitajis, Yugoslavia would avail herself of the permission given by Article 12 of the Covenant of the League of Nations to take warlike measures. At the same time the Government was being urged to a more vigorous policy from within by Dr. Tsankoff, who had just entered the Cabinet. Accordingly, it bestirred itself with more determination, and on June 22 effected a large number of arrests among Macedonian refugees living near the Yugoslav border and in Sofia. A few weeks later, at the beginning of August, it proceeded to the extreme step of ordering the arrest of the head of the Revolutionary Organisation, Ivan Mihailoff, for the murder of his rival, General Protogueroff, in 1928.

The task of the Government was made easier by the growing weakness of the Revolutionary Organisation itself, due to internal feuds between the factions of Mihailoff and Protogueroff. The improvement in the economic condition of Bulgarian Macedonia also created in the population a desire to seek redress for their political grievances by more peaceful means. One sign of this was that a Macedonian Delegation went to Geneva to petition the League of Nations. Mihailoff himself, on September 3, published an article in a revolutionary newspaper declaring his readiness to abandon methods of violence if he could obtain a guarantee that Macedonian demands for better treatment in Yugoslavia would receive proper attention.

Great enthusiasm was aroused throughout Bulgaria by the announcement on October 5 of the betrothal of King Boris to Princess Giovanna of Savoy, third daughter of the King of Italy, a country whose recent services to Bulgaria were remembered with deep gratitude. As the King belonged to the Bulgarian Church and the Princess was a Catholic, the wedding, which took place on October 25, was celebrated with unusual simplicity.

ALBANIA.

Albanian foreign relations remained unchanged in 1930. In April an Italian fleet of twenty-two vessels paid a visit to Durazzo and was received with official honours. In June an Italian instructor to the Albanian army was murdered for political motives by an Albanian refugee from Yugoslavia. The Minister for Foreign Affairs at once expressed to the Italian Legation at Tirana the grief of the whole Albanian nation.

King Zog—who, on September 1, celebrated the second anniversary of his accession—continued his efforts to modernise the country, assisted by his Prime Minister, Pande Vangheli. Their chief work during the year was to reform the agrarian system of the country. After much debate, a series of laws were carried through Parliament which provided that of the property of each landlord 40 hectares should remain inalienable, and that of the remainder, one-third should be expropriated by the Government at 20 gold francs a hectare, while the other two-thirds should remain in the possession of the landlord, provided he shared the expenses of development, cultivation, and irrigation with the tenant. Provision was also made for the formation of an Agricultural Bank with a capital of 5,000,000 gold francs.

On May 25 a census was held in which much greater care was exercised to secure accuracy than ever before. The total population of the country was returned as 1,003,068, and of the capital, Tirana, as 30,806. Foreign subjects numbered 4,709, including 2,068 Italians, 993 Greeks, 754 Yugoslavs, and 79 British.

CHAPTER V.**LESSER STATES OF WESTERN AND NORTHERN EUROPE : BELGIUM
—NETHERLANDS — SWITZERLAND — SPAIN — PORTUGAL —
DENMARK—SWEDEN—NORWAY—FINLAND.****BELGIUM.**

THE language question figured very prominently in the internal politics of Belgium in 1930. On more than one occasion it brought the Government into a difficult position. On February 13 the Bill for the Flamandisation of the University of Ghent, the consideration of which had been adjourned on account of the Hague Conference, was once more brought before the Chamber. The debate on it went on till March 6. On February 27 the first clause of the Bill, enacting the suppression of the French courses at the bilingual University of Ghent under the law of 1923, was passed by 155 votes to 10. The whole of the Bill was finally passed by 126 votes to 24. On March 26 the Senate commenced

its consideration of the Bill, which lasted till April 3, and resulted in a confirmation of the decision of the Chamber by 111 votes to 14.

The chief opposition offered in the course of the debates to complete Flamandisation had come from the Liberals, and was based by them on the principle of the liberty of the parent to decide on the education, both primary and secondary, to be given to his children. As there were Liberals in the Cabinet, the Government found no little difficulty in framing its complementary linguistic Bills. Not till May 16 did it lay them before the Senate, which referred them to a Committee. The debates on the subject of Flamandisation afforded opportunities to members of the Frontist Party to deliver anti-national and anti-French speeches which aroused widespread indignation. The Bills were eventually rejected by 126 votes to 12. The indulgence shown to the Frontists on this and subsequent occasions by the President of the Chamber, Baron Tibbaut, caused an outcry which led to his resignation. He was succeeded by the Vice-President, M. Poncelet.

On account of the centenary celebrations, the Parliamentary session was adjourned on July 4 for the Chamber, and on July 9 for the Senate. Sittings were resumed in October, but the language question was not reopened before the end of the year. Outside, however, it was handled in a way which led to important political consequences. On October 12 the National Council of the Liberal Party adopted a formula for settling the language question in primary and secondary education. At the beginning of November the Rector of the new Flemish University of Ghent, in a circular addressed to the staff, informed them that the Minister of Arts and Sciences forbade them to lend their assistance to the French *Ecole des Hautes Etudes* of Ghent, which was regarded as a rival institution. Many Catholics protested against this order as illegal. On November 10 the Liberal Federation of Brussels, on the proposal of the Minister, M. Adolphe Max, Mayor of Brussels, passed a resolution censuring the order of the Government and appealing to the Liberal members of the Cabinet to procure its withdrawal. On the 12th the Liberal members of the Cabinet, considering that this resolution deprived them of the right to represent their party in the Government, resigned, and the whole Cabinet resigned with them. The King, however, refused to accept the resignation, on the ground that the question had not been the subject of any debate or vote in Parliament, and that he had no data on which to go for forming a new Ministry. In reply to Parliamentary questions from the leaders of the Liberal Party, the Prime Minister, M. Jaspar, declared that the circular of the Rector had gone too far, and that all that was forbidden to the Professors was to give the *same* courses in the two institutions. He then demanded a vote of confidence, which was

accorded to him by a majority of 29 in the Senate and of 26 in the Chamber.

In May instructions were issued by the Minister of National Defence that the Linguistic Law should be applied in the Army. Company commands were to be given in the official language of the unit, but commands in the larger units (*e.g.*, battalion) in French. This language was also to be used in official communications between officers of the active Army.

On June 11, after discussions extending over two months, the Chamber passed a Government Bill effecting considerable reductions in taxation. In the Senate, after a brief discussion, the Bill was passed by 75 votes to 34. By the new law reductions were made in the supertax, the property tax, and the land tax. The relief to the taxpayer was nearly 15 per cent., and the loss to the Treasury was estimated at more than 15,000,000Z. Later in the session a Bill was passed to increase the pensions of disabled soldiers by 50 per cent., and of war widows by 25 per cent., also to grant pensions to aged miners. As a result of these measures the Cabinet found itself faced in October with a deficit of 17,000,000Z., most of which, however, was covered by the awards to Belgium under the Young Plan.

On October 25, on the demand of the Farmers' Union, the Government took measures to reduce Russian imports of grain and to prevent dumping by the Soviet.

On January 8 the Princess Marie-Jose was married to the Crown Prince of Italy amid great popular enthusiasm. The celebrations of the centenary of Belgian independence, which took place later in the year, evoked striking manifestations of patriotism. In connexion with the centenary two great exhibitions were held at Antwerp and Liege, the former of which was opened on April 26 by the King with great pomp and ceremony. The celebrations culminated in a series of festivities on July 20 and 21 in which the King and the whole Royal Family played a leading part. Their conduct throughout won the applause and admiration of all classes of the people. The birth of a son—Prince Baudouin—to the Crown Prince Leopold on September 7 assured the succession to the throne in the direct line.

On January 29 M. Jaspar, the Prime Minister, and M. Paul Hymans, the Foreign Minister, gave a detailed account in the Chamber of the results of The Hague Conference. Approval of their policy was expressed by MM. Vandervelde, Carton de Wiart, and Deveze, the leaders of the three chief political parties. The Bill ratifying The Hague Agreement was passed by the Chamber by 140 votes to 1, and by the Senate by 109 votes to 1. The substitution of the Young Plan for the Dawes Plan formally put an end to the dispute between Belgium and Germany on the resumption by Germany of the paper marks introduced into Belgium during the Occupation, Germany agreeing to make a

partial reimbursement by paying thirty-seven annuities of a nominal value of 6 milliards 461 millions of Belgian francs. Altogether Belgium is to receive in the course of thirty-seven years 782 millions of paper francs. In addition, she is freed from the obligation of repaying to Germany 350 millions accruing from the liquidation of German stocks.

In the debate on the Vote for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs on February 5 and 6 M. Vandervelde, the Socialist leader, demanded that the Soviet Government should be recognised by Belgium. The Minister for Foreign Affairs refused to entertain the suggestion on the ground that such a step would not help the cause of European peace, and that the Government had no wish to see a Communist propagandist bureau established in Belgium under cover of diplomatic immunity.

On March 25 M. Vandervelde, in the Chamber, raised the question of native labour in the Congo. He denounced the methods of recruiting the native workers, and exclaimed against the high rate of mortality among them, due, according to him, to the harsh methods of the employers, who forced the negroes to work even when they were ill. M. Jaspas, in reply, while admitting that there had been abuses, maintained that matters had improved since the appointment of a Commission which was studying the subject, and referred to the testimony paid by foreign observers to the benefits conferred on the natives by the Belgian administration, especially in saving them from the horrors of internecine war.

THE NETHERLANDS.

The year 1930 brought little change in the internal political situation. The Ruys de Beerenbrouck Cabinet, recruited from the three great parties of the Right, owed its continuance in office mainly to the fact that it could not easily be replaced. No efforts were made to form a new coalition of the parties of the Right which would render a genuinely parliamentary Government possible. The members of the Premier's own party made no secret of their dissatisfaction with his leadership, but the whole of the Right continued to support the Cabinet, for want of something better.

If the Premier was criticised for his weakness, the Minister for Finance, Jhr. de Geer, who more and more proved himself to be the driving force in the Cabinet, displayed a masterfulness which aroused resentment. Thus, he chose to make a question of confidence of a not very urgent proposal to increase the Excise on distilled liquors, and so compelled a great many members of the Roman Catholic Party to accept it against their will. On a previous occasion also Jhr. de Geer had given umbrage to a number of members, mostly Roman Catholics, by refusing to appropriate

funds for the improvement of the position of State employees, more particularly teachers.

As the year went on, the prospects of forming a new Government Coalition on a sounder basis, by combining the Democratic Catholics, the Radicals and the Social Democrats, became much fainter. Warned, perhaps, by the difficulties experienced by their fellow-Socialists in Belgium and Germany as a result of a similar Government combination, and those with which the Labour Cabinet in Great Britain had to contend, the Social Democrats proved far less anxious to take part in the Government than they had formerly been. The economic crisis and the resultant drop in the State revenues also made them less inclined to shoulder the responsibilities of government. The Left wing of the Social Democrats, which is averse to all alliance with the bourgeois parties, made its influence more strongly felt during the year, and the fear of losing votes to the Communists, who were no longer divided among themselves, was also an important consideration. At the instance of their Left wing, the Social Democrats revoked a decision they had formed to attend the opening of the States General by the Queen, and they thus widened still further the gulf between themselves and the bourgeois parties. On the other hand, the Roman Catholics, although never cherishing militarist inclinations, could not sympathise with the demand for unilateral disarmament which occupied the first place in the party programmes and the propaganda of the Radicals and the Social Democrats. In the course of the debates on the Budget the Premier referred to an utterance on this subject from Mr. Albarda, the Socialist leader and successor to Dr. Troelstra (to whose great talents a well-deserved tribute was paid by all parties at the time of his death in May, 1930), and asked him whether, in case of necessity, the co-operation of the Social Democrats might be relied on, as in 1914, in the event of the mobilisation of the defensive forces. Mr. Albarda, in his answer, stated that the Socialist Party, though prepared with full conviction to work in the interests of the preservation or the restoration of national independence, regarded the armed defence of the country as the surest means of losing its independence and of reducing both country and people to ruin, in short, as national suicide. Its co-operation for that purpose, therefore, could not be reckoned on.

As in all other countries, the year 1930 was in the Netherlands one of economic stress. Agriculture especially passed through a difficult time, as a result of the great drop in the grain and sugar prices, and the closing of frontiers, especially those of Germany, to the import of agricultural produce. A German attempt to circumvent the most-favoured-nation clause to the detriment of the Netherlands, by an unofficial agreement with Finnish exporters, aroused violent protests, with threats of reprisals by a boycott of German goods. The German Government thereupon

abandoned its design. The danger which was thus revealed led to an economic *rapprochement* between the Netherlands and the Scandinavian countries, which considered themselves equally menaced. The impotence of the Economic Conference of the League of Nations to put an end to the constant screwing up of the tariffs in various countries only drew Scandinavia and the Netherlands more closely together. The Belgo-Luxemburg Customs Union also joined a conference held at Oslo in December, which resulted in the conclusion of a treaty aiming at economic good understanding. The contracting countries engaged not to increase their existing import duties or create new ones without notifying the other parties to the treaty betimes of their intention, so as to give them an opportunity to propose amendments. It was agreed that other than the original contracting countries might also become parties to the treaty. In an appended protocol, the parties to the treaty intimated their willingness to extend support to all international efforts to reduce impediments to trade and to improve commercial relations in general. The intention was also expressed to continue the economic co-operation which had been begun in the course of 1930. Further, it was stated that the signatories would bear in mind the possibility of extending the application of the principle which formed the basis of the treaty to other regulations calculated to promote international trade.

In the same spirit, the Netherlands Government, when pressed by various members of the States-General to protect Dutch agriculture and industry by means of higher import tariffs, repeatedly declared that it had no intention of introducing any change in the Netherlands' commercial policy. The levying of an import duty of *fl.*2-40 (equal to 5 gold frs.) per 100 kilos on refined sugar and a proportionate duty on all goods containing sugar was not contrary to this declaration, and while it afforded some relief to sugar beet-growers, it did not amount to a deviation from the traditional Netherlands free-trade policy.

Other proposals to which the Government, in its adherence to free trade, refused to accede were to impose a temporary duty on wheat and rye, to abolish the excise on meat, to regularise the grain trade as in Switzerland, and to grant a subvention to the sugar industry. Nevertheless, towards the end of the year it came to the conclusion that certain protective measures were necessary on behalf of wheat growers and potato-flour manufacturers. A Bill was accordingly introduced by the Government—and already passed by the Second Chamber before the end of the year—providing for a minimum percentage of home-grown wheat to be used by bakers in the preparation of bread-dough. Another Bill was introduced, providing for the appropriation of an amount of *fl.*A-5 million for the granting of credits, at the rate of 2 per cent., to the potato-flour industry.

On account of the extra-parliamentary character of the

Cabinet, Bills involving matters of principle were not introduced. Among the more important Bills which were passed were a revision of the Municipalities Act, a new Leasehold Act, an Act providing for the legal regulation of closing hours for shops, a new Act relative to notaries public, and an Act providing for the construction of a larger canal between Amsterdam and the Rhine. Widespread discontent was aroused by new broadcasting regulations, by which the General Broadcasting Society was required to set aside a considerable number of hours for denominational and Social Democratic societies.

Serious opposition was also offered to the Government's proposals to strengthen the naval defence of the Dutch East and West Indies by the construction of a cruiser armed with six 6-inch guns and with a speed of 32 knots, four destroyers and six submarines for the East Indies, and a flotilla vessel armed with three 6-inch guns and with a speed of 15 knots, and two torpedo boats of about 300 tons for the West Indies. These naval plans aimed on the one hand at placing reserve craft at the disposal of the East Indies, and on the other at strengthening the protection of the West Indies, which had proved inadequate, and the total cost involved was estimated at 119 million guilders, of which 46 millions was for the account of the East Indies. The Social Democrats and the Radicals, who are in favour of one-sided disarmament, offered violent opposition to these plans, and organised a protest, to which some million and a half signatures were appended, and which was laid before the Second Chamber. A similar protest was presented from the Church and Peace Society, with 80,000 signatures. Dr. Deckers, the Minister for Defence, succeeded, however, in winning the support of the States-General for these plans, largely by emphasising the fact that if Parliament voted in favour of the first instalment of 300,000 guilders now asked, it would nevertheless not bind itself with regard to the further construction of the ships which the Government considered necessary. The Second Chamber passed this Bill by 61 votes to 33 (Socialists, Radicals, one Communist, and two Independents), the First Chamber by 28 votes to 12 (Socialists and Radicals).

Foreign relations remained unchanged throughout the year. For the purpose of furthering a friendly agreement with Belgium, a suggestion was made in the First Chamber that a commission containing members who were experts in questions relative to shipping matters and other branches of the transport business should be instituted. The Minister for Foreign Affairs, however, declined the suggestion, on the ground that the question of friendly relations with Belgium formed so general an interest that the Government thought it hardly correct to entrust its promotion to special circles or groups of the population. In the Memorandum of Reply concerning the 1931 Budget, the Government moreover declared that The Hague and Brussels were constantly in touch,

and that on the Dutch side everything possible was being done to arrive at the desired result.

The loyal participation of the Netherlands in the festivities accompanying the centenary of Belgium's independence, particularly its co-operation in the exhibitions of Antwerp and Liège, and the visit in August of a Dutch squadron to Antwerp, exercised a favourable influence on the relations between the two neighbour States.

A Bill was passed approving the Netherlands becoming a party to Chapters I., II. and IV. of the General Act on the pacific settlement of international disputes, as laid down by the Ninth Assembly of the League of Nations on September 26, 1928. Objection was taken to the more extensive functions accorded in Chapter III. to the Court of Arbitration of deciding "ex aequo et bono"; a general obligation to that effect was rejected, and until further experience of the working of this provision should be available, the Government and the States-General considered the acceptance of Chapter III. unadvisable.

A new Arbitration Treaty between the Netherlands and the United States was concluded on January 13, and subsequently ratified by Parliament. The treaty replaced that which had been concluded on May 2, 1908. The basis of the new treaty was the same as in the old, only the deviations from the principle of arbitration were more precisely defined, and so rendered less elastic.

Commercial treaties were concluded with Yugoslavia and Rumania.

With regard to the financial situation of the country the following figures became available. For 1927 there was a surplus of 75*3 million guilders, and for 1928 a surplus of 57*2 millions; for 1929 the surplus, originally estimated at 8.2 millions, was expected to reach 50*9 millions; for 1930 the revenue had exceeded the estimate by 19 millions so that a surplus might be expected; for 1931 the estimated expenditure was 612 millions, and estimated revenue 603 millions. Owing to the world crisis, however, revenue was likely to fall below this figure, and the Minister for Finance uttered a serious warning against undue optimism.

SWITZERLAND.

The year 1930 was uneventful in respect both of internal and external affairs. No change took place in the Federal Government. The Federal Council was composed as follows: Political Department (Foreign Affairs), Motta (Ticino, Catholic-Conservative); Justice and Police, Haberlin (Thurgau, Liberal); Home Affairs, Meyer (Zurich, Liberal); Defence, Minger (Berne, Peasant and Middle-Class Party); Finance and Customs, Musy (Freiburg,

Catholic-Conservative); National Economy, Schulthess (Aargau, Liberal); Posts and Railways, Pilet (Vaud, Liberal).

Only one plebiscite for the whole Federation took place in 1930—on April 6. By accepting the revised Articles 31 and 32 of the Constitution, the people imposed upon itself a heavier taxation of spirituous liquors (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1929, p. 248). 494,248 individual votes and 17 Cantonal votes were cast for the proposal, and 321,641 individual votes and 5 Cantonal votes against.

The taxes on alcohol and tobacco are to be used for defraying the cost of the Old Age and Dependents Insurance (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1925, p. 221). The Federal law for taxing tobacco was passed by both Federal Chambers in 1930 almost unanimously. It will be put in force by the Federal Council if by March 24, 1931 (when the so-called referendum period ends), its operation has not been deferred by a plebiscite. The part of the Bill which deals with Old Age and Dependents Insurance has been passed by the National Council, and its discussion in the State Council (Upper House) has almost been completed. It provides for all inhabitants of Switzerland, without distinction of means, a yearly income of 200 francs from the age of 65. For persons without means this income can be increased by a contribution from the public funds. Premiums are to be paid from the ages of 19 to 65, and are fixed at 18 francs for a man and 12 francs for a woman. In addition, for every person in a position of employment a premium of 15 francs yearly is to be paid by the employer.

The movement against universal military service has not yet died down, but the counter-movement has gained strength. The Social Democratic Party continues to repudiate the obligation of national defence, but only puts up its second-rate speakers in Parliament to oppose the military credits.

In view of the military preparations of her two powerful neighbours, Switzerland also was compelled to strengthen her defensive forces. In March both Chambers—the State Council unanimously and the National Council by 121 votes to 48—voted 20 million francs for the modernising of the Air arm. In the 1930 Budget 86*7 millions were set aside for the Army, and in the 1931 Budget 92*9 millions.

As a result of a by-election, a Social Democrat once more obtained a seat in the Upper Chamber, where this party had been without representation since 1928 (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1928, p. 198).

Parliament in an extraordinary session ratified the Convention regarding the Bank for International Payments in Basle.

The popular initiative against foreign decorations (*i.e.*, the French Legion of Honour) had proposed to add an article to the Constitution prohibiting the acceptance by Swiss citizens in Switzerland of foreign orders and decorations from foreign Powers

under penalty of disfranchisement (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1928, p. 199). This proposal met with bitter opposition in the French part of Switzerland, and the plebiscite which it necessitated threatened to create a violent conflict between the French and the German elements in Switzerland. The Federal Council, therefore, drafted a compromise proposal which merely extended to Cantonal functionaries and deputies the prohibition to accept orders and pensions, which already applied to members of the defence force and to Federal functionaries and deputies. This proposal was adopted by both Chambers. The Initiative Committee thereupon withdrew its more radical proposal. The plebiscite on the proposal of the Federal Council was fixed for February 8, 1931.

The Federal Criminal Code was approved in March by the National Council by 99 votes to 5, with numerous abstentions, and since then has been deposited with the Commissions of the State Council. Until the Code comes into force the criminal codes of the various Cantons remain valid.

A Socialist motion to recognise the Soviet Government was rejected by the Federal Council, whose action received the support of the great majority of the National Council.

The economic crisis of 1930 was less noticeable in Switzerland than in most other countries, as the home market is very strong, and it was found possible to keep the rate of interest low. The imports for 1930 were of the value of 2,664,000,000 francs, and the exports of 1,768,000,000 francs. In spite of this excess of imports there was a favourable balance, owing to the amount of Swiss capital invested abroad and the profits earned by Swiss banks in international exchange. At the end of December the number of wholly unemployed was 12,881, and of partially unemployed 23,649. The proportion of the total working population wholly unemployed at the end of December was 47 per cent., and partially unemployed 10.5 per cent. (1.5 per cent, in 1929).

The increase in the American tariff dealt a severe blow to the watchmaking and the embroidery trades. An agitation was started for reprisals, but it found no great support. Assistance was given to Swiss agriculture through an increase in the duties on butter and lard, as also through a credit of 5,000,000 francs to keep *up* milk prices. Great Britain in 1930 displaced Germany as the chief customer for Swiss products.

The Budget for 1931 showed a deficit for the first time for many years, revenue being estimated at 402,520,000,000 francs, and expenditure at 407,100,000,000 francs.

The census taken on December 1 showed a population of 4,067,305 (on December, 1920, 3,880,320). The increase was chiefly in the towns ; in some mountain districts the population declined.

The General Arbitration and Conciliation Treaty with France, which was signed in Paris on April 8, 1925, and ratified by the

Swiss Chambers on September 25, 1925, has not yet been ratified by France. France is the only neighbour of Switzerland with whom she has no Arbitration Treaty in force.

By May 1 no agreement had been reached between Switzerland and France on the question of the Free Zones at Geneva (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1929, p. 251). Consequently the case between them before The Hague International Court entered upon a second stage. By an ordinance of December 6 the Court again upheld the Swiss contention that Art. 435, par. 2, of the Treaty of Versailles had neither abolished the Free Zones at Geneva nor intended their abolition. The Court, however, did not yet draft a new regulation for the zones, though it went so far as to declare that any such regulation must respect the rights of Switzerland arising out of the treaties of 1815 and the supplementary treaties. Withal the sovereignty of France over the zones remains, and no obligation beyond those arising from the treaties of 1815 can be imposed on that country without her own consent. The Ordinance recommends direct negotiations between Switzerland and France, in which both sides could define the products which should be allowed in duty-free or with reduced duty on both sides, and settle all other points affecting the regime of the zones. The time-limit for such negotiations was fixed at July 31, 1931. In spite of the fact that the Hague Court has for the second time confirmed the right of Switzerland to the zones and so declared the advancing of the French Customs barrier to the political frontier at Geneva to be illegal (November 10, 1923, *vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1923, p. 237), the French did not remove their Customs or officials and duties were levied as before.

Switzerland was the last Government to reply to the Briand Memorandum on a European Federation. The Note of the Federal Council on the subject was in effect a refusal to co-operate. Switzerland's policy of neutrality scarcely permits it to belong to a political union which goes further than the League of Nations. The results of the Preparatory Conference on Disarmament were received with almost universal dissatisfaction in Switzerland, as the scheme drawn up offers no prospect of limitation of armaments on land, and does nothing to improve the relations of the disarmed States to the military Powers, whereas the interest of Switzerland, owing to her geographical position, lies in a balance of power.

The friction which for some years had characterised the relations of Switzerland to Italy vanished almost entirely from the time that the new Italian Envoy, Signor Marchi, entered on his office (February 28, 1930). Signor Marchi, who had been a Fascist from the beginning of the movement, subjected the Fascist organisations in Switzerland to a strict discipline. He suffered no provocative behaviour on their side, and in consequence a stop was put automatically to the conflicts between Italian Fascists and Anti-Fascists, as also between Fascists and Swiss, about

which the former Envoy, Count Pignatti, had constantly been making complaints to the Government at Berne. Nevertheless, though the Fascist organisations were much less in evidence, their very existence (not to say further development) places Switzerland in an awkward position, since it means that a neighbouring State controls a network of groups organised in strict military fashion on her territory.

Some stir was created by the so-called Bassanesi case. This man, an Italian refugee, had come from France, where he was in close touch with the leaders of the anti-Fascist movement, in an aeroplane to Geneva, and from there had flown to the Canton of Ticino, where he had landed on forbidden ground and taken on board anti-Fascist propaganda material which had been prepared for him. He had then flown over the Italian frontier and dropped the leaflets over Milan (July 12). On his return flight Bassanesi missed his way in the Gothard district, struck a rock with his aeroplane, and was injured and eventually captured. The Federal Council desired at all costs to prevent his trial being made the occasion of a political demonstration against Fascism. It therefore instructed the Federal Attorney to indict him not for a political offence, in which case he would have been tried by a Federal jury, but for a breach of the Federal Air Regulations, trial for which would be held before a Federal Criminal Court composed of Judges. The trial took place in Lugano. The sentence, pronounced on November 22, was for four months' imprisonment. As the offence was only a breach of police regulations, the sentence was a severe one, but the prisoner had already served nearly the whole of his term while awaiting his trial.

On the last day of the imprisonment the political authorities stepped in. The Federal Council expelled Bassanesi and his two helpers Tarchini and Rosselli permanently from Switzerland.

This expulsion order was regarded by many Swiss of all political views as a truckling to Italy and as an infringement of the right of asylum which had always been granted by Switzerland. Public opinion was greatly excited, and the Federal Council was violently attacked by papers of all shades of opinion (but not by the whole of the Press). From this unpleasant position it was extricated by the leader of the Swiss Social Democrats, National Councillor Grimm. As soon as the National Council met, Herr Grimm moved a vote of censure on the Federal Council for expelling Bassanosì. Immediately the bourgeois parties backed the Government, the vote of censure was defeated, and the incident closed.

SPAIN.

The outstanding political event of the year in Spain was the fall of the Dictatorship on January 28, after having lasted since

September 13, 1923, and the replacement of the Marqués de Estella's Cabinet by a "bridge" Government under General Berenguer, who was nominated by King Alfonso to carry out the task of restoring the Constitution of 1876. The immediate cause of the Dictator's resignation was his having circularised the Captains-General throughout Spain on January 26, ordering them to sound the officers under their command as to whether they wished him to remain as head of the Government or not. Only a few weeks previously he had sought and obtained the expression of the King's continued confidence, yet in this appeal to the military he stated that "the Dictatorship was proclaimed by the military and upheld by the people," and added that "within five minutes of an adverse verdict being pronounced I shall hand back to the King the powers conferred on me." This was practically repudiating the monarch in favour of the Army, and the result was inevitable.

The fall of the Dictatorship had been imminent for some time. The growing discontent in the Army and Civil Service, the ever wider split with Liberal opinion, the unfortunate intervention of the Government in economic affairs by the creation of unpopular monopolies, and the continued decline in the peseta exchange, all combined to end the long period of unconstitutional Government. It was generally believed that the King had refused to contemplate General Primo de Rivera's scheme for reforming the Constitution without convoking the Cortes, and chose the moment most favourable for getting rid of the Dictator. The man who, whatever his failings, had given the country peace in Morocco and at home, repaired to Paris where he died on March 16 in his 60th year. [See under Obituaries.] Large crowds attended to witness the military funeral at Madrid on March 19, when the honours of a Captain-General were accorded him, and even his political enemies paid tribute to his patriotic aims.

The first acts of the new "bridge" Government were calculated to placate the Constitutionalists. The hybrid "National Assembly" was abolished on February 16, the County Councils restored, new Civil Governors appointed to 45 of the 50 provinces of Spain, and the decree of promotion by merit instead of seniority which had caused such discontent in the Army, especially in the Artillery Corps, was cancelled. The nominated Town Councils were dissolved and new ones appointed; half the Mayors, however, continued to be Government nominees. As a measure of public economy, all new public works voted by the outgoing Cabinet for the ensuing year were cancelled. On February 23 the Ministry of State (Foreign Affairs), which had been abolished by the Dictatorship, was re-established and occupied by the Duke of Alba, who had temporarily held the post of Public Instruction and had been largely instrumental in bringing about the peaceful change of Government,

That this change was not to be effected so easily soon became evident; political feeling, pent up during the long years of the Dictatorship, burst in a stormy demand for responsibility. The first attack was made in a violent speech delivered by the former Conservative leader, Sefior Sanchez Guerra, at Madrid on February 27, and directed against the Bang. There followed a wave of unrest which placed the Government in an awkward situation. They had begun by granting a wide political amnesty and restoring constitutional guarantees, but after the short-lived truce on the occasion of General Primo de Rivera's death, in March, they found their liberal measures recoil upon them. Whilst Sefior Sanchez Guerra had merely broken with the King, Sefior Alcala Zamora openly went over to the Republicans, taking with him a large body of Liberals. The Republicans adopted more violent methods. Professor Unamuno, who, after long years of exile in Paris, had been reappointed to the Chair of Greek at Salamanca University, came to Madrid on May 1, and from the Athenaeum Club preached open revolution, calling upon the youth of Spain to establish the revolution by force. Rioting and street fighting ensued on the following days, when the red flag was hoisted at the University and San Carlos Hospital. This led to a fresh halt being called by the Government in political propaganda and the closing of the Madrid and other Universities. The revolutionaries replied by organising a series of lightning strikes and riots throughout Spain which lasted sporadically over the summer, and from the manner in which they arose and were called off were evidently of a political nature. Riots at San Sebastian on May 30, and strikes at Bilbao, were followed by the short but sharp clash of the general strike proclaimed at Seville on June 23, which spread to a number of other towns in the south of Spain.

These outbreaks embarrassed the Government in two ways—they delayed the holding of elections and, by causing a steady fall in the peseta, defeated the very purpose for which the Government had come into being. When late in June the sterling exchange touched 45, all other problems dwindled in importance. On July 2 the Government announced its intention to stabilise the peseta on a gold basis, and, as a preliminary step, to start controlling the exchange. On July 23 a determined attempt was made to prevent the outflow of money by the drastic raising of the duties on the import of the more common luxuries. Finally, on August 17, the Finance Minister, Sefior Arguelles, was replaced by the Minister of National Economy, Sefior Wais, and stricter measures taken with a view to protecting the peseta.

These measures were prevented from bearing fruit by the continuance of political unrest. A monster meeting held in the bull-ring at Madrid, on September 23, was a striking demonstration of Republican organisation; but the strike in Barcelona, earlier in the month, when the anarchical methods of pre-dictatorial days

reappeared, and the succession of strikes in many parts of the country, proved that the less orderly elements were at work in a determined attempt to wreck the Government and upset the regime. The Government retaliated by arresting the principal agitators throughout the country. But by October 14 the peseta had fallen to 50 to the £ and, though the elections to the Cortes were announced for December, the prospect of their being held then seemed as remote as ever. The success of the sharper measures for monetary control, by which the opposition of the Bank of Spain was overcome and preliminary negotiations entered into with the Bank of International Settlements, was destined to be short-lived.

The public funeral given on November 14 to four workmen who had been killed in a building accident was made the occasion of a labour demonstration, which, in the hands of political agitators, degenerated into a riot, attended by bloodshed. The general strike proclaimed in Madrid as a protest against the action of the police and the Civil Guard, was followed by more serious strikes at Barcelona, Seville, Valencia, and other towns; in fact thenceforward until the end of the year the south, south-east, and east of Spain, the latter region the stronghold of Republicanism, were seething with suppressed revolt. In Madrid, police precautions on a large scale were evidence of Government anxiety, and this was increased in November by the escape from military prison of Major Franco, who had been arrested for seditious speeches.

That there were good grounds for this anxiety was proved by the final outbreak of revolt in the Army. On December 12 the garrison of Jaca, a small town in the Province of Huesca near the Pyrenees, misled by its junior officers and assisted by civilian Republicans from Saragossa, mutinied and imprisoned the authorities. Under the leadership of Captain Galan, a notorious Republican with Communistic leanings, the soldiery, believing the Republic to have been proclaimed, established the new regime at Jaca, and set out to join the garrison at the provincial capital of Huesca. They were met half-way, at the Pass of Ayerbe, on the morning of the following day by the flying column from Saragossa that had been rapidly organised by the Government, and were dispersed after a few rounds of artillery fire. By 10 A.M., on December 13, the revolt had collapsed and over a hundred prisoners had been taken, including the five officers. On December 14 the two ringleaders, Captains Galan and Garcia, were court-martialled and shot.

The revolt at Jaca, ill-timed owing to the impatience of Captain Galan, was but the premature outburst of a widespread plot to upset the Government and establish the Republic which had been planned by political elements all over the country, who counted upon the aid of some dissatisfied officers. It had hardly been **suppressed** when it was followed three days afterwards by a **revolt of** the military stationed at the aerodrome of Cuatro Vientos,

on the outskirts of Madrid. In appearance more dangerous, owing to its immediate proximity to the capital, this mutiny was an even more grotesque failure than the former. At 9 A.M., on December 15, two military aeroplanes with the national colours painted over in red, flew over the city and barracks, dropping leaflets calling upon the population and the troops to rise and confirm the success of the provisional Republican Government. The Government responded by despatching a column to bombard the aerodrome, the mutineers immediately surrendered, and by noon the police were distributing communiques in the streets to inform the public that the outbreak had been quelled.

Upon the collapse of the movement, the leaders, including the notorious Major Franco, escaped in aeroplanes to Portugal. Their political abettors were less fortunate ; lists of all the politicians implicated were found by the police, and the gaols of Madrid and other cities were soon overflowing with political prisoners, chief among them the " Head of the Republican Government," Senor Alcala Zamora. The Government, being assured of the loyalty of the Army, could afford to take stronger measures and devote its attention afresh to its programme. On December 31 the elections to the Cortes were finally fixed for March 1, 1931.

PORTUGAL.

Early in the year there was a ministerial crisis of which the person of Dr. Oliveira Salazar, the Minister of Finance, and his fiscal policy appeared to be the centre. The question was resolved after ten days' delay, and a new Ministry formed, with General Domingos Oliveira as Premier, Dr. Salazar however, still retaining the portfolio of Finance.

The policy of economy and retrenchment pursued by the Minister of Finance during the last two or three years again resulted in a surplus, amounting for the financial year 1929-30 to an equivalent of about 400,000L. The floating debt, which in 1929 amounted to 20,460,000?., was reduced to 9,400,000Z. Two internal loans were floated during 1930, the Ports loan of a million sterling, for the improvement and equipment of the principal Portuguese ports, and the Consolidated loan, series A, also of a million sterling. Both were considerably over-subscribed. Exchange has remained steady at about 108 Escudos to the £.

As has happened in so many countries a strong wave of national fervour and patriotism passed over the country which manifested itself in various ways. In order to bolster up her mercantile marine, Portugal had recourse to " flag discrimination " as regards foreign ships entering Portuguese ports. The port dues for Portuguese ships are considerably lower than for foreign vessels, and cargo carried on Portuguese bottoms enjoys great

advantages. Other nations have tried the system but have had to abandon it, and Portugal is practically the only nation in the world that persists in maintaining it. It is a cause of strained feeling against Portugal by the foreign shipping companies, and if persisted in must sooner or later lead to reprisals.

A law was decreed prohibiting the exposure of foreign words in public places, sign boards, advertisements, etc., in order to preserve the purity of the language, and even the menus in hotels and restaurants must by law be in Portuguese.

In May a decree was promulgated called the Colonial Act—"Acto Colonial"—the main object of which was to maintain the integrity of the Portuguese possessions and to limit as much as possible foreign influence, especially as regards concessions. Portuguese possessions heretofore denominated Provinces were in future to be called Colonies and the whole of them the Portuguese Colonial Empire.

On May 6 the trial of Alves dos Reis and his accomplices, relating to the surreptitious issue of about a million sterling in 500 Escudos notes, bearing the effigy of Vasco da Gama, commenced. The London firm of printers, Waterlow & Sons, had, through false representations, been induced to print the notes. Those responsible for the fraud, including the Portuguese Minister at The Hague, were sentenced by the Portuguese to long terms of imprisonment. Later, the Bank of Portugal brought an action in London against Waterlow & Sons, who were condemned to pay heavy damages.

The Dictatorship established on May 28, 1926, continued to rule with a firm hand. During the year, however, events occurred which clearly showed that the old political parties were still conspiring and endeavouring by violent means to upset the present order. In May, Cunha Leal, a prominent leader of the old Nationalist Party, who had held the office of Prime Minister, was arrested and deported to the Azores. In July all preparations for a revolution to place the democrats in power had been made, but was discovered just in time by the secret police. As a result many officers and civilians were arrested and deported. Quantities of bombs and war material were discovered in Lisbon and in the country, and even machine-guns and gas bombs which had been introduced from abroad with the connivance of some custom-house officials.

On November 19 the Nelson Line lost one of her finest ships, the *Highland Hope*, which was totally wrecked on one of the Berlinga Islands, off the coast of Portugal. No lives were lost of the 550 people aboard, with the exception of a Spanish emigrant who was crushed between the boats when coming off.

DENMARK.

During 1930 relations between the German and the Danish elements in Slesvig continued to improve, and the condition of the province was on the whole tranquil. More and more the settlement effected by the Treaty of Versailles commenced to justify itself. The Danish Government, while not always agreeing on questions of principle with the German minority, sought to deal objectively with individual questions and to satisfy all reasonable claims. Thus the German population gained a feeling of greater confidence, and friction between the Danish and German Governments on this head was avoided.

The chief questions at issue between Denmark and her neighbour on the south were of an economic and commercial nature. In the agreement with Sweden, Germany conceded to that country an important tariff reduction for a certain quota of slaughter cattle, and Finland was similarly given a preference for a certain quota of butter. The same concessions were made to Denmark, but whereas in the case of Sweden and Finland the quotas amply covered the whole of their normal exports of these commodities to Germany, in the case of Denmark they covered only a fraction. Denmark contended that this was a violation of the general commercial agreement with Germany, based as it was upon the most-favoured-nation principle. Germany declined to accept this view, and Denmark thereupon instructed Dr. P. Munch, the Danish Minister of Foreign Affairs, to submit the question for discussion at the 11th Assembly of the League of Nations in September. After being debated at length in the Assembly and also in the Second Committee, the matter was referred for further investigation to the Committee on Economics, which heard representatives of the States concerned at its meeting in October.

In other directions also Denmark took a noteworthy share in the work of the League of Nations. Mr. Erik Scavenius, Minister at Stockholm and formerly a Minister of Foreign Affairs, was Chairman of the Committee for expediting the ratification of the treaties emanating from the League of Nations, and another former Danish Foreign Minister, Count Carl Moltke, presided over the discussions of the so-called "Tariff Truce Conference," which resulted in the Convention of March 24. Besides accepting this Convention, Denmark acceded to the Oslo Convention of December 22, between Norway, Denmark, Sweden, Holland, and Belgium, in which these five countries, representing about 10 per cent, of the total trade of the world, attempted to apply to themselves the free trade ideas embodied in the Geneva Convention of March 24.

Internal politics in 1930 were uneventful. The Stauning Ministry, formed of the Social Democrat and Radical Left parties in April, 1929, was firmly established throughout the year, and

was able to carry through several important reforms and to prepare the way for a number of others. In the matter of national defence, which has been such a thorny question in Danish politics for years, progress was made with the Government's Bill to reduce the Army to a frontier guard and the Navy to a State marine. Discussions on the matter were opened between the Government and the largest of the Opposition parties, but at the end of the year an agreement was not yet in sight.

The Budget of 1930 again showed a surplus which permitted of a certain acceleration in the repayment of the national debt. Trade in 1930 in Denmark was undoubtedly more flourishing than in any other country in Europe.

Only in the latter half of the year did agriculture begin to feel a little of the pinch that was so severely affecting agriculture in many other countries, and two good years had provided it with an ample reserve of forces. Industry did not have to contend with any disturbance on the labour market, and on the whole there was less unemployment than in the year before. Not till the latter half of the year did the prices of its products begin to yield perceptibly to the general pressure. Unemployment at the same time began to increase, but at no time did it assume threatening dimensions.

In the course of the year the Press in some countries published rumours that Denmark was entertaining plans for the sale of her great Arctic colony, Greenland. These rumours were entirely unfounded, and were met with categorical denials by the Government. From a trade point of view 1930 was favourable to the population of Greenland, and the improved conditions were in all departments productive of cultural progress. On the Faroe Islands, which form a county within the Kingdom of Denmark, there was during the year a certain political ferment which gave the mistaken impression abroad that there was a vigorous movement in the islands for separation from Denmark. Before the year closed this local agitation had calmed down to some extent, after it had been established that the people of the islands are quite unshaken in their loyalty to Denmark. In Iceland, the independent realm which is united with Denmark under one king, the principal event of the year was the thousandth anniversary of the foundation of the Alting, which drew from all parts of the world manifestations of friendship and admiration for Iceland and its people.

SWEDEN.

The Riksdag met on January 10 in an atmosphere of outward calm which was somewhat deceptive. It soon became manifest that the position of the Government was not strong, and that it might lose the support of Parliament at any moment; in fact,

during the entire first half of the year there was a latent Ministerial crisis. The principal problem of the Government was to relieve the depressed condition of agriculture. In its Budget proposals, submitted at the opening of the Riksdag, it had intimated that it regarded increased duties on imported grain as a means to this end. In the debate which followed, it was warned by the leader of the parties of the Left that there was no prospect of such an increase being agreed to. The Prime Minister thereupon replied that the Government were led to resort to this method not by any theoretical preference for protection, but by the conviction that the prompt help required by agriculture could not be given without it.

On February 25 the Government laid before the Riksdag Bills containing its proposals for the relief of agriculture. These constituted probably the most comprehensive scheme for the assistance of any one industry ever submitted to a Swedish Parliament. They included a subsidy of nearly 4,000,000 kronor for the erection of corn warehouses and drying kilns, and for purchases of cereals ; increases in Customs duties for certain cereals ; and various measures for promoting the export of dairy products, for facilitating co-operation among farmers, and for improving agricultural credit. These Bills were followed on March 8 by a Bill for increasing the Customs duty on refined sugar. This was rejected almost immediately, the Riksdag recommending instead the grant of a sum of 3-8 million kronor as a subvention to the beet cultivators.

The Government's position was weakened, early in February, by an attack made by the parties of the Left on the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Trygger. By some indiscretion a communication had found its way into the Danish Press regarding an entirely unofficial talk between the Swedish Foreign Minister and the Danish Minister in Stockholm, with reference to Denmark's disarmament. This evoked in the Swedish Riksdag an interpellation from the Social Democrats, who wished to know what it was that the Government thought necessary to intimate to the Danish Government, and what reason it had for taking such a step. The Foreign Minister, in his reply, declared categorically that the Swedish Government had made no kind of formal intimation to the Danish Government on the question, and that he had merely, in a talk with the Danish Minister, expressed his own anxiety over the proposal submitted by the Danish Government to the Riksdag that Denmark should adopt unilateral disarmament. The majority of the Left, regarding this reply as unsatisfactory, blamed the Minister and the Government for having failed to show, in a delicate situation, the tact and discretion which might have been expected from them. These rebukes were further emphasised by the Opposition Press.

More serious for the prestige of the Government were some of the remarks made in the so-called " Discharge Report " of the

Constitutional Committee of the Riksdag whose duty it was to examine into the Government's actions during the past year, and the debates to which they gave rise (April 26). This applied in particular to the allegation that members of the Government, even after they had been nominated Councillors of State, continued to hold high positions in private undertakings. There was no suggestion that this circumstance had in any way influenced the Government in its performance of its duties, nor was it contended that any constitutional regulation had thereby been transgressed. The Riksdag, however, took the view that such a proceeding did not accord with the spirit of the Constitution, and that a stop should be put to what, in its opinion, was an undesirable state of affairs.

The most serious blow to the Government during the session, however, was the Riksdag's decision, early in April, on a motion of the Social Democrats, to call for a comprehensive inquiry into the problem of national defence in accordance with certain lines indicated. This was apparently superfluous, inasmuch as the Lindman Government had already arranged for an inquiry by experts into the problem, and that their report was almost ready, and further that the Prime Minister, shortly before the Riksdag decision had been taken, had publicly declared that the experts' findings would be submitted to a Parliamentary Committee. The Riksdag decision therefore involved in a certain degree a forestalling of the Government's plans, and helped to prepare its fall.

These events, combined with the hostility of the Press, had completely undermined the position of the Government, and its fall came soon after on its agricultural proposals. After a prolonged debate the Riksdag decided to accept all of these with certain modifications, with the exception of the increased Customs duty on grain and sugar, in place of which it introduced other duties. The Government, contrary to expectation, insisted that if the use of Swedish wheat was made compulsory, there should also be an increase in the duty on grain. On May 31 this proposal was rejected by the First Chamber by 75 votes to 57, and by the Second Chamber by 122 votes to 95. The Government thereupon, on June 2, resigned.

It was not obvious at the moment who should succeed Admiral Lindman. In the early part of the year, efforts had been made by Mr. P. A. Hansson, the leader of the Social Democratic Party, to form a coalition of all the parties of the Left. His overtures, however, were not favourably received, and produced no result. The Social Democrats were the largest single party in the Riksdag, but they could scarcely undertake the task of carrying out a Riksdag decision—that all flour should contain a proportion of Swedish flour—against which they had voted in a body. The King accordingly called upon Mr. Ekman, the leader of the People's Party, to form a Government, he having been the Chairman and the driving

force in the Committee which had drafted the measures of help for agriculture decided on by the Riksdag. Mr. Ekman first sought the support of the Bourgeois Central Parties, the Liberals and the Farmers' Party (*Bondeförbundet*). Meeting with no success, he addressed himself to the Right and later to the Social Democrats. These efforts also led to nothing, so that Mr. Ekman had to form his second Government with less Parliamentary backing than any previous party Government in Sweden, having the support only of the People's Party, which, in the Second Chamber, commanded only 28 votes out of 230, and in the First Chamber only 22 votes out of 150.

In his statement of policy, Mr. Ekman promised that the Government would first direct its attention to the economic situation and above all to the improvement of farming, and that it would make fresh efforts to render the social administration and legislation more efficient and uniform. It would first deal with the problem of sickness insurance, and then with pensions and unemployment insurance, the extension of which is now being investigated.

The reception accorded to the Ekman Government by public opinion was not too cordial. The Conservative Press especially, as was to be expected, was highly critical. The politicians, however, were more cautious in their judgments. Thus the Social Democratic leader announced that his party would not meet the new Government with a declaration of war. As its strongest interest was a definitely forward policy, it was disposed, he said, to co-operate with any one who evinced a real will for progress. If the new Government therefore showed a distinct leaning towards the Left, it could reckon on the support of the Social Democrats and perhaps gradually acquire the Parliamentary backing which it had failed to secure when it was in process of formation. The Conservative leaders also promised to maintain a benevolent attitude and loyal co-operation as long as the Government in its general policy kept within the lines of the principles common to the bourgeois parties.

Thus, from the first, the Ekman Government was weak in Parliament, and its position scarcely improved during the second half of the year. At the Landsting (County Council) elections, which took place in September, the Government met with reverses, and although the bourgeois parties had worked together almost all over the country, the Social Democrats won a great many seats. The losses of the Government Party amounted to 32 seats, while the Social Democrats won 30, the Farmers' Party 19, and the Right 2. The Communists, whose numbers were already insignificant, lost almost half their seats—6 out of 14.

These elections will not affect the relative positions of parties in the Riksdag until 1932, when the County Councils will elect members to the First Chamber, and then only to a slight extent. But

they were significant as an indication that the Government had not succeeded in winning for itself any increase of confidence among the mass of the electors. In the Press, therefore, especially the Social Democratic Press, there were not lacking voices which declared that the Government ought to accept the verdict of the elections, and that the judgment of the electors ought to be respected just as much when expressed in the voting for the Landsting as in the elections to the Second Chamber. As, however, the results could scarcely be said to have pointed definitely towards any successors to the present Government, the Ekman Ministry did not see any reason why it should resign before the meeting of the Riksdag on January 1, when the Opposition would have a better opportunity to announce whether it desired to have a new Government or not.

In the conduct of foreign affairs the change of Government brought about no alteration, all parties being agreed on the basic lines of Sweden's policy abroad. In his Ministerial statement, Mr. Ekman announced that the Government wished definitely to take part so far as possible in the international work of establishing peace on the basis of mutual understanding and respect. In this spirit, the Government gave an affirmative answer to M. Briand's memorandum with reference to a European federation.

At Geneva also the Swedish delegation actively supported the movement for general disarmament. On the proposal of the Lindman Government, the Riksdag ratified the Geneva protocol of June 17, 1925, regarding the prohibition of the use in war of poison gases, etc., and the Geneva Convention regarding the control of the international trade in arms, etc., but with the proviso that it should be left to the Government to determine the suitable occasion for effecting the ratification, being guided in this by the result of the efforts made to bring about the simultaneous coming into force of the Convention in all the countries producing arms. The Riksdag also ratified the International Trade Convention signed in Geneva on March 24, 1930.

While attending the conference which drew up the Trade Convention of March 24, the Swedish Minister for Foreign Affairs approached the Foreign Ministers of Denmark, Norway, and Holland with a view to securing closer co-operation in economic policy. He met with a ready response, and the four Foreign Ministers decided to proceed later to joint discussions with a view to concluding an agreement on the application to their own countries of the principles underlying the Convention.

These discussions took place later at two meetings, first at The Hague in October and then at Oslo some days before Christmas. At The Hague the deliberations dealt at first with the questions which stood on the agenda of an economic conference arranged by the League of Nations to take place at Geneva in November,

The Oslo discussions, in which Belgium and Luxemburg also took part, were concerned chiefly with the conclusion of a Convention regarding Customs duties policy based upon the principles in the International Trade Convention of March 24. The proposal had been drafted by the Norwegian Government, and a Convention was signed on December 22 after only a couple of days' negotiations. The chief object of the Convention is to prevent increased Customs duties, and the Powers signing it undertook not to raise Customs duties beyond their present level, and not to introduce new duties, without first giving each other the opportunity to exchange views and opinions. Certain Revenue duties can, however, in exceptional cases, be imposed without any such previous notification.

This Convention was not meant to effect any far-reaching changes in fiscal policy. Its object was rather, as the Norwegian Minister explained at the opening of the negotiations, to erect a moral barrier against the policy of conflict and isolation which was carrying the world along so fast towards intolerable conditions. It was important chiefly as setting an example to other nations. To make it more effective for this purpose, a protocol was signed at Oslo, in which the various Governments declared themselves willing to support and encourage international efforts to minimise obstacles in the way of trade and to improve conditions in general for the exchange of goods as well as to investigate the possibilities for extending the principles whereon the Convention is based, so as to include other provisions and regulations which might affect their mutual economic relations. Negotiations for this purpose were to be entered upon in Stockholm at a date to be fixed later.

Sweden's financial position in 1930 was again good. The expenditure in the Budget year 1930-31 was fixed at 813.4 million kronor, and the revenue was estimated to exceed this sum by about 36.4 million kronor. Industry in 1930 showed a perceptible decline in comparison with the singularly favourable conditions of 1929. During the first half of the year this tendency affected exports very little, though it left its mark on agriculture and the freight market. During the second half of the year, however, the depression was felt more strongly, though even then it might be described rather as a weakness in industry than as a slump. The general trade situation was reflected in the Labour market. During the first half of the year this was relatively good, although the lessened purchasing power of foreign countries had already begun to make a difference, but with the second half of the year a perceptible worsening set in. During the third quarter of the year the position was still more favourable than during the corresponding period in the years 1925-28. During the fourth quarter, however, things became very much worse. Unemployment increased—though it never reached a degree that could be called in any way disturbing—exports diminished, and the level of prices

for exports was lowered. With the turn of the year, moreover, a certain disquiet was noticeable in the labour market which portended trouble, especially in the textile industries. The harvests, thanks to the ideal weather in the summer, were good as regards both quality and quantity.

NORWAY.

Politically the year 1930 was uneventful, Mr. Mowinckel's Government maintaining itself in office without serious difficulty. The Storting was opened on January 11, Mr. Hambro, the Conservative leader, being re-elected President. The Speech from the Throne contained the gratifying announcement that the Government, owing to the improved position of the State finances, intended to reduce taxes by 10,500,000 kroner, the direct taxes—the income tax and the funds tax—by 5,500,000, and the indirect taxes—the coffee and sugar duties—by 5,000,000. The estimates for the financial year July 1, 1930, to June 30, 1931, balanced at 374,000,000 kroner, expenditure being 14,000,000 less than in the preceding financial year. Repayments on the State debt amounted to 31,000,000 kroner.

The debate on the Speech from the Throne took place in the last days of January and was one of the quietest for many years. The criticism of the Government's policy offered by the leaders of the Conservative and Agrarian parties was of an extremely mild character, only the Labour parties bringing forward motions of no confidence. These were rejected by large majorities, all the bourgeois parties voting against them. The budget was also accepted by the Storting with very slight alterations. On the proposal of the Government, a Norwegian Legation was established in Turkey, and the Charges d'Affaires at Warsaw and Madrid were given the status of Ministers.

The question of the name of the third biggest town of Norway, which had caused so much commotion in 1929, was in February again the subject of very lively debates in the Storting. Members representing various parties submitted a Bill repealing the law by which the name Trondhjem had been changed to Nidaros as from January 1, 1930. In the Lower House, the Odelsting, the Bill was carried by a narrow majority—57 votes to 55. In the Upper House, the Lagting, however, it was defeated by 21 votes to 17. The Houses being unable to agree, the Bill was, in accordance with constitutional procedure, referred to a plenary sitting of the Storting, with the result that it obtained 75 votes against 74. A two-thirds majority being necessary in a case of this kind, the motion for reverting to the name Trondhjem was accordingly lost.

A Government Bill introducing a kind of alternative vote was passed by the Odelsting and the Lagting in March. This

Bill enables two or more parties in a constituency to conclude an electoral agreement—the so-called "union of lists"—which does not in any way impair their independence or imply an active co-operation. The "union of lists" only means that in the final calculation of seats according to the P.R. system the votes of the parties which have concluded such an agreement are counted together. The Labour Party suspected that the real object of the Bill was to make it possible for the three bourgeois parties—the Right, the Farmers' Party, and the Radical Left—to combine against Labour at the General Election in October without entering into a formal alliance. The Labour representatives, therefore, offered strenuous opposition to the Bill. It also met with considerable criticism in the Government's own party—the Radical Left—many Radicals considering it rather Conservative in tendency. On the other hand, the Conservative and Agrarian parties gave the Bill their wholehearted support. To satisfy the Radicals the Bill was during the committee stage amended so as to allow each elector to signify on his ballot paper that, in spite of the decision of the party, his own vote was not to be counted as a "union vote." This amendment was accepted by the Premier, and the Bill was passed by a large majority, only the Labour parties voting against it.

The Storting was dissolved on June 6, after one of the shortest and most uneventful sessions in Norwegian politics.

The General Election, which took place on October 20, was the outstanding political event of the year. Although the Left concluded a "union of lists" with the Conservatives and Agrarians only in two constituencies, all three bourgeois parties made it the principal item in their election programme to check the progress of the Labour Party. The Radical Premier, Mr. Mowinckel, no less than the Conservative and Agrarian leaders, emphasised the grave risk which the country would run if the Labour Party should be placed in a position to form a majority Government. The electoral programme of the Labour Party was more radical on this occasion than it had been at the election in 1927. It was evident that the left wing of the party had gained the upper hand. One indication of the change was the absence of a sentence which had appeared in the old programme, on the necessity of gaining over a majority of the people for socialist ideas. This was interpreted by the bourgeois Press as indirectly favouring the idea of a proletarian dictatorship. Strong resentment was also caused in bourgeois circles by the threat in the new programme of a military strike and the possible formation of "red guards."

The attitude of the Labour Party towards the established Lutheran Church and religion in general also played an important part in the electoral campaign, as it led prominent Church leaders to join in the efforts to avert a Labour victory. The Church was not mentioned in the programme of the Labour Party, but

the Vice-President of the party and the leading exponent of its ideas, Professor Edvard Bull, had proclaimed it to be one of the main objects of Labour to combat the State Church and all forms of religion.

This statement and the generally hostile treatment of the Church in the Labour papers was, no doubt, instrumental in deciding thousands of Church people who had never voted before to take part in the election and thus save the Church from the fate of being governed by its avowed enemies. It should be borne in mind that the established Church of Norway is probably more dependent on the Government than any other State Church in the world, as it has no representative body, and the clergy are State officials, appointed by the Government.

The poll was a record one, exceeding that of the previous election by about 200,000. The increase was exclusively to the benefit of the bourgeois parties. The Labour Party and the Communist Party between them lost about 13,000 votes and 15 seats. The Communists, who had had three representatives in the previous Storting, were completely wiped out. The poll of the Right increased by 104,000, of the Left by 64,000, and of the Farmers' Party by 41,000. Between them the bourgeois parties polled about 800,000 votes as against 395,000 votes cast for the two Labour parties. The final result was as follows: Labour 47 seats (a loss of 15 seats); the Right, with the Liberal Left, 44 (a gain of 13 seats); the Left with the small People's Party 34 (a gain of 3 seats); the Farmers' Party 25 (a loss of 1 seat).

Perhaps the most striking result of the election was the progress made by the Left. This party, roughly corresponding to the Liberals in England, was for more than fifty years the predominant group in the Storting. At the election of 1912 it obtained a two-thirds majority, but has since been constantly on the decline, mainly as a result of the foundation of the Farmers' Party.

During the Assembly of the League of Nations in September Norway was elected a member of the Council of the League, the Government appointing Mr. Mowinckel as its representative, with Mr. Erik Colban, Norwegian Minister at Paris and former Director of the disarmament section of the League, as deputy.

On December 18 delegates from Belgium, Denmark, the Netherlands, Norway and Sweden met at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Oslo to discuss a Norwegian proposal for a tariff truce between these countries. The conference was opened by Mr. Mowinckel, who stated that in the course of the Assembly of the League of Nations he had invited the Dutch, Danish, and Swedish Ministers of Foreign Affairs to discuss the question with him, and they had all agreed on the necessity of adopting a more liberal commercial policy without awaiting the coming into force of the international commercial convention of March 24, 1930. He

was glad that later Belgium also had joined their ranks. As a result of the conference, an agreement between all these Powers was signed on December 22, by which they pledged themselves not to increase existing duties or introduce new ones without previously informing the other countries or negotiating with them. The delegates also signed a protocol in which the Governments agree on future co-operation in order to reduce the existing restrictions on international commerce.

Crown Princess Martha, on June 9, gave birth to a daughter who was christened Ragnhild Alexandra. On November 25 the King celebrated the twenty-fifth anniversary of his accession to the throne of Norway.

In the summer months national festivities and exhibitions were held at Nidaros to commemorate the ninth centenary of the conversion of the Norwegian people to the Christian religion. The festivities culminated in the inauguration of the restored Nidaros Cathedral, which was built in the Middle Ages to the memory of Saint Ola v.

FINLAND.

The year 1930 witnessed a determined effort on the part of the bourgeois classes to suppress Communism in Finland. They formed an organisation called Lapua which devoted itself to this end and which in the course of the year exercised a marked influence on public affairs. Finding that the Government and the Diet were slow to move in the direction which they desired, they adopted a drastic method of rousing them to greater activity. On March 27 at Wasa the printing offices of two Communist papers were raided and the machinery smashed. Two days later, seventy-two men visited the Governor of the Province and stated that five of their number had committed the outrage and forty-eight more had supported them, their object being to drive the State to take action on behalf of the loyal citizens of the country. The matter was raised in the Diet on April 3, and the Minister of the Interior stated that the Communists had provoked strong popular resentment against themselves, but nevertheless the Government could not condone offences against the law. A Communist vote of censure was defeated by an overwhelming majority.

In spite of the Government's threat, the anti-Communists repeated their tactics on June 4 at the trial of the persons charged with the raid of March 27. They forced their way into Court and dragged out a Communist witness and the counsel for the prosecution, who was a prominent Communist and a member of the Diet. On June 11 a large public meeting, held at Helsingfors, passed resolutions demanding the immediate suppression of

Communist newspapers and organisations and the detention of prominent Communists. A deputation which carried these demands to President Relander peremptorily demanded a reply within three days.

The determined attitude of the anti-Communists was not without effect. The Government undertook to introduce a Bill which would enable them to deal more effectively with the Communists. A new Governor was appointed to the Province of Wasa with powers to prevent the appearance of the Communist newspaper. On June 14 instructions were issued to suppress temporarily the Communist newspapers at Uleaborg, Kuopio, and Helsingfors, where big demonstrations of "Whites" had been arranged. The Premier, M. Kallio, also asked the Speaker to convene a special session of the Diet on July 1 to consider the situation. The Communists were thoroughly cowed, and made no attempt to take counter-measures.

When the Diet met on July 1, the Government asked for wide emergency powers to deal with the Communists. The Social Democrats opposed the demand, and the Government thereupon resigned. On July 6 M. Svinhufvud, the aged Conservative statesman, formed a new Cabinet which declared the combating of Communism to be the main point in its programme. On July 12 the Diet passed certain of the Government's anti-Communist Bills, but on the next day the Cabinet failed to secure the requisite two-thirds majority for its emergency legislation. The President thereupon, on the advice of the Premier, dissolved the Diet, fixing the General Election for October 1 and 2.

In the interval the extreme members of the Lapua organisation committed several outrages on their Communist and other opponents. One of these which aroused a great deal of public indignation was the abduction of M. Hakkila, Vice-President of the Diet and a moderate Socialist, and his removal to the village of Lapua. Several Communists were kidnapped and forcibly deported into Russian territory—a proceeding which led to an official protest from the Russian side. The Finnish authorities denied all complicity.

The General Election, at which there was a record poll, resulted in a decisive victory for the bourgeois parties, who obtained 134 seats in a House of 200. The Communists were completely wiped out. On the opening of the Diet on October 23, the Prime Minister stated that the Cabinet had been severely criticised for slackness in bringing to justice the perpetrators of the recent outrages. In justification he assured the Diet that political unrest had been so intense that had the Government taken strong measures civil war would have broken out. He had preferred, therefore, to use moral pressure, and he thought that this had now been effective. On the next day the Diet approved the internal policy of the Government by 125 votes to 66.

On November 11 the Diet passed the emergency legislation demanded by the Government by 133 votes to 66, which secured for it the requisite two-thirds majority. Three days later fifty-seven Communists were found guilty of high treason and sentenced to terms of penal servitude varying from one to five years. The Courts also dissolved a number of Communist organisations. The Lapua organisation, although it had achieved its professed objects, decided to remain in being and to extend the scope of its activities.

A great sensation was caused—not in Finland only—by the disappearance on October 14 of Dr. Stahlberg, a former President of Finland, and his wife, and the discovery, a few days later, that their abduction had been organised by General Wallenius, the Chief of the General Staff, and Col. Kuussaari, Director of the Mobilisation Department of the General Staff. On December 18 both were sentenced to three years penal servitude for the offence.

On March 25 and 27 the Government, after much discussion, was authorised by the Diet to raise a short-term loan of 300,000,000 Finnish marks, and another loan of 1,000,000,000 Finnish marks. On December 19 the Diet rejected, on the third reading, by 99 votes to 86, the Government Bill for legalising the brewing of beer of 3 per cent, alcoholic strength.

CHAPTER VI.

THE MIDDLE EAST : PERSIA—AFGHANISTAN—IRAQ—PALESTINE—SYRIA—ARABIA.

PERSIA

AT the beginning of the year the Government was engaged in military operations against refractory tribesmen in Persian Baluchistan. By the middle of February it had brought almost the whole region under control, after defeating the tribesmen and capturing the town of Sarbaz, with many prisoners. During the rest of the year the peace of the country was not disturbed by any tribal risings.

In the Budget submitted to the Mejliss in March, revenue was estimated at 5,889,5802., exclusive of royalties due from the Anglo-Persian Oil Company, and expenditure was estimated at 5,883,130?. In order to raise the required revenue, provision was made in the Budget for heavy additional taxation.

Elections for a new Mejliss—the eighth since the granting of the Constitution—were held on August 21. The new Mejliss was opened by the Shah with great pomp and ceremony on December 16.

In order to promote the development of national resources—

agriculture, irrigation, stock-raising, and the export of local manufactures—it was decided early in the year to constitute a Ministry of National Economy. The first holder of the post, appointed at the end of March, was Mirza Mohamed Ali Khan Farrughi, the Zoka ul Mulk, a former Prime Minister, and till recently Ambassador to Turkey. At the same time the Ministry of Public Works was transformed into the Ministry of Communications, with the duty of controlling railways, roads, navigation, and ports, and Mirza Seyyid Hassan Taqizadeh, who had been Minister to the Court of St. James since November, was appointed to the office.

Towards the end of the year three Belgian officials came out to Persia to undertake the task of re-organising the State finances. Previously to this there had been irregularities in the Finance department. In January a number of Government officials were arrested for fraud, and in May Prince Firuz Mirza Firuz, a former Minister of Finance, who*had been put on his trial in the previous year, was sentenced to four months' imprisonment with a fine and loss of civil rights for taking bribes.

In April the Mejliss passed a Bill authorising the reform of the currency by transferring it from a silver to a gold basis. It was enacted that in place of the silver kran, the unit of currency should be the gold riyal, divisible into 100 dinars. The new denominations were to be the gold pahlavi and half-pahlavi, equivalent respectively to 20 and 10 riyals, the silver half, one, two, and five riyals, the five, ten, and twenty dinar pieces of nickel, and the one and two dinar pieces of copper. The gold pahlavi was to contain 7.322382 grammes of gold, with a standard fineness of *9 fine gold and *1 copper alloy. The one riyal coin was to contain 4*5 grammes of fine silver, with the same proportion of copper alloy. The date and method of the exchange of krans into riyals were to be laid down in a separate Act within twelve months.

At the beginning of the year the Shah opened the first completed section of the southern railway at Dizful. Later in the year, however, the construction of the Trans-Persian railway met with serious interruption. The American syndicate which, in company with British and French firms, was building the southern stretch, from the Persian Gulf to Hamadan, found it necessary to undertake certain work which was not specified in the contract, and demanded immediate payment. The Government refused to pay till the whole contract should be completed, and the syndicate in consequence stopped work on May 1. The Government thereupon seized the company's works and offices at Ahwaz. As the company still refused to go on with the work, unless it were paid at once, the Government cancelled the whole contract. For some months nothing was done on either the **southern or** the northern section of the line, and certain parts

fell into decay. At the beginning of August the Government renewed its contract with the German syndicate which had been at work on the northern section, from Hamadan to the Caspian, and entrusted to it the completion of the work at a cost of 183,000Z. After rejecting some tenders from French firms for the completion of the southern section, on the ground that it demanded part payment in dollars, which were not available, the Government proposed to the Mejliss that it should undertake the work itself, engaging foreign engineers to carry out the construction. Strong opposition was offered to the plan by certain speakers in the Mejliss, who recalled the fiasco of the Government's previous attempt to construct the line, when about 140,000Z. had been lost. They were, however, overruled, and towards the end of the year Japanese and German engineers were engaged to carry out the work under Government control.

At the end of June Kurds from the north-west of Persia crossed the border into Turkish territory in order to assist their fellow-tribesmen who were fighting with Turkish forces on the slopes of Mount Ararat. The Turkish Government concluded that the Shah was unable to control the tribes in that district, and asked him to accept the co-operation of Turkish troops for the purpose. The Shah raised difficulties, and relations between the two countries became somewhat strained. At the end of July a Turkish Note was presented to Persia stating that, as the Kurds were still making raids from Persia into Turkish territory, Turkish troops would be ordered, if necessary, to advance into Persia in pursuit of them. The Persian Government, in reply, refused to allow any movements of Turkish troops in its territory. Soon after (August 12) it was reported that, in defiance of this prohibition, Turkish troops had actually crossed into Persian territory. An official statement, however, declared that the report was incorrect, and that relations between the two Governments were still friendly.

In August the Persian Government learnt that the Sheikh of Bahrein had granted a concession to a British syndicate for exploiting the oil in the islands. The Minister of Foreign Affairs immediately sent a letter to the British Legation in Teheran in which he reiterated Persia's claim to the islands, and protested against what he termed a further infringement of her sovereign rights (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1929, p. 272). He also sent to the League of Nations a copy of a translation of the letter for circulation among all the States members.

With other countries Persian relations remained cordial. A permanent Treaty of Friendship, Customs, and Commerce between Persia and Greece was signed at London in January, and the German-Persian Treaty of Friendship was ratified at Teheran in December.

Another disastrous earthquake took place early in May in
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the district of Lake Urumieh. The town of Salmas was almost destroyed, and Tabriz was also severely shaken. It was computed that some three thousand people were killed and five thousand injured by the shocks.

AFGHANISTAN

During the first year of his reign, Nadir Shah scrupulously observed his constitutional obligations, though he retained almost absolute power in his own hands by appointing members of his family to the chief offices of State. At the same time he was careful not to offend the religious or tribal susceptibilities of his subjects. He rescinded the two reforms of King Amanullah which had most embittered the population—the suppression of the purdah and the secularising of the law. He allowed the influence of the Mullahs to be restored, and created a tribunal of Ulemas in Kabul to interpret the Sheriat (law of the Koran). He endeavoured to placate the tribes by appointing governors from among their own leading men. As a result of these concessions, he was allowed to remain in peaceful occupation of the throne. A section of the Shinwaris showed a disposition to revolt early in the year, but they were suppressed by their own fellow-tribesmen. Trouble continued for some time among the Kohistanis and Kohidamanis, the tribesmen of the Ameer Habi-bullah, but they were decisively defeated in July.

The confidence inspired by the new regime led to a revival of trade during the year, which was assisted by good harvests. An appeal addressed by the King to wealthy merchants to make voluntary contributions to the Treasury met with considerable success. Telegraphic, telephonic, and wireless connexions, both internally and with foreign countries, were re-established.

Friendly relations were maintained by Nadir Shah both with Russia and with Great Britain. Early in May the Anglo-Afghan Treaty, concluded in 1921, was reaffirmed, and shortly afterwards the British Minister to Afghanistan, Mr. Maconachie, reached Kabul. Towards the end of the year, when unrest broke out among the Afridis and other tribes in the north-west of India, King Nadir successfully used his influence among the tribesmen to dissuade them from joining in any incursions into Indian territory.

IRAQ.

Politically Iraq has been somewhat unsettled throughout the year. March saw a Cabinet crisis, a by no means infrequent feature in Iraquian public life. The ostensible cause was a difference between the Cabinet and the British High Commissioner on the subject of the termination of the services of a number of British officials and officers, with which the Cabinet was anxious to dispense. A new Cabinet, representing a coalition of the majority

party and non-party officials, was soon formed, with General Nuri Pasha As Said as Prime Minister. Its programme, as laid down in the Prime Minister's statement, was to develop and give effect to a policy involving the establishment of an independent State of Iraq, friendly to, and bound by gratitude and obligation to, his Britannic Majesty's Government, and to consider and deal with the serious economic situation of the country.

With regard to the former of these two tasks the new Government soon succeeded, and an Anglo-Iraqi treaty of alliance was signed on June 30 (published as Cmd. 3627). By the terms of this treaty, which will become operative when Iraq is admitted into the League of Nations—when the British mandatory responsibilities terminate—and concluded on "terms of complete freedom, equality, and independence" "full and frank consultation" between the two countries on "all matters of foreign policy which may affect their common interests" is provided for. If either country becomes engaged in war the other will come to its aid as an ally, the aid in the case of Iraq to consist in furnishing on Iraq territory all facilities and assistance, including the use of railways, rivers, ports, aerodromes, and means of communication. Responsibility for the maintenance of order in Iraq, and for defence against aggression, rests with the King of Iraq, who, however, recognises that the permanent maintenance and protection of the "essential communications of his Britannic Majesty" were in the common interest of both parties, and undertook to grant sites for air bases at, or in the vicinity of, Basra, and to the west of the Euphrates. British forces are to be maintained at these localities, but their presence shall not constitute an occupation or prejudice the sovereign rights of Iraq. British forces will be maintained for five years at Hinaidi—in order to enable Iraq to organise the necessary forces to replace them—and also at Mosul. The treaty is to remain in force for twenty-five years. Should foreign military instructors be necessary, these should be chosen from among British subjects. When there was need of the services of foreign officials, Iraq will "normally" engage British subjects. Iraq intends to ask for a British Advisory Military Mission.

Thus was the agreement made by Sir Gilbert Clayton, as it was, on his deathbed, implemented.

Immediately on the signature of the treaty, the Chamber of Deputies was dissolved.

The treaty, despite the great advance that it showed, did not obtain a friendly reception from the Iraqi Press, and, with one exception, every newspaper criticised it severely. It was pointed out that the treaty depended entirely on the entry of Iraq into the League of Nations, an entry by no means certain in view of the probable opposition of France and Italy. The provision permitting British air bases on Iraqi territory was also singled out for

criticism. One newspaper went so far as openly to threaten rebellion against the British occupying power. There were even differences in the Cabinet, and the Minister of Finance resigned because he could not approve of the treaty.

- Meanwhile King Feisal and his Prime Minister had come to London, the latter to discuss a few minor points that were still outstanding. These points were soon settled. They related to the transfer to the Iraquian Government of the railways and other British property in the port of Basra and elsewhere on very generous terms. The Iraquian Government, however, undertook to provide, free of charge, sites for aerodromes authorised under the treaty on the frontier. At the same time a new judicial agreement between the two Powers was published. This has to be approved by the Council of the League of Nations. Under this agreement equality of treatment before the Courts is granted to Iraqis and foreigners, but for a period of ten years there are to be nine British judges.

The General Elections were held in October, and on them the fate of the treaty rested. The Government and the treaty were, somewhat curiously, attacked from both sides. The extreme Nationalists attacked it on the ground that it fell short of their ideal, complete independence. The Kurds, Christians, and other minorities were dismayed, for they considered that it placed their fate entirely in the hands of the Arab majority. As was expected, the Government secured an overwhelming majority, despite all of the oppositions. There had been trouble with the Kurds before the elections. They protested most vehemently against the withdrawal of the safeguards that had been promised them, and it was even necessary for the Acting High Commissioner and the Acting Prime Minister to go to the Kurdish districts in August to calm the people. At Sulaimanieh, the following month, there was something of the nature of a battle between troops and police on the one side and Kurds on the other, in the course of which some fifty men on both sides were killed and wounded.

Iraq, in common with other States, has felt the universal financial depression. Grain, dates and wool are her staple products, and these have all fallen in price very severely. As a consequence the State revenues have fallen below the expenditure, and difficulty has been encountered in providing for works that are almost if not quite essential. The only solution seems to be a loan, but present circumstances render the occasion unsuitable for securing assistance from foreign money markets. The end of the year saw both the economic and the financial situation of the kingdom unsatisfactory. Some hope was expected from the exploitation of the Iraqi oilfields, but, although there were many rumours, nothing definite transpired before the close of the year. The survey of a pipe line and railway line between Mosul and Haifa, which **was** commenced towards the end of the year, suggested, however, **that definite developments might occur** in the not distant future.

PALESTINE.

The year 1930 was one of commissions and commissioners. The Parliamentary Commission, under the chairmanship of Sir Walter Shaw, concluded its sittings in Palestine in the last days of December, 1929, but did not report until the end of March. Out of its report came the appointment of Mr. H. L. Dowbiggin, the Inspector-General of Police of Ceylon, to examine the organisation of the Department of Police and Prisons of Palestine and to make recommendations, and of Sir John Hope Simpson, to examine questions of immigration, land settlement and development. A fourth commission was that of the League of Nations nominated by the British Government to inquire into the rival claims of Jews and Moslems around the Wailing Wall, the last relic of Herod's Temple which is also part of the enclosing wall of the Mosque Area. A visit to Palestine in October by Dr. Drummond Shiels, the Under-Secretary of State, was also hailed by the greater part of the population as a commission of inquiry. At the conclusion of all came the British Government's announcement of policy simultaneously with the report of Sir John Hope Simpson. Thus throughout the year the population of Palestine was kept on the *qui vive* by reports and anticipations of reports and their consequences, with the result that public opinion was in such a state of disturbance that hardly any other question could secure adequate attention.

The Shaw Commission,¹ which went into the matters with which it had to deal very thoroughly, in the first place exonerated completely Mr. H. C. Luke, who was administering the Government of Palestine at the time of the outbreak, from the charges of incompetence and indifference that had been brought against him by the Zionist Organisation. Similar charges against the Police administration were dropped either before the Commission opened its proceedings or during the hearings. The Commission's main recommendations were that the British Government should with the least possible delay issue a clear statement of policy with regard to Palestine, and should include in it a statement of the policy with regard to immigration which they intended to pursue ; the eviction of Arab peasant proprietors should be checked pending the results of an agricultural survey; the League of Nations should be asked to appoint as early as possible a neutral commission to examine the mutual Moslem Jewish rights at the Wailing Wall; the British Government should reaffirm its statement of 1922, that the Zionist Organisation is not entitled under the Mandate to share in the Government of Palestine, and that the relationship of the Zionist Organisation to the Government should be more clearly defined ; the British Garrison should not be reduced for the present; and the organisation of the Police force should be

¹ The Report was published as Command Paper, No. 3530.

examined by a competent police officer from elsewhere. These recommendations, with the exception of the second, were all accepted and put into force. Measures to safeguard the interests of Arab tenants on land acquired by Jewish semi-public agencies were still under consideration at the end of the year.

On the many charges made by both parties the Commissioners found that the outbreak was an attack by Arabs on Jews for which no excuse in the form of earlier attacks on Arabs had been established. The outbreak was however not premeditated or organised, nor was it directed against the Government. The major charges brought against the Mufti were not substantiated, but it was found that he was responsible for the outbreak to the extent to which he had endeavoured to mobilise Moslem opinion on the subject of the Wailing Wall and his desire to annoy the Jews in general. The charges against the Arab Executive were either not substantiated or were substantiated only so far as individual members were concerned. Some prominent Arabs had certainly been guilty of inciting the mob, and neither the Mufti nor other Arab leaders took the steps they might have taken to calm the people before the outbreak. Mr. Luke's action throughout the crisis was the best that he could have taken. The Government should have suspended intemperate Palestine newspapers. The Government had discharged to the best of their ability the difficult task of maintaining a neutral and impartial attitude between two peoples whose leaders showed little capacity for compromise. Arab apprehensions aroused by the immigration of Jews were a factor which had contributed to the outbreak. Jewish enterprise and immigration, however, when regulated by the absorptive capacity of the country, which had not always been the case, undoubtedly conferred material benefits in which the Arabs shared. The Jewish land policy, for which the Jews could not in the circumstances be blamed, was undoubtedly leading to the creation of a landless and discontented class. The British garrison in Palestine had been too much reduced. The fundamental cause of the outbreak was the Arab animosity and hostility towards the Jews due to the disappointment of Arab political and national aspirations and fear for the economic future. The immediate causes were the incidents regarding the Wailing Wall, inspired by both Jews and Moslems. The secondary causes were intemperate articles in the Arab and Jewish newspapers, propaganda among the less educated Arabs, the appointment of the Jewish Agency and the campaign of propaganda that accompanied it, inadequate military and police forces and the belief that decisions of the Palestine Government could be influenced by political considerations.

The Report of the Commission was unanimous, but Mr. Snell, the Labour member, added a note of reservations, in which he attributed more blame to the Mufti and Arab Executive than did

his colleagues, and also blamed the Government for not having armed selected Jews as special constables, for not having issued an official denial of alleged Jewish designs on the Moslem Holy-Places, and for not having prevented the aggressive Jewish procession to the Wailing Wall. He acquitted the Jewish authorities of all blame in respect of Jewish immigration and land purchase. The greatest danger he foresaw was that Arab resentment might become permanent, and he considered that an improvement could be effected by Jewish leaders to remove Arab apprehensions.

The report created dismay among the Jews. They had expected so much from it. It gave them so little. It even foreshadowed less. The Arabs on their part were less disappointed. In so far as the claims of the Jews were rejected and the charges against their prominent men were refuted, they were satisfied. But the Arab desire was a national government with a legislative body, a sort of independence, and this was all that interested them. To secure this end they sent to London, where it arrived in time for the publication of the Shaw Committee's report, an influential delegation representative of all parties among the Palestinian Arabs. This delegation put its demands before the Government, Parliament, and the people. The mission led to no definite result—advantage was taken of its presence in London to attempt a *modus vivendi* between it and the Zionist leaders, but this also failed—and when it left at the end of May, the Government issued an announcement to the effect that note had been taken of the views expressed by the delegation, but that the sweeping constitutional changes demanded by it were wholly unacceptable since they were incompatible with the Mandate. There was therefore no purpose in continuing the conversations. The information given to the British Government by the delegation would, however, be taken into consideration when the basis of future policy was laid down, and in the meanwhile provisional steps would be taken for the protection of the interests of the agricultural population, and to ensure that an excessive number of immigrants should not be admitted to Palestine. The announcement proceeded to promise that it was the care of the Government to safeguard the interests of the non-Jewish elements in the population, that all attempts to prejudice law and order would be severely punished, and that, as the Prime Minister had said in the House of Commons on April 3, the Government intended to apply all the resources at its command to carrying out the duties imposed upon it by the Mandate. The provisional steps to which reference was made were a reduction of the agricultural tithe and a 50 per cent, increase in the import duties on wheat and flour, the prohibition of the import of olive oil and the deferment of the issue of further immigration certificates on behalf of working men. The announcement led to further Zionist protests which rose to a very great pitch when the deferment of the issue of 2,300

immigration certificates was announced. This came to be considered as the last straw in Zionist circles, and indignation meetings were held in every Zionist centre on the face of the earth.

The relations between the Jews and the British Government were bad : those between the Jews and the Arabs even worse. In fact there were hardly any relations between them. The slightest Jewish move at the Wailing Wall was watched jealously by the Mufti, and protest on protest against alleged infractions of the *status quo* rained on the unfortunate Government. All the bitterness of the hostility came out before the Wailing Wall Commission, whose efforts to effect a compromise, continued later by the Government, failed. The Moslem case at the Wailing Wall was in the hands of the Arab extremists. There was greater hope of a rapprochement in another movement sponsored by Dr. Magnes, the Chancellor of the Hebrew University, and eagerly supported by Professor Albert Einstein and other distinguished Jews in Germany. These realised that Jew and Arab must live together in Palestine, and that a peaceful life was the greatest, the one need, of the Jews. They also realised that the Arabs, as centuries-long inhabitants of Palestine and forming the great majority of the population, had rights to the inviolability of which they were fully entitled. Moreover, they foresaw that some sort of Legislative Council was inevitable, and were very anxious that it should not be delayed by the action of the Jews. They were anxious that when it came, it should be given at the joint request of Jew and Arab. In any constitution, they were very anxious that the fundamental needs of the Jewish National Home should be safeguarded. This Magnes policy received a welcome in moderate Arab circles, and of course gained the strong sympathies of all neutral well-wishers of Palestine. Of Palestine Jewry, however, barely a handful came to Dr. Magnes' support. Outside of Palestine, except perhaps in Germany, he obtained a correspondingly slight support, while the Zionist Organisation officially denounced his activities.

An extraordinary session of the Mandates Commission of the League of Nations was held in May to consider the disturbances of the previous year and the conclusions reached by the Shaw Commission and the British Government, and it was to this Commission that the British Government's preliminary statement of policy of May 27 was addressed. The report of the Commission to the Council of the League of Nations, together with the observations of the British Government on it, was published at the end of August. The Commission, without supporting the contentions of either the Arabs or the Zionists, was somewhat critical of the Mandatory Power. It expressed no objections to the measures taken to prevent a repetition of the disorders or to the policy for the future that the Mandatory Power had foreshadowed, but on the causes of the outbreak and on the action taken by the

Government in this matter it was far more severe. The British Government in its memorandum was somewhat sharp in its reply, and the two documents aroused a controversy in the course of which British public opinion, almost without exception, expressed its resentment at the strictures of the Mandates Commission. The Commission blamed the Government for not having pursued a more active policy of development of the land in the interests of all of its inhabitants and of encouraging co-operation between Jews and Arabs. The Commission also disagreed with the conclusion of the Shaw Commission that the outbreak was not premeditated. The British Government, in its reply, protested somewhat vehemently against the overriding on matters of consequence of the conclusions reached by the Shaw Commission, which had gone into all charges on the spot and sifted them under examination of witnesses with the assistance of Counsel, and the preference for the unsupported *ex parte* statements of interested parties whose charges had already been disproved. The heat that had been generated, however, was soon dissipated. The Council of the League met in the following week and considered the Report of its Commission which it referred to the British Government with a request that it should "adopt such measures as it thinks fit to give effect to the recommendations and conclusions."

The Hope Simpson Report was published at the end of October (Cmd. 3686), and simultaneously the British Government published its long-awaited Statement of Policy (Cmd. 3692). These two documents, especially the latter, were received by the Jewish world—Zionist and also to some extent non-Zionist—with an outburst of anger that even exceeded those that had preceded it since the unfortunate events of August, 1929. Dr. Weizmann resigned his presidency of the Jewish Agency and the Zionist Organisation as a protest, and his resignation was immediately followed by those of Lord Melchett, who died a few months later [see Obituaries], and Mr. Felix Warburg, a very prominent American non-Zionist, both of whom held office in the Agency. To the neutral observer, however, especially those on the spot, the conclusions of Sir John Hope Simpson and the decisions of the Government caused little surprise. The latter were certainly inevitable, and if they had not been taken in October, 1930, would have had to be taken by some Government or other at a not very distant date. Sir John Hope Simpson discovered that a very large proportion of the Arab rural population was living on the verge of destitution, and that its condition was getting worse year by year. Its great need was land which, in consequence of the natural growth of population coupled with the ever increasing extent that was passing under Zionist control and from which Arabs were excluded, was yearly becoming more scarce. The immediate need was to provide the existing rural population with the means of main-

taining itself in some degree of comfort, but so small was the extent of cultivable land in Palestine that on the present basis not only could there be no question of increasing the rural population, there was not sufficient to provide for the present. The solution lay in the expenditure of a relatively large sum on land development, almost all of which should be recoverable. Then the existing population could be provided for, and a not inconsiderable immigration allowed. Until, however, such a development was undertaken, there was no room in Palestine for an increased rural population except on the reserve lands which were in the possession of the Jewish Organisations.

The British Government's statement of policy was little more than an elaboration of that of 1922, with the information furnished by the Shaw Commissioners and Sir John Hope Simpson taken into consideration. The Government, in the first place, appealed once again for co-operation between Jew and Arab and between both and the Government, in the interests of the country as a whole. Once again the Prime Minister's statement of April 3 was repeated. "A double undertaking is involved, to the Jewish people on the one hand and to the non-Jewish population of Palestine on the other," and the intention to continue to administer Palestine in accordance with the terms of the Mandate was reiterated. The statement then proceeded to repeat verbatim the statement of policy laid down in the Churchill White Paper with regard to the meaning attached to the expression "Jewish National Home," the principles which should govern immigration and the position of the Jewish Agency. After an admission that means of closer co-operation with the Jewish Agency, without, however, giving that body any share in the Government, must be found and machinery provided for safeguarding the interests of the non-Jewish population and affording them also the means of consultation, the authors of the statement arrived at the conclusions that the obligations laid down by the Mandate in regard to the two sections of the population are of equal weight, and that the two obligations imposed on the Mandatory are in no sense irreconcilable. These were the conclusions of the Permanent Mandates Commission which the British Government fully accepted.

In fulfilment of the policy there laid down, the following decisions had been taken: To make adequate provision for securing the internal peace of the country, and to bring into being the Legislative Council which had been announced in 1922 but had been rendered abortive by the opposition of the Arabs. This Council would have limited powers and would be unable to affect the basic principles of the Mandate. On this occasion the Government did not propose to withdraw the offer in the face of opposition from any section of the population, even if it had to nominate representatives if the elections of any section proved abortive.

The Government accepted Sir John Hope Simpson's conclusions generally with regard to land, agricultural development, and immigration. It proposed to adopt a development scheme whereby the present population of the country would be provided for and room made for a large number of Jewish immigrants. In the meanwhile Jewish settlement could continue, on the reserve lands already in the possession of the Jewish Organisations, but this did not mean that there was any intention to prohibit the immigration of Jews in the meanwhile. The existing agricultural tenants must also be secured against ejectment or the imposition of excessive rentals.

Explanations by the Prime Minister and the Secretary of State, both in Parliament and elsewhere, had little effect in assuaging the storm that continued to rage. Even the ordinary routine administration of the Palestine Government with regard for instance to immigration, under which the flow of Jewish immigrants to Palestine continued unchecked, which showed how baseless were so many of the exaggerations that were hurtling in the air, had little effect so far as the most vocal critics in Europe and America were concerned. In another direction, however, this even-tempered pursuit of the policy laid down by the Government threatened serious harm. The exclamations of despair with which the White Paper was received by the Zionists were taken literally by the Arabs, who believed, as the Zionists said, that the Government had discarded the policy of the Jewish National Home, and had decided to prohibit the immigration of Jews into Palestine and the purchase of land by them. In consequence, when they discovered, as they soon did, that Jewish immigration was continuing unchecked, they felt that they had been betrayed. A very bitter feeling was aroused, and feeling seemed to be tending towards another Arab outbreak. The debate in the House of Commons, however, saved the situation. There it was made clear that the White Paper was to be neither withdrawn nor modified, and the policy there laid down was to be enforced. In the course of the debate also the announcement was made that the Government proposed to raise a loan of 2,500,000Z. for the purpose of land development, so that provision could be made for those Arabs who had lost their employment by Jewish acquisition of land and some twenty thousand additional families, Jewish and Arab, settled. The loan would be guaranteed by the British Government, and for the first years the interest and sinking fund would be the concern of the British Treasury, since Palestine was not in a position to support them.

All these doubts and misapprehensions delayed the Arab Executive in the formulation of their attitude towards the White Paper policy, and when the year closed it was still uncertain whether they were willing to co-operate with the Government or not.

The Wailing Wall Commission made its report some time

before the end of the year, when, however, it was still awaiting publication. Earlier in the year, noisy Moslem religious exercises in the neighbourhood of the Wall had been stopped by the Government on the ground that they interfered with Jewish worship, but Jewish appeals on the occasion of the festivals in the autumn for permission to perform the full ritual of the New Year and Day of Atonement services at the Wall were refused. The Government determined, pending the decision of the Commission, carefully to preserve the *status quo*.

Another disappointment of the year was the inactivity of the enlarged Jewish Agency, of which so much had been expected. The extension of the Jewish Agency so as to include a large and influential non-Zionist element which had been so exuberantly acclaimed in August, 1929, had, so far as Palestine was concerned, been apparently without any effect. The Jewish Agency Executive was the Zionist Executive under another name. It had been much hampered by lack of funds, the *Keren Hayesod* collections, dependent on the prosperity of world, especially American, Jewry, having fallen far short of expectations. On the other hand, the Emergency Relief Fund, raised as a consequence of the August disturbances, had relieved the Jewish Agency of certain expenses in connexion with urban and rural development. The crisis may have had one good effect in concentrating Zionist forces in America which had split ten years ago when Mr. Justice Brandeis, Rabbi Stephen Wise, Judge Mack, and other prominent American Zionists, seceded from the Organisation.

In other respects the year was somewhat unfortunate. The economic and financial situation held up on the whole for months after the August outbreak, but by about June or July it began to show itself, and by the end of the year the country, judging from the increase in commercial bankruptcies and unemployment, was entering a period of crisis. A threatening plague of locusts, the worst within memory, was successfully held off. An outbreak of cattle plague did a certain amount of harm, but a plague of field mice in the Plain of Esdraelon wrought havoc among the crops, Jewish and Arab, with consequent widespread hardship among the cultivators, to whose assistance the Government felt itself compelled to come. A partial failure of the tourist season, a consequence of financial difficulties abroad, and of the orange export business, led to many losses and consequent restriction of employment and development. The universal economic crisis also had its repercussion in Palestine.

On the other hand, there were some redeeming features. A dangerous band of brigands, an aftermath of the August disturbances, that was active in Northern Palestine was finally dispersed in January, and in July a long standing feud between Bedouin tribes of Palestine, Transjordan, and Sinai was finally settled in a picturesque gathering at the junction of the three states.

The question of the terminal point of the pipe line from Mosul was decided in favour of Haifa, with perhaps a subsidiary line to a Syrian port, and the survey of a Haifa-Mosul railway which must depend to some extent on the pipe line was commenced.

SYRIA.

The year 1930, like all its predecessors since the institution of the Mandate, opened in a state of constitutional crisis. At the end of the previous year the several States existing under the French Mandate had met in conference at the invitation of the High Commissioner, and it was thought that a king was about to be appointed, but anticipations were not realised. For five months there was no announcement, and then, on May 22, a new Constitution for all of the Mandated territories was promulgated. This Constitution was identical with that adopted by the Syrian Constitutional Assembly of 1928, except that the articles to which the Mandatory power took exception were omitted. Separate Governments for Syria, the Lebanon, the Sanjak of Alexandretta, the Alawiya, and Jebel Druze were formed. Provision was made for conferences on matters of common interest. This Constitution marked the end of the deadlock which had existed since August, 1928, when the Constituent Assembly refused to rescind certain Articles of the Constitution which it had drawn up. Chief among these were the reservation to the President of the Syrian Republic of the prerogative of pardon, and that of granting an amnesty to Parliament and the right of the Constituent Assembly to conclude treaties with foreign powers and exercise independent control over foreign relations, to determine the organisation of the Army, and to proclaim martial law.

The new Constitution laid down that the obligations of France to the League of Nations must override any action of the States or their governing bodies. In particular France remained responsible for the maintenance of order, security and defence, and foreign relations. In Syria provision was made for a single Chamber Parliament. The President of the Republic, who must be a Moslem, was to be elected by the Chamber. The new Constitution made little difference so far as the States, other than Syria, were concerned. In Syria, however, the advance on the previous constitutional position was considerable. The Constitution was not to come into force until after a General Election.

The people seemed to accept the settlement if only through weariness, after the long period of disturbance through which they had passed. After a few weeks, however, the Nationalists broke silence. They refused to accept the settlement. At a meeting of their leaders resolutions protesting against the efforts made, so they said, to prevent the Constituent Assembly from fulfilling its

mission ; the division of the country by the High Commissioner's action in promulgating different Constitutions which nullified the principle of national independence ; the ignoring of the national will by preventing the election of persons enjoying the confidence of the people and the maintaining of the present provisional Government, which was a burden on the country ; the exile of some of the country's best sons ; and the prevention of public meetings and the violation of the sacred principle of domicile, were adopted.

The meeting at which this protest was made did not pass without a collision between the crowd and the French forces.

Activities in the economic field have been more promising than in the political. The rivalry between France and her protégé, Syria, and England and her protégé, Palestine, for the pipe line from Mosul to the coast has continued, but has taken a step towards its conclusion by the appointment of a Commission of engineers to survey the alternative routes to Tripoli and Haifa. In the expectation that the final decision will be given in favour of Tripoli, the French High Commissariat propose to build a railway from Horns to Deir ez Zor on the Euphrates, passing through Palmyra, the Tadmor of the Wilderness of Zenobia. The pipe line, if it came to Tripoli, would follow this route, and a railway would prove invaluable to the building and upkeep of the pipe line, in addition to securing its proper economic purpose. Informed opinion at the end of the year pointed, however, to the acceptance of the Haifa alternative, with a branch to Tripoli. Another railway that has been projected for a long time, and now seems nearer completion, is one from Tripoli to Beyrout, one of the largest cities and ports of the Levant, which is at present isolated from the railway point of view except for the slow narrow-gauge railway which connects it with Damascus. If this railway were constructed, Beyrout would be in direct railway connexion with the whole of Syria, Turkey, and Europe. An enlargement of Beyrout Harbour and the creation of an air port at Tripoli are also planned. The proposal of the French is that these works should be undertaken by the Governments of Syria and the Lebanon jointly, with funds borrowed on the guarantees of the three States.

The Lebanese Cabinet of M. Emile Eddeh resigned in March, and was followed by one formed by Adib Pasha, the first Prime Minister of the Republic ; Adib was a Maronite, but the Orthodox Church as well as both branches of Islam were represented in the new Cabinet, which was accepted by the Chamber.

Early in the year Syria suffered much embarrassment from an influx from Turkey of Christians of different communities who were afflicted in their own homes.

ARABIA.

The first days of the year saw the end for practical purposes of the once formidable rebel, Sheikh Feisal ed Do wish. Defeated in battle by Ibn Saud, he and the remnant of his followers fled to Southern Iraq. There he was captured by British forces and interned. The Hedjaz Government asked for his extradition, but not very wholeheartedly. They were apparently quite satisfied to leave him outside of their territories so long as he was in safe custody, and at this the matter was allowed to rest. One of the reasons for not pressing the matter was the meeting that was at the time being negotiated between Ibn Saud, King of Nejd and the Hedjaz, and Feisal, King of Iraq, who might be termed almost hereditary enemies. The meeting took place on February 22 on board H.M.S. *Lupin* in the Persian Gulf, Sir Francis Humphrys, the British High Commissioner in Iraq, being present. The agreement provided for the mutual recognition of the independence of Iraq and Nejd, an exchange of diplomatic representatives, the outlawing of tribal raiders, the extradition of fugitives from justice, the establishment of a Permanent Frontier Commission, an undertaking to settle by arbitration disputes over the interpretation of the treaty, Ibn Saud's acceptance of a proposal to give favourable consideration to Iraqi claims for reparations arising from the raids of recent years, and of the Iraqi point of view in regard to the maintenance of police posts in the Southern Desert. At the same time Ibn Saud agreed to pardon Nejd fugitives, formerly with the rebel forces, who had sought refuge in Iraq.

A few weeks later the British Consulate at Jeddah was raised to the rank of a Legation, and Sir Andrew Ryan appointed the first British Minister to the Court of Nejd and the Hedjaz (January 30).

In another direction the territories of Ibn Saud were extended. The Idrisi Emirate of Abu Arish and Sabia in Asir immediately to the south of the Hedjaz, which had been a state just a hundred years, had been for some years a Wahabi protectorate. Apparently by mutual agreement, its status underwent a change, and Asir became an integral part of the possessions of the Wahabi King.

CHAPTER VII.

THE FAR EAST : CHINA—JAPAN—THE DUTCH EAST INDIES.

CHINA.

AT the close of 1929 the Nanking Government had just escaped a serious danger which threatened it from the side of the Northern secessionists consisting of the Kuominchun and the troops under

the elusive General Tang Sengchi. The scale was turned in favour of the Government by the intervention on its side of Yen Hsi-shan, the " model " Tuchun of Shansi. For this service Yen was rewarded with the position of Vice-Commander-in-Chief of the National Army. At the same time he announced that the Kuominchun would be reorganised, and that their leader, the " Christian " General Feng Yu-hsiang, would be given temporary shelter in Shansi till he left for a tour abroad.

Yen's professions of allegiance were merely meant to lull the Nanking Government into a false sense of security. While remaining outwardly quiescent, he was replenishing his war coffers and forming a plan of campaign. On February 13 he threw off the mask by issuing a circular telegram demanding the retirement of the Nationalist Commander-in-Chief, Chiang Kai-shek, and the reorganisation of the Nanking Government. The Government expressed surprise at his demands, and called upon him to withdraw them. Their remonstrances, however, proving fruitless, they at length took up the challenge which he had thrown down, and on April 5 ordered a punitive expedition against Yen and his Northern associates.

This step marked the opening of the most widely extended and the most sanguinary civil conflict ever known in China. Yen had associated with himself his old ally Feng Yu-hsiang, and between them they were estimated to have at their disposal not less than 250,000 men. He also put himself in touch with the forces of the Kwangsi Generals and Chang Fat-kuei's " Ironsides " in the South, who were still in arms against the Nanking Government, and with the Reorganisationist leader, Wang Ching-wei. He had already taken steps to form a Government at Peking, and had declared himself Commander-in-Chief of the Army, Navy, and Air Forces of the Republic of China. The Nanking Government and Chiang Kai-shek were estimated to have at their disposal only about 200,000 men, but these were better equipped and supplied with ammunition than their adversaries.

For a couple of months matters went somewhat badly for the Nanking Government. On June 6 Chang Fat-kuei and his allies occupied Changsha and threatened Hankow. On June 17, it is true, they evacuated Changsha in favour of the Governor of Hunan, but his loyalty to the Nanking Government was doubtful. Early in May the Shansi troops, who had been advancing southwards along the railway lines, occupied Tsinan. Fighting also went on in many other quarters. During June and July Chiang Kai-shek was occupied with the rebels in the South. By the beginning of August he had pushed them back into Kwangsi, and was able to turn his attention to Yen, who had not advanced beyond Tsinan. By a vigorous drive he expelled him from that city on August 16, with heavy losses in men and ammunition.

Towards the end of August a new factor appeared on the scene

in the person of Chang Hsueh-liang, the War Lord of Manchuria. For months his support had been solicited by both parties, but he had kept studiously aloof from the conflict. Now, however, he emerged from his retirement and sent telegrams to the principal authorities on both sides, calling on them to cease hostilities and to take steps to establish a stable Government. At the same time he marched south with a considerable body of troops, without declaring his adhesion to either side. Yen, however, immediately made way for him, and allowed him to occupy Peking, Tientsin, and a considerable district south of these cities without resistance. At the same time he gave up his struggle with the Nanking Government, and retired to his own province of Shansi. Feng also, though retaining his troops, withdrew from the railway line, leaving Chiang Kai-shek in possession of the field. The fighting which had been going on sporadically along the railway lines and in other districts also ceased about the same time. Thus by the middle of October the civil war was practically over, and the Nanking Government was re-established as the central authority for the whole of China. Yen Hsi-shan and Feng Yu-hsiang withdrew, the former to the coast, with the intention of leaving the country, the latter to the Wu Tai mountains as a hermit.

The designs of Chang Hsueh-liang were still uncertain. On taking over Tientsin he had removed Mr. Lennox Simpson, who had been appointed to the Commissionership of Customs by Yen Hsi-shan, from that post, and had intimated that he would restore the nominee of the Nanking Government. On the other hand, he had informed that body unequivocally that he could not fall in with their policy of making the Government a preserve of the Kuomintang party. His doubts, however, were resolved by a visit which he paid to Nanking on November 12. As a result of conversations which he held with Chiang Kai-shek and other Nationalist leaders, he consented to recognise the Nationalist Government and to act in harmony with it. He even promised to allow it a certain measure of control over the Manchurian revenues for the purpose of maintaining the Customs and Salt services.

Chang's visit to Nanking coincided with the holding of the fourth Plenary Session of the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang. The proceedings of this gathering bore the appearance of being strongly influenced by his representations. The leaders admitted that the present system of Government was inadequate, that there were abuses of the party machinery, and that corruption was rife in the provincial branches of the party. To combat these evils it was resolved that a National Congress should be convoked in May to fix the date for the promulgation of a permanent constitution, and to which all fundamental problems should be submitted. Further resolutions called for a redemarcation of the provinces, the enforcement of the District

Autonomy system, and changes in the organisation of the Central Government for the purpose of promoting better co-ordination among its various departments. The co-operation of Chang Hsueh-liang with the Nanking Government greatly encouraged the Nationalists, and made them hopeful that the unification of the country would at last be firmly established.

A sinister concomitant of the civil war was a great extension of brigandage and banditry, which even before had been appallingly rife. Already at the end of March a large area south of the Yangste was in the hands of robber bands who styled themselves "Communists" and were organised loosely on Soviet lines. Among the achievements of the "Communists" in the course of the year were the looting of the city of Yuanchow in Kiangsi on March 30, the capture of Yungyang on the Honan-Hupeh border on May 12—at which they were said to have slaughtered 15,000 of the inhabitants and to have carried off 500 others for ransom—and the capture of Changsha in July from the Governor of Hunan. They were expelled from this place early in August by the forces of the Nationalist Government, but not till they had done much damage by looting and wanton destruction. At the end of the year, after making his peace with the ruler of Manchuria, Chiang Kai-shek made preparations for an active campaign against them.

Owing to the chaotic condition of the country, the national finances fell into still worse confusion than before; and matters were made still more difficult by the continued fall in the price of silver. The accounts for the financial year July, 1928, to June, 1929, showed that on a total Budget of 430 odd million dollars, 100 million represented new borrowing and 200 million unproductive military expenditure. The report of the Kemmerer Commission of Financial Experts issued in March recommended that a uniform national gold standard currency should be gradually introduced, and that Chinese money should be redeemed by means of a gold standard trust fund. As a first step to this end, the new import tariff schedule, promulgated on December 28, had all its specific rates expressed in gold units. At the end of March the Ministry of Finance stated that unless military expenditure were restricted it would not be possible to meet expenses without further borrowing, much less to make provision for reconstruction and debt consolidation. As soon, however, as the civil war was over, in November, a Commission was appointed to formulate a plan for the consolidation of the entire public debt under the Ministry of Finance. The abolition of likin, so often postponed, and also of transit dues, was ordered by the Ministry of Finance definitely to take effect on January 1, 1931. In spite, too, of Yen's interference with the salt revenue while he was in possession of Tientsin, the payments of loans secured on that source were duly met.

Another consequence of the civil war was that little progress was made during the year with the abolition of extra-territoriality.

At the beginning of the year the British Government reminded China that while she regarded January 1, 1930, as the date on which the gradual abolition of extra-territoriality should commence in principle, British extra-territorial rights would still remain in force until modified by negotiation. The Chinese Government did not entirely accept this view, and some friction arose over various incidents in the course of the year. Negotiations were carried on between Sir Miles Lampson and Mr. C. T. Wang, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, but by the end of the year they had not led to any result. The United States and France also retained their extra-territorial rights in spite of the Mandate (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1929, p. 292), and negotiations failed to lead to a satisfactory settlement. In a speech delivered on December 22, however, Mr. Wang declared himself confident that the difficulties would be settled in the forthcoming year.

Two other questions at issue between Great Britain and China—the rendition of Wei-hai-wei and the return of the Boxer indemnity—were satisfactorily settled in the course of the year after somewhat protracted negotiations. Agreement on both points was reached at a series of meetings between Sir Miles Lampson and Mr. C. T. Wang in September. As a result, Wei-hai-wei was returned to Chinese control on October 1, after the Chinese Government had given satisfactory guarantees that it would afford adequate protection to foreign life and property. With regard to the Boxer indemnity, it was agreed that, subject to the necessary legislation being passed by Parliament, the British share of the indemnity should be remitted as from December 1, 1922, to the Chinese Government, to be used by it for the creation of an endowment devoted to educational purposes. The Chinese Government undertook, subject to the terms of existing contracts, to place in the United Kingdom all orders for materials to be purchased out of the remitted funds. At the same time Sir Miles Lampson and Dr. Wang agreed that the British Concession at Amoy should be restored to China on the same terms as the Concession at Chinkiang in the previous year.

In a Customs Agreement signed on March 12 and ratified in May, Japan finally recognised China's tariff autonomy. With the ratification on November 18 of the Sino-Dutch Commercial Treaty, this autonomy, which had actually been exercised since February, 1929, was finally established. China's relations with Japan in general became more cordial during the year.

The dispute between China and Russia over the Chinese Eastern Railway was temporarily ended by the Khabarovsk Protocol, drawn up on December 22, 1929, which stipulated that the activities of the Russian White bands in Manchuria should be checked, and that a conference should be held at Moscow to settle outstanding questions. In accordance with this agreement a Chinese delegation arrived in Moscow on May 8. The conference did not

actually open till October 11, when M. Karakhan, the chief Russian delegate, immediately complained that the White bands were still active in Manchuria ; three days before the Soviet Government had sent a strong Note to Chang Hsueh-liang on the subject. A conciliatory reply was sent from Mukden and a breakdown of the conference was thus avoided, but by the end of the year it had not made any progress towards settling the questions in dispute.

Considerable progress was made in the course of the year with the task of codifying Chinese law, and a number of sections were finally put into shape. On the completion of their first two-year term on December 5, the members of the Legislative Yuan received warm tributes from the Government leaders on the way in which they had discharged their duties. Improvements were also effected in the sphere of judicial administration ; substantial additions were made to the number of modern courts and prisons, and steps were taken to abolish the system by which the Hsien, or district magistrates, exercised concurrent powers. In spite too of the impoverishment of the country through civil war, some notable steps were taken for its material development. An International Radio Station, capable of direct communication with North America and Europe, was opened at Chenju ; work was commenced on the projected Hulutao harbour in the Liaotung peninsula ; the railway system of Manchuria was extended ; the mileage of motor roads in the provinces was greatly increased ; and arrangements were made for extending the Shantung-Hankow air service to Ichang and for an air-mail service between China and Europe.

JAPAN.

At the beginning of the year the Government of Mr. Hamaguchi decided to hold a General Election in the near future in order, if possible, to obtain a parliamentary majority ; in the existing Diet it was in a minority of 60. The Diet was accordingly dissolved on January 21, and elections for a new one were held on February 20. The result was a victory for the Government far more complete than it had dared to expect. The Minseito, the Government Party, obtained 273 seats in a House of 466. The Seiyukwai obtained 174 seats and Labour only 5. The total poll of the Minseito was 5,570,376 votes, of the Seiyukwai 3,923,788 votes, and of the Labour bodies 502,313 votes. The poor display of Labour was attributed in part to over-confidence and to a lack of proper organisation.

The Diet met in extraordinary session on April 21, and sat till May 13. Its chief business was to pass the Budget for the ensuing year (1930-31), providing for an expenditure of 1,606,000,000 yen (160,000,000[^]), which was 146,000,000 yen less

than that of the previous year. There was a reduction in the Naval Estimates of 6,000,000 yen, and in the Military Estimates of 18,000,000 yen. In addition the Diet passed Bills granting civic rights to women, and sent them on to the Upper House. A Labour Union Bill, introduced by a member of the Social Democratic Party (ShakwaiMinshuto), was referred to Committee. The Government announced its intention of bringing in a Bill of its own, based on the recommendations of the Commission on social policy.

On January 10 the embargo on the export of gold was raised. The first shipment took place on January 21, when 15,000,000 yen was sent to New York. Applications for export were still discouraged, but for some time there was a considerable efflux, to balance the excess of imports over exports. The return to the gold standard caused some inconvenience, but on the whole the country stood the strain successfully. The Government found it unnecessary to make use of the credit of 10,000,000Z. which had been opened in London and New York when the gold embargo was removed, and did not renew it when it expired in the autumn.

The fall in the prices of silk and other Japanese articles of export caused a severe trade depression which commenced in the spring and became more acute as the year wore on. In order to ease the position, the Government at an early period put into effect the export credit system and lowered the import duties on cotton yarns. It also started a campaign in favour of "home-made goods." The Department of Overseas Trade published in the autumn a report which stated that the depressed economic condition was not due to any fundamental weakness in Japan's financial and industrial organisation, but to the operation of forces beyond her control. Probably, indeed, her industrial efficiency was at a higher point than it had ever reached before, and her mercantile finances, though still capable of improvement, were on a much sounder footing than at any time since 1920.

As in other countries, the trade depression in Japan brought increased unemployment in its train. The number of unemployed was officially stated to have been over 350,000 in June, and it rose further in the course of the year. At the end of the year the Government was actively preparing measures for the relief of unemployment. These included increased grants to the local and prefectural authorities, and the starting of relief works to be financed by loans. There was a considerable increase in the number of strikes as compared with the previous year, due to reductions in wages or to discharges in connexion with the curtailment of output.

Japan was one of the three leading Powers represented at the London Naval Conference (*vide* English History, pp. 4-6 and 28-32). Immediately on his arrival in London at the beginning of January, Mr. Wakatsuki, the senior Japanese delegate, issued

a statement in which he declared that the Government and people of Japan would be content with a naval strength inferior to that of Great Britain and the United States, and that all they wanted was to assure their own national safety. He further stated that Japan was prepared to cut down her own strength at once if other Powers did the same, provided always that equilibrium was maintained. Mr. Hamaguchi, the Prime Minister, spoke in a similar sense in the Diet.

Acting on these principles, Japan would have found no great difficulty in coming to an agreement with either Great Britain or the United States separately. Her chief demand was that she should be allowed 70 per cent, of the tonnage of heavy cruisers of the Power strongest in that type of vessel. Objection to this arose from the fact that the United States claimed a larger tonnage in this type of vessel than Great Britain, which consequently insisted that Japan should scale down her demands in proportion. At the end of February the United States proposed a compromise by which, while she retained the right to build 180,000 tons of heavy cruisers against Japan's 108,400, she undertook actually not to construct more than 150,000 tons by 1936, and at the same time consented to an increase of Japan's quota in light cruisers and destroyers, and to parity in submarines at a fixed strength of 52,000 tons. This offer was not considered satisfactory either by the Japanese delegates or the public at home, and at first there seemed a likelihood that it would be rejected. Through the desire, however, to preserve the good-will of the United States and Great Britain and to maintain co-operation with them, a different view ultimately prevailed. After a month's deliberation, the Japanese delegates announced that they were prepared to accept the American proposals, subject to certain reservations, the chief of which were that the Agreement should be for five years only and that the "holiday" for capital ships should be prolonged. A settlement on these lines was effected in the course of the following weeks, and this was made the basis of a "Three-Power pact" between Great Britain, the United States, and Japan, which was subsequently embodied in the London Naval Treaty. Under this treaty the maximum number of cruisers with guns of over 6-inch calibre allowed to Japan was twelve, as against fifteen allowed to the British Commonwealth and eighteen to the United States.

After signing the treaty, Mr. Wakatsuki explained that he would not have done so but for the fact that the Agreement did not extend beyond 1936, and that then the naval strength of the Powers would again come up for consideration. At home Baron Shidehara, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, expressed the opinion that the treaty would "greatly increase the sense of security among the nations concerned, and lessen their respective burdens," and that "the results achieved were all the more welcome when

it was considered what the results of failure must have been—the aggravation of international relations and the increase of national burdens." Subsequently at the opening of the Diet, he dwelt on the economy which could now be effected in the expenditure on the Navy—and which, it was calculated, would amount to 66,000,000? by 1936—and like Mr. Wakatsuki, he laid stress on the fact that in five years time Japan would be at perfect liberty to present whatever claims she might think suitable.

In spite of these considerations, the treaty was received by the Japanese public with a certain sense of disappointment, and by some sections, notably in naval circles, with open hostility. The Government found little difficulty in securing the Diet's approval for the signing of the treaty. But it had a much harder task to persuade the Supreme War Council and the Privy Council. The former body, and in particular Admiral Kato, the Chief of the Naval Staff, maintained that before signing the treaty, and even before opening negotiations, the Cabinet should have obtained the consent of the General Staff. When Admiral Takarabe, the Minister of Marine, who had been one of the Japanese delegates at the conference, returned to Japan in May, he had prolonged discussions with Admiral Kato on this subject, as a result of which the Supreme Council withdrew its objections to the treaty, but at the same time insisted that in future before determining the peace strength of the Navy, the Minister of Marine should consult the Naval General Staff, and obtain its consent to any measures which the Government might propose to take.

The ground having thus been prepared, the treaty was referred by the Emperor to the Privy Council in July. This body appointed a committee of eight members, with Count Miyoji Ito as Chairman, to investigate it. The Committee came into sharp conflict with the Prime Minister over questions of procedure, and at more than one point threatened to give up the work. Eventually, however, under the pressure of public opinion, which was strongly on the side of the Government, it fell in with the Government's point of view, and on September 17 reported to the Council in favour of unqualified ratification. The Council accepted the Committee's report on October 1, and on the next day the Emperor ratified the treaty.

In a broadcast message delivered on October 28, on the occasion of the depositing of the documents of ratification in London, Mr. Hamaguchi described the treaty as a striking demonstration of mutual confidence and good-will, and said that the moment was obviously favourable for a wide extension of the policy of disarmament embodied in it. Thinking Japanese, he said, desired nothing more earnestly than security and peace with the rest of the world. It was clear that any breach of the Kellogg Pact must rally all against the aggressor, and whether other Powers offered active help or not, it was hardly conceivable that they

would allow the pledge-breaker to interfere with their trade or enjoy the other privileges of a lawful belligerent.

Soon after the treaty was signed, Admiral Taniguchi, who had replaced Admiral Kato as Chief of the Naval Staff, drew up a new programme of naval construction, which was much smaller than that prepared by his predecessor. In accordance with this, in the Budget for 1931-32 drawn up at the end of the year, provision was made for an expenditure of 210,341,000 yen on the* Navy, and for naval replenishment to cost 394,000,000 yen, spread over a period of eight years.

Japan's relations with China were greatly improved by the conclusion in April of a Tariff Treaty by which Japan recognised China's tariff autonomy and China accorded to Japan most-favoured-nation treatment. The continued refusal of China, however, to recognise Mr. Obata as Japanese Envoy in Nanking (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1929, p. 294) caused great resentment in Japan. The Soviet Government's treatment of Japanese nationals on various occasions gave rise to complaints, but did not lead to any diplomatic representations. With other countries Japan's relations were friendly.

Early in the year the Cabinet gave its approval to a scheme drawn up by the Governor-General of Korea for the extension of local self-government in that country.

In the summer Japan was visited by two typhoons of exceptional violence. In each case the brunt of the storm fell on the island of Kyushu and the southern part of Korea. Hundreds of lives were lost, and the damage was estimated at nearly 10,000,000Z. On November 26 a severe earthquake occurred in the northern part of the Idzu peninsula, through which 280 persons were killed and over 100 seriously injured, in spite of the fact that the disturbance had been expected and measures had been taken to guard against it.

On November 14 an attempt was made in Tokio on the life of the Prime Minister, Mr. Hamaguchi, from political motives, by a youth belonging to an association called the Aikokusha (Patriots). Mr. Hamaguchi was seriously wounded, but at the end of the year he was on the high road to recovery.

According to the census taken this year, the population of Japan was 64,447,000, an increase of 4,017,000 on the figure of 1925.

A British Economic Mission arrived in Japan early in November, and on the 6th were received in audience by the Emperor. In the course of its stay various criticisms were brought to its notice of the methods of British business houses, particularly in the matter of pricing and financing.

THE DUTCH EAST INDIES.

In November the Governor-General of Netherlands India reciprocated the visit paid to Java by the Governor-General of Indo-China and the King of Siam in 1929. In a speech delivered in the course of his visit, Jhr. de Graeff emphasised *inter alia* the common interest of the Governments of Indo-China and Netherlands India in following in principle an identical policy with respect to the peoples for whom they were responsible. Slowly and with great care the heavy task had to be performed of preparing for the far-distant future in which these colonies would be sufficiently developed, economically, socially, politically, and above all morally, to take in hand their own destiny, whilst keeping intact the close ties of sentiment and interest which bound them to the mother country.

In his insistence on the idea that Netherlands India was not yet ripe for independence, the Governor-General received unexpected support from home. Despite violent opposition offered by the left wing of the party and revolutionary pressure from Netherlands India, a Colonial Congress of the Social Democratic Labour Party declared that it did not immediately advocate such independence. A remarkable opinion was also expressed by one of the leaders of the Congress, Mr. Stokvis, a member of the "Volksraad" (People's Council), that the Netherlands working classes had a great interest in the existing ties between the mother country and Netherlands-India. Mr. Stokvis calculated that the loss of Insulinde would bring unemployment to a tenth part of the Dutch workmen.

The opinions expressed by Jhr. de Graeff received practical application in the Government's treatment of Partai Nasional India. After the raid on the chief centres of the party at the end of 1929 (see ANNUAL REGISTER, 1929, p. 297), when the premises of the leaders and other prominent members were searched, a great number of Nationalists were arrested. Several were released, but after a preliminary inquiry the principal leaders were committed for trial. The legal proceedings, which were instituted in the autumn and lasted about two months, ended in the most prominent leaders being sentenced to terms of imprisonment varying from fifteen months to four years. Although the defendants asserted that in striving after independence for Insulinde they had not contemplated any revolutionary steps, the evidence showed that the Partai Nasional India was implicated in the campaign for the forcible overthrow of Netherlands authority.

Whilst the Government thus continued to suppress revolutionary agitation, it showed itself at the same time prepared to meet legitimate grievances. Thus it appointed a Commission, in which representatives of the native parties formed the majority, to hear complaints against the Penal Code, and if necessary to suggest

a revision of certain articles which, according to Nationalist circles, might be construed in such a way as to form an impediment to freedom of political and economic development. The "Volksraad" agreed with this decision of the Government, and by 47 votes to 5 passed a motion requesting the Government to make a close investigation of its excessive powers. Both Government and "Volksraad" thus made it quite clear that they wished no greater restrictions to be placed upon the development of national life than were necessary to protect native society from disturbances which might do it injury.

The same spirit of gradual reform was evinced by the appropriation of 500,000 florins for buying off private forced labour wherever it still exists in the Outer Possessions, the first step towards the complete abolition of forced labour. Further, a Bill was introduced providing for the gradual substitution of free labour for the system of coolie labour with penal sanctions.

Mr. de Graeff, the Minister for the Colonies, expounded in the States-General the plans for the extension of Government reform by decentralisation, such as has already been introduced in Java and Madura.

Of great importance for the defence of Netherlands India was the voting by the States-General of a first instalment of the sum required for the carrying out of the naval plan. The vote was for the construction of a flotilla leader, a type of vessel between a light cruiser and a destroyer, destined for Indian waters. Although formally the States-General left themselves absolutely free with respect to the granting of further credits, it was generally assumed that they approved of the plans of the Government for the creation of the necessary reserve force for the Navy in the Indies (which is now composed of two cruisers, eight destroyers and twelve submarines), by the construction of one cruiser, four destroyers, and six submarines (*vide* The Netherlands).

The financial position in 1930 was not altogether favourable. The year 1928 produced an estimated surplus of 41,000,000 florins on the ordinary service and a deficit of 11,000,000 florins on the total Budget; for 1929 the corresponding figures were 14.2 million and 51.8 million florins respectively. For 1930 it is estimated that there will be a deficit of 1.5 million florins on the ordinary service and of 69.5 million florins on the whole service. The 1931 Budget reckons on practically balancing ordinary service, but on a deficit of 51.6 million florins on the whole service. After the acceptance of this Budget by the "Volksraad" in June, however, the world crisis made itself more and more keenly felt, the East Indian products being greatly affected by over-production and the resultant low prices. In order to improve the revenue the Government decided on a temporary increase of the surtax, the income tax, and the company tax, of the import duties and the commercial stamp duty, and on the permanent increase of certain minor taxes.

In March a loan of 37*8 million florins was issued, and in November one of 77*2 million florins, both bearing interest at the rate of 4J per cent, and destined for the redemption of the floating debt.

In the autumn the aerial mail services between Netherlands India and the mother country were resumed in the form of fortnightly services.

The decennial census brought a great surprise. Whilst in 1920 the population of the whole Archipelago had been given as 49.3 millions, it proved this time to be 60 millions. The population of Java increased from 34.9 to 42.2 millions, that of Sumatra from 6.2 to 8.1 millions, that of Borneo from 1.6 million to 2'1 millions, and that of Celebes from 3.1 millions to 4 millions. The higher figures are partly due to the greater care exercised in taking the census and to the more active co-operation of the native population.

CHAPTER VIII.

MOROCCO AND EGYPT.

MOROCCO.

DURING 1930 the French Government took energetic steps to establish security in the south-eastern corner of the country, in the neighbourhood of Bu Denib, on the Algerian frontier. This district had for some time been subject to raids by tribes issuing from the Tafilet oases (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1929, p. 299). Having in vain sought by peaceful means to induce them to desist, the French authorities determined to put them down by force. An expedition was planned with great care, mobile columns being equipped, with support from armoured cars and aeroplanes. On the demand of M. Lucien Saint, the Governor of Morocco, a unified command was instituted for both the Moroccan and the Algerian sides of the frontier, with headquarters at Bu Denib, in Moroccan territory. In the course of the year French forces, after sharp engagements, managed to break up three or four raiding bands. Owing, however, to the difficulties of the country they were unable to penetrate to the enemy's headquarters and bring the recalcitrant tribes to submission.

On January 1 the port of Agadir was declared open to international trade, after having been a closed port for over a century and a half—since the days of the Sultan Sidi Mohamed ben Abdullah, who had closed it in 1764 in order to promote the development of Mogador. One reason for this step was to facilitate the liquidation of German property in the neighbourhood, which had recently been decided upon. Another and even more important reason was to foster trade in the district of the Sus river, which

was now peaceful. In March M. Saint, the Governor, paid an official visit to Agadir, in the course of which he received the Pasha and the local chiefs. Among the latter was Ma el Ainan, who had been one of the most stubborn enemies of the French until his submission in 1923.

In October M. Doumergue, the President of the French Republic, paid a State visit to the Sultan of Morocco, landing at Casablanca on October 16. At a banquet held in the Sultan's palace on the same day, tributes were paid to the success of the French occupation, and in particular to the work of Marshal Lyautey. On October 18 President Doumergue held an impressive review of Colonial troops, both French and Moroccan, and afterwards congratulated the Minister of War on the fine bearing of the troops. He left Casablanca for France on October 21.

At the end of July a riot took place among the Moslems of Fez, who had taken alarm at the attempts of the authorities to spread secular education among the Berbers through the medium of the French and Berber languages. Some thirty arrests were made, and certain persons were severely punished. Though the agitation was suppressed for the time being, the discontent remained.

At the beginning of August the International Legislative Assembly of Tangier voted a concession for the sole supply of electric lighting and power to a Franco-Spanish combination without considering other tenders. A great outcry was raised against this proceeding, and the Committee of Control, whose sanction was required to make the decision of the Assembly operative, undertook to consider the Assembly's action. Another cause of discontent was the imposition in July of new internal taxes on a number of staple commodities.

In April the negotiations between representatives of the French and Spanish Governments for a Customs agreement between the two zones of Morocco were brought to a successful conclusion.

The Spanish zone during 1930 enjoyed uninterrupted peace, but in spite of this fact made little progress economically. Agriculture was still so poorly developed that it was necessary to import wheat, barley, and beef, and the only export was a small quantity of minerals. Spain's expenditure on the country was about 300 million pesetas (c. 7,500,000L), for which there was very little to show. In a speech made at Melilla in August, Count Jordana, the High Commissioner, referred to the position in somewhat pessimistic terms.

EGYPT.

The year opened a few days after the overwhelming victory of the Wafdist Party at the polls, and the first business was obviously the appointment of a Cabinet in agreement with the

Parliamentary majority in place of that of Adly Pasha who had avowedly taken office merely to cover the transition period to the reassumption of Parliamentary Government. For the office of Prime Minister there was only one possible candidate, Mustapha Pasha Nahas, the Wafdist leader. He was at once summoned by the King, and without difficulty formed a Cabinet of Wafdist statesmen, most of whom had previously held office. In his letter of acceptance, the new Prime Minister said that the principal objects of the new Ministry would be to consolidate the principle of the Constitution and to safeguard its provisions and traditions, to carry out a policy of internal reforms in various aspects, to endeavour " to realise genuine independence for the country and to reach an honourable stable agreement with Great Britain, and to pursue a policy of amity with all foreign nations." Parliament met eleven days later, and the programme placed before it was for the most part economic. However, laws to safeguard the Constitution were promised, and hope for the realisation of " real independence, internal as well as external " expressed. All questions which had excited complaint in the past would be examined, and all the measures enacted during the suspension of the Parliamentary regime would be reconsidered. The conclusion of a satisfactory treaty with the British Government was looked forward to hopefully.

The negotiation of this treaty was the most important task of the Government.

The treaty which had been negotiated with Mohamed Pasha Mahmoud had been generally welcomed in Egypt (see ANNUAL REGISTER, 1929, p. 303), and throughout the elections no objection to it had been expressed by the Wafdist candidates. A delegation, headed by the Prime Minister, went to England early in the year in order to resume the negotiations. They lasted six weeks, but ended in failure. On the greater part of the draft which Mahmoud Pasha had brought from London, agreement was reached with modifications of little consequence, but on the subject of the Sudan the opposing views proved irreconcilable. Mr. Henderson offered Nahas Pasha the concessions which had been accepted by Mahmoud Pasha; the Anglo-Egyptian Convention of 1899 was again recognised in the new draft treaty; one section of a British draft note renewed the agreement for the equitable settlement of the indebtedness of the Sudan to Egypt; another repeated the conditional promise that His Majesty's Government would be prepared to examine sympathetically a proposal for the return of an Egyptian battalion to the Sudan, and gave a guarantee, which Mahmoud Pasha had not obtained, that there would be no discrimination " in matters of commerce and immigration or the possession of property between British and Egyptian subjects in the Sudan." Moreover, the introduction into the proposed treaty of a new provision under which any

question causing difficulties might be the subject of further discussion, offered an additional safeguard to legitimate Egyptian interests. But Nahas Pasha was not satisfied. He hoped to restore the position obtaining in the Sudan before 1924—in other words, to share the military and administrative control of the country with the British—and to set aside all previous agreements, declarations, or acts which were "in opposition to the proposed treaty." Even when the British delegates seemed inclined to accept a proposal that the application of the Sudan Conventions of 1899 might be the subject of further discussion within twelve months of the signature of the treaty, the Egyptians threw away the last chance of agreement by insisting on the unrestricted immigration of their compatriots to the Sudan. Experience had shown that such an undertaking would not be compatible with the preservation of the peace of the Sudan.¹

Nahas Pasha, as soon as he had returned to Egypt, made a statement to the Chamber of Deputies, in which he expressed his confidence that despite the failure an agreement about the Sudan would be reached in the near future, and that this could be facilitated by the cordial relations that subsisted between the two Governments. In reply to a question, however, why he had alluded to the Sudan as if it were not an integral part of Egypt, he repudiated any suggestion of a difference between Egypt and the Sudan. He had said that an honourable and just settlement had been reached so far as Egypt was concerned, except on a few points, and that it was regrettable that they had been unable to reach a settlement about the Sudan, on a question involving the sacred rights of "the Country."

Nahas Pasha and the Wafd did not, however, remain in office for long. Early in June the Government submitted to the King two Bills for the protection of the Constitution. These measures laid down very severe punishment for Ministers who might violate the Constitution in future. A Minister who suspended Parliament would be liable to a fine of 10,000£E. and penal servitude for life. In the past, Ministers had suspended Parliament on the King's instructions or with his approval, and the measures were obviously intended to limit the King's powers. King Fuad refused his consent to the measures, and the Government resigned. Parliament gave the outgoing Cabinet a unanimous vote of confidence. However, there was little difficulty in forming a new Cabinet, and within a few days a non-party one under Ismail Pasha Sidky, who had held office in several Ministries, was formed. Parliament was thereupon prorogued.

The Wafd, however, did not take their defeat with meekness. Despite a prohibition, senators and deputies forced their way into the Houses of Parliament where the decree proroguing Parlia-

¹ An account of these negotiations was published in a White Paper (Cmd. 3573).

ment was read, and those present, led by Nahas Pasha, swore to defend the Constitution with all their power. The next step was a meeting of Wafdists—Senators, deputies and provincial councillors—at which an oath of non-co-operation with the Government was taken. This was practically ineffective, but trouble manifested itself in a new direction. Within a few days of the taking of the oath of non-co-operation, Nahas Pasha, with the other members of the late Cabinet, proceeded to Zagazig, where they addressed an enthusiastic gathering said to have numbered 15,000. The meeting itself was orderly, but a riot in which participants were killed and injured broke out outside. The Government at once denounced Nahas Pasha for preaching open revolt, and announced its determination to take severe measures to keep the peace. A visit of Nahas Pasha to Mansurah led to a further and more serious riot. The disturbances spread to Alexandria, Cairo, Suez, and Port Said, in which towns the state of affairs was for a time sufficiently serious for recourse to be had to Egyptian troops who had to fire on the crowds (July 15-21). The immediate occasion for these outbreaks was a royal decree bringing the session of Parliament to an end, followed by a Wafdist petition to the King for an extraordinary meeting of Parliament, which was rejected on the ground that it was unconstitutional.

In the meanwhile the British Colony in Egypt entered into the discussion. In letters addressed by its representatives to the British Prime Minister, the draft treaty that had failed was severely criticised, and the British Government urged in the event of future negotiations to reopen the question *de novo*. It was hinted that complete confidence in the High Commissioner was not felt, and the suggestion was made that he should attach to himself an advisory council composed of representative British residents in Egypt. At the same time the European peoples, as reflected in the Press, showed themselves somewhat anxious regarding the safety of their nationals in Egypt, and expressed the view, sometimes very boldly, that the British Government could not divest itself of the responsibility for foreign lives in Egypt.

When the situation in Egypt was at its crisis, the British Prime Minister declared in Parliament his Government's neutrality as between the Egyptian Government and Opposition, and, in view of rumours that had gained currency, that it could be no party to any alteration in the Egyptian electoral law. The Egyptian Government quickly replied. It took exception to the latter declaration, which it considered in disagreement with the earlier one. The British Government was moreover told that it had not been asked to give its support to any change in the electoral law, and it was suggested that, as the Egyptian Government was quite capable of protecting British or other foreigners, there was no need for the presence of British

warships in Egyptian waters. The Wafdists on their part held a secret meeting of Members of Parliament at which a vote of want of confidence in the Government was expressed, and a campaign of non-payment of taxes was announced. Both steps were, however, utterly ineffective.

All the time the question of a reform of the Constitution was under consideration, and on October 23 the changes were announced, and the new Constitution signed by the King. The membership of the Senate and Chamber was reduced, and the majority of the Senate nominated by the King personally. The system of election by indirect suffrage was restored. Manhood suffrage was retained for the primary electors, but the qualifying age was raised from 21 to 25. A vote of want of confidence in the Government to be effective had to be carried by a majority of the members of either House, not merely of those present. The penalty for breach of the Constitution on the part of Ministers was fixed at loss of all civil rights and disfranchisement. The Constitutional Liberal Party, which had always been in opposition to the Wafd, immediately announced its hostility to the proposals on the ground that "the authority of Parliament over public finances and legislation as well as Ministerial responsibility have been reduced to a shadow," and the Wafd in a manifesto denounced the Government as rebels against the nation, and called upon the people to defend the Constitution and if necessary "sacrifice their persons and their wealth." The manifesto of the Liberal Leader was not in its consequences without damage to him and his party. In the first place, the members of the Liberal Council were not unanimous, and eight of the thirty at once resigned. On the other hand, the approaches of the majority to the Wafd for an alliance against the Government were rejected on the ground that the Liberal Leader, Mohamed Pasha Mahmoud, had himself suspended the Constitution in 1929. Nevertheless both parties decided to boycott the General Elections to be held in 1931. This attitude did not last for long, and the two parties were soon working in close co-operation. The Prime Minister on his part took steps to form a new political party,—he had already secured the support of the small Ittehad Party,—the nucleus being furnished by the not inconsiderable number of electors who sent delegations from all parts of the country to assure him of their support. The Prime Minister's strength rested to some extent in his high reputation as a financier, all the more needed in view of the serious economic and financial crisis from which Egypt was suffering. The harmful financial policy of the Wafd Government also brought recruits to Sidky Pasha.

One indirect advantage the Government gained was the decision of the Court of Cassation, the highest tribunal in Egypt, in December, that the laws passed without Parliamentary sanction during the dictatorship of Mahmoud Pasha were legal, despite

the decision to the contrary by the Wafd Parliament of Nahas Pasha.

The unsatisfactory financial situation of Egypt was a consequence largely of the cotton crisis. Since 1920 the price of Egyptian cotton had been gradually declining, although the decline had been much slower than that of most other staple commodities. Successive Governments had tried various expedients to bolster up cotton values. Twice had the area to be planted with cotton been restricted by law to one-third of the country's total cultivable area. Twice the Government had entered the market as a buyer of all cotton offered at the prices ruling on the day the decision was taken. On each occasion good fortune enabled it to take advantage of a subsequent revival in demand and to make a handsome profit. But in the autumn of 1929 it became evident that cotton values were about to decline sharply. The Government of Adly Pasha Yeghen, with the support of the Wafd, entered the market again. Soon after, the Wafd took office and greatly extended purchases. The demand from spinners had steadily dwindled almost to nothing, so that the Government had become almost the only purchaser, and by June, when Nahas Pasha resigned, it held cotton which had cost about 13,000,000£E. This money had been drawn from the Reserve Fund, which, when the Wafd took office, stood approximately at 39,000,000£E. At the same time the price of Egyptian stock had also been falling, and the Government had also been a large buyer of its own Debt, and held about 15,000,000£E. Of the remaining 11,000,000£E. of the Reserve Fund, 4,000,000£E. was set aside for a special agricultural reserve, and about 5,000,000£E. earmarked for an expected deficit in the Budget. The Reserve Fund had thus almost disappeared.

To sell cotton would have meant such a fall in prices as to be disastrous: not to sell would have meant a loss of whatever remained of the 13,000,000£E. which were invested in cotton, and in the meanwhile the costs of insurance and storage were mounting up. The same problem arose with regard to the 15,000,000£E. of Government stock which the Government held. This was the situation in which the Wafd Government found itself, and it was suggested that Nahas' dismissal from office was in the circumstances by no means unwelcome to him. In the meanwhile the price of cotton continued to fall, and before the end of the year it had reached the lowest price ever known. The Government obviously did not know how to deal with the situation. It held the jobbers on the Alexandria Bourse responsible, and by ordering the suspension of them secured a rise in price. Such a solution could, however, only be temporary.

To meet the deficit in the Budget the Government made a relatively drastic reduction in expenditure. At the beginning of the year a revised Customs tariff was introduced, and increased

import duties were imposed on many articles of general consumption. Other increases were introduced later in the year, especially on agricultural products, with the intention, so it was said, to induce cultivators to favour alternatives to cotton.

In the last month of the year relations between the Governments of Egypt and the Hedjaz, which had been unsatisfactory for some years, showed signs of improvement, and it was hoped that in the year 1931 the Holy Carpet or *Mahmal* from Egypt would once again, as formerly, be a feature of the pilgrims' procession at Mecca. Conversations between representatives of the Wahabi King and the Egyptian Government were held in Cairo, **and** the Egyptian Consul in Jeddah was instructed to discuss the question of the Carpet and other differences with the Wahabi authorities. In the spring great anxiety was felt at the threats of a locust invasion. The army and a large number of civilians were mobilised to deal with the danger which they were successful in keeping beyond the frontiers, but at considerable expense.

CHAPTER IX.

AMERICA : THE UNITED STATES—ARGENTINA—BOLIVIA—BRAZIL —CHILE—MEXICO—PERU—OTHER AMERICAN STATES.

THE UNITED STATES.

IN a year marked by complete prostration of business and widespread unemployment, the " new economic theory " of the United States met its Waterloo. That theory was that the country's control of money or credit through the new Federal Reserve banking system was so perfectly adjusted to industrial and business needs that the country was proof against those cyclical ten-year slumps which had previously marked its history.

Many factors had encouraged this optimistic view through 1928 and 1929 ; the widespread prosperity, the apparent control over commodity prices, the vast improvement in business technique as reflected in the general absence of those huge inventories which had been conspicuous in the slump of 1921,—these all led many economists to argue that a " new era " had dawned in the United States.

The stock market crashes of October and November, 1929, staggered the country but did not entirely daunt it. In fact, the first four months of 1930 saw a remarkably united and determined effort to convert the impending slump into a " mild recession."

President Hoover argued that this could be accomplished by the use of Government, State, and municipal funds for the immediate pushing of sound schemes of public construction,

such as highways, canals, river improvement, and public buildings. Congress, the Governors of the States and the leading cities cheerfully agreed. He summoned to the White House the executives of the leading railroads and the big electric light and power companies, and exacted from them the pledge, which they faithfully observed, not to reduce in the slightest their appropriations for expansion and improvement. He also secured general assent from the "captains of industry" that wages should not be reduced. By the end of the year it was stated that 3,000,000,000 dollars was being spent by public and semi-public authorities.

This may have been, as some argued, a form of "inflation," but from January through April it completely reversed the business decline of the previous November and December. The steel mills were busy, operations rising in April to 80 per cent, of their capacity compared with 40 per cent, in December. The stock market, unfeignedly relieved at the new turn of events, rose to astonishing heights. The "new era" was safe.

Then came disillusionment. The American Federation of Labour complained that its members were being "laid off" in increasing numbers. In New York State a woman, the Superintendent of Factory Inspection, bluntly declared that unemployment was mounting fast and threatening to surpass that of 1921. There was a severe decline in stocks in April, and a "crash" in June which completely discouraged the country.

Things worsened rapidly thereafter. Business failures for the year totalled 26,355, compared with 22,109 in 1929. Bank failures soared to 1,326, compared with 434 in 1929. Most of these were of small interior banks, known to be in a weakened condition, but the failure in December of a prominent Philadelphia bank and of the so-called "Bank of the United States," in New York City, with deposits of 202,000,000 dollars, greatly alarmed the public. The New York failure, though the largest in the history of the country, was due to gross mismanagement and not to prevailing conditions. The strong banks in New York and the interior came through in excellent condition, though with earnings reduced.

American unemployment figures are not reliable, since there is no machinery, either Federal or State, for collecting them, but the United States Department of Labour estimated the total at between two and three million. The American Federation of Labour put the total far higher, at 5,300,000.

The farming population suffered quite as severely as the wage earners. The decline in grain prices caused widespread hardship and prompted Congress to set up a Board with a revolving fund of 500,000,000 dollars to purchase wheat and other commodities, and hold them off the falling markets. The task was an impossible one, and the chairman, a distinguished business man familiar with agricultural conditions, finally resigned in chagrin.

On top of this a serious flood on the lower Mississippi and, paradoxically, a severe drought beginning on the Pacific slope and spreading eastward to the Atlantic, destroyed crops and reduced hundreds of small farmers to penury. "Bread lines" in the large cities were already a familiar sight, but by October the country was treated to the astonishing spectacle of "food riots" in the rural districts. These took the form of raids on village food shops and of violent demonstrations against the local authorities. Congress hastily passed special appropriations for relief, and the Red Cross did what it could; it raised 2,000,000 dollars and at one time was feeding three quarters of a million people. Suicides—attributed largely to the stock market declines—reached 747 during 1930 compared with a normal average of 400.

These events were accompanied by a swift decline in President Hoover's popularity and prestige. He had displayed great energy and ability in mustering the country's resources at the outset of the slump, but this was quickly forgotten.

Much of this unpopularity was inevitable, for every American President whose term coincides with a trade slump becomes a sort of national scapegoat. Even Mr. Wilson, confronted with the depression of 1914, was passing into eclipse when the outbreak of the war and the subsequent "boom" saved him.

But Mr. Hoover, who badly needed friends if he was to ride out the partisan storm, alienated many of them by his action in signing the Hawley-Smoot Tariff Bill, passed by both Houses of Congress in June.

One of the "planks" of his election platform had been tariff revision on behalf of the primary producers, such as the farmers, but the Bill, as finally agreed upon by the two Houses, appeared to be a hotch-potch of special favours for special industries which already enjoyed considerable tariff protection. Far from being a measure of agrarian protection, it was bitterly denounced by the farmers' organisations as a fraud upon them, a measure nicely calculated to increase their cost of living out of all proportion to the protection it afforded them.

The Press criticised it warily, but business seemed to feel that a poor Bill was better than prolonged tariff uncertainty, and the President, yielding to this feeling, signed it on June 17. The Bill had passed the Senate by a majority of only 2 votes.

The State Department announced that during its fifteen months' debate, strong protests against the measure had been received from thirty-three different countries. This point probably did not weigh greatly with the public, but it was quite apparent that his signature to the Bill had considerably weakened Mr. Hoover's hold upon the public imagination. The country, it was said on every hand (justly or not), is leaderless.

The Democrats in the Congressional and Senatorial elections on November 4 made sweeping gains; in the lower House they

captured 216 seats (previously 165), and cut the Republicans down from 268 to 218. In the Senate they captured 47 seats against the Republicans' 48 ; with one Farmer Labour vote, they tied with the Republicans. In both Houses the situation forecasts considerable difficulty for the President during his last two years.

This, in short, is the rather dreary frame into which the chief events of the year must be fitted. But there were—as so often in the United States—many curious anomalies. For example, it may not have been strange, in view of the almost universal tension, that the two leading manufacturers of chewing gum should have reported soaring sales, but it was unexpected, to say the least, to have soap manufacturers report a striking increase in the demand for soap. Wages fell steadily during the year, but savings increased, reaching in October their record level. Suicides increased, but the President of the National Casket Company—popularly known as the "casket trust"—told shareholders that apparently fewer people were dying, for there was a marked falling off in the demand for coffins. Even among the luxury trades the "hard times" fell unevenly ; manufacturers of electrical refrigerators, for example, sold 25 per cent. more of their expensive machines in 1930 than they had during the "boom" of 1929.

The year was a disastrous one for the Prohibitionists, and for this the "hard times" were partly to blame, for they upset completely the once-popular argument that American prosperity was due to Prohibition. But many isolated events added to their confusion.

President Hoover's Commission on Law Enforcement resumed in January public hearings on the vexed question, and these hearings gave the "wets"—by this time well organised—a series of field days in which their witnesses, many of them distinguished, were able to recite the depressing figures on crime and civic corruption which had followed in the wake of the Eighteenth Amendment.

At the end of the year the Commission, though unwilling to recommend the repeal of the Prohibition Amendment, or even its weakening to permit the sale of "light wines and beers," urged somewhat academically that it should be made more "flexible," and showed so impressively the breakdown of enforcement that the net effect was encouraging to the "wets."

The United States Supreme Court greatly complicated the situation by two unexpected decisions. One held surprisingly that it was not an offence under the Amendment or the Volstead Act to have or consume intoxicating liquors, thus letting John Citizen off scot-free ! The law, said the Court, simply forbids the manufacture, transport, and sale of intoxicating liquors. The other decision held that it was not an offence to manufacture and sell apparatus for distilling or brewing "home liquors."

But on December 16 Mr. Justice Clark, of the United States District Court of Northern New Jersey, threw the bombshell of the year. He ruled, in a carefully considered opinion, that the Eighteenth Amendment was unconstitutional in that it was adopted—like all the previous amendments—by the various State Legislatures, whereas Article 10 of the Constitution states that where the various States propose to delegate to the Federal Government powers belonging to the States, this can only be done through constitutional conventions. This decision was a " front-page " sensation for days.

It was a test case brought by a distinguished array of New York lawyers, who for more than a year had been looking for a chance to bring it squarely before a Federal Court on a set of facts free from all extraneous complications. They found what they wanted in the case of two New Jersey farmers caught transporting kegs of beer. Mr. Justice Clark agreed with their arguments, and in his opinion cited more than 1,000 cases buttressing the various steps of the argument. The Government announced promptly that the case would be carried on appeal to the Supreme Court.

A selected, but nation-wide, poll of individuals of both sexes and all classes carried on by the *Literary Digest* was completed on May 23. That journal announced that 1,943,052 votes (40-43 per cent, of the total) had been cast for repeal of the Amendment, 1,339,314 votes (29-11 per cent.) for its modification to permit "light wines and beers," and 1,464,098 votes (30-46 per cent.) in favour of strict enforcement of the Amendment. This, it is believed, comes pretty close to reflecting the division of public sentiment.

The London Naval Agreement was before the Senate for ratification late in April, and was the subject of prolonged, if somewhat conventional, debate between the " pacifists " and the " big navy " forces. The Senate attempted to demand that the President transmit all the documents, confidential and otherwise, which had led the American delegates to sign the agreement. This the State Department refused to do, on the grounds that it would be a gross breach of faith with the other signatories. Finally the opposition collapsed, and the Senate on July 21 voted to ratify the agreement by 58 to 9. It was generally believed that the President intended to press for the adoption of the Protocol drafted by Mr. Elihu Root, outlining the terms of the United States' adherence to the World Court, but he postponed this, perhaps until 1931.

Negotiations at The Hague regarding the German Reparations situation were attended by an American " observer," who did not, however, sign the revised so-called " Young Plan " which provided for the establishment of the Bank of International Settlements.

The American Press stated that the Treasury Department was strongly opposed to the flotation of German bonds in the United States, but this opposition, if it existed, was not made articulate, and the American portion of the Loan was eventually floated in New York.

The Treasury's objections, it was freely stated, were that United States investors had already loaned more money to Germany than to any country save Canada, and that the Reparations Loan would be putting more eggs in the same basket, that the new loan would hold unfair priority over 400,000,000Z. of American investments in Germany, that the proposed issue was non-productive, and, in effect, meant merely placing large sums at the service of European financial services, and finally that the semi-political uses to which France had apparently put her huge gold deposits were a matter of concern.

Offsetting these arguments was the sole contention that the orderly development of the Young Plan was of paramount importance to the world, and that American opposition would be fatal. This view appears to have carried the day, but the loan enjoyed no great popularity, the price declining in New York in sympathy with those on the European bourses.

Incidentally American investments in South America suffered serious depreciation during the year, partly from the alarm caused by the revolutions in Argentina, Brazil, Bolivia, Peru—to name the most conspicuous—and partly because in several instances, as in that of Bolivia, payments were, at least temporarily, in default. On September 17 the Government extended recognition to the new regimes in Argentina, Peru, and Bolivia, and on November 8 to Brazil.

Frank B. Kellogg, former Secretary of State and now a Justice of the World Court at The Hague, was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in November, in recognition of his successful negotiation of the Paris treaty for the "outlawry of war." The award was received with gratification in the United States, though the habitually bellicose Chicago *Tribune* pointed out ironically that it came "appropriately" during a year when Belgium was increasing its fortifications against Germany, "France is fortifying every inch of its frontier toward Italy, and Mussolini is feeding tonic to the eagles of war."

Much less popular—in fact, provocative of widespread displeasure—was the award of the Nobel Prize for distinguished literary service to Sinclair Lewis, the novelist and creator of the immortal "Babbitt." His severe criticisms of the American scene had been forgiven in the years of boundless prosperity, and had the award come when America felt she was "on top of the world" it might have been accepted in good part. But the year had been a trying one, and the unexpected selection of Mr. Lewis apparently struck the Press and public as a European dig at America rather than a compliment to a gifted son.

Despite the severity of the depression which afflicted them, the Caribbean countries furnished surprisingly few troublesome incidents for the administration. Unrest in Nicaragua took the form of skirmishes between the "rebels" in the hills and the National Guard and American marines, but casualties were not serious. There were similar outbreaks in Santo Domingo—the peasants attacking several of the towns—and in Haiti the Commission sent by President Hoover to examine the situation found widespread resentment at the regime of President Borno. The Commission persuaded him to resign, and make way for a President to be chosen by a national election. After some hitches this was accomplished, the voters electing Senor Steenio Vincent, leader of the party opposed to continued American intervention.

Agitation for Philippine independence continued, both in the Archipelago and in Washington. In August the President appointed Mr. Nicholas Roosevelt to be Vice-Governor of the Philippines, but the appointment was resented in the Islands on the grounds that Mr. Roosevelt was the author of a book containing disparaging references to the agitation for independence. The book was publicly burned in Manila on August 31, and shortly thereafter Mr. Roosevelt expressed his desire to be relieved from the office.

The Senators from the "beet sugar" States continued their efforts to have the Archipelago ejected from the American "empire," so that Filipino sugar could no longer enter the United States duty-free. They succeeded in getting the Senate Committee on Territories and Insular Affairs to report favourably on a Bill setting up an *ad interim* Government—wholly Filipino—which would last for five years, at the end of which period American sovereignty would be withdrawn. The Bill has some strength in the Senate, but the lower House is reputed to be doubtful.

The country was distinctly disturbed at the publication in December of the report of the International Committee of Inquiry into slave conditions prevailing in Liberia. The State Department sent a very stiff memorandum to the Liberian Government demanding that forced labour in the Negro Republic should cease under penalty of ending the friendly relations which had previously existed between the two countries.

In the midst of the alarms of the year, the country found time and interest for cheerful occupations. On April 6 the Mormon Church—to the general surprise—celebrated its centenary at Salt Lake City and Independence, Mo. On July 20 the City of Boston celebrated its tercentenary, and in August 600 leading oil men gathered at Cleveland in honour of the 60th anniversary of the founding of the great Standard Oil Company by the venerable John D. Rockefeller. In September came the yacht races for the "America Cup," in which the American contender, *Enterprise*, won four out of the seven races from Sir Thomas

Lipton's *Shamrock*. Sir Thomas Lipton's sportmanship won national admiration which took the form of a presentation to him in New York on December 4 of a " Good Will Cup," subscribed to by thousands of admirers. The State of Utah officially sent a solid block of silver which was used as the base.

The Decennial Census on June 1 showed that the population of Continental United States had grown from 105,710,620 in 1920 to 122,775,046 in 1930, an increase of 16*1 per cent. A study of the final results, and especially of the age groups, led certain statisticians to suggest that within thirty years the United States will have a stationary population.

ARGENTINA.

For the first nine months of 1930 the Argentine endured a spell of " personal " rule such as she had not experienced for many years, but for which the conduct of the President had already in part prepared her. Ignoring all protest and criticism, Dr. Irigoyen, in his second year of office, indulged more freely than ever in the unconstitutional practices which had characterised his rule since its inception. He interfered personally in every branch of the administration, left vacant posts unfilled or appointed to them his own favourites, and drew freely on the public funds without rendering any account. He differed from other South American Dictators only in the fact that his power was based not on military force but on the prestige which he enjoyed in virtue of his former services to the country.

Had the results of his methods of government been beneficial, the Argentinians would probably not have complained, as he was still a popular idol, and could therefore do with impunity things which would have been permitted to no other ruler. In fact, however, the reverse was the case, and the symptoms of misrule soon became apparent. Public business fell into utter confusion, political liberty ceased to exist, and the country's credit abroad declined to such an extent that the exchange value of the Argentinian peso fell by 20 per cent. The effects of the President's mismanagement were aggravated by the economic depression which Argentina suffered along with the rest of the world through the fall in commodity prices and the decline in international trade. Hence discontent with Dr. Irigoyen's rule became rife, and the second year of his term of office had not run out before he had completely dissipated the stock of popular enthusiasm with which he had entered into power.

The results of the biennial election for the renewal of one-half of the Chamber of Deputies at the beginning of March showed that, though the President had lost some ground, his hold on the country was still strong. In the Chamber itself, in fact, the representation of his supporters actually increased from 86 to 100.

But that his influence in the country had declined was shown by the fact that whereas in 1928 at the presidential election he had secured roughly 827,000 votes against 468,000 cast for his opponents, on this occasion only 610,000 Irigoyenist votes were cast against 733,000 for the Opposition. And it was significant that the Opposition gained heavily in the capital, where the effects of his misrule were most quickly felt.

From this moment popular discontent increased rapidly, and it was not long before the country was ripe for a revolution. On August 10 a manifesto was issued by forty-four members of Congress, representing seven Opposition groups, declaring that the Constitution was being disregarded by the President and his Government, who were substituting their despotic will for the law of the land. No attention was paid by the President to this document until, near the end of August, the Minister of Justice informed him that a revolution was imminent. To outward appearance the country was still completely tranquil, but in order to be on his guard the President took extraordinary military and police precautions, ordering machine guns to be installed in Government House and naval units to assemble in the port.

An incident which occurred immediately afterwards showed that an ugly temper prevailed in the capital. On August 31 the Argentine Rural Society opened its annual show. The ceremony was to have been performed by the President, but at the last moment he sent the Minister of Agriculture, Dr. Fleitas, in his place. The Minister was received by the crowd with cat-calls and hisses, and demands for the Government's resignation, and he was refused a hearing.

A couple of days later the Minister of War, General Dellepiane, resigned, as a protest against the President's interference with the Army. The President thereupon announced that he would convene Congress on September 11, strengthening his military preparations at the same time. It was now, however, too late to save the situation by constitutional means. On September 4 a crowd of University students marched through the streets shouting for the President's resignation, and came into sharp conflict with the police. Dr. Irigoyen thereupon delegated his powers to the Vice-President, Sefior Martinez, who declared martial law.

By this time a junta of military officers, led by General Jose Uriburu, had resolved to resort to more drastic methods. On September 6 troops from the Campo Mayo and military cadets marched into Buenos Aires and joined the crowd there, and General Uriburu, having assured himself of the support of the Army and Navy, telegraphed to Dr. Irigoyen and Dr. Martinez demanding their resignation. The mounted police tried to stop the advance of the revolutionary column, but withdrew after some casualties had been inflicted on both sides. The crowd then assembled in the Government Square. After some time a white

flag appeared upon the Government House, and the crowd thronged into the building. General Uriburu soon after took command, and announced, amid scenes of great popular enthusiasm, that Dr. Irigoyen had been deposed and the revolution had been successful. The deposed President had succeeded in making his escape, and finally found refuge on board a naval coastguard vessel in the River Plate.

One of the first acts of General Uriburu and his colleagues was to take an oath of fidelity to the Constitution, in the presence of an enormous but orderly crowd. Having constituted a new Government, with himself as President, he issued a proclamation stating that their actions had been inspired by no desire for vengeance or for political advantage, but purely to avert a national debacle. The Provisional Government, he said, intended to respect the Constitution, and would as soon as possible hold free elections for the new President and Parliament. Members of the Provisional Government undertook not to accept candidature for the Presidency. The excitement in the capital soon subsided, and the new Government found no difficulty in extending its control over the Provinces also.

From the point of view of the national finances the revolution did not come a moment too soon, as the Treasury was empty and the State Bank was entirely without reserves. Financial stability was restored by a loan to the new Government of 100,000,000 pesos (2,500,000/.), advanced by British, American, and Argentine banks in Buenos Aires. Immediately after the new Government was recognised by Great Britain and the United States. General Uriburu declared that the revolution would make no difference to Argentina's relations with other States, and that all the obligations undertaken towards them by Dr. Irigoyen would be honoured.

The rest of the year was devoted by the Government to the task of reorganising the administration, which it found in a state* of great confusion. It was expected that when accounts were settled there would be a deficit of 130,000,000 dollars. The Minister of Finance emphasised the necessity for drastic economy, and to this end it was decided to dismiss 10,000 State employees. On November 14 Dr. Irigoyen, who was interned on the island of Martin Garcia, was committed for trial on a number of charges. The country remained tranquil, and seemed to repose full confidence in the new regime.

Apart from the revolution, little of note happened in Argentina during 1930. On March 11 the Railwaymen's Union proclaimed a strike in order to force an increase of wages, but on the 22nd the men, after committing a number of acts of violence, returned to work, pending an inquiry into their claims by a joint commission. Other Labour troubles also took place in the course of the year, and it was one of the grievances against Dr. Irigoyen that he had been unduly complaisant towards the Labour militants.

At the beginning of November the Provisional Government distributed through the National Labour Bureau a circular to employers and workers explaining its labour policy. It declared that it would respect the workers' right to meet, to associate, and to strike, provided that those rights were exercised within the limits of the law. It would not permit the use of the boycott or acts of sabotage, and would suppress activities of that character with a firm hand. To those who were not willing to accept these terms, an intimation was given that the sooner they left the country the better.

The report of the British Economic Mission (the D'Abernon Mission) which had visited the Argentine in 1929 (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1929, p. 315) appeared at the end of February. It bore emphatic testimony to the unique position held by British business interests in the country. Many of the British companies established there, it said, had obtained not only financial profit, but also a high reputation for reliability and technical efficiency. In particular the British railways, of which there were 16,020 miles, had always been operated to the public satisfaction, and the services they had rendered in the development of the country were frankly recognised by leaders of public opinion; and the desire was unanimous that the control and management of them should be retained in the same hands as at present, and not transferred to members of other nationalities.

Proof of the exceptional favour enjoyed by Great Britain was afforded on more than one occasion in the course of the year in connexion with the arrangements for the British Empire Trade Exhibition to be held in Buenos Aires in 1931. The date of the opening of the Exhibition had originally been fixed for February 14, but the promoters afterwards found that March 14 would be more convenient. In order to render the change possible, the Rural Society, in whose grounds the exhibition was to be held, decided to cancel its annual Dairy Exhibition for the year, "in view/" as it said, "of the extraordinary importance at the present time of closer commercial relationship between Great Britain and Argentina, especially in the interests of the stock-breeders and agriculturists of the country/" In a similar spirit the authorities made what the London organisers described as "a remarkable series of concessions and relaxations of national and municipal laws" for the benefit of British exhibitors, such as allowing exhibits to enter the country free of duty, exempting exhibitors from all national and municipal taxation, etc.

The partiality of the country for Great Britain did not, however, avail to secure the ratification in the course of the year of the Trade Agreement negotiated between Lord D'Abernon and President Irigoyen (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1929, p. 315). The decree issued by the President on November 16, 1929, that the duty on British artificial silk should be reduced by half as from

January 1, never came into force, chiefly owing to representations made by France and other countries, which claimed most-favoured-nation treatment. Towards the end of 1930, after the revolution, a rumour was current that the agreement had been repudiated. This was officially denied, and it was stated that the decision would be left with the Congress, but certainly President Uriburu and his colleagues did not show any enthusiasm for the agreement, and gave no indication that they would press its acceptance on Congress.

On August 20 Seior Liborio Justo, formerly Chancellor of the Argentine Embassy in Washington, in an address to the Institute of Politics at Williamstown in the United States, speaking, as he said, for the majority of his countrymen, predicted the withdrawal of the Argentine Republic from the Pan-American Union " as soon as a new generation gets the reins of government in its hands, or perhaps sooner." He declared that friendship between the United States and Argentina could never be true until their relations were based on equality and sincerity. The majority of Argentinians, he said, regarded the United States policy in the Caribbean as a threat to the Argentine Republic, while the new United States tariff could only lead to the strengthening of the existing ties between Argentina and Great Britain.

BOLIVIA.

The year 1930 witnessed the downfall of Dr. Hernando Siles, who, as President, had ruled Bolivia with dictatorial powers since 1926. His term of office was due to expire on August 6, and the Presidential election should have been held on May 4. Before that date arrived however, he postponed the election, on the ground that in the existing state of the country it might lead to disturbances. He even suggested that his present term of office should be prolonged. Finding no response, he suddenly resigned on May 29, handing over the reins of Government to a Council of Ministers. The leading figure in this body was General Kundt, the Chief of the Staff, an ex-officer of the German Army, who for some time had been Dr. Siles's right-hand man. A claim to fill Dr. Siles's place was immediately sent in by Dr. Abdon Saavedra, the Vice-President, who for a couple of years had been living in exile, but it was contemptuously rejected by General Kundt. The Cabinet announced that General Elections for a National Assembly would be held on June 29.

From the time that the Council of Ministers took over the Government, hostile demonstrations against it had been made in La Paz by students and workmen. The Government retaliated by closing the schools, and imprisoning and deporting the leaders of the students. Serious rioting took place in La Paz on June 22, and the succeeding days, and as the Army also turned against the Council of Ministers, that body on June 26 resigned its powers

to a military committee headed by General Blanco Galindo. Dr. Siles and General Kundt left the country, and Dr. Abdon Saavedra returned.

The Junta declared that it was only a transitional Government, and that it intended to restore constitutional rule as soon as possible. With this end in view, it held a conference on August 20 with leaders of the three political parties to arrange a course of action. It was agreed that Presidential and Parliamentary elections should be held in January, and that Senor Daniel Salamanca, General Ismael Montes, and Senor Bautista Saavedra should be the candidates for the offices of President and Vice-Presidents respectively. The political truce was broken in December by the withdrawal of General Montes, owing to pressure from the military elements, but it was renewed by the selection of Senor Jose Luis Tejateca in his place.

In January both Bolivia and Paraguay reported to the League of Nations infringements of the truce in the Chaco district, but it was not found necessary for that body to take any action beyond appealing to the parties not to break the peace.

In June a small Communist rising, under Senor Hinojosa, took place in Southern Bolivia, but it was suppressed without difficulty by the local forces.

The great fall in the price of tin in 1930 plunged Bolivia into a severe economic depression which, besides causing widespread unemployment, adversely affected the national finances. To compensate for the loss of the export duties on tin, it was found necessary to increase taxation. In order to obtain relief from the crushing burden of the foreign debt service, a financial delegation went in December to New York to consult with Bolivia's principal creditors. They were sympathetically received in Wall Street.

BRAZIL.

The opening of 1930 found Brazil in the throes of the campaign for the Presidential Election which was to be held at the beginning of March. The candidates were Dr. Julio Prestes, the nominee of the present President, Dr. Washington Luis, who stood as a Conservative, and Dr. Getulio Vargas, the nominee of the recently formed Liberal Alliance. According to the unwritten rule of Brazilian politics, Dr. Luis, who was from the province of Sao Paulo, should have been succeeded by a President from the State of Minas Geraes or of Rio Grande do Sui. Great resentment was therefore felt in the latter provinces when Dr. Luis nominated as his successor Dr. Prestes, who came from the same State as himself. There was little to choose between the two candidates in the matter of policy, save that Dr. Prestes could be trusted to follow more closely in the footsteps of his predecessor. The contest was therefore mainly one of persons, but it was if anything all the more bitter on that account. As the

polling day approached feeling ran higher, and acts of violence became more frequent and more reckless.

The disorders culminated on February 6 in an attempt to assassinate the Vice-President of the Republic, Dr. Mello Vianna. Dr. Vianna had addressed a meeting at Monte Claros, on the border between the States of Minas Geraes and Bahia, and as he was returning he and his party were fired on from the house of the brother of a Liberal Alliance deputy. Dr. Vianna was wounded, and six persons were killed and twenty-five wounded. When Senhor Carlos, the Governor of Minas Geraes, was called upon by the Federal Government to give an explanation of this incident, he disclaimed all responsibility, and the perpetrators of the outrage were not brought to justice.

In the State of Parahyba a supporter of Dr. Prestes, Senhor Jose Pereira, armed some hundreds of backwoodsmen and seized several towns and villages in the interior of the State. The Governor, Senhor Joao Pessoa (the Liberal candidate for the Vice-Presidency), finding himself unable to put down the rising with his own forces, telegraphed for help to the President. The latter, however, refused to lend him the assistance of Federal troops—an act which long rankled in the minds of the Liberals.

The polling in the Presidential Election took place on March 1 without any serious disturbances. Liberals, however, complained that obstacles had been placed in their way in many parts of the country, and on both sides charges were brought of irregularities in the recording and counting of votes. In the end Dr. Prestes was declared elected by a majority of 426,865. In the States of Minas Geraes, Rio Grande do Sui, and Parahyba, there had been an overwhelming majority for Dr. Vargas. Dr. Vital Soares, the Government candidate, was declared to have been elected Vice-President. The Liberals took the announcements in very bad part, and were doubtful whether to acquiesce in the results. An appeal, however, was made to them by Dr. Senhor Borges de Medeiros, who had been President of Rio Grande do Sui for twenty-five years before Dr. Vargas, and enjoyed great influence in that State, to abide by the verdict of the polls, and their excitement thereupon subsided for the time being. On May 23 the election of Dr. Prestes as President, and of Dr. Soares as Vice-President, for the four years 1930-34 was confirmed by Congress by 192 votes to 18, the deputies from Minas Geraes protesting. Immediately afterwards Dr. Prestes handed over the reins of Government in the State of Sao Paulo, of which he was President, to the Vice-President, Senhor Penteado, and left Brazil for New York, in order to return the visit paid by Mr. Hoover to Brazil in 1928. He extended his journey to London, where he arrived on July 1 and received a very cordial welcome. On his return to Rio de Janeiro, on August 4, he was enthusiastically received by the public.

In his message to Congress on May 4, Dr. Luis—whose term of office did not expire till November 15—dwelt at length on the financial situation of the country, which he described as sound, although he considered the enforced stabilisation of the coffee market and the milreis as still indispensable. Revenue had exceeded the estimates and expenditure had fallen short of them, so that there was a surplus of over 380,000 contos, or about 19,300,000?. Of this sum, however, over 200,000 contos had been applied to such special purposes as the extension of the arsenal, docks, and naval base of Ilhadas Cobras, the development of aviation, the subsidising of the Lloyd Brasileiro, and the fight against yellow fever ; this last item had cost more than 1,000,000Z. The actual surplus therefore was about 175,000 contos, which had been obtained without new taxation, without increasing existing taxation, and without recourse to loans of any kind.

In spite of Dr. Luis's able defence of his administration, there was great discontent in the country with his coffee defence policy, which, owing to the fall in prices, had not produced the results expected of it. This ill-will, combined with the resentment still felt at the election of Dr. Prestes, kept alive a hostility to the regime of Dr. Luis which threatened the peace of the country. At the end of May a political disturbance took place in the small township of Caracol, in Minas Geraes, in which eighteen persons were killed and thirty wounded. Two months later an incident occurred which rendered the tension much more acute. On July 26 Senhor Joao Pessoa, President of the State of Parahyba, and the Liberal candidate for the Vice-Presidency at the recent election, was assassinated while on a visit to Pernambuco by a native of that place. The motive of the crime was purely personal, but the Liberals chose to regard Senhor Pessoa as a political victim, and organised demonstrations in his honour, some of which were suppressed by the Government. The Liberals were further exasperated by the continued refusal of the Federal Government to send troops to Parahyba to assist in suppressing the " revolt " in that State. Thus the ground was prepared for a revolution.

Determined at all costs to prevent the inauguration of the President-elect, Dr. Prestes, the Liberals, at the beginning of October, took up arms in a number of States. The Government immediately (October 4) proclaimed martial law in Rio Grande do Sul, Minas Geraes, and Parahyba, the three States where the revolutionary movement had made most headway. On the next day martial law was extended to the whole of the Republic, and the Banks in Rio closed for a period of fifteen days. Congress rallied to the side of the President, and placed at his disposal a sum of 100,000 contos for combating the revolution. The first **and** second classes of Army reserves were called to the colours, **and** the Government forces began to march on Bello Horizonte, the capital of Minas Geraes, and the headquarters **of** the **revolutionary movement**.

By the middle of October, the rival forces had got into touch over a front extending for some two hundred miles, from the west of the State of Parana to the south-east of the State of Sao Paulo. In the north, the insurgents had by this time obtained possession of the important city of Pernambuco. But on the whole the revolutionaries had made so little progress that, on October 15, the United States Government announced its continued recognition of the existing regime, which thereby obtained the right to purchase munitions in the United States ; while a few days after that country laid an embargo on the export of arms to the revolutionaries. After a sharp engagement at Itarate on October 16, torrential rains put a stop to further operations on the Parana-Sao Paulo front. Colonel Tovar with an insurgent force marched into Bahia from the north, but he was unable to threaten the capital; and the ultimate victory of Dr. Luis seemed to be assured.

A dramatic change took place in the situation on October 23. Shortly before midnight on that day the garrison and the other Federal troops in Rio de Janeiro without any warning revolted, and their leaders presented Dr. Luis with an ultimatum calling upon him to resign without delay. After holding out for a few hours, Dr. Luis yielded, and the reins of Government were seized by a military Junta of three members, with General Augusto Tasso Fragoso at their head. The long pent-up popular discontent with Dr. Luis and his regime immediately found vent. In Rio, a crowd rushed through the streets, and attacked the residences of the principal supporters of the Government and the offices of several newspapers. Dr. Luis himself was taken to the fortress of Copabanca for safe keeping. Similar demonstrations took place in Sao Paulo as soon as the news of the deposition was known.

The Federal forces in all parts of the country accepted the overthrow of Dr. Luis without question, so that the civil war—which was the most serious ever known in Brazil—came automatically to an end. The revolutionary forces, however, still kept the field, being suspicious of the designs of the Junta. This body at first showed a disposition to assume control of the country, and announced its intention of holding new elections for President and Congress, and meanwhile carrying on the administration. Dr. Vargas, however, insisted on his right to become acting President immediately, and to take office formally on November 15 without a new election. He was strongly supported by Dr. Oswaldo Aranha, acting President of the State of Rio Grande do Sui, and General Tavora, who hitherto had been strongly opposed to him in politics. As a result of the pressure brought to bear upon them by these two leaders, the Junta on October 29 consented to acknowledge Dr. Vargas. On the same night Dr. Vargas made a triumphal entry into Rio de Janeiro, and on November 4 he was formally installed as temporary President.

Dr. Vargas announced his intention of dissolving the present

Congress and holding new elections, and of meanwhile governing, not indeed as Dictator, but as President with discretionary powers. He appointed a Cabinet composed largely of leaders of the revolution. He also appointed "Interventors" in those States where there were no acting Presidents. The country remained calm, and no opposition was offered to the new regime. A loan of some 7,500,000/. was raised on the Rio Banks without difficulty. The new Government was in a short time recognised by Great Britain, the United States, and most other countries. Dr. Luis, Dr. Prestes, and some of their leading supporters were banished from Brazil for a period of ten years. Dr. Luis left Brazil on November 21 with his family for Lisbon, and Dr. Prestes left for England a few days later.

On December 13 the moratorium, proclaimed on October 28, was prolonged for sixty days, and at the same time a decree was issued restricting immigration in 1931, in order to prevent unemployment.

CHILE.

On March 2 elections took place for the whole of the Chamber of Deputies and half of the Senate. There were no contests, as the parties had arranged between themselves beforehand how many seats should be allotted to each. The functions of the Congress were still strictly limited by the Dictatorship, and its first business was to confirm the powers of the Administration.

The Government announced in May that it intended in the near future to introduce into Congress a Bill for merging all the existing nitrate companies in Chile into one corporation to be known as the *Compania Salitrera Nacional*. One-half of the stock of the new company was to be held by the Government, which would deliver to the National Company adequate nitrate reserves, and also the balance of the national nitrate grounds at an agreed price. The Government was to cancel in favour of the Company the export duties on nitrate and iodine.

On September 21 an attempt was made by two retired officers and three civilians, all of whom came from Argentina—the officers in an aeroplane piloted by two North Americans—to stir up a revolt among the garrison at Concepcion. The attempt was nipped in the bud by the authorities on the spot, and the ringleaders were arrested. The country remained tranquil, but a strict censorship was imposed on the Press, and other precautionary measures were taken. For some time reports appeared in foreign journals that there was serious unrest in the country, but this was denied by the Chilean Government. Shortly afterwards seventeen Army officers were relieved of their commands, and at the end of November, the prime movers were sentenced to fifteen years' imprisonment.

In March the British Legation in Santiago, and the Chilean Legation in London, were raised to the rank of Embassies. The Chilean Foreign Office declared that the initiative of the British Government in taking this step had created an excellent impression in Chile, where it was regarded as a proof of cordial feelings and a desire for closer political relationship. Mr. H. G. Chilton was appointed British Ambassador in Santiago, and Senor Villegas, Chilean Ambassador in London.

In his message to Congress, at the opening of Congress in May, President Ibañez stated that for 1929 there was an actual surplus over the Budget estimates of 77,600,000 pesos, which was to be used in financing loans for the elaborate scheme of public works that had been planned. For the execution of these a special Public Works Department was created. The state of commerce and industry was satisfactory, but agriculture suffered from the general drop in prices, and the Government therefore proposed to assist it by means of subsidies and credits.

MEXICO.

The year 1930 was for Mexico one of comparative calm. At the beginning of the year, the followers of the defeated candidate for the Presidency, Senor Jose Vasconcelos, formed a plot to assassinate President Portes Gil and the President-elect, Senor Ortiz Rubio. They were, however, frustrated by the police, and a number of them were arrested. Senor Vasconcelos continued to thunder from the safe ground of the United States territory, but his words failed to kindle any insurrectionary activity. The memory of last year's debacle was still too fresh in men's minds, and the Government had meanwhile placed itself in a more commanding position by strengthening its aerial forces.

Senor Rubio returned from his visit to the United States on January 20, and a fortnight later (February 5) his formal inauguration as President took place. The date was chosen as the anniversary of the promulgation of the two Mexican constitutions—that of 1857, and that of 1917. The interim President, Senor Gil, having duly handed over his powers to his successor in the Palacio Nacional, the two proceeded to the Stadium, where Congress had assembled, in virtue of the special enactment passed by General Calles which empowered it to meet elsewhere than in its statutory venue for such special occasions. In the presence of some fifty thousand people, including representatives of many foreign nations and some two thousand foreigners, mostly from the United States, the new President made the *Protesta de las leyes*, or declaration to obey the laws, which has been substituted in Mexico for the oath customary in other countries. He also made the usual statement of policy, which, along with the *Protesta*, was broadcast over Mexico.

Later in the afternoon, as Senor Rubio was leaving the National Palace, an attempt to assassinate him was made by a man named Daniel Flores, a follower of Vasconceles. Flores fired six shots at the carriage in which the President was driving with his wife and his niece, and wounded all three, but not seriously. He was immediately arrested. It was at first thought that he had acted on his own initiative, but later in the day seven other persons were also arrested. A fortnight later a number of persons, including some prominent Labour leaders, were arrested in Tampico and sent to the capital, on a charge of being implicated in the crime. The General Workers' Federation expressed great indignation at this step, and threatened to call a general strike in Tampico if the arrested persons were not released. Senor Rubio recovered rapidly from his injuries, and was able to take up his duties on February 24. One of his first acts was to order the closing of all gaming houses.

At the beginning of the year, serious dissensions broke out within the Revolutionary Party, which had controlled the Congress since the days of General Obregon's Presidency. On January 6 the "White" group, finding itself in temporary control, dismissed several "Red" officials, and replaced them with its own adherents. On the next day the "Reds," having regained the upper hand, expelled from the party nine Senators and eight deputies, on the ground of disloyalty and indiscipline. In spite of this schism, the party, of which Senor Rubio was President, retained control of the new Congress which was elected in July. The election was attended with some disorder, five persons being killed and about twenty wounded, but on the whole the public was apathetic.

While the Central Government was not assailed during the year, certain of the State Governments were not so fortunate. In Chihuahua, at the end of June, the State Governor was deposed by a body of insurgents, but was eventually restored through the intervention of the Federal Government. A week later a similar *coup* was planned in Guadalajara, but it was forestalled by the authorities. In October the municipal authorities were forcibly ousted from the town of Comitan, in the State of Chiapa, and a provisional administration installed.

At the beginning of the year, a number of raids were made on Communist quarters in Mexico city. Several persons were arrested on charges of committing dynamite outrages and planning to assassinate prominent men, including the former President, General Calles. As a result of the investigations, twelve foreign Communists were deported, and a number of Mexican Communists were sent to the penal colony on the Marias Isles in the Pacific, or imprisoned.

Shortly after the raids occurred, Communist demonstrations took place against the Mexican Embassies in Washington, Rio

de Janeiro, and Buenos Aires, and also against Seior Rubio on his visit to Detroit. The Mexican Government had no hesitation in ascribing both the Communist plots and the demonstrations to the instigation of the Soviet Government, and as a protest ordered its Diplomatic Mission to leave Moscow. A few days later (January 23) it expelled from Mexico the members of the Soviet Legation, thus severing diplomatic relations with Russia. In a statement made the same day, Seior Estrada, the Mexican Minister for Foreign Affairs, complained that Mexico's "high level of conduct" towards Russia had not been duly appreciated in that country, which "at times had placed difficulties in the way of Mexican nationals or spread political propaganda in Mexico among its nationals and foreigners." M. Litvinoff, the Russian Foreign Minister, ascribed the action of Mexico to the instigation of the United States.

The restrictions on religious activity were somewhat relaxed in the course of the year. On February 20 Roman Catholic nuns were once more allowed to stay in the country, provided they conformed to the laws forbidding community or convent life. On August 15 the Cathedral of Mexico City was opened for the first time since the beginning of the dispute between Church and State. Anti-Clerical fanaticism, however, led to a terrible outrage at the beginning of October at San Carlos, in the State of Tabasco, where the enemies of religion set fire to a church while early Mass was being celebrated, and caused eighty peasants to be burnt to death.

The comparative stability which Mexico seemed to enjoy in 1930 revived hopes abroad of a settlement of some at least of the outstanding claims against the country. In May the British Foreign Office undertook to present to the Mexican Government claims of British subjects against Mexico arising out of events which took place before the renewal of diplomatic relations between Great Britain and Mexico on August 28, 1925. At the same time negotiations took place in New York between the Mexican Government and a committee of international bankers. As a result, it was announced on July 25 that Mexican obligations would be scaled down to accord with the country's "capacity to pay," that the Customs revenues should be pledged for the debt thus fixed, and that the term for repayment should be extended to forty-five years.

The Department of Industry, Commerce, and Labour in January issued an order forbidding the Sun Life Insurance Company of Canada to sell policies in Mexico, on the ground that it had not complied with the law requiring foreign insurance companies to invest half their reserves in Mexico in Mexican securities. On January 23 the President ordered the deportation of the manager of the company. A few days later, however, the deportation order was rescinded, and the Department of Industry was also forbidden to interfere with the company's activities.

At the end of 1929 the Mexican Government acquired from Prince Pignatelli, a descendant of the Spanish conqueror, Hernando Cortes, documents which purported to supply valuable information on the resting-place of the ashes of Cortes. It was afterwards discovered that the documents were only bills and other administrative records of the Hospital of Jesus founded by Cortes, and that the archives of real value had been sold by Prince Pignatelli in the United States. The Government declared that such documents ought to be regarded as the property of the nation, and expelled Prince Pignatelli as a "pernicious foreigner" for selling them abroad.

PERU.

After holding the office of President for over eleven years in succession, General Leguia was in 1930 violently deposed by a military rising. The chief cause of complaint against him was that in 1929, on the completion of his second term of office, he had not only not retired, but had "re-inaugurated" himself as President without consulting the electors. His unpopularity was further increased by the economic depression which befell Peru in consequence of the fall in the prices of her staple exports, and also by his connexions with United States financiers. A plot was formed to murder him on Good Friday when he attended Mass in the Cathedral of Lima, but it was frustrated by the police. The agitation against his rule continued, and broke out into open rebellion on August 23, when the garrison of Arequipa, led by Lieutenant-Colonel Sanchez Cerro, revolted and took possession of the city. Almost simultaneously a revolt took place in Callao, the port of Lima. The President tried to allay the discontent by forming a new Cabinet, but the military leaders declared his choice unsatisfactory, and he thereupon resigned and took refuge on a warship.

The Government in Lima was taken over by a Junta, with General Manuel Ponce at its head. The Junta at once entered into communication with Colonel Cerro, who had set up a Government of his own in Arequipa. Colonel Cerro refused to recognise the Lima Junta, and marched on that city. He was supported by the Army and the public, and General Ponce resigned in his favour. On August 27 he was sworn in along with his new Junta, of which he was President without portfolio.

One of the first acts of the new Government was to order the arrest of the ex-President. On September 20 he was put on his trial before the Tribunal de Sancion, the highest Court of Peru, for high treason, and the Marconi Company, and various persons who had been prominent under the late regime, were associated with him on various charges. On September 26 the Court, which had conducted its proceedings in secret, announced that the

charges against the ex-President, the Marconi Company, and eleven other persons could not be legally upheld.

As a result of the serious economic condition of the country, grave unrest prevailed among the working classes in the latter part of the year. Disturbances commenced in the copper mines of the Cerro de Pasco district in the middle of September, and culminated some weeks later in a fierce riot in which fifteen persons, including two American citizens, were killed and twenty-five injured. The state of affairs was so serious that the Government proclaimed martial law in the Departments of Junin and Lima. At the end of November it was reported from Chile that severe fighting was going on in the streets of Lima, but this was denied by the Government.

OTHER LATIN AMERICAN STATES.

COLOMBIA.

In the Presidential election held on February 9, a sweeping victory was gained by Dr. Olaya Herrera, the candidate put forward by the Liberal Party. Previously the Conservative Party had been in power for forty-five years. Dr. Herrera, who had been Colombian Minister at Washington, stood as a national and non-party candidate. His success was due largely to discontent with the economic situation. He assumed office on August 7, and formed a Cabinet consisting of four Liberals and four Conservatives.

VENEZUELA.

In the latter part of the year there was much Labour unrest, due to unemployment caused by retrenchment on the part of the oil companies following over-production. There was also political unrest, due to hostility to General Gomez, who continued to be the real ruler of the country though no longer President. In November an attempt was made to assassinate the Governor of the State of Zulia, and on December 17 there was a rising against the Government which proved abortive.

The centenary of the death of Simon Bolivar, the Venezuelan liberator of South America, was celebrated throughout South America on December 17. In London it was commemorated by the unveiling at Apsley House of a tablet recording the historic meeting between Bolivar and Lord Wellesley in July, 1810.

NICARAGUA.

In the middle of May General Sandino, the Nicaraguan Nationalist leader, returned from Mexico to Nicaragua, and took up arms against the Government. As a result of his activities President

Moncada found it necessary in November to proclaim martial law in four departments.

URUGUAY.

On July 10 and the following days, the centenary of Uruguayan independence was celebrated in Montevideo with great festivities, in which Argentine and Brazilian troops took part.

Polling for the election of a President in succession to Dr. Campisteguy took place on November 30. The voting went in favour of the Colorado Party, but the Nationalists accused them of wholesale frauds, and demanded that the election should be annulled. At the end of the year the Electoral Court was still scrutinising the votes challenged.

ECUADOR.

On September 29 the President, Dr. Isidro Ayora, handed in his resignation to Congress on account of criticisms which had been passed on him for reducing the military budget, a step which he had taken on the advice of the United States financial commission, led by Dr. Kemmerer. Congress, by an almost unanimous vote, refused to accept the resignation, and he was also urged by a delegation of Army officers to withdraw it in the interests of the peace of the country. In response to these and other more popular manifestations of confidence, he consented to remain in the Presidency till the expiry of his term of office in September, 1932.

CUBA.

In the course of the year, President Machado became an object of great popular hostility. He was regarded as the tool of American financial interests, and was accused of enriching himself at the expense of the country. In the latter half of the year the country was seething with discontent. On August 5 seventy people were arrested in connexion with an alleged Communist plot to overthrow the Government. On September 30 a demonstration by students against the Government led to a clash with the police, in consequence of which Congress authorised the President to suspend constitutional rights. Several further riots, in which students were prominent, took place before the end of the year. The Government accused the professors of inciting them, and dismissed a large number. Before the year ended the demand for President Machado's resignation had become general.

HAITI.

During the latter part of 1929 great political unrest prevailed in Haiti, and at the beginning of 1930 President Hoover sent out an American Commission to inquire into the grievances of the population. At first the Commission was boycotted by the inhabitants, but on receiving assurances of its good intentions they consented to give evidence before it. A number of influential persons declared that if the Council of State, a purely nominated body under American influence, elected a President on April 14, there would be a revolt. In order to avoid a crisis, the Commission proposed that the Council of State should elect a neutral President to succeed President Borno, and that the new President should hold proper elections in the autumn. It nominated for the post M. Eugene Roy, a wealthy business man who had taken no part in politics and was generally respected. This arrangement was eventually carried out, and a General Election was held peacefully in October, the Nationalists gaining a majority.

DOMINICAN REPUBLIC.

In February a revolutionary outbreak took place for the purpose of preventing President Vasquez from continuing in office after the expiry of his term in May. The insurgents gained possession of San Domingo, and for a time were in control of the Republic. The United States Minister, Mr. Curtis, intervened actively to bring about a peaceful settlement of the dispute, and largely as a result of his efforts it was agreed that President Vasquez should leave the country for a time, and that elections should be held in his absence in May.

A terrific hurricane swept over San Domingo on September 3, reducing the town nearly to ruins and killing a thousand people.

GUATEMALA.

On December 13 Seiior Palma was chosen Provisional President by the Council of Ministers, owing to the incapacitation of the President, General Lazaro Chacon, through an attack of cerebral haemorrhage. An armed revolt was immediately organised against him, led by General Manuel Orellana. After some fierce street fighting, in which fifty-seven persons were said to have been killed or wounded, he was overthrown, and General Orellana was installed Provisional President in his place.

PART II.

PAET II.
CHRONICLE OF EVENTS
IN 1930.
JANUARY.

1. The New Year's Honours List contained six Peerages, four Baronetcies, and forty-eight Knighthoods. Baronetcies were conferred on Major Dudley Leigh Aman [Baron Marley, of Marley, in the County of Sussex]; the Et. Hon. Sir W. H. Dickinson [Baron Dickinson, of Painswick, in the County of Gloucester]; Sir William Noble [Baron Kirkley, of Kirkley, in the County of Northumberland] ; Mr. Arthur Ponsonby [Baron Ponsonby of Shulbreed, of Shulbreed, in the County of Sussex] ; Sir Hugh Trenchard [Baron Trenchard, of Wolfeton, in the County of Dorset]; and Sir Charles Wakefield [Baron Wakefield, of Hythe, in the County of Kent].

— The Carnegie Corporation granted 400,000 dollars to the Endowment Fund of Dalhousie University, New Brunswick.

3. The Prince of Wales left England for his tour in South Africa.

— *The Times* announced that the Fort of Housesteads in Northumberland, known in Roman times as Borcovicus, standing on Hadrian's Wall some ten miles north-west of Hexham, was presented to the National Trust by Mr. J. M. Clayton.

7. A new service of picture telegraphy was opened between Great Britain and Germany.

12. The *Neue Ziircher Zeitung* celebrated the 150th anniversary of its foundation.

— Severe gales, accompanied by sleet or snow, spread over the country, causing much damage. The British naval tug, *St. Genny*, was struck by a huge sea and sank in the English Channel, with three officers and twenty men.

13. *The Times* announced that the College of Arms had granted armorial bearings to *The Times* Publishing Co., Ltd. This is the first occasion on which the right to bear arms had been conferred upon a newspaper company.

— The Pavilion on the Grand Pier at Weston-super-Mare was completely destroyed by fire.

16. The airship R100 began her third flight.

22. The Rev. William Henry Draper, Rural Dean of Bolton, was appointed Master of the Temple.

27. Under the will of Mr. George de Arroyave Lopes, the Zoological Society of London received a bequest of 70,000?.

FEBRUARY.

4. Mr. William Nuttall, manufacturer of sweets, of Doncaster, announced gifts to charities amounting to 20,000?.

6. At the by-election in the Brightside Division of Sheffield, the Labour Party retained the seat by a reduced majority.

11. The London County Council agreed to a scheme, to cost 1,913,000?., for a circular road near the Elephant and Castle.

23. The trustees of the estate of the late Mr. John W. Sterling made a gift of three million dollars to Yale University.

MARCH.

2. A fire at Felstead School destroyed the Grignon Hall,

4. An anonymous donor sent Victory Bonds to the amount of 2,000?. to the Chancellor of the Exchequer as a gift to the nation.

— Mr. Baron J. Devenport, a well-known brewer in Birmingham, created an endowment fund of 100,000?. for charitable purposes for that city.

6. Floods broke out in the west and south-west of France, flooding about 370 acres; 2,693 buildings were reported to have been completely destroyed, and 206 people lost their lives.

12. Mr. P. A. de Laszlo, M.V.O., was elected President of the Royal Society of British Artists.

14. The High Commissioner for India occupied India House in Aldwych.

18. The Mayor of Brisbane, Western Australia, was granted the title of Lord Mayor.

27. The trustees of the will of the late Mr. Edward Clark, printer in Edinburgh, provided the sum of 30,000?. towards the completion and equipment of the new hospital for crippled children at Fairmilehead, Edinburgh, and 15,000?. to endow a chair in the University of Edinburgh for the study of child life and health.

— The well-known Hotel Lafayette, at Longbeach, near New York, was destroyed by fire. The loss was estimated at 1,250,000 dollars.

29. The King appointed the Earl of Home to be a Knight of the Thistle.

31. *The Englishman*, a daily newspaper founded in 1821 in Calcutta, began to appear as a weekly.

APRIL.

1. Sir William Morris, Chairman of Morris Motors Ltd., announced that he had made a gift of 140,000?. to the Radcliffe Infirmary Museum at Oxford.

— Lady Houston gave 100,000?. to St. Thomas's Hospital.

12. Cambridge won the Boat Race by two lengths in 19 minutes 9 seconds. This made forty-one wins for Cambridge as against forty for Oxford.

13. Summer time commenced at 2 a.m. [see under October 5].

24. Sir Edwin Cooper, architect, and Mr. Alfred Kingsley Lawrence, painter, were elected Associates of the Royal Academy.

26. In the final round of the competition for the Football Association Challenge Cup at Wembley Stadium, the Arsenal beat Huddersfield Town by two goals to none. Over 92,000 spectators were present, including King George V., who was given a rousing reception.

— The Graf Zeppelin Airship travelled to England from Friedrichshafen and cruised over London for some time, after which she visited Cardington.

30. Wireless telephony between England and Australia was opened to the public by an exchange of greetings between Mr. MacDonald, the British Prime Minister, and Mr. J. H. Scullin, the Prime Minister of the Commonwealth of Australia.

— It was announced that on the Thursdays in the months of June, July, and August of the present year the Zoological Gardens would remain open until 11 p.m.

MAY.

5. Miss Amy Johnson began her attempted flight alone to Australia.

6. King George V. celebrated the twentieth anniversary of his accession.

— At the by-election at West Fulham, the Unionist gained the seat from Labour by 240 votes.

— Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, the Prime Minister, laid the foundation stone of the new Reference Library in Manchester, the largest municipal library in Great Britain.

8. The opening performance of the Passion Play was given at Oberammergau.

9. Mr. John Masefield was appointed Poet Laureate in succession to the late Robert Bridges.

11. Miss Amy Johnson reached Karachi.

17. Mr. Stanley Baldwin was elected Chancellor of the University of Cambridge, in succession to the late Lord Balfour.

23. Celebration began at Manchester of the Jubilee of the foundation of the Victoria University of Manchester, and of the eightieth anniversary of the founding of Owens College, out of which the University grew.

24. Miss Amy Johnson reached Darwin. Her flight from England to Australia in twenty days was a remarkable feat both for pilot and machine.

27. At the by-election in Central Nottingham the Conservatives retained the seat, increasing their majority from 2,998 to 7,023.

30. Sir James Barrie was elected Chancellor of the University of Edinburgh in succession to the late Lord Balfour.

JUNE.

2. It was announced that the *Daily Chronicle* and the *Daily News* had amalgamated, and would be published as a single newspaper, under the title of the *Daily News and Chronicle*.

3. In the Birthday Honours three new peerages were conferred—on Mr. Noel Buxton [Baron Noel-Buxton of Aylsham, in the county of Norfolk]; Mr. H. Sanderson Furniss [Baron Sanderson of Hunmanby, in the county of York]; and Sir Esme Howard [Baron Howard of Penrith, of Gowbarrow, in the County of Cumberland]. Three new appointments were also made to the Order of Merit—Dr. Samuel Alexander, one of the most distinguished philosophers of the day; Dr. M. R. James, Provost of Eton College; and Professor G. M. Trevelyan, Regius Professor of Modern History at Cambridge.

— Mr. J. H. Whitley, late Speaker of the House of Commons, was nominated to be chairman of the British Broadcasting Corporation in succession to Lord Clarendon, who had resigned.

— The opening session of the Imperial Press Conference was held at Grosvenor House.

— Mr. Charles R. M. Fraser Crottwell was elected Principal of Hertford College, Oxford.

— The Newdigate Prize for Poetry at Oxford was awarded to Miss Josephine L. Fielding, scholar of St. Hilda's College. This was the fourth time in succession in which the Newdigate Prize had been obtained by a woman.

3. *The Times* announced that Lord Brotherton had decided to present his private library to the nation through the University of Leeds, where it would be housed. In addition, he intends to provide a sum of 30,000Z. for maintenance and administration.

4. The Aga Khan's colt, Blenheim, won the Derby at Epsom.

8. *The Times* announced a gift of 5,000,000 dollars by Mr. Louis Bamberger, of New Jersey, and his sister, Mrs. Felix Fuld, for the establishment in Newark of an Institute for Advanced Study.

11. The new Canadian Pacific liner, *Empress of Britain*, on her being launched, was named by the Prince of Wales at Glasgow.

16. Mixed bathing began in the Serpentine, Hyde Park.

17. A heavy rain storm broke over London. Several railway stations were flooded and traffic was dislocated.

25. King George V., accompanied by Queen Mary, attended the Thanksgiving Service for the preservation of St. Paul's Cathedral.

26. Celebration in Reykjavik of the thousandth anniversary of the Iceland Parliament.

27. At the by-election in the Shettleston Division of Glasgow Labour retained the seat, but by a considerably reduced majority—from 6,724 at the General Election, to 396.

28. The White Star motor liner, *Britannic*, the largest British motor vessel, sailed from Liverpool to New York on her maiden voyage.

29. The occupation by foreign troops of German soil came to an end, after having continued for eleven years.

30. The greater part of "The Friars," a well-known country mansion at Aylsford, near Maidstone, was destroyed by fire.

JULY.

4. As the result of an explosion, followed by a fire, at a local chemical works, a portion of the town of Castleford in Yorkshire was wrecked, and a number of people lost their lives.

8. *The Times* announced that Mr. George Frederick Grant, of Hull, had made University College, Hull, the residuary legatee of his estate, whereby the college is expected to benefit to the extent of some 80,000Z.

— India House, in Aldwych, was opened by King George V., who was accompanied by Queen Mary.

10. At the by-election in North Norfolk, Lady Noel Buxton retained the seat for the Labour Party by a majority of 179, as compared with a Labour majority of 1,883 at the General Election.

14. Mr. Robert Kerr Hannay, Professor of English History and Palaeography in Edinburgh University, was appointed Historiographer Royal in Scotland, in succession to Professor Rait resigned.

19. For the first time in the history of the National Rifle Association, the King's Prize at Bisley was won by a woman—Miss M. E. Foster.

23. A violent earthquake was experienced in the neighbourhood of Avellino, near Naples. Close on 2,000 people lost their lives, and damage was done to many buildings.

— Abnormal rain caused extensive flooding over a large part of Yorkshire ; in Whitby the floods were unprecedented in the history of the town.

26. The fusion between the Royal Bank of Scotland and Williams Deacon's Bank was announced.

30. The British airship R100 flew over the Atlantic.

AUGUST.

1. The R100 was moored successfully at Montreal at 5.33 A.M., seventy-nine hours after leaving Cardington.

16. The R100 reached Cardington on her return journey from Montreal, having completed the voyage in fifty-seven hours.

21. A daughter (Princess Margaret Rose) was born to the Duke and Duchess of York at Glamis Castle.

22. Members of an expedition to White Island found the body of Andree, the Swedish aeronaut, who in 1897 set out in a balloon from Danes Island, Spitzbergen, with two companions, in the hope of reaching the North Pole, and of whom no news had hitherto been received.

26. A sudden heat wave developed over England ; the temperature in London reached 87°.

27. The heat wave continued ; in London a maximum temperature of 90° was reached ; 91° were recorded at Cardington.

28. No abatement in the heat wave ; 92° were registered in London. Many deaths caused by the heat were reported from different parts of the country.

29. The inhabitants of St. Kilda were taken off the island and landed on the mainland. The island will henceforward be uninhabited.

30. Shortly after midnight on the 29th a thunderstorm broke over London, bringing relief from the excessive heat of the last few days.

SEPTEMBER.

2. Captain Costes and Monsieur Bellonte, the two French flyers, completed the first non-stop flight from Paris to New York. The journey had taken 37 hours and 13 minutes.

— At the Bromley by-election the Conservatives retained the seat, but by a reduced majority.

6. The Rev. Edward M. Walker was elected Provost of Queen's College, Oxford, in succession to the late Rev. Dr. J. R. Magrath.

10. Miss Peggy Duncan, age 19, of South Africa, swum the Channel in 16 hours 17 minutes.

11. *The Times* reported that Sir William Morris, the motor car manufacturer, had given an additional 10,000Z. to complete the purchase price of the site of the Radcliffe Observatory, Oxford, in addition to the 90,000J. he had already given for this purpose. [See under April 1.]

15. Centenary celebrations to commemorate the opening of the railway between Liverpool and Manchester were commenced in both these cities.

19. Through the generosity of Mr. J. J. Calder, Hill 60 has been secured as a gift to the nations of the Empire, and is to be transferred to the Imperial War Graves Commission.

29. *The Times* announced the establishment of the Pilgrim Trust to administer a large sum of money provided by Mr. Edward S. Harkness of New York for the benefit of Great Britain.

— Alderman W. Phene Neal was elected Lord Mayor of London.

30. *The Times* announced that a gift of 50,000£. was made by an anonymous donor to Armstrong College, Newcastle, towards the building of a hall of residence for men students at Benton, Northumberland.

OCTOBER.

1. The Imperial Conference of 1930 was opened in the Reception Room of the Foreign Office.

5. The airship R101, which left Cardington on the previous evening on her experimental flight to India, struck a hill near Beauvais in France, and was completely destroyed by fire. Forty-eight of the fifty-four passengers and crew lost their lives, including Lord Thomson, Secretary of State for Air, and Sir Sefton Brancker, Director of Civil Aviation. [See Obituaries.]

10. A national memorial service in memory of the victims of R101 was held in St. Paul's Cathedral

16. A dinner was held to celebrate the recent grant of a Royal Charter to the Institution of Mechanical Engineers,

18. A "flying saloon," a propeller-driven saloon coach for fifteen passengers, made its first public appearance near Hanover, travelling at the rate of 93 miles an hour.

19. Wing-Commander Kingsford Smith, landing at Darwin, Northern Australia, completed the flight from England in a little over ten days.

21. The Royal Geographical Society commenced its centenary celebrations, which continued on the following two days.

— An explosion in a coal mine in Aachen resulted in the loss of 262 lives.

25. Another mining disaster in Germany, in the Saar territory, resulted in the loss of over 100 lives owing to an explosion.

27. Mr. Horace C. Dawkins was appointed Clerk to the House of Commons, in succession to the late Sir Thomas Lonsdale Webster. A knighthood was conferred upon Mr. Dawkins.

— *The Times* announced that an Institute for the Study of the History of Art and for the training of art critics and experts is to be opened in connexion with the University of London. The establishment was rendered possible by the generosity of Mr. Samuel Courtauld and Sir Joseph Duveen.

30. The first village college was opened at Sawston in Cambridgeshire by the Prince of Wales.

— At the South Paddington by-election Vice-Admiral E. A. Taylor captured the seat from the Conservatives for the Empire Crusade Party.

— A series of severe earthquake shocks in the district of Senigallia, on the Adriatic coast, caused considerable loss of life and damage to property.

NOVEMBER.

1. The Rev. Mervin George Haigh was appointed Bishop of Coventry, and Dr. Charles Lisle Carr, Bishop of Hereford.

— At the municipal elections throughout the country the Labour Party lost a total of sixty-five seats.

— The tunnel under the Detroit River between Windsor, Ontario, and Detroit, Michigan, was officially opened.

4. St. George's Chapel, Windsor, after having been repaired during the last nine years, was reopened.

— Mr. Oscar Garden, who left Croydon on October 16, reached Wyndham in Western Australia, having thus flown to Australia in twenty days.

5. It was announced that the Nobel Prize for Literature for 1930 had been awarded to Mr. Sinclair Lewis, the American novelist; the Nobel Prize for Medicine to Professor Karl Landsteiner, formerly of Vienna, now of the Rockefeller Institute in New York; the Prize for Physics to Professor C. V. Raman of Calcutta; and for Chemistry to Professor Hans Fischer of the University of Munich,

6. At the by-election in the Shipley Division of Yorkshire, the Conservatives captured the seat from the Liberals.

10. The German flying boat "Do X," which left Germany on November 3, reached Calshot from Amsterdam, its last stopping-place.

11. Two French airmen, Captain Goulette and Lieutenant Lalouette, who left Paris on the 8th, reached Calcutta, having completed the journey in four days.

13. *The Times* announced that Mr. Edward N. Hurley, of Chicago, had made a gift of 200,000 dollars to the University of Notre Dame, Indiana, for the foundation of a College of Foreign and Domestic Commerce.

— In a landslide near Lyons many houses were destroyed and 120 people lost their lives.

24. The first train fitted for the reception of wireless programmes was brought into regular service ; it left King's Cross Station for Leeds.

26. An earthquake shook all Japan from Osaka to Fukui, causing extensive damage to property and the loss of 240 lives.

27. The *Chester Courant*, which was founded in November, 1730, celebrated its bicentenary.

— The Nobel Peace Prize for 1929 was awarded to Mr. Frank B. Kellogg, formerly United States Secretary of State, and that for 1930 to Dr. Nathan Soderblom, Archbishop of Upsala.

29. At the by-election in East Renfrew, the Conservatives retained the seat by an enlarged majority.

DECEMBER.

1. The price of the *Daily Telegraph* was reduced from 2d. to 1d.

3. Dr. G. F. Hill was appointed Director of the British Museum, to succeed Sir Frederick Kenyon on the latter's retirement on December 31.

— At the by-election in the Whitechapel and St. George's Division of Stepney, Mr. James Hall retained the seat for the Labour Party by a reduced majority.

12. *The Times* announced that the University of Adelaide had received a gift of 40,000Z. from Sir Langdon Bonythorn to provide for the erection of a great hall.

22. Heavy fogs were experienced in London, and were responsible for many accidents.

24. *The Times* announced that the King Edward Hospital Fund for London had received a gift of 20,000Z. from an anonymous donor for the purpose of establishing a trust fund for the reduction of capital charges on voluntary hospitals in the metropolitan boroughs of Deptford, Greenwich, Lewisham, and Woolwich.

25. More people than usual left London for the Christmas holiday this year, probably as the result of the extra long holiday owing to Christmas Day falling on a Thursday. During the week ending Christmas Day, the Post Office handled nearly 10,000,000 parcels.

31. Lady Margaret Hall, Oxford, received the sum of 35,000*i.* for the erection of a new block of buildings for students' rooms from Mrs. Edward S. Harkness, of New York, wife of the founder of the Pilgrim Trust. [See under September 29.]

— The rainfall for the year 1930 was 29455 inches, as against the average for seventy-eight years of 28-763 inches. The total amount of sunshine was 15434 hours, as against the average for thirty-eight years of 15644 hours.

RETROSPECT

OF

LITERATURE, SCIENCE, AND ART IN 1930.

LITERATURE.

(Books marked with an asterisk are specially noticed at the end of this section.)

THE year 1930 was in a double sense the end of a literary epoch. It can be regarded either as the close of the half-century beginning in 1880 when the contemporary world of feeling as we know it began definitely to break through, the world of Butler and Hardy, the struggles of the nineties, and the big figures of Galsworthy, Shaw, Wells, Bennet, and Conrad, up to the great change in attitude of about 1910; or as the end of the twenty years of investigation, unrest, war, and post-war eddying and swirling from 1910 marked in more than a chronological sense by the death of D. H. Lawrence. However much other figures may later come to usurp the throne in literary text-books, the years 1910-30 are really "The Age of Lawrence."

That this is no fanciful demarcation is shown by the feeling on all sides that we are moving out of one mood into another. There is a growing dissatisfaction on the part of those who are mainly observers with the literature of dissent, unrest, protest, harshness and bitterness, an increasing disinclination to analyse and to probe below the surface, a movement so marked as already to have received the name of "The Abdication of Intelligence." The two rival schools can be said to be represented in the publications of this year by Richard Aldington, William Faulkner, and by Wyndham Lewis's *Apes of God*, which has the fierceness of an expiring epoch, and in the other camp, by J. B. Priestley with *Angel Pavement*, Hugh Walpole with *Rogue Retries*, and A. P. Herbert with *The Water Gipsies*.

The departure of D. H. Lawrence almost called a truce to this war, or possibly made many people aware of what was happening. The transformation into a classic of a problematical writer forced the issue very sharply, and pointed out that something very serious had been going on. Apart from a few sneers and some topical journalism, it was felt that in D. H. Lawrence the world of literature had lost one of its most honest and passionate practitioners, and a man who by fearless and penetrating researches into the problems and uneasiness of man in a period of unrest was more representative of that unrest than any other writer

in his time. His concern with nature as an all-pervading force, his interest in the animal and vegetable layers of human consciousness, his acute sensitiveness to social atmospheres, his awareness of the subtleties of human relationships spoken and unspoken, avowed and unconscious, gave him a subject-matter which either violently repelled or violently attracted, but in each case through recognition of a power friendly or inimical to the observer, but acceptable or not undeniably real and potent. He left behind him a number of works which have gradually been published, notably * *The Virgin and the Gipsy* (Seeker), in which he gives a miniature sample of all his methods and interests, *Love Among the Haystacks* (Nonesuch), *Scattered Articles* (Seeker), and a revealing essay prefatory to *The Grand Inquisitor* by Dostoevsky (Elkin Matthews). Among the obituary comments were chiefly a sympathetic and beautiful tribute in *The Times Literary Supplement* by one who had known him well, some reminiscences by Mr. J. Middleton Murry, perhaps his closest friend, in *The Adelphij* an essay by Rebecca West, since enlarged and republished, and a fine appreciation from yet another friend and rebel of his own time, Mr. Richard Aldington. The first attempt at a biographical and critical study was published by Mr. Stephen Potter, and served a useful purpose in drawing attention to the writings in new quarters.

The year showed a larger number of publications than for many years past, but the proportion of valuable and desirable works was not so high. The notable achievements of the year were in poetry, both new and collected, and in a remarkable number of unusually competent novels. Mr. F. A. Mumby, in his *Publishing and Bookselling* (Cape), gave a valuable survey of the history of publishing from the earliest times, together with a bibliography of the highest usefulness. The chief event of the year in the practical side of publishing was the apparently successful attempt by Messrs. Victor Gollancz, under the title of Mundanus Ltd., to institute the selling of new full-length novels in paper covers at three shillings a volume.

Of new periodicals the most noteworthy was *The Week-End Review*, in which a large number of contributors under the editorship of Mr. Gerald Barry seceded from the *Saturday Review*. The *Political Quarterly*, of which the first number appeared in January, filled a want on the part of specialists and relieved the monthly reviews of a portion of their solidier material. *Foreign Languages* had for its object the furtherance of foreign language study in this country, and was much concerned with practical methods of learning and teaching. *Indian Affairs*, a quarterly, was devoted exclusively to the problems of India, and aimed at promoting co-operation between that country and Great Britain. *The Magazine of To-day*, edited by Mr. Harold Herd, was concerned with the present problems of national life, chiefly social and economic, and in October was merged into a more comprehensive monthly, *To-day and To-morrow*, embracing all aspects of modern life.

The year displayed remarkable activity in poetry, many of the important and established poets produced either new volumes or a collection of their previous work, and a number of new writers appeared whose

progress will be followed with the deepest interest. Mr. Robert Frost, the distinguished American poet, published his * *Collected Poems* (Longmans), in which the tenderness of his concern with the quieter aspects of American rural life can now be judged. Miss Edith Sitwell, with her *Collected Poems* (Duckworth), showed a solidity and sureness of sustained beauty that was an agreeable surprise to many who knew her work only through her satirists and detractors. Professor Lascelles Abercrombie's *Collected Poems* (Oxford Press) gave full justification in its alert, intelligent and musical contents for the high honour accorded him by his inclusion as the only living representative in the series of *Oxford Poets*. Mr. Edmund Blunden, in his *Poems 1914-30* (Cobden Sanderson), reminded the poetry-reading public of the dignity and measured certainty with which he has so proudly maintained the continuity of the finer English traditions. A welcome volume was the new edition of *The Poems of Gerard Manley Hopkins* (Oxford Press), whose contents with their rigorous experiments in rhythms and statement have for some years been among the most powerful influences on contemporary poetical writing. Mr. T. S. Eliot is the most enigmatical of all modern poets as well as the most deeply studied by the younger generation, and in *Ash Wednesday* (Faber & Faber) he offered yet another puzzle: the bitterness and the sadness of these poems betray a mind that objectively or subjectively can create in verse the inmost agonies of despairing moods by means of clear statements about obscure symbols. No other poet has so great a responsibility for the mood of this epoch. The same sureness and passionate detachment were shown in his Ariel Booklet, *Marina* (Faber & Faber). Mr. Humbert Wolfe's *The Uncelestial City* (Gollancz) was by many regarded as his most ambitious effort at philosophy in verse, and contained some epigrams of a compressed, witty, and attractive kind. The Poet Laureate, in * *The Wanderer of Liverpool* (Heinemann), went back to a fine old tradition and displayed his sympathy with Beauty, Shipping, and Man in a mingling of prose and verse. Mr. W. B. Yeats, in his later years, has become deeper and richer in his thought, and has therefore alienated the faithful lovers of the musical vagueness of some of his earlier work. In *The Winding Stair* (Cayme Press), a small but expensive volume, he gave some tough meat, full of inward sustenance, to those prepared to follow him through the new beauty of precise statement about states of feeling not too easy to disentangle. Mr. Richard Aldington, although he has of late been earning fame in prose of a high order, was originally and foremost a poet, and in *A Dream in the Luxembourg* (Chatto & Windus), he has moved from the world of disillusionment into a description of an episode of love wherein the swift easy writing is a triumph for the "Free Verse" Mr. Aldington so greatly helped to launch. Mr. Sturge Moore published *Mystery and Tragedy: Two Dramatic Poems* (Cayme Press), in which his followers were delighted with his customary rich thinking in verse, allied this time to considerable and complicated action. Mr. L. A. G. Strong, in *Northern Light* (Gollancz), gave a splendid instalment of his rich, clean, concise masculine poetry in which no slackness of feeling, no looseness of craftsmanship is allowed to appear. Mr. Roy Campbell, in his *Flaming Terrapin*,

amazed the world some years back with the ripeness of technique and profusion of imagery of his young genius, and this year in *Adamastor* (Faber & Faber) he more than reassured those who feared that the headlong and the clamorous was his sole mood of creation, by giving masterpieces of gentleness and calm in his recollections of cool lyrical moods, moments of moonlight and silver silence that amaze by their crispness of handling, and await only the filling of some directing philosophy to prove his complete maturity. Mr. Sacheverell Sitwell, in *Doctor Donne and Garganlua*, (Duckworth), published the first six cantos of his sensitive and fantastic lyrical poem with its many delicacies of music and imagery. The two most important volumes of the year illustrated the old classical precept of ripening. Both Mr. Alan Porter in *Thw Signature of Pain* (Cobden Sanderson), and Mr. L. Aaronson in ** Christ in the Synagogue* (Victor Gollancz), have waited many years before venturing into print. This has enabled both of them to throw away much of the juvenile experiment that encumbers many first volumes, and to get down to the real problems that for each poet constitutes the main business of poetry. Mr. Aaronson believes that the establishment of a personal idiom and the creation and display of unique personality in poetry are the chief requirements. Mr. Porter believes in discipline and chastity of execution in the service of vision attained through purification by pain from primary joys and agonies. The two poets differ in that Mr. Porter represents the utmost that classical English poetry can do in its preservation of the old speech rhythms packed with consummate neatness into the direct forms of English traditional verse, whereas Mr. Aaronson, learning in many cases from the same poets, Metaphysical and Romantic, is prepared to use them as data from which to move on to a personal rhythm. Both poets in their passionate devotion to the higher problems of poetry succeed in displaying themselves as personalities with rich possibilities for the influencing of future English poetry. Mr. W. H. Auden, in his first volume of *Poems* (Faber & Faber), attracted considerable attention by the hard, deliberate control in verse of a purely intellectual content. *The Imagist Anthology, 1930* (Chatto & Windus) showed what has happened to the brave band of Imagist poets of 1914 in selections from the recent work of Richard Aldington, H. D., F. S. Flint, D. H. Lawrence, and James Joyce.

Drama and writings about dramatists, actors and plays have been richer this year. Mr. G. Bernard Shaw, with his ** Apple Cart* (Constable), raised problems of politics that reverberated, much to the maintenance of Mr. Shaw's name, throughout Europe. Mr. Marc Connelly, in ** The Green Pastures* (Gollancz), despite the Censor's prohibition of the play on the stage, became known to thousands of readers as a reverent and humorous rendering of Bible legend seen through the lenses of negro piety. Mr. George Moore, in *The Passing of the Essenes* (Heinemann), dealt with the daring hypothesis that Jesus was taken alive from the Cross and worked as a shepherd, and after twenty years met Paul of Tarsus. The tragedy of twenty years of delusion crashing down on the head of Paul is displayed with remarkable powers that perhaps will appear less dramatic on the

stage than in the study. Mr. Harold F. Rubinstein, whose plays always reveal profound thought and ripe craftsmanship, published a volume of three *Plays out of Time* (Putnam), displaying with rich fantasy the dance of democracy in a London suburb through the generations, the vagaries of patriotism in an anachronistic world of Roman Britain, and the dream world of ambition in a psycho-analytic anaesthesia. A number of foreign plays of great interest have been translated, chief among them being *That Worthless Fellow Platonov*, by Anton Chekhov (Dent), now rendered into English for the first time. Special value attaches to the translation in that it includes several fragments intended to be omitted later and thus throws light on the author's methods of working. One of the chief classics of the Russian stage, *The Storm*, by A. Ostrovsky (Allen & Unwin), was published in connexion with its first London performance. Paul Claudel's lyrical drama, *The Book of Christopher Columbus* (Milford), is more for the study than the stage, but formed an interesting monument to the working of the author's deeply religious mind. Shalom Ash's *Sabbatai Zevi* (Jewish Publication Society) was a drama treating of that strange Messiah of the seventeenth century in a mingling of the historical, the mythical, and the poetical manner. One of the most powerful plays produced in England, though strangely neglected by the official dramatic critics, was C. W. Moeller's *Douaumont* (Gollancz), written partly in the expressionist manner and giving in strange and moving parallel the return of the soldier—a kind of Ulysses, shattered in brain, to the disturbed house where his wife was besieged with unwelcome but necessary admirers. The most interesting volume of dramatic biography, partly from the attraction of its subject and partly from the character of the biographer, was Mr. Gordon Craig's *Henry Irving* (Dent), in which the figure of that wild and much discussed romantic actor was brought to life with much passionate defence. It is difficult to imagine what we should now feel about an actor of such vehemence and distortion, after so much change of feeling in the theatre, but Mr. Craig's book, as all his writing for the theatre, is a work of inspired piety. In *A Production* (Oxford Press) Mr. Gordon Craig gives his designs for a performance of Ibsen's *The Pretenders* at the Royal Theatre, Copenhagen, utilising his famous screens to good purpose. Mr. Craig is not too keen on a National Theatre, but Mr. Granville Barker, in *A National Theatre* (Sedgwick & Jackson), has worked out everything with such care, detail, and minuteness, that there is no fertile excuse for vagueness about the project.

The life of the theatre of an older age was well portrayed by Mr. S. M. Ellis in his *Life of Michael Kelly* (Gollancz), in which Kelly's Memoirs have been well used to display the wanderings, apprenticeships, and vicissitudes of a musician in the theatrical world of Sheridan, Mrs. Siddons, and Kean. Miss Doris Arthur Jones, in *The Life and Letters of Henry Arthur Jones* (Gollancz), gave the career of a man who, with all his forcefulness of character, was a humble student of dramatic laws, and as a friend of Herbert Spencer, William Morris, Matthew Arnold, Anatole France, and Thomas Hardy, was a close representation of his changing age. Sir Frank Benson, in *My Memoirs* (Benn), gave an account of struggles

for Shakespeare that have been fruitful of much in modern theatrical history. Sir Nigel Playfair, in *Hammersmith Hay* (Faber & Faber), gave a perhaps premature account of his contributions to English theatrical history, and Madame Karsavina, in *Theatre Street* (Heinemann), recorded in charming fashion her personal share in that marvellous efflorescence of ballet that with Pavlova, Nijinsky, and Mordkin as artists, and Cecchetti, Diaghileff, Bakst, and Fokine as helpers and directors, has so delighted Europe. Of serious books on the history of the theatre, there have been only two of note. Professor Allardyce Nicol's *History of 19th Century Drama* (Cambridge Press), was a valuable survey and mapping of a difficult period, one of degeneration and despair and confusion on the English stage. Out of this confusion the author has made an order that admirably continues his long range of studies. Professor H. C. Lancaster, in the first part of his monumental *History of French Dramatic Literature in the Seventeenth Century*, dealt with the pre-classical period from 1610 to 1634, and prepared a rich and detailed background for the following period of Corneille, Racine, and Molière. On the evolution of the newer art of the cinema, Mr. Paul Rotha spoke with full knowledge and clear perspective in *The Film Till Now* (Cape), which included a large number of well-selected photographs and a valuable appendix giving details of production and casts of many outstanding films.

Literary criticism and history again have not produced much work of outstanding merit. Criticism seems to be stationary and almost sitting on the fence until the direction of literature is once more clearly seen, and some of the most important investigations have been in the neutral field of technical study. Literary history is still afraid of synthesis, and takes refuge in smaller monographs and recapitulations without attempting to reshape the growing material in the light of a bold interpretation of mental or cultural movements. It has remained for a young Cambridge disciple of Mr. I. A. Richards, Mr. William Empson, in *Seven Types of Ambiguity* (Chatto & Windus), to indulge in a rigorous and logical exploration of poetry in order to discover what it can mean, how much it can mean, and how much it can mean at the same time without producing confusion. For Mr. Empson ambiguity is a virtue making for richness, and at the same time a clue leading to the mysteries of poetic creation and communication. In essence the method is that of elementary classroom analysis, but so fertile is Mr. Empson's mind and so logical the connexions of his fragments of ambiguity that nothing but good can come of such a close, reasoned, and eye-on-the-object method of literary investigation. At the other extreme M. Jacques Maritain, one of the most powerful of modern French philosophical minds, has, in *Art and Scholasticism* (Sheed & Ward), endeavoured to give a basis of Christian aesthetic to the philosophy of art. It is a valiant attempt to reduce the world of beauty to a microcosm of rule, and is supported with a wealth of learning both on modern and mediaeval matters that will attract many for whom the argument is too abstract or rarefied, or may appear too widely divorced from the factual world of artistic production. Mr. Norman Foerster, in *Humanism and America* (Farrow & Rinehart), has gathered together a

number of essays by eminent hands towards a new integration of values in the direction of measure, order and restraint against the self-indulgent Rousseauism of the present day. Professor Irving Babbitt and Mr. Paul Elmer More are still the leaders of the movement, though it is of interest to see what the younger men have made of it. Mr. Stefan Zweig, in *Three Masters* (Allen & Unwin), discussed Balzac, Dickens, and Dostoievsky, with an ardour that must seem strange to the Humanists. His method is enthusiastic, psychological, and re-creative, and is so much the outcome of a passionate desire to see great men in their inter-relationships as to appear startling to our native reserve and frigidity of comment. Passion and precision are to be found in Katherine Mansfield's *Novels and Novelists* (Constable), in which were reprinted her reviews of fiction in that notable epoch in the life of *The Athenaeum* in 1919 and 1920. It is seldom that one can re-read with such pleasure, or admit such accuracy and justice of criticism in a body of reprinted criticism. It is much that she so warmly and so early praised Mrs. Virginia Woolf, Miss Stella Benson, Mr. H. M. Tomlinson, and Miss Rose Macaulay, and that she was able to see through the pretensions of other writers no less known at present. Another posthumous volume was *A Writer's Notes on His Trade* from that excellent wielder of English, C E. Montague (Chatto & Windus). Those who admired his scintillating, penetrating, and often bitter style will be more than glad to have his comments on the art of prose. Mr. Walter De Ia Mare, in *Desert Islands* (Faber & Faber), gave a masterpiece of jewelled reverie which was in essence a definition and an exploration of romance as he understands it, and as with all Mr. De Ia Mare's writings, his mind flows over all his experiences, his sensations, and his not too obviously intruded philosophy.

English literature, as befits a country conscious of its heritage, has produced a full crop of biographies, monographs, reprints, and new discoveries. The most imposing and most important study was Sir E. K. Chambers' * *William Shakespeare* (Oxford Press), in which the vast field of problem and fact was explored by a master and veteran hand. The work will not need to be done again for many years, and whatever is discovered can be fitted easily into his great framework. The younger rebels, however, are still concerned with the disintegration of Shakespeare's text, and Professor Dover Wilson, in his edition of *Twelfth Night* (Cambridge Press), explored the problem of the text in his usual keen and optimistic fashion. A very valuable contribution to Shakspearean studies has been made by Miss Lily B. Campbell, who turned from her researches into Renaissance staging to the study of *Shakespeare's Tragic Heroes* (Cambridge Press), in which she investigated the Renaissance conceptions of the passions and pursued Shakespeare through *Hamlet*, *Othello*, *King Lear*, and *Macbeth* in such a way as to prove clearly that he was fully aware of contemporary doctrines of the passions without being himself a professional philosopher. An important event was the inauguration of a new and fully critical edition of Marlowe's works, of which *The Life of Marlowe and the Tragedy of Dido, Queen of Carthage*, by Professor C. F. Tucker Brooke and Tamberlaine, by Miss Ellis Fermor (Methuen), were valuable instalments. The

new interest in Marlowe's violent death gives special interest to the materials for the study of Elizabeth's England provided in *The Elizabethan Underworld*, edited by Mr. A. V. Judges (Routledge), in which the world of crooks and beggars is displayed in the original vivid pamphlets of the time. But that the Elizabethans were not entirely concerned with the sordid life was shown by Miss Ruth Kelso's valuable investigation of *The Doctrine of the Gentlemen in the Sixteenth Century* (University of Illinois). A very useful critical study of Milton was published by Mr. E. M. W. Tillyard (Cambridge Press), in which he endeavoured, by a closer scrutiny of the early poems in English and Latin, the prose works and above all by a new examination of *Paradise Regained*, to build up a picture of the inner development of Milton's creative mind. England from within was well displayed in Mr. John Drinkwater's study of *Pepys* (Heinemann). The drama of the seventeenth century still attracted attention, and Mr. Alfred Harbage re-created the career of *Thomas Killigrew* (Milford), the Cavalier dramatist. Mr. D. M. Walmsley produced a useful edition of Shadwell's *Epsom Wells and The Volunteers* (Heath), while the Nonesuch Press added to their magnificent editions of Restoration dramatists *The Complete Works of George Farquhar*, under the editorship of Mr. Charles Stonehill. Mr. Willard Smith, in *The Nature of Comedy* (Badger), gave some interesting views on a difficult topic. Our present indecision in the wielding of biography gave a special value to Mr. Donald A. Stauffer's *English Biography Before 1700* (Milford), in which the emergence of biography from history was traced from the lives of Sir Thomas More to the rich achievements of Izaak Walton and his followers.

The eighteenth century is coming more and more into favour, and Miss Edith Sitwell's passionate and personal vindication of Alexander Pope (Faber & Faber) did much to renew attention to the most provocative of literary topics. The great novelists of the period, Richardson, Fielding, Smollett, and Sterne, were examined in the fourth volume of Dr. E. A. Baker's steadily advancing *History of the English Novel* (Witherby). The reflection of the eighteenth century in drama was studied by Miss Mary M. Belden in *The Dramatic Works of Samuel Foote* (the English Aristophanes) (Milford), and a monumental and definitive study of the *Life of Thomas Chatterton* (Ingpen & Grant) was given by Mr. E. H. W. Meyerstein, after nine years of investigation. A strange episode was recalled by the publication in *The Hamwood Papers of the Ladies of Llangollen* (Macmillan) of Lady Eleanor Butler's diary of placid and tranquil life in "a scheme of Romantic Friendship in which there were no gentlemen concerned." The new world of the industrial revolution, the circulating libraries, and the changes in the reading public were pleasantly sketched by Miss Amy Cruse in *The Englishman and his Books in the Early Nineteenth Century* (Harrap). Two important books on Wordsworth were Professor C. H. Herford's ripe biography in *The Republic of Letters* series (Routledge), and Mr. Herbert Read's *Clark Lectures* (Cape). As the centenary of Sir Walter Scott's death approaches, the publishers begin to make hay, and the first crop gave Mr. Stephen Gwynn's *Life of Sir Walter Scott* (Thornton Butterworth), and Mr. Donald Carswell's more

provocative life of *Sir Walter*. A really valuable publication was the first instalment of *The Private Letter Books of Sir Walter Scott*, edited by Mr. Wilfred Partington (Hodder & Stoughton). There are in all some six thousand items from which selections are to be made. Letters from Lockhart, Wordsworth, and Hogg the Ettrick Shepherd, all illustrate the life of the author of *Waverley* and the literary life of his times. The Romantic writers have been richly studied. Mr. J. M. Murry's *Studies on Keats* (Oxford Press), and his edition of *The Poems and Verses of John Keats* (Eyre & Spottiswoode), aroused much interest and controversy, and the fortunate Professor J. L. Hotson, discoverer of the records of Marlowe's death, rummaging in the Record Office found *Shelley's Last Letters to Harriet* (Faber & Faber), which reflect, with startling clearness, the wild and complicated character of the poet. M. Andre Maurois' *Byron* was translated and gave a wider circulation to that lively, though partial, portrait. The most serious and profound, as well as the most admirably written, of literary biographies of the year was *Leigh Hunt: A Biography*, by Edmund Blunden (Cobden Sanderson), in which the poet of our time most deeply imbued with the spirit of the age of Lamb rescued the much maligned figure of Leigh Hunt from calumny and partial oblivion. The friend of Keats and Shelley is presented amid the proper background of his age, in what will assuredly remain one of the standard English biographies. Another friend of Shelley was rescued by Mr. H. J. Massingham in *A Memoir of Edward John Trelawny* (Cobden Sanderson). Professor J. H. Muirhead produced a valuable and much needed work on *Coleridge as Philosopher* (Allen & Unwin). Most students of literature are frightened by the philosophical aberrations, as they think them, of Coleridge's otherwise clear mind, but this fear is now removed by the rigorous and rounded examination Professor Muirhead has given to the problem. The centenary of Hazlitt produced a volume of *Selected Essays* (Nonesuch Press), and a new *Complete Edition* of the works (Dent). A splendid, but far too expensive edition of *Cobbett's Rural Rides*, edited by G. D. H. and Margaret Cole, was published by Mr. Peter Davies. Messrs. Methuen's excellent series of "English Life in English Literature" had a valuable addition in Dr. H. V. Routh's *England under Victoria*, in which, by means of selections, the Victorian criticism of life and its philosophical and social preoccupations were admirably displayed. Excited attention was drawn to Tennyson by the publication of his play, *The Devil and the Lady* (Macmillan), written at the age of 14, in which violent recollection of the Elizabethans, and of the floating philosophy of the time give an air of maturity that is not without relevance to his later development. New light was thrown on Ruskin by *The Solitary Warrior*, edited by Mr. J. Howard Whitehouse (Allen & Unwin), which printed eighty letters written between 1860 and 1880. The Royal Society of Literature published a volume on *The Eighteen Eighties* under the general editorship of Mr. Walter De la Mare. There was just as little unity in this volume as in the previous collection on the *Eighteen Seventies*, but a number of individual essays stood out. Mr. T. S. Eliot dealt subtly and allusively with Walter Patej and Matthew Arnold; Mr. De la Mare warmly and appreciatively

with "Lewis Carroll," and Mr. Granville Barker contributed a really valuable study of Ibsen's advent, with some painfully amusing extracts from early literal translations. A number of letters from Henry James to A. C. Benson and Auguste Monod (Matthews & Marrot) displayed the meticulous prose and mind of that writer. Mrs. Hardy's second and concluding volume, * *The Later Years of Thomas Hardy* (Macmillan), was a splendid record of the life of that remarkable man and writer, and gave much valuable unpublished matter from his notebooks illustrating his mind and his opinions. For the moderns, Mr. Geoffrey West's account of *Mr. H. G. Wells* (Howe) illuminated much in the physical career of one of the most human of living novelists. For the ultra-moderns, Mr. Stuart Gilbert's account of Mr. James Joyce's *Ulysses* (Faber & Faber) provided a valuable clue to the author's meaning and in most cases, by its copious citations, a harmless substitute for the unobtainable text.

In foreign literature several figures were called to mind. The celebration of Virgil's bimillenary gave occasion for Dr. J. W. Mackail's annotated edition of *The Mneid of Virgil* (Oxford Press), in which the age-long ripened fruit of the Latin world was delicately and elegantly commented by a veteran student. Professor F. S. Shears dealt with an epic writer of another world in his fresh and rounded study of *Froissart: Chronicler and Poet* (Routledge), Professor Jean Plattard's powerful and learned life of *Rabelais* (Routledge) was translated, and is now the standard authority in English on that enigmatical figure. Mr. John Palmer, in his * *Moliere* (Bell), gave much the most penetrating and readable treatment in English of that great dramatist. Less authoritative and documented, though attractively and appreciatively written, was Mr. A. I. Nazarov's study of *Tolstoy, the Inconstant Genius* (Harrap), and the fourth volume of M. Henri Br'mond's *Literary History of Religious Thought in France* (S.P.C.K.) gave a fascinating picture of the mystical and pious figures of the years 1590 to 1620.

Some solid work was done in history, but it is doubtful whether many of the volumes published in 1930 will take an important place among the classics of historical writing. * *The Cambridge Ancient History* (Cambridge Press), in its eighth volume, is going from strength to strength. Mr. Steven Runciman wrote a valuable history of the *First Bulgarian Empire* (Bell), in which the interrelation of early religion and politics are displayed with exemplary clarity. The first volume of an important *History of Modern Culture* by Professor Preserved Smith dealt with "the great renewal" of 1543 to 1687, and is a valuable companion to Mr. G. N. Clark's *Seventeenth Century* published in 1929. It is an attempt to survey the intellectual progress of western culture as a whole and deals with the sciences of astronomy, physics, and mathematics, with philosophy, political theory, historiography, scholarship, education, religion, superstition, law, morals, art, and literature, and includes a valuable select bibliography of some forty or fifty pages. A more detailed discussion of one aspect of the evolution of Europe was given in the translation of Max Weber's epoch-making study of *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (Allen & Unwin), a study in history and sociology which has had the widest

influence on subsequent European historical thinking by its insistence on the function of religion in the growth of modern capitalism. Another field was surveyed in more general and more lively fashion by Mr. R. Fulop-Miller in *The Power and Secret of the Jesuits* (Putnam), a very readable study of the ramifications and organisation of the Jesuit Order in its mental approach to the problems of men and society.

The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in England attracted much attention from historians, particularly in connexion with foreign relationships. Mr. Keith Feiling's *British Foreign Policy (1660-1672)* (Macmillan) was a careful study of the Restoration, and by its learning, clear writing, and firm grasp of the relation of personality to events, re-created in valuable fashion "the only period of our history when we were receiving instead of giving subsidies." Sir John Marriott, in *The Crisis of English Liberty* (Oxford Press), gave a history of the Stuart Monarchy and the Puritan Revolution largely from the political angle and with the practised powers of a teacher of history. Miss Mary Trevelyan's *William the Third and the Defence of Holland* (Longmans) threw valuable light on Anglo-Dutch relations in the seventeenth century. The outstanding work of the year was Professor Gr. M. Trevelyan's * *Blenheim* (Longmans), the first volume of a projected four on the history of England under Queen Anne. In masterly fashion it surveyed a period which, by its intellectual and social brilliance, has taken as deep a hold on the English mind as the reign of Queen Elizabeth. If any recent production has a chance of immortality it is this work by a distinguished member of the family of Macaulay. A very valuable and welcome publication was *The Verney Letters of the Eighteenth Century*, edited by Margaret Maria Lady Verney (Benn), wherein the documents which so humanly and richly illustrated the seventeenth century are continued in the eighteenth. No work is more deserving of encouragement than such revelations of the inner history of England from the archives of our great country families. Mr. F. S. Oliver, in * *The Endless Adventure, 1710-1727* (Macmillan), has given a brilliant and personal view of Sir Robert Walpole's art of politics. A solid contribution to history was made by Miss Sophia Weitzman in a close study of the relations between *Warren Hastings and Philip Francis* (Manchester University Press), and Sir Richard Lodge, with all his experience of unravelling difficult historical mysteries, wrote an important series of *Studies in 18th Century Diplomacy, 1740-1748* (Murray). Mr. L. B. Namier continued his work on the politics of the eighteenth century in his *England in the Age of the American Revolution* (Macmillan), in which he displayed once again his close acquaintance with the documentary evidence for the public and secret life of his period. Sir Charles Oman, in the seventh and last volume, placed the final stone on the huge edifice of his *History of the Peninsular War* (Oxford Press). The nineteenth century is still too near to us to be seen with the detachment possible for earlier periods. Yet Mr. J. L. Hammond and Mrs. Barbara Hammond, in their * *Age of the Chartists, 1832-1854* (Longmans), gave a moving and warm account of that age of discontent, while *The Diaries of John Bright* (Cassell) gave a useful insight into the personal qualities of one of the great figures of the mid-century.

History can only be written in detachment, and it must always weigh up the evidence and opinions of those near to the people and events which form the basis of historical processes. Biographies and memoirs are **always** dangerous material, always suspect, but always valuable if rightly used. This year's crop of biographies and memoirs varied considerably in value and detachment. The ever-debated figures of American history received attention in varying degree. Mr. Bernard Fay, in his *Franklin, The Apostle of Modern Times* (Sampson Low), provided a vivid picture, based on extensive research, of that truly great figure in its relation to the mental and political movements of the time. Mr. Emil Ludwig added another of his picturesque studies in a portrait of *Lincoln* (Putnam). Mr. Owen Wister in *Theodore Roosevelt* (Macmillan) illuminated that forceful character from the intimate knowledge of a long friendship, while Messrs. J. B. and F. Bishop, in a study of *Goethals* (Harper), gave an instructive account of the powerful temperament of the builder of the Panama Canal. Mr. Hilaire Belloc applied his very individual method of writing history to a study of *Richelieu* (Benn), and Sir Charles Petrie gave a new biography, making much use of the speeches and writings of *George Canning* (Eyre & Spottiswoode). The history of oentral Europe received some material from Herr Karl Tchuppik's *Reign of the Emperor Francis Joseph* (Bell), written from his long experience as a journalist in Vienna, and from Herr Karl Nowak's *Kaiser and Chancellor* (Putnam), an account of the opening years of the reign of William I L, compiled from materials supplied by the ex-Kaiser himself. The reign of Victoria was brought back to us in *Sidelights on Queen Victoria* by Sir Frederick Ponsonby (Macmillan), in which his position as her private secretary enabled him to have closer knowledge of her forceful character than many an independent observer. Mary Gladstone's *Diaries and Letters* (Methuen) gave a remarkable picture of the intimacies of Victorian life, the world of dinner parties, political and literary, seen by a diarist of vivid personality and keen observation. Mr. Bertram Newman's *Lord Melbourne* (Macmillan) utilises some fresh material, and Mr. A. Wyatt Tilby's *Lord John Russell* (Cassell) gave a new portrait of a much-discussed figure. Among the makers of modern England, Lord Balfour's *Chapters of Autobiography* (Cassell) furnished a valuable picture of a versatile man, whose best descriptions must always come from more detached observers, of which the first attempt was supplied in *Lord Balfour : A Memory* (Macmillan), by Sir Ian Malcolm, his one time private secretary. A more lively autobiography was provided in *My Early Life* by the Right Hon. Winston S. Churchill (Thornton Butterworth), a vivid account, full of purple passages and controlled humour, of a rich and varied life. The third volume of *Lord D'Abernon's Diary* (Hodder & Stoughton) threw much light on the Treaty of Locarno. Mr. Harold Nicolson's brilliant life of his father, *Sir Arthur Nicolson, First Lord Carnock* (Constable), was an important revelation of the mechanism of European diplomacy up to the outbreak of the European war. Much information on the problems and difficulties of Indian government was given in *An Indian Diary* by the late Mr. Edwin S. Montagu. The late Mr. Georges Clemenceau provided much

material for an estimate of his character and importance in his own *Grandeur and Misery of Victory* (Harrap), and in two biographies, one by an Englishman, Mr. George Adam, in *The Tiger (1841-1929)* (Cape), and another by his French secretary, Jean Martet, in *Clemenceau, The Events of His Life* (Longmans). The life of *St. Loe Strachey* by Mrs. Amy Strachey (Gollancz) was a vivid history of his editorship of the *Spectator* and his unique relations with public characters.

The problem of social life and politics have as usual produced some acute thinking. Professor H. J. Laski, in *Liberty and the Modern State* (Faber & Faber), and *The Dangers of Obedience* (Harper), discussed some of the most urgent problems of modern political life. Sir William Beveridge, in the new edition of * *Unemployment* (Longmans), has brought up-to-date his documented analysis of that difficult problem. Dean Inge, in *Christian Ethics and Modern Problems* (Hodder & Stoughton), rises to a fine height of thought and learning. Mr. J. Cowper Powys, in his * *Defence of Sensuality* (Gollancz), made a remarkable analysis of the present state of unhappiness, and recommended a new discipline of intensification of human loneliness in an ecstatic awareness of the external universe. Two volumes of an *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences* (Macmillan) appeared, and promised to be of vast assistance in surveying the numerous problems, historical and actual, of human society.

The number of novels of outstanding merit, whether of conception or craftsmanship, was indeed remarkable. One work stood out above all the rest, since it is not often that a major work, fit to rank with *Don Quixote* and *Tom Jones* swims into our vision. *The Good Soldier Schweik*, by Jaroslav Hasek (Heinemann), is a translation from the Czech, and is the great comic epic of the war. It takes a dog-stealer of Prague, cowardly and cunning, full of proverbial wisdom and ribald anecdote, and through him shows up the silliness, the cruelty, the pretensions of the War as it affected an unwilling participant. Humanity, raw and reeking, full of deceit and subterfuge, rich in intrigue and humour, full of the hunger of the flesh in all its aspects, is seen through the personality of its wild, drunken author, long since dead. The book is no indictment of war, any more than *Don Quixote* was an indictment of romantic feeling, but a picture of human weakness under the dominance of a prevailing mood. Cervantes and Kabelais are united in this masterpiece of world-humour. Books from abroad made up a large proportion of the year's successes, being as usual chosen for their proved worth in the countries of their origin. Sigrid Undset's *Kristin Lavransdatter* (Knopf) was issued in a collected volume as a complete epic. The penultimate instalment of Proust, *The Sweet Cheat Gone* (Knopf), tragically recalled the premature death of Mr. Scott Moncrieff, a translator of genius. " *And Co.*" by Jean Richard Bloch (Gollancz), was a remarkable account of the sacrifice of a Jewish family to the building up of a factory and business. Michael Ossorgin's *A Quiet Street* (Seeker) was a moving epitome of the Russian Revolution. Josef Kallinikov's *Women and Monks* (Seeker) was hailed as a great historical novel in its frank revelations of monastic life in Russia. Panteleimon Romanov's *Without Cherry Blossom* (Benn) gave a remarkable

view in short stories of the changes of morality in Soviet Russia. A. Fadeyev's *The Nineteen* (Martin Lawrence) was a picture of individuals in Siberia during the Russian Civil War displaying the emotional conditions of that puzzling country. From Germany came Thomas Mann's *Mario and the Magician* (Seeker), a sample in cameo of his great powers, **and** his brother, Heinrich Mann's *The Little Town* (Seeker), a satirical picture of Italian hill-town life, written with considerable accomplishment, complication, and humour. Arnold Bronnen's *S.O.S.* (Seeker), from the pen of one of the most vivid of the younger German writers, gave a violent and brilliant account of the conflict between Poles and Germans in Upper Silesia. Leon Feuchtwanger's huge novel *Success* (Seeker) took a quarter of a million words to describe three hectic years in Bavaria from 1920 to 1923, through the medium of a political scandal, and succeeded admirably in re-creating the fever of the inflation years. Irene Forbes Mosse reached fame with two volumes. *Don Juan's Daughters* (Lane) contained attractive fantasies of German life, and *Katinka* (Lane) re-created life in a German provincial town during and after the war in sensitive prose and rich imagery of association. Leonhard Frank, whose *Carl and Anna* showed so delicate a sense of human relationship, in a limited edition of *Brother and Sister* (Peter Davies), treated of the difficult subject of the innocent marriage of a brother and sister with exquisite tact and psychological penetration; while Frau Vicki Baum, in *Grand Hotel* (Bles), gained vast success with her epitome of life in a Berlin hotel.

Through English novels it is more difficult to thread a path. The established figures of the front-rank contributed their volumes. Mr. H. G. Wells, in * *The Autocracy of Mr. Parham* (Heinemann), returned to the vein of humour and narrative he had for some time neglected. Mr. Galsworthy published a volume of Forsyte documents in *On Forsyte Change* (Heinemann), in which fragments of the Forsyte inheritance were displayed through lesser members of the family. Mr. Arnold Bennett, in *Imperial Palace* (Cassell), gave a more than full-length glimpse of his favourite Utopia of luxury hotels. Mrs. Edith Wharton's *Hudson River Bracketed* (Appleton) was another triumph for her ripe and rich technique, as was her volume of short stories, *Certain People* (Appleton). Miss Rose Macaulay's * *Staying with Relations* (Collins) gave a rich fantasy of humour, character, and incident in a Guatemala setting, Mr. J. B. Priestley, in his * *Angel Pavement* (Heinemann), continued his friendly and leisurely survey of human beings, plain and coloured. Mr. Hugh Walpole, in *Rogue Herries* (Macmillan), went back to the stock-in-trade of romance for a long novel of the eighteenth century. Miss Margaret Kennedy, in *The Fool of the Family* (Heinemann), gave a fourth set of adventures of the Sanger family. Mr. J. D. Beresford, in *Loves Illusion* (Collins), used his great powers on a simple story of a young man's first love recollected after thirty years. Mr. A. P. Herbert, in *The Water Gipsies* (Methuen), gained much applause **for** his story of the Hammersmith waterside. Mr. H. M. Tomlinson's *All Our Yesterdays* (Heinemann) stood out among war books by its fine, distinguished and sensitive prose. Another war novel of note was *Her Privates We*, by Private 19022, in which the educated private soldier **and**

his daily round were described with unusual fidelity. Mr. Richard Blaker's *Medal without Bar* gave perhaps more vividly than any other war novel the daily experiences and feelings of an artillery officer, a life no less hazardous than that of the infantry man in the trenches. Miss Rosamund Lehmann's * *A Note in Music* (Chatto & Windus) was a delicate rendering of the interrelation of brilliant and dull people carried out in bold, bright, and impressionistic treatment. Miss Sackville West, in * *The Edwardians* (Hogarth Press), gave a brilliant picture of a painful world of Edwardian snobbery in the highest ranks of society. Mr. Stephen Hudson, in * *A True Story* (Constable), assembled the scattered fragments of his very remarkable saga of Richard Kurt. Among American novelists, Mr. John Dos Passos, in * *The 42nd Parallel* (Constable), gave a vivid picture, with new technical devices, of the complicated life of America during the nineteenth century, and Mr. William Faulkner, in * *Soldier's Pay* (Chatto & Windus), produced the most powerful of first novels on the theme of post-war readjustments in a southern town. Mr. Thomas Wolfe's *Look Homeward Angel* (Heinemann) was acclaimed for its fantasy and headlong vigour of description of the emancipation of a boy from a nightmare family. Mr. W. Somerset Maugham, in * *Cakes and Ale* (Heinemann), wrote the most delicate of satires on literary and social snobbery with much tenderness of feeling and delicacy of style. Mr. Wyndham Lewis's * *Apes of God* (Arthur Press) was the fiercest and most ruthlessly written of modern indictments of intellectual and artistic humbug. Mr. Osbert Sitwell, in * *Dumb Animals* (Duckworth), gave a volume of short stories, brilliantly written, in which his great power of delicate satire and pictorial description were admirably displayed. Mr. Richard Aldington's short stories in *Roads to Glory* (Chatto & Windus) continued his ruthless exposure of the ugliness of war and its devastating effect on delicate human nature. Another brilliant writer of short stories was Miss Malachi Whitaker, whose *No Luggage* (Cape) recalled some of the departed glories of Miss Katherine Mansfield. Mr. Aldous Huxley, in *Brief Candles* (Chatto & Windus), gave four superb studies in futility, sex, and reverie, in his customary manner. Miss Helen Ashton's *Mackerel Sky* (Gollancz) attracted considerable attention by its force of revelation of character and situation through conversation. Mr. Alec Brown, in *A Tune to Kill*, and *Green Lane* (Cape), gave remarkable promise in his richly-written studies of slow passion. Mr. Louis Golding, in *Give up your Lovers* (Heinemann), returned to the world of Doomington in a masterpiece of restrained portrayal of Jew and Gentile, with one feverish outburst in the description of a tragic wedding feast. Miss G. B. Stein, in * *Mosaic* (Chapman & Hall), examined the French branch of the Rakonitz family, and created some powerful and attractive figures. Mr. Walter De La Mare, in *On the Edge* (Faber & Faber), gave another volume of his short exercises in the magic of apprehension. Two instalments of Mr. James Joyce's latest experiments have been published: a Shelley pamphlet, *Anna Livia Plurabelle* (Faber & Faber), gave an opportunity to all and sundry to estimate the new prose in a conversation between two washer-women on the banks of the Liffey; and *Haveth Childers Everywhere* (Paris,

Henry Babou) gave a more solid and tough, though none the less interesting, specimen in an expensive and limited edition.

Of the above books the following have been deemed suitable for special notice ; they are given in the order in which they happen to appear in the General Survey :—

GENERAL LITERATURE.

Collected Poems Of Robert Frost (Longmans).—Robert Frost is, by universal consent, the most distinguished of living American poets. He has a special interest for England for three reasons : his closeness to the English tradition of poetry, his friendship with Edward Thomas, and the fact that his first volumes, *A Boy's Will* and *North of Boston*, were first published here. It would not be too much to say that in him Wordsworth's theories of simplicity and directness of diction are realised for the first time after long years. No living poet is quieter in his language, more restrained in the choice of his subjects, nor apparently more free from the intellectual tumult and uneasiness of our times. Yet this quietness and simplicity are deceptive. Robert Frost's poetry is the poetry of speech, not of song, and it needs to be spoken aloud in order to be fully heard. Then the quietness takes on a surprising variety within the scale of speech, and emotions peer through in a disquieting fashion. No poet so clearly reflects the nature of the people he dwells among, or of the soil he is rooted in. The simple but passionate minds of country folk, the reveries of nature dwellers, the accidents of daily farm life, the occupations of the field, the passing and impacts of the seasons all call forth subtly-orchestrated poems. Once the idiom of understatement is understood, the intimacies are seen to be poignant, the moments of beauty are found to be passionate, and the shy mentions of things seen and contacts remembered become ominous with significance. Robert Frost is destined to be among the most durable figures of the literature of our time.

. **The Wanderer**, by John Masefield (Heinemann).—In this book the Poet Laureate tells the history of that lovely ship, "the *Wanderer*, with great beauty and strange dooms " whose name was first made famous in English poetry by Mr. Masefield himself. This detailed account of her career, 1890-1907, is written in prose, with two interludes in verse, and some additional poems in praise of Liverpool and the sea. The life of the *Wanderer* was eventful and not always fortunate. On her first journey she killed her captain ; on other voyages men died in her or fell overboard. She took charge of her tugs ; she was on fire once and ashore four times, and at last she was sunk. Yet Mr. Masefield refuses to call her an unlucky ship, for this, he says, was the life of a sailing-vessel at that time. It was the disaster of her first setting-out that caused many legends of her ill-luck to spring up ; and Mr. Masefield's own poem, " The Wanderer," which has kept her memory alive, was based upon these legends. But in this story

the author has given us the life, not of one ship only, but of an ideal, now departed, of craftsmanship and beauty. Mr. Masfield's passionate love of the sailing-vessels that "mark our passage as a race of men," and of the sailors who worked them, lives in these pages, while the passages in verse, with their subtle harmonies and varied freshness, renew the eternal loveliness of the ships and of the sea. Yet we cannot but regret that the *Wanderer* has ceased to represent the defeated thing "made half divine to me for having failed/' in which, many years ago, Mr. Masfield taught us to read the meaning of life.

Christ in the Synagogue : Poems by L. Aaronson (Victor Gollancz).—This is the most important volume of new poems published since the war. It is seldom that a poet waits so long to ripen his work before submitting to the public judgment, and the effect is to present a finished idiom and poetic world of discourse unprepared by the publicity of tentative brochures. Mr. Aaronson appears to be ruthless in the manner in which he forces from the Elizabethans, the Metaphysicals, the Romantics and the Moderns every fragment of what they have to teach him of rhythms, of imagery, of language as a communicating force and as a vehicle for personal apprehension of the universe. The value of this poetry is that it is neither artily decorative, nor optimistically pastoral, nor detachedly philosophical, but that every picture is linked contributively to a mood, which in its turn is part of the arguinent of a problem deeply affecting the poet in his personal struggle with God, Christ, and the universe. Since struggle can often take place only by means of identification, there are interesting experimental situations which find their reflection in experimental technique. The poems are written in many places, Bruges, Paris, Rapallo, Lisbon, New York, Florence, Nimes, Cintra, and Oxford, but London seems to be the place of synthesis where all the wild disturbing impressions are wrapped and ordered round the central problem, which seems to be that of all great poets, to communicate personality through language so passionately contemporary as to be permanently valid. It is difficult to catalogue the topics of this large and generous volume. The poem arises out of the stimulus, and is fed from the poet's reservoir, whether the excuse be the bathing-huts at Rapallo, the cemetery in Bunhill Fields, a vice-regal farm at Cintra, a painting in the National Gallery, or the muffin-man passing by. There is not a human emotion, from pleasure to disgust, from hope to despair, that is not explored in new rhythms, new imagery, and new patterns. No real poet could read this volume without being awakened to renewed creation.

The Apple Cart: A Political Extravaganza, by Bernard Shaw (Constable).—A play by Mr. Shaw must assuredly be included among the great books of the year. *The Apple Cart* is not only amusing reading, but the author intended it to drive home a moral. For Mr. Shaw is one of the Teachers of the Nation, one of the Nation's Well-wishers who desires to make the nation think. In this book it is to think about Democracy, and Mr. Shaw's delightful Preface is calculated to achieve its end. Democracy is a catch-word which seems to bewitch people; in reality it enables astute politicians to take people in. The idea that Democracy is government

by the people appears ridiculous to Mr. Shaw; in his Preface he sets forth his reasons, and he is so convincing that few readers will fail to be carried away by his argument. What he pleads for is government by specialists ; in the play itself he is at pains to show that even if a king be best suited to rule, he should be allowed to do so. His king, he argues, gives proof of his ability by his faith in his own powers. If the Cabinet will insist on making him a mere cipher, he will resign the throne and appeal to the popular suffrage for the office of popularly-elected Prime Minister. It is needless to say that lovers of good style will find pleasure in Mr. Shaw's prose, and those who take delight in a neatly-told tale will be amply satisfied by *The Apple Cart*.

The Green Pastures, by Marc Connelly (Victor Gollancz).—A technicality in the Lord Chamberlain's regulations, forbidding the physical presentation of the Deity on the stage, has prevented England from seeing one of the most remarkable stage spectacles of recent times. The Old Testament expounded by a negro preacher in terms of the exotic imagination of Christianised American negroes is the subject-matter of the play. Adam, Cain, Noah, Moses, Aaron, Pharaoh, Joshua, and Hosea all pass in procession in the likeness of negroes in successive scenes: Heaven is a sublimated fish-fry with custard and ten-cent cigars. Noah is a preacher, very human, who pleads for two kegs of liquor as there will be so many snakes in the ark. The Throne Room of Pharaoh is like a negro lodge-room, with banners of the "Sublime Order of Princes of the House of Pharaoh Home Chapter" or "Supreme Magicians and Wizards of the Universe." The King of Babylon entertains himself in a night club, the Children of Israel fight with pistol and cannon; but no anachronism or substitution of atmosphere interrupts the reverent and majestic progress of the action. The humour is included and tender, the moods and action diagrammatised, even stylised in a convention that justifies itself with each illustration. The Negro temperament pervades the play with its directness and simplicity, the action is bound together with the terrors of thunder and lightning, and the harmony of Negro song from a choir of angels and cherubs. One has the feeling that before such treatments of known legends did the Athenian people bow and award the prize in the days of Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides. So humble, so tender, so worshipful, and so beautiful is the emotion aroused by the printed version, that only the original actors, with their knowledge of the milieu from which this truly pious commentary arose, could do justice to the subtly-balanced ingredients.

A History of Early Nineteenth-Century Drama (1800-1850), by Allardyce Nicoll, 2 vols. (Cambridge University Press).—The dramatic activity of the early years of the nineteenth century has always been an uncharted field. Scattered surveys have been attempted, but now an outline map has been drawn, in which are explored the literary drama, the audiences, the quarrels on the privileges and constitution of the theatres. The mass of material is beyond human encompassment—the second volume consists entirely of a list of plays, over 8,000 in number, produced during those troubled years. To read them at the rate of four a day would take

six years. Professor Nicoll, however, gives a very valuable guide to the problems of the period, and takes us deftly and swiftly to the most representative works and their teachings for theatrical history. The period is that of transition and chaos between the Romantic Movement and the Victorian Era, and nothing could display this transition in action better than a perusal of plays, sometimes by mere playwrights reflecting the vanishing intellectual fashions of the Romantic turmoil, sometimes by practical dramatists using the established material of the theatre to practical ends, and sometimes by poetical geniuses wildly creating a new world of imagination without adequate theatrical experience. The world in which Coleridge, Wordsworth, Scott, Lamb, Southey, Keats, Shelley, and Byron all failed to conquer the theatre provides one of the most fascinating studies of our whole panorama of theatrical history.

William Shakespeare, by E. K. Chambers, 2 vols. (Oxford University Press).—Twenty-five years ago Sir Edmund Chambers proposed to write a little book about Shakespeare. His preliminary researches demanded two volumes on *The Mediceval Stage*, and four volumes on *The Elizabethan Stage*, and now appear the two massive volumes of what must be regarded as a landmark in Shakespearean studies. In a thousand pages of closely-documented argument we are given all we are likely to know for many years of the facts and problems of Shakespeare's life and printed works. Every document, legendary or historical, that may throw light on Shakespeare and his contacts with the world is here printed and valued: every record of inscription, printing or performance is here assembled and sorted in such fashion that information and opinion may be available for each knotty point of Shakespeare scholarship. Sir Edmund is rightly cautious and conservative, and will not accept too much of recent bibliographical disintegration of the body of Shakespeare's work, nor too ready assumption that Shakespeare is a dramatised news-chronicle of his day. He permits himself, moreover, a firm renunciation of all aesthetic criticism, and while we are given adequate treatment of the Shakespeare stage, the printing house, the prompt-book and the vast fields of authenticity and chronology, we have nothing on the poetical and dramatic contents of the plays or the evolution of Shakespeare's craftsmanship, and no estimate of his value or position in creative literature. Sir Edmund must be thanked for a work which clearly marks the division of interests in Shakespearean studies, and by its very monumental completeness in documentation will enable humaner studies to be pursued with a clear conscience.

The Later Years of Thomas Hardy (1892-1928), by Florence Emily Hardy (Macmillan).—The first volume of Mrs. Hardy's life of her husband appeared in 1928, and aroused the liveliest interest. The concluding section deals with his life from the publication of *Tess* to his death in 1928 at the age of 87. It gives a picture of a remarkable man, whose English qualities and deep-rootedness will be more and more appreciated in retrospect. His calm reception of the treatment of his last two novels, his abandonment of fiction-writing and resumption of poetry, "The Dynasts," his second marriage and his moods in war-time form the main subject-matter of this volume. The interest lies in the double harness of his full

but observant participation in the social life of his time, and the firm independence of his inner mental life as shown in his views on the relations of God and man. There has probably been no more serious writer in our time, and this seriousness shows itself in the quiet fragments in which a sentence or two gives a mature and rounded conclusion about the world, the flesh or the spirit. Mrs. Hardy has woven her own memories, the conversations of her husband and his notebooks into a restrained and valuable tapestry of portraiture.

Moliere: His Life and Works, by John Palmer (Bell).—Some years ago Mr. Palmer wrote the most brilliant of books on *The Comedy of Manners* in England. He now turns with equal mastery and penetration to the problems of Moliere, the greatest of all writers of comedy. This, although it has not a single reference, and only one footnote, is a serious and fully-documented work, in many ways a model for the narrative biographer. Mr. Palmer is equally concerned with the personality of his author and the background of manners and society in which he moved. The practical vicissitudes of the Illustrious Theatre and the follies of the Hotel de Rambouillet are described with equal liveliness and exact information. Moliere's quality as an actor and his perpetual quarrels with his contemporaries are also sketched with boldness and relief. The serious, the sensual, the voluble, the generous, the patient, the heroic, the philosophical sides of Moliere are shown in the modern manner of synthesis by dissection to be integral aspects of an unique character. Mr. Palmer is interested in the theatre from the point of view of the dramatist, and in his treatment of Moliere he does one fresh and valuable thing : while aware of the trend of past criticism, moral, philosophical or merely scholarly, he puts this aside in favour of the discussion of Moliere's intentions as a dramatist, interprets each scene through the conscious strivings of a dramatic author seeking a given effect. This detachment in Mr. Palmer, which may be called a practical, English detachment, makes this volume of more than usual value as a contribution to literary and dramatic history.

The Cambridge Ancient History, Vol. VIII. (Cambridge University Press).—The nearer this great enterprise approaches completion, the more excellent the volumes tend to be. The eighth, which covers the period 218-133 B.C., narrates the story of Rome's conquest of the Mediterranean and the foundation of Roman Imperialism. The story is dramatic in the extreme; both men and affairs were of the sort remembered by later generations. Hannibal and the Scipios, Fabius and Cato, Polybius and Judas Maccabseus : the volume contains informative accounts of them all. The two great events of the era—the clash with Carthage and Rome's interference in the Near East—are splendidly described in a series of chapters, of which each may claim to be a masterpiece by a specialist. Perhaps among the best are Dr. Frank's account of Rome's government and social life, and Dr. Bevan's story of Syria under Antiochus Epiphanes, and the Jews under the Hasmoneans. As in the previous volumes, the editors have made provision not only for a narrative concerning wars and policy, but also for adequate treatment of literature, religion, philosophy and art. A word of special praise is due to the full index, to the maps,

and to the useful chronological table. As containing the results of the latest scholarship, the *Cambridge Ancient History* has deservedly won for itself an honoured place among publications that matter ; the appearance of a new volume must unquestionably be noted among the important books of the year.

Blenheim, by George Macaulay Trevelyan (Longmans), is a permanent gift to the historical literature of the nation. It is the first volume of a series, the purpose of which is to furnish a history of *England under Queen Anne*; and as the author's avowed ideal of history is " that the same book should make its appeal both to the general reader and to the historical student/' even those for whom this volume may be the first introduction to Prof. Trevelyan's work will find enjoyment in its pages. It is replete with fine passages, the work of a ready writer; the author, like all great historians, does not shrink from bringing his imagination to bear on his raw materials. His attempt to catch the thoughts of Marlborough on that August morning, 1704, as his troops were approaching Blindheim is possibly the best example in the book. Needless to say Marlborough is the hero of the narrative. " He stands on the threshold of the Eighteenth Century, one of the first-born of the Age of Reason, the armed champion of toleration and good sense." In Prof. Trevelyan's judgment the victor of Blenheim was not only a military leader of rank; he was also no mean diplomat. The book is full of interesting chapters, which charm and inform the reader—on the social life of the period, on the part played by London, on recruiting methods, and last but not least, on some of the actors in the great drama : the Queen herself, the Prince Consort, the immortal Sarah, Godolphin, and Harley.

The Endless Adventure, by F. 8. Oliver (Macmillan), is the "adventure of governing men." It is a book of side-lights on politics, as illustrated in particular by the career of Walpole; a subject to which the author intends to devote four volumes. If they are all as readable as the first, Mr. Oliver will be assured of the gratitude of many readers. For his is the pen of a ready writer; he possesses that rare gift of sketching a living picture in a few strokes. His presentation of Walpole, of George I. , of Alberoni and of Dubois will not easily be forgotten. It is no exaggeration to say that each is a perfect vignette. They may be read and re-read with pleasure. Indeed, it is one of the attractions of Mr. Oliver's book that it is eminently readable. Another quality that marks the narrative is the clarity with which the author depicts the inter-connexion of European and English politics. Thirdly, the author's opinions are marked by a sound, healthy common-sense. His chapters are not too long, and their headings whet the appetite. Eight portraits adorn the volume ; a study of the reproductions will usefully supplement the impressions conveyed by the author. The book is a political mirror of the first quarter of the eighteenth century. Informative Mr. Oliver certainly is ; but he deserves credit far more for his ability to make his subject interesting.

The Age of the Chartists, by J. L. and Barbara Hammond (Longmans).—To say that Mr. and Mrs. Hammond have produced another book worthy to take its place beside their three studies of the English labouring

population is to indicate that, like its predecessors, this will become a classic. Their previous volumes covered the period 1760 to 1832 ; their latest is devoted to the " under-dog " during the period 1832 to 1854, and is characterised by the thoroughness which we have learned to admire in all the work of Mr. and Mrs. Hammond, by sympathy and by fine writing. Their theme, in brief, is that man cannot live by bread alone. Though the Industrial Revolution brought increased wealth to the country, the working classes were discontented. Why ? Because their souls were neglected, because they had few facilities for enjoying what a modern poet has termed " the things that are more excellent "—education, art, religion, amusement. The book is full of information on the struggle for these things; it shows not only what the more progressive spirits aimed at, but also the conditions that actually prevailed. The study (in the second chapter) of the manner in which the ancient world attempted to fill the lives of the " lower orders " is one of the best things in a book.

Christian Ethics and Modern Problems, by **W. R. Inge**, Dean of St. Paul's (Hodder & Stoughton).—Both by reason of its subject-matter and also because of its author, this was one of the outstanding books of the year 1930. There is no denying that ecclesiastical authority is losing its hold on thinking people ; Dean Inge, recognising this fact, attempts—brilliantly—to re-state the ethical teachings of the Church in such a fashion as to make them appeal to modern men and women. The Dean wears his learning lightly; his chapter on Asceticism, for instance, is above all else instructive. But his chief appeal is by his sympathy. He faces modern problems—such, for example, as birth control, divorce, war—and by appreciating the difficulties which they present, wins his way into the reader's confidence. Dean Inge preaches a return to the ethical teaching of the Gospels, suggesting that there is ample guidance there for the principal problems of modern civilisation. Because of his almost passionate conviction in the efficacy of Gospel teaching, he has some hard things to say of what he calls Catholic imperialism ; his chapter on this theme, restrained and learned, is one of the best sections of the book. His contention is that the pomp and power of the Catholic Church as one expression of institutional religion spring from ecclesiasticism and not from pure Christian teaching. The Dean evidently wrote his book to be helpful to many who are genuinely troubled by ethical problems of the day; his readers were very numerous, and all of them found in his pages, if not a complete solution to all their difficulties, at least a stimulus which is as precious as it is rare.

Unemployment: A Problem of Industry, by Sir William Beveridge (Longmans).—Unemployment was probably the problem of industry in the year 1930, and it is only fitting that Sir William Beveridge should be the nation's guide upon it. For Sir William has a trained mind, practical experience of handling the work of Labour Exchanges, acquaintance with the necessary data, and, above all, the pen of a ready writer. Though concerned with a complex economic problem, Sir William's book is eminently readable. In the present issue he has printed his treatise on unemployment, which was first published in 1909, and immediately became the

leading work on the problem, and has added to it what may be termed a second treatise on the development of unemployment between 1909 and 1930, on some of the later theories, and an effort at a new evaluation of the problem. It is safe to say that the new treatise will enjoy as much popularity and authority as the old ; it is unquestionably a convenience to possess the two in one book. The central theme of Sir William is that in his judgment real wages have increased unduly since the war ; that unemployment is the result of chronic maladjustment between the supply of labour and the demand for it at the existing real wages. This thesis is supported by an array of imposing arguments based on figures. " From the failure of real income per head to rise appreciably in the past twenty, perhaps the past thirty, years, it looks as if a term was being set to the material progress of Britain and to her capacity for population." Yet Sir William ends his considerations on an optimistic note. " Unemployment remains, in 1930 as in 1909, a problem of industry, not an Act of God." His book will long remain a helpful guide to the solution of that problem which, as he himself said twenty years ago, calls for thought and organisation.

In Defence of Sensuality, by John Cowper Powys (Victor Gollancz).—The problems of the individual in the modern organised world are so pressing that Mr. Powys ventures to put forward a philosophy that may, he thinks, turn out to be a new " culture " in the Spenglerian sense. He finds the cause of " the deplorable unhappiness which we all seem to suffer from in these days " in the intimidations by which the gregariously human traditions are slowly assassinating all calm ecstatic happiness, and he recommends a direct embrace of life, a process of static contemplation and psychic-sensuous ecstasy, the elaboration of which is the main business of his book. It is a kind of amateur Yogi, with an injunction to indulge the " ichthyosaurus-ego " by curling up and enjoying the warm sensation of being curled up, of being alone and, above all, irresponsible at that moment. His gospel is the intensification of loneliness, " whether it be the ' rich ' loneliness that embraces a mate and offspring or the ' poor ' loneliness that hath none. It is only by this feeling of loneliness that we can escape the gregarious warmth of the crowd, that murderous enemy of all deep joy, and detach ourselves from the fever of human ideals." There are confusions in the theory, for " it has much in common with the sacramental doctrines of the traditional Christian Church, Dostoevsky, William Blake, Unamuno, the Druidic triads of the Welsh, the *logoi* of Lao-tze, the noble wisdom of those early Greek poet-philosophers before the accursed ' syllogism ' drew its snail-blight across human thought," but to certain kinds of modern individual, above all to the lonely, the unhappy, and the misunderstood, to whom, like all new religions, it endeavours to appeal, it probably has much to offer, more by its bolstering up of self-contemplation and self-pity than by strengthening the individual in a real fight for his individuality. In its more serious aspects, the doctrine has affinities on the one hand with the more deeply passionate earth-seekings of D. H. Lawrence, and on the other with the clear and profoundly-argued position of Professor Sigmund Freud in his recent *Civilization and its Discontents*.

Mr. Powys is himself so deeply aware of the world around him, animal, vegetable and mineral, so capable of seizing the ecstasies that such poetical juxtapositions afford, that he is perhaps doing that dangerous thing, urging upon the herd those qualities and practices of the poet which are his main distinction from the herd. In essence, this book is "An Apology for Poetry," and valid above all as a spiritual autobiography of its author.

FICTION.

The Virgin and the Gipsy, by D. H. Lawrence (Martin Seeker).—A posthumous work almost invites indulgence, but no such concession is needed for this last short novel of the distinguished figure who has so recently departed. [See under Obituaries in this volume.] To anyone hitherto unacquainted with Lawrence's writings there could be no more suitable introduction. Every representative interest is included, every device of subject-matter and style is given in specimen. The story tells of the awakening of an English virgin through her awareness of the vitality of a gipsy craftsman. The plot is simple, but gives full opportunity for the analysis of English temperament, the display of the rector's "furtive self-righteousness and skulking self-love," the grandmother's toad-like "stony implacable will to power," the ageing maiden-aunt with "strange green flares of rage," and the resultant atmosphere of "cunning self-sanctification." All the writer's favourite preoccupations, his hatred of "that middle-class, degenerated comfort which has ceased to be comfortable and has turned stuffy, unclean," the air of sullenness with which a child of one breed resents the proximity of a family of another breed, the attraction below the flesh of one being to another, the dark workings of sex, the hatreds and sympathies of human beings translated into physical imagery, all these, in an effortless yet exact and living prose, with epithets so wisely chosen as to provoke reverie, are given in a measured framework that should surprise and enthrall a fresh and unprejudiced reader.

The Autocracy of Mr. Parham, by H. G. Wells, assisted pictorially by David Low (Heinemann).—Mr. Parham, a history don at Oxford, and a prig, falls asleep at a seance, and dreams that he becomes Lord Paramount of the Empire. At last the "Strong Hand" takes control of British politics; marshalls the dictators of Europe; and Western civilisation all but falls into ruins in a Second World War of poison gas. To him the League of Nations is "Poor Wilson's decaying Memorial." Sir Bussy Woodcock, millionaire—going through life with a 'Gaw'—buys up *The World*, examines art and music and spiritualism, and discovers that war and imperialism, "those old things of yours are played out." But the real sympathies of their creator are with Sir Walter Otterbury, who is striving to build up a world peace at Geneva, and with Camelford, the scientist. Institutions are the clothes of mankind, to be discarded and changed as we grow older. This book is a satire on post-war European politics; not a great book, yet one intensely significant; it mirrors the questionings of our age and pleads for a new order of Internationalism and Science. The descriptions are often lavish but always compelling.

Yet there are chapters—such as "An Indiscretion"—lavish in delicate economy of word. The *leitmotif*—" 'Here/ said Mr. Parham, 'in the very centre of the Old World ... is Russia'"—superbly recurs in various movements. And finally the ten pictures by Low are a pure joy: the actors become flesh and blood. Perhaps the most delightful is that of the two Caesars meeting at Rome. " 'I love life/ said Paramuzzi, 'I love life with an exorbitant passion ... I delight in untamed horses/ " The prophet preaches : *Après moi le d&luge*—and then a New World.

Staying with Relations, by Rose Macaulay (Collins).—When young Miss Macaulay wrote a book, her characters danced out of the pages and lived their vivid lives scourged by the whips of their creators irony. Any background served to show them off. Now things are different. Against a Gauguin backcloth dimmer figures move in an intricate pattern. Nature is invoked categorically on every page (in Guatemala), yet surely there was never a tamer earthquake. The issues of the plot are confused, the lovers waver between romance and Freud, and the villain, introduced to lengthen the book, is a very Pickwick of villains. Of all the young people who love and play at loving in the sultry summer weather, Claudia is the most ambitious in conception and the least convincing. Issie, pretty little animal that she is, deserves all the petting she desires, and an occasional slap. Adrian does not justify the attention he receives, but Benet with the languid Chelsea atmosphere, which he succeeds in introducing into the virgin forests of South America, is quite delightful. So, too, is the older generation, of which Catherine, by reason of her aloofness, seems one. Yet, with all this too heavy background and too light plot, with all the too faint characterisation and tangled aims, *Staying with Relations* is readable, delightful, ironical. It charms, amuses and irritates. It is by Rose Macaulay, and no one else could have written it.

Angel Pavement, by J. B. Priestley (Heinemann).—Though less charming, this is artistically a better book than *The Good Companions*. The canvas is still vast, but the subject is more concentrated and more able to bear the weight of its 600 odd pages, because it goes deeper into life. Although the subject again deals with a group of people accidentally brought into connexion with one another, Mr. Priestley uses here a method exactly opposite from that in *Good Companions*, where the differing threads are not drawn together to form a pattern until the middle of the book. In *Angel Pavement* the author works from within outwards. We are introduced at once, in the office of Twigg & Dersenhams, to that heterogeneous company which composes its staff. Only afterwards do we follow each individual home to its separate world within the larger world of London. The book opens and closes with the more than life-size figure of Mr. Golspie, who throws his huge shadow (and incidentally his daughter's) over the whole office, till he wipes its dust off his feet and it, itself, out of existence. As examples of descriptive power, there are two scenes which vie with each other—one, where the rush, the repetition, the colour and the crowding of the style gives a vivid impression of London at Christmas-time; the other, where London is shown transformed by a sudden snowstorm till a human-being is "no longer one of ten thousand hurrying little figures, but

a man alone with the whirling flakes." Mr. Priestley portrays London as the background of Angel Pavement, and Angel Pavement, itself, as the setting for the men and women connected with it. They are a very ordinary set of people, but herein lies the gift of their creator that he can make us so engrossingly interested in them.

A Note in Music, by Rosamond Lehmann (Chatto & Windus), deals with the everyday hum-drum existence of two sets of people in a provincial town. Against the drab background of their monotonous futility each of the four individuals stands out as a living entity. The author has deliberately chosen to portray her characters in middle age, when so many couples drown in the" maelstrom between the Scylla of respectability and the Charybdis of adventure. The cool, invigorating breath of the larger life blows in upon this turgid stagnation in the persons of a sister and a brother, Clare and Hugh, who for a brief moment lighten and brighten the lives of three of the provincials. The hard, selfish brilliance of these moderns is unsettling to the two wives and one husband, and what to Clare and Hugh is but an interlude in their hurried passage from present to immediate future leaves ruffles behind it which nearly threaten the life and happiness of both homes. Some of the scenes between husband and wife are drawn with such sure and accurate lines that the reader is conscious of feeling almost a Paul Pry at being permitted to be a silent witness of them. It is only when it comes to Hugh and Clare, that, for some obscure reason, a sense of incompleteness is revealed. They are more marionettes dangled to distract the living people than humans in their own right. The keen insight and power of observation which have made the quarrel and reconciliation between Norah and Gerald a poignant and beautiful episode are as true to life and experience as the last picture of the physically-indolent though psychically active Grace settling down to old age with her loving, uncomprehending and pretentious Tom.

The Edwardians, by V. Sackville-West (The Hogarth Press).—This is a description not so much of the Edwardian age as a standard of social relationships more firmly fixed in that age than in any time. It would be true to say that of all fashions hateful to any generation, the peculiar fashion of snobbery of the immediately previous generation is the most detestable, pince it shows up by implication the frailty of the social structure of any system not based on intellectual integrity. The characters ("No character in this book is wholly fictitious," says the author) reflect the rival standards of an ancient aristocratic hierarchy, a new financial aristocracy, the circle of favourites of a reigning monarch, and a world of individual plants needing no roots and therefore disturbing to the equilibrium of the more deeply-rooted groups. The sad spectacle of high Bohemia in the presumed Edwardian respectability, and its disturbance of sections of that same respectability reminds us of the illusions that each age bathes in through the magnification of its minor distinctions. A young duke finds himself with a mere commoner, an explorer, on the vast roofs of his ancestral home, and there the octopus of duty and tradition is discussed and dissected, and the seeds of unrest sown, as a result of which the commoner is to marry the duke's sister, and the duke is to have a taste of life before

governing his local domain. Miss Sackville-West has shown such unusual skill in her deploying of the forces she is using, and the proper marshalling of sympathy and antipathy, that she has her reward in the suspicion that this novel of the most snobbish of all English societies is the most snobbish of all modern English novels.

A True Story, by Stephen Hudson (Constable).—One of the richest pleasures in modern fiction has been to watch the ripening of Mr. Stephen Hudson, through the volumes, *Richard Kurt*, *Elinor Colehouse*, *Prince Hempseed*, *Tony*, *Myrtle*, and finally *Richard*, *Myrtle and I*, in which the architecture of the Kurt Saga was achieved. The technical accomplishment with which each volume filled in the gaps of narrative, situation, and personality always had its specialist recognition, chiefly from other authors, and now *A True Story* in normal chronology can be judged, without the old sense of adventure, it is true, by the larger world. The growth of a man's character from his fifth year through an unhappy marriage and an Italian waste, to the threshold of what would appear to be a happier union would seem to be the usual biographical pattern, but added to this is the sureness of social portraiture, the analysis of all human contacts, the picturing of layer upon layer of worthless humanity, all described with penetration of such profound psychological accuracy that one would suspect it all to be satire of the subtlest kind were the title not what it is. The prose is carefully worked over and adjusted to the finest flicker and alternation of mood, tracing the convolutions of a boy's thoughts, the faint gropings of an adolescent, and the maturer yet still unsure but surely-expressed feelings of an imperfect man. It has all the power of the modern style, with only a hint of its paraphernalia. Mr. Hudson's gifts are psychological persuasion, intuition of character, ease and tension of narrative, and a sure sense of direction in structure. It remains for him to bestow these gifts on the analysis of a more contemporary scene.

The 42nd Parallel, by John Dos Passos (Constable).—The problem Mr. Dos Passos sets himself is to find a fictional structure adequate to represent the confusion and complexity of American life. In *Manhattan Transfer*, a fugal treatment gave the impression of a swirling stream in which currents of humanity could be detected from time to time in the glimpses of passionate moments and crises in a number of individual lives. In *The 42nd Parallel* two new devices, both taken from modern cinematographic practice, have been employed to give a scaffolding of dating to an otherwise timeless structure. The first, labelled "Newsreel," is a patchwork of news items, headlines, and placards in nineteen sections, from the death of Oscar Wilde to the entry of America into the war. The second, labelled "The Camera Eye," is an exact record in twenty sections of the emotions of a moment of time in a boy's life, seen sensitively and in "close-up." In this structure is interwoven a series of narratives of a revolutionary, a secretary, a business man, a virgin, and a rolling stone. To these are added from time to time potted biographies of typical self-made Americans. Under the consummate sureness of the author's handling, there is built up a controlled kaleidoscope of American life from the beginning of the century, with all the sparkle and relief denied to the customary pedestrian narrative form.

Soldiers' Pay, by William Faulkner (Chatto & Windus.)—We have had some remarkable young novelists from America of late, Scott Fitzgerald, John Dos Passos, Ernest Hemingway, and E. E. Cummings, but none more remarkable than William Faulkner, for whose discovery we are indebted to Mr. Richard Hughes, whose preface is a concise and valuable appreciation. Mr. Faulkner is a born novelist, with a rich fertility of incident and a vivid sense of character bathed in a narrative power that is perhaps his chief contribution. He can do almost anything with words; he can give that unusual colouring to prose which we demand as a right in poetry, and has a choice and compulsion of imagery that carries a burden of beauty from the picture of the moment to the scaffolding of the whole novel. He bestows his style on foolish youth and stupid age, on vicious and cruel childhood, on rampant lust and on tender womanhood. There are scenes of superb virtuosity from the drunken journeying of soldiers in a Pullman car to the mental agonies of a lover aching in the memory of his embraces, and the dance in which the old soldiers sit apart in shuttered separation from a world which is no longer theirs. Young American novelists batter us frequently with the agony of their unrest and disillusion, and apply huge powers to problems and descriptions of infinitesimal events. *Soldiers' Pay* is no trivial subject. It is about the ironies of the peace after the war, a peace without quietness, akin to the German play of "Douaumont," with all its vast tragedy of the return of the warrior to a world which no longer has a place or a use for him as such. The *dance macabre* of the lives of a blind, maimed, memory-reft airman, a compassionate war-sapped widow but three days wedded, a broken old rector to whom the fragments of a son, supposed dead, are restored for a while, a super-conscious moth of a girl once engaged to the airman, and a bloated, yellow-eyed satyr in the town of Charleston, Georgia, is such as to raise our highest hopes for the advent of a major novelist.

Cakes and Ale, by W. Somerset Maugham (Heinemann).—Supreme satire of intellectual and social pretensions is rare in modern literature, and in many ways this is one of the most remarkable satires since Swift. Like Swift, Mr. Maugham obtains his effect by postulating a situation and working it out in cool, restrained prose through which, if one is sensitive, the heat can be felt. The situation concerns a Grand Old Man of letters whose second wife has commissioned a biography from a successful novelist of the day. The teller of the tale knew the Grand Old Man in his younger days, and his help is required in the glorification of the biography. But there is, to virtuous folk, a skeleton in the cupboard, the Grand Old Man had married a barmaid, and this barmaid had left him for another, and the story, though unpalatable to the widow, cannot be kept out. The evocation of this woman, her fresh natural reality alongside the shams reflected in the book, occupies most of the volume, and is achieved with tenderness of a high order. No doubt the scholars of the future will find parallels in our age to Edward Driffield and above all to Alroy Kear, but the value of the book lies in the truth of human relationship, the accuracy of rendering of literary snobbishness, climbing and prejudice, and the refreshing sanity of the simpler human beings. Nothing is blown

upon but the false, nothing is pilloried but the pretentious, nothing is rebuked but the mean. The author may well comfort himself against detraction in the knowledge that the accomplishment of *Cakes and Ale* and his earlier *Of Human Bondage* gives him a distinction in the literature of this century that is shared by very few indeed.

The Apes of God, by Wyndham Lewis (The Arthur Press).—With the exception of James Joyce's *Ulysses* there is no novel published this century which so deeply penetrates and portrays certain aspects of the mind of this age as does *The Apes of God*. Mr. Lewis takes for his subject the Apes of God, those monied amateurs in Chelsea, Bloomsbury and Mayfair, the "prosperous mountebanks" who create a semblance of the artistic and intellectual life by imitating the Bohemian life of artists, by dabbling in their arts, by living in their studios, where "all the exultation of labour, a passionate experience, and probably a straitened life, issuing in works of great creative art, are thinly parodied, at great expense." This society Mr. Lewis uses as a symbol and a symptom of a post-war world trembling on the brink of destruction. It is well that this world should be portrayed by so fierce and sensitive a satirist before the new literary mode of benevolence obscures the problem by treating it as a mere spectacle. Mr. Lewis's ruthless exploration of the interstices of human relationships and of human conversation gives a power to words that perhaps is too dangerous for customary use, but as a painter his command of the visual and solid qualities of human beings reinforces the purely intellectual descriptions. The illustrations of the book provide a very valuable scale of reference. Strange as the form may seem, with its series of encounters and luncheons and parties, it is yet, by its display of the very bone, sinew and spirit of our present world to the tender receptivity of a fledgling personality, a remarkable descendant of the *Wilhelm Meister* apprenticeship novel. It is in a great tradition, a didactic novel of vast dimensions, and like all important social novels, if it is to have any justification, must be in some measure a "roman a clef," and, save in those quarters where the cap fits, it will be regarded as a powerful and difficult historical document.

Dumb-Animal and Other Stories, by Osbert Sitwell (Duckworth).—Readers of Mr. Osbert Sitwell expect certain things in his work—a passionate apprehension of beauty, a Nietzschean hatred of herd-like imitativeness, a biting satire for all forms of stupidity; and withal distinction of treatment, a highly precious outlook and a style which no further polish can heighten. *Dumb-Animal* exhibits all these. A collection of short stories, it takes its title from the first, but the idea of the title is present in them all. Incongruously, they recall Wordsworth's attitude in *Animal Tranquillity and Decay*, where man's activity is subdued and nature's life is raised till both meet on a common level. Thus in the first story the boy has sympathy with the dog, unshared by humans, a sympathy which wrecks his life through its intensity. The cleverest of the stories, "That Flesh is Heir To," raises the microbe to the level of man's deadly and unconquerable protagonist. In "Echoes" we have a being neither wholly human nor animal. The lunatic's "cat-like, softly-treading feet" recall "a wild creature." He staggers and flutters "like an intoxicated

wasp." "The Love-Bird" shows a living thing penetrating **into the unreal world** of a disillusioned egoist and dying of its encounter with a stuffed, mechanical bird. In the macabre "Charles and Charlemagne" the woman who rushes brilliantly through the story, ringing her changes on every page, becomes at last a "grotesque exhibit" for fishes. The most humorous and daring of the stories is "Alive-Alive Oh!" Hailstones of satire fall on just and unjust alike in this account of the poet, whose message was birds and who in the end reacts violently against the whole feathered tribe. In the last story, "Happy Endings/" Mr. Sitwell deliberately harks back to the title-word of the book in his terrible indictment of the academy for turning out "young gentlemen" to pattern. Jubilee College is nothing better than a menagerie. But, likening life there to a frieze, the author tells us that the "ugliness and want of balance was a little redeemed by the dumb-animal quality of vigour that inspired the procession" Whatever axe this artist may choose to grind, he is always master of his pen, cutting into the sensibilities of his readers with an acuteness often unbearable. It is in spite of this that to those interested in fiction as a work of art his writing is* irresistible.

Mosaic, by G. B. Stern (Chapman & Hall), continues the story of yet another branch of the Rakonitz family. But though the fact that Berthe and Letti are members of this wide-spread clan provides the author with an almost ready-made background, yet in this case she fetters our attention anew by giving us a study in crass contrasts. The two Michel sisters, bound together by the strongest bonds of family affection, are two absolutely antipodean types. Berthe, the elder, with her overweening belief in her own beauty, talents and capabilities, whether social or business, appears to dominate completely the life and character of Letti, the timorous, shy, and seemingly yielding weakling. As events develop, the contrary, however, proves the case, and the blustering March-wind Berthe is in every way revealed as the parasite depending for its belief in itself, for its sustenance, for very existence, on the frail Violette, who sheaths a steel-like will in an outer scabbard of clinging, self-effacement. These two central portraits are surrounded, in the course of their career from the overflowing eighties down to the present day, by a host of friends and relations who bring in their train problems and situations diverse and complex. The scene shifts from Paris to London, and further to Vienna, and no matter whither we follow the author we have the feeling that her descriptions are true to milieu and atmosphere, and that not one nuance of colour is over emphasised at the expense of the harmony of the whole picture. *Mosaic* is a good example of how disastrous would be the result were we indeed "to see ourselves as others see us."

ART, DRAMA, CINEMA, AND MUSIC.

I. ART.

ONCE again the winter exhibition at Burlington House was the outstanding event of the year in the art world of England. Composed of objects of Italian art and including superb pictures from the Italian national collections—among them Botticelli's famous "Birth of Venus" from the Umzi Gallery at Florence—the exhibition aroused extraordinary public interest. The Commissioner-General in charge of the Italian treasures was Commendatore Modigliani, Superintendent of Art in Lombardy; and the Italian State and local Galleries and Museums which contributed to the collection included, among others, the Uffizi, Pitti, Bargello, Borghese, Palazzo Venezia, Corsini, Brera, the Academy at Venice, and the Capitoline Gallery in Rome.

The British Honorary Committee included, in addition to many well-known collectors and connoisseurs, the Directors of all the Principal Galleries and Museums in the United Kingdom and Ireland; and experts of every kind served on the British Executive Committee, of which Lady Chamberlain, G.B.E., was Chairman. Sir Robert Witt, who was Chairman of the Selecting Committee, contributed the valuable and instructive article on the object and nature of the exhibition which pre-faced the catalogue. The exhibition filled the whole of the galleries at Burlington House. The first to the seventh inclusive were devoted to pictures of the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries; and the tenth and eleventh to those of the eighteenth century. Other eighteenth-century pictures (Venetian) were hung in the Architectural room, and examples of the work of modern Italian painters in the Lecture room. Sculptures and tapestries filled the Central Hall, and the drawings, a collection of extraordinary interest, were arranged in the eighth and ninth galleries. A centre of attraction in the ninth gallery was the noble cartoon by Leonardo da Vinci, "The Virgin and Child and St. Anne," lent by the Royal Academy, to which it was presented at some unknown period of the eighteenth century by a donor whose name has been forgotten. Mr. Campbell Dodgson, Keeper of the Prints and Drawings at the British Museum, when writing about the Italian collection, claimed that the Leonardo was the greatest drawing in the world, and a well-known expert who saw it at the exhibition for the first time estimated its present value at 100,000Z.

The exhibition was visited by thousands who had never before given a thought to Italian art, or crossed the threshold of the National Gallery to view its superb collections. New books on the painters of the Italian

schools were seen everywhere, and the lectures on various phases of Italian art, given at the Victoria and Albert Museum while the exhibition was open, were listened to by packed audiences. The visitors were 538,000, more than twice the number that had been attracted by the Dutch exhibition of the preceding year; and 151,000 catalogues were sold. It is interesting to compare these figures with those of the most successful winter exhibition held in the same galleries by the Royal Academy during the past thirty years, that of 1905, composed of pictures by George Frederick Watts, who died in 1904. The Watts exhibition was the principal event in the world of art in 1905, it attracted general attention and was much noticed and discussed in the newspapers, yet the attendance was only 60,000 and the sale of catalogues 25,000.

Many more pictures than usual were submitted to the Selecting Committee for the summer exhibition at the Royal Academy. They numbered 11,109, compared with 10,071 in 1929. Of these only 14 were accepted outright for exhibition, 8,395 were rejected, and 2,692 made doubtful. From the accepted, the best of the doubtful, and the contributions of the members, the exhibition was made up. It was composed of 1,362 works, 87 more than in the preceding year.

Nine works were bought from the exhibition by the Chantrey Trustees : " The Chess Players," by Sir John Lavery, R.A. (1,050l.); " Cordelia," by Mr. W. W. Russell, R.A. (525l.); " From My Bedroom Window," by Mr. Alfred Munnings, R.A. (500l.); " Dame Millicent Fawcett," by Mrs. A. L. Swynnerton, A.R.A. (450l.); " The Artist's Mother," by Mr. Fiddes Watt (420l.); " Sir Robert Lorimer as a Boy," by J. H. Lorimer (300l.); a bronze statue, " Spring," by Mr. Charles Wheeler (1,050l.); and an ivory statuette by Mr. R. Garbe, A.R.A. (367l. 10s.). Two water-colours, " Paddlers," by Mr. P. Wilson Steer (42l.); and " Le Bain de Pied," by Mr. Robert Austin (21l.), were purchased from other exhibitions.

The works disposed of to private buyers included " Barnard's Farm," by Sir George Clausen ; " Packing Grapes," " The Farm Pond," " Provencal Chicken," and " Harnessing Donkey," by the late Mr. H. H. La Thangue ; " Autumn " and " September," by Mr. Arnesby Brown ; " Hayle Pool," by Mr. Stanhope Forbes; " Nonchalance," by Mr. W. G. de Glehn; " Woman Spinning," by Mr. L. Campbell Taylor; " A Highland Landscape " and " Autumn Landscape : Dauphine," by Mr. Adrian Stokes; " Mother and Child," by Sir William Orpen ; " Still Evening : Coast of Donegal " and " The Evening Shower," by Mr. Julius Olsson; " The Spey, Fochabers," by Mr. S. J. Lamorna Birch; " The Trick Rider," " Ballet Girl and Dressmaker," " Waiting to go into the Ring," and " A Musical Clown," by Dame Laura Knight; " Morning Calm : Concarneau," by Mr. Terrick Williams; " The Farm Road " and " The Findhorn at Logie," by Sir David Murray; " Cagnes, Alpes Maritimes, France," and " Among the Hills, Cagnes, A.M., France," by Sir H. Hughes-Stanton ; " Harbours, Honfleur," by Miss E. Stewart Wood; " Were You there when They Crucified my Lord," by Mr. Mark Symons; " A Reach of the Lune " and " The Devil's Bridge, Kirkby Lonsdale," by Mr. Reginald G. Brundrit; " Noonday," by Mr. Fred Hall; " The Harbour of

La Rochelle " and " Saumur," by Mr. Bertram Nicholls ; " The Artist's Home," by Mr. H. Davis Richter ; " Girl Writing," by Mr. Harold Knight ; " Silver and Gold," by Mr. W. Russell Flint ; and " The Wayside Tree," by Mr. Harry Bush.

In the autumn a new departure was made by the Royal Academy in the shape of lectures on subjects of art interest, illustrated by lantern slides. Sir Reginald Blomfield, R.A., spoke on " The New Architecture " ; Dr. G. F. Hill, Keeper of the Coins and Medals at the British Museum, on " The Coin as a Work of Art " ; Sir Charles Holmes, the former Director of the National Gallery, on " Tradition and Personality " ; and Professor William Rothenstein, the Principal of the Royal College of Art, on " How do the Arts stand To-day ? "

The National Gallery was further extended by the opening of new rooms for the exhibition of the work of the early Italian masters. The rooms, built at the cost of that frequent benefactor to the Gallery, Sir Joseph Duveen, were opened by Prince George in the spring, when their unusual shape and method of lighting were the subjects of some criticism. The acquisitions during the year were not numerous. They included a curious and interesting picture of a phase of English life in the earlier years of the eighteenth century, the gift of Mr. Lionel A. Crichton, and presented through the National Art Collections Fund: " An English Family at Tea—*circa* 1720." The picture is a representation of an interior with many figures. Its authorship has been ascribed to several artists, Gawen Hamilton among others, but is still uncertain. In accordance with the wish of the late Lord Llandaff, two portraits by Romney were presented, three-quarter lengths of Colonel and Mrs. Matthews, painted in 1786. Another work received was a portrait of Dr. Johnson, described as " from the studio of Sir Joshua Reynolds."

Through the generosity of Mr. Samuel Courtauld a Chair of the History of Art in the University of London was founded, and Mr. W. G. Constable, Assistant Director of the National Gallery, was appointed as its first Professor. The British Museum succeeded in obtaining, but only at the last moment, that famous masterpiece of illumination, the Bedford Book of Hours, which, with the no less famous Luttrell Psalter, had been acquired provisionally in 1929. The price of the Luttrell Psalter was 31,500l., and that of the Bedford Book of Hours, 33,000l., and such sums could not be provided by the Museum without the aid of subscriptions from the public. The money was found, but in the case of the Bedford Book only by a great effort, and with the aid of Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan. He lent the money, 64,500?., for the purchase of both the books, for a year without interest, and the year had nearly expired before the sum was collected, largely owing to the efforts of the Committee of the National Art Collections Fund.

A remarkable exhibition of examples of English mediaeval art was opened in May at the Victoria and Albert Museum. It was rich in many forms, particularly in sculpture, illuminated manuscripts, ecclesiastical embroideries, and silversmith's work ; and contained contributions from the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, many cathedrals and churches,

and numerous private owners. Other exhibitions held during the year included those of portraits in oil by Mr. Ralph Peacock, at Barbizon House; pictures by Van Gogh and Berthe Morisot, and of works by the London Group at the Leicester Galleries; etchings by Rembrandt, and sculpture by Tait McKenzie at the Fine Art Society's; paintings by Renoir at Alexander Reid and Lefevre's; statuary and drawings by Epstein, and sculpture by Herbert Heseltine, at Knoedler's; and paintings and drawings illustrating circus life by Dame Laura Knight, at the Alpine Club Gallery in Mill Street. A loan exhibition of exceptional interest was arranged in the early spring by Sir Philip Sassoon at his house in Park Lane. The exhibition, held for the benefit of the Royal Northern Group of Hospitals, was composed of eighteenth-century "conversation pictures/" that is to say, pictures of scenes of ordinary life in which several figures of small size are grouped together. Of the painters of these eighteenth-century conversation pictures, Zoffany was the ablest and the most prolific, and nearly sixty pictures by this master were on view in Park Lane, where the entire drawing-room floor was transformed for the time being into an ingeniously-lighted gallery. Hogarth, Stubbs, Gainsborough, Sir Joshua Reynolds, Walton, Devis, and Wheatlev, were among the other artists represented.

In the auction room the year was not remarkable, except for the disposal of the famous collection of examples of classic statuary which for more than a century had adorned the principal reception rooms at Lansdowne House. Only one of them realised a very high price, the figure of a wounded Amazon, the last bid for which was 28,35(M. The purchaser, it was understood, was a New York collector. A slightly-painted portrait, by Hoppner, of a child, Charlotte Augusta Papendiek, the daughter of one of George the Third's pages, was sold for 14,700Z.; two portraits of men by Rembrandt for 19,950Z. and 18,500Z. respectively; and a portrait of a lady, described only as a work of the Flemish school, for 15,500J. A fine landscape by Hobbema realised 16,800/!.; and good, but not remarkable, prices were paid for portraits by Sir Joshua Reynolds, Gainsborough, Raeburn, and Romney.

II. THE DRAMA.

The London theatres in 1930 produced an immense number of plays, but the year is likely to be remembered by playgoers more for the quantity than for the quality of the works presented. Of really serious native plays there were singularly few, while of those that could be given a place in that category not more than two or three really fulfilled the aims of their authors. Taking all considerations into account, pride of place among the year's serious plays should go, perhaps, to "The Barretts of Wimpole Street" (Queen's, September 23), which had first been staged at the Malvern Festival. On the theme of the events leading up to the elopement of Elizabeth Moulton-Barrett with Robert Browning, Rudolf Besier constructed a play none the less interesting for being controversial. Of the frail Elizabeth he had made an arresting figure, and his conception of the

part was completely realised in the beautiful performance of Gwen Frangcon-Davies. A notable achievement, too, was Cedric Hardwicke's portrayal of the heroine's inhumanly tyrannical father.

Another play that stood out from most of the year's productions was "Cynara" (Playhouse, June 26), by H. M. Harwood and E. Gore-Brown. Inequalities notwithstanding, this piece proved interesting as a well-observed study of the differences in the attitude of men and women towards questions of sex. Gerald du Maurier showed insight and sincerity in his treatment of an effectively-drawn part, and was excellently supported by Gladys Cooper and Celia Johnson, who enhanced her reputation as a young actress of considerable promise. W. Somerset Maugham's "The Breadwinner" (Vaudeville, September 30) must also be mentioned here. In this characteristically cynical play there were also inequalities. Yet on the whole it must be reckoned an interesting as well as amusing treatment of an idea rather similar to the main theme of the same author's "The Moon and Sixpence."

Another playwright of established repute, A. A. Milne, enjoyed a considerable measure of success with "Michael and Mary" (St. James's, February 1), though the play, for all its charm of a sentimental kind, was conceived too theatrically to be placed among the author's best work. Herbert Marshall's acting was the most satisfying feature of this production. A play, on the other hand, less theatrical both in idea and treatment than the average was "Nine to Six," by Aimee and Philip Stuart, one specially unusual feature of which was that all the characters were women (employed at a milliner's shop). But, strictly speaking, this play, although its production at the Apollo dates from January 29, should not be included in the list of the year's novelties, as it was semi-privately performed towards the end of 1929.

Among the very considerable number of plays experimentally produced the most noteworthy, perhaps, were Eeginald Berkeley's "Machines," on the favourite theme of capital and labour—more especially in relation to the worker's subjection to machinery—and C. K. Munro's "Mr. Eno," which seemed to owe something in idea to Elmer Rice's "Adding Machine." Both these plays were introduced at the Arts Theatre. From America came one of the most conspicuous and successful contributions to the small list of serious plays staged in 1930. This was Elmer Rice's "Street Scene," produced at the Globe (September 9) by Leon M. Lion and Maurice Browne. Apart from its unusual setting—the entire action taking place in front of a New York tenement house—this piece, which concerned itself only with the lives of humble folk—all cleverly-drawn types—was both original in conception, dramatically strong, and stimulating in its suggestions of a philosophy of life. Success no less emphatic fell to another play dealing with a very different phase of American life, but written by an Englishman. This was Edgar Wallace's extremely adroit and effective "On the Spot" (Wyndhams, April 2), a piece which, but for its frankly melodramatic complexion, could almost have claimed a place at the head of the year's theatrical events. In it the author dealt vividly (and exclusively) with the underworld of Chicago, with gangsters and racketeers as his chief dramatis

person©. Charles Laughton's acting in the part of the Italian leader of the gunmen was a singularly effective study in the repellent.

Among plays that might be described as honourable failures were Joan Temple's "Charles and Mary" (Everyman, February 4), in which the protagonists were the immortal Elia and his ill-starred sister, limned by the author with sincerity and sympathy; Benn W. Levy's "The Devil" (Arts, January 13), a creditable, but not wholly satisfactory, attempt to carry out a fresh and ambitious conception; Patrick MacgiU's "Suspense" (Duke of York's, April 8), a powerful war-play which somehow missed making anything like the strong appeal of "Journey's End"; and an anti-war play entitled "Moloch" (Strand, May 29), in which Winifred and John L. Carter tackled a big theme that proved to be beyond their power. But this play was worth while if only for giving to Mary Clare superb opportunities—of which she took full advantage—in the part of a mother who poisons her son rather than risk his being killed in war like his elder brother. For similar reasons one may mention here "Dishonoured Lady" (Playhouse, May 8), an American play in which the chief part was brilliantly handled by Fay Compton.

On the other hand, many successes were achieved among plays of a lighter type. For the writing of slight comedy of the kind that depends largely on bright, amusing dialogue some of our authors are showing a genuine gift. A very entertaining example in this category was H. M. Harwood's "The Man in Possession" (Ambassadors, January 22). In its central idea this play suggested a Gallic origin, but, as a fact, it owed nothing to a foreign source. Another highly diverting as well as successful specimen was Neil Grant's "Petticoat Influence" (St. Martin's, June 3), a cynically amusing comedy. Full of cynicism, too, of a characteristic brand was Noel Coward's witty (but very insubstantial) "Private Lives," with which the new Phoenix Theatre was opened on September 24. The two chief parts in this comedy were brilliantly played by the author and Gertrude Lawrence.

There was a good deal of skating over thin ice in an adaptation from the German, "The Command to Love" (Daly's, June 10), and the skating was more deftly done by Yvonne Arnaud and Konald Squire than by some of their companions in the cast. Neither this play nor another adaptation (from Molnar), which was produced at the St. James's on June 30, with the title of "The Swan," enjoyed any very great success, while an unfortunate disappointment was "Badger's Green," a cheery rustic comedy by R. C. Sherriff, the author of "Journey's End." Produced at the Prince of Wales's on June 12, it only held the stage for a month. On the other hand, a very good run was secured by "The Way to Treat a Woman" (Duke of York's, June 11), a typical Walter Hackett play of surprises, and by "Her First Affair" (Kingsway, September 11), a brightly written trifle by Merrill Rodgers and Frederick Jackson. A more distinguished piece of work was seen later in the year in E. M. Delafield's "To See Ourselves" (Ambassadors, December 11). This light-hearted play had a particular interest as being the first stage essay of a woman novelist of distinction, and it revealed a delicate sense of comedy, as well as a gift for **dialogue combining** both wit and wisdom.

The year saw the production of more farces and farcical comedies than had been seen on the London stage for a long while. To Walter Ellis's "Almost a Honeymoon" went the distinction of being the longest stayer in that class; it began at the Garrick on February 4 and was still running at the end of the year. The famous Aldwych partnership of Tom Walls and Ralph Lynn produced two specimens—Ben Travers's "A Night Like This" (February 18), and "Marry the Girl" (November 24), by George Arthurs and Arthur Miller, though neither of these farces was on the level of the best of the previous examples presented by (practically) the same company. At the Shaftesbury (September 29), "Leave it to P'smith," in which the prolific P. G. Wodehouse and Ian Hay collaborated, proved a more or less worthy successor, though in a somewhat more boisterously farcical vein, to the long-lived "Middle Watch." A brilliant hit was scored at the Strand (October 2) with "It's a Boy," adapted from the German by Austin Melford, and acted in the chief parts by Leslie Henson and Sydney Howard, whose combined drolleries counted for more than the intrinsic qualities of a very old-fashioned farce. So, too, with "Oh Daddy" (Princes, November 27), of which the unsophisticated fun was carried mainly on the experienced shoulders of W. H. Berry.

In the list of melodramas seen during the year there must be included Edgar Wallace's "Smoky Cell" (Wyndham's, December 16), the plot of which, like that of "On the Spot," was wholly concerned with American-gangsters and police; "The Silent Witness" (Comedy, April 30), an effective example by Jack de Leon and Jack Celestine of the murder-mystery play; and Noel Scott's "Traffic" (Lyceum, July 23), in which Dennis Neilson-Terry played the leading part.

There were several revivals during the year. Among the more interesting were those that gave us John Gielgud's Hamlet—a memorable, if not wholly mature, achievement—and Baliol Holloway's Richard III. At the Lyric, Hammersmith, Nigel Playfair revived Pinero's "Dandy Dick" (January 29), and Oscar Wilde's "The Importance of Being Earnest" (July 7). The revival of another once very successful farce, Anstey's "The Man from Blankley's," at the Fortune (November 26), marked the initiation of the People's Theatre, a movement started with the support of a large body of subscribers by J. T. Grein and Nancy Price.

III. THE CINEMA.

The technical experts in the studio have been the heroes of 1930. The talking film has reached a high state of perfection, though there has not been a corresponding advance in the literary and dramatic quality of the dialogue.

At first the novelty attracted a tremendous rush of patrons, just at a time when interest in the silent films was on the wane. When the talking process became the normal, however, attendances began to fall off, and coupled with the general trade depression and the demand for elaborate productions, the film industry had only a moderately successful year.

The Americans are still puzzled by the language problem, which is

threatening their European market. It has been found that there are many difficulties in the making of multi-lingual films. At first it was thought that all that was necessary was to have several casts, speaking different languages, and that it would be possible to use them in the same sets with the same scripts. This has not proved successful, for a different atmosphere is required for the language of each nation.

Fox and Paramount have met the difficulty by opening studios in Paris, where they are producing French stories treated in the French manner, making no attempt to appeal with them to America.

There is in fact a considerable prejudice on the *boulevards* against English-speaking pictures, and there have been frequent demonstrations. The French censorship authorities have advised that English-speaking films should be shown only in specialised theatres. Many French firms have now received the backing of the banks, and are turning out their own pictures. As so far, however, only 500 out of the 3,000 French cinemas are wired, the problem is not acute outside of the big cities.

During the summer the Midget Golf craze hit the American exhibitor very hard. This resulted in an economy campaign in the studios by which a saving of 25 per cent, on production costs was achieved. The exhibitors have also benefited by the new industrial advertisement films, made largely for entertainment, which they are paid by the manufacturers for showing.

A new production technique is being evolved which insures more action, and does away with the tendency to transfer plays direct from the stage to the screen. In future full advantage will be taken of the mobility of the camera.

Out of 16,000 American cinemas, 13,000 are wired, and the installations are going forward all the time. During 1930, at the seventy-five active studios, 540 features and 1,900 shorts were produced.

The Wide Screen is still only a matter for experiment, as standardisation has not yet been achieved. The big companies have come to an understanding among themselves that there will be no attempt to put Wide Screen on the market for at least two years. They do not feel that the industry is ready for another expensive upheaval.

Colour has been coming almost imperceptibly, and the public hardly notice whether a film is in colour or black and white. The process, however, is not yet perfect, for the long shots are still blurred.

British studios have been very active, and the lead is held by British International Pictures and British-Gaumont. Of the existing cinemas 85 per cent, are now wired, and there has been a great advance in the building of new super-cinemas. British-Gaumont, who are both producers and exhibitors, have built thirty new theatres, which means seating for over 60,000 patrons. The big Leicester Square Theatre, designed originally as a home for musical comedy, was sold before completion to an American film company.

British producers have done better than British stars, and the screen players have been largely recruited from the stage. The Aldwych comedy team, headed by Ralph Lynn and Tom Walls, have repeated their stage successes. Madeleine Carroll has made probably the largest number of

pictures during the year. Elissa Landi, who promised well, has gone, under contract, to Hollywood.

In the big pictures of the year the home product is well to the front. " Murder " illustrated once more that Alfred Hitchcock is far ahead of his colleagues. Anthony Asquith did clever work in " A Cottage on Dartmoor." Sir Gerald du Maurier made a not too successful screen debut in Basil Dean's production of John Galsworthy's " Escape." " Journey's End," though actually made in America, was produced by an Englishman, James Whale, and starred Colin Clive, the English actor who had created the leading role on the stage over here. The picture was both a commercial and an artistic success.

From America " All Quiet on the Western Front," an adaptation of Remarque's striking novel, was one of the most ambitious and effective of the year's pictures. It had a very stormy passage in Germany, where it caused riots in several places.

Among the year's noteworthy offerings were : " The Big House," a grim prison story ; " Disraeli," hopelessly inaccurate historically but an acting triumph for George Arliss ; " Hell's Angels," a picture which took two years to make and cost several lives, and in which aeroplane stunting reached its climax ; " Hallelujah," an all-negro production of religious interest, better liked by the critics than by the public ; " Gentlemen of the Press," which introduced Walter Huston to the screen, and the good impression he made was confirmed by his " Abraham Lincoln " ; and " Holiday," a social drama, rare among screen stories in that the plot was based on an idea.

Russia contributed a remarkable picture in " The General Line," a story of the advance in agricultural methods under the Soviets. S. M. Eisenstein, who produced it, went to Hollywood with the idea of making a picture there, but could not come to terms.

The talking pictures have changed the position of the stars, and a number of new faces are filling the screens.

Rising favourites are Ann Harding, Nancy Carroll, Claudette Colbert, Constance Bennett, and Kay Johnston. These names are all new to the filmgoer of a year ago. Joan Crawford and Norma Shearer hold their place, and Marie Dressier has made a tremendous hit in character parts.

There are no great favourites among the actors at the moment, but Garry Cooper has revived the popularity of Western pictures, and Maurice Chevalier is considered the ideal lover.

Two excellent examples of the publicity the screen gives the actor were witnessed this year. When Maurice Chevalier appeared about two years ago in a musical comedy at His Majesty's, the piece was a great failure, and the general public took little interest in the French comedian. After Chevalier had been to Hollywood and made " The Love Parade," he commanded a salary of 4,000Z. a week for appearing at the Dominion, and he was mobbed by enthusiastic crowds wherever he went. " The Four Marx Brothers " came here some years ago, appeared on the halls, and were a failure. After their pictures " The Cocoanuts " and " Animal Crackers," they were brought over, at a large salary, as the stars of C. B. Cochran's Variety Season.

Emil Jannings left America for Germany, feeling that the talking picture had impaired his chances. In Berlin he made "The Blue Angel," which proved such a success that he was invited back to Hollywood.

Charlie Chaplin has still been busy all the year on "City Lights," which it is hoped will be shown in London early in 1931.

IV. MUSIC.

In the world of music 1930 saw a multiplicity of activities. Of opera, concerts, and recitals musical enthusiasts had more than their fill. But there was nothing of epoch-making significance.

The opera season at Covent Garden did not deviate in any essential from those preceding it in recent years. As usual, German music-drama was given pride of place. There were two cycles of Wagner's "Ring," with Bruno Walter as conductor-in-chief; other Wagnerian operas included "Die Meistersinger," "Parsifal," and "Der Fliegende Hollander"—the latter sung on the whole in a style hardly calculated to rekindle interest in its composer's early work. But in the Nibelungen dramas there was no lack of fine performances by singers of such established repute as Frida Leider, Lotte Lehmann, Madame Olczewska, Eva Turner—a native artist who stood up well against her foreign colleagues—Lauritz Melchior, Rudolf Laubenthal, Friedrich Schorr, Rudolf Bockelmann, Otto Helgers, Herbert Janssen, and Viktor Madin.

Following the Wagner works Covent Garden created an unusual, and by no means unwelcome, diversion by reviving Johann Strauss's famous operetta, "Die Fledermaus," to the old-fashioned farcical frivolities of which one was more than reconciled by the typically Viennese charm and entrain of the music.

The Italian season yielded no operatic thrills. But it witnessed the long-heralded debut of Beniamino Gigli, for whose introduction to the Covent Garden public Giordano's commonplace opera, "Andrea Chenier," was resuscitated. The newcomer's voice and style, as tested in this and other operas, hardly confirmed reports of the reputation he was said to enjoy in New York as a second Caruso. As a tenor, however, very decidedly above the present Italian average he made himself welcome, while his compatriot, Rosa Ponselle, as a brilliant exponent of *bel canto*, was most cordially greeted back to the stage which she had adorned for the first time in the previous season. Again, by the beauty and rare technical perfection of her singing, she made Bellini's abysmally dull "Norma" worth while, as almost she did a revival of Montemezzi's lugubrious opera, "L'Amore dei tre Re." Yet another somewhat strange revival was that of Flotow's naively melodious "Marta." More interesting it was to renew acquaintance with Debussy's "Pelleas et Melisande," in which distinction was won by two accomplished British singers, Maggie Teyte and John Brownlee.

As being considerably more off the beaten track than the Covent Garden performances, a London Opera Festival, promoted by Robert Stewart and held at the Scala, deserves mention. Thanks to this adventurous enterprise opera-lovers were able to make, or renew, acquaintance with

such rarities as Monteverdi's "Orfeo," Mozart's "La Finta Giardiniera," Purcell's "Dido and tneas," and Handel's "Julius Caesar." There was also a very welcome revival of "Der Freischiitz," which was given under the sympathetic and sensitive direction of Sir Thomas Beecham.

In connexion with operatic affairs it should be recorded, as a matter of almost historic interest, that in the latter part of the year Mr. Snowden, to the surprise of most people, came forward with a scheme whereby the Covent Garden authorities were to receive a State subsidy of 17,500L, together with other sums, derived partly from the British Broadcasting Corporation, amounting in all to 30,000L. The proposal excited a good deal of acrimonious discussion in various quarters, the view being largely held that a project for establishing opera on a permanent basis was not likely to be satisfactorily realised by the means suggested.

A remarkable feature of the year was the exceptional number of orchestral concerts, the increase in which was largely due to the enterprise of the British Broadcasting Corporation, under whose auspices emerged a reconstituted and greatly improved symphony orchestra. Under Adrian Boult, Sir Henry Wood, Sir Landon Konald, and Hermann Scherchen, it maintained a high level of performance. Then, with Mengelberg in the position practically of permanent conductor, the London Symphony Orchestra more than sustained its reputation under a salutary system whereby deputies were banned from its ranks. Unfortunately the Eoyal Philharmonic Society—the oldest of London's musical organisations—found these new conditions detrimental to its interests. Nevertheless, the Society managed to carry through a series of concerts conducted by Elgar, Beecham, John Barbirolli, Oskar Fried, Eugen Szenkar, Julian Clifford, and Basil Cameron, who was responsible for a very interesting revival of Sibelius's Symphony (No. 4) in A minor.

Among native orchestras must also be included that of Sir Hamilton Harty, whose visits (from Manchester) provided further proofs of the fine results that can be achieved by a first-rate orchestra playing under a permanent conductor. Those results were strikingly exemplified, notably, in a superb rendering of Berlioz's "Messe des Morts." Even more memorable, however, was the visit of the famous Toscanini with the New York Philharmonic Orchestra, whose magnificent playing under the inspiring guidance of probably the greatest conductor of our time produced unforgettable impressions. Other distinguished visiting orchestras were the Amsterdam Concertgebouw (Mengelberg), the Colonne Orchestra (Gabriel Pierne), and the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra, conducted by Furtwangler.

In the production of new works, native and foreign, of outstanding interest the year was disappointing. Hardly any of our own composers produced large scale novelties, a notable exception being Arnold Bax, who was represented by two symphonies, his second and third. Eugene Goossens introduced the former, of which the first performance had been given in Boston. In most respects a fine and characteristic work, it was yet held by some experts to be inferior on the whole to the other Symphony (No. 3), which was heard twice under Sir Henry Wood. From the older generation of composers we had, among other things, Vaughan Williams's Fantasia on

Sussex Folk-songs for 'cello and orchestra, which owed more probably to Casals' brilliant playing of the solo part than to any special virtue in the score itself; and Hoist's Concerto for two violins—a somewhat dry (though skilful) composition, which also enjoyed the advantage of being sponsored by two distinguished soloists in Jelly d'Aranyi and Adila Fachiri. A more effective native novelty was Eugene Goossens' Oboe Concerto, an extremely adroit piece of writing which served to display the very fine accomplishment of Leon Goossens, who played the solo part. Arthur Bliss's Serenade for orchestra and baritone, produced at one of the Courtauld-Sargent concerts, should also be included in the list of native novelties, though it could hardly be regarded as a work of any particular importance.

More interesting in a way, however slight and unpretentious, was Elgar's "Pomp and Circumstance" military march—fifth of the set begun in 1901. The most remarkable feature of this little piece was its underlying note of something like youthful exuberance, astonishing in a septuagenarian composer. It should be noted as an unusual event that Elgar also wrote the test piece—in the shape of a four-movement suite—for the Brass Band Championship at the Crystal Palace. From a work of that description it is a very far cry to the domain of chamber music. Mention must, however, be made here of a new violin sonata (No. 3) by Delius—a work full of characteristic beauties which were perfectly unfolded in the performance given of it by May Harrison and Arnold Bax.

SCIENCE OF THE YEAR.

THE BIOLOGICAL SCIENCES.

IN Biology, 1930 was a year of active advance along a wide front, both of fundamental issues and of the more applied aspects. It was, perhaps, remarkable for the degree to which the more basic concepts of the science were questioned and analysed from new points of view.

Evolution and Genetics.—With regard to human evolution the further discovery and working out of remains belonging to *Sinanthropus pekinensis* was the main interest. Remains of ten individuals have now been found, all the portions belonging to the skull. With the human bones are associated those of over fifty other types of mammals in addition to birds, frogs, snakes, and turtles, but there are no implements or artefacts and no evidence of knowledge of fire. The age of the deposits can quite definitely be ascribed to the Lower Pleistocene. From the human calvaria casts have been obtained, and the brain capacity proves to be slightly larger than that of *Pithecanthropus*, and just within the human minimum size of 950 cc. The *Sinanthropus* skull combines features which were supposed to be peculiar, some of them to *Eoanthropus* and others to *Pithecanthropus*, and so forms a link between these types. On the other hand, it shows modern characters and, in the hominid scale, may not be far removed from the type which evolved both the extinct Neanderthal man and *Homo sapiens*. Fossil remains of over 100 Quaternary individuals are now known, and it is evident that Quaternary man at least equalled *Homo sapiens* in brain size, making it clear that man's origin must be looked for in the Tertiary epoch.

In addition to man, the Great Apes received considerable study, but one can only draw attention to the volume by M. and W. Yerkes on the psychobiology of these primates and to the Carnegie Report on the Gorilla Expedition to Central Africa in which the debated fact of the making of simple tree nests by these apes is confirmed.

Genetical science, in the main, followed certain well-defined paths. The discovery by Muller that gene or point mutations could be induced in organisms by exposure to short waves such as X-rays and Y radiation of radio-active substances stimulated numerous investigations. Natural variation may be increased by over 150 times, and the methods were applied to many animals and plants. In certain cases progressive mutations were obtained, and these changes are endless in their eventual potentialities for evolution. The genes themselves seem to be of relatively simple chemical constitution with super-imposed structure—a

combination, as it were, of chemical and morphological patterns. The mutations induced by irradiation seem to be changes in the chemical composition of the gene.

Controversy still persists as to the meaning and evolutionary value in general of mutations, whether they are qualitative changes *sui generis* and the raw material of evolution, whether they are *ipso facto* evidence of segregation from hybrid parentage or of combinations of pre-existing genotypes, or whether they are just negligible pathological accidents in the germ-plasm. The controversy is linked with the problem of "the inheritance of acquired characters/" and it has been suggested that as the gene waxes and wanes like all living things, and so may be open to toxic nutritive or functional influences, an acquired character may become an inherited character by some sort of germinal fixation which establishes it as part of the more habitual expression of the germ-plasm. From many points of view it is difficult to regard evolution as due to successive mutations, and the characters which distinguish species, sub-species, and other natural groupings appear to be different from the characters distinguishing "artificial races" and "mutant" types. Evidence is, however, gradually accumulating which suggests that these differences are simply due to differences in the number of genetic factors involved in the two cases.

During the year, numerous studies were published in which genetics, cytology and systematics were linked in the elucidation of particular problems, especially successfully, perhaps, in regard to cultivated plants such as wheat, fruit trees, etc.

The common and widespread occurrence of geographic variation within a species or group of closely-related species has been increasingly recognised, and in view of Cockayne's researches on hybrid swarms and their endless crossings and segregations, and Turesson's work on the importance of climate selection of genotypically different biotypes, this subject has assumed a place of first-class interest.

The study of the physiological genetics of the lower organisms proceeded with unabated zeal and, especially with regard to the fungi and bacteria, results were obtained which showed clearly that in their hereditary processes, these forms are obscure and complicated, probably more so than higher organisms such as *Drosophila* and *Enothera*. In the fungi, at least, the outstanding fact is the fundamental importance and widespread nature of one or another form of sexual or somatic fusion and segregation.

Finally, in this section one must note the increasing application of mathematical and statistical methods to genetical problems, a vogue which many biologists watch with some suspicion. A notable example was Fisher's volume on "The Genetical Theory of Natural Selection."

Zoology.—A very great part of zoological investigation concerns systematics, and during 1930 numerous important monographs were published dealing with regional faunas. The species problem in relation to systematic and taxonomic work was an important focus of attention, the nomenclatural difficulty being to find a system combining stability with freedom for progress, whilst the fundamental problem concerns the

species concept itself, its phylogenetic basis and its relation to systematic and genetic studies.

Morphology seemed to take a new lease of life, and a notable English contribution was Goodrich's "Studies on the Structure and Development of Vertebrates." Considerable attention was given to the problem of epigenesis by Diirken, Schliep, Przibram, and others, and the general point of view which is gradually crystallising out is that the intermittent action of the nuclei on the cytoplasm gives rise to successive differentiations and that, by means of these stages, development is directed to its definite end. A serious philosophical problem is the difficulty of reconciling the genetical conception of the hereditary make-up of an organism with the embryological conception derived from developmental studies.

Numerous investigations were published on the morphology and systematics of the invertebrates, and Stephenson's volume on "The Oligochseta" was an outstanding contribution.

An increasing amount of attention has been paid to animal ecology, especially in America, and a notable contribution was Shelf ord's "Laboratory and Field Ecology."

Among the more important applied aspects of zoology, animal breeding and animal husbandry occupied a prominent place. In fisheries investigations racial studies of the fluctuations in the abundance of the various year-classes of food fishes gave results which premise the possibility of seasonal or even monthly forecasts. In applied entomology the biological control of insect pests and of weeds continued to occupy the centre of attention, and of particular importance was the success obtained in the control of prickly pear by *Cactoblastis* in Australia. Valuable work was also done in Italy and Japan on silkworm culture, and another field in which there were striking developments was the control of insects affecting stored food products. An important discovery by Goodey was that of a widely-distributed nematode parasite of the frit fly.

General Physiology.—Numerous researches dealt with the more fundamental aspects of cellular activity. The recognition of cell organisation is basic to the understanding of cell functioning and synthesis, but there is very great difficulty in reconciling the conception of protoplasm as an architectural structure with the obvious fluidity and adaptability of the cell; a difficulty which is best realised perhaps by watching the hectic and almost chaotic activity of the protoplasm, in a cinema film of living and actively functioning cells. The many colloid investigations of the cell, whilst increasing the amount of data available seem only to have rendered more remote and obscure any understanding of cellular activity.

A number of important researches were stimulated by Child's conception of axial gradients, and it is still uncertain whether such gradients really exist in the course of embryonic development and regulate growth, or whether they are the results of the unfolding of the embryo itself.

Perhaps not so much attention as usual was devoted to sex-determination, but the most significant notes were those of Riddle and Schaffner, who supported the view that in certain animals and plants the sexes and their corresponding metabolic types are both reversible.

As usual, innumerable papers on vitamins appeared during the year, the more important being concerned with improvements in the technique of biological assay, since ordinary standards of chemical purity give insufficient security with substances so highly active as the vitamins. Hormones received much attention, but note can only be made of the important volume by Parkes on "The Internal Secretions of the Ovary."

Colour vision is still a controversial matter, and an interesting theory for its explanation was put forward by Roaf, who assumes three sets of receptors, one stimulated by the whole or visible spectrum, one by long and medium wave-lengths, and one by long wave-lengths only, and a photo-chemical substance with coloured filters in front of the receptors.

An applied aspect of general physiology in which important advances were made is the storage and preservation of fruit, fish, and other food substances.

Botany.—In the plant sciences the event which completely overshadowed all others during the year was the Fifth International Botanical Conference in Cambridge. Although an International Conference of Plant Sciences had been held in the U.S.A. in 1926, very few Europeans were able to attend, and the most recent previous International Conference had taken place in Brussels in 1910. Some 1200 botanists assembled in Cambridge, practically every part of the world being represented, and the volume of Abstracts of Communications to the conference forms an epitome of modern botanical research.

The conference was held in eight sections, running simultaneously, and to note the main subjects discussed is perhaps the best record of the botanical problems of greatest importance during the year. These were as follow—in *Bacteriology*, criteria to be used for the differentiation of bacteria; oxidation and reduction processes in relation to bacterial growth; the life cycles of bacteria: in *Phyto-geography and Ecology*, the post glacial changes of vegetation in north-western Europe in relation to those in the rest of Europe; the classification and nomenclature of vegetation; geographical distribution and its relation to the concept of species; the cartography of species and vegetation; the beech forests of Europe; standardisation of descriptions of plant communities: in *Genetics and Cytology*, mutation; the influence of the cytoplasm; the species concept; polyploidy; chromosome morphology; selective fertilisation and pollen sterility: in *Morphology and Anatomy*, phytonic theories; chimaeras; causal anatomy; xeromorphy; floral organisation; floral biology; nuclear phases and alternation in floral organisation; the structure of the cell membrane; meristems: in *Mycology and Plant Pathology*, the effect of environment on disease; the significance of heterothallism and hybridism in fungi; the differentiation and classification of plant viruses; the action of sulphur as a fungicide; the dissemination of cereal rusts: in *Plant Physiology*, carbon-metabolism of higher plants; permeability and osmotics of the plant cell; mineral nutrition and growth of higher plants; methods of investigation of protoplasmic organisation; growth and development of higher plants; nitrogen metabolism of higher plants: in *Paleobotany*, the antiquity and early evolution of the angiosperms; the earliest known

terrestrial vegetation, its salient features and the bearing of the facts on the origin of a land flora ; the position of the pterido-sperms in the plant kingdom and their relation to ferns; the value of carboniferous and permian plants as stratigraphical indices; the relation of the late palaeozoic flora to the early mesozoic floras : in *Taxonomy and Nomenclature*, the flora of China ; methods of furthering the advance of taxonomy.

The key-note of the conference was the " Species Concept," the most fundamental and far-reaching problem in all biology. It is becoming ever clearer that the traditional Linneean species represent compounds of very different order and magnitude, and that the attempt to formulate a standard definition of the species is vain. The trouble goes even deeper than this, since the very existence of species as natural groups and the philosophic validity of the concept itself are being questioned. The attack comes from all sides ; for the higher plants from the geneticists and from ecological systematists such as Turessen in Sweden or Cockayne and Allan following out Lotsy's ideas in New Zealand; for the lower plants largely from the mycologists and bacteriologists working on strains and the physiological genetics of their organisms. The views of such investigators are at least views of natural facts, whereas the herbarium systematists, bound by types and priorities, are largely juggling with abstractions.

In addition to the Botanical Conference, there was held in London the Ninth International Horticultural Congress, at which the most important subjects discussed were propagation, pomology, and tropical and sub-tropical horticulture.

The wealth of material published during the year was so great as to render it quite impossible to refer to individual contributions, and note can only be made of Ridley's masterly volume on " The Dispersal of Plants Throughout the World," Keissler's " Die Flechtenparasiten," and Thorn's " The Penicillia."

Microbiology and Disease.—Microbiology, purely for reasons of practice and convenience, is steadily differentiating out as a separate scientific discipline. It is held to consist of the study of the viruses, bacteria, fungi, and protozoa in both their pure and applied aspects, and perhaps more especially in their relation to disease, agriculture, and industry.

Although numerous protozoal researches were published, there were no advances requiring special mention. In bacteriology interest continued to centre in the structure and reproduction of the bacterial cell, in bacterial life cycles, and in problems of dissociation. There can now be no question of the complex nature of the bacterial cell both structurally and developmentally, whilst the commonness of dissociation phenomena, its very obscure nature and its fundamental importance to all questions of theory and practice are increasingly being recognised. Further, evidence is steadily accumulating which points to at least the possibility of the occurrence of a filterable stage in the life cycles of certain forms, and this evidence would seem to be very strong for the tubercle bacillus. The immunisation of cows against tuberculosis using " B.C.G." or *Bacillus Calmette Guerin*, appears now to be definitely practicable, but there is still difficulty in that virulent variants occasionally arise. During the year several

volumes appeared of the Medical Research Council's "System of Bacteriology" and Kolle and Wassermann's monumental "Handbuch," and the concluding volumes of Buchanan and Fulmer's "Physiology and Biochemistry of Bacteria."

In plant pathology one of the events during the year most worthy of record was the recommendation of the International Botanical Conference that at future conferences plant pathology should be organised as a section separate from mycology. This definite act of recognition of plant pathology as an independent and autonomous branch of science was long overdue, and the breaking of the shackles with a purely scholastic discipline is likely to have the same effect upon plant pathology as the separation of psychology from philosophy had upon psychology. During 1930 phytopathological publication was in full spate, and among the contributions it would be invidious to make selection. Attention may however be drawn to the Indian, American, and Russian investigations, which leave little doubt that in many cases widespread epidemics of cereal rust diseases may be traced directly to wind-blown spores from more or less distant regions. The destructive Dutch Elm disease (due to *Graphium ulmi*) is apparently spreading in England, and was recorded in the U.S.A. Its local spread seems to be correlated with the presence of the elm beetle. U.S.A. work has confirmed previous English conclusions that living plants produce a reducing substance reacting with sulphur to yield hydrogen sulphide which is highly toxic to a wide variety of fungi.

Virus diseases of plants continued to absorb much of the interest of phytopathologists. It seems to be becoming clear that plant viruses exist as groups of more or less closely related strains with characteristic properties and production of host symptoms, although the latter are not very dependable as differentiating characters. In fact the "strain situation" in viruses seems to be closely analogous to that in fungi and bacteria. The intracellular bodies characteristic of certain plant virus diseases are still newly described from time to time as parasitic organisms, but Sheffield and Henderson Smith have demonstrated that in certain diseased plants these bodies are not causal organisms but unorganised bodies of protein nature which are formed in the protoplasm as a result of virus attack. During the year a new field was opened up by Caldwell in the study of the physiological aspects of plant virus diseases.

Some of the more important results in veterinary science were obtained in immunological researches in virus diseases. It is now possible to immunise dogs to distemper, fowls to fowl plague, and monkeys to yellow fever, whilst in foot and mouth disease of cattle a passive immunity lasting ten days is conferred by a serum effective against all strains of the virus.

General.—The study of human biology is gradually gaining recognition, and a marked step forward was made during 1930 in the creation of a Chair of the subject in the University of London.

A fact worthy of note is the increasing use of cinema-photography as a method of research and recording. In England most of the films have been made by the British Instructional Film Co., in collaboration with the various research workers, and the results are in many cases quite remarkable.

There can be little doubt that the introduction of this technique as a common method of laboratory investigation would be revolutionary in biology.

Looking back generally over the year one is impressed by the vast amount of biological research being carried out, and the very small fraction of this which is applied to human welfare. Were, for example, our present knowledge of disease prevention and treatment applied in a competent way, there need exist little if any disease in animals or plants. In engineering, physics, chemistry, etc., application treads on the heels of discovery, but in biology, research and practice have little contact, whereas the need and opportunities are overwhelming.

Further, in 1930 a fact which seemed to stand out more definitely than in other recent years was the philosophic restlessness in biology, the questioning of hitherto accepted fundamental concepts and apparently established theories, the turning away from mechanism and the dissatisfaction with vitalism, the abandonment of the convention that of two " explanations " the simpler is more likely to be true than the more recondite, and the increasing recognition of the time factor in biology. Coupled with this philosophic turmoil was a methodological unrest shown especially in a search for new methods of approach, for new weapons for the fray, and in an increasing scepticism and disregard of historical authority.

THE PHYSICAL SCIENCES.

The present position of physical theory may best be illustrated by a statement made by Dr. P. A. M. Dirac, who has played a prominent part in its development. He writes: " the new theories, if one looks apart from their mathematical setting, are built up from physical concepts which cannot be explained in terms of anything known to the student, which cannot even be explained adequately in terms of words at all." Even the " mathematical setting " is new and strange, and, in great part, expressed in an undefined symbolism devised specially for the purpose. That this should be the case is not really surprising, for theory is dealing with the constituents of matter and electricity, while our thought and language are based on our experience of their behaviour as entities. The remarkable thing is rather that we are able to handle at all such problems as the escape of an α -particle from the nucleus of an atom. Here, to provide a mechanism of escape, it is necessary to consider the α -particle inside the nucleus as behaving like a group of waves, while, once outside, it is its particle characteristics which hold our attention. Nevertheless wave-like characteristics are not entirely absent from the behaviour of particles more massive than the electron, for Dempster showed that positive rays from hydrogen, when reflected at grazing incidence from the cleavage face of a calcite crystal on to a photographic plate, give a complex pattern of the type that would be expected if the de Broglie waves associated with the rays were being diffracted by the rows of atoms in the surface of the crystal. The nature of these " waves " is by no means simple—or certain. Thus, to quote H. S. Allen, " On the statistical view, first given a logical basis in the papers of Born, the wave becomes no more than a purely symbolic

and analytic representation of certain probabilities, and no longer constitutes a physical phenomenon in the old meaning of the term."

In a paper read before the British Association in September, Dirac advanced a theory of the proton (i.e., the nucleus of the hydrogen atom) which may be described here as a indication of the trend of current theory rather than with the idea that there is any finality in the suggestion. It starts from the fact that the energy of a charged particle in free space is determined by an equation which allows the energy to have negative as well as positive values, while the quantum theory indicates that transitions from states having positive to states having negative values of energy are possible. Combine with this Pauli's exclusion principle which prescribes that it is impossible for two electrons in any given volume to be simultaneously in the same state (the number of possible states being finite and greater the greater the volume), and we arrive at Dirac's concept that the proton is an unoccupied negative state in a region in which almost all the possible negative states are occupied by negative energy electrons. The motion of such a "hole" in an electromagnetic field would be the same as that of a particle with a charge $+e$, the electron having a charge $-e$. A perfect vacuum would be a region in which all the possible negative energy states are filled. When the transition of an electron from a positive to a negative state occurs, it would appear as if an electron and a proton had annihilated each other, liberating electromagnetic energy. The theory fails to account for the fact that a proton behaves as if its mass was 1840 times that of an electron, and it is based on Pauli's principle which so far lacks any theoretical explanation.

In the Kelvin Lecture, delivered before the Institution of Electrical Engineers in May, E. H. Fowler showed how Sommerfeld and others have applied the new theories to overcome the difficulties associated with Drude's electron theory of metals, and have thus been led to satisfactory explanations of the conduction of electricity, of thermoelectric effects and of the escape of electrons from metals, even from coated filaments. He also pointed out how Heisenberg has succeeded in placing Weiss's theory of ferromagnetism on a rational basis.

The theoretical importance of the magnetic behaviour of substances became increasingly obvious, and the Royal Society made a grant of 16,000? towards the cost of Kapitza's work with strong magnetic fields. Sucksmith, working at Bristol, succeeded in measuring the gyromagnetic effect with the paramagnetic dysprosium oxide. This effect arises when, for example, a bar of iron is suddenly magnetised. The "magnetic particles" turn, and the reaction gives the bar an angular momentum in the opposite direction. The effect is small even in ferromagnetic substances, and Sucksmith's success was an achievement of no mean order. His results confirmed Hund's theoretical predictions, and indicated that the magnetic moment of paramagnetic substances is determined by both the orbital and spin motions of the electrons. On the other hand, the gyromagnetic effect in ferromagnetic substances shows that their magnetism is derived solely from the orientation of the axes about which the loosely bound or free electrons are spinning.

Two other discoveries in the field of magnetism deserve mention. Gerlach showed that an electromotive force is produced in a ferromagnetic substance when it is placed in a uniform magnetic field, and a temperature gradient parallel to the field is established in it. He used a nickel wire, one end being maintained at 20° C. while the other was gradually heated. The electromotive force appeared to depend on the difference between the temperatures of the ends and not on the temperature gradient. It increased until the hot end reached the Curie temperature and then remained approximately constant. It vanished when both ends, though differing in temperature, were above the Curie point.

Ciofn, working the laboratories of the Bell Telephone Co., discovered that hydrogenised iron has a remarkable permeability at low magnetic fields. Initial and maximum permeabilities of 6,000 and 130,000 were observed; the maximum occurring with a field strength of 0.05 gauss. The hysteresis loss for a maximum induction of 14,000 was only 300 ergs per cc. per cycle. The specimens used were prepared by heating armco iron for twelve hours at 1,500° C. in an atmosphere of moist hydrogen, and then annealing it at 880° C.

Meissner discovered that copper sulphide is a superconductor. This was the first compound observed to possess this property. Later, Meissner and Franz found that the nitrides of titanium and vanadium and the carbides of molybdenum, niobium, tantalum, and possibly titanium, possess the same property. Niobium carbide becomes a superconductor at 10° A., the highest temperature at which the phenomenon has been observed to occur.

Chadwick investigated the scattering of slow α -particles by helium gas, and obtained results in accord with the quantum theory of the collision of identical particles and not with the classical theory. His results confirmed the assumption that the helium nucleus has no spin or vector quantity associated with it, and that it is surrounded by a spherical field. Harkins and Smith took 39,000 photographs of the tracks of 390,000 α -particles in a Wilson cloud chamber containing nitrogen. In two cases it appeared that the oxygen isotope of mass number 17 was formed by the addition of an α -particle to nitrogen (14) and the simultaneous ejection of a proton.

Aston succeeded in photographing the mass spectrum of tungsten, and found it to consist of four isotopes of mass numbers 182, 183, 184, and 186, with a distribution giving an atomic weight 183.96. He also identified the isotopes of chromium as having mass numbers 50, 52, 53, and 54, giving an atomic weight 52.011 ± 0.006 identical with the accepted value. Recognition of the fact that oxygen possesses isotopes of mass numbers 17 and 18 in addition to its main constituent (16) implied that it would be desirable to select some other unit for the expression of atomic weights.

Grosse isolated protoactinium (one of the three isotopes of eka-tantalum, element No. 91), obtaining 40 mgm. of the element with which he investigated its chemical properties. He found it to be more basic than tantalum and analogous rather to thorium and uranium. K. R. Krishnaswami obtained twenty-four consistent values of the atomic weight of tantalum with a mean of 181.36. Hitherto the value has been taken as 181.3 or 181.5.

In the *Physical Review* Millikan considered what changes are necessary in the numerical values of the electron charge e and Planck's constant h which he obtained in 1917, and which have been accepted as standard values ever since. He concluded that the only changes required were those arising from new determinations of the absolute value of the ohm and of the velocity of light. Allowing for them he found $e = 4.770 \pm 0.005 \times 10^{-10}$ e.s.u. and $h = 6.547 \pm 0.010 \times 10^{-27}$ c.g.s. units. Avogadro's number then becomes $6.064 \pm 0.006 \times 10^{28}$. The values of e given by indirect calculations based on the measurement of X-ray wave-lengths with ruled gratings are slightly larger than Millikan's values. Thus Cook, from measurements of the wave-lengths of the L lines of molybdenum, finds $e = 4.8162 \times 10^{-10}$ e.s.u. There is also a small discrepancy between the values of e/m given by deflection experiments and spectroscopic measurements. This is possibly a real difference capable of explanation by wave mechanics.

The vast output of papers dealing with the Raman effect continued, and a bibliography compiled by Bhagavantam for the *Indian Journal of Physics* showed that, up to June 1930, no fewer than 350 had appeared, an increase of 200 in about ten months. Among other papers dealing with miscellaneous physical subjects were two by Toy and Harrison on the mechanism of the photographic plate, and a paper containing an account of new measurements of the thermal properties of saturated water and steam from 0° to 270° C. by Osborne, Stimson, and Fiock.

Perhaps the most interesting feature of the astronomical work of the year was the discovery of a new planet, named Pluto, moving in an orbit outside, but possibly overlapping, that of Neptune. The existence of this planet was inferred by Lowell in 1915, and it was found after prolonged search by the staff of the Lowell Observatory Flagstaff, Arizona. The announcement was made by Prof. Harlow Shapley on March 13, and the actual discoverer was, apparently, Mr. Tombaugh. The new planet was identified with an object found on a plate exposed at the Uccle Observatory, Belgium, in January, 1927. Its period appeared to be 250.7 years.

Milne challenged Eddington's theory of the conditions in the interior of the stars (*e.g.*, *Nature*, August). He considered it proved that if in an "Eddington" star the rate of generation of internal energy diminishes ever so slightly the mass suffers an intense concentration towards its centre, the external radius not necessarily being changed. As a consequence the temperature of the central core rises to values as great as 10^{11} degrees C. instead of the 10^7 degrees C. indicated by current theory. At such temperatures the transformation of matter into radiant energy should take place quite readily.

Eddington dealt with the rotation of the galaxy in the Halley lecture. He considered data which show that our galaxy is rotating about a centre in Sagittarius distant at least 23,000 light years from the Sun. The speed of rotation increases as the centre is approached (as, *e.g.* in the case of Saturn's rings), and at the distance of the sun is at the rate of about one revolution in 250 million years. This rotation brings in its train a grave problem of

stability. To quote Eddington, "we are hard put to it to invent a galaxy with even this limited degree of permanence [*i.e.* 3,000 million years] which shall at the same time embody the main features of stellar motion and distribution [already] enumerated." Time scales of billions of years (*c/.*, for example, Jeans, "The Universe Around Us") appear to be quite out of the question. This is indeed a revolution of ideas!

Several American Universities decided to establish Observatories on the high veldt in South Africa where the seeing is exceptionally good, and a strong movement developed in favour of transferring the Radcliffe Observatory, Oxford, to a site near Pretoria.

Joos repeated the Michelson-Morley experiment at Jena, using a light path of 21 metres between mirrors mounted on a frame built up of quartz slabs. His results showed that, if any ether wind exists, its velocity is less than 1.5 kilometres per second.

The British Association met at Bristol during the period, September 3-10. Professor F. O. Bower was President, and the membership was 2,650. The Council decided to open a centenary endowment fund in commemoration of the centenary meeting in 1931. The sum desired was 40,000*l.*, this being the amount required to put the finances of the Association on a sound basis. Dr. F. E. Smith, the President of Section A (Physics and Mathematics) chose as the subject of his address, "Theories of Terrestrial Magnetism." He expressed the opinion that we have as yet no certain knowledge of the origin of the earth's magnetic field. Professor G. T. Morgan, President of Section B, described the work done in the Chemical Research Laboratory, Teddington. This laboratory was started by the Department of Scientific and Industrial Research in 1925, and is situated near the National Physical Laboratory. Three laboratory units were contemplated in the original scheme, but only half of one unit has been completed. Work on the corrosion of metals has shown, *inter alia*, that the green patina which forms on copper surfaces exposed to the air is not basic copper carbonate as stated in the text-books, but mainly basic copper sulphate, the composition, after many years of exposure, being $\text{CuSO}_4 \cdot 3\text{Cu}(\text{OH})_2$.

The Faraday Society arranged a discussion on Optical Rotatory Power on April 25 and 26. Among the papers considered was one dealing with the application of wave mechanics to problems of optical rotation. On May 23 the members of the Physical Society discussed Magnetism, and on June 4 and 5 the Physical and Optical Societies held a joint discussion on Photoelectric Cells, which were being widely used for photometric and other measurements.

The second World Power Conference held at Berlin, from June 16 to 26, was attended by 3,900 members and delegates. More than 400 papers were presented to the thirty-four sections of the conference.

The first high-voltage research laboratory in this country, erected by the Metropolitan-Vickers Co. at Manchester, was opened by Sir Ernest Rutherford on February 28. The equipment permits surge voltages up to 1.5 million volts to be obtained. A 2-million volt laboratory was opened in Germany for making tests on insulators for high voltage transmis-

sion lines. In that country 750 miles of 220,000 volt line were in operation, and much higher voltages were under consideration. In Canada the Ontario Hydroelectric Power Commission constructed a 220,000 volt line from the Panga Falls to Toronto, a distance of 230 miles.

The first and most difficult part of the Lochaber Hydro-Electric Power undertaking was completed by the British Aluminium Co. Water from Loch Treig is taken through a tunnel 15 miles long to a power station at Fort William, where it drives Pelton wheel turbo-generators developing over 50,000 horse-power. The gross head is about 800 feet.

As a result of the destruction of the airship R101, the U.S. Department of Commerce decided to permit the export of helium from the United States. Most of the gas comes from the oilfield at Amarillo, Texas. The output for the year ending June 30, 1930, was just short of ten million cubic feet, and this was only a fraction of the capacity of the plant. The price, to the U.S. Government, was such as to make it cheaper to operate airships with helium than with hydrogen.

The British Photographic Research Association went into voluntary liquidation, owing to the consolidation of trade interests and the increase in the research carried out in the laboratories of private firms.

FINANCE AND COMMERCE IN 1930.

THE second year of the second decade after the European War witnessed universal economic depression of exceptional severity. Prices of primary products fell heavily and those of secondary products less heavily. At the close of the year the wholesale price level, which in April, 1920, stood at 320 compared with 100 in December, 1913, had fallen to 1032. Thus the price bulge caused by the war was eliminated. Some primary products fell much below the pre-war level. The cost of living declined more slowly owing to the greater resistance of retailers and distributors' rings, while certain guarantees given to labour in the sheltered industries, like the railways, also helped to check the fall in the cost of living which, at the end of the year, was still 53 per cent, above the pre-war figure, compared with 63 per cent, at the close of 1929. The gap between the wholesale price level and the retail price level gave rise to very serious problems in industry. Producers are only interested in wholesale prices, for these determine their revenues ; but in many industries wages are regulated by the cost of living index number, and producers found it impossible to pay these wages out of wholesale prices. Production, therefore, became increasingly unprofitable during the year. Demands were made for reductions of wages, but except in a few cases workpeople, aided by their trades unions, stoutly resisted them. Although distributors and middlemen were more fortunately placed as regards revenues, since these depended more upon the higher retail price level, and were able to secure reductions in wages more easily owing to the labour they employ being less well organised, they too felt the depression in trade in the shape of smaller turnover. People whose wages had been cut or whose employment had been lost had less to spend, and those dependent upon dividends and interest suffered a loss of income owing to the fact that many companies reduced or failed to pay dividends and interest. They, too, had less to spend.

What were the causes of the heavy fall in wholesale prices and the shrunken volume of commerce ? There is ample evidence of the causes that were at work. Between 1914 and 1930 the population of the world grew by 10 per cent., but the production of foodstuffs and raw materials advanced by 23 per cent., and of manufactured goods by a still greater percentage, if judged by the capacity of the world's factories and workshops. One of the most powerful factors in increased production was the growing perfection and adoption of the internal combustion engine. The motor-car, the lorry and the tractor, and modern methods of communication have annihilated time and space. The motor car has opened up virgin **land to production in all parts of the world, and** the telephone and the

wireless have speeded up production in an amazing fashion. Before the coming of the motor-car, certain lands in Australia, Africa, Canada, and South America were not cultivable or capable of exploitation, but they have become available now. Hence a vast increase in output of wheat and other things. The internal combustion engine stimulated the production of oil, and increased its efficiency in a variety of ways, which resulted in oil ousting coal in many directions. This led to over-production of both and a heavy fall in prices. In industry the war wrought great changes. It led to the establishment abroad of factories for the production of goods which were formerly bought in Great Britain and the industrial countries of Europe. The war also stimulated the invention of new manufacturing processes. It caused a veritable revolution in iron and steel production, and greatly enlarged the capacity for it as well. The woollen and worsted industry of Yorkshire, which has been declining for many years, particularly the worsted, made further progress down the steps of decay, and the same was true of the cotton industry. Although this still remains the biggest export industry, it has passed its peak and the coming of cheaper producers in Japan, India, and elsewhere means that it will never recover its old dominance. Lancashire had a great lead, but her monopoly could not last for ever. This county made a great mistake when it assumed it could do so. Lancashire delayed too long the reconstruction which she is now painfully trying to carry out. The Lancashire Cotton Corporation, formed by a number of cotton companies and helped by the Bank of England, is manfully striving to reorganise and rationalise the industry, but much yet remains to be done.

The decline in prices was therefore due to abundance, just as the preceding rise, from 1914 to 1920, was due to scarcity caused by the war. Since by the nature of things abundance must cause prices to decline, it follows that unless prices of the different products which exchange for each other alter in a manner which corresponds to the changes in the supplies of each, trade must be held up. For example, if the production of wheat is doubled, while that of other products with which it normally exchanges is increased by only 20 per cent., obviously it will be impossible to sell all the wheat unless its price falls in a greater ratio than that of the other products. But there is always great resistance to price changes, especially downward ones, and until prices have adjusted themselves again in the right ratios—which in course of time they will do—trade cannot recover. The year of 1931 will be an important year of readjustment, for the manufacturing countries must reduce their prices and costs—which they will do partly by speeding up and increasing production and by currency devaluation where wage reductions are resisted—in order to enable the primary countries to buy more. The primary producing countries will be compelled by the fall in their prices to reduce production, and equilibrium will be established by both moving towards each other. Meanwhile, a number of things of the first importance are likely to happen. Owing to the fall in prices and the shrinkage of trade, the burden of the unproductive dead weight war debts has become impossibly heavy and default will sooner or later occur. The sooner it occurs the better, for then the

tens of millions which one country sends to another without any return will become available for trade once more.

Great Britain alone among the European participants in the war reverted to the gold standard at the pre-war parity. She did this in spite of the fact that the war was more costly to her than to any other nation, and that she was left with a debt greater than that carried by any other country. Since the war, the management of the national finances has been deplorable ; one extravagance after another has been indulged in ; the limits of taxation have been reached and passed ; the downward readjustment of wages has been stopped by the dole, and the prospect is for heavy and increasing Budget deficits. Wage reductions are necessary, but, with the

Place.	Par of Exchange.	Dec. 31, 1930.	Dec. 31, 1929.	Highest 1930.	Lowest 1930.
New York	4-8666	4-85 ⁵ / ₈	4-88 ¹ / ₈	4-88 ¹ / ₈	4.85 ⁷ / ₁₆
Montreal -	4-8666	4-86*	4-93 ³ / ₈	4.94	4.84 ¹³ / ₁₆
Paris	124-21	123-67	123-87	124.36	123.50
Brussels	35-00	34-761	34-86 ¹ / ₂	34.96 ¹ / ₂	34.73 ¹ / ₄
Milan	92-46	92-75	93-22	93.22	92.61
Switzerland	25-2215	25 0 4	25-12 ¹ / ₂	25.22	24.99
Athens	375	375	375	376	374
Helsingfors	193-23	193	1944	194.30	192.75
Madrid	25-2215	46-20	36-50	51.20	35.65
Lisbon	—	108}	108 ¹ / ₄	108 ³ / ₈	108 ¹ / ₈
Amsterdam	12-107	12 06	12-09 ³ / ₈	12 13}	12.04
Berlin	20-43	20-38 ³ / ₄	20-42 ¹ / ₂	20.45	20.35 ¹ / ₂
Vienna	34-584	34-49	34-65 ¹ / ₂	34.68	34.40
Budapest -	27-82	27-74 ¹ / ₂	27-86	27-89	27.72
Prague	164-2527	163	164}	164 ¹⁵ / ₁₆	1634
Warsaw -	43-38	43 ¹ / ₂	434	434	43}
Riga	25-2215	25-21	25-21	25.33	25.17
Bucharest -	813-6	817 ¹ / ₂	818	820	813
Constantinople -	110	1-025‡	1-030‡	1,030‡	1,020 ‡
Belgrade -	25-2215	274g	2754	2764	273}
Kovno	48-66	48}	48}	49}	48}
Sofia	673-669	670 ¹ / ₂	6751	677	660
Reval	18-159	18-24	18-19 ¹ / ₂	18.30	18.17
Oslo	18-159	18-16	18-20 ³ / ₈	18-22	18.14 ¹ / ₂
Stockholm	18-159	18 12}	18 13}	18-15 ¹ / ₂	18.08 ¹ / ₄
Copenhagen	18-159	18-16 ¹ / ₂	18-20 ³ / ₈	18-20 ³ / ₄	18-15
Alexandria	97 ¹ / ₂	97 ¹ / ₂	974	97 ⁹ / ₁₆	9 7 *
Bombay -	18d.	—	1/5 ¹⁵ / ₁₆	1/5 ¹ / ₁₂	1/6 ³ / ₄
Calcutta -	18d.	1/5	1/5 ¹⁵ / ₁₆	1/5 ³ / ₃₂	1/5}
Madras	18d.	1/5 ¹⁵ / ₁₆	1/5 ¹⁵ / ₁₆	1/5 ³¹ / ₃₂	1/5}
Hong-Kong	—	1/1 ¹ / ₈	1/8	1/8 ⁷ / ₁₆	1/0 ⁷ / ₈
Kobe	24-58d.	2/04	2/0 ¹¹ / ₆₄	2/0 ²¹ / ₃₂	2/0 *
Shanghai -	—	1/5	2/1 *	2/1}	1/4}
Singapore -	2/4	2/3}	2/3}	2/4	2/3 ²¹ / ₃₂
Batavia	12-107	12 06 ³ / ₄	12 13}	12 14}	12 04}
Manila	24-666d.	2/0 ⁵ / ₁₆	2/0 *	2/0 ⁵ / ₁₆	2/0 *
Rio de Janeiro -	5-899d.	4 35	5 ²⁵ / ₆₄	6 ⁵⁷ / ₆₄	4 ¹ / ₂
Buenos Aires	47-619d.	55} / 54	4 6 *	46 ¹ / ₆₄	34 ¹ / ₂
Valparaiso †	40	39-92	39-79	40 0 2	39.57
Montevideo	51d.	35}	46}	46}	34}
Lima f	12-166	16-55	—	16.70	12-45
Mexico	9-76	10-30	10 10	11.15	9-95

t 90 days. ‡ Nominal,

retail price level much above the wholesale price level, they are difficult to effect. Reduction of the debt burden is impossible owing to the low credit of the Government. There has been a steady flight from the pound ever since Mr. Snowden's Budget, and his subsequent explanation that the object of his taxation measures was to bring about a redistribution of wealth. Unless expenditure is reduced, and the competitive power of this country is regained, this country will be forced to devalue the pound. That would reduce all wages, salaries, fees, and debts.

This contingency has become plainly apparent in the past year. The pound sterling stood at a discount in terms of the principal foreign currencies practically throughout the year. Large exports of gold took place, especially to France, and the Bank of England's stock would have been dangerously low if the crisis in Australia and South America had not caused these countries, particularly Australia, to ship large amounts of gold to England.

Foreign Exchanges.—Apart from the weakness of the pound sterling in terms of francs, the chief features in the foreign exchanges in 1930 were the heavy discount (30 per cent, at one time) on the Australian pound—this devaluation being the result of excessive spending and excessive costs—a further fall in the Spanish peseta, and the weakness of the Argentine peso and Brazilian milreis. The catastrophic fall in silver (from 21 $\frac{1}{16}$ to 14 $\frac{7}{16}$ d. per ounce) was responsible for the heavy decline in the Far East Exchanges. The table on p. 67 is taken from *The Times Annual Financial and Commercial Review*.

Banking.—The year was a disastrous period for the banks as well as for their customers. The turnover of the London Bankers Clearing House was relatively well maintained, but those of the provincial clearings were heavily down. The grand total of bills, cheques, etc., which passed through the London Clearing House was 43,558,354,000l., a decrease of 1,338,323,000l. or 2·9 per cent, on 1929, but the total was actually 751,283,000Z. in excess of the five-year average. This was due partly to the fact that very heavy Government financing operations took place during the year. Figures for the past two years are shown below:—

	(000's omitted). 1930.	1929.	Decrease.
	£	£	£
Grand total	43,558,354	44,896,677	1,338,323 (2·9 per cent.)
Town clearing -	38,782,577	39,935,924	1,153,347 (2·8 per cent.)
Metropolitan clearing	1,812,146	1,881,989	69,843 (3·7 per cent.)
County cheque clearing	2,963,631	3,078,764	115,133 (3·7 per cent.)

The totals of the eleven provincial clearings for 1930 are compared with those for 1929 in the next table:—

Town.	Amount.	Decrease.	
		£	per cent.
Birmingham •	121,774,000	10,550,000	(7-9)
Bradford	43,243,000	16,181,000	(27-2)
Bristol -	57,186,000	3,369,000	(5-5)
Hull	40,359,000	3,609,000	(82)
Leeds	46,426,000	4,260,000	(8-4)
Leicester	36,021,000	4,643,000	(11-4)
Liverpool	325,729,000	77,056,000	(191)
Manchester	531,751,000	116,208,000	(17-9)
Newcastle-on-Tyne -	71,390,000	6,005,000	(7-7)
Nottingham •	29,798,000	2,268,000	(7-0)
Sheffield -	44,747,000	6,642,000	(12-9)

At the beginning of the year bank credit became easy everywhere, owing to the collapse of the great speculative boom in America. Bank rate, which started the year at 5 per cent., was reduced to 3 per cent, by May 3, and there it remained. The New York rate fell to 2 per cent, later in the year, and the Paris rate to the same figure on the turn of the year.

Owing to the fall in rates and the diminished demand for credit the profits of the banks declined, and one of the big banks—Lloyds Bank—reduced its dividend. It is almost unprecedented for a big bank to reduce its dividend, for the policy of the banks has always been to keep the dividend low enough to ensure its payment in any conceivable circumstances. But the banks had enormously increased their salary bill during and after the war, and when bad times came round again they regretted their precipitate action of making the increases permanent. Some of the banks have reduced their salary scales for new entrants, made their pensions contributory, and introduced mechanical devices in order to save labour. In the following table are compared the average rates for money during recent years :—

1926	1927	1928	1929	1930
BANK RATE AVERAGE.				
£ a. d.	£ s. d.	I £ s. d.	I £ s. d.	£ s. d.
5 0 0	4 13 0	4 10 0	5 10 0	3 8 4
DISCOUNT RATE (THREE MONTHS BANK BILLS) AVERAGE.				
4 8 3	4 4 9	4 3 4	5 5 2	2 12 6
BANKS' DEPOSIT RATE AVERAGE.				
3 0 0	2 13 0	2 10 0	3 10 0	1 8 4
TREASURY BILL (TENDER) RATE AVERAGE.				
4 10 1	4 5 2	4 2 9	5 5 1.7	2 10 10-31
SHORT LOAN RATE AVERAGE.				
4 0 0	3 14 6	3 12 9	4 12 0	2 9 0

Considerable amounts of gold reached the Bank in the early months of the year, chiefly from Australia, which, however, after shipping 23,992,000Z. slipped off the gold standard owing to a fresh fall in the value of her exports and the cessation of foreign borrowing, which in previous years had

never stopped. Only by foreign borrowing was she able to pay her debts. Australia is now trying to reform her finances, but as this cannot be done without reforming her economic life as well, the task will be long and painful. At the beginning of May the bank's stock was 164,502,394?., but it fell to 148,271,371Z. by the end of the year, owing to withdrawals for Paris. France took 55,500,000?. of gold in 1930 following 33,395,000?. in 1929. Germany (by borrowing) took 16,201,000?. against 19,108,000?., and Switzerland 4,765,000?. At the end of 1930 the Bank of France had a gold stock of 432,000,000?., and its foreign balances were 54,770,000?. The Bank of England's stock would, of course, have been much smaller had she not received gold from South Africa and South America. In the following table the Bank of England's last return of the year is compared with that of the two preceding years :—

	Dec. 31, 1930.	Dec. 24, 1929.	Dec. 27, 1928.
Coin and bullion -	148,271,371	146,027,587	154,067,274
Note circulation -	368,801,666	379,573,841	388,242,899
Public deposits -	6,580,599	8,829,268	12,969,050
Other deposits:—			
Bankers' -	132,449,330	71,048,531	69,489,708
Other accounts	36,159,228	35,788,939	37,511,394
Reserve (notes and coin)	39,469,805	26,453,746	25,824,375
Ratio -	22½ per cent.	22½ per cent.	21 £ per cent.
Government securities	81,021,247	67,123,618	67,296,855
Other securities:—			
Discounts and advances	48,962,458	22,300,076	25,931,966
Securities	23,690,166	17,735,120	18,853,964

A large number of foreign borrowers raised funds in London by short term borrowing instead of by long term loans. This is an important difference, for the former are provided by bank credit and the latter by investors out of their savings. Kenya, Hungary, Chile, Argentina, Australia, New Zealand, Brazil, and Germany all issued short term bills. In the next table is shown the movement of banking figures, month by month as recorded by the figures of the ten London Clearing banks :—

(000's OMITTED.)

Month.	Deposits.	Cash.	Money at Call and Short Notice.	Bills.	Investments.	Advances.
	£	£	£	£	£	£
January -	1,805,002	195,453	144,179	245,177	247,937	985,370
February -	1,751,132	184,600	129,623	220,416	244,019	988,348
March	1,719,314	184,376	134,731	183,565	240,435	990,809
April -	1,749,715	190,720	135,808	209,571	240,375	984,253
May -	1,779,834	189,782	139,346	248,028	246,648	972,370
June -	1,825,638	192,684	146,988	274,974	247,936	972,824
July -	1,830,857	194,374	145,327	286,419	255,793	966,681
August	1,803,838	190,968	137,195	281,172	265,356	950,661
September	1,800,661	189,519	136,244	285,652	270,122	941,861
October -	1,827,671	191,728	145,230	297,909	272,120	938,812
November	1,837,994	191,937	138,854	311,434	279,854	935,417
December	1,875,762	207,476	143,994	321,501	284,716	928,670

British Government Finance.—Features of national finance in 1930 were all unfavourable. The year 1929-30 ended with a deficit of 14,523,000?. To meet his expenditure in 1930-31, 787,209,000?., the Chancellor of the Exchequer imposed new taxes to yield 33,800,000 in 1930-31, and 46,580,000?. in a full year. Virtually the whole of this new burden was thrown upon the direct taxpayer, but the smaller taxpayer was excluded from the burden by a change in the graduation. Income-tax was raised from 4s. to *is.* 6d. in the pound, surtax from 6s. to *Is.* 6dL, and the death duties were raised still higher. Owing to the fall in money rates the Government decided to issue in the autumn a short term loan amounting to about 70,000,000?. to 80,000,000?. But it was unable to tackle the question of converting the 5 per cent. War Loan into a new and cheaper loan owing to its extravagant and distrusted policy. The floating debt was decreased during the year as shown in the subjoined table by conversion operations :—

Floating Debt.	Dec. 31, 1930.	Dec. 31, 1929.
	£	£
Ways and Means Advances :—		
From the Bank of England -	26,250,000	24,240,000
From Public Depts. -	50,700,000	53,130,000
, Treasury Bills	690,235,000	780,245,000
Total -	767,185,000	857,615,000

The Stock Exchange.—Severe depression prevailed on the Stock Exchange throughout the year. Apart from gilt-edged stocks and high-class securities of a fixed interest-bearing character prices declined substantially everywhere. The calculations made by the *Bankers' Magazine* show that the aggregate value of 365 representative securities declined by 363,077,000/. or 5·4 per cent, to 6,356,751,000/. While 87 fixed interest-bearing stocks rose by 151,720,000. or 3·7 per cent, to 4,219,374,000!., 278 other securities fell in value by 514,797,000. or 19·4 per cent., to 2,137,377,000/. These same stocks in 1929 depreciated by over 7 per cent. Home railway stocks suffered severely, a decrease in gross receipts of about 10,500,000/., and in net receipts of about 8,200,000/., causing grave perturbation among investors. The loss of traffic was due to bad trade and road competition. Unless wages, which are about 100 per cent, above the pre-war level, are reduced, the plight of the railways will become extremely serious. Outstanding features of the year were the passing for the first time of the interim dividend by Guest, Keen, and Nettlefolds, and the granting of a moratorium to the Royal Mail Steam Packet Company, the control of which has been vested in three Voting Trustees for the purpose of carrying out thoroughgoing reforms and a financial reconstruction. New capital issues amounted to 236,159,000/., the smallest since 1925. For 1929 the total was 253,749,000/. Oversea borrowers took 108,803,000/. against 94,347,000/. At home the feature was the heavy municipal borrowing, which amounted to 44,537,000/. against 3,553,000/.

Industrial Profits.—Profits of industry underwent a substantial shrinkage, but the *Economist's* table will not show the full effects of the slump

until next year. Taking the figures of 1,932 companies, their net profits in 1930 were 197,539,90915., a decrease of 1,277,8621., or 0*6 per cent. Reports published in the first two quarters showed increases, but those issued in the last half-year showed big decreases, those of the December quarter recording a decline of no less than 18*1 per cent. Of the total profits 119,050,143Z. (60*2 per cent.) were distributed to the Ordinary shareholders, 43,115,910Z. (21*9 per cent.) went to the Preference shareholders, and 35,373,856Z. (17*9 per cent.) were placed to reserves, *i.e.*, added to the capital invested in the business. The total profits were equal to 9*8 per cent, of the combined preference and ordinary capital (2,007,816,632Z.), against 10*5 per cent, in 1929, and 11*1 per cent, in 1928. In 1922, the previous slump year, the ratio was only 7 per cent.

Foreign Commerce.—The fall in prices made a big impression upon the foreign trade returns, but this does not account for the whole of the decline in the trade figures. Imports were 1,044,800,000Z. against 1,220,800,000Z. Exports of British goods fell from 729,300,000Z. to 570,600,000Z., and total exports (which includes re-exports), from 839,100,000Z. to 657,500,000Z. Thus the excess of imports was 387,300,000Z. against 381,700,000Z. in 1929, and 351,700,000Z. in 1928. The aggregate declines do not in themselves reveal the full gravity of the situation. There were substantial declines in raw material imports and finished exports, and a smaller decline in imports of finished goods. Of the drop in exports no less than 134,000,000Z. was in goods wholly or mainly manufactured. Allowing for the fall in prices, it is believed that the import trade of the country was about 5 to 6 per cent, larger than in 1924, but the export trade was about 10 per cent. less. Textile exports in quantity were little more than one-half the 1924 total.

Iron and Steel and Coal.—At the beginning of the year 162 blast furnaces were in operation; at the close the number was only 76. Pig iron production dropped from 7,579,500 tons to 6,196,800 tons, and of steel from 9,654,700 tons to 7,298,500 tons, which are the lowest totals since the general strike year 1926. Imports of iron and steel for the year were 2,908,300 tons, an increase of 86,000 tons; but exports decreased by 1,221,600 tons to 3,157,900 tons. In December the imports exceeded exports for the fourth month in succession by the unprecedented margin of 113,500 tons. This is a tragic testimony to the decline of British competitive power. The coal industry suffered a fresh setback.

The production of coal was 244,000,000 tons, a decrease of 14,000,000 tons or 5*4 per cent. Exports amounted to 75,100,000 tons, a decrease of 7,200,000 tons, or 9*5 per cent. Domestic consumption absorbed 168,900,000 tons, a decrease of 4,600,000 tons. The iron and steel industry consumed between 4,500,000 and 5,000,000 tons less. The credit balance for the whole year was about 1,900,000Z. compared with 4,200,000Z. in 1929. The number of people employed was 886,800 against 947,900, and the average wage or man shift worked was 9s. 3½d. against 9s. 2½d. The principal feature of the year in the industry was the passing of the Coal Mines Act. This provided for the establishment of a 7½-hour day, but it also compelled the industry to establish a co-operative producing **and**

marketing arrangement in every coalfield. The scheme, which is coming into operation in 1931, carries State interference in the industry much farther than before, and experience may show that modifications are necessary.

Cotton, Wool, and Linen.—The cotton trade passed through its most severe depression since the war. The price of mid-American cotton fell from 9*25d. per lb. to 515rf. per lb., and of fair Egyptian from 14'40d. to 7 09d. per lb. Although raw material was cheap, British goods were too dear to sell, and the industry finished the year in a very pessimistic frame of mind. Weavers attempted to reduce costs by introducing a more-loom-per-weaver system, but the men rejected the proposal and a lockout took place. The men, however, won the employers to withdrawing the lockout notices. This effort to reduce costs thus failed. In the wool industry a wages dispute stopped machinery from April to August. This strike took place in consequence of the MacMillan inquiry which recommended reductions. In the end the men were beaten, but the damage to the industry was very great. The slump in wool values continued; 64's Merino tops, which commanded 56d. in the spring of 1928, fell to about 22d., while 56 Super Crossbred tops fell from 44d. to 17yd. The linen trade had a more fortunate experience, thanks to fall in the price of flax to a figure below the cost of mid-American cotton. Demand for cotton was converted into a demand for linen, and at the end of the year the position of the trade was better than it had been for a long time. It was helped by a reduction in wages of about 10 per cent.

Wheat and other Commodities.—There was a further heavy fall in the price of wheat owing to increased production. The world's production last year was 565,000,000 quarters against 525,000,000 in 1929-30. Russia sold wheat in unexpectedly large quantities very cheaply, and prices at the end of the year were close to those of October, 1894. No. 1 Manitoba fetched 24s. 3d. against about 22s. 6d. in 1894. The production of rubber was 679,000 tons against 800,000 tons in 1929. Stocks were increased during the year by about 130,000 tons. The price fell to 3⁹/₁₆d. per lb. in October, the lowest level on record, but recovered slightly towards the end of the year. The world's production of oil amounted to 1,403,500,000 barrels against 1,484,451,000 barrels, and the price of mid-Continental crude oil fell from \$145 to 95 c. per barrel. Production of gold amounted to 85,500,000l. against 82,800,000l. The production of silver was 240,000,000 ounces against 261,000,000 ounces; the highest quotation of the year was 21⁵/₈d. and the lowest 14⁷/₁₆d., a record figure. The average price was 17¹¹/₁₆d. against 24⁷/₁₆rf. in 1929.

Shipping.—The shipping industry remained very depressed. At the end of the year there were 1,331,000 tons of idle shipping laid up in British ports and a world estimate of idle shipping put the total at 8,500,000 tons. At the end of the year the freight index was 8966 against 1243 in 1929 and 100 in 1913. The shipbuilding industry was also depressed. The tonnage launched in Great Britain and Ireland was 1,488,15*0, and the world total 2,890,232. For 1929 the figures were 1,522,623 and 2,793,210 respectively.

Commodities.	Dec 31, 1930.	Dec. 31, 1929.	Averago 1913.
FOOD.			
Wheat, Eng., Gaz. Av. - - 112 lb.	6*	9*, 6c/.	7*, 5c*.
" No. 2, N.Man. - - 4961b.	24*, 6cJ.	55*, 6c*.	37*, 3d.
Flour, Ldn., Straights - - 2801b.	24*	41*	27*, 6c*.
Barley, Eng., Gaz A v. - 112 lb.	8*, 3d.	8*, Sd.	7s. 8d.
Oata/Eng., Gaz. Av. - 112 lb.	5*, 6d.	7*	6s. 10d.
Maize, La Plata, ex-ship - 4801b.	16*, 6cZ.	30*, 3d.	24*, 3d.
Rice, No. 2, Burma . cwt.	32*	14*, 3d.	9s. 9d.
Beef, English sides - 8 lb.	5*, 3d.	5*, Sd.	4*, 3d.
" S. Amer., chilled - 8 lb.	4*, Sd.	5*, 2d.	3*, 5c*.
Mutton, N.Z., frozen - 81b.	4.9.	4*, 1Qd.	3*, 3d.
Bacon, Irish lean - cwt.	100a.	104*	77*
" Amer., Cumb. - cwt.	72*	78*	68*, 3d.
Fish# - stone	4*, 4d.	6*, 6c/.	3*, 3d.
Eggs, English - 120	18*, U.	22*	12*
Sugar, Eng., ref., cubes - cwt.	23*	26*	18*, 3d.
1 " W. Ind. cryst - cwt.	20*, 6d.	22*, 9cZ.	16*
Tea, Ind., Auctn. Avg. - lb.	1*, 2/d.	1*, 1jrf.	9d.
Cocoa, f.f. Accra, f.o.b. - cwt.	26*, 6cZ.	37*, 6c/.	55*
Cheese, Eng., Cheddar - cwt.	76*	90*	73*, 9c*.
Butter, Danish, fine - cwt.	142*	180*	125*
Lard, Amer., ref., pails - cwt.	58*	64*, U.	57*, 3d.
Potatoes, English, good - ton	6/.	31. 15*.	79*, 3d.
MATERIALS.			
Pig Iron, Hemt., M'bro - ton	70*	79*	72s. 8d.
" Cleve'd, No. 3 - ton	63*, 6d.	72*, 6c/.	58*, 2d.
Iron, marked bars, Staff. - ton	121. 10*.	12/., 10*.	9/., 12s. 6d.
" Com. bars - ton	10/.	10/., 5*	71. 15s.
Steel, rails, heavy - ton	8/., 10*.	8/., 10*.	6/., 12*.
" boiler plates - ton	10/., 10*.	10/., 10*.	8/., 16*, 3d.
" galvzd. sheets - ton	11/., 5*.	12/., 10*.	11/., 7*.
" tinplates - box	35*, 6c/.	18*, Qd.	13s. 6d.
Copper, electrolytic - ton	491. 10*.	83/.	71/., 15*.
" strong sheets . ton	77*	110/.	85/.
Tin, stand., cash - ton	116/., 10*.	178/., 2*, 6d.	200/., 2*, 6c*.
Lead, English - ton	16/., 5*.	23/., 5*.	19/., 2*, 6cZ.
Spelter, Foreign - ton	13/., 15*.	21/., 18*, 9c*.	221. 10*.
Coal, lge. steam, Cardiff - ton	20*	20*	20s. 6d.
" best gas, Durham - ton	15*	16*, 9c*.	15*, 3d.
" best hse., Yorks - ton	20*, Gd.	20*, 6c*.	17s. 6d.
Petlm., Amer., rfd., brl. - gal.	Hid.	1*	8½d.
Cotton, Am., mid. - lb.	6-34d.	9-42cZ.	7-12c/.
" Egypt, f. A. f., Sak. - lb.	1-10d.	14-15c/.	9-84cZ.
" yarn, 32's twist - lb.	Sid.	13id.	10Jrf.
" " 60's, do., Egp. - lb.	15Jci.	22)c*.	17Jc*.
" shirtings, 8J lb. - piece	9*, 1½d.	11*, Gd.	Se.
1 " prnt., 17 x 17, 32in., 125 yards - piece	21*, 9cJ.	30*	19*.
Wool, gsy., merino, 60's - lb.	9±d.	14K	10/c*.
" gsy., crossbd., 46's - lb.	6EcZ.	13Ec*.	UId.
" tops, 64's - lb.	22d.	31c*	29c/.
" tops, 40's - lb.	9jd.	18jc*.	15fcZ.
Flax, Livonian, Z.K. - ton	35/.	58/.	38/.
Hemp, N. Zeal., h.p. fair - ton	24/.	34/.	28/., 5*.
Jute, first marks, shipmt. - ton	15/., 12*, U.	27/., 17*, 6ci.	30/., 15*.
Hides, Eng., Ox, first - lb.	6K	68c*.	lid.
" Cape, dry - lb.	6Jrf.	10 d.	Hid.
Timber, gd. deal, 3 x 9 . - stand	22/.	24/.	15/.
" W'cot oak, 1 in. - foot	1*, 3d.	3*, 4d.	1Qd.
Cement, best Portland - ton	21. 6*.	21. 6s.	36*.
Rubber, Plant., sheet - ton	4fd.	8/16d.	3*, Id.
Linseed oil - ton	221. 10*.	45/.	241. 15*.
Soda, crystals, bags - ton	5/., 5*.	5/., 5*.	21. 2*, Qd.

* Average prices of plaice, cod, and haddock.

Wholesale Prices of Commodities.—The fall in wholesale prices was 19·9 per cent., this decline was the greatest since 1921, when the fall was 35 per cent. The preceding table is extracted from *The Times Annual Financial Review*.

The fall in the Board of Trade index number of the cost of living was from 163 to 153 against 100 before the war.

LAW.

THE year 1930, which opened badly in regard to the lists, showed considerable improvement at its close. A cause contributing to the increase, so far as the King's Bench Division is concerned, was the large amount of litigation arising out of the so-called de-rating arrangements, much difficulty being caused in connexion with the "special list" of industrial hereditaments provided for by the Rating and Valuation Act of 1928. The Divorce Division also continued to be busily engaged with suits, in spite of the additional facilities provided at assize towns. As a result of past depression the House of Lords and Court of Appeal lists were short.

Judicial changes were few in 1930 whether in the High Court or elsewhere. The House of Lords and the Privy Council were made definitely the poorer by the retirement of Lord Sumner in the beginning of the year. His place as a Law Lord was taken by Mr. H. P. McMillan, K.C., who had won distinction at the Parliamentary Bar and as Chairman of numerous committees. After the long vacation there was another resignation, that of Mr. Justice Hill of the Probate, Admiralty and Divorce Division, who retired on account of ill-health, his place being filled by the appointment as a puisne judge of Mr. G. P. Langton, K.C. Illness was responsible also for the resignation at the same time of Sir James Melville from the post of Solicitor-General, his successor being the Hon. Richard Stafford Cripps. In March Sir Archibald Bodkin was succeeded as Director of Public Prosecutions by Mr. E. H. Tindal Atkinson.

The autumn witnessed the death of a remarkable figure in the world of both law and politics—Lord Birkenhead, who died at fifty-six, after a career of no ordinary brilliance. [See under Obituaries.] Other losses to the profession through death were those of Sir Montague Shearman, who lived only three months after retiring from the High Court, Sir Thomas Willes Chitty, a distinguished Master, Chief Editor of the "Yearly Practice," and a great reformer in the sphere of legal procedure, and Sir Edward Pollock, Official Referee.

In response to an invitation from the Canadian and American Bars a deputation of judges, barristers and solicitors visited Canada and the United States during the long vacation and were everywhere received with lavish hospitality.

From the general public—the so-called man in the street—the law received rather more than its usual meed of attention in 1930, two topics being much discussed, namely, the cost of litigation and the claims of arbitration as a rival solvent of civil disputes, and the necessity for protecting the public against the defalcations of solicitors. Prominence was given

to the first of these subjects by the publication early in the year of a report made by a special committee of the London Chamber of Commerce in which certain changes were advocated with a view to simplification of procedure. Apart from the fact that their material prosperity is involved, lawyers have naturally shown themselves deeply concerned for the good repute of the system under which they work, and there was therefore a considerable amount of constructive criticism from practitioners of experience. It was strongly urged in certain quarters that the jury should be definitely abolished in civil cases and a greater latitude allowed in the matter of evidence. The Chancellor and the Attorney-General, with representatives of the Bar Council, received a deputation from the Chamber of Commerce, and the Council has a special committee at work with a view to the submission of definite recommendations. As regards defaulting solicitors, who have been shown to amount in point of fact to but a tiny fraction of the whole, two private Bills were at the close of 1930 awaiting a second reading in the House of Commons, one of them making membership of the Law Society compulsory for all solicitors with a view to the exercise of supervision in regard to matters of conduct, including the keeping of accounts, and the other making it a statutory duty for all solicitors to keep a separate banking account for clients' money and to present yearly a certificate as to observance of the provisions of the Act.

A third topic of interest to both the profession and the general public presented itself in connexion with Divorce, as a consequence of the coming up for hearing of a petition which had been adjourned in 1929 for consideration of the King's Proctor. This case raised in an acute form the question of the grounds upon which the Court should exercise its discretion in favour of a guilty petitioner—a practice which had within the previous ten years become so much more common as to make useful a review of the general position. The President, after summarising the history of the more important cases, expressed it as his opinion that certain broad principles should be followed, the welfare of the community as a whole and the safeguarding of "honest matrimony" being the primary considerations. Apart from the generally recognised principle that persons should not obtain relief where they themselves were in some serious degree answerable for the misconduct of their spouses, a first place should be given to considerations affecting the welfare of the children. For the proper exercise of the discretion it was, in the view of the Court, essential that they should be acquainted with all the facts, and a new rule was made under which parties must state in making their applications not only that the exercise of the discretion is asked for, but also the matters in respect of which it is prayed and the grounds for so doing.

The Committee appointed by the Chancellor in 1929 to consider the powers of State Departments continued its sittings throughout the year, and in December of 1930 a Koyal Commission, of which Judge Holman Gregory was chairman, was appointed to inquire into the provisions and working of the Unemployment scheme. In that month a Select Committee on Capital Punishment reported in favour of its abolition for an experimental period of five years, there being substituted for it the penalty

now imposed on reprieved murderers. In case Parliament should decide to retain the punishment of death the Committee made alternative recommendations which included the raising of the minimum age for its infliction to twenty-one and the revision of the McNaghten Rules as to insanity so as to give fuller scope to general medical considerations. Six of the fifteen members dissociated themselves from the report.

From the legislation of 1930 two Acts of major importance at once emerge: they are the Coal Mines Act and the Road Traffic Act. The former reduced miners' hours to seven and a half, but enabled a spread-over system to be adopted in any district with the sanction of the representatives of miners and mine-owners. Central and district schemes will regulate production, supply and sale, and provision was made for the setting up of a Commission to further reorganisation of the industry. The Road Traffic Act was a measure of a most comprehensive character affecting all road users, and part only was in force in 1930. By it a number of new motoring offences are created, the Act being directed to securing greater road safety for all. No licence can be held by persons suffering from certain physical defects, such as liability to epileptic fits; the minimum ages for driving cars and motor bicycles are raised to seventeen and sixteen respectively; and, to mention but one more of its numerous important provisions, all motorists must insure against third party risks. With this Act is closely associated the Third Parties (Rights against Insurers) Act to safeguard such rights in the case of death or insolvency of the insured.

Two Acts of special social importance also belong to 1930: the Poor Prisoners' Defence Act and the Mental Treatment Act. The former, which fills a blank long felt by both the legal profession and the justices of the country, extends the facilities for providing legal assistance where the accused has not means to make his own arrangements, making it possible in the case of a grave or difficult charge for him to have the help of a trained lawyer from the very start. Persons charged before a Court of summary jurisdiction or examining magistrates may have a solicitor assigned, and in special cases counsel, while in the case of indictable offences solicitor and counsel are similarly available, or in special cases, two counsel. The Mental Treatment Act, on the other hand, makes it possible for persons suffering from abnormality to be accorded a term of treatment without a reception order, and makes other various improved arrangements for the treatment on more modern lines of mental disease. Other Acts which can only just be mentioned are the Housing Act for the clearance of slum areas and the consolidating Poor Law Act.

Amongst the more important cases of the year was the House of Lords hearing of the case of *Swadling v. Cooper*, which involved the question of contributory negligence—a subject which crops up with increasing frequency in these days. The effect of their Lordships' judgment is that, while the question of which of the two parties had the last opportunity of avoiding the accident by the exercise of reasonable care is of great importance, the issue to be decided by the jury is the relatively simple one: What is the real cause of the accident, or whose negligence was it which substantially caused the injury? In *Clayton & Waller, Ltd, v. Oliver* the Lords reiterated

certain principles regarding theatrical contracts of employment. They held that the character of the employment and the opportunity for publicity afforded were essential factors, and that where a company engaged an actor to play a particular type of part and were found to have broken that contract he might be awarded damages on the ground of not having been given the opportunity of enhancing his reputation. A third case of a very different kind was *Fry v. Salisbury House Estate Company Ltd.* The company let under agreements suites of offices in a building of which they were owners, carrying out for the tenants certain services for which extra payment was made. The Revenue, arguing that it was carrying on a business, sought to assess the company on the gross value of the building under Schedule A of the income-tax form, and under Schedule D on receipts from all sources less expenses and the amount of the assessment under Schedule A, thus bringing all their receipts under tax instead of confining the amount under Schedule D to the payments by the tenants for services rendered, an amount which it was ready to pay. The Lords held that it is a cardinal principle that income-tax is one tax collected under different schedules and that income dealt with under the proper schedule cannot again be dealt with under another. One more House of Lords case which must be referred to is *Stumbles v. Whitley*. There it was held that, the purpose of the provision in the Landlord and Tenant Act, 1927, whereby a tenant may be accorded a new lease where compensation will not adequately represent the loss of goodwill being that the tenant may carry on his business, if any, an incorporeal hereditament such as fishing rights may properly be included in a new lease of what the Act describes as "premises."

Something falls to be said on the vexed question of the premises suitable for inclusion in the special list of industrial hereditaments to which the law has given a 75 per cent, immunity from rates. The main issue was whether the immediate use of the premises only was to be considered or whether it was necessary to regard the ultimate use to which the factory product was to be put. To put a concrete case which went to the House of Lords, should a factory for printing tramway tickets and bills be excluded because the printing was ancillary to the running of a tramways undertaking? The decision of the Court Appeal and the House of Lords has been that the exemption afforded by the Act depends on the use to which the premises themselves are put—a decision which must considerably extend the scope of the relief the Act affords.

Re Carroll in the Court of Appeal is important as turning on the legal right of a parent to control the religion of a very young child, the majority of the Court affirming that, unless the mother of an illegitimate child is of such bad character that her wishes may be disregarded, the Court should not impose views as to what the welfare of the child demands when they are in conflict with her attitude as to religion and education.

Fardon v. Harcourt Rivington, again, is of particular interest to the motorist. The defendant had left his dog in his parked car, and the animal, which was not of a fierce disposition and was accustomed to be so left, got restless and broke the small pane of glass at the back of the

car. A part of the pane entered the eye of a passer-by, causing serious injury, and the Court of first instance gave the latter heavy damages. The Court of Appeal reversed the decision.

There have been, as usual, a number of Charity cases, and some fine lines were drawn. Bequests to the Roman Catholic Church for the use thereof, and towards the maintenance and restoration of a certain church, have been held good ; but the Court has decided against a gift to an incumbent for distribution among parochial institutions and purposes, the explanation lying behind the decision being doubtless the wider scope of modern parochial activities, preventing them in some cases from being regarded as religious (*re Stratton*). Similarly a gift to the Archbishops of Wales to be applied towards the general fund of the Church or in their discretion in any manner for carrying on its work failed by reason of the alternative (*re Jackson*).

Finally, in Criminal Law two decisions command special notice.

In *Rex v. Baldesare* the application of an accepted principle produced striking results. A youth who, throughout a "joy-ride" in the course of which a pedestrian was knocked down and killed, was a passenger only appealed against his conviction for manslaughter. The appeal failed on the ground that evidence of a common purpose to drive recklessly was sufficient to justify the conviction of both driver and passenger. By the second case (*Rex v. Lapworth*), it has been established that a spouse who is at common law a competent witness against the other spouse is also a compellable witness.

PUBLIC DOCUMENTS.

I.

MEMORANDUM ON THE ORGANISATION OF A REGIME OF EUROPEAN FEDERAL UNION

**Addressed to Twenty-six Governments of Europe, by M. Briand,
Foreign Minister of France, May 17, 1930.**

IN the course of a first meeting held on September 9, 1929, at Geneva, on the request of the representative of France, the authorised representatives of the twenty-seven European States, members of the League of Nations, were requested to consider the desirability of an understanding between the Governments concerned with a view to the institution, among European peoples, of a kind of federal bond establishing among them a regime of constant solidarity, and permitting them, in all cases when it might be necessary, to enter into immediate contact for the study, the discussion, and the solution of the problems concerning them in common.

Unanimous in recognising the necessity of an effort in this direction, the representatives consulted all undertook to recommend to their respective Governments the study of the question which was submitted directly to them by the representative of France and which the latter had already had occasion, on September 5, to raise before the Tenth Assembly of the League of Nations.

In order better to prove such unanimity which already sanctioned the principle of a European moral union, they believed that they ought to decide, without delay, on the procedure which appeared to them the best adapted to facilitate the study proposed; they entrusted to the representative of France the task of defining in a memorandum to the Governments concerned the essential points with which their study should deal; of collecting and of registering their opinions; of drawing the conclusions from such broad consultation, and of making it the subject of a report to be submitted to the deliberations of a European Conference which might be held at Geneva at the time of the next Assembly of the League of Nations.

At the moment of discharging the mission which was entrusted to it, the Government of the Republic desires to recall the general preoccupation and the essential reservations which have not ceased to dominate the thought of all the representatives assembled at Geneva on the 9th of September last. The proposal taken under consideration by twenty-seven European

Governments found its justification in the very definite sentiment of a collective responsibility in face of the danger which threatens European peace, from the political as well as from the economic and social point of view, because of the lack of co-ordination which still prevails in the general economy of Europe. The necessity of establishing a permanent regime of conventional solidarity for the rational organisation of Europe arises, in fact, from the very conditions of the security and the well-being of the peoples which their geographical situation compels, in this part of the world, to participate in a *de facto* solidarity.

No one doubts to-day that the lack of cohesion in the grouping of the material and moral forces of Europe constitutes practically the most serious obstacle to the development and efficiency of all political or juridical institutions on which it is the tendency to base the first attempts for a universal organisation of peace. This scattering of forces limits no less seriously the possibilities of enlargement of the economic market, the attempts to intensify and improve industrial production, and for that very reason all guarantees against labour crises which are sources of political as well as social instability. Now, the danger of such division is still more increased by the circumstance of the extent of the new frontiers (more than 20,000 kilometers of customs barriers) which the treaties of peace had to create in order to do justice, in Europe, to national aspirations.

The very action of the League of Nations, the responsibilities of which are the greater because it is universal, might be exposed in Europe to serious obstacles if such breaking up of territory were not offset, as soon as possible, by a bond of solidarity permitting European nations to at last become conscious of European geographical unity and to effect, within the framework of the League, one of those regional understandings which the Covenant formally recommended.

This means that the search for a formula of European co-operation in connexion with the League of Nations, far from weakening the authority of this latter, must and can tend only to strengthen it, for it is closely connected with its aims.

It is not at all a question of constituting a European group outside of the League of Nations, but on the contrary of harmonising European interests under the control [contrôle] and in the spirit of the League of Nations by incorporating in its universal system a limited system all the more effective. The realisation of a federative organisation of Europe would always be attributed to the League of Nations as an element of progress to its credit from which extra-European nations themselves might benefit.

Such a conception can leave no room for doubt, any more than that which gave rise, within still more restricted regional limits, to the collective negotiations of the Locarno Agreements which inaugurated the real policy of European co-operation.

In fact, certain questions concern Europe particularly for which European States may feel the need of an action of their own, more immediate **and more direct in** the very interest of peace and for which furthermore

they enjoy a special competence arising from their ethnical affinities and their community of civilisation. The League of Nations itself, in the general exercise of its activities, has had more than once to take account of the fact of this geographical unity which Europe presents and which may call for common solutions, the application of which could not be applied to the whole world. Preparing and facilitating the co-ordination of the strictly European activities of the League of Nations would be precisely one of the tasks of the association contemplated.

Far from constituting a new contentious jurisdiction for the settlement of disputes, the European Association, which could not be called on in such matters to exercise its good offices except in a purely advisory capacity, would be without authority to treat thoroughly special problems, the adjustment of which has been entrusted by the Pact or by the Treaties to a special procedure of the League of Nations or to any other procedure expressly denned. But in the very cases in which it might be a question of an essential task reserved to the League of Nations, the federal bond between European States would still play a very useful role in preparing a favourable atmosphere for the pacific adjustments of the League or facilitating in practice the execution of its decisions.

Therefore the representative of France took care from the beginning to avoid any ambiguity when taking the initiative for the first European meeting. He believed that it ought to include only the representatives of States members of the League of Nations and be held at Geneva itself on the occasion of the first Assembly, that is to say, in the atmosphere and within the framework of the League of Nations.

The European organisation contemplated could not oppose any ethnic group, on other continents or in Europe itself, outside of the League of Nations, any more than it could oppose the League of Nations.

The work of European co-ordination answers to necessities sufficiently immediate and sufficiently vital to seek its end in itself in a labour truly constructive and which it is out of the question to direct or ever to allow to be directed against anyone. Quite on the contrary, this work should be pursued in full friendly confidence and often even in collaboration with all other States or groups of States which are interested with sufficient sincerity in the universal organisation of peace to recognise the desirability of a greater homogeneity of Europe, and which understand, furthermore, with sufficient clearness the modern laws of international economics to seek, in the best organisation of a simplified Europe, and for that very reason a Europe removed from the constant menace of conflicts, the condition of stability indispensable to the development of their own economic exchanges.

The policy of European union to which the search for a first bond of solidarity between European Governments ought to tend, implies in fact a conception absolutely contrary to that which may have determined formerly, in Europe, the formation of customs unions tending to abolish internal customs houses in order to erect on the boundaries of the community a more rigorous barrier, that is to say, to constitute in fact an instrument of struggle against States situated outside of those unions.

Such a conception would be incompatible with the principles of the League of Nations, which is deeply attached to the idea of universality, which remains its object and its end even when it pursues or favours partial realisations.

It is important, finally, to place the proposed inquiry under the general conception that in no case and in no degree can the institution of the federal bond sought for between European Governments affect in any manner the sovereign rights of the States, members of such a *de facto* association.

It is on the basis of absolute sovereignty and of entire political independence that the understanding between European nations ought to be effected. Furthermore, it would be impossible to imagine the least thought of political domination in an organisation deliberately placed under the control [controle] of the League of Nations, the two fundamental principles of which are precisely the sovereignty of States and the equality of rights. And with the rights of sovereignty, is it not the very genius of every nation which can find in its individual co-operation in the collective work the means of affirming itself still more consciously under a regime of federal union fully compatible with the respect of the traditions and characteristics special to each people ?

It is under the reservation of these observations and in the light of the general preoccupation recalled at the beginning of this memorandum that the Government of the Republic, in accordance with the procedure decided upon at the first European meeting of September 9, 1929, has the honour to submit to the consideration of the Governments concerned a summary of the different points on which they are invited to formulate their opinions.

1.

NECESSITY FOR A PACT OF A GENERAL NATURE, HOWEVER ELEMENTARY,
TO AFFIRM THE PRINCIPLE OF THE MORAL UNION OF EUROPE AND
SOLEMNLY TO SANCTION THE FACT OF THE SOLIDARITY ESTABLISHED
AMONG EUROPEAN STATES.

In a formula as liberal as possible, but clearly indicating the essential objective of this Association in the service of the collective work of pacific organisation of Europe, the signatory Governments would engage to make regular contacts, in periodical or extraordinary meetings, for the examination in common of all questions which might concern primarily the community of European peoples.

1. The signatory Governments appearing thus committed to the general orientation of a certain common policy, the principle of a European union would henceforth be removed from all discussion and placed above all procedure of daily application : the study of ways and means would be reserved to the European Conference or to the permanent organisation which would be called upon to constitute the living bond of solidarity

between European nations and thus to incarnate the moral personality of the European union.

2. This initial and symbolic Pact, under which would be pursued in practice the determination, organisation, and development of the constituent elements of the European Association, should be drawn up in a sufficiently brief form to limit itself to defining the essential role of this Association. (The possible extension of this Pact of principle into the conception of a more definite charter would belong to the future if it should be favourable to the development of the European union.)

3. The terms of the European Pact should, however, take into account the essential reservations indicated in the present memorandum. It would, in fact, be important to define the character of Europe considered as regional entente within the terms of Article 21 of the Covenant of the League of Nations, and exercising its activity within the framework of the League of Nations. (It would particularly be specified that the European Association could not replace the League of Nations in tasks entrusted to that body by the Covenant or by treaties, and that, even in its own domain of the organisation of Europe, it should still co-ordinate its special activity with the general activity of the League of Nations.)

4. In order better to attest the subordination of the European Association to the League of Nations, the European Pact would, at first, be reserved to European States which are members of the League.

2.

NECESSITY OF A MECHANISM ADAPTED TO ASSURING TO THE EUROPEAN UNION THE ORGANS INDISPENSABLE TO THE ACCOMPLISHMENT OF ITS TASK.

A. NECESSITY OF A REPRESENTATIVE AND RESPONSIBLE ORGAN, IN THE FORM OF REGULARLY ESTABLISHING THE "EUROPEAN CONFERENCE," composed of representatives of all the European Governments which are members of the League of Nations and which would be the essential directing organ of the European Union, in liaison with the League of Nations.

The powers of this conference, the organisation of its presidency and of its regular or extraordinary sessions, should be determined at the next meeting of European States, which shall have to deliberate on the conclusions of the report on the inquiry and which, subject to indispensable governmental approvals or parliamentary ratifications, should give assurance that the project of European organisation will be perfected.

OBSERVATION.

In order to avoid any predominance in favour of one European State over the others, presidents of the European Conference should be elected annually and function in rotation.

B. NECESSITY OF AN EXECUTIVE ORGAN, IN THE FORM OF A PERMANENT POLITICAL COMMITTEE, composed of only a certain number of members of the European Conference and assuring, in practice, to the European

Union its organisation for study at the same time as its instrument of action.

The composition and powers of the European Committee, the manner of designation of its members, the organisation of its presidency and of its regular or extraordinary sessions, should be determined at the next meeting of European States. As the activity of this Committee, like that of the conference, is to be exercised within the framework of the League of Nations, its meetings should be held at Geneva itself, where its regular sessions might coincide with those of the Council of the League of Nations.

OBSERVATIONS.

1. With a view to protecting the European Committee from any personal predominance, its presidents should function in rotation.

2. As the Committee can include only a restricted number of representatives of European States which are members of the League of Nations, it should keep the power of inviting the representatives of other European Governments at any time, whether or not they are members of the League of Nations, which might be particularly interested in the study of a question. The power would, further, be formally reserved to it to invite, whenever it should consider it necessary or opportune, a representative of a non-European Power, whether or not a member of the League of Nations, to attend, or even to take part (in an advisory capacity or with the right to vote) in deliberations bearing on a question in which it might be interested.

3. One of the first tasks of the Committee might include : on one hand, the general examination of any procedure for the realisation and application of the project contemplated, in accordance with essential data from consultation of the Governments and the search, for this purpose, for ways and means tending technically to bring out the constituent elements of the future Federal European Union ; on the other, the general itemisation of the programme of European co-operation, including : (a) the study of political, economic, social and other questions of particular interest to the European community and not yet dealt with by the League of Nations ; (b) special action to be taken to stimulate the execution of general decisions of the League of Nations by the European Governments.

4. The committee, after adopting the general programme of European co-operation, might confide the study of certain chapters to special technical committees, while assuring itself the conditions necessary for always maintaining the work of the experts under the supervision and immediate impetus of the political element, the direct emanation of the Governments, which are jointly responsible for the prosecution of their international enterprise and which alone can assure the success thereof in the political plane on which its higher justification lies. (To this end, the presidency of the technical Committees might be entrusted, in each particular case, to a European statesman selected either within or without the European Political Committee.)

C. NECESSITY OF A SECRETARIAT SERVICE, however restricted at the beginning, to assure the administrative execution of the instructions of

the President of the conference or of the European Committee, communications between Governments signatory to the European Pact, convocations of the conference or of the Committee, preparation of their discussions, recording and notification of their resolutions, etc.

OBSERVATIONS.

1. In the beginning, the secretariat might be entrusted to the Government charged, in rotation, with the presidency of the European Committee.
2. When the necessity of a permanent secretariat is recognised, the seat of this secretariat should be the same as that of the meetings of the conference and of the Committee, that is, Geneva.
3. Organisation of the secretariat service should always be examined while taking into account the at least partial and temporary utilisation of special services of the Secretariat of the League of Nations.

3.

NECESSITY OF DECIDING IN ADVANCE THE ESSENTIAL DIRECTIVES WHICH MUST DETERMINE THE GENERAL CONCEPTIONS OF THE EUROPEAN COMMITTEE AND GUIDE IT IN ITS STUDIES FOR THE ELABORATION OF THE PROGRAMME OF EUROPEAN ORGANISATION.

(This third point could be reserved for the consideration of the next European meeting.)

A. GENERAL SUBORDINATION OF THE ECONOMIC PROBLEM TO THE POLITICAL. All possibility of progress toward economic union being strictly determined by the question of security, and this question being intimately bound up with that of the realisable progress toward political union, it is on the political plane that constructive effort looking to giving Europe its organic structure should first of all be made. It is also on this plane that the economic policy of Europe should afterwards be drawn up, in its broad outlines, as well as the special customs policy of each European State.

The contrary order would not only be useless, it would appear to the weaker nations to be likely to expose them, without guarantees or compensation, to the risks of political domination which might result from an industrial domination of the more strongly organised States.

It is therefore logical and normal that the justification of the economic sacrifices to be made to the whole should be found only in the development of a political situation warranting confidence between peoples and true pacification of minds. And even after the actual realization of such a condition, assured by the establishment of a regime of constant and close association between the peoples of Europe, there would still be needed, on the political plane, the intervention of a higher feeling of international necessities to impose on the members of the European community, in favour of the collectivity, the sincere conception and effective prosecution of a truly liberal tariff policy.

B. CONCEPTION OF EUROPEAN POLITICAL CO-OPERATION as one which ought to tend toward this essential end : a federation built not upon the idea of unity but of union; that is to say, sufficiently flexible to respect the independence and national sovereignty of each of the States, while assuring them all the benefit of collective solidarity for the settlement of political questions involving the fate of the European community or that of one of its members.

(Such a conception might imply, as a consequence, the general development for Europe of a system of arbitration and security, and the progressive extension to the whole European community of the policy of international guarantees inaugurated at Locarno, until such time as special agreements or series of agreements are merged into a more general system.)

C. CONCEPTION OF THE ECONOMIC ORGANISATION OF EUROPE as one which ought to tend to this essential end : a rapprochement of the European economic systems effected under the political responsibility of the Governments working in unison.

With this purpose in mind, the Governments might definitely associate themselves in an act of a general nature and of principle which would constitute a simple pact of economic solidarity, the purpose which they intend to set as the ideal end to their tariff policy (establishment of a common market to raise to the maximum the level of human well-being over all the territories of the European community). With the help of such a general orientation, immediate efforts could be undertaken practically for the rational organisation of European production and exchanges, by means of the progressive liberation and the methodical simplification of the circulation of goods, capital, and persons, with the single reservation of the needs of national defence in each State.

The very principle of this tariff policy having been once sanctioned, and definitely sanctioned, on the plane of the general policy of the Governments, the study of the ways and means of its realisation could be referred as a whole to the technical examination of a committee of experts, under the conditions contemplated in title 2, B, observation 4.

4.

ADVISABILITY OF RESERVING FOR EITHER THE NEXT EUROPEAN CONFERENCE OR THE FUTURE EUROPEAN COMMITTEE THE STUDY OF ALL QUESTIONS OF APPLICATION, including the following :—

A. DETERMINATION OF THE FIELD OF EUROPEAN CO-OPERATION, particularly in the following spheres :—

1. *General Economy*.—The effective realisation, in Europe, of the programme drawn up by the last economic conference of the League of Nations ; the control of the policy of industrial unions and cartels among various countries; examination and preparation of all future possibilities regarding the progressive lowering of tariffs, etc.

2. *Economic Equipment*.—Realisation of co-ordination between great public works executed by European States (routes for heavy automobile traffic, canals, etc.).

3. *Communications and Transit* (by land, water, and air).—Regulation and improvement of inter-European traffic; co-ordination of the labours of the European waterways commissions ; agreements between railways ; European regime of posts, telegraphs and telephones ; radio-broadcasting rules, etc.

4. *Finances*.—Encouragement of credit intended for the development of the economically less developed regions of Europe ; European market; monetary questions, etc.

5. *Labour*.—Settlement of certain labour questions peculiar to Europe, such as labour in inland navigation and in glass trades ; questions having a continental or regional character, such as the regulation of the social consequences of inter-European emigration (application by one country to another of laws respecting labour accidents, social insurance, workers' pensions, etc.).

6. *Hygiene*.—General extension of certain methods of hygiene subjects essayed by the health organisation of the League of Nations (in particular, reclamation of agricultural regions; application of insurance against illness ; regional schools of hygiene ; European epidemiology ; exchange of information and officials between national health services; scientific and administrative co-operation in the struggle against great social scourges, against occupational diseases and infant mortality, etc.).

7. *Intellectual Co-operation*.—Co-operation by universities and academies ; literary and artistic relations ; centralisation of scientific research ; improvement of the press system in relations between agencies and in transportation of newspapers, etc.

8. *Inter-parliamentary Relations*.—Utilisation of the organisation and labours of the " Inter-parliamentary Union " for the development of contacts and exchanges of views between parliamentary circles of the various European countries (in order to prepare the political ground for the accomplishments of the European Union which would necessitate parliamentary approval, and, in a general way, to improve the international atmosphere in Europe for the mutual understanding of the interests and sentiments of the peoples).

9. *Administration*.—Formation of European sections in certain universal international bureaux.

B. DETERMINATION OF METHODS OF EUROPEAN CO-OPERATION in questions which might come before the European Conference or the European Committee.

It might be advisable, according to cases, either to set up organisations for co-ordination and study where none exist (for example, for European equipment or for the various European waterways commissions); or to support the efforts of the League of Nations in questions which are already the subject of methodical studies (especially in preparing, by exchanges of views and friendly negotiations, for the entrance into effect, in the relations of the States of Europe, of conventions drawn up or recommendations formulated by the League of Nations); or, finally, to stimulate conferences, European or general, of the League of Nations on questions which may be properly dealt with by it, but which have not

yet been so dealt with. (Non-European States would be invited to be represented by observers at any European conference, and any convention which would be drawn up by a conference convoked at the request of the States of Europe, in so far as its purpose was not strictly continental, would be open to adherence by non-European States.)

C. DETERMINATION OF ALL METHODS OF CO-OPERATION between the European Union and the countries located outside that Union.

In requesting the opinion of the twenty-six European Governments by which it was commissioned to make the inquiry on the four points set forth above, the Government of the Republic wishes to make the general observation that, for purely practical reasons, it has believed that it should adhere to as elementary a conception as possible of the subject of consultation : not that it is its wish to limit the possibilities of future development of a federal organisation of Europe, but because, in the present state of the European world and for the sake of increasing the chances of unanimous consent to the first concrete proposal capable of conciliating all the interests and all the special situations involved, it is of great importance to keep to the initial data of several very simple views. Likewise, the best method is to proceed from the simpler to the more complex, and to trust to time in the task of assuring, with life, by a constant evolution and by a kind of continuous creation, the full expansion of the natural resources which the European Union might contain.

It was a conception of that character which already had guided the representative of France, when, before the first European meeting convened at Geneva, he limited himself to suggesting, as a starting point, the seeking of a simple federal bond to be set up between the European Governments which were members of the League of Nations to assure their co-operation in practice.

As a matter of fact, it is not a question of setting up completely an ideal structure answering in the abstract all the logical needs of a vast plan of a European federal mechanism, but, on the contrary, by avoiding what would be premature, of confining oneself practically to the actual realisation of a first means of contact and of constant solidarity between European Governments, for the settlement in common of all problems bearing on the organisation of European peace and the rational organisation of the vital forces of Europe.

The Government of the Republic would appreciate receiving the reply of the Governments consulted, before July 15, with all the spontaneous observations or suggestions with which they may feel their communications should be accompanied. It expresses the firm hope that such replies, inspired by the deep concern to satisfy the expectation of the peoples and the aspirations of the European conscience, will supply the elements of understanding and conciliation, making possible, with the first embryonic federal organisation, the establishment of a lasting framework of this European co-operation, the programme of which can be decided on by the next meeting at Geneva.

The time has never been more propitious or more pressing for the in-

auguration of a constructive work in Europe. The settlement of the main problems, material, and moral, incident to the late war, will soon have liberated New Europe from a burden which bore most heavily upon its psychology, as well as on its economic system. It appears henceforward to be ready for a positive effort and one which will fit in with the new order. It is a decisive hour, when watchful Europe may determine her own fate.

Unite to live and prosper: such is the stringent necessity which will henceforth confront the nations of Europe. It seems that the feeling of the peoples has already been made clear on this subject. It behoves the Governments to assume their responsibilities to-day, under penalty of abandoning to the risk of individual initiatives and disorderly undertakings the grouping of material and moral forces, the collective control of which it is incumbent on them to keep, to the benefit of the European community as well as of humanity.

Paris, *May 1, 1930.*

II.

REPORT BY THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT ON THE RESULTS OF THE INQUIRY.

(SEPTEMBER 8, 1930.)

Having, as it was asked to do, consulted the European Governments under the conditions decided upon at the meeting at Geneva on September 9, 1929, the Government of the French Republic is happy to be able to-day to complete the task entrusted to it within the period agreed upon by laying before the second meeting of the European States Members of the League of Nations the conclusions derived from the inquiry into the organisation of a system of European Federal Union.

First of all, it desires to express its appreciation of the efforts made by all the Governments consulted to bring the inquiry to a satisfactory conclusion.

The Government of the Republic is sure that all the Governments by which it was entrusted with this task will share its gratification at the attitude shown by the replies. The care that all the Governments consulted have devoted to the preparation of their replies demonstrates the importance they attach to such an important task as the material and moral organisation of Europe, and their anxiety to ensure that the ground is systematically prepared. This caution and this diligent preparation may be looked upon as the firmest pledge of the intentions of every Government in regard to the prosecution of the scheme, and there could be no better guarantee than the number and the detailed character of the comments and reservations that have been made. In the present state of the problem, therefore, nothing need detract from such confidence as may be justifiably drawn from an initial consultation.

This is the only general comment that the Government of the Republic will permit itself in framing a purely analytical report, in which it proposes to confine itself strictly to bringing out the views expressed by all the

Governments consulted on the various points in the French Memorandum, without interpolating any personal expression of opinion.

This will be a work of mere analysis and elucidation in which every care will be taken to preserve the characteristic views of each Government so far as the number and variety of the opinions permit. In such a general analysis the French Government will necessarily be unable to make special mention of, or textual quotations from, any particular observations that do not represent a fresh view or a mean between other views.

Moreover, while endeavouring to emphasise the positive and constructive elements to be derived from these collected opinions it will always seek to lay equal stress upon the difficulties to which attention is drawn and the particular observations called forth by the special anxieties of any given Government.

It has thought it desirable to reproduce for reference, together with its analytical report, the full text of all the replies received, in the chronological order of their official delivery.

It will rest with the responsible Governments, after reading this document, to form an opinion free from outside influence as to the propriety of attaching greater importance to the immediate and fundamental reasons, on which all are agreed, for establishing a union of nations than to the remoter or more superficial causes of antagonism which may have come to light through normal divergencies of view on particular points that have never yet been discussed. The French Government has made its choice ; it retains the fullest confidence in the force of the considerations that justified the collective decision of September 9, 1929, and have led, during these last ten years, to the systematic development of a pacific organisation for which the nations have evinced a strongly marked regard.

A. QUESTIONS OF PRINCIPLE RAISED IN THE MEMORANDUM OF MAY 1, 1930.

1. Need for Co-ordination in Europe.

When submitting to the other twenty-six European Governments represented at the meeting of September 9, 1929, the Memorandum it had been asked to draw up, the French Government referred, in justification of the inquiry undertaken, to the unco-ordinated state of Europe in the political, economic and social fields.

The need for co-ordination in Europe is recognised by all the Governments consulted. Some of them merely state its existence and announce their decision to take part in the coming meeting of European Governments ; the majority express themselves in very clear terms.

The British Government refers to the need for " a better understanding by the European peoples of the common interests which they share " in order to divert their attention " from the hostilities of the past." It observes that, at all events in the economic field, " closer co-operation between the nations of Europe is urgently to be desired."

The Italian Government declares itself " ready to co-operate willingly "

in an initiative "aiming at the material and moral reconstruction of Europe."

The Finnish Government considers that "for the sake of the future evolution of our Continent, it is undoubtedly important that this European fellow-feeling should be further developed"; the Greek Government, that "co-operation, regularly maintained and methodically pursued, is in harmony with the real interests of the European peoples."

The German Government, going so far as to observe that, in its opinion, the structure of Europe requires extensive alterations, considers that "the general political and economic organisation of the Continent hampers a development which could be in harmony with the natural conditions of life of the various peoples."

Other Governments attempt to measure the consequences of this lack of co-ordination.¹ Attention is called to the dispersal of forces which has so far prevailed,² and which calls for "the creation of a framework of European co-operation."⁸ Nobody can deny the existence between different countries of antagonisms accentuated by the action of political parties, the Press, and other organs of public opinion, but organised co-operation would in many cases reveal the lack of any genuine ground for such antagonisms.⁴ Opinion is growing ripe, however, for the organisation of closer co-operation between the nations of Europe,⁵ and the first efforts in this direction cannot but exercise a beneficent and peaceful influence.⁶

2. *Incorporation of the System of European Co-operation in the General Work of the League of Nations.*

In the Memorandum of May 1 it was explicitly specified that European co-operation must tend to increase the authority of the League of Nations and diminish the obstacles it might encounter in the accomplishment of its tasks. It was argued that the idea of such co-operation was directly derived from the idea on which the Covenant was based, and that the joint study by the European States of questions of more particular interest to them had no other object than to prepare and promote the settlement by the League, on a world-wide basis, of those general and special problems which, under the terms of the Covenant or the treaties, it alone is competent to solve.

All the Governments are at one in their anxiety to do nothing that might weaken the authority of the League. The French Government is happy to emphasise the profound regard which has once more been shown for the highest authority engaged in the organisation of peace.

To preserve this pre-eminent authority of the League of Nations, not to restrict its field of action or diminish its universality—these are essentials so commonly recognised to-day that many Governments have merely alluded to them as principles calling for no discussion.

Observing that the work of the League of Nations has consisted up to the present to a very great extent in attempting the settlement of questions

¹ The Netherlands.

²

Austria.

³

Denmark.

⁴ Czechoslovakia.

⁵

Finland,

• Yugoslavia.

which have been primarily of European interest, the Swedish Government considers that the co-operation of the European States should be organised in such manner as to realise the greatest possible degree of effectiveness, use being made of the adequate machinery afforded by the League organisation.

A similar idea is put forward by the Belgian Government. It considers, on the one hand, " that the European *entente* should be brought about by the development of the institutions of the League of Nations, and that the main object should be to extend and perfect these institutions." It also points out that " the principle of universality on which the League of Nations is based is no obstacle to the European States' considering in concert the problems which specially concern them, and endeavouring to establish closer co-operation among themselves." Several Governments assert their conviction that, so far from hindering the work of the League, European co-operation could not but assist it in its task,¹ strengthen it with fresh forces, and " lay, by settling European questions, the foundation for a more effective execution of the obligations of the Covenant." ² The Norwegian Government expresses itself as follows : " There are no grounds for stating that European co-operation could weaken the authority of the League of Nations. On the contrary, efforts in this direction cannot but enhance the League's prestige, since they are closely bound up with the League's aims. Owing to the comprehensive nature of its work, the League must surely note with gratification such an endeavour to create peace, tranquillity and satisfactory conditions in the Continent of Europe, which forms so important a part of its domain. The League as a whole, therefore, is bound to benefit by an endeavour to solve European problems in the light of co-operative and collective organisation."

Certain apprehensions are expressed, not in regard to the actual principle of European co-operation, but in regard to the various precautions that will have to be taken in putting it into practice. The German Government fears the beginnings of European isolation, with the result that other groups would be formed within the League. It considers that account must be taken of the effects of a European agreement on the League, and that the question of these effects must, if necessary, be submitted to the League for its decision.

The Portuguese Government considers that a European Union might, in virtue of its importance, exceed the scope of a regional *entente*. On the other hand, it urges that existing bilateral or multilateral agreements between States or groups of States must not be invalidated, nor must the scope or efficacy of the bonds of alliance or friendship which are fundamental and traditional factors of the international relations of certain countries be reduced.

In the eyes of the Czechoslovak Government, the organisation of co-operation among all the States of Europe would no more constitute an impediment to the work of the League of Nations than the establishment of more limited regional understandings in Europe. In an attempt to

¹ Czechoslovakia.

¹ Poland,

demonstrate that this European organisation would be in complete harmony with the more general mechanism of the League of Nations, it defines the part that it thinks such co-operation should play: " Within the various spheres laid down in the Statute, the organisation would act independently only if and so far as the League of Nations had not already dealt with the particular problem. Otherwise, it would employ its efforts to facilitate or ensure the execution of the decisions or recommendations of the League of Nations." It will be necessary to advance step by step with the utmost caution, but the Czechoslovak Government considers that it is the duty of responsible statesmen to neglect no proposal which may lead in the direction of progress.

The Swiss Government likewise alludes to the " vital " importance of ensuring complete harmony between European co-operation and the work of the League.

In the view of the Austrian Government, the European Union, connected with the League of Nations, both from the legal point of view by Article 21 of the Covenant and in practice by the choice of Geneva as its headquarters, can further be embodied organically in the League, which " will thus have at its disposal new machinery suitable for its purely European tasks, and will hence be equipped for pursuing its high ideals even more efficiently than in the past."

3. Position in regard to Non-European States and States which are not Members of the League.

" The proposed European organisation," says the Memorandum, " could not be opposed to any ethnographical combination outside the League, either in Europe itself or in other continents, any more than it could be to the League itself."

Sharing in this respect a conviction that is shared by all the Members of the League, the European Governments were inevitably at one in explicitly asserting this fundamental principle of their co-operation. At the same time, any one of them might quite legitimately have to reckon, in practice, with a special geographical position or a wider expansion of its moral and material interests outside Europe. On this point, therefore, more than on any other, it was important that the consultation should bring out all the aspects of a naturally complex problem.

The British Government points out that, being already a member of a commonwealth of nations embracing several continents, it would have to take account of special considerations and satisfy itself " that the measures taken for closer European co-operation " would not " cause anxiety or resentment in any other continent."

The question assumes a different aspect in the case of extra-European territories, such as colonies, which have no sovereignty of their own. The Netherlands Government emphasises the fact that it will have to bear in mind its special interests in such territories. The Portuguese Government naturally specifies that the proposed Union should in no way diminish the ties between its colonies and the mother-country, restrict its rights over

the colonies, or involve any interference in strictly colonial questions. (Absolute respect for the sovereign rights of States, which must, as all the Governments consulted recognise, be at the root of a European Union, should suffice to dispel all apprehension in this respect.)

Several Governments,¹ laying stress upon the links that have been forged by a common origin, language and culture between their countries and extra-European countries, reserve their opinion on any measures that might possibly affect those links. Akin to these observations is the opinion of the Norwegian Government, which, referring likewise to "the relationship due to the common origins or mutual friendships of Anglo-Saxon or Latin peoples," thinks that this "precludes the idea of organised co-operation in Europe creating a sort of contrast which might endanger peaceful relations with non-European States."

With reference to Europe itself, the French Government, regarding itself as limited by the mandate it had received from the European Governments which are Members of the League and from them alone, and desiring to demonstrate more clearly that the European Union would be subordinate to the League, suggested in its Memorandum that, at all events to begin with, the Union should comprise only the European States Members of the League, though provision would be made for effective co-operation with the other States by a procedure which has already been employed at Geneva itself.

While certain Governments² do not seem to contemplate in their replies that any States but Members of the League should participate at the beginning, the majority take the view that no European country should be left out—all should either become full members of the Union forthwith or should co-operate more or less closely with it. This question is developed at considerable length in the reply of the Danish Government.

The reasons for these views are to be found as much in geographical and economic considerations as in the political inexpediency of leaving any European countries isolated from the rest of the Continent. It is not proper, observes the German Government, that certain European countries should be alienated from European co-operation. "A European programme should, as regards its actual contents and the geographical area to which it is to apply, therefore, be as flexible as possible. To exclude European countries which are not Members of the League, such as Eussia and Turkey, would be contrary to the practice rightly followed in the past." Eemarking that the Federal Union is based on a *de facto* solidarity, the Italian Government thinks that "the participation of all the countries between whom this *de facto* solidarity exists is necessary or, at least, desirable." It therefore calls the attention of the French Government to "the advisability of suggesting to the other Governments concerned that the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Eepublics and the Government of the Eepublic of Turkey be invited to take part in the work of preparing the plan for a European Federal Union, and, there-

¹ Spain, Portugal and the Irish Free State.

^a Portugal, Belgium, Yugoslavia and Norway.

fore, in the meeting to be held at Geneva on the occasion of the next Assembly of the League of Nations."

On account of their geographical situation, Greece, Bulgaria and Hungary likewise regard it as desirable that Turkey be included in the Union.

All these opinions seem to show that there is no division on any point of principle in connexion either with the participation of the European States which are not Members of the League or with the question of relations with extra-European countries. The Governments will therefore find at their first meeting no serious obstacle to the satisfactory solution of a question which the League itself has already had to solve.

Furthermore, since the opinions given seem to find their main justification in economic considerations, it should be observed that in this respect also the proposed organisation of the Union is sufficiently flexible to permit of any adaptation required. Here the Netherlands Government, taking up an idea explicitly formulated in the French Government's Memorandum, points out that the proposed Union proceeds from a conception absolutely contrary to that which formerly led to the creation in Europe of Customs unions tending to abolish internal Customs barriers in order to erect on the boundary of the whole community a stiffer barrier—that is to say, in order to create in practice a weapon against the States situated outside these unions.

4. Respect for the Independence and Sovereignty of States.

In concluding the general observations which precede the statement of the various points in its Memorandum, the French Government points out that " in no case and in no degree may the formation of the Federal Union desired by the European Governments affect in any way any of the sovereign rights of the States which are members of such an Association." Any thought of political domination being obviously out of the question, States would only enter the Association to exercise strictly equal rights, as in the League of Nations, under whose control the Association is to be placed.

No objection has been raised to this fundamental principle. Even in the extreme form in which it is conceived by the Government of the Irish Free State,¹ it cannot in itself form any obstacle to the organisation of the European Association. As the Netherlands Government observes, " a conception of sovereignty leaving no place for the voluntary acceptance of certain limitations of the powers of States should be ruled out as incompatible with the essential nature of international relations." Again, as conceived by the Finnish Government, which is in agreement on this point with the French Government's Memorandum, the Union " should be based on respect for the sovereignty and mutual equality of the States members, as in the case of the juridical system of the League of Nations. In the different countries of Europe, owing to the national character and historical evolution of each country, conditions vary widely. It will be important

¹ Each State party to the agreement is the sole judge of the manner and extent to which it should co-operate in the pursuit of the objects of the Association."

to respect the individuality of each nation, whether large or small, European co-operation being based on the interests common to all." Such a conception would seem entirely to dispel the apprehensions of the Swiss Government, which calls attention to the fact that the neutrality of the Confederation is secured by international instruments.

The point at issue, in fact, is to secure equality among all the members of the proposed Association within the Association itself and in its work—that is to say, that every participating State would exercise, by reason of its commitments to the Association, equal rights in the latter's affairs, without either the obligations or the rights that it derives from other undertakings being affected thereby. The question thus raised at the outset could not be raised in any other form among Governments that are Members of the League of Nations, in which their relations are based on the same conception of equality. The Hungarian Government, however, does not seem satisfied with the question in this form ; it would prefer the idea of sovereignty and equality of rights to be so interpreted " as to remove all inequalities the practical consequences of which make it impossible for certain countries to exercise their full sovereign rights." The Italian Government expresses a similar opinion, holding that " the establishment of conditions of absolute equality between all the States " in the Association should have the effect of " effacing the last distinction between victorious peoples and defeated peoples."

The general feeling on the subject would seem to be voiced by the British Government when it observes that the fundamental purpose is "to divert the attention of the peoples of Europe from the hostilities of the past and from the conflicts of interest between them which are sometimes alleged to exist and to fix their attention instead upon the more important common interest which to-day they share."

B. SPECIAL QUESTIONS RAISED IN THE MEMORANDUM OF MAY 1, 1930.

1. *Need for a General Agreement,*

The first of the special points submitted to the Governments for their consideration was the need for a general agreement affirming the principle of the moral union of Europe, indicating clearly its essentially pacific object, and placing the signatory Governments under the obligation to get into touch regularly at meetings.

The views expressed on the fundamental principles, and the general conclusion, which is in favour of more effective co-operation among the European Governments, seem to show that immediate accession could be secured to an agreement involving the signatories in no other commitment than that of taking part in meetings held regularly or on special occasions to examine such questions as they might consider to be of common interest to them all.

Either unconditionally or subject to reservations already universally accepted (incorporation in the League of Nations system, initial limitation to a very simple outline, etc.), most of the Governments have already

announced their readiness to bind themselves by treaty to establish some form of regular contact with the other European Governments.¹

The other Governments announce their intention of taking part in the European meetings, but without as yet expressing any opinion on the proposed agreement²; some discussing only the actual principles of the scheme,³ or giving only provisional replies on account of certain necessary inquiries,⁴ or expressing individual views, on the acceptance of which they do not, however, appear to make their accession to the agreement conditional.⁵

The study of the purport of this agreement could not be carried very far at a first consultation. For the most part, the replies, like the Memorandum itself, emphasise the need of being content at first with a brief document which would be drafted at the first meeting and could be amplified thereafter as the work of the Union became more clearly defined.

The general observations already received in regard to the incorporation of the European Union in the general machinery of the League of Nations suffice to indicate the lines on which the provisions on this subject to be embodied in the European Agreement should be framed—on the assumption that action is not limited at the outset to a simple declaration of principle, a commission being appointed to define the question and, in particular, to study the formula outlined by the Czechoslovak Government.

The same applies to the participation of States which are not Members of the League; the methods of arranging this could be considered at the coming European meeting.

2. *Need for Machinery,*

Under the heading "Need for machinery which will secure for the European Union the organs essential for the accomplishment of its task," the French Government proposed to the other Governments, in its Memorandum, that three organs should be set up in conjunction with those of the League of Nations—the Conference of representatives of all the States members of the Union, which would be the responsible directing body; a smaller but permanent Political Committee, which would act both as the committee of research and as the executive body for the conference; and a very small secretariat to register decisions, notify resolutions, and carry out the administrative instructions of the President.

Such machinery would lend itself to a wide range of adaptations and simplifications, and we should not be accurately reporting the views of the various Governments if we merely enumerated those that do and those that do not regard the establishment of each of the suggested bodies as necessary. Yugoslavia and Bulgaria do, indeed, pronounce in favour of the complete machinery as described above, and the question is not gone into in detail in the Greek and Albanian replies; but every one of the

¹ Austria, Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, Irish Free State, Latvia, Luxemburg, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Rumania, Spain, Yugoslavia.

² Italy, the Netherlands, Sweden.

³ Albania, Greece.

⁴

Great Britain,

⁵ Bulgaria, Germany, Hungary, Lithuania,

other Governments has suggested a solution differing from the next only in some slight degree.

Great Britain fears that confusion might arise between the League organisations and the new bodies, which would not derive their authority from the League Covenant or from Part XIII. of the Treaty of Versailles. It observes that European committees might be formed in the Assembly, the Council, and the technical organisations of the League. Germany, the Irish Free State, the Netherlands and Sweden think that no new bodies should be created until the need for them is felt; while Spain, Luxemburg and Portugal propose that the question be discussed at the first meeting. All the other Governments recommend the establishment of the supreme body, the European Conference. Some of them¹ do not contemplate attaching any committee to it, while others² think that it might be assisted, at all events temporarily, either by a committee or commission of inquiry on any question that may be specially referred to it by the conference, or by a "European Committee" similar to the Austrian Committee formerly appointed by the League; or, again, as Norway suggests, by a permanent committee consisting, in the first place, of the European members of the League Council.

A number of Governments think that the secretariat work could be performed by the Secretariat of the League, or organised by it in conjunction with a European committee; others³ consider that a provisional secretariat, in the form of a secretariat to the President or a central bureau, would be needed at the outset.

From these replies, the general idea to which a large number of Governments subscribe seems to be that of a single conference comprising all States, meeting periodically, and having in the initial stages the assistance of a committee, bureau or secretariat which can devise and construct an organisation during the intervals between meetings.

The replies of the various Governments contain detailed observations which it may be of interest to note.

The Italian Government urges the necessity of securing to all States absolute equality in the projected organisation, and, in particular, representation, not only at the annual meetings, but also in the Union's work between those meetings. The Hungarian Government observes that the memorandum of May 1 aims at preventing any predominance on the part of any one State, but that this equality does not exist under the present organisation of the League.

The Danish Government calls attention to the advantages of holding regular meetings of the European Conference; difficult problems, it argues, can be more easily discussed at regular meetings, which arouse less attention than special conferences. It would be better to hold the meetings after the League Assembly than before, in order to avoid giving any impression of attempting to bias the Assembly's decisions. Consideration should, however, be given to the difficulty that many delegates would find

¹ Denmark, Finland, Italy, Latvia, Rumania.

² Austria, Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Estonia, Lithuania, Norway, Poland.

³ Austria, Denmark, Finland, Latvia, Rumania.

in extending their stay at Geneva. It might also be possible to hold meetings in the different countries in rotation, in which case the chairman would simply be chosen from the country in which the meeting was held, while two vice-chairmen would be appointed from among the representatives of the other States. A similar view is put forward by the Finnish Government, which thinks that, instead of a permanent political committee, the Foreign Minister of the country whose representative had been elected President of the Conference and the diplomatic representatives of the States members in his country might act as a liaison organisation between conferences.

Without going into such great details, most of the Governments agree that the question of the organisation of the Union should be on the agenda of the first meeting, and might be investigated by a committee of research or inquiry.

3. *Need for Laying Down General Principles.*

The need for determining the general conceptions to be followed in studying the European organisation was the third point to which the Memorandum called the attention of Governments, though it was made quite clear that this point might be reserved for consideration at the coming European meeting.

Holding that progress in the direction of economic union can only be made so far as the nations are assured of security and have solid grounds for mutual confidence, and holding also that the formation of groups on purely economic lines might expose certain nations to the risks of a political domination resulting from an industrial domination by better-equipped countries, the French Government expressed the opinion that the work of organisation should primarily aim at securing the direct co-operation of the responsible Governments on the political plane, with a view to the establishment of a close and permanent pacific union between the peoples of Europe.

(a) Interdependence of Political and Economic Problems.

That the improvement of economic conditions can be facilitated by an improvement in political conditions is not disputed by any of the Governments consulted. Most of them lay stress upon this interdependence between the two, but they seem generally inclined to avoid making the one definitely subordinate to the other in practice.

The Albanian Government holds that, "in the economic field, there are problems easier to solve—the solution of which, by increasing the mutual confidence of the States and the process of effective pacification, will render more easy the consideration of the political questions."

The German Government refers to its attitude on the questions of security, disarmament, minorities, etc., but, in connexion with the organisation of European co-operation, it recommends that there should be no change in the methods employed as regards questions with which the League of Nations has already dealt or is dealing.

" Apart from political considerations,* it writes, " there are no doubt possibilities in the purely economic sphere which must be investigated and utilised in the interests of European progress. Closer co-operation in this domain should not be made to depend on the establishment of greater security. On the contrary, any understanding in the economic sphere will largely contribute to strengthening the feeling of union, and thereby the sense of security as well."

The Austrian Government considers that " a decisive step towards the rational development and organisation of the economic forces of Europe cannot be made until all possibility of war has been removed." Notwithstanding the progress made by means of the Covenant of the League of Nations, the Locarno and Hague agreements, and the Pact against war, there still exist political problems of the first importance which must be solved. But there are also economic questions which demand immediate solution, and are already sufficiently far advanced for settlement.

The Swiss Government expresses itself to the like effect: " The numerous restrictions which at present hamper the economic development of Europe are no doubt due in part to a certain impression of political insecurity," but " the European Union might attain some of its objects even though it should decide to take up the consideration of economic problems without waiting until the problem of security is nearer a solution."

The Hungarian Government states that, in its view, it is the settlement of political questions that would facilitate European co-operation. It could not enter an organisation that would preclude any possible future revision of the treaties and would make the existing position unalterable, but it of course realises that the European Conference will not undertake such a revision. Similarly, after referring to the question of minorities,¹ it recognises that " the European Association would not be qualified to deal exhaustively with problems which are within the competence of the League." It therefore advises that an endeavour should be made " first of all to organise co-operation in the economic sphere."

" It is evident that the problem of economic union starts from essentially political premises," writes the Italian Government; and, in its view, not merely the premise of security should be assured in the first place, but all those on which the Covenant of the League of Nations rests, including disarmament.

The Rumanian Government is of opinion that economic co-operation can be organised without preliminary political co-operation; but this co-operation, like that of the League, should rest upon the principles of respect for treaties and the territorial integrity of States, to which principles the Polish Government also alludes.

The Latvian Government looks upon political security as a condition of economic development.

Apart from a few countries² which reserve their opinion on the point,

*The Bulgarian Government also refers to the questions of minorities and disarmament. The Lithuanian Government alludes to difficulties " resulting from acts for which no just reparation has been made."

* Greece, Spain, Yugoslavia.

the remaining Governments consider that the relation between the political and the economic problem is one of interdependence rather than subordination. "No doubt," says the Belgian Government, "the co-ordination of economic work cannot readily progress where confidence and security are lacking. The extension of the conciliation, judicial settlement and arbitration procedures, the numerous local agreements on the model of the Locarno Treaties, and the progressive reduction of the various forms of armament, are calculated to promote economic co-operation between nations. But the opposite proposition is equally true. As a resolution adopted on the proposal of the French delegation by the Fifth Assembly of the League of Nations stated : ' Economic relations will largely contribute to security among the nations.' The two main motives of the action of peoples, the political and the economic motive, interact, neither being subordinated to the other."

The Czechoslovak Government likewise conceives co-operation among European States as being manifested more predominantly sometimes in the political and sometimes in the economic sphere, since the two groups of problems stand in a continual relation of interdependence one to the other.

The British Government thinks that "it is primarily in respect of economic relations that closer co-operation between the nations of Europe is urgently to be desired." In its view, however, economic questions should be considered not one by one, nor in respect of isolated interests, but from the point of view of the general interests involved, and that much can be done by political authorities to promote a wider outlook on economic questions.

Similar to this observation is that of the Austrian Government, to the effect that economic work should not be left in the hands of experts, who may be limited by the sectional views of economic circles, but should be directed by responsible political representatives, who need only be actuated by the interests of their countries and the interests of the European Association.

It was primarily this question of method that the French Government aimed at elucidating in its Memorandum.

The Government of the Irish Free State also recommends that "the technical and expert element in the work of the proposed Association" should be "subject to constant political control and guidance." It further points out that the countries of Europe have attained varying degrees of industrial development, and observes that no country could contribute to the establishment of a common market in Europe unless it were assured of due participation in that market.

Similarly, the German Government notes that "the agricultural depression and the difficulties experienced by manufacturers in finding markets for their products must form the starting-point of the inquiry into the economic crisis. Ways and means will have to be sought to secure larger markets and to promote the exchange of commodities between the essentially agricultural and the essentially industrial areas of Europe." It holds that military considerations should not place obstacles in the way of a logical

division of economic work, and that account must also be taken of the social structure of certain countries and the financial charges laid upon them as a result of the war.

The Danish Government is of opinion that " a large number of the difficulties that are hampering the economic life of Europe are due to the dispersion of energies in agricultural and industrial production, caused by Customs frontiers. An organisation under which gradual progress could be made towards a rational division of labour corresponding with geographical and social conditions in the various countries would contribute immensely to the general improvement of economic conditions in Europe and would greatly benefit the European States, as well as the other parts of the world interested in trade with Europe."

The Norwegian Government observes that there exist in Europe, as the Memorandum states, 20,000 kilometres of Customs barriers, and that the tariff policy of the European States is continually tending to raise these barriers still higher. This is a threat both to peace and to material prosperity. " An endeavour to restrict the armaments of Customs policy is as important as an attempt to reduce armies and navies. The reduction of military armaments will be a natural consequence of better and more cordial relations in the domain of commercial policy."

" Cannot attempts to lower Customs barriers be continued/" asks the Netherlands Government, " side by side with efforts to establish a political *entente* ? Such a reduction would be likely to eliminate one of the most serious threats to international harmony, and would therefore constitute in itself one of the chief factors in bringing about a regime of security."

(b) Conception of European Political Co-operation.

It is, in fact, from the development of economic co-operation—accompanied, according to some of them, by action in the political field—that most of the European Governments, bearing in mind the guarantees already afforded by the Covenant of the League of Nations, the Pact for the Outlawry of War, and the Locarno Agreements, expect the most immediate advance in the direction of security.

Several Governments * point out that they could not associate themselves with the introduction of a general system of guarantee or insurance that would involve military obligations. The Danish Government has always maintained the view that, until the reduction of armaments provided for in Article 18 of the Covenant of the League has been achieved, no guarantee obligations beyond those contained in the Covenant can be contracted; indeed, it is of opinion that a special discussion of the matter would, in present circumstances, make the negotiations with regard to European co-operation more difficult. On the other hand, it firmly upholds the principle which is at the root of the Locarno agreements, that no endeavour should be made to change existing frontiers by force ; and it refers to the draft Convention it brought forward at Geneva, according to which " changes in frontiers could not in future be justified by war."

¹ Denmark, Luxemburg, Norway.

The Luxemburg Government, while adverting to its special military position, pronounces in favour of a general extension of arbitration and the policy of international guarantees. The Finnish Government suggests "an examination of the organs of conciliation and arbitration created by bilateral treaties between European States with a view to developing and standardising them." The Polish Government is of opinion that it would be advisable, when organising a European union, constantly to bear in mind the principles on which the Geneva Protocol was based.

4. *Questions of Practical Application.*

In the Memorandum of May 1, it was proposed that all questions of practical application should be reserved for the coming meeting.

The Memorandum gave a list of the classes of questions that could be dealt with by the conference, indicated the various methods of studying them, and emphasised the necessity for determining the forms of co-operation to be established between countries that are members of the Union and countries which remain outside it.

Most of the Governments are agreed that the detailed consideration of this programme should be postponed to a later meeting of the conference.

The Bulgarian Government proposes that the programme should include political questions. The Finnish Government considers that the question of passports should be dealt with.

In the view of the Spanish Government, on the other hand, the programme could best be examined by the League of Nations in the regular way.

The Government of the Irish Free State thinks that an attempt should be made at the coming meeting to discover how the existing resources of the League may be utilised and how the conventions established by the League may be brought more speedily into force.

The Yugoslav Government lays stress upon the number and importance of the purely regional questions which are of the greatest interest to the States of Europe, but are sometimes of no concern to other countries; it considers that the League of Nations cannot be expected to take the place of the Governments interested for the purpose of settling such questions.

CONCLUSION.

According to its own conception of its duties, it is not for the reporting Government—after merely giving an analytical summary of the opinions independently expressed by all the Governments consulted—to attempt to draw substantive conclusions. These can only be derived from a collective discussion—that is to say, from the judgment of the European Conference assembled here to-day.

Moreover, the individual replies of the Governments to the Memorandum of May 1 are merely the first elements—preceding any joint deliberation and any real exchange of views—in a comprehensive investigation that is still in its early stages and that cannot, owing to the importance of its subject, be hurried. This preliminary consultation could not be expected to produce general conclusions straightaway—still less final conclusions—

as to the scheme as a whole, but only some indications of the procedure to be followed and the first steps to be taken in accordance with the principles laid down on September 9, 1929.

From among these indications, however, it is the duty of the Rapporteur to extract the most urgent—that is to say, those which seem to call for immediate discussion.

All the Governments consulted share the French Government's desire to place the proposed Union definitely under the moral authority of the League of Nations. The European Conference should begin to discuss this point fairly soon so as to have sufficient time to consider the conditions and the form in which the Assembly's views ought to be ascertained.

Several Governments, moreover, have proposed that representatives of States which are not Members of the League should be invited to attend the meetings of the European Conference from the beginning. Here, again, before the point is discussed at all, consideration must be given to the propriety of ascertaining the feeling of the League.

The British Government's proposal that the consultation itself, in its present form, should be brought to the Assembly's notice, would mean in practice an equally prompt discussion.

The same would apply to any declaration, resolution or draft motion which it might, as the outcome of the first European meeting, seem proper to communicate to the Assembly.

Accordingly, the representatives of the Governments which took part in the meeting of September 9, 1929, and whom it was necessary to convene to-day in order that the Rapporteur might acquit himself of his duties under the conditions laid down, must be given an opportunity to hold an initial exchange of views and a discussion on questions of principle before the League Assembly opens, if decisions are to be reached in time for all questions preliminary to the detailed examination of the scheme to be raised in the Assembly.

This discussion might deal, in general, with the main points of procedure, which must be settled before a programme of work can be decided upon.

With regard to the proposal—which meets the views of most of the Governments consulted and is more particularly advocated by the Finnish and Polish Governments—to set up, after a first session of the European Conference, a body to frame the programme for the organisation of the European Union on systematic lines, it will likewise rest with the conference, if it adopts the principle, to consider under what conditions and within what period its decision on the subject should be reached.

Such are the immediate and preliminary obligations that seem incumbent upon this first European Conference; such, if we consider only the mere mechanism of a procedure freely entered into by twenty-seven European Governments, are the sure indications and the living signs that already affirm the existence of this first manifestation of European union. If, as has been asserted unanimously and with conviction, this Union answers to a vital European need, it will be the task of the forces of evolution, aided by the will of the peoples, to ensure its regular and unimpeded development.

September 8, 1930.

OBITUARY

OF

EMINENT PERSONS DECEASED IN 1930.

JANUARY.

1. Rev. Mark Guy Pearse, aged 88, Wesleyan preacher and writer, came of a Cornish family steeped in the Methodist tradition, and was educated at Camborne and later at Zeist in Holland. Abandoning a medical student's course in favour of the Wesleyan ministry, he studied at the Wesleyan Colleges at Sheffield and Manchester before being ordained in 1863. In 1866 he was sent to Leeds, and after twenty years' ministry at various places he was about to retire to Cornwall to devote himself to literary work when the Rev. Hugh Price Hughes invited his co-operation in the West London Wesleyan Mission. He continued this work till 1903, gaining immense popularity as a lecturer. Amongst his books may be mentioned "Sermons for Children" and two books of Cornish Stories, "Daniel Quorn and his Religious Notions" and "Mr. Horn and His Friends." He married Miss Mary Jane Cooper who died in 1914; two sons and two daughters survived him.

4. David Croall Thomson, aged 74, art expert and writer, received his art training first at Edinburgh, where he was apprenticed to a print-seller and artists' colourman, and later in France. In 1880 he became sub-editor of *The Year's Art* in London, and from 1892 to 1902 edited *The Art Journal*. As Director of the Goupil Gallery he arranged several important exhibitions of pictures, and in 1892 organised a show of Whistler's works. Later he became a partner in Thos. Agnew and Sons, and after several years with this firm joined that of Wallis & Son in Pall Mall prior to establishing his own business at Barbizon House in Cavendish Square, which he opened in 1918. Besides contributing to the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* he published "The Life and Works of Thos. Bewick" (1882), followed by illustrated essays on "H. K. Browne," "The Barbizon School of Painters," "Corot," "Luke Fildes, R.A.," "Fifty Years of Art," and "The Brothers Maris." Since 1919 a "Barbizon House Record" appeared as an annual review of the art treasures passing through his hands. In 1884 he married Miss Alice Mary Halton, who died in 1928. He had three sons and five daughters.

6. Sir Montague Shearman, aged 72, Judge of the King's Bench and famous athlete, was educated at Merchant Taylors' School and St. John's College, Oxford. Besides doing well in the schools he was one of the founders of the Amateur Athletic Association of which he acted as secretary from 1880 to 1883, becoming president in 1915. In 1881 he was called to the Bar by the Inner Temple, and obtaining a practice straightway he was used unofficially as standing counsel by a large number of business men. In 1903 he took silk and soon became a prominent figure at the Common Law Bar; in 1914 he was raised to the Bench. In the following year he was nominated to the committee inquiring

into the Sinn Fein rebellion. Few sensational trials came his way, but as exceptions to this he presided at the trial of Harold Greenwood in 1920, and that of Bywaters and Mrs. Thompson in 1922, and in the same year he tried the murderers of Sir Henry Wilson. He resigned in 1929. In 1884 he married Louise, daughter of Mr. Job Long of New York. One son survived him.

9. Edward W. Bok, editor of the *Ladies' Home Journal*, an American paper, the circulation of which he increased from 440,000 to over 2,000,000, was a Dutch immigrant to New York in 1869. He became a reporter when still only a boy, and in 1884 became associated with Charles Scribner's Sons. Five years later he undertook the editorship of the *Ladies' Home Journal*, retaining it with amazing success until 1919 when he retired. His autobiography, "The Americanisation of Edward Bok," appeared in 1920. In 1923 he offered a prize for an American plan to secure world-peace, which was subsequently won by Dr. C. H. Levermore. He also founded numerous prizes at the Harvard Graduate School of Business Administration. He married a daughter of Cyrus H. K. Curtis, the publisher.

— Carl Hentschel, aged 65, well-known figure in the theatrical world, was the son of an American citizen of Russian origin interested in process work for illustrations. The father's invention for reproducing illustrations in zinc was taken up by a company of which Carl Hentschel, the son, became working manager. In 1887 he started on his own, and in 1920 became chairman and manager of the business incorporated as Carl Hentschel, Ltd. In 1883 he founded the Playgoers' Club with Heneage Mandell, and became its treasurer in 1899. Later he founded the O.P. Club of which he was at various times president. From 1901 to 1921 he was a member of the Court of Common Council. His presidency of the Bartholomew Club (in 1904) was remarkable for his reform whereby dinner speeches were "taken as read" and printed for distribution to the company. He was Chairman of the Central Markets and the Guildhall School of Music, and President of the City of London Tradesmen's Club. He was the original of Jerome K. Jerome's "Harris" in "Three Men in a Boat." In 1889 he married Bertha Posener.

10. Sir Lawrence Weaver, aged 53, well-known in both architectural and agricultural circles, was educated at Clifton College. After training as an architect and working in various manufacturing and contracting concerns, he settled down to journalism and literary work. From 1910 to 1916 he was architectural editor of *Country Life*. During the Great War he served in the Anti-Aircraft Corps of the R.N.V.R., did valuable work in the Food Production Department, and in 1918 became Commercial Secretary to the Board of Agriculture. From 1919 to 1922 he was Director-General of the Land Department and Second Secretary in the Ministry of Agriculture. He took an active part in the Wembley Exhibition of 1923-25 as Director of the United Kingdom exhibits, and in 1926 served on the Royal Commission on Cross River Traffic. In 1927 he became President of the Architecture Club, of which he had been an original member. He was a director of the London Press Exchange. Amongst his publications may be mentioned "English Leadwork: its Art and History," "Small Country Houses of To-day," "Lutyens' Houses and Gardens," "Memorials and Monuments," "The History of the Royal Scots," "Sir Christopher Wren," and, in 1928, "Tradition and Modernity in Plasterwork." He was created C.B.E. in 1918 and K.B.E. in 1920. Sir Lawrence was twice married; first to Kathleen Purcell, who died in 1927, leaving two sons, and secondly to Margaret de Caux.

13. Dr. Sebastian Zianl de Ferranti, pioneer of electrical supply, was born in 1864 and educated at St. Augustine's College, Ramsgate, and University College, London. Obtaining a post with Siemens' Bros. at Charlton in 1881, he experimented, with Sir William Siemens, in various directions, and five years later started an electric supply plant of his own, first at Bond Street and then in 1890

on a larger scale at Deptford. In 1892, relinquishing his post as engineer to the London Electric Supply Corporation, he established electrical manufacturing works at Hollinwood, Lanes. In 1910 and 1911 he was president of the Institution of Electrical Engineers, and his visions of the scale on which electrical power would govern all our needs foreshadowed the principles incorporated in the Electricity Act of 1926. In 1924 he won the Faraday Medal of the Institution of Electrical Engineers, and in 1927 was elected F.R.S.

22. Viscount Esher, Q.C.B., K.C.V.O. (**Reginald Baliol Brett**), whose political influence was felt behind the scenes for many years, was the eldest son of the first Viscount and succeeded to the title in 1899. After being educated at Eton and Trinity College, Cambridge, he became private secretary to Lord Hartington in 1878. Two years later he entered Parliament as Liberal member for Penryn and Falmouth, retaining the seat till 1885. When Gladstone became Prime Minister, he went with Hartington first to the India office and then to the War Office. Always a first-class negotiator behind the scenes rather than an ardent public politician, his influence was felt in the Egyptian agitation round Gordon's name, and although in 1886 he nominally retired, he still stood behind Lord Rosebery in all momentous affairs. In 1895 he accepted the Secretaryship of the Office of Works, and in 1901 he was appointed Deputy Constable and Lieut-Governor of Windsor Castle. The result of his close association with the Royal family was the publication of his "Letters of Queen Victoria" (with Mr. A. C. Benson), and, in 1912, "The Girlhood of Queen Victoria." In 1902, as a Commissioner of Inquiry into the conduct of the S. African War, he urged various War Office and Army reforms which ultimately resulted in the War Office Reconstitution Committee, and by 1904 his scheme by which the Army was to be considered as the master-key to the problem of Imperial strategy was on foot. In pursuit of his earlier advocacy of National Military Education he supported Lord Haldane's Territorial Act of 1907. At the outbreak of the Great War he went to France in charge of a secret mission, the full import of which will be revealed only when his sealed diaries and other memoranda in the trusteeship of the British Museum are opened in 1981. In 1910 he was appointed Keeper of the King's Archives, and in 1928 he succeeded Lord Cambridge as Governor and Constable of Windsor Castle. In 1923 he wrote "Ionicus," a biography of an Eton master, and four years later a picture of notable Victorians appeared under the title "Cloud-Capped Towers." In 1899 he married Eleanor, daughter of M. Sylvain Van der Weyer. Two sons and a daughter survived him.

28. Edwin **Tulley Newton**, F.R.S., aged 90, palaeontologist, worked in his early years under Huxley, first at the School of Mines and in 1865 as assistant naturalist to the Geological Survey. His survey memoir on the "Vertebrates of the Forest Bed" in 1882 laid the foundation of his early reputation, and from 1882 to 1905 he was Palaeontologist to the Geological Survey and the Museum of Practical Geology. He published many important memoirs on rocks, fishes, and reptiles, and in 1886 presented to the Zoological Society a paper on birds entitled "Gigantic Species." He was associated with the discovery of the skull and limb bones at Galley Hill, Kent, in 1895, and two years later, as president of the Geologists' Association, he discussed "the evidence for the existence of Man in the Tertiary Period." He received recognition for his researches from the Geological Society, and in 1893 was elected F.R.S.

29. **Emmy Destinn**, aged 52, opera singer, was born in Prague. Making her debut as a soprano at the Berlin Opera House in 1898, she joined the company and played Elizabeth in "Tannhauser" and Salome in Strauss's opera. In 1902 she appeared at Covent Garden as Donna Anna in "Bon Giovanni," and three years later she made a great success in this country in "Madame Butterfly" and also in the title role in "Aida." In 1908 she severed her Berlin connexion to go to America, where she created the part of Minnie in Puccini's

"La Fanciulla del West." In 1914 she was at her zenith when the Austrian authorities detained her for her Czechoslovak sympathies. In 1919 she reappeared in London as Emmy Destinnora at the Czechoslovak Festival in Queen's Hall. Obligated to retire on account of ill-health, she took up literary work and produced a drama known as "Rabal."

FEBRUARY.

3. The Hon. Peter Charles Larkin, aged 73, High Commissioner of Canada in London, started his career as a commercial traveller and soon founded a business of his own styled the Salada Tea Co. The business flourished, and while keeping the control always in his own hands he found time as an ardent Liberal to interest himself in politics. He was a director of the *Toronto Globe*; in 1911 Sir Wilfred Laurier appointed him Canadian representative on the Dominions Royal Commission reporting on conditions and resources of the British Empire in trade and industry, but his party went out of office before this work began. In 1912 he was appointed to the Canadian Privy Council. Ten years later he accepted appointment as High Commissioner for Canada in London, and as such did much for Canadian interests in Europe. A permanent memorial of his work exists in the establishment of Canada House in Trafalgar Square. He married Miss Jean Ross, who survived him with a son and a daughter.

5. Edwin Pugh, aged 55, novelist, began his career in an iron factory and continued it in a solicitor's office. At the age of 21 he published "A Street in Suburbia," and others of his books are "The Man of Straw," "Tony Drum: a Cockney Boy," "Harry, the Cockney," "Punch and Judy," "The Proof of the Pudding," and "The Quick and the Dead." In 1916 he published a volume of essays entitled "Slings and Arrows."

7. Lord Lathom (Edward William Bootle-Wilbraham), aged 34, playwright, was the son of the second Earl of Lathom. As Lord Skelmersdale he went to Eton in 1907; three years later he succeeded to the title. He was at Christchurch, Oxford, when the Great War broke out, and served in France as Captain of the Lancashire Hussar Yeomanry, and was at one time extra A.D.C. to the Governor of Bombay. His determination to write plays survived every discouragement and loss. His *genre* was a cross between melodrama and witty phantasy, but the compromise was a failure. His first work, "Ostriches," was banned by the Censor, and between 1926 and 1928 he wrote "The Way You Look At It," "Tuppence Coloured," "Wet Paint," "Fear," and "Twenty Houses in a Row," all of which were produced for Sunday audiences, but got little further. In 1927 he married Mrs. Mary Xenia Morrison, but left no issue.

8. Charles Percy Sanger, an authority on wills, was educated at Winchester and Trinity College, Cambridge, where he was eventually elected to a Fellowship. Having been called to the Bar, he soon became known as a leading authority on certain branches of the Law, particularly in relation to wills. His own book, "Sanger on Wills," was followed by re-editions of "Hawkins on Wills" and "Jarman on Wills." He took a keen interest in economic and statistical studies, at one time lecturing in London on mathematical economics.

9. Dr. George Goudie Chisholm, aged 79, eminent geographer, was educated at the Edinburgh High School and University. From 1895 till 1908 he was London University Extension Lecturer, and the reputation which he made for himself by his keenness and scientific handling of his subject was increased by his activities at the meetings of the Geographical Section of the British Association (of which he became President in 1907), and as secretary to the Royal Scottish Geographical Society. From 1908 to 1923 he taught geography at the University

of Edinburgh. In 1889 he wrote his "Handbook of Commercial Geography," which enjoyed a great vogue, and he also edited Longmans' "Gazetteer of the World." Among the distinctions conferred upon Chisholm was the Gold Medal of the American Geographical Society. In 1884 he married Florence Jones, who survived him.

10. Dr. Thomas Charles Fry, Dean of Lincoln, born in 1846, was educated at Bedford Grammar School and Pembroke College, Cambridge. After a short time on the staff of Durham School and having been ordained, he became a house-master at Cheltenham College, and in 1883 was elected Headmaster of Oundle. Obligated to relinquish this post on grounds of health, he took a living at Wyke Regis, Weymouth, until 1887, when he was appointed Headmaster of Berkhamsted Grammar School. During his twenty-three years there he devoted himself to the development and expansion of the school, and with the co-operation of the chairman of the Governors (Sir John Evans) introduced very many improvements. Politically a Liberal of the Left Wing, he was chairman of the Church Reform League and a member of the Executive Committee of the Christian Social Union. In 1910 he was appointed Dean of Lincoln, and devoted the remainder of his life to the restoration of the Cathedral. For this he raised large sums, in all 100,000/., most of which was contributed in America, and it was during his third visit across the Atlantic that he was taken ill in Chile. In 1876 he married a daughter of Mr. Edward Greene, M.P. She died in 1928, but two sons survived him.

12. John E. Vedrenne, aged 62, theatrical manager, abandoned a commercial career to enter the theatrical world as a concert agent. At various times he was manager for Sir Frank Benson, Sir Johnston Forbes-Robertson, and other noted actors, but his name is chiefly associated with Mr. Granville-Barker, with whom he worked at the Royal Theatre from 1904 to 1907, and then at the Savoy. They produced Gilbert Murray's "Euripides" and Bernard Shaw's "Comedies," Sir John Galsworthy's "Silver Box," and the dramas of Ibsen and Maeterlinck. After producing Shakespeare at the Savoy, he became the first lessee of the Queen's, later joining Mr. Dennis Eadie at the Royalty for a four years' partnership, which included the production of "Milestones."

14. The Hon. Sir Thomas Mackenzie, aged 75, New Zealand statesman, was the son of David Stewart Mackenzie and received his education in New Zealand. He was a member of the New Zealand Parliament on various occasions between 1887 and 1896, and after representing his Government at the New South Wales Centenary celebrations at Sydney in 1888, he was appointed Commissioner in the following year to inquire into the produce trade in England and America. In 1896 he came to England for three years to pursue his business inquiries. He did important pioneer work in exploring unknown areas in New Zealand, and was a member of the first party to reach the Sutherland Falls. In 1897 he was elected F.R.A.S. In 1908 he entered the Government as Minister of Industries and Commerce and Minister in charge of Tourist and Health Resorts, Scenery Preservation and State Forestry Departments. Later he was given the Portfolio of Agriculture, and after serving other Ministries became Prime Minister in 1912. Defeated shortly afterwards, he was appointed High Commissioner in London and retained this post till 1920 when he returned to New Zealand to become a member of the Legislative Council for Otago. He was made K.C.M.G. in 1916 and G.C.M.G. in 1920. In 1883 he married Ida Henrietta Nantes, who died in 1926. Five sons and one daughter survived him.

15. Sir Thomas Willes Chitty, Bt., K.C., aged 74, former Senior Master of the Supreme Court and King's Remembrancer, came of a famous legal family, was educated at Winchester and studied for the Law under his grandfather, Thomas Chitty. He was called to the Bar by the Inner Temple in 1877, and soon developed a large junior practice both in the Temple and on the N.E. circuit.

In 1901 he accepted a Mastership of the King's Bench Court, and in 1920 succeeded Sir Thomas Macdonell as Senior Master in the Supreme Court and King's Remembrancer. Resigning in 1926 he returned to the Bar and took silk in 1927. His name is associated with many important revisions of the Rules of court issued under the Judicature Acts. He also edited numerous legal works, such as "Archibald's Practice," "Chitty's Forms," "Smith's Leading Cases," and "Bullen and Leake's Pleadings." He was managing editor of Lord Halsbury's "Laws of England," and chief editor of the "English and Empire Digest." He received a Knighthood in 1919, and a baronetcy in 1924. He was married twice: in 1888 to Emily Eliza Newbolt, and secondly in 1904 to Beatrice Maud Hale. Two sons and two daughters survived him.

17. Madame Kirby Lunn, aged 56, famous singer, studied at the Royal College of Music and made her first appearance in a student performance of Schumann's "Genoveva." Having made her mark as a mezzo-soprano in a production of Stanford's "Shamus O'Brien" at the old Opera Comique in the Strand, she appeared at Covent Garden and then developed in Grand Opera under the Carl Rosa Opera Co. In 1904 she made a notable success at Covent Garden in the part of Amneris in "Aida," and also took part in the Elgar Festival there. Later in the same year she sang in "Parsifal" at Boston, Mass., and six years later reached her highest achievement in Wagnerian drama under Richter at Covent Garden. After the war she was chiefly heard in festival performances.

19. Alan Archibald Campbell Swinton, F.R.S., aged 66, consulting engineer and scientific researcher, was the son of Archibald Campbell Swinton, and through his mother related to the Sitwells. After being educated at Edinburgh and practising from 1882 to 1887 in the Armstrong Works at Elswick, he settled in London as a consulting engineer. He was chairman of Crompton & Co., electrical manufacturers, and a director of the Parsons Marine Steam Turbine Co. He experimented early with Rontgen rays, and in 1908 foretold television; in 1914 proposed an ingenious method of signal recording. He was president of the R.Gntgen Society in 1911, and of the Radio Society of Great Britain in 1913, and vice-chairman of the Royal Society of Arts. He was also chairman of the British Scientific Instruments Research Association, and gave financial assistance to the British Association in 1928, that they might obtain the Royal Charter. He was unmarried.

23. Alfred Herbert Tubby, C.B*, C.M.G., aged 67, orthopaedic surgeon, was educated at Christ's Hospital, Guy's Hospital, Hall6 and Leipzig. In 1894 he became assistant surgeon and four years later full surgeon, at Westminster Hospital. He was later surgeon at various children's hospitals, including the Royal National Orthopaedic Hospital. During the Great War he served with the Egyptian Expeditionary Force, and was created C.M.G. in 1916 and C.B. in 1918. During this period of his career he found time to interest himself in archaeology, and in 1918 published an account of his excavations near Alexandria. His textbook on "Deformities" became a standard work. He was chairman of the Society for the Study of Diseases in Children, president of the children's section at the Royal Society of Medicine, and also at the British Medical Association. As a general surgeon, he was president of the Hunterian Society and a member of the International Society of Surgeons. In 1890 he married Beatrice Payne who survived him with one daughter.

25. Sir Alfred Downing Fripp, aged 64, famous surgeon, was the son of Alfred Downing, painter. He went to Merchant Taylors' School in 1879, and graduated later from Guy's Hospital in the University of London, taking the degree of Master of Surgery and his F.R.C.S. He became assistant surgeon at Guy's in 1897, surgeon in due course, and after his retirement in 1925 was still associated with the hospital as consulting surgeon and governor. He attended

various members of the Royal family, was appointed surgeon-in-ordinary to King Edward and King George V., was chief civil medical officer with the Imperial Yeomanry during the South African War, and was created C.B. He received a knighthood in 1903, and was made K.C.V.O. in 1906. During the Great War he was consulting surgeon to the Royal Navy. His professional writings were few, the chief being "An Anatomy for Art Students" and "Letters from S. Africa on Military Hospital Administration during the Boer War." An active member of the Ancient Order of Frothblowers, he helped to raise more than 100,000L for children's charities all over the world. In 1898 he married Margaret Scott, daughter of T. B. Haywood, who survived him with two sons and three daughters.

25. Ernest Philip Alphonso Law, antiquarian and Shakespearian scholar, was born in 1854, being the ninth son of the Hon. William Towry Law, and grandson of the first Lord Ellenborough. Educated at the Roman Catholic School, Oscott, and University College, London, he graduated in 1874, and four years later was called to the Bar by the Inner Temple, joining the S.E. circuit. From 1891 to 1896 he was Comptroller and Secretary of the Provident Institution Savings Bank. Possessed of an historical imagination and all the qualities of a research worker, he made himself an authority on Tudor times, and as a trustee of Shakespeare's birthplace designed the Knott garden and other parts of the grounds at New Place, Stratford. His special hobby was Hampton Court Palace, where he resided at "the Pavilion," and he contributed to *The Times* various articles on the State Rooms of Henry VIII. and that monarch's "Newe Wyne Sellar." His chief Shakespearian study was "The Cunningham Papers"—a vindication of the authenticity of these account books of the Court Office of Revels for the years 1604-05 and 1611-12; their genuineness affords evidence for the dates of many of Shakespeare's plays. He wrote "A Short History of Hampton Court" in 1897. In 1890 he married Katherine Helen Campbell. He was made C.B. in 1920 and C.V.O. in 1926.

26. Cardinal Raffaele Merry del Val, Pontifical Secretary of State, born in 1865, came of an Irish family who had emigrated to Spain. He was educated at Ushaw College, Durham, and in 1885 went to Rome to join the College of the Ecclesiastical Nobility. Three years later he was ordained, and in 1892 he was appointed Private Chamberlain to the Pope Leo XIII., and later Secretary to the Commission on Anglican Orders. In 1899 he was made President of the Academy of the Ecclesiastical Nobility, was appointed titular Archbishop of Nicea in the following year, and was made Cardinal of State a few years later. In 1903 he was selected by the English Chapter as the possible successor to Cardinal Vaughan at Westminster. His conduct of relations between the Vatican and the French Republic exposed him to severe criticism, and his reputation as a diplomatist suffered considerably over the incident which occurred in Rome during the visit of Ex-President Roosevelt in 1910. In 1914 he retired from the Secretaryship and became Archpriest of the Vatican Basilica.

27. Dr. Joseph Wright, Professor of Comparative Philology at Oxford, was born in 1855 of humble parentage and began his career as a mill-hand in Yorkshire. Learning to read at the age of 16, he went to Germany in pursuit of further studies and obtained a post in a school at Heidelberg, where he continued his philological studies, taking his doctorate in due course. He was subsequently appointed Deputy to Max Müller, Professor of Comparative Philology at Oxford, and ten years later was elected to the Chair. He did much to develop the Taylorian Institution as the centre of modern language teaching at Oxford, and was instrumental in creating a Board of Mediaeval and Modern Languages. His monumental work, "The Oxford Dialect Dictionary," issued first at his own expense, was begun in 1896 and completed in 1905. To this was added an English Dialect Grammar, and two years after the completion of the Dictionary he began the publication of a series of historical grammars. "The Historical German

Grammar " (1907) and the " Old English Grammar " (1908) were succeeded by the " Comparative Greek Grammar " in 1912, the only English book of its kind. During the war this series fell into abeyance, and he lectured to the English Honours School, but in 1923 further historical grammars followed. In 1925 he retired on a pension. In 1896 he married a daughter of the Rev. F. Simcox Lea, who survived him.

27. George Haven Putnam, D.Litt., aged 85, author and publisher, was born in London a few years after the establishment of his American father's firm in Paternoster Row. After being educated at the University of Gottingen, he served for the North in the American Civil War, and then joined his father's business. Amongst his writings may be mentioned " Authors and Their Public in Ancient Times " (1894), " Books and their Makers in the Middle Ages " (1896-97), two volumes on " The Censorship of the Church of Rome " (1907), and a volume on " Lincoln and the Issues of the Civil War." Among books of recollections were " A Prisoner of War in Virginia," " Memories of My Youth " (1914), " Memories of a Publisher " (1915), and " Some Memories of the Civil War " (1924). In 1872 he became head of the firm, the main business of which was serious literature, historical and biographical. But fiction was also included, represented by Fenimore Cooper, E. A. Poe, and John Galsworthy. In 1912 he was made D.Litt. of Columbia University. He was twice married, first in 1869 to Rebecca J. Shepard, who died in 1895, and secondly in 1898 to Emily James Smith, by whom he had one son.

28. Charles Kenneth Michael Scott-Moncrieff, eminent as a translator, born in 1889, was educated at Winchester and Edinburgh University. After some distinguished war service, he was appointed, in 1920, private secretary to Lord Northcliffe, and in the following year joined the editorial staff of *The Times*, where he remained for two years before devoting himself more entirely to his own literary work. In 1919 he published a translation or interpretation of the " Chanson de Roland," and this was followed by a version of " Beowulf ". He is chiefly known for his remarkable interpretation of the work of Marcel Proust, a few weeks before whose death, in 1922, had appeared Scott-Moncrieff's translation of " Du Côté de Chez Swann," under the title " Swann's Way." A year later he published " An English Tribute " to Proust, and in the next few years appeared further parts of " A La Recherche du Temps Perdu." In 1925 he translated the thirteenth-century Latin text of the " Letters of Abelard and Heloise." His translations from Pirandello stand second only to those from Proust, and a similar high level was reached in " The Charterhouse of Parma " and " Armand " by Stendhal.

MARCH.

2. David Herbert Lawrence, aged 45, novelist, was the son of a coal-miner, and after being educated till the age of 16 at the Nottingham High School, was obliged to begin earning his livelihood as a clerk. At the age of 21 he went for two years to Nottingham University College, and then came to London to teach and write. His first novel was " The White Peacock," and at the age of 28 his " Sons and Lovers " brought him fame. Obligated to leave England on account of his health, he founded an intellectual settlement in New Mexico. Some of his descriptive passages are regarded as being amongst the finest in English literature, but his work was uneven and much of it was spoilt by violence. " Lady Chatterly's Lover " could not be printed in this country, and " The Rainbow " brought him into contact with the law. An exhibition of his paintings had to be withdrawn, but such books as " Sons and Lovers," " Amores " (poems), " Aaron's Rod," " The Prussian Officer," " Ladybird," and " Kangaroo " are the compositions of a genius. In 1914 he married Frieda V. Richthofen; they had no children.

3. **Earl of Kintore (Algernon Hawkins Thornond Keith-Falconer)**, aged 77, Governor of Australia (1889-95), being the first peer to represent the Crown in that country, was the eldest son of the eighth Earl. Educated at Eton and Trinity College, Cambridge, he succeeded to the title in 1880; in 1885 he was a Lord-in-Waiting in Lord Salisbury's Government, and in the following year Captain of the Yeoman of the Guard and Privy Councillor. On his return from Australia he became Chief Conservative Whip, and afterwards Deputy-Speaker in the House of Lords. In 1923 he was created a Knight of the Thistle. In 1873 he married Lady Sydney Montague, daughter of the sixth Duke of Manchester. A son and two daughters survived him.

4. **Thomas Alexander Barns**, traveller and naturalist, who died as the result of a street accident at the age of 49, went out to S. Africa to become a big game hunter, ranch-owner, and farmer. He was assistant manager for the Nyasaland Coffee Co. and agent from 1900 to 1903 to Tanganyika Concessions in Northern Rhodesia. He became a distinguished entomologist and obtained the fine elephant now in the Natural History Museum as well as many other Museum specimens. His expeditions are described in "The Wonderland of the Eastern Congo," published in 1922, while his exploration of the extinct crater of Ngorongoro led in the following year to the publication of "Across the Great Craterland of the Congo." Other descriptive narratives of his adventures are "An African Eldorado," "The Belgian Congo," and "Angolan Sketches." He was a Fellow of the Zoological Society, the Royal Geographical Society, and a member of the African Society. He married a daughter of Mr. Frederick Cory.

— **Charles Whibley**, aged 70, Tory journalist and man of letters, was educated at Bristol Grammar School and Jesus College, Cambridge; on coming down from the University entered the editorial department of Cassell & Co. In 1889 he published "In Cap and Gown," a collection of academic wit, while also at work on *The National Observer*. In 1891 he came into contact with the poet Henley whose literary executor he became in 1903. With him he produced "The Tudor Translations" in 1892, and two years later they collaborated in "The Book of English Prose." About this time he also became associated with the *Pall Mall Gazette* under Mr. Astor, and was sent to Paris as correspondent for that journal. Returning two years later, in 1896, he formed his connexion with *Blackwood's Magazine*, and opened the new century with a series of criticisms and editions—on Thackeray, Hale's "Henry VIII.," Sir Thos. Browne, Disraeli's "Life of Lord George Bentinck," Pitt, and Byron. Volumes of short studies were "Literary Portraits," "Essays in Biography," and "A Book of Scoundrels." His "Letters of an Englishman" became a well-known feature of the *Daily Mail*. In 1913 he published a "Life of George Wyndham," and in 1925 his biography of Lord John Manners, seventh Duke of Rutland, finally appeared. He was twice married; in 1896 to Ethel Birlie Philip, sister of Whistler's wife; and secondly in 1927 to Philippa, daughter of Sir Walter Raleigh.

6. **Lord Gladstone (Herbert John Gladstone)**, aged 76, first Governor-General of the Union of South Africa, was the youngest son of the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone. After being educated at Eton and University College, Oxford, he was appointed History Lecturer at Keble College in 1877, but relinquished his academic work three years later to enter Parliament as Liberal member for Leeds. He acted as one of his father's private secretaries, and was made Whip in 1881. Five years later he was Financial Secretary at the War Office, and in 1892 Under-Secretary at the Home Office. He was in Lord Rosebery's Government of 1894, and in 1899 became Chief Whip of the Liberal Party in opposition. In 1906 he became Home Secretary in Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman's Cabinet, and in 1909 the Prime Minister appointed him Governor-General of the new Union and High Commissioner of South Africa, being created a Viscount and G.C.M.G. In South Africa he held the balance between Dutch and English,

and adopted a successful policy of masterly inactivity. On his retirement in 1914 he was made G.C.B. During the Great War he was head of the War Refugees Organisation, and was made S.B.E. in 1917. After the war he found himself out of sympathy with the Lloyd George Liberals, and eventually became head of the Asquithian Liberals. In 1901 he married Dorothy, daughter of the Rt. Hon. Sir Richard Paget, but had no issue.

6. Grand-Admiral Alfred von Tirpitz, maker of the German Navy, was born of Prussian parentage in 1869. He was educated at Frankfurt-on-Main, entering the Navy in 1865. Soon after the Franco-German War of 1870 he interested himself in the problem of the submarine torpedo, and in 1885 secured the creation of a special torpedo section. In 1892 he was appointed to the Naval Staff at Berlin, and in 1895 he was promoted Rear-Admiral, being sent in the following year to the Far East to advise on a site for a naval base. It was at his suggestion that Tsingtao was selected. On his return he was made Secretary of State for the Navy, and at once pressed for the creation of a first-class battle fleet; in 1898 his first Navy Bill passed the Reichstag and two years later his second, and by 1906 Germany and England entered the race for naval armaments on equal terms. At the outbreak of the Great War in 1914 he was still in power; he came into conflict with his colleagues over the use of the submarine and resigned in 1915, urging its unremitting employment. The story of these differences is told in his "Germany's Policy of Importance During the World War." After the war he joined the German Fascist Party for a time and became discredited. From 1924 to 1928 he was a Nationalist member of the Reichstag, but took no active part in politics except to persuade von Hindenburg to stand for the Presidency.

7. Dr. Arthur Twining Hadley, aged 73, President of Yale University* was educated at Yale and Berlin. From 1886 he held the Chair of Political Science at Yale until 1891, when he transferred to that of Political Economy, which he occupied till 1899, when he became President of Yale University. He devoted himself to developing the University, organising a scientific school, a University Printing Press affiliated to the Oxford University Press, and a quarterly known as *The Yale Review*. He retired in 1921. His other interest was in railways, and his book "Railroad Transportation: its History and its Laws," published in 1885, became a classic on the subject. In 1910 he was appointed Chairman of the Railway Securities Commission, being also a director of the New Haven Railway. He married Helen, daughter of Governor L. B. Morris, and had two sons and a daughter.

8. William Howard Taft, aged 72, President of the United States 1909-13, was the son of Mr. Alphonso Taft, Cabinet Minister and diplomat. He was educated at Yale University, where he gained a reputation as an athlete, and after studying at the Cincinnati Law School he was admitted to the Bar in 1880, and began in practice on his own account in 1883. Four years later he was appointed Judge of the Supreme Court of Ohio, and in 1890 was called to Washington as Solicitor-General, his chief success being in the Behring Sea Dispute. In 1892 he was made a U.S. Circuit Judge, and as such did much to clarify and improve the administration of American Law. In 1900 he was put in charge of the administration of the Philippines, first as President of the Philippine Commission and then as Civil Governor of the Islands, and set himself to accomplish his colossal task by a "policy of attraction." In 1903 he unwillingly left the Philippines to enter Mr. Roosevelt's Cabinet as Secretary of War. In 1908 he was elected President, but in spite of his many achievements he was not popular with either party, and in 1913 was succeeded by Woodrow Wilson and went to Yale as Professor of Law. He also became President of the American Bar Association and of the American Institute of Jurisprudence. In 1919 he endorsed the Versailles Treaty, and in 1920 was appointed representative of the

Grand Trunk Railway on the Board of Arbitration. He was made Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States in 1921, thus being the only man to have filled the two highest offices in the land. In 1886 he married Helen Herron, and had two sons and a daughter.

10. Rt; Hon. Sir Matthew Ingle Joyce, aged 90, Judge of the Chancery Division, was educated at Ashby-de-la-Zouch Grammar School and Caius College, Cambridge, of which, after coming out eighth Wrangler, he was elected Fellow in 1862. He was called to the Bar by Lincoln's Inn in 1865, acquiring a substantial practice. In 1886 he was appointed junior counsel to the Treasury on the Chancery side, and in 1900 was made a Judge of the Chancery Division. In 1905 a judgment of his in the Westminster Corporation v. London and N.W. Railway case, after being reversed in the Court of Appeal, was restored by the House of Lords. In 1915 he resigned and was made a Privy Councillor. In 1891 he married Miriam Bertha, daughter of Sir William Jackson, Bt. She died in 1922, leaving an only daughter, who survived him.

12. Alois Jirasek, aged 78, Czech novelist and patriot, studied history at Prague University, and became a school teacher at Litomysl and later at Prague. His novels and dramas deal with Czech history, and cover a period from the Hussite movement to the Czech Renaissance of the nineteenth century. Some of his more important novels were "Against AH," (1893), followed by "Brotherhood" and "Darkness"—all dealing with the Hussite movement and the counter reformation. Others were "The Dog Heads" (1884), "F. L. Vek," and "In Our Country." Amongst his dramas may be mentioned "Jan Zizka" (1903), and "Jan Hus" (1911). During the war he led the revolutionary movement, forcing anti-Austrian policy upon the Czech authorities.

16. General Miguel Primo de Rivera and Orbaneja, Dictator of Spain, 1923-29, was born in 1870, and, after being educated at the General Military Academy, was gazetted 2nd Lieutenant in 1888. He distinguished himself in active service in N. Africa, Cuba, and other parts of the New World, and was sent to Morocco in charge of the Melilla Regiment in 1909. He was promoted major-general in 1913, and was Military Governor of Cadiz in 1916. During the Great War he was sent on a mission to the British and French fronts; in 1919 he became Captain-General first of Valencia and then of Madrid, and in 1922 of Barcelona. In the following year, having for some time been attracted towards politics, he effected a *coup d'état* which resulted in the establishment of a Military Directory. As Marques de Estella—a title which had devolved on him from his uncle—he came to Madrid at the Bang's command to assume the Dictatorship, a post he held until 1929 when failing health forced him to retire.

— Edward Clodd, rationalist thinker, was born in 1840 and entered a City office at the age of 15. In 1862 he obtained an appointment as clerk in the London Joint Stock Bank; in course of time he became secretary, retaining that post till 1915. An earnest student of Spencer and Huxley's doctrines, he published two primers of anthropology, one entitled "The Childhood of the World" and the other "The Childhood of Religion." Other successful books were "Jesus of Nazareth" in 1880, "Myths and Dreams" three years later, and in 1888 "The Story of Creation." These were followed by "The Story of Primitive Man" (1895), "Tom-Tit-Tot" (1898), and "The Story of the Alphabet" (1900). As president of the Rationalistic Press Association he collaborated with Constable's in producing a shilling series of "Religions, Ancient and Modern," contributing a volume on "Animism." His memoir on H. W. Bates was contributed to the 1892 edition of "The Naturalist on the Amazons." He was one of the founders of the Omar Khayyam Club in 1891, to which belonged a large collection of authors and painters, most of whom appear in his memoirs published in 1916. He was married twice, first in 1862 to Miss Eliza Garman, who died in 1911, and secondly in 1914 to Miss Phyllis Maud Rope.

18. Sir Vincent Henry Pensalver Call lard, aged 73, Director of Vickers Ltd., was the son of Camille Felix Desire Caillard, county court judge. After being educated at Eton and Woolwich, he joined the Royal Engineers in 1875, and four years later served on the British Commission for delimitation of the Montenegrin Frontier and the Arab Tabia Bridge Commission. In 1882 he served under the Intelligence Department, and was at G.H.Q. during the Egyptian campaign. In the following year he was appointed President of the Ottoman Public Debt Council and financial representative of England, Holland, and Belgium in Constantinople, resigning in 1898 to join the Board of Vickers Ltd. In 1906 he was made financial director of the company, and in 1914 negotiated for Vickers and Armstrong the reconstruction of the Turkish fleet, dockyards and arsenals. He resigned in 1927. He served on the Tariff Commission, and in 1906 contested Central Bradford. In 1919 he was President of the Federation of British Industries. He was also a director of the Southern Railway. His first wife, a sister of Sir John Hanham, died in 1926, leaving a son and a daughter. His second wife was Mrs. Zoe Oakley Maund.

— Professor Courtney Stanhope Kenny, LL.D., F.B.A., aged 83, teacher of Law, came of a French Huguenot family, was educated at Halifax and articled to a solicitor there in 1863. After being admitted, in 1869, he became a partner in a Yorkshire firm of conveyancers; in 1871 he entered Downing College, Cambridge. Graduating senior in the Law and History tripos and having gained many distinctions, including that of being Chancellor's Law medalist, he was called to the Bar by Lincoln's Inn in 1881 and joined the S.E. circuit. In 1885 he entered Parliament as a Gladstonian, and his book, "Property given for Charitable and Other Public Uses" (written in 1880) led to his being placed on the Parliamentary Committee on the Endowed Schools Act, 1886 and 1887. In 1888 he retired from Parliament to succeed his friend Professor F. W. Maitland as University Reader in English Law, retaining this post till 1907 when he became Downing Professor, until his resignation in 1918. At Cambridge he was recognised as the foremost English jurist of his time. He took an active part in University affairs, and was at one time Vice-Master of his College. Amongst his contributions to legal literature may be mentioned his three Yorke Prize Essays, his essays on "The Law of the Air" and "The Dominions and their Mother Country," his "Cases on Criminal Law" and "Cases on the Law of Torts." His outstanding work—"Outlines of Criminal Law"—is a legal classic throughout the Anglo-Saxon world. In 1909 he was elected a Fellow of the British Academy. He married Miss Wiseman, who died in 1929, and two daughters survived him.

19. Lord (Arthur James) Balfour, statesman and philosopher, eldest son of James Maitland Balfour of Whittinghame, and of Lady Blanche, daughter of the 2nd Marquess of Salisbury, was born in 1848. Educated at Eton and Trinity College, Cambridge, where he studied philosophy under Henry Sidgwick, he entered Parliament in 1874, and four years later accompanied Lord Salisbury, as private secretary, to the Berlin Congress. In 1880 he was for a time attached to Lord Randolph Churchill's free-lance party, formed in opposition to Gladstone's policy, but when Lord Salisbury became Prime Minister, in 1885, Balfour was made President of the Local Government Board. Two years later the great opportunity of his life came when Lord Salisbury offered him the Chief Secretaryship for Ireland, and his courageous handling of political and remedial questions led to a measure of prosperity in Ireland. In 1891 he became Leader of the House of Commons, but Parliament being dissolved shortly afterwards, it fell to him in the next to oppose Gladstone's Home Rule Bill. In 1895 he became First Lord of the Treasury in Lord Salisbury's Government, being also Leader in the House. In 1902 he became Prime Minister. Besides laying the foundation of our educational system by his direction of the Education Bill of 1905, the ultimate issue of the S. African campaign was largely due to his serene and decisive actions; with Lord Lansdowne he prepared the way for the great combination which in

1914 saved Europe, and the establishment of the Committee of Imperial Defence was his creation. After leading the country for three years, his ministry was defeated on Tariff Reform. In 1911 he resigned the leadership of the House, owing to the constitutional crisis aroused by the creation of peers. In 1915 he became First Lord of the Admiralty at Asquith's suggestion, and later Foreign Secretary under Lloyd George. Two years later came his mission to America, and in 1919, after attending the Paris Peace Conference, he left the Foreign office and became Lord President of the Council. For two years he was Britain's chief representative on the League of Nations, and was responsible there for Austria's restoration. In 1921 he attended the Washington Conference, but later destroyed his popularity won there, by his famous Note on the Cancellation of Allied Debts. In 1922 he resigned office, was created K.G. and later Earl of Balfour and Viscount Traprain of Whittinghame. In 1925 he visited Palestine to open the University of Jerusalem, an honour eminently fitting for the author and sponsor of the Balfour Declaration of November 2, 1917, the purpose of which was the establishment in Palestine of a National home for the Jewish people. On his return he joined Baldwin's Ministry as Lord President of the Council, and held office till 1929. Amongst his philosophic books may be mentioned "A Defence of Philosophic Doubt" (1879), "The Foundations of Belief" (1895), and "Theism and Humanism" (Gifford lectures of 1914). Lord Balfour was unmarried.

20. Sir Edward Brabrook, aged 91, at one time Chief Registrar of Friendly Societies, was educated in London and began his career in an insurance office. He was called to the Bar in 1866, and at the age of 30 was appointed assistant Registrar of Friendly Societies, becoming Chief Registrar in 1891, and retiring in 1904. He was then elected president of the Economic Section of the British Association, and contributed valuable information to those in charge of the Old Age Pensions Act of 1908. He wrote three books in connexion with his official work: "Provident Societies and Industrial Welfare" (1898), "Institutions for Thrift" (1903), and "Building Societies" (1906). He was also keenly interested in anthropology and folk-lore, and in 1908 was president of the Anthropological Society. Shortly after his retirement he was created C.B. He was twice married, his second wife being Miss Flora Withers, who died in 1925. Two sons and five daughters survived him.

22. George Adam, aged 47, at one time chief correspondent of *The Times* in Paris, was educated at Edinburgh Academy and began his journalistic career in Reuter's Agency in 1901. After eleven years there he became a member of the Paris staff of *The Times*, and in 1914 was appointed chief correspondent. In 1921 he left *The Times* and worked chiefly for American newspapers, e.g. the *New York Herald* and the *New York Sun*. He edited the articles on French subjects for the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, and went on a mission to the Ruhr during the French occupation. It was during this mission that he met with the motor accident which ultimately cost his life. Amongst his best works were "The Tiger: George Clemenceau, 1841-1929," "Treason and Tragedy,"—a book on French War Trials, published in 1927. With his wife he wrote also "A History of France" (1921), and "A Book about Paris" (1927). He married a daughter of "Madge" of *Truth*.

— Sir William Symington McCormick, well-known educational administrator, was born in 1859. After being educated at the Universities of Glasgow, Göttingen, and Marburg, he held various teaching appointments (assistant professor of English at Glasgow, English Lecturer at Queen Margaret College, Glasgow, and Professor of English at University College, Dundee). The Globe edition of Chaucer was partly his work, and for a time he was partner in the publishing firm, Wilson & McCormick, Glasgow. He served on the Royal Commission of University Teaching in London, and was Chairman of the University Grants Committee and of the Advisory Council on scientific and industrial research. He was also

first Secretary to the Carnegie Trust for the Universities of Scotland. He did much to promote the welfare of the younger universities and colleges, and his skilful allocation of grants both to these and to Oxford and Cambridge, after the sitting of the Royal Commission, won approbation for him. He was knighted in 1911, and created G.B.E. in 1929. In 1897 he married Mabel Emily Cook, daughter of Sir Frederick Cook, and had three children.

APRIL.

1. Frau Cos! ma Wagner, aged 92, wife of Richard Wagner and daughter of Liszt, was born at Bellagio and educated at Paris. Her connexion with Wagner began before her unhappy marriage to Hans v. Bulow in 1857, and was regularised in 1860. She devoted herself to her husband's musical career, and was largely responsible for the realisation of the "Bayreuth Idea." She continued to live at and dominate Bayreuth after his death. Frau Wagner's daughter, Eva, married Houston Stewart Chamberlain, biographer of Wagner.

2. Sir George Watt, C.L.E., aged 79, expert on Indian economic products, was educated at the Grammar School and Marischal College, Aberdeen, and later at Glasgow University. After graduating M.B. and C.M. he was appointed Professor of Botany in the Presidency, Hughli and Patna Colleges of Calcutta University. He served on the Burma-Manipur Boundary Commission in 1882, and in the following year helped to organise an international exhibition at Calcutta. In 1884 he was appointed assistant secretary for scientific purposes of the Revenue and Agricultural Department of the Government of India, returning in the following year to take charge of a section of the Indian Exhibition at Earl's Court. Two years later he was appointed Reporter on Economic Products to Government, and in this capacity compiled his "Dictionary of Economic Products of India," a monumental work in 9 vols. An abridged edition was issued under Lord Curzon's instructions in 1908 under the title, "The Commercial Products of India." He was also editor of the *Indian Agricultural Ledger*, and in 1894 presided over the Pharmacological Section of the Indian Science Congress. He was at one time Secretary to the Indigenous Drugs Committee, and in 1903 organised an Indian Art Exhibition for Lord Curzon's Durbar. In the same year he received a knighthood. In 1873 he married Jane Simmie, who died in 1925. A son and two daughters survived him.

— Dame Emma Albani, aged 77, famous singer, was born at Montreal, of French Canadian parentage. At the age of 14 she began her vocal training at Albany, N.Y., and was later sent to Paris and Milan, where she studied under Lamperti. At the age of 20 she made her first appearance, in "La Sonnambula," at Messina, and was immediately engaged for Florence, Covent Garden, and the Italian opera at Paris. In 1878 her marriage to Mr. Ernest Gye, lessee of Covent Garden, secured her for England. She was well known in oratorio at the autumn festivals, and among the works which she helped to produce were Gounod's "Redemption," Dvorak's "Spectre Bride," and Sullivan's "Golden Legend." She retired from the concert platform in 1911. Her husband died in 1925, and her only son survived her.

3. Douglas Close Richmond, C.B., Comptroller and Auditor-General, was born in 1839. Educated at Kensington School and Peterhouse, Cambridge, he was a Fellow of his College from 1861 to 1873, and on leaving Cambridge read for the Bar. The assistance he rendered to Lord Lyttelton as a member of the Schools Inquiry Commission (1864-67) and to the secretary of that Commission in drawing up their report led to his appointment as assistant-secretary to the Endowed Schools Commission in 1869. Later, he became secretary to the Charity Commission, and from 1883 Charity Commissioner, until in 1896 he was transferred to

the Auditor's Department. Four years later he became Comptroller and Auditor-General. He was twice married: first to Margaret, eldest daughter of Lord Aberdare; after whose death, in 1878, he married Ethel, daughter of Mr. H. D. Skrine.

4. Queen of Sweden (Victoria Sophia Maria, Princess of Baden), only daughter of the Grand Duke Frederick of Baden and Princess Louise of Prussia, was born in 1862 and was educated at the Princessinschule, founded by her mother. In 1879 she became engaged to the Crown Prince Gustavus of Sweden, and two years later she was married. Delicate health eventually obliged her to spend most of her time out of Sweden. She had three sons, the eldest of whom, Crown Prince Gustavus Adolphus, D. of Scania, married first Princess Margaret of Connaught, and later, Lady Louise Mountbatten.

14. Sir Edward Pollock, aged 89, Official referee of the Supreme Court, was the ninth son of Lord Chief Baron Pollock, and member of a distinguished family of lawyers, including Sir Frederick Pollock, K.C., and Sir Adrian Pollock, City Chamberlain. He entered the medical profession, working for some time with Sir George Critchett, becoming an F.R.C.S. in 1868. Finding, however, that a long tour in the U.S.A. had dispersed his practice, he turned to the legal profession, and was called to the Bar in 1872. His career as an advocate was ruined by an operation which affected his vocal cords, and in 1897 he was appointed official referee of the Supreme Court. In 1923 he became prominent in the case of *Shrager v. Dighton*, in which heavy damages were sought against a firm of second-hand dealers for alleged misrepresentations as to furniture sold by them. It was referred to Pollock, and an appeal against his decision was lodged on account of his relationship to Sir Ernest Pollock, leading counsel for defendant. In 1922 he received his knighthood, and retired five years later. In 1871 he married Alice Georgina, daughter of Warren de la Rue, who died in 1929. Two sons and three daughters survived him.

16. Rt. Hon. Sir Joseph West Ridgeway, aged 85, well-known public servant, was a son of the Rev. Joseph Ridgeway, and brother of the Bishop of Chichester. He was educated at St. Paul's School, and joining the Bengal Infantry he was selected in 1868 for civil employment in India, and five years later was made an attaché in the Indian Foreign Department. After working as assistant agent to the Governor-General in Rajputana, and as political agent of the Eastern States, he distinguished himself in the Afghan campaign, and in 1880 became Foreign Secretary to Lord Roberts at Kabul. In 1884 he was placed in command of the Indian section of the Afghan Boundary Commission, where his skill and soldiership in joining the British Commissioner at Herat received special recognition. He was made K.C.S.I. for his distinguished services, and became Chief British Commissioner in 1885. Two years later, after a visit to the Czar, the frontier question was settled. In 1887 he was appointed Under-Secretary for Ireland, and sworn of the Irish Privy Council. Four years later he helped to frame the Land Purchase Act, and was made K.C.B. When the Liberals took office in 1892, he was sent as Envoy Extraordinary to the Sultan of Morocco, and a year later was appointed Governor of the Isle of Man. In 1895, he accepted the Governorship of Ceylon, and administered the island energetically. In 1900 he was made G.C.M.G. In 1906 he was appointed chairman of the committee to inquire into the constitutional position in the Transvaal and Orange River Colonies, and was promoted G.C.B. In 1910 he became President of the British North Borneo Co. In 1881 he married Lina, daughter of Mr. Calverly Bewicke. She died in 1907, and a daughter survived him.

21. Sir Frederick Gordon Guggisberg, aged 60, a distinguished Colonial Governor, was the son of Mr. Frederick Guggisberg of Canada. Commissioned to the Royal Engineers in 1889, he served at Singapore and returned to Woolwich

in 1897 as Instructor in Fortification. In 1902 he was appointed to the Survey of the Gold Coast and Ashanti, being promoted Director of Surveys in 1905. Five years later he was appointed Surveyor-General of Nigeria. Some of his ablest work was done in this sphere, and an account of his life in the Gold Coast, combined with that of his wife, and entitled "We Two in West Africa," affords an interesting study of a transitional phase in West African development. Resigning at the outbreak of the Great War, he served in France, and in 1918 went to G.H.Q. as Assistant Inspector of Training, later commanding the 100th Infantry Brigade and being awarded the D.S.O. In 1919 he was appointed Governor of the Gold Coast, and his term of office was marked by rapid development in trade and agriculture as well as by great progress in native education. The new harbour of Takoradi was begun during his governorship. He returned to England in 1927, and in the following year was made Governor of British Guiana. In 1908 he was made C.M.G., and promoted K.C.M.G. in 1922. He married Miss Decima Moore, who survived him.

21. David Muirhead, A.R.A., artist, was born in 1867 and trained at Edinburgh and the Westminster School of Art. His affinities were with the Gainsborough and Constable School, and his portrait of a girl, "Blue and Silver,"* in the Academy Exhibition of 1929, was described as a Gainsborough in pastel. He worked equally successfully in oil and water colour, and amongst his landscapes may be mentioned "On the Medway" and "On the Orwell." Examples of his work in both media are to be found in the Tate Gallery as well as in various British provincial galleries, Paris, Dublin, and Ottawa. He was an Associate of the Royal Academy and unmarried.

— Robert Seymour Bridges, O.M., aged 85, Poet Laureate, was one of a large Kentish family, and went to Eton in 1854, when he fell in with a youthful High Church party whose aim was the foundation of a religious brotherhood of which Bridges was to be the head. Entering Christchurch, Oxford, in 1863, he stroked the College Eight in 1867, and took his degree in classics. After studying medicine at Bartholomew's Hospital he became casualty physician there and later assistant physician at the Great Northern Hospital. In 1881 he retired from the medical profession, and after spending some years in Berkshire, during which period he compiled "The Yattendon Hymnal" with his friend Ellis Woolbridge, he finally settled at Boars Hill. His reputation was made by his "Shorter Poems," which were published in instalments in 1873, 1879, and 1880. He wrote several plays, of which the first to be acted was "The Humours of the Court"—by the O.U.D.S. in 1930. In 1904 he completed a 6-vol. edition of his poems, and in 1913 he was appointed Poet Laureate. In 1916 he issued "The Spirit of Man: an Anthology of prose and verse," and in 1920 an edition of his War Poems was published. In 1924 he published another anthology, "The Chiswell Book of Poetry for the Use of Schools," and in the following year appeared his "New Verse." Amongst his prose works may be mentioned, "A Memoir of Henry Bradley"; he also founded and edited a series of studies in the English language called the S.P.E. Tracts. He became one of the advisers to the B.B.C. on the pronunciation of English, and he delivered the first of that company's national lectures, the subject of which was "Poetry." On his eighty-fifth birthday he published his great poem, "The Testament of Beauty"—likely to be considered a permanent possession of English Literature. [See ANNUAL REGISTER, 1929, p. 28.] In 1884 he married Monica, daughter of Alfred Waterhouse, by whom he had a son and four daughters.

MAY.

6. Hugh Samuel Roger Elliot, aged 49, critic and philosopher, the son of the Hon. H. F. H. Elliot, and grandson of the 3rd Earl of Minto, met his death as the result of a flying accident. Educated at Eton and Trinity College,

Cambridge, he obtained a commission in the Coldstream Guards and served in South Africa during the Boer War. In 1902 he left the Army to pursue his scientific and philosophical studies, and in 1912 he published "Modern Science and the Illusions of Professor Bergson." Five years later he published "Herbert Spencer," and in 1919 his "Modern Science and Materialism," sought to explain all complexities of human behaviour by the theory of natural selection. A later book, "Human Character" (1922), shows humanity to be governed by passions, emotions, and sentiment, not by reason. From 1915 to 1920 he edited THE ANNUAL REGISTER, and he was also the editor and translator of Lamarck's "Philosophic Zoologique" and Hagenbeck's "Von Thieren und Menschen." He was an expert on bridge and aviation. In 1906 he married Rosa Maud Chesterfield, and had one son.

9. Rt. Hon. Thomas Robinson Ferens, aged 83, High Steward of Hull, was educated at Bishop Auckland Private School, and, at the age of 13, went to work in the Mineral Department of the Stockton and Darlington Railway Co. After some years there he joined the firm of Head, Wrightson & Co., Stockton-on-Tees, for two years, and then, in 1868, went to Hull as confidential shorthand clerk to Mr. James Reckitt of Reckitt & Sons, Ltd. When that firm became a limited liability company he became secretary and general manager, later becoming director and ultimately chairman. From 1906 to 1918 he was Liberal member for East Hull, and was sworn of the Privy Council in 1912. His gifts to the City of Hull included a Young People's Recreation Ground, endowed almshouses, an Art Gallery named after him, and finally the new University College. His gifts outside Hull were also very numerous, and included donations to the Leys School, Cambridge, and to the Middlesex Hospital. His wife died in 1922, and he left no issue.

12. The Rt. Hon. John Wheatley, M.P., aged 60, Minister of Health in Mr. MacDonald's first Labour Ministry, was of Irish Roman Catholic parentage. From the age of 11 he worked in the Lanarkshire coal mines until, at the age of 24, he became a shop assistant. He joined the United Irish League, but abandoned it in 1908 to join the Independent Labour Party. He threw himself into Lanarkshire politics, and in 1910 was elected to the Glasgow City Council. In 1922, after an unsuccessful effort four years earlier, he was returned as I.L.P. member for a Glasgow division. In 1924 he entered the Cabinet as Minister of Health, but, owing to his violent reactions against the policy of gradualism in Socialism, was not included in Mr. MacDonald's second Ministry of 1929.

13. Dr. Fridtjof Nansen, aged 68, Arctic explorer, scientist and diplomat, was educated at Christiania University. His first polar voyage was made at the age of 21, after which he held the post of Curator at the Natural History Museum at Bergen for six years. He then carried through his project of crossing Greenland mainly on sledge and ski, the story of which he tells in "The First Crossing of Greenland" and "Eskimo Life." His next expedition was to the North Pole, for which he started in the *Fram* in 1893, attempting to drift with the Poleward current. He finally made the attack in 1895 northwards over the ice, but having touched the Arctic record (lat. 86 deg. 136 min. N. long. 95 deg. E.) he was obliged to return to Norway. He received a special medal from the Royal Geographical Society; the story of the expedition is told in his "Farthest North," published in 1897. He returned to Christiania as Professor of Zoology, until in 1905 he accepted the post of Norwegian Minister in London. In 1906 he was created K.C.V.O., and in 1908 he returned to Norway to become Professor of Oceanography at Christiania University. After further Polar cruises, his explorations were stopped by the war, and in 1917 he went on a food mission to the U.S.A. After the war he represented his country on the League of Nations. In 1920 he superintended the repatriation of war prisoners from Siberia, and later directed the famine relief work in Russia. A year or two before his death he was planning

an expedition by air to survey the North Polar Basin. In 1922 he was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize, and in 1925 he was elected Rector of St. Andrews University. In 1889 he married Eva, daughter of Professor Michael Sars. She died in 1907, and in 1919 he married Mile M. S. Munthe. He had five children.

15. William John Locke, novelist, was born in 1863 and educated at Queen's Royal College, Trinidad, and St. John's College, Cambridge, whence, graduating in Mathematics in 1883, he became a master at Glenalmond School till in 1897 he was elected secretary of the Royal Institute of British Architects. Two years previously he published his first novel "At the Gate of Samaria," and in 1905 he established his reputation with "The Morals of Marcus Ordeyne," followed shortly by "The Beloved Vagabond." Others of his novels are "Simon the Jester," "The Glory of Clementina Wing," "The Fortunate Youth," "The Joyous Adventures of Aristide Pujol," and "The Golden Adventure of Mr. Paradyne." "The Rough Road" (1918) is a war novel, but "The Old Bridge" (1926) shows his romantic style once more, and his last work was a collection of short stories, "The Town of Tombarel." Some of his novels were adapted to the stage, and other original dramas were "The Palace of Puck" (1907) and "Butterflies" (1908). He married Aimée Heath, who survived him with their adopted daughter.

16. Lady (Florence Evelyn Eleanore) Bell, aged 75, writer of distinction and step-mother to Miss Gertrude Bell, was the daughter of Sir Joseph Olliffe, physician. In 1876 she married Sir Hugh Bell, iron master. She was the author of several books of essays, and amongst her novels may be mentioned "The Story of Ursula." Her latest work was an edition of the "Letters of Gertrude Bell, Arabic scholar and explorer," which appeared in 1927. Amongst her plays may be mentioned "L'Indécis," produced by Coquelin at the Royalty in 1887; "Time is Money," produced by Hawtreys; "The Show Room" and "Angela," produced by Sybil Thorndike. A pageant play, "The Heart of Yorkshire," was produced in 1921. In 1918 she was created D.B.E. for her services during the war, when her house was converted into a hospital. Two daughters survived her.

22. Lord Kenneth Augustus Muir Mackenzie, aged 84, Permanent Secretary to the Lord Chancellor and Clerk of the Crown in Chancery, was a son of Sir John Muir Mackenzie, Bt. After being educated at Charterhouse and Balliol College, Oxford, he was called to the Bar by Lincoln's Inn in 1873. In 1880 he became principal secretary to Lord Selborne, the Lord Chancellor, and four years later he became first Permanent Secretary to the Chancellorship, in which office he served under five Lord Chancellors and became intimately concerned with the distribution of patronage. He also became Clerk of the Crown in Chancery about the same time. He was much concerned with religious matters, and was appointed a member of the Ecclesiastical Committee. He was also High Bailiff of Westminster and Bailiff of the Sanctuary. In 1915 he joined the Liberal peers; in 1924 he became a member of the Labour Government as Lord-in-Waiting to the King, resuming this office in 1929. He became Chairman of the Standing Committee for the Revision of Statute Law, and was also Chairman of the Select Committee of both Houses on Consolidated Bills. He was a member of the Committee for the publication of the State Trials. He was made a Q.C. in 1887, C.B. in 1893, K.C.B. in 1898, G.C.B. in 1911, and a Privy Councillor in 1924. He was a Bencher of Lincoln's Inn, and treasurer thereof in 1917. In 1874 he married Amy, daughter of William Graham, M.P. She died in 1900. His only son died in 1901, and his three daughters survived him.

26. Randall Thomas Davidson, Archbishop of Canterbury, was born in 1848, and educated at Harrow and Trinity College, Oxford. Delicate health prevented his fullest success in the schools, and on coming down from the University

in 1871 he went on an Eastern tour with the son of Archbishop Tait—later to become his father-in-law. In 1874 he was ordained and, after a curacy in an industrial parish of Kent, he became private chaplain to Archbishop Tait, during whose waning years he became very influential. Queen Victoria made him one of her chaplains and sub-almoner, and after Tait's death in 1882 she appointed him Dean of Windsor. In 1891 he became Bishop of Rochester, but his health was not equal to the claims of the See, and in 1895 he was translated to Winchester, where he combined great administrative activity with the considerable claims at Court arising from his being Prelate of the Order of the Garter, Queen's Bishop and Clerk of the Closet. As a spiritual peer he showed great Parliamentary qualities and interested himself in social legislation. In 1902 he succeeded Dr. Temple to Canterbury, and set himself to win the confidence of the great central party in the Church of England. In 1904 a Royal Commission of inquiry into the causes of and remedies for the prevalent disorders in the Church was appointed, mainly on his suggestion. His financial reforms included the institution of a Board of Finance. He presided over the Lambeth Conference of 1908, and in 1913 he adopted a compromising attitude in the Kikuyu controversy, referring it ultimately to the next Lambeth Conference, over which he presided in 1920. During the war he was urgent in promoting spiritual renewal, and took a personal interest in the National Mission of Repentance and Hope. His great Parliamentary work was the passing of the Enabling Bill, by which was set up the Church of Assembly, destined under his guidance to perform important legislative work of a reformatory nature. In 1920-21 he refused to veto the Malines conversations, although regarding rapprochement between Rome and Canterbury as outside the sphere of practical politics. Disappointment of hopes overtook his latter years both in regard to the religious problem in elementary education and in the rejection of the Prayer Book measures in 1927 and 1928. He resigned in 1928. He was created K.C.V.O. and G.C.V.O., and received the Royal Victorian Chain in 1911. He was appointed one of the four Counsellors of State during the King's absence in India in 1911-12. In 1878 he married Miss Edith Murdoch Tait, daughter of the Archbishop, who survived him.

28. Cardinal Louis Henry Joseph Luçon, Archbishop of Rheims, was born in 1865. In 1887 he became Bishop of Belley, and the success of his measures to reconstruct the religious life of his diocese after the passing of the law of separation between Church and State led to his appointment as Archbishop of Rheims in 1905, and two years later he was raised to the degree of Cardinal. In 1914 he was returning from Rome when the bombardment of Rheims began, and he insisted on getting through the lines to attend to his diocese as near to the City as possible. After the Armistice he devoted himself to promoting the reconstruction of the Cathedral, and in 1927 it was formally restored to his charge.

JUNE.

1. The Rt. Rev. George Forrest Browne, D.D., aged 96, at one time Bishop of Stepney, was a son of Mr. George Browne, Proctor of the Ecclesiastical Court at York. Educated at St. Peter's School, York, and Catherine Hall, Cambridge, he was placed 30th Wrangler in 1856, ordained two years later, was awarded the second Maitland prize in 1861, and two years later was elected a Fellow of St. Catherine's College. He then became theological tutor at Trinity College, Glenalmond, and from 1869 to 1875 was rector of Ashley, near Newmarket. He was responsible in large measure for the system of examinations known as the Cambridge Locals, and became Secretary of the Examination Syndicate in 1869. His success in this sphere led to his election to the Council of the Senate. In 1877 he was appointed Secretary of the University Commission. His other interests lay in the field of Imperial politics, archaeological research and antiquities. In 1865 he published a book called "Ice Caves of France and Switzerland," and

in 1879 he contributed a volume on Bede to the series known as "The Fathers for English Readers." In 1887 he was elected to the Disney Professorship of Archaeology at Cambridge, mainly on account of his special knowledge of runic stones. In 1891 he was made a Canon of St. Paul's Cathedral, and two years later became Secretary of the Diocesan Home Mission. In 1895 he became Bishop of Stepney, and gave important lectures on "The Church before Augustine," "Augustine and His Companions," "The Conversion of the Heptarchy." In 1897 Lord Salisbury nominated him to the Bishopric of Bristol, where he became specially noted for his activity in promoting Church extension. In 1914 he resigned his See, but continued his valuable literary work; his monumental edition of *Echt-Forbes family charters 1345-1727* appearing in 1923, and it was not till 1924 that he was obliged to relinquish his weekly religious articles to *The Times*. In 1863 he married Mary, daughter of Sir J. Stewart Richardson. She died in 1903, and two sons and three daughters survived him.

3. Alexander Frederick Richmond Wollaston, killed at the age of 55 by a shot from an undergraduate at Cambridge, was a Fellow and Tutor of King's College, Cambridge, and a distinguished explorer, ethnologist and naturalist. He was educated at Clifton College, took his degree at King's College, Cambridge, in 1896, and, after qualifying as M.R.C.S. and L.R.C.P., he joined the British Medical Expedition to Ruwenzori, Central Africa, in 1905. His experiences are told in his narrative "From Ruwenzori to the Congo," published in 1908. In 1909 he joined the British Ornithological Expedition to Dutch New Guinea, and two years later led another expedition to the Snow Mountains in that country. For this he was awarded the Gill Memorial by the Royal Geographical Society. A third expedition was only frustrated by the outbreak of war in 1914, when he served as surgeon R.N. and was awarded the Distinguished Service Cross. In 1920 he was elected a Fellow of King's College, and in 1928 appointed Tutor there. He was chosen medical officer and naturalist on the first Mount Everest Expedition and in 1925 was awarded the Patron's Medal of the Royal Geographical Society. He married Mary Meinhertzhausen, who survived him with a son and two daughters.

5. William Algernon Locker, aged 66, distinguished journalist, was the son of Arthur Locker, one time editor of the *Graphic*. Educated at Charterhouse and Merton College, Oxford, he became a journalist at an early age; in 1866 he joined the literary staff of the *Globe*, becoming, four years later, assistant editor to his father on the *Graphic*. In 1895 he was editor of the *Morning Post* for two years, from 1900 till 1924 was associated with the *Irish Times*, first as editor and later as London correspondent. During the war he joined the staff of *Punch* and succeeded Sir Henry Lucy in the section known as "Essence of Parliament." He was married, his wife predeceasing him in 1926.

9. **Sir Thomas Walker Arnold, C.I.E., Litt.D.**, Professor of Arabic in the University of London, was born in 1864 and educated at the City of London School and Magdalene College, Cambridge. He then joined the Mahomedan Anglo-Oriental College, Aligarh, to devote himself to Islamic study. In 1896 he published "The Preaching of Islam," and after some years accepted the Chair of Philosophy at the Government College, Lahore, being later elected Dean of the Oriental Faculty of the Punjab University. In 1904 he was appointed Assistant-Librarian at the India Office; in 1909 he was selected to be Educational Adviser for Indian students under Lord Morley's organisation for assisting Indian students. In 1912 he was made C.I.E. and was knighted in 1921, when he retired from the India Office to take the Chair of Arabic at the School of Oriental Studies. He edited the English edition of the "Encyclopaedia of Islam," and co-operated with Laurence Binyon in 1921 in an account of "The Court Painters of the Great Moguls." Other of his works are "The Caliphate" (1924), "Survivals of Sasanian and Manichean Art in Persian Painting" (1924),

" Painting in Islam " and " The Islamic Faith " (1928). He was also the author of " The Little Flowers of St. Francis of Assisi." In 1892 he married Mary Hickson, who survived him with one daughter.

9. **Sir Herbert Warren**, aged 76, for many years President of Magdalen College, Oxford, was the son of Algernon William Warren, a business man of Bristol. After a brilliant scholastic career at Clifton College and Balliol College, he was elected a Fellow of Magdalen College and became Classical Tutor in 1878. In 1885 he was elected to the Presidency and redoubled his efforts to raise his College to the first rank. He held many University appointments, being vice-chancellor from 1906 to 1910. In the sphere of letters he published a volume of verse in 1897 called " By Severn Sea " and " The Death of Virgil " in 1907 ; in 1911 he was elected Professor of Poetry, holding the Chair for five years. In 1914 he was created K.C.V.O. In 1882 he was elected to the Council of his old school, and later became its chairman. He retired from Magdalen in 1928. He married Mary Isabel, daughter of Sir Benjamin Brodie.

— **Arthur St. John Adcock**, aged 66, author and journalist, practised as a member of the legal profession until 1908, when he was made acting editor of *The Bookman*, succeeding in 1923 to the editorship. Besides his novels and short stories he wrote poetry, of which a collected edition was made in 1929. His three long satirical poems were " The Divine Tragedy," " Tod MacMammon Sees His Soul," and " Exit Homo."

10. **Professor Adolph Harnack**, aged 79, theologian and historian of dogma, was the son of Theodosius Harnack. From 1869 to 1872 he specialised in theology, and at the age of 25 he obtained his first Chair at Leipzig University. In 1879 he went to Giessen to co-operate in the exploration of the history of Christian literature, and gradually collected material for his " History of Christian Dogma," which occupied him ten years, and three volumes of which appeared between 1885 and 1888. In 1886 he was moved to Marburg, ultimately proceeding to Berlin, where his lectures attracted large audiences. On completion of his book he was elected a member of the Royal Prussian Academy of Science, and began the preparation of a four-volumed history of the Academy. In 1892 he issued an important pamphlet entitled "The Apostolic Confession of Faith and an Authentic Statement." Others of his books were "The Present Position of Protestantism," "Socrates and the Ancient Church," "The Mission and Extension of Christendom in the First Three Centuries," and more important than all, "Das Wesen des Christentums." This was published in Leipzig in 1900, and translated into English under the title, "What is Christianity?" It was also translated into French, Italian, Danish, and Japanese. In 1905 he became Director of the Royal Library, and in 1906 began a series of "Studies on the New Testament." In 1911 he came to London with Dr. Spiecker, with a view to establishing an Association of Churches in the British and German Empires. Throughout his career he was regarded as one of the foremost scholars in Germany, and even now in Protestant theological circles his authority enjoys great respect. He married Amelia, the daughter of Professor Thiersch, surgeon, of Leipzig.

13. **Major Sir Henry O'Neal de fiane Segrave**, the great motorist and sportsman, who was killed at the age of 34 in a speedboat trial, was born of Irish ancestry in Baltimore. Educated at Eton and Sandhurst he served in France during the war in the Royal Warwickshire Regiment and later in the Royal Flying Corps. In 1916 wounds obliged him to accept a post as Technical Secretary to the Air Minister, and in the following year he was appointed Private Secretary to the Director-General of Military Aeronautics. In 1918 he went to America with the British Aviation Mission to assist the development of military aviation there. At the end of that year he left the R.A.F. to take up motor racing, and was finally appointed a member of the Sunbeam team. In 1923 he won the

Grand Prix de l'A.C.F. and the Grand Prix de Voiturettes; in the following successive years the Grands Prix d'Espagne and de Provence (twice). In 1921, 1925, and 1926 he won the 200 miles race at Brooklands for the Talbot Darracq Team, and in 1926 he began his record-breaking career, helping at about the same time to design the 2-engined 1000 h.p. Sunbeam car. With this car he broke the mile-record at Daytona with 203.988 m.p.h. In 1929 he raised the record in the *Golden Arrow* to 231-362 m.p.h., and received his knighthood. In Miss England 11. he had broken the world's motor boat record by over 6 m.p.h. before the accident occurred which cost him his life. In 1916 he married Doris, daughter of Mr. W. J. Stocker, but had no issue.

16. Elmer Ambrose Sperry, aged 69, inventor and engineer, was educated at the State Normal and Training School at Cortland, N. Y., and Cornell University. On leaving Cornell he founded the Sperry Electric Co. of Chicago and later the Sperry Electric Rly. Co. of Cleveland, which in 1894 was bought by the General Electric Co. of New York. His most important invention was the gyro-compass, first installed in the battleship *Delaware* in 1911. In 1915 he was appointed a member of the Naval Consulting Board, and devised a form of wireless control for aeroplanes which claimed to direct an "aerial torpedo" against a target up to a distance of 35 miles. In 1914 he was awarded the first prize of the Aero Club de France and the Franklin medal of Philadelphia; at the S. Francisco Exposition in the following year he won the grand prize for gyro-compass and gyroscopes. In 1926 he gained the John Fritz Gold Medal—the highest award of the engineering profession. He founded the American Institute of Electrical Engineers and the American Electro-Chemical Society. In 1887 he married Zula Goodman of Chicago.

20. The Hon. John William Jagger, aged 70, well-known business man in S. Africa, was a Yorkshireman, who, after a Grammar-school education, went out to S. Africa at the age of 21. Three years later he started in business for himself, and in 1902 entered the Cape Legislative Assembly. He acted as "member for Commerce" in the National Convention, drafting the scheme of union for the S. African Colonies and was subsequently chairman of the Financial Relations Commission. He also sat in the Union Parliament, and made a name for himself in finance. He was at one time Minister of the Union Railways and Harbours, but resigned in 1924, owing to party differences. In 1885 he married Mary, only daughter of the late Mr. William Hall of Cape Town.

22. The Rt. Hon. Sir Montague Lush, aged 76, advocate and judge, son of the Rt. Hon. Sir Robert Lush, Judge of the Queen's Bench, was educated at Westminster School and Trinity Hall, Cambridge. Called to the Bar by Gray's Inn in 1879, he joined the N.E. circuit and made a considerable reputation by his treatise on "The Law of Husband and Wife," published soon after his call. In 1902 he took silk, and an enormous volume of work passed through his hands. He was particularly successful in the Court of Appeal; in 1909 he appeared before the House of Lords for the respondent in the appeal of *E. Hutton & Co. v. Artemus Jones*. In 1910 he was appointed Judge of the King's Bench, and five years later he succeeded Mr. J. Bankes as President of the Railway and Canal Commission. On his resignation in 1925 he was sworn of the Privy Council. In 1893 he married Margaret Abbie, sister of Sir Charles Locock, Bt.; she died in 1925, leaving four sons and three daughters.

— Victor Veracis Branford, sociologist, was educated at Oundle School and Edinburgh University, where he became an ardent disciple of Patrick Geddes, with whom he later co-operated in sociological work. Going into business, his chief interests were in Paraguay and the U.S.A., and ultimately he became a director of the Paraguay Railway. In 1904 he founded the Sociological Society, working there with Geddes; in 1912 he became editor of the *Sociological Review**

Amongst his writings may be mentioned "Interpretations and Forecasts," "Science and Sanctity" (1923), and several volumes (with Geddes) in the "Making of the Future" series. In 1920 he founded Leplay House, Westminster, as a centre for sociological study and research. This later became merged with the Sociological Society into the Institute of Sociology. He married twice, his second wife being Sybella Gurney.

23. **Sir Israel Gotlancz**, aged 66, famous scholar in Early and Middle English, was a son of the Rev. S. M. Gollancz, Cantor in one of the London synagogues, and was educated at the City of London School, University College, London, and Christ's College, Cambridge. In 1892 he was appointed Quain English Student and Lecturer at University College, London, retaining the post till 1895. In the following year he was made University Lecturer in English at Cambridge, and ten years later he was appointed to the Chair of English Language and Literature at King's College, London. He was among those who worked hard to bring into being the British Academy, of which he became the first secretary (1902), and to the success of which his energy and enthusiasm largely contributed. In 1910 he was awarded the Albert Kahn Travelling Fellowship; in 1919 he was made corresponding member of the Royal Spanish Academy; and in 1927 of the Mediaeval Academy of America. Amongst his editorial texts may be mentioned that of the "Pearl" in 1891, Cynewulf's "Christ" in 1892, and three years later "The Exeter Book of Anglo-Saxon Poetry." Later works were "The Parliament of the Three Ages" and "The Caedmon MS. of Anglo-Saxon Biblical Poetry." His Shakespearian publications included "Hamlet and Iceland" (1898), "The Book of Homage to Shakespeare" (1916), and "The Sources of Hamlet" (1926). He was also editor of the *Temple Shakespeare*, 1894-96. He received his knighthood in 1919. From 1919 to 1922 he was President of the Philological Society. In 1910 he married Alide Goldschmidt, and left a son and a daughter.

30. **Dr. Henry St. John Thackeray**, aged 61, well-known Bible scholar, was the only son of the Rev. Francis St. John Thackeray. After a brilliant scholastic career at Eton, he went up to King's College, Cambridge, in 1887, and, after winning many academic honours, became Divinity Lecturer at Selwyn College, Cambridge, in 1894. Three years later he was appointed an Examiner to the Board of Education, retaining the post until 1921, when he retired to devote himself to theological studies. He was Grinfield Lecturer in the Septuagint at Oxford, Schweich Lecturer at the British Academy in 1920, and Lecturer on the Stoeck Foundation, New York, in 1928. Amongst his more important books may be mentioned "The Letter of Aristeas," "St. Paul and the Ancient Jewish Church" (1892), "Grammar of the Old Testament in Greek" (1892), "Selections from Josephus" (1919), "Josephus, the Man and Historian" (1928), and, most important of all, his collaboration in the monumental edition of the Septuagint, now being issued by the Cambridge Press. He married Lucy Elizabeth, daughter of Major Andrew Orr, R.A., and two sons survived him.

JULY.

4. **Sir George Young**, aged 92, public servant and scholar, was the son of Captain Sir George Young, R.N., second baronet. After a successful career at Eton and Cambridge, he was elected to a Fellowship at Trinity College and in 1864 was called to the Bar. Various circumstances frustrating his intention towards a political career, in 1870 he was appointed Commissioner on the British Guiana Immigration Committee, and in the following year Assistant Commissioner on the Friendly Societies Commission. In 1881 he was secretary to the Irish Land Acts Commission, and in 1882 he was appointed a Charity Commissioner under the Endowed Schools Act. In 1903 he was Chief Charity Commissioner.

From 1881 to 1886 he was President of the Senate of University College, London, and interested himself in numerous educational reforms. He brought out an edition of the poems of Winthrop Mackworth Praed, his maternal uncle; translated "Sophocles" for the Everyman series, and issued a translation of Poems from Victor Hugo. He was over 90 when the Cambridge University Press published his "English Prosody" and "A Family Memoir," and in his 93rd year he issued his "Homer and the Greek Accents." In the world of sport he organised the first exploration of the Kaieteur Falls in British Guiana, and was a mountaineer of European repute. In 1871 he married Alice Eacy, Lady Lawrence, daughter of Evory Kennedy and widow of Sir Alexander Hutchinson Lawrence. She died in 1922, and two sons survived him.

7. **Sir Arthur Conan Doyle**, novelist and spiritualist, came of an Irish Roman Catholic family, and was born in 1859. Educated at Stonyhurst and Edinburgh University, he qualified for the medical profession and practised at Southsea from 1882 to 1890. His fame, however, was not as a medical man but as a writer of fiction; he will be remembered chiefly for his Sherlock Holmes series of detective stories. He also wrote historical romances, amongst the more popular being "Micah Clarke," "The White Company," "Sir Nigel," and "Rodney Stone." During the S. African war he was senior physician to the Field Hospital equipped by Sir John Langman, and embodied his military experiences in a remarkable pamphlet entitled "The Cause and Conduct of the War," translated into twelve European languages. In 1902 he received a knighthood. During his later years he pursued the cult of spiritualism. His exploits in defence of truth and justice resulted in the release of Oscar Slater. He married twice; first Miss Louisa Hawkins, who died in 1906; and secondly, Jean Leckie.

— **Sir Joseph George Ward**, aged 74, New Zealand statesman, was born at Melbourne, and began his career at the age of 13 as a telegraph boy. After working some time in an office and in the Department of Railways, he established a successful mercantile business of his own. In 1887 he entered the New Zealand Parliament as a Liberal, and in 1891 he became Postmaster-General under Mr. Ballance. Two years later he became Colonial Treasurer under Mr. Seddon, taking charge at the same time of railways, public health, commerce, tourist and health resorts, and the Post Office. He averted disaster to the Bank of New Zealand, and gave advances to settlers. In 1901 he was created K.C.M.G., and in 1906 he became Prime Minister, being sworn of the Privy Council in the following year. After attending the Imperial Defence Conference in 1910, he established universal military training. In the following year he represented New Zealand at the Imperial Conference (advocating, though unsuccessfully, an Imperial Council), and was created a baronet. He resigned in 1912. In 1915, on the formation of a National Cabinet, he became Minister of Finance and Postmaster-General, and later attended the Peace Conference. In 1919 he lost his seat until 1925, when he entered Parliament for Invercargill. In 1928 he accepted the invitation of the National (former Liberal) Party to become its leader, and took office once more as Prime Minister. In 1883 he married Theresa Dorothea, daughter of Mr. H. J. de Smidt, who died in 1917. Four sons and one daughter survived him.

10. **General Friedrich v. Bernhardt**, aged 80, author of "Germany and the Next War," was the son of Theodor v. Bernhardt, diplomatist. He entered the 14th Prussian Hussars in 1869, and had a distinguished military career. His views on tactics brought him into conflict with some of his seniors, and led to his retirement in 1909, when in command of the 7th Army Corps at Minister. He was suspicious of England's policy under Edward VII., and was convinced of the necessity for Germany of an aggressive war. The book embodying his ideas, "Germany and the Next War," was published in 1911, and was taken more

seriously outside his own country than within. During the Great War he was employed first as Deputy-General Officer Commanding the 5th Army Corps in Posen, and later he distinguished himself on both the Eastern and Western Fronts.

20. **Rt. Hon. Sir Robert Stout**, at one time Chief Justice of New Zealand, was born in the Shetland Isles in 1844, and claimed to be, on the one side of Royal Norwegian, and on the other of Spanish descent. In 1863 he emigrated to New Zealand, and became a schoolmaster at Dunedin. In 1871 he was admitted a barrister and solicitor, and in the following year was elected to the Otago Provincial Council. From 1872 to 1878 he was Provincial Solicitor for Otago, and Law Lecturer at Otago University. In 1875 he was elected to the House of Representatives, and in 1878 became Attorney-General and Minister for Lands and Immigration, but resigned shortly afterwards. In 1884 he returned to Parliament, and formed a Ministry with Sir Julian Vogel, which was maintained till 1887, when it was defeated on its taxation proposals. Abstaining from politics for the next six years, he came back to Parliament in 1893 on the solicitation of the Liberal Prime Minister, and succeeded in passing two measures of reform—one on temperance and the other on Women's Franchise. Five years later he resigned his seat, and was appointed Chief Justice. In 1921 he was made a member of the Judicial Committee, and on his resignation of the Chief Justiceship in 1926 he was made a member of the Legislative Council of New Zealand. In 1880 he was made K.C.M.G. His interest in education was shown by his election to the Chancellorship of the University of New Zealand (1903-23). In 1880 he married Anna Penrhyn Logan, and had four sons and two daughters.

— **Sir Binod Mitter**, well-known Indian jurist, was born in 1872, the son of Sir Romesh Chunder Mitter, Judge of the High Court of Bengal. After being educated at Presidency College, Calcutta, he came to England to study Law, and was called to the Bar by Lincoln's Inn in 1897. Returning to India to practise, he soon became one of the most successful advocates in Bengal, and in 1910 he was made Standing Counsel to the Government of India. He twice officiated as Advocate-General, but later declined the substantive position on grounds of health. He was knighted in 1918. In 1919 he came to England as a member of the deputation of Moderates supporting in general terms the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms, and to submit evidence to the Joint Select Committee on the Bill. On returning to India, he became Chairman of the Reception Committee of the Conference held by the Moderates in Calcutta. In 1921 his work was recognised by his election to the First Council of State, and in 1929 he confirmed his reputation in this country as a member of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. He was the second Indian to be elected a Bencher of his Inn. He had five sons and five daughters.

23. **Glenn Curtiss**, aged 52, pioneer of American flying, began his career in the motor industry and owned a motor cycle factory in New York State. In 1908 he designed his first aeroplane—"the June Bug"—and in the following year won prizes at the International Aviation Meet at Rheims. In 1910 he won the 10,000 dollar prize for a three hours' flight from Albany to New York. He set up flying schools, and in 1914 produced a multi-engined flying boat. The factories expanded during the war in response to the demands of Russia and Great Britain. Their chief customer is now the U.S. War Department, and a Curtiss Challenger engine is fitted to the German Dornier Do X for her projected American flight.

27. **Marco Trifkovitch**, President of the Central Committee of the Serb Radical Party, was born in 1864, and educated at Belgrade University. He was a Judge until 1906, when he was elected Deputy of the Skupshchina. In that year he was made a Minister, and after the war, during which he seceded from but finally rejoined Pashitch, he remained a Minister in various Cabinets until

1925, when he was elected Speaker of the Skupshtina. In 1927 he lost his seat, and became a bitter opponent of the Dictatorship.

30. **Sir Francis Champneys**, aged 82, eminent obstetrician, was a son of the Very Rev. William Weldon Champneys, Dean of Lichfield. He was educated at Winchester and Brasenose College, Oxford, whence in 1870 he took a First Class in the Natural Science School. He proceeded to St. Bartholomew's Hospital, and later, having gained a Travelling Fellowship at Oxford, he studied at Venice, Leipzig, and Dresden. At the latter place he was appointed assistant physician to the Royal Lying-in Hospital, and when he returned to England became obstetric tutor at St. Bartholomew's, and assistant physician at the General Lying-in Hospital, York Road. He was then elected obstetric physician and lecturer at St. George's Hospital until 1890, when he became chief physician at St. Bartholomew's Hospital. He was President of the Royal Society of Medicine from 1912 to 1914, and Chairman of the Central Midwives' Board from its constitution in 1903; to him is due the remarkable reform in the education of midwives in this country. He was created a baronet in 1910. He took a keen interest in music, writing articles for Stainer's "Dictionary of Musical Terms," and was a member of the Council of the Royal College of Music for over fifteen years. He married Virginia Julian, daughter of Sir John Warrender Dalrymple; she died in 1922, and a daughter and one son survived him.

AUGUST.

1. **Rev. Dr. John Richard Magrath**, aged 91, Provost of Queen's College, Oxford, was the son of Nicholas Magrath, surgeon, and was educated at Elizabeth College, Guernsey. In 1856 he was admitted to Oriel College, Oxford, and after a distinguished undergraduate career became President of the Union in 1861. He was elected a Fellow of Queen's College, and later was made Tutor (1864). Until 1877 he was also Dean, and from 1874 to 1877 Bursar. After being pro-Provost of Queen's for a year, he was elected Provost in 1878. From that year until 1899, he was a member of the Hebdomadal Council, and from 1894 to 1898 he served as Vice-Chancellor. For many years he was Curator of the University Chest, and from 1882 to 1887 he was Chairman of the Oxford Local Board, becoming later an Alderman of the City Council. In 1908 he was appointed a member of the Durham University Commission. As a writer, he edited vol. 1 of "The Flemings in Oxford," published in 1904, and contributed a section on Queen's College to Clarke's "Colleges of Oxford." His history of the College, with the co-operation of Mr. Charles Staines, was his chief work. He was an enthusiastic supporter of the reforms of the 1877 Commissioners. In 1877 he married Georgiana Jackson, who died in 1899.

4. **Helferich Siegfried Richard Wagner**, aged 61, was the son of Richard and Cosima Wagner. His intention was to become an architect, and he designed the monument of his grandfather, Franz Liszt, at Bayreuth. But later pursued a musical career. In 1896 he conducted the Ring Cycle at the Bayreuth Festival, and soon after composed an opera, "Der Barenhauser." He had not the creative genius of his father, and soon concerned himself mainly with maintaining the Wagner tradition at Bayreuth, directing the Festival according to a progressive conservatism. A special performance of "Tannhauser," arranged by him and conducted by Signor Toscanini, was the great event of the 1930 Festival.

10. **Rev. George William Horner**, aged 81, Coptic and Ethiopic scholar, was the son of the Rev. J. S. H. Horner, Prebendary of Wells. He was educated at Eton, whence, after a distinguished athletic career, he went up to Balliol College, Oxford, in 1868. In 1874 he was ordained to the curacy of Cirencester, and in 1875, on the death of his father, succeeded to the living of Wells. He continued

in this until his retirement in 1891, when he devoted himself to the Egyptian New Testament, of which eleven volumes of the twelve were already published six weeks before his death. He edited "Coptic Versions of the New Testament" (1898-1923), "Coptic Consecrations of Church and Altar" (1902), and "Ethiopic Statutes of the Apostles, or Canones Ecclesiastici and Coptic-Sahidic Version of the Gnostic Pistis Sophia" (1904).

12. General Sir Horace Lockwood Smith-Dorrien, distinguished soldier, whose generalship at Le Cateau saved the Expeditionary Force from annihilation, was born in 1858. He was educated at Harrow, and, joining the Sherwood Foresters in 1876, first saw active service in 1878 in Zululand, where he signally distinguished himself. In 1882 he fought in Egypt, returning in 1887 to the Staff College for a period, until he was appointed D.A.A.G. in Bengal and later A.A.G. in the Punjab. Later he saw service in the Sudan, where he took part in the Battle of Omdurman in 1898. At the opening of the Boer War he was given command of the 19th Brigade, 9th Division, being promoted Major-General. In 1901 he was again in India, and two years later was transferred to the command of the 4th (Quetta) Division of the Western Army Corps. In 1904 he was created K.C.B., and two years later promoted Lieutenant-General. In 1907 he was in chief command at Aldershot, where he remained four years, initiating numerous army reforms and continuing this work at Salisbury in 1912. In this year he was made a General, and G.C.B. in 1913. At the outbreak of the Great War in 1914, he commanded the I I. Corps at Mons and Le Cateau, and during the retreat following the battle, Smith-Dorrien won his reputation as a competent General. During the second battle of Ypres, he tendered his resignation owing to his inability to see eye to eye with Sir John French. He was created G.C.M.G. and given command of the First Army of the Central Force for Home Defence, and in 1915 he went out to direct operations in East Africa. After two years as Lieutenant of the Tower of London, he was nominated Governor of Gibraltar in 1918. In 1902 he married Olive, daughter of Col. Schneider. Three sons survived him.

19. Andre Rivoire, dramatist and poet, was born in 1852 and educated at the Lycee Henry IV., Paris. A pupil of Bergson, two of his poems "L'Apdte" and "Vierges" were dedicated to his master. In 1890 he produced a play, "La Raquette," which was a failure. Later a one-act play, entitled "Il etait une Bergere" and "Le Roi Dagobert" were produced at the Comedie Francaise. After 1900 he published several books of verse, amongst others, "Le Songe et L'Amour," "Le Chemin de l'Oublie," and "Plaisirs des Jours." In the post-war period he wrote further plays, "Le Sourire du Faune" (for the Comedie Francaise), and "La Belle Angevine" (in collaboration with Maurice Donnay), "Les Baisers de Panurge," and "Pardon, Madame." Rivoire was a Commander of the Legion of Honour, and at one time President of the Dramatic Authors' and Composers' Society.

20. Professor Herbert Hall Turner, aged 69, pioneer in astronomical research, was educated at Leeds Modern School, Clifton College, and Trinity College, Cambridge. After graduating as second Wrangler in 1882, and being selected second Smith's prizeman, he was elected to a Trinity Fellowship, but left Cambridge in 1884 to become Chief Assistant at the Royal Observatory, Greenwich. He remained there until 1893, when he was appointed Savilian Professor of Astronomy and Director of the University Observatory at Oxford. Here he carried out with great celerity the part allotted to Oxford in the international scheme initiated in 1887 for mapping the heavens. After the Great War, he was elected President of the International Astronomical Union. His greatest contribution to astronomy was the technique he employed for deriving the position of the stars from photographs. He was President of the Seismological Committee of the British Association, and also of the Seismological section of the International Geophysical Union. He was a frequent contributor to *The Times*

on astronomical subjects. He went on several eclipse expeditions, including those to Japan in 1896 and to Egypt in 1905, and in 1919 he was chosen secretary of the Royal Astronomical Society. He wrote four popular books on his subject, "Modern Astronomy," "Astronomical Discovery," "The Great Star Map," and "A Voyage in Space." He was a vigorous supporter of the Workers' Educational Association. In 1896 he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society. From 1913 to 1922 he was one of the General Secretaries to the British Association. In 1927 he received the Bruce Gold Medal of the Astronomical Society of the Pacific. Professor Turner left directions that his body should be dissected or otherwise used for the general advancement of science, and that his death should not be made the occasion of any religious service or other ceremony. He also left the following message for his friends:—

"I venture to hope that there may be some who will care to drink a glass to my memory, and, if so, I beg them to do so at such time and in such company as they may find convenient, and, further, that they will choose their own liquor; but if anyone should desire to know my preference, then I say, 'let it be strong ale.' And I desire these my wishes to be published in *The Times* newspaper as soon as possible after my death."

20. **Commodore the Rt. Hon. Henry Douglas King, D.S.O., M.P.**, who lost his life in a yachting accident off the Cornish coast, was born in 1877, and educated in the training-ship *Conway* at Liverpool. In 1897 he joined the P. & O. Company, left the sea two years later to take up farming, and was subsequently called to the Bar by the Inner Temple. As an officer of the Royal Naval Volunteer Reserve since 1904, he was appointed to the Drake Battalion of the Royal Naval Division formed early in the war, and succeeded to the command in 1915. He saw service at the siege of Antwerp and at Gallipoli, and for his services at the battle of Achibaba he was awarded the D.S.O., and made Commander. In 1918, at the "coupon" election, he won a seat in Parliament as an independent candidate. Three years later he became Assistant Conservative Whip, afterwards joining Mr. Bonar Law's Ministry as a Junior Lord of the Treasury. In 1920 he was appointed Captain of the London Division of the Royal Naval Volunteer Reserve, becoming Commodore seven years later. In 1919 he was made C.B.E., in 1927 C.B., and in 1929 he was sworn of the Privy Council. In 1924 he became Financial Secretary to the War Office, and in 1928 succeeded Colonel Lane Fox as Secretary of the Mine's Department of the Board of Trade. In 1900 he married Margaret Elizabeth Swan of S. Australia, who survived him with one son and three daughters.

21. **Selwyn Image**, aged 81, poet and stained glass artist, was educated at Marlborough and New College, Oxford, where he came under the influence of Ruskin. In 1872 he was ordained, but eight years later gave up the clerical career in order to take up art and literature. With Mr. A. H. Macmurdo and H. P. Home, he founded a journal called *The Hobby Horse*, to which Ruskin and Matthew Arnold contributed. He also published a volume of verse called "Carols and Poems." His special field of art was stained glass, the windows at St. Luke's, Camberwell, and at Morthoe Church, Devon, being his. In 1910 he was appointed to the Slade Professorship at Oxford, again in 1913.

— **Professor V. Barthold**, Russian Orientalist and a highly-respected authority on Slavonic history, was born in 1864. Having travelled much in Turkestan, in 1900 he published the results of his explorations under the title of "Turkestan at the Time of the Mongol Invasion." With the assistance of Sir Denison Ross, this book was translated into English and edited by Barthold himself in 1928 under the title, "Turkestan down to the Time of the Mongol Invasion." Amongst other publications were an article on "Christianity in Central Asia," a monograph on Prince Ullugh Beg, and an essay on "The Historical Importance of Orkhon Inscriptions," contributed to Badloff's "Old Turkish Monuments."

21. Sir Aston Webb, aged 81, architect and at one time President of the Royal Academy, was the son of Edward Webb, engraver. He was articled in 1867 to Messrs. Banks & Barry, and won the travelling Pugin Studentship of the Royal Institute of British Architects. In 1884 he became President of the Architectural Association, and in 1902 President of the Royal Institute of British Architects. In 1906 he was chosen by the American Institute of Architects to receive the Gold Medal awarded to a conspicuous contributor to the art of architecture. In 1924 he was nominated a member of the Royal Academy of Sweden. From 1919 to 1924 he was President of the British Royal Academy, being the second architect elected to this office. Amongst his architectural achievements may be mentioned the restoration of Burford Church, Gloucestershire, and that of St. Bartholomew the Great, Smithfield, the new Naval College at Dartmouth, and Christ's Hospital at Horsham. In collaboration with another, he was responsible for the Royal College of Science at Dublin, and later he designed the University of Birmingham. He also took part in the L.C.C. rebuilding schemes at the beginning of the century, and was responsible for the new offices of the Metropolitan Life Assurance Co. (1894), and those of the Grand Trunk Railway of Canada in Cockspur Street. His most distinguished successes were the Admiralty Arch, The Imperial College of Science and Technology, the new Victorian and Albert Museum at South Kensington, and the layout of the Mall as a processional road. He was knighted in 1904, made C.B. in 1909, K.C.V.O. in 1914, and G.C.V.O. in 1925. In 1876 he married the daughter of the late David Everett, F.R.C.S. Of his two sons, one survived him and also a daughter.

23. The Duke of Northumberland (Alan Ian Percy), aged 50, was a younger son of the 7th Duke. In 1909, on the death of his elder brother, he became Earl Percy and succeeded to the Dukedom in 1918. Joining the Grenadier Guards in 1900, he served with distinction in the S. African War, and in 1908 in the Sudan. In 1910 he went to Canada as A.D.C. to Earl Grey. He was a stout opponent of Lord Haldane's army reforms, and threw himself enthusiastically into the campaign for universal military service. He saw active service from 1914 to 1916, and was created C.B.E. In 1921 he made a definite but unsuccessful attempt to force the Conservative Party to withdraw from the Coalition. In 1924 he presided over a meeting of the Friends of France movement, and in the following year he spoke on behalf of the royalty owners of England and Wales at the sittings of the Coal Commission. In 1925 he was created a K.G. He was President of the Royal Institution, and Chancellor of Durham University and Lord-Lieutenant of Northumberland. He was Chairman of the *Morning Post* on its re-organisation after the General Strike. In 1911 he married Lady Henry Gordon-Lennox, youngest daughter of the Duke of Richmond and Gordon.

— Lucien Wolf, aged 73, author, publicist, and negotiator on behalf of Jews with foreign Governments, was educated at private schools and at Brussels and Paris. At the age of 17 he became sub-editor and leader-writer of the *Jewish World*, and later was associated with the *Daily Graphic* as its Foreign Editor. In 1917 he was made Secretary of the Joint Foreign Committee of the Jewish Board of Deputies and the Anglo-Jewish Association; in 1919 he was influential in formulating the minorities treaties at the Peace Conference. In 1925 he visited Warsaw at the invitation of the Polish Government, and assisted in the formulation of an agreement for the amelioration of the position of Jews in that country. In 1929 he prepared a memorandum for the League of Nations on German and Canadian schemes for amending procedure regarding minorities petitions. Early in 1930 he presided over the League of Nations Advisory Committee of the High Commission for Refugees. His articles in the *Fortnightly Review* on Foreign affairs (under the pen-name "Diplomaticus") attracted more than ordinary attention. Wolf was the foremost authority of his age on Anglo-Jewish History. He was the first President of the Jewish Historical Society of England (1893 to 1896), and again from 1910 to 1912. He contributed many valuable papers to

the *Society's Transactions*, and also several collections of Documents, including one on "The Jews in the Canary Islands." In 1880 he married Frances Moses, and had two sons and four daughters; she died in 1912, and in 1923 he married Margaret Kavanagh.

26. **Lon Chaney**, aged 47, film actor, was born at Colorado, the child of deaf-mutes. He went early on the stage, first as a slap-stick comedian, and in 1920 played the leading part in the screen play, "The Miracle Man." His marvellous skill in facial disguise caused him to be selected to play Quasimodo in "The Hunchback of Notre Dame." He also played Mr. Wu, and other of his films were "Mockery," "London after Midnight," "Laugh, Clown, Laugh," "Where East is East," and "Thunder." On the arrival of the talkies he played in "The Unholy Three."

29. **Rev. Dr. William Archibald Spooner**, at one time Warden of New College, Oxford, was born in 1844. He was educated at Oswestry School, and went up to New College in 1862, being elected a fellow of his College in 1867. Ordained in 1872, he became Chaplain to Archbishop Tait six years later, and in 1899 was Examining Chaplain to the Bishop of Peterborough. In 1903 he was elected Warden of New College, having been tutor there since 1869. In addition to his academic activities he was on the Board of Guardians and Charity Organisation Committee. Amongst his published works were an edition of Tacitus, a volume on "The Life and Writings of Bishop Butler," and "A Memoir of Henry Wykeham." He served as pro-Vice-Chancellor, and was for many years a member of the Hebdomadal Council. He married Frances Wycliffe Goodwin, daughter of Dr. Harvey Goodwin, Bishop of Carlisle. He had one son and four daughters.

30. **Major-General Henry T. Allen**, aged 71, Commander of the American Army of Occupation on the Rhine, joined the 2nd United States Cavalry in 1882. He was Military Attache* in Russia and in Germany, and served later in the American war against Spain in the Philippines. He organised a Constabulary, of which he was made Chief and Brigade-General in 1903. Between 1910 and 1914 he was twice in charge of the Cavalry Section at the War Department, and on the entry of the U.S. into the Great War he commanded successively the 90th Div. and the 8th, 9th, and 7th Army Corps, receiving the American distinguished service medal. In 1919 he received command of the Army of Occupation at Coblenz. He records the events of these years in his "Rhineland Journal," published in 1924.

31. **Dr. Edouard Meyer**, one of the best-known authorities of his time on Ancient History, was born in Hamburg on January 25, 1855. Selecting an academic career, he was Professor of Ancient History at Breslau (1885), Halle (1889), and Berlin (1902). During his Professorship at Berlin, which he held for twenty-one years, he was regarded as one of the outstanding personalities at the University, and commanded respect both for the width and the depth of his learning. A skilled Egyptologist, he wrote the History of the Ancient World in the East ("Geschichte des Altertums") (the first volume appearing in 1884), in which both Egypt and Assyria were adequately described. In his History of Greece the story of the Periclean Age has become a classic. His interest in the early records of man naturally led him to interest himself in the history of Ancient Israel; "Die Israeliten und ihre Nachbarstämme" appeared in 1906. Lastly he concerned himself with the origins of Christianity; his "Ursprung und Anfänge des Christentums" (1921-23), in three volumes, is likely to continue to be regarded as authoritative for a long time. Meyer was held in high esteem as a first-rate scholar, not only in his native land but also in England and the United States.

SEPTEMBER.

6. Sir **James Guthrie**, aged 71, distinguished portrait-painter, was the son of the Rev. John Guthrie, D.D., and was educated at Glasgow High School. After studying art in London and Paris he joined the band of young painters at Glasgow which, influenced by Whistler and French painting, was known as "The Glasgow School.*" Among his early works were "The Gipsy Fires Are Burning" and "A Funeral service in the Highlands." Other landscapes and genre paintings were "To Pastures New," exhibited in 1885, "The Orchard," exhibited in the Royal Scotch Academy in 1892, and "Midsummer." He received various foreign distinctions, and is represented in the Ghent Gallery by "Schoolmates." His later work is almost wholly portraiture, and among his most successful efforts were the portraits of Archbishop Eyre, Professor Jack, and his Mother. A fine portrait of the late G. M. Low, Esq., was exhibited in the Royal Scottish Academy in 1925. In 1902 he was made President of the Royal Scottish Academy, and in the following year he was knighted. In 1919 he resigned the Presidency in order to devote himself to a portrait group of British Statesmen During the War destined for the National Portrait Gallery. From 1906 to 1920 he was a Trustee of the National Galleries of Scotland. In 1897 he married Helen Newton, daughter of the late Mr. A. Whitelaw, who died in 1912, leaving one son to survive him.

10. Lord Shandon (Ignatius John O'Brien), at one time Lord Chancellor of Ireland, was born in 1856, and at the age of 20 joined the reporting staff of the *Freeman's Journal* at Dublin. In 1881 he was called to the Irish Bar, and in time won a national reputation as a barrister. It was he who secured the release of Canon Kelly in the Court of Appeal subsequent to the trial in the "Plan of Campaign" case. Specialising in Chancery cases he was made Q.C. in 1899, and in 1907 was elected a Bencher of the King's Inns, and three years later a serjeant-at-law. In 1911 he became Solicitor-General for Ireland under Mr. Asquith's Government. In the following year he became Attorney-General and a year later Lord Chancellor. He retained the post until 1918. In 1886 he married Annie Scallan, who died in 1909. There was no issue, and the title becomes extinct.

12. William Charles Edmund Newbolt, aged 86, Canon of St. Paul's Cathedral for 40 years, was a son of the Rev. W. R. Newbolt, Rector of Somerton, Somerset. He was educated at Uppingham, and on going up to Pembroke College, Oxford, became associated with Pusey, Bright, and Liddon. After taking orders, he obtained a curacy at Wantage, where, under W. J. Butler, afterwards Dean of Lincoln, he was able to advance the Tractarian cause. Two years later he was appointed Vicar of Dymock, near Gloucester, and in 1877 he was transferred to the growing parish of Malvern Link. Ten years later he was appointed Principal of Ely Theological College. He was made an honorary Canon of Ely and from 1892 to 1905 acted as examining chaplain to the Bishop of Ely. In 1890 his gift for preaching led to his being chosen to succeed Dr. Liddon at St. Paul's. He inaugurated the St. Paul's Lecture Society and the Amen Court Guild. Besides being Canon Residentiary for forty years, he was Chancellor of the Cathedral for nearly as many, and for thirty years he was elected by the London Clergy, Proctor in Convocation. He was an uncompromising opponent of Prayerbook Revision. In 1870 he married a daughter of Mr. W. Wren. His wife died in 1923, and one son and two daughters survived him.

13. **Lieut.-General Sir Louis Jean Bols**, distinguished soldier and chief of Staff under Lord Auenby in Palestine, was born in 1867, of Belgian extraction. After being educated at Lancing College he entered the Army, and received his first commission in 1887. In 1899 he went out to the Boer War as Adjutant of the 2nd Batt. After a period at the Staff College and a command at Sandhurst,

he was awarded a Brigade mayorship. In 1910 he became a professor at the Staff College. In the spring of 1914 he was in command of the 1st Dorsetshire at Belfast, and warned them to disregard local troubles and prepare instead for a war with Germany in the autumn. He led his "Green Linnetts" at Mons, le Cateau, the Marne, The Aisne, Givenchy, and La Bassee until in October, 1914, he was wounded and taken prisoner, but escaped back to the Allies' lines. In a few months he was again in command of the 15th, 13th, and 84th Brigades. Soon after he received an appointment on the staff of the Third Army, where he came into contact with Lord Allenby, and where it fell to him to plan the operations on the Somme (eventually carried out by the 4th Army), and also those of the battle of Arras. In 1917 he commanded at Messines, whence he emerged with much glory to be appointed Chief of the General Staff of the Armies in Palestine under Lord Allenby. He was awarded a K.C.M.G., followed by a K.C.B. After attending the Peace Conference at Paris he returned to Palestine to administer the conquered provinces. In 1920 he returned to England, and seven years later he was appointed Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Bermuda. In 1897 he married Augusta Blanche, daughter of Capt. Walter Cecil Strickland, who survived him with two sons.

18. **Harold Bally Dixon**, aged 52, Professor of Chemistry at Manchester University, was the son of William Hepburn Dixon, editor of the *Athenaeum*. He was educated at Westminster School and Christ Church, Oxford, and after taking Ins degree in Natural Science in 1875, he became assistant to Mr. Vernon Harcourt. In 1879 he was appointed Millard Lecturer at Trinity College and two years later Bedford Lecturer at Balliol College. In 1886 he was elected a Fellow of Balliol, and soon afterwards became Professor of Chemistry at Owens College, Manchester, where he remained till his retirement in 1922. He was an active member of the University, being successively chairman of the General Board of Studies, Dean of the Faculty of Science and pro-Vice-Chancellor. From 1916 he was Chairman of the Salford Royal Technical Institute, and from 1919 of the Salford Higher Education Committee. He was a member of the Royal Commission on Explosions in Mines (1911-14) and President of the Chemical section of the British Association in 1894. In 1886 he was elected F.R.S. and in 1913 received a Royal Medal from the Society. During the war he served as Deputy Inspector of High Explosives for the Manchester area, was a member of the Alcohol Fuel Committee and Chairman of the Ministry of Labour Selective Committee for the N.W. district. In 1918 he was created C.B.E. He researched and wrote extensively on the explosive combustion of gases, the propagation of explosives, and kindred subjects. He was twice married; first to Olive Beechey, daughter of Mr. Hopkins of Montreal, who died in 1917, leaving a son and a daughter; secondly to Muriel Kinch, by whom he had a daughter.

24. **General Sir Bryan Mahon**, aged 68, Commander-in-Chief of the Salonika force in the Great War, was educated in Ireland and, gazetted to the 8th Hussars, went out to active service in India and later to Egypt, where he served for many years. In 1896 he played an active part in the destruction of the Dervish power and received the D.S.O. In 1898 he fought at Atbara, and on Lord Kitchener's final victory remained at the front as head of the Intelligence Branch. He fought in the South African War, and as Brigadier-General directed the movements for the relief of Mafeking. At the end of General French's operations he was made a C.B. and returned to Egypt. Here he was appointed Governor of Kordofan. Leaving Egypt in 1904 he was sent to India, and, on his return homo in 1913, was promoted Lieutenant-General. At the outbreak of the Great War he was given command of the 10th (Irish) Division, and in 1915 went out to Gallipoli. At the beginning of 1916 he was superseded and went to Egypt in command of the Western Frontier force before returning home. Later he was sent to Ireland as Commander-in-Chief of the Forces, until in 1918, Lord French being appointed Deputy of Ireland, he was replaced by Sir Frederick Shaw. He then became

military Commander at Lille and remained there until in 1922 he was made a senator of the Irish Senate. In that year he was created K.C.B. His wife was the widow of Lieut.-Col. Milbanke, V.C. She died in 1927.

25. Dr. Lewis Evans, F.S.A., founder of the Lewis Evans Collection of Scientific Instruments at Oxford, was born in 1853, the second son of Sir John Evans, F.R.S. He went to Harrow in 1867 and left in 1871 to enter his father's paper-making business (John Dickinson & Co.) The formation of collections appeared to be hereditary in the family, Lewis' contribution to these being a historic series of instruments of scientific precision. In 1922 he offered his entire collection to Oxford, where it was housed in the Old Ashmolean Museum. He was Hon. D.Sc. of Oxford and a Fellow of the Society of Antiquarians and of the Royal Astronomical Society. He was married twice, and by his second wife, Eva, daughter of Captain Bradford, he left a son and four daughters.

27. **Lieut.-Colonel Sir John Norton Griffiths**, well-known engineer and public works contractor, who shot himself while engaged in work on the Aswan Dam in Egypt, was born in 1871 and led a wandering life before training for the profession of engineer. He played a distinguished part in the Boer War, and afterwards carried out important engineering works in Africa and America, the construction of the first section of the Benguela Railway in 1905 being his. In 1910 he entered Parliament as Unionist member for Wednesbury and was managing director of Griffiths & Co. (Ltd.), contractors, as well as senior partner in Norton Griffiths, Bruce, Marriott & Co. He was a member of the Institute of Mining and Metallurgy and a Fellow of the Geological Society. He took an active part in emigration schemes. On the outbreak of the Great War in 1914 he raised the 2nd King Edwards' Horse at his own expense, and later, as a member of the Staff of the Engineer-in-Chief, planned the Messines Mines and received the D.S.O. In 1916 he went on a special mission to Rumania, for which he was made an officer of the Legion of Honour. He was made K.C.B. in 1917 and sat in Parliament from 1918 to 1924 as member for Wandsworth Central. In 1922 he was made a Baronet. In 1901 he married Miss Gwladys Wood, daughter of the late Mr. Thos. Wood. Two sons and two daughters survived him.

29. **William Pett Ridge**, aged 70, novelist, studied at the Birkbeck Institute while working at the Railway Clearing House. A sketch entitled "A Dinner in Soho" attracted the attention of Sidney Low, editor of the *St. James's Gazette*, who encouraged him to further efforts, and he wrote for various journals under the style "Mr. Warwick Simpson." In 1895 he published his first novel, "A Clever Wife," and three years later "Mord Em'ly" achieved a great success. His stories mostly deal with phases of cockney life, and his devotion to slum children led him to found the Babies' Home at Hoxton in 1907. In 1909 he married Miss Olga Hentschel and had a son and a daughter.

30. **Lord Birkenhead (Frederick Edwin Smith)**, at one time Lord Chancellor, was born in 1872, and after being educated at Birkenhead Grammar School, went up in 1890 to Wadham College, Oxford, where he was President of the Union in 1893 and took a first class in Jurisprudence in the following year. In 1899 he was called to the Bar by Gray's Inn, and after practising in Liverpool, established himself in London in 1902. In 1906 he was returned as Unionist member for Walton to the House of Commons, where he became noted for the brilliance of his speeches rather than for the depth of his thought. Two years later he took silk and became a Bencher of his Inn and in 1911 a Privy Councillor. He threw himself eagerly into the Home Rule controversy as a pronounced Covenanter, and at the outbreak of the Great War supported Mr. Asquith's Government and became Head of the Press Bureau till he went to France as historian to the Indian Corps. In 1915 he joined the Coalition Ministry as Solicitor-General and in the following year as Attorney-General.

In 1918 he was created a Baronet. In 1919 he became Lord Chancellor—an office in which he proved more successful than had been thought possible—and his tenure formed a landmark in the history of the office as well as in that of the Law. The Irish settlement was largely due to his qualities, and he was also responsible for the great reform in the law of property. In 1922 he followed Mr. Lloyd George out of office and remained in formidable Opposition till 1924, when he returned as Secretary of State for India in Mr. Baldwin's Cabinet. In this capacity he furthered the establishment of the Simon Commission two years earlier than originally intended. In 1928 he resigned in order to join the Boards of various industrial undertakings. In the House of Lords he opposed himself vehemently to Dominion status for India. Amongst his more serious writings may be mentioned his works on international law and his study of Toryism till 1832. He was created viscount in 1922 and G.C.S.I., on quitting the India Office. In 1901 he married Margaret Eleanor, daughter of the Rev. H. Furneaux, Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, and had one son and two daughters.

OCTOBER.

5. **Lord Thomson** (Christopher **Bird** wood Thomson), Air Minister, who, at the age of 54, lost his life in the disaster to R101, was a son of Major-General David Thomson R.E. He was educated at Cheltenham, and passed out of Woolwich to join the R.E. in 1894. Before the Great War his military experiences were varied, including participation in the Boer and Balkan wars. In 1914 he went to France on the Headquarters Staff of the B.E.F. In the following year he was in Bucharest, first as Military Attache and then as head of the British Mission after the entry of Rumania into the war. Returning in 1917 for a brief spell at the War Office, he was sent to Palestine as C.R.E. of the 60th Division. Receiving the D.S.O., for his services, he returned early in 1918 to sit on the Supremo War Council at Versailles, with rank of Brigadier-General. Late in 1919 he left the Army and joined the Labour Party; in the following year he went to Ireland on a mission of investigation into the suppression of the Irish rebellion. In 1921 he was appointed special Commissioner for Inquiries into the condition of Refugees, and went to Moscow on behalf of the "Save the Children" Fund. When the Labour Party came into office in 1924 he was placed at the head of the Air Ministry, and was created Lord Thomson of Cardington and sworn of the Privy Council. It was chiefly owing to his energies that the Government took over airship construction, and on the fall of the Ministry he continued in the House of Lords to urge the importance of the R.A.F. In 1929 he again became Secretary of State for Air. Amongst his various writings may be mentioned "Smaranda" (a medley of military recollections and Near Eastern Fantasies), "Old Europe's Suicide," "Victors and Vanquished," and lastly "Air Facts and Problems," which was published in 1927. He was created C.B.E. in 1919. He was unmarried, and the peerage became extinct.

— **Sir Sefton Brancker**, Director of Civil Aviation in the Air Ministry, who lost his life at the age of 53 in the disaster to the R101, was the son of Colonel W. G. Brancker, C.B. Educated at Bedford and Woolwich, he was commissioned to the R.A. in 1896, served in the Boer War in 1900, and from 1903 was in India for nine years, making his first flight there as military observer in 1910. In 1913 he received a War Office appointment, and at the beginning of the Great War became Deputy Director of Military Aeronautics. In 1916-17 he was Director of Air Organisation, and two years later Controller-General of Equipment and Master-General of Personnel on the Air Council. A profound believer in the future of civil aviation, he left the Air Ministry to join the "Airco"; in 1922 he was appointed Director of Civil Aviation to the Air Ministry, and two years later flew to India to survey the projected airship route, breaking the journey at Jberlin to confer with the German Ministry of Communications on the conditions

of transit for foreign aeroplanes across Germany. In 1919 he was created K.C.B. He was British representative on the International Commission of Air Navigation and President of the Institute of Transport 1928-29. He was gazetted Air Vice-Marshal in 1924. In 1907 he married Mary, daughter of Colonel Spencer Field, and had one son.

7. Sir William Henry May, aged 81, Admiral of the Fleet, was the son of Mr. J. W. Seaburne May, and entered the Navy in 1863. Specialising in gunnery, in 1875 he accompanied Sir George Nares' North Polar Expedition in the *Alert* and *Discovery*. From 1878 to 1880 he was in command of the *Vesuvius*; torpedo schoolship at Portsmouth. In 1884 he became Commander in H.M. yacht *Victoria and Albert*, three years after which he was promoted captain, and went out to China, where it fell to him to annex Christmas Island. From 1893 to 1895 he was at the Admiralty as Assistant-Director of Torpedoes; presently he was afloat once more in the Mediterranean as Chief of Staff to Sir Michael Culme-Seymour, C.-in-C. In 1897 he was Captain of the *Excellent* Gunnery School at Portsmouth, until 1900. In the following year he returned to the Admiralty as Director of Naval Ordnance and Torpedoes, and later as Third Sea Lord and Controller until 1905 when, promoted Vice-Admiral, he went to sea as Commander-in-Chief of the Atlantic Fleet. In 1906 he was created K.C.B. The following year he returned to the Admiralty as Second Sea Lord, was promoted Admiral in 1908, and in 1909 went to sea again in command of the Home Fleet. After the Spithead review in that year, he was created G.C.V.O. In 1911 he was appointed C.-in-C. at Devonport, and was promoted G.C.B. at the Coronation of King George V. Two years later he succeeded Sir Charles Hotham as Senior Admiral of the Fleet. As Chairman of the Admiralty Reconstruction Committee, he had much to do with the reduction of the Navy from a war to a peace footing. In 1878 he married Kimbarra Swene, daughter of Mr. W. J. Marrow. His two sons survived him.

10. Professor Cuthbert Hamilton Turner, aged 70, Patristic scholar and Senior Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford, was educated at Winchester and New College, Oxford. In 1889 he was elected a Fellow of Magdalen College. From 1906 to 1910 he held the Speaker's Lectureship in Biblical studies; was Reader in Early Christian History and Literature in 1914; and in 1920 became Ireland Professor of the Exegesis of Holy Scripture. He was an authority on N.T. chronology; an article on the subject appeared from his pen in Hasting's "Bible Dictionary." Among his important publications must be included "Monumenta Juris Canonici" and the *Journal of Theological Studies*, of which he was the first editor. Turner was a Fellow of the British Academy, and in 1928 he was elected a member of the Bavarian Academy of Sciences.

13. Dr. Harry Reginald Holland Hall, aged 57, historian and archaeologist, was the son of Mr. Sydney Hall, M.V.O., the painter. After being educated at Merchant Taylor's School and St. John's College, Oxford, in 1896 he joined the Department of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities in the British Museum; was promoted Assistant Keeper in 1919 and Keeper five years later. He took part in excavations at Dair-al-Bahari (1903-07) and at Abydos (1910); in 1919 he directed the British Museum excavations at Ur of the Chaldees and elsewhere; and in 1927 he and Mr. C. L. Woolley published the first volume of "Ur Excavations." His "Ancient History of the Near-East" enjoyed great popularity among scholars, as did also his "Civilisation of Greece in the Bronze Age," published in 1923. He also issued various works on the British Museum Collections. In 1920 he was made hon. D.Litt. of Oxford, and an honorary Fellow of his College in 1929. He was Chairman of the Palestine Exploration Fund in 1922.

19. Captain William Colbeck, R.N.R., aged 59, Antarctic explorer, accompanied the Borchgrevink section of the Southern Cross Expedition to the Antarctic in 1898-99 as magnetic observer and cartographer. In 1902 he was appointed

to the relief ship *Morning* in connexion with Captain Scott's National Antarctic Expedition, and it was only his consummate seamanship which made the venture a successful one. On his return he resumed command of one of the Watson Liners between Hull and Oslo, and afterwards became Marine Superintendent of the United Shipping Co. in London. He was a medallist of the Royal Geographical Society, and had been elected President of the Antarctic Club for the ensuing year. His wife predeceased him, but four sons survived him.

21. **Lord (Edward Allen) Brotherton**, aged 74, pioneer in the chemical industry, was the son of a Manchester cotton manufacturer. He studied chemistry at Owens College, Manchester, where he came under the influence of Sir Henry Roscoe. Establishing his first works at Middlesbrough, the manufacture of ammoniated sulphur proved the starting point of his career. During the war he was interested in the production of high explosives, and in 1917 he purchased the Mersey Chemical Co., formerly under enemy ownership, and continued thereafter to specialise in the manufacture of hydrosulphite. He sat in Parliament as Conservative member for Wakefield from 1902 to 1910, and again from 1918 to 1922. He was created a baronet in 1918, and raised to the peerage in 1929. The University of Leeds owed many benefactions to him, including 20,000Z. which he provided in 1921 for bacteriological research, and 200,000/. (in 1929) for a new Library, presenting to it his own magnificent private collection. [See Chronology under June 3.] He left no heir.

24. **Harry Gosling, M.P.**, aged 69, President of the Transport and General Workers' Union and Minister of Transport in 1924, after being educated at Blackfriars L.C.C. School was apprenticed to the Watermen's Company and worked on the river till, at the age of 32, he was appointed secretary of the Company. In 1910 he was made President of the newly formed Transport Workers' Federation, and during the transport strike in the following year he was Chairman of the London Strike Committee. He was a member of the Port of London Authority, and in 1916 became Chairman of the Parliamentary Committee of the Trades Union Congress. During the war he was a member of the Port and Transit Executive and of the Statutory Committee on Pensions. He was also appointed the Labour member of the Imperial War Graves Commission. In 1911 he was a Trade Union representative on the Industrial Council. He served for many years on the L.C.C., becoming leader of the Labour Party in the Council (in 1920). Since 1923 he was a Member of Parliament, and as Minister of Transport in 1923 he handled the London Traffic Bill. In 1921 he was elected President of the Transport and General Workers' Union, relinquishing the post on becoming a member of the Government, and resuming it again later on leaving office. In 1927 he wrote a book of reminiscences "Up and Down Stream." He was a Companion of Honour.

— **William Holden Hutton**, Dean of Winchester, was born in 1860 of a clerical stock. At Magdalen College, Oxford, he won the Stanhope Prize (1881); from 1884 to 1923 he was a Fellow of St. John's College. He was a tutor there for twenty years (1889-1909), and held a considerable place in College and University life until 1911 when he became Canon Residentiary of Peterborough and Archdeacon of Northampton. Neither the climate nor the work suiting him, he was finally transferred in 1919 to the Deanery of Winchester. From 1913 to 1920 he was University Reader in Indian History at Oxford. His three best literary works were his Bampton Lectures (he was Bampton Lecturer in 1903), his "Life of Laud," and his volume on the Stuart period in Macmillan's "Church History." He was unmarried.

26. **Waldemar Mordecai Wolff Haffkine**, bacteriologist, was born of Jewish parents at Odessa in 1860, and educated at Berdiansk Classical College and Odessa University, whence he graduated in 1884. After four years' research

work at the Zoological Museum, Odessa, he worked for a year as assistant professor of Physiology at the Geneva Medical School, and then for four years as assistant to Pasteur in Paris. In 1893 he accepted a call from the British Government to undertake work in India; and while successfully experimenting with his vaccine against cholera, under the Government in India, an outbreak of plague in Bombay in 1896 called for a vaccine which he was able to prepare in time to save innumerable lives, and which has been successful in reducing mortality by 85 per cent, in an epidemic. Later he was employed in research at Calcutta, until his retirement from the Indian service in 1915. His achievements in successfully fighting cholera won for him world-wide recognition. He founded the Government Research Laboratory, now the Haffkine Institute, at Bombay. He served on the Council of the London Society of Tropical Medicine and Hygiene, and in 1929 was made an honorary Fellow of the Ross Institute.

NOVEMBER.

1. Thomas Norton Longman, aged 81, at one time head of the house of Longmans, Green & Co., was the eldest son of the fourth Thomas Longman of the original publishing firm. Under his auspices Longmans undertook such notable enterprises as the Badminton Library, the Political History of England, The Silver Library, *The English Historical Review*, The Andrew Lang Fairybook series, and William Morris's Collected Works. In 1890 he took over Messrs. Rivington's business, and since then specialised in theological works. In 1908 he succeeded his cousin to the Shendish estate in Herts. In 1874 he married Florence Ann, daughter of Mr. Pratt Barlow, partner in Dickinson & Co., paper-makers. He had four sons.

2. Lieut-General Sir Edward **Cecil** Bethune, C.B., aged 75, popular soldier of the Victorian era, was engaged in the second Afghan War, and in 1881 fought at Majuba Hill. He was Garrison Instructor at Madras for seven years, and at the outbreak of the South African War he went to Natal with the Indian contingent and raised a regiment which became known as Bethune's Horse, assisting in the relief of Kimberley and ultimately in the fall of Pretoria. In 1900 he was promoted Lieutenant-Colonel of the 16th Lancers, and in 1901 he was given command of a mobile force of all arms down to the close of the campaign. In 1905 he became Brigadier-General, General Staff, Southern Command, on the H.Q. Staff of Sir Ian Hamilton. In 1908 he was promoted Major-General; in 1912 he was appointed Director-General of the Territorial Force at the War Office, and in the following year was promoted Lieutenant-General. In 1917 he resigned his appointment, retiring in 1920. He was made C.B. in 1905, C.V.O. in 1909, and K.C.B. in 1915. He married Mary Lilian, second daughter of Colonel Elliott-Lockhart, R.A., and had one daughter.

11. Bertram **Lenox Simpson (Putnam Weale)**, Customs Officer at Tientsin, and a son of Mr. Charles Lenox Simpson, Senior Commissioner of Chinese Customs, was born in 1877. He was educated at Brighton College, and later acquired five languages on the Continent and in China. In 1896 he joined the Chinese Customs service, and after serving in the siege of the Peking Legations in 1900, became Brigade Interpreter with the British Expeditionary Force. Simpson wrote under the name of "Putnam Weale," and amongst his best writings on Far Eastern affairs were "Manchu and Muscovite" and "Indiscreet Letters from Peking" (1907). His later works included "The Fight for the Republic" in China (1918). "The Truth about China and Japan" (1921), and "Why China Sees Red" (1926). He lost his life as the result of injuries inflicted by Chinese at his house in Tientsin.

14. **Karl Bücher**, aged 83, at one time Professor of Political Economy at the University of Leipzig, and a pioneer in the academio study of the functions

and working of the Press, was educated at Bonn and Göttingen Universities. After three years' work on the editorial staff of the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, he lectured at Basle in 1883 on the Press and its influence, and thus laid the foundations of the modern study of the Press and its problems. His activities led, in 1909, to the foundation at Leipzig of an Institute for the Study of the Press. Towards the end of his life, Bücher brought out an edition of his writings entitled "Collected Essays on the Science of the Press."

21. Arthur Hassail, aged 77, an Oxford College teacher of repute, was educated at Uppingham School and Trinity College, Oxford, where he distinguished himself both as a scholar and sportsman. After three years as tutor at Keble College, in 1884, he was elected to a modern history tutorship at Christchurch, which he held till 1924. He was at one time Senior Proctor, was twice a member of the Hebdomadal Council, and was for seven years treasurer of the University Cricket Club. Besides editing a good deal of Stubbs' work, he wrote manuals for the use of secondary schools and also contributed a volume on "The Balance of Power" to "Periods of European History"—a series of which he was editor. He married Mary, daughter of the Rev. W. Colin Clarke-Preston.

— Dame Mary Scharlieb, M.D., aged 85, well-known doctor of medicine, was the daughter of William Candler Bird, manager of Thos. Cook & Sons, St. Paul's Churchyard. As the wife of William Mason Scharlieb, whom she married in 1865, she went to India and became acquainted with the position of women in that country, and in 1871 resolved to study midwifery at the Madras Lying-In Hospital. Ultimately she became a student at the Madras Medical College, obtained her diploma in 1878, and returned to England to study at the Royal Free Hospital, where she graduated with distinction in 1882. After a year's practical experience in Vienna, she returned to Madras and was appointed Lecturer in Midwifery and Gynaecology at the Medical College there. Shortly afterwards she founded the Royal Victoria Hospital for Caste and Goshia women, becoming herself superintendent. In 1887 she returned to England and, settling in London, she started in private practice. In 1888 she was appointed clinical assistant to Mrs. Garrett Anderson at the New Hospital for Women, and Joint Lecturer in Medical Jurisprudence at the Handel Street School of Medicine. In the same year she took her M.D., and in the following year was appointed Surgeon to the New Hospital for Women in Euston Road. In 1897 she became a M.R.C.S., and after the death of her husband in 1901, resigning her post at the New Hospital, she was elected gynaecologist at the Royal Free Hospital. In 1926 she was made a D.B.E., and had conferred upon her the Hon. L.L.D. of Edinburgh University. She wrote several books, including "Welfare of the Expectant Mother," "Straight Talks to Women," "The Psychology of Childhood," and "How to Enlighten Children." Mrs Scharlieb had two sons, of whom one survived her.

22. Mrs. Marjory Kennedy Fraser, aged 73, collector and editor of Hebridean folk-songs, was a daughter of David Kennedy, famous Scottish singer. As a young girl she accompanied her father on his world-tours, and studied singing in Italy and Paris. At the age of 50 she visited the Outer Hebrides and began her life-work as a collector of Hebridean songs, the story of which she related in her "Life of Song." The first volume of "Songs of the Hebrides" appeared in 1909. She wrote the libretto for Bantock's opera, "The Seal Woman," which appeared in 1914. She was created C.B.E. in 1924, and hon. Mus.Doc. of Edinburgh in 1928. She married Mr. A. J. Fraser, a Glasgow mathematician and schoolmaster, who predeceased her.

23. Walter Greaves, aged 84, artist, was the son of a Chelsea boat-builder. He first established his reputation at an exhibition at the Goupil Gallery in 1911. As an assistant in Whistler's studio, he came under the influence of that artist, although his talent was of a type different from Whistler's. His best work (now

in the Tate Gallery) was "Hammersmith Bridge on Boat Race Day," painted in 1862, probably before he knew Whistler. In 1922 a further exhibition of his work was held at the Goupil Gallery, and in the same year, through the efforts of some of his Chelsea friends, he was admitted to the Charterhouse.

26. **Capt. Otto Sverdrup**, aged 75, famous Arctic explorer, was chosen by Nansen to accompany him on his first expedition in 1888-89, when the first crossing of Greenland was achieved. In the great Polar Expedition of 1893-96, he commanded the *Fram* and brought the ship home unscathed, having achieved the highest Northern latitude ever reached by a vessel. In 1898 he headed an expedition in the *Fram*, whose object was a complete coastal survey of Greenland. A further attempt ended in the addition to Norway of three new islands, now known collectively as the Sverdrup Islands. In 1914 he joined the *Eclipse* in a search expedition for missing Russian explorers along the Siberian coast. In 1920-21 he went to the Kara Sea, and later led several salvage expeditions to the Arctic. In 1926 he received an honorary degree when Nansen was installed as Rector of St. Andrews University.

DECEMBER.

7. **Sir Otto John Beit**, art collector and philanthropist, was born in Hamburg in 1865 and educated in Germany. At the age of 23 he entered the service of the firm of Wernher, Beit & Co., London diamond merchants, in which his brother Alfred was partner. In 1890 he was sent out to Kimberley to acquire experience, and eventually became a member of the Johannesburg associate firm, H. Eckstein & Co. Returning home six years later he entered the stock-broking business, L. Hirsch & Co., but on his brother's death in 1906 retired to devote himself philanthropically to medical research and education. The buildings of the University of the Cape of Good Hope are due to his generosity, and after Lord Milner's death he became virtual chairman of the Rhodes Trust. In addition to the Beit Memorial Fellowship, he assisted Medicinal Research by various gifts to hospitals. In 1920 he was made a K.C.M.G., and given a baronetcy four years later. He was a Governor of the British South Africa Company and of the Rhodesia Railways, Ltd. His famous collection of pictures included, amongst other seventeenth-century Dutch Masters, Franz Hals's "Lute Player." In 1897 he married Lilian Carter, niece of Mr. Hamilton Smith, American engineer. His wife survived him with one of his two sons and his two daughters.

12. **Dr. Robert William Rogers**, aged 66, American orientalist, was educated at the University of Pennsylvania, at Johns Hopkins, and at Leipzig. After lecturing at Haverford College, he was appointed Professor of English Bible and Semitic History at Dickinson College in 1890, and three years later of Hebrew and Old Testament Exegesis at Drew Theological Seminary, Madison, N.J. From 1919 he was also Visiting Professor of Ancient Oriental Literature at Princetown University, retiring from both Chairs in 1929. He was a wide traveller and a member of numerous Oriental congresses. His principal writings include "Inscriptions of Sennacherib," "Cuneiform Parallels to the Old Testament," and "History and Literature of the Hebrew People." A sixth edition of his "History of Babylonia and Assyria," first published in 1900, appeared in 1915. He also wrote "Great Characters of the Old Testament," "Old Testament Lessons: A Lectionary" and "The Recovery of the Ancient Orient." His last work was "A History of Ancient Persia." Dr. Rogers married Ida Virginia Ziegler, and had a son and a daughter.

14. **Sir Francis Grant Ogilvie**, aged 72, at one time Director of the National Science Museum, South Kensington, was the son of the Rev. Alexander Ogilvie, and was educated at Aberdeen and Edinburgh Universities. After holding an

Assistant-Professorship of Natural Philosophy at Aberdeen, he taught science at Gordon's College for four years, and in 1886 went to the Heriot-Watt College, Edinburgh, as Principal. In 1900 he became Director of the Edinburgh Museum of Science and Art. Appointed to the Board of Education, he had the superintendence of the Victoria and Albert Museum, and eventually became Director of the Science Museum at South Kensington, and developed the engineering side from an industrial standpoint. He became Governor of the Imperial College of Science and Technology, and was a Commissioner of the 1851 Exhibition. During the war he acted as Assistant Controller of the Trench Warfare Research Department, and later of the Chemical Warfare Department. In 1920 he retired from his directorship, but continuing his interests in Museums he was made President of the Museums Association in 1927-28. From 1920 to 1930 he was Chairman of the Geological Survey Board. He was created C.B. in 1906 and knighted in 1920. In 1886 he married Sarah Gill, and had one son who survived him.

15. Rt. Rev. Mgr. William Francis Barry, D.D., aged 81, scholar, theologian, and novelist, was of old Irish descent, and was educated at Hammersmith Training School and the Gregorian College of Rome. Ordained in 1873, he served until 1877 as Professor of Philosophy and Church History at Olton and then as Professor of Theology at Oscott. From 1883 to 1907 he was at Dorchester and then, having been made Canon of St. Chad's, Birmingham, he was transferred in 1908 to St. Peter's, Leamington, where he remained for twenty years. He was a regular contributor to the *Dublin Review* from 1875, and from 1889 to 1901 he contributed to every number of the *Quarterly Review*. In addition to his activities as a reviewer he may be said to have created the English Catholic novel. He was the author of "The New Antigone" (1887), "The Two Standards," "Arden Massiter," and "The Wizard's Knot." Present in Rome at the time of the Fall of the Temporal Power, he wrote, in retrospect thereon, "The Papal Monarchy" and "The Papacy and Modern Times," as well as furnishing a contribution to the Cambridge Modern History. His most influential writings were in the sphere of philosophical biography, such as his "Newman and Renan." He was created Notary Apostolic by Pope Pius XL in 1923.

18. Ulrich Rauscher, aged 46, German Minister in Warsaw, studied law at Heidelberg, and after a distinguished University career became a professional journalist. He became a regular contributor to the *Frankfurter Zeitung* and also wrote for the *Vvrwarte*. During the war he served first in the War Censorship Office and later at the Front, and after the Revolution in 1918 became Scheide-mann's secretary and later Press Director at the Chancellery. He fell into disrepute over the events of the Kapp Putsch, but in 1920 was sent to Tiflis as German Envoy to the Georgian Republic. Two years later he was appointed Minister at Warsaw, where he strove his uttermost to improve German-Polish relations.

20. Sir Harry Perry Robinson, aged 71, naturalist, the son of the Rev. Julian Robinson, was educated at Westminster School and Christ Church, Oxford. After taking his degree he worked in New York as a journalist, and later joined the mining rush to the North-West as a special correspondent. In 1884 he settled in Chicago to study railways, and three years later founded *The Railway Age* in Minneapolis, which he edited till 1900. In 1895 he wrote a successful first novel, "Men Born Equal," and in the following year took part in McKinley's National Campaign. Some time afterwards he returned to England, where he quickly made a name for himself by a series of brilliant naturalist's articles on mammals, for *The Times*. During the Great War he was *The Times* special correspondent in France. In 1920 he was created K.C.B. and received the Legion of Honour. He published, in 1917, "The Turning Point"—the battle of the Somme. In 1905 he married Florence Ann Tester, who survived him with one son.

22. **Nell Munro**, distinguished Scottish novelist, spent the greater part of his life at Glasgow, and most of his novels have as their background the scenes of his early boyhood at Inverary. His first book, a collection of sketches called "The Lost Pibroch," was published in 1896. A series of historical novels followed; "John Splendid" (1898), "Gilian the Dreamer," "Doom Castle," "The Shoes of Fortune," and "Children of the Tempest." Amongst his modern romantic tales may be mentioned "Daft Days" (1903), "Fancy Farm" (1910), "The New Road" (1914), and "Jaunty Jock" (1918). For many years he was editor of *The Glasgow Evening News*. He was LL.D. of Glasgow University.

23. **Vint Ha Bratianu**, Liberal Leader in Rumania, was born in 1867, the son of Ion C. Bratianu, noted as a politician. Educated in France as an engineer, he became associated with politics as economic adviser when his brother became leader of the Liberal Party. He was Minister of Munitions during the war, and afterwards took the Finance portfolio in his brother's Ministry. In 1927 he succeeded his brother as Prime Minister, and aimed at making his country economically self-sufficient by protective tariffs and support of the National Bank to industry. In 1928 he was forced to give way to the National Peasant Party. He strongly opposed the return of King Carol, and issued a manifesto on its unconstitutional character.

25. **Theodor Noldeke**, born on March 2, 1836, at Harburg, was one of the most distinguished Orientalists of his time. He studied theology and Semitic languages at Gottingen, where in 1861 he himself began to teach. In 1868 he was appointed to Kiel, and four years later to Strasburg where he remained until 1906 and where his best work was done. In the field of Semitic studies, and principally in the history and civilisation of Islam, he occupied a very high place indeed; no less than six hundred books and treatises are said to have come from his pen. Many of his writings have become classics; among them "The History of the Koran," the "Life of Mohammed," and the "History of the Persians and Arabs at the Time of the Sassanides."

27. **Lord Melchett** (Alfred Moritz Mond), aged 62, notable politician and great captain of industry, was the son of Dr. Ludwig Mond, a German Jew, who contributed in no small measure to the development of the chemical industry in this country. Educated at Cheltenham, St. John's College, Cambridge, and the University of Edinburgh, he was called to the Bar in 1894; in the following year he became a director of the family business of Brunner Mond, of which he ultimately became Managing Director. He also held the same position in the Mond Nickel Co. In 1906 he entered Parliament as Liberal member for Chester; four years later his constituency was Swansea West, and this he represented until 1923. From 1916 to 1921 he held office as First Commissioner of Works in Mr. Lloyd George's Cabinet, and his success here led to his appointment as Minister of Health in the Coalition Administration. In 1926 he joined the Conservative Party, but retained the seat (Carmarthen), to which he had been elected as a Liberal, until his elevation to the Peerage in 1928 as first Baron Melchett. Mond was a zealous advocate of rationalisation in industry, and successfully carried out the policy of rationalisation first in calling into being the Amalgamated Anthracite Collieries, Ltd., a coal combine in South Wales; and secondly and more strikingly in Imperial Chemical Industries, Ltd., which was counted among the giant concerns of the country. He was also an advocate of peace in industry, and his negotiations with the General Council of the Trades Union Congress as to industrial reorganisation led the way to the Mond-Turner Conferences. Among his many interests the Zionist cause occupied a foremost place. In 1921 he visited Palestine, where he owned an estate (at Migdol); and when the Jewish Agency was called into existence in August, 1929, he became its Joint Chairman (with Dr. Weizmann). In 1894 he married Violet, daughter of Mr. Henry Goetze; a son and three daughters survived him.

28. Professor Arthur Anthony Macdonell, aged 76, distinguished Sanskrit scholar, was educated at Gottingen University and Corpus Christi College, Oxford. With the brilliant record of gaining the Taylorian Scholarship in German in 1876, the Davis Scholarship in Chinese in 1877, and the Boden Sanskrit Scholarship in 1878, he was appointed Taylorian Teacher in German on taking his degree in 1880, and held the post till 1899. Sanskrit became his life study, and in 1886 he published a Grammar. Two years later he was appointed Deputy Professor of Sanskrit, and in 1899 succeeded to the Boden Professorship. His textbooks on Sanskrit include his " Sanskrit Dictionary " in 1892, " Vedic Grammar for Students " (1916), and " Vedic Reader " (1917). In 1900 he published an outline of Vedic and classical literature. His critical works include " The Sarvanu-Rvamani " (1886) and the " Brihaddevata " (1904). Other of his works are " Vedic Mythology " (1897), " Vedic Grammar " (1910) and, in collaboration with Professor A. B. Keith, the " Vedic Index." A translation of Rigveda formed his final contribution and after two research tours in India he published, in 1927, " India's Past," a restatement of Indian mental development as revealed by Indian literature. In 1890 he married Mary Louise, daughter of Mr. William Lowson. His only son was killed in the Great War. Two daughters survived him.

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