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1933

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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 NATIONAL MINISTRY.

(TOOK OFFICE NOVEMBER 6, 1931.)

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ANNUAL REGISTER

FOR THE YEAR

1933.

PAET I.

ENGLISH HISTOEY.

CHAPTER I.

PREPARATIONS FOR THE WORLD ECONOMIC CONFERENCE.

AT the opening of 1933 the National Government, presided over by Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, after some fourteen months of office, still commanded an overwhelming majority in the House of Commons and enjoyed a large measure of confidence in the country. It had long outlived the accomplishment of the task for which it had originally been called into being—to prevent a collapse of the British currency and maintain financial stability—but in the meantime new emergencies had arisen which in the eyes of most people—and not least of its own members—seemed to afford ample justification for its continued existence. The events of 1932 had brought about a certain shifting of the centre of political interest from internal to external affairs. When 1932 opened the future of the country had seemed to depend upon the successful balancing of the Budget, and both Government and people had directed the whole of their energies towards achieving this end. At the beginning of 1933 the balancing of the Budget was still naturally a matter of importance, but it was no longer the vital issue it had been a year before. So complete had been the rehabilitation of British credit in the interval that even a Budgetary deficit, if kept within reasonable bounds, could now be contemplated without any great apprehension. More pressing now was the problem of the American debt settlement, itself only a preliminary to a general adjustment of world economic conditions. And of almost equal urgency was the task of saving the Disarmament Conference from the failure which seemed to be awaiting it. And while no doubt the country would not deliberately have suspended the system

of party government for the sake of dealing with these problems, yet it was by no means sorry that, as things had turned out, the task should devolve upon a National Government.

A return issued early in the year showed that the value of British exports in 1932 had been 365,137,785/., a decrease of 6.5 per cent, on the previous year, and the value of re-exports 50,193,593l., a decrease of 20.2 per cent. Imports had decreased by 158,119,913/., or 18.3 per cent, as compared with 1931, so that the adverse balance was about 120,000,000/. less than in that year. It was fairly certain, however, that the "invisible" exports had also decreased by a very considerable amount, so that the economic condition of the country was still a matter for grave anxiety. It was therefore with no small gratification that the British public heard at the end of 1932 that the President-elect of the United States had sought an interview with the British Ambassador, Sir Ronald Lindsay, in order to communicate to him his views on economic problems, this step being regarded as an auspicious opening to future negotiations between the two countries.

It had been intended that Sir R. Lindsay should visit England almost immediately afterwards, in order to confer with the British Government, but he actually remained in America a month longer, during which he had several further conversations with Mr. Roosevelt, satisfactory enough as far as they went. In the meanwhile, President Hoover took a step which seemed to be fraught with great possibilities. On January 20 he issued an invitation to the British Government to send a representative or representatives to Washington early in March to discuss war debts and the world economic position with his successor, in preparation for the World Economic Conference. On January 25 the British Government accepted the invitation, at the same time pointing out that decisions on questions which would form the agenda of the World Economic Conference could not be reached before discussions had taken place at the conference between all the States represented there.

That the views of the British Government on these subjects had not changed was shown by a speech delivered by Mr. Chamberlain at Leeds on January 24. Speaking of the effect of resuming war debt payments, he said that effective means of payment could only be found by increasing sales of foreign goods to America or by diminishing purchases from America. Increased sales could be effected by a drastic reduction of the American tariff; decreased purchases either by depreciating the currency or by increasing the tariff against America. (This remark, he was careful to point out, was meant not as a threat to America, but as a danger signal.) Britain still believed that total cancellation of war debts and reparations was the best thing that could happen to the world as a whole. If, however,

America was not yet prepared to go so far, they would gladly discuss with her the lines on which an agreement could be reached, bearing in mind two things which seemed to them essential—first, that the settlement to be reached must be a final one ; and secondly, that it must be one which would not involve the resumption of the claim on Germany for reparations, which it was the object of the Lausanne settlement to end ; for the Lausanne settlement was the one substantial advance during the last few years in the troubled history of Europe.

Sir Ronald Lindsay arrived in England on February 6, and during the next few days was in frequent consultation with the Debts Committee of the Cabinet, consisting of Mr. MacDonald, Mr. Baldwin, Sir J. Simon, Mr. Chamberlain, and Mr. Runciman. He was able to explain to them the circumstances which had led up to President Hoover's invitation, and so assist them to define their attitude. It was decided that Sir Ronald should lay the Government's views before Mr. Roosevelt, but that no public statement should be made of them for the present. He left for America on February 14, accompanied by Mr. T. K. Bewley, an Assistant Secretary in the Treasury, who went to take up a permanent position as Financial Adviser to His Majesty's Ambassador in the United States.

To what an extent the Government was pinning its hopes on the World Economic Conference was shown by a speech made by Mr. Chamberlain at Birmingham on February 26, in connexion with the opening of the British Industries Fair. Having pointed to the exchange controls imposed by many foreign countries as perhaps the worst impediment to British export trade, worse even than excessive tariffs and importation quotas, he said that one of the great problems of the future was to get some international currency measure which would take the place of the gold standard. It was true that sterling to-day was more stable than gold as a measure of value, and that from time to time additions took place in the number of countries which linked their currencies to sterling. None the less this problem of a new international standard could not be solved by one country acting alone, and therefore Great Britain had for some time been urging the calling together of a World Conference to deal with this and similar problems. As for returning to the gold standard, the British Government had no idea of doing that until it was satisfied that the gold standard would work, and before this could happen a good many things were necessary, such as a rise in wholesale prices and the settlement of the vexed question of inter-Governmental obligations ; and this also was a matter for international conversations.

The National Wages Board for the Railways which towards the end of the previous year had considered the demand put forward by the railway companies for deductions in the men's

wages (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1932, p. 118), concluded their labours on January 13. No less than six reports were issued, which showed the members of the Board to be hopelessly divided. Broadly speaking, the representatives of the companies supported their claims in full, and those of the men rejected them totally. The Chairman, Sir H. Morris, took up a middle position. He said he was satisfied that the grave difficulties with which the railway companies were faced justified a departure from the standards fixed by the National Agreements, but at the same time he had no doubt that those standards were in themselves fair, and therefore a reasonable limitation should be placed on the amount of any deductions. Instead, therefore, of the 10 per cent. deduction claimed by the companies he recommended that in the case of wage-earners there should be a deduction of $4\frac{1}{6}$ per cent. and a further deduction of $4\frac{1}{6}$ per cent. for rates of pay over 50s. a week, provided always that a minimum wage of 40s. should be maintained ; and that in the case of salaried workers there should be a deduction of $4\frac{1}{6}$ per cent. with a further deduction of $4\frac{1}{6}$ per cent. for all salaries over 125/.

The companies declared themselves willing to accept the Chairman's recommendations, which they calculated would involve a reduction of about 800,000Z. a year in wages. When, however, they inquired whether the men were also willing to do so, they received an unequivocal refusal from the railway trade unions. Fearing to provoke a strike the companies did not take any further action for the time being, and wages remained at their existing level.

In the course of the vacation, a final decision was reached with regard to the future of Waterloo Bridge (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1932, p. 55). The Government itself favoured the scheme adopted by the London County Council, which was to pull down the existing bridge and erect a new one in its place. In face, however, of the adverse vote of Parliament, it did not dare to promise any financial support for such an undertaking. On the other hand, it was obvious that the bridge could no longer be left as it was, for the sake both of road traffic and of navigation. There seemed, therefore, to be no alternative save to adopt a plan submitted by a firm of engineers for reconditioning the existing bridge at a cost of about 685,000/., towards which the Government would be willing to make a grant of 60 per cent. This offer was considered at a meeting of the London County Council on February 7, and after some discussion was reluctantly accepted.

At the beginning of the year the Labour Party expressed great indignation over the imprisonment of the veteran Labour leader Tom Mann and a fellow-worker of his, not for any offence they had committed but because they had refused to enter into a recognisance to keep the peace. They were declared to be the

victims of political persecution, and strenuous efforts were made to secure their release, Mr. Lansbury even going to the trouble of a special journey to Lossiemouth in order to interview the Prime Minister and plead on their behalf. The matter was finally set at rest by a letter which the Home Secretary addressed to Mr. Lansbury on January 9. From this it appeared that the two prisoners were officials of the National Unemployed Workers' Movement, the Communist body which had organised the "hunger march" in the previous October (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1932, p. 91), and two other officials of which had been sentenced to imprisonment for fomenting disorder on that occasion. Early in December the N.U.W.M. proclaimed its intention of organising a mass demonstration on December 19, in connexion with the presenting of a petition to Parliament. To prevent a repetition of disorder the Government brought the two accused to Court, and the Chief Magistrate, after hearing the evidence, was satisfied that there was a reasonable apprehension that a breach of the peace was likely to ensue, and called upon them to give sureties to keep the peace or in default to go to prison for two months. Had they given the sureties they would have been at liberty to attend the demonstration and speak there. Thus there was no question of infringing the right of freedom of speech or the right of lawful public meeting. The Government had merely taken the necessary steps for the maintenance of law and order, and there was therefore no ground for interfering with the decision of the Court.

On January 27 the British Government submitted to the Disarmament Conference at Geneva an outline of a "programme of work" which it suggested should be taken up by the conference as soon as the discussion of the French plan had been completed in the General Commission. The idea of the "outline" was to enable the conference to piece together all the material at its disposal, and to embody in one convention its resolutions on a large number of subjects connected with disarmament. These included the proposed affirmation to be made by European States that they would on no account resort to force to resolve their differences, the revision of Part V. of the Treaty of Versailles, dealing with the disarming of Germany, the principle of qualitative equality, and so forth.

Shortly afterwards (February 3), in the course of the discussion at Geneva of the French plan, Mr. Eden, the Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, defined with some precision the British attitude towards the French demand for new securities. He asked whether in the search for new safeguards and new securities there was not a danger lest the significance of the existing guarantees might be overlooked. In the eyes of the British Government at any rate those guarantees were real and substantial; she had always held and still held that the Treaty of Locarno

marked the close of the immediate post-war chapter in Europe and opened a new one, yet unfinished. The security given by Locarno was a real one, and Great Britain believed that by her signature she had contributed generously to European security. In signing that treaty, they had sought to set an example which they hoped might be followed of mutual agreements between groups of nations for meeting those regional perils which immediately beset them. But in British membership of the League and in signing the Locarno Treaty the British Government conceived that they had gone as far as they could go in assuming definite commitments in Europe. He could give no encouragement, therefore, to the idea that it would be possible for Great Britain to modify this attitude or to undertake new obligations and commitments, to which the British nation was unalterably opposed.

On February 3 the representatives of the British and Persian Governments at Geneva succeeded in coming to a temporary arrangement, on terms suggested by M. Benesh, with regard to the dispute between the two countries over the Persian Government's cancellation of the concession to the Anglo-Persian Oil Company (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1932, p. 118). It was agreed that the British and Persian Governments, while reserving their respective points of view, should suspend all proceedings before the Council until May, with the option of prolonging the suspension, and that the company should immediately open negotiations with the Persian Government for a new concession. Meanwhile, the company was to carry on operations as before.

Great public interest had been aroused towards the end of 1932 by a judicial decision that totalisator clubs and totalisators on greyhound courses were illegal. As a social question of some importance seemed to be involved, the Government asked the Royal Commission on Betting which had been appointed in the previous June to make an interim report on the subject as soon as possible. The Commission accordingly on January 10 declared that in its opinion totalisator betting at these places was a grave social menace and should be brought to an end as soon as possible. The Government accepted this view, and immediately took steps to enforce the existing law against tote club betting. It also declared its intention of introducing fresh legislation if this should not prove sufficient. With regard to totalisators on greyhound racing courses, although it regarded these also as illegal, since they were not the only facilities for gambling at such places, it resolved to await the final report of the Commission before deciding what measures to adopt.

On February 6, just before Parliament reassembled, a mass demonstration of huge proportions, organised by the Trade Union Congress, the Labour Party, and the Co-operative Union, was held in Hyde Park to protest against the Government's

unemployment policy. Speeches were delivered by Mr. Lansbury and a number of other Labour leaders. A resolution was earned calling for a reversal of the policy of "economy," protesting against the action of the Government in reducing wages and salaries in the public service, and demanding the abolition of the means test. Elaborate precautions had been taken by the authorities to prevent disorder, but the crowd showed no unruly disposition, although a number of Communist bodies had foisted themselves into the procession, against the will of the organisers.

The approach of the new session found the Liberal Parliamentary Party in a state of considerable perturbation. Addressing his Parliamentary following on February 6, the day before Parliament reassembled, Sir Herbert Samuel criticised severely the activities of the Government, especially in the matter of tariffs, but would not go so far as to assert that Parliamentary co-operation was no longer possible. The next day the Parliamentary Liberal Party met to consider its position. There was general agreement that sooner or later it would have to go into opposition, but only one member—Major Nathan—took the decisive step of crossing the floor of the House at once; the rest were content for the present to adopt a "cross-bench" attitude.

The first business of the House of Commons when it resumed its sittings on February 7 was to consider a resolution making the necessary financial provision for the assistance promised to private building societies by the new Housing Bill (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1932, p. 115). In the course of his speech the Minister of Health referred with approval to an offer recently made by building societies to finance repairs and decorations in order to stimulate employment—a step for which they had also received a special letter of thanks from the Prime Minister. He also warned local authorities that they were not to hope that an indirect subsidy would be substituted for the direct subsidy now abolished. Apart from the existing subsidy for slum clearance the only one not ruled out was some subsidy for reconditioning.

Great hostility was shown in Parliament to a Bill brought forward on the same day (February 7) to guarantee a loan to Austria. The chief ground of complaint was that the loan was required to save the Bank of England from loss on a loan which it had made to Austria in 1931, and members of all parties objected to the British taxpayer's money being utilised for such a purpose. However, as the Financial Resolution on which the Bill was based had been passed in December (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1932, p. 117), and the Government had since ratified the agreement, the protests were rather belated, nor were they reinforced by an adverse vote. In the debate on the third reading, criticism was even more severe, but only a comparatively small minority (51-227) went so far as to divide against the Bill

On February 8 debates took place both in the Upper and the Lower House on the subject of native rights in the colony of Kenya. At the end of 1931 gold had been discovered in the native reserves of that territory, and in 1932 the Colonial Administration had passed an Ordinance which made it possible for native land to be alienated for the purpose of developing gold mines without other land being provided for the dispossessed owners. A cry was immediately raised in England that this measure was a breach of the Ordinance of 1930 for the protection of native rights, and that it was calculated to weaken native confidence in British administration. A number of speakers now expressed this view in both Houses of Parliament, and called upon the Government to stay the hand of the authorities in Kenya until further inquiries had been made. The Government in reply maintained that the attacks on the Kenya Administration were founded on a complete misconception of the facts ; that the area appropriated was negligible, as was also the number of natives dispossessed ; that the development of the gold mines would be of the utmost value to the natives also ; that the Administration had acted in the only way open to it, and that the best relations existed between the native and the white population. In the House of Commons, a motion endorsing the actions of the Administration was carried by 208 votes to 57.

The agitation for preventing the residence at No. 4 Carlton Gardens from being turned into offices (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1932, p. 116), though it failed of its immediate object, was not without fruit. On February 8 a motion was brought forward in the House of Commons urging the Government to take immediate steps to reorganise the administration of Crown lands, and to secure that in any future decision, educated and responsible opinion should be fully taken into consideration. After some scathing remarks had been passed by various speakers—all Ministerialists—on the activities of the Crown Lands Commissioners, the Minister of Agriculture, as *ex officio* one of them, expressed contrition for what had been done and announced that the Government intended to accept the motion. They had, he said, decided that in future the Minister should be solely responsible for decisions on policy, and should be answerable to Parliament for such decisions. They also intended that in future, in questions involving seesthetic and other important considerations, such as town planning, independent advisory opinion should be obtained, and a small Committee would be appointed by the Prime Minister to advise the Minister on such questions when they arose, while the Royal Fine Arts Commission would still be consulted on occasion, as before.

The session was naturally not allowed to proceed very far before the attention of Parliament was directed to the subject of unemployment, which still showed no signs of abating. By

this time most members—even Ministerialists—had come round to the idea that the Government had carried the policy of economy in financing relief works somewhat too far, and some statements made by the Prime Minister about this time produced a general impression that the problem was not receiving the attention that it required. On February 15 a private member brought forward a motion urging the Government to assist local authorities to undertake works of a revenue-producing nature. The Minister of Health accepted the motion, and took occasion to remove what he alleged to be a widespread misconception—amounting at times to a positive misrepresentation—that there was a definite blockade, based on Government policy, carried out by him against the undertaking of fresh expenditure by local authorities. That this was not so was proved by the fact that in the last sixteen months the actual amount applied for by local authorities for loans was 32,500,000Z., and of this only 2,500,000Z., or something less than 7 per cent. had been refused. It was possible that owing to the belief in the alleged blockade, local authorities did not send in applications. He therefore drew attention to the fact that in the circular of September, 1931, which still controlled Government policy, local authorities had been warned not to embark on a wholesale and ill-considered course of cutting down expenditure, whatever might be its character. Against remunerative works which would support themselves and pay there was not any sort of bar—on the contrary, it was the policy of the Government to support such works and recommend them to local authorities.

On the next day (February 16) Mr. Lansbury in the House of Commons vehemently arraigned the Government for its indifference to the sufferings of the unemployed, and called upon it to make a better use of the national resources for increasing the total production of wealth in the country. Mr. Chamberlain, in reply, made a comprehensive statement on the Government's unemployment policy. He vigorously maintained that the Government, having learnt from past experience, had struck the right path and was tackling the problem in the best manner possible. What the Opposition advocated, he said, was a policy of relief works, of anticipating needs which normally would not arise before a few years had passed. There was something to be said for this so long as they could cling to the idea that unemployment was a passing phase and that all they had to do was to provide some temporary employment until normal times returned. But it was impossible to believe that the maladjustments which had brought about the present world-wide unemployment were likely to be corrected so rapidly and completely that they could look forward with any confidence to the reduction of unemployment to comparatively small figures within the next ten years. It was the deliberate opinion of the Government

that the policy of providing public works for the purpose of relieving unemployment had been tried and had failed, and that they must have done with it once and for all. Not of course that there were not cases where the Government might not stimulate industry or help forward schemes which would give them an economic return ; but each must be tried on its merits. The Government's constructive policy had other directions. Its first aim was to restore confidence, and in this it had already been largely successful. Its next object was to raise wholesale prices, and promote trade recovery generally, but in this, of course, it could not go very far without the co-operation of other countries. It had, however, contributed to one of the essential precedents of trade recovery in the shape of cheap easy credit and low rates of interest. This policy, he held, was already producing results which justified the Government in saying that it was the right policy. If it had not brought about a reduction in the number of the unemployed, it had prevented it from increasing to the same extent as in other countries. He thought therefore that the best thing was for them to keep on " pegging away " on the lines he had indicated, and to possess their souls in patience until better times returned.

Mr. Chamberlain's speech produced a chilling effect on the House, and met with a correspondingly chilly reception. Mr. Churchill expressed the feelings alike of the Ministerialists and of the Opposition in a speech in which he bitterly upbraided both Mr. Chamberlain and the Prime Minister for their self-complacency and lack of sympathy with the unemployed. However, in the division party loyalty asserted itself, and the Labour vote of censure was negatived by 414 votes to 49.

As the time approached for the final statement of the Government's plans in regard to India and for the setting up of the Joint Committee which was to draft a new Constitution for India, increased restiveness manifested itself in that section of the Conservative Party which held that the Government was disposed to go much too far in meeting the demands of the Indian Nationalists. Mr. Churchill once more raised the alarm in a speech which he delivered on February 1, while on February 22 Sir H. Page Croft brought forward a motion in the House of Commons affirming that for the present Indian constitutional reform should not go beyond the grant of self-government to the Provinces, and until this had proved effective the bestowal of central self-government should be left in abeyance. This attempt to tie the hands of the Government was opposed by another Unionist, Lord Eustace Percy, who insisted that the Joint Select Committee when it was set up should be absolutely unfettered and unbound, and moved an amendment to that effect. The Secretary of State for India reminded the House that eighteen months before it had encouraged the Government by an over-

whelming vote to pursue a certain course (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1931, p. 109). Since then there had been a marked change for the better in the position in India itself. What reason then could the House have for altering its general attitude towards Indian reform now ? Sir H. Croft's motion was really no alternative to the Government programme, and its certain effect would be to drive every political section in India into non-co-operation. The Minister at the same time informed the House that before it proceeded to the election of the Joint Select Committee it would have in its hands a White Paper containing the proposals of the Government in great detail, and the Committee would be master of its own procedure and would not be restricted from making any proposal that it desired. The motion was eventually defeated by 297 votes to 42, and the amendment was agreed to without a division.

On the same day (February 22) the House of Commons also discussed the activities of the British Broadcasting Company, with special reference to the expression of political opinion over the wireless. In the "review of the year" which the company, according to its custom, had given on New Year's Eve, there had been a somewhat tactless reference to Poland to which strong exception had been taken in that country, and which was afterwards withdrawn. This incident had led to a demand in some quarters that the B.B.C. should be subjected to some sort of Parliamentary or Ministerial control, at any rate in regard to its controversial broadcasts, and Sir S. Cripps, voicing the opinion of the Labour Party, now moved that a Select Committee should be appointed to review the work of the Corporation during recent years and to make recommendations. The debate elicited numerous tributes to the work of the B.B.C., coupled with certain criticisms of which the Post-Master General, as the Minister responsible, took due note. British broadcasting was generally acclaimed to be far superior to that of any other country ; and, outside of a certain section of the Labour Party, opinion was unanimous that, while mistakes had been made, there was no reason to think that increased control from without would help to obviate them in the future. The Labour motion was ultimately negatived by 203 votes to 27.

When the League of Nations in February declared Japan to be the aggressor in the military operations in Manchuria, the British Government immediately endeavoured to ascertain whether it would be possible to obtain international agreement for preventing the export of arms to her. After sounding a number of Governments, it came to the conclusion that such agreement was unattainable. It therefore resolved to take independent action, and to place an embargo upon the export of arms from England to both combatants, at any rate so long as the export was not forbidden to other countries. As no arms

could be exported from England without a licence, there was no difficulty in putting this resolve into execution. The decision was communicated to the House of Commons on February 27 by Sir John Simon, who admitted that it could have very little practical effect, but maintained that its moral effect might be very important. The decision of the Government was on the whole favourably received by the House. The one or two speakers in the debate who sided with Japan did not disapprove of it, and even the Labour Party, whose sympathies were strongly with China, while holding that it would have been more logical to withhold the supply of arms from the aggressor only, recognised the difficult position of the Government and welcomed its action as a fine gesture, albeit somewhat belated.

British opinion on this matter proved to be strangely at variance with that of Geneva. There the action of the British Government was strongly censured as not being in conformity with the decision of the League that Japan was the aggressor. It soon became clear that no other country was likely to follow Britain's example in placing an embargo on the export of arms to either country. Accordingly the Cabinet decided to withdraw the embargo as from March 13, on which day Mr. Baldwin made an announcement in the House of Commons to that effect. He added that the Government intended to pursue vigorously the conversations begun, with the object of arriving at an agreement which would in future secure uniformity of action in this matter.

At Geneva on February 20, Lord Londonderry, the Secretary of State for Air, made a statement on British policy in regard to air disarmament. The United Kingdom Government, he said, were prepared to subscribe to universal acceptance of the abolition of naval and military aircraft, and of air bombing, except for police purposes, provided only that there could be devised an effective scheme for the international control of civil aviation. Any such scheme would have to satisfy at least two conditions—one, that it must effectively prevent any possibility of the resources of civil aviation being used for military purposes in the event of an outbreak of hostilities, and the other that it must not prevent or hamper the fullest development of aviation in every country for civil and commercial purposes, nor must it restrict freedom in the realm of experiment and research.

The Estimates for Civil and Revenue Department expenditure in the coming year, published on February 24, reached a total of 391,178,9842. This was nominally 10,939,2211. less than the corresponding Estimate in the previous year, but the figure was deceptive, since the present Estimate included transitional benefit only till the end of June, when the existing Act regulating that branch of expenditure was due to expire. On a conservative estimate, at least 20,000,000/. more would be required for that

purpose during the rest of the year, so that in reality civil expenditure was expected to be considerably more than the Estimate for the previous year. In that year also, however, actual expenditure had exceeded the Estimate by about 20,000,000/., so that it was still possible to say that a reduction in expenditure was anticipated. Among the Estimates which showed an increase were Widows' Pensions (1,000,000/.); Old Age Pensions (597,000Z.) ; Grants for Employment Schemes (500,000Z.); and Beet Sugar Subsidies (500,000/.). The Estimates showing decreases included those of the Ministry of Pensions (2,043,000/.) and the Ministry of Education (953,000/.).

The Estimates for the fighting services published shortly afterwards also showed increases in all three arms. The Army Estimate was for 37,950,000?., an increase of 1,462,000/.; the Navy Estimate was for 53,570,000/., an increase of 3,093,000/.; and the Air Estimate was for 17,426,000/., an increase of 26,000/.. The total estimated expenditure for the year, including 21,000,000/., which it was anticipated would have to be added after June for transitional benefit, was 461,685,000/., as against the original estimate of 447,203,000/.. for the preceding year.

The announcement that expenditure in the forthcoming year was likely to be little if at all less than in the present one came as a shock to many Conservatives who had for long made economy their watchword. Nevertheless, they thought the time opportune for calling upon the Government to lighten the burden of taxation under which their class in particular was groaning. The demand was formulated in a motion brought forward in the House of Commons on March 1 by a private member, expressing anxiety at the high level of taxation and diminishing revenues, and describing the burden placed on industry as "intolerable." The mover appealed to the Government to disregard what had hitherto been regarded as financial orthodoxy, to recognise that the limits of taxation had been reached and passed, and boldly to take the risk of lightening the burden that was stifling industry. To reduce expenditure he suggested that the Sinking Fund might be waived till better days. The motion was opposed by the Labour Party, which refused to believe that the welfare of the working classes would be promoted by reducing direct taxation. The reply for the Government was made by Mr. Baldwin, who said that the Government accepted the motion, though he did not pledge it to adopt any of the specific proposals made by the mover. The Labour amendment was rejected by 277 votes to 46, and the motion was carried without a division.

The financial policy of the Government was again criticised by its own supporters from another angle on March 8, when a private member brought forward a motion asking for a positive policy to raise wholesale prices, and a number of speakers demanded something more from the Government than merely

waiting for the World Conference. Mr. Chamberlain, like Mr. Baldwin, was unable to see eye to eye with his more impatient followers. While he made it quite clear that there would be no precipitate return to the gold standard, he yet scouted all idea of inflation, as he was doubtful whether it was possible to raise sterling prices by monetary action alone. Nor did he believe that any artificial stimulus, such as subsidising exports, could restore the volume of international trade. As for stimulating enterprise at home, while this was the policy of the Government, too much reliance should not be placed on it, as the number of schemes which could be so financed was limited. Hard as the saying was, he did not believe that England could be prosperous alone in a depressed world, and therefore he came back once more to pinning his hopes on the World Conference.

On the Report stage of the London Passenger Transport Bill (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1932, p. 114) on March 13, the House of Commons agreed to transfer to the proposed Transport Board the powers which the London County Council possessed but had not used for many years of running passenger steamers on the Thames. The third reading was carried on March 14 by 232 votes to 36, the minority consisting of a number of Unionist members who had opposed the Bill in all its stages. The Labour Party, though it looked upon the Bill in its final form as emasculated, still considered it a step in the right direction. In the House of Lords the Bill was vigorously defended by Lord Ashfield, the Chairman of the Underground Group, and met with no serious opposition. Immediately after the passing of the Bill in the House of Commons, Mr. Pybus, the Minister of Transport, resigned, in order to return to his business pursuits. He was succeeded by Major Oliver Stanley, hitherto Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for Home Affairs, who was in turn succeeded by Mr. Douglas Hacking.

In the Committee stage of the Housing Bill, which abolished the general subsidy to housing except in regard to slum clearance, the Labour Party sought to secure the retention of the subsidy for rural housing, but the Minister pointed out that the subsidy did not enable houses to be built cheap enough for the rural labourer, and the proposal was rejected. The third reading was passed on March 6 by 233 votes to 66. At the same time a Departmental Committee was appointed to consider the reconditioning of slums, and the provision of new working-class houses through the agency of public utility bodies or similar bodies. The Labour Party was invited to co-operate in the work of the Committee but refused.

In the memoranda attached to the various Service Estimates and in the speeches of the Ministers introducing them, stress was laid on the fact that the increases in expenditure did not denote any tendency towards a more militaristic policy. In

the Estimate for the Air Force in fact the increase itself was only apparent, as expenditure was included, on account of British commitments in Iraq, which had formerly appeared in the vote for the Colonial and Middle Eastern Services. But for this there would have actually been a decrease of 340,000Z. Increased expenditure on the Army, it was pointed out, was necessary in order to restore the efficiency which had been sacrificed in the previous year on account of the financial emergency. A large part of the increase—900,000Z.—was due to a decision to restore the Territorial camps without which the popularity of that organisation could not be maintained. Of the increase in the Navy Estimates, 2,500,000/. was due to the impossibility of postponing the 1932 programme as the 1931 programme had been postponed, and the rest to the unavoidable increase in non-effective charges and to a decline in the appropriations in aid. In reference to the Air Estimates, it was explained that no new squadrons were to be formed in the coming year, so that the Home Defence Force would still be ten squadrons behind the fifty-two to which it had been decided to raise it as far back as 1923. This suspension was described by the Minister for Air in his memorandum as "a further earnest of the wholehearted desire of His Majesty's Government to promote disarmament and to bring about a reduction in the world's air forces on an equitable basis." In the course of the debate on the Air Estimate, Mr. Churchill strongly criticised Mr. Baldwin's alarmist speech on the air menace which had made such an impression in the previous session (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1932, p. 101), complaining that it had caused alarm by its tone of helplessness and hopelessness without giving any guidance. He also described the Government's proposals at Geneva for reducing the air strength of the nations as unrealities in face of the present temper of Europe, and was critical of mutual disarmament proposals which might involve Britain in European perils.

At the beginning of March Mr. Eden, the British delegate at the Disarmament Conference, brought home a most disquieting report on the position of the conference, which he described as critical. The activities of the Nazis in Germany at this time seemed likely to deal a fresh and final blow to its prospects of ever achieving any useful result. Realising the grave danger to the peace and stability of Europe which would arise from a collapse of the conference, the Government determined to make a last desperate effort to save it from complete failure. At a Cabinet meeting on March 3 it was decided that the Prime Minister and the Foreign Secretary should go to Geneva as soon as possible to try the effect of their personal efforts. Further prolonged Cabinet meetings were held on March 6 and 7 at which questions of policy were considered.

Mr. MacDonald and Sir John Simon left London on March 9

for Geneva. According to the usual custom they stopped overnight at Paris, and on the next morning had conversations with M. Daladier and other French Ministers, through which they made themselves acquainted with the French views on the situation at Geneva.

Arrived in Geneva, the British Ministers lost no time in consulting the leading delegates, after which they spent some days in formulating their own plan for disarmament. The result of their efforts was a draft convention which was laid before the conference on March 16. It was introduced by Mr. MacDonald in a long and impassioned speech in which he explained the motives which had led the British Government to take action in this way. It was time, he said, for the conference to enter the last phase, for the fabric of civilisation could almost be heard creaking about their ears. The compartmental method of surveying the possibilities of disarmament had yielded the maximum of results of which it was capable, and it was now necessary for some one to produce a complete scheme. In view of recent events which had disturbed confidence, it had been suggested that the conference should adjourn for a period. But the clouds would not pass away until an atmosphere was created in which they could not exist. An adjournment pure and simple would be the most heart-breaking confession of failure. The British delegation therefore offered a business document covering the whole field of disarmament which was less a British Government proposal than a service to the conference and disarmament.

The most novel and striking feature in the proposed convention, apart from its comprehensiveness, was the fact that for the first time definite figures were mentioned and not merely ratios and proportions. A schedule was drawn up in which France was assigned 200,000 troops for home service and 400,000 for overseas, Germany 200,000 for home and the same for overseas, and so on for all the countries of the Continent of Europe. Other important features of the convention were that France and Italy should be required to ratify the London Naval Treaty, and that bombing from the air should be abolished.

Having thus given a new lease of life to the conference, Mr. MacDonald immediately carried his efforts for peace and disarmament into a new field. On March 17, in response to an invitation received a few days before, he left Geneva with Sir John Simon for Rome, in order to discuss with Signor Mussolini the possibilities of closer co-operation between the great European Powers. In a couple of interviews on March 18 and 19, the head of the Italian Government laid before them a plan for a kind of Four Power Pact, embracing Great Britain, France, Italy, and Germany, one of the purposes of which would be to revise the Peace Treaties. Mr. MacDonald found in Signor Mussolini's ideas a wonderful affinity to his own, and was able to promise him

his close collaboration. Before leaving Rome, he **informed Press** correspondents that no hard-and-fast agreement **had** been reached, and that the whole idea of the conversations had been only to open up the possibility of a complete agreement between all the nations concerned. Mr. MacDonald and Sir John Simon were again in Paris on March 21, where they had a prolonged exchange of views with the French Ministers, and on the next morning they returned to London.

The official communications regarding Mr. MacDonald's interviews with Signor Mussolini had been couched in terms which left a good deal of mystery clinging to the proceedings, and various rumours, some of a startling character, were current as to the decisions arrived at. The public was puzzled what to make of Mr. MacDonald's spectacular dash to Rome ; it had no means of judging whether he had really furthered the cause of peace or merely embroiled Britain in European quarrels. Hence a statement from him was eagerly expected.

Mr. MacDonald did not keep the country in suspense, and on March 24 he gave a long account to the House of Commons of his visits both to Geneva and to Rome. With regard to Geneva, he said that at first he had been very doubtful whether it was necessary or desirable to produce figures in the draft convention, but further consideration had convinced him that until figures were produced there would be no real progress, because this was just what every nation wanted to avoid, though delegate after delegate begged him to have the courage to do it for them. The actual figures, he remarked, were the work of two or three British officials who had had very great experience of the conference. One object of these figures was to translate into practical proposals the pledge of equality of status given to Germany. Mr. MacDonald admitted that recent events in Germany had enormously increased the risk attaching to this endeavour: nevertheless, it was essential that only such obligations should be imposed on Germany as she could accept voluntarily and as were consistent with her honour.

In speaking of his visit to Rome, Mr. MacDonald expressed himself in a tortuous manner which made it very difficult for his hearers to gather what he had actually achieved. Some points, however, emerged clearly enough. On arriving in Rome he had been handed a document containing Signor Mussolini's thoughts on effective collaboration between the **four** Western Powers. Briefly, the plan was for **a** Pact to last ten years **and** to be concluded within the framework of the League of Nations. For this purpose they would have recourse to **Article 19** of the Covenant in **regard** to treaties, which they **felt was not meant to lie dormant**. Hence while the plan would have as its general purpose peace, its **big and almost only detail** would be revision of treaties. They **were not asked to approve or disapprove the**

plan, but only to say whether they were ready to study the matter further. Mr. MacDonald went on to emphasise the fact that in his view the smaller States had a right to be consulted wherever their special interests were concerned, and that this would be done. He regarded the Italian plan as a beginning which it was incumbent upon the other Powers concerned to carry forward to an effective work for peace ; otherwise, great would be their responsibility.

The Prime Minister's speech, in spite of its somewhat bewildering effect, was on the whole favourably commented upon by subsequent speakers. The one conspicuous exception was Mr. Churchill, who took the opportunity to propound once more his favourite theories that disarmament conferences did more harm than good, and that French military preponderance was the great safeguard of peace in Europe—all the more so after the recent events in Germany. He charged the Prime Minister with having, through his interventions in foreign affairs during the past four years, brought Great Britain nearer to war, and he scornfully bade him devote his attention to the urgent domestic tasks which awaited him and to leave the conduct of foreign affairs to be transacted by competent Ambassadors through the normal diplomatic channels.

Mr. Churchill's attack on the Prime Minister was resented by a number of speakers, and was effectively answered by Mr. Eden, who took up the cudgels on behalf of his chief with much spirit. He declared the charge brought by Mr. Churchill against the Prime Minister of being responsible for the deterioration in international relations during the past four years to be a mischievous absurdity, all the more to be regretted because it might receive abroad a measure of authority which the House did not give it. The pre-war method of conducting international affairs was not particularly successful; it had led to the experience of 1914, which they did not want to repeat. To avoid such a repetition it was surely worth giving the new method a trial. Nobody thought that it was going to achieve successful results at once, but any gospel was better than a gospel of despair. Mr. Churchill himself admitted that it was essential to bring France and Germany closer together, and for this end what better step could the Prime Minister have taken than his journey to Rome 1 If they could secure the co-operation of Italy in that work, they would have taken a great step forward. Mr. Eden's championship of his chief was warmly applauded by the House, though his defence of the Pact still left it somewhat sceptical.

In fulfilment of its promises to come to the help of agriculture, the Government drafted a new Agricultural Bill the text of which was issued on March 7. This measure represented the boldest step which the Government had yet taken for dealing with the problem of agriculture. Its chief provision was to give the

Government power to regulate quantities of agricultural imports in response to an organised demand from agricultural industries at home. Under it in fact the Government would be able to extend to other agricultural products at its own discretion the treatment which it was already applying to bacon and chilled meat on the basis of voluntary agreement with the producing countries. The Minister of Agriculture, in introducing the second reading of the Bill, described its proposals as "drastic, far-reaching, and novel," but he maintained that they were not more so than the occasion demanded. Conservative agricultural members strongly supported the Bill, but Labour and Liberal speakers, while welcoming it as an attempt to assist agriculture, criticised the absence from it of safeguards against an undue rise of prices. After being debated for two days, the Bill obtained a second reading by 314 votes to 62 (March 20).

On March 15 a Liberal member brought forward a motion in the House of Commons urging the Government to work at the forthcoming World Economic Conference for the all-round reduction of tariffs and to take the initiative in the formation of a group of low-tariff countries. Mr. Runciman, in stating the Government's policy, said that as far as they were concerned the conference could not be held too soon, but they had to wait for others who were perhaps not so ready. Britain's freedom of action in dealing with tariffs would, of course, be hampered to some extent by the most-favoured-nation clauses which were found in forty-one out of forty-two of their economic treaties. This clause, however, carried with it great advantages, especially to a country with such world-wide interests as England, and therefore its removal should not be lightly advocated. Nor would it, in fact, hamper a reduction of tariffs, provided that there was a general movement in that direction, but he was afraid that the Continent of Europe was not yet ready for such an arrangement. He mentioned that last year at Lausanne he had been asked by the Belgian Minister whether Britain was prepared to enter into arrangements similar to that made by Holland and Belgium for progressive reductions of their tariffs in each other's favour, and he had pointed out in reply that their commitments prevented them from entering into discriminatory arrangements and that they could not waive their most-favoured-nation rights in other countries. Sir Herbert Samuel expressed disappointment at not having obtained a more definite pronouncement from the Government, and he urged it to go to the conference firmly resolved to get rid of tariff restrictions, including quotas. The motion was eventually rejected by 203 votes to 58.

Shortly afterwards (March 16) M. Georges Bonnet, the French Minister of Finance, came to London and had some conversations with Mr. Runciman and Mr. Chamberlain on the questions raised in the agenda for the forthcoming World Economic Conference.

The official *communique* laid stress on the fact that the conversations were of the most cordial character, and that there was a large similarity of views between the French and English Ministers on the most essential problems of the conference. Mr. Runciman took the opportunity to call attention to the British grievance regarding the quotas and special duties imposed by France, and M. Bonnet promised to transmit these views to his Government.

While the importance of international action for improving the economic situation was recognised on all hands, the opinion was gaining ground that the Government was not making full use of the resources already at its disposal for encouraging trade and increasing employment. Many Conservatives who a short time before had made economy in public expenditure their first demand were now commencing to think that this policy had gone far enough if not already too far, and that the time had come when a bolder and more speculative financial policy might be pursued. Great attention was aroused early in March by a series of articles in *The Times* from the pen of the well-known economist, Mr. J. M. Keynes, outlining a policy of economic reconstruction of which one of the cardinal points was increased State expenditure, based on loans, for promoting industrial and commercial activity. With many Ministerialists the watchword of "wise spending" began to replace that of "economy," and pressure was brought to bear upon the Government to relax the purse-strings of the Treasury for the benefit of various undertakings.

In a debate in the House of Commons on March 22, the Government was urged by speakers from all sides of the House—Labour, Unionist, and Liberal—to adopt this policy. Mr. Chamberlain in his reply maintained that no great change in Government policy was either possible or necessary. He first took occasion to defend his much-criticised statement that the unemployment problem was likely to remain for another ten or twelve years. What he had meant, he said, was that, owing to the displacement of labour by machinery, even when prosperity returned they would not be able to employ the same number of men in producing the same number of articles. While recognising the change in outlook which had come over the supporters of the Government, he refused to believe that they had in any way been converted to the Labour policy of a return to extravagance. And even they seemed to think that the expansionist policy which they advocated could be put into operation to an extent and with a rapidity which in the Government's view was altogether out of the question. All the same it was not correct to say that the Government was instituting a "blockade" of schemes presented to them, as many persons seemed to think. The truth was that in the past local authorities had been coerced into putting forward schemes before they themselves were ready

for them, in the hope that employment would be provided, and now a period of reaction had set in in which no schemes were coming forward because there were no schemes to come forward. This state of affairs would gradually right itself, and schemes would again in due course be presented to the Minister of Health and accepted by him if suitable.

Although the number of unemployed throughout the country had for a considerable period shown no great tendency to rise, the problem of poor relief grew ever more acute in a number of districts known "distressed areas," and situated chiefly in the North of England and South Wales, where unemployment had long been exceptionally high. These districts found themselves in a vicious circle, as unemployment caused increased Poor Law costs and Poor Law costs produced more unemployment. On March 9 representatives of twenty highly rated cities and towns of the industrial North met in Manchester, and decided to send a deputation to the Minister of Health to impress on him the urgent need for taking steps to relieve the burden of the cost of public assistance on local authorities. With some difficulty the deputation secured an interview with the Minister, but obtained from him very little satisfaction. However, they found great sympathy among members of Parliament, and a meeting of members representing the distressed areas held on March 27 resolved to bring their case to the notice of the Prime Minister.

On April 6 the Prime Minister, accompanied by the Minister of Health and the Minister of Labour, received a deputation headed by Sir N. Grattan-Doyle, who laid before him two resolutions passed by the meeting on March 27—one, that the Government should accept as a fundamental principle that the cost of assistance afforded to all able-bodied unemployed persons not being over 65 years of age, capable of and available for work, should be borne by the State, and the other that the present anomalies in the scale of transitional payment as between one area and another should be abolished, and that the scale should be uniform with the addition of a rent-and-cost-of-living-allowance appropriate to each locality, and should not exceed standard benefit. The Prime Minister in reply, while expressing sympathetic concern at the conditions in the distressed areas as described to him, held out little hope that the suggestions of the deputation would be adopted, as they presented grave practical difficulties and might involve an additional charge on the national revenue equal to 6d. on the income tax.

The deputation left the meeting with a feeling of disappointment, but events soon showed that the Prime Minister had not said the last word on the Government's intentions. On April 10 the Labour Party moved a vote of censure on the Government for driving large numbers of unemployed to seek the aid of the Poor Law. The reply of the Minister of Health was to accept

on behalf of the Government an amendment moved by a Unionist member, that responsibility for assistance to all able-bodied unemployed not over 65 years of age should be accepted by the Government with a certain readjustment of relations between Exchequer and local authorities, special regard being had to the requirements of distressed areas. The Minister stated that a Bill for putting this principle into practice, and also for establishing greater uniformity of practice throughout the country in the matter of poor relief, would be introduced in the autumn. Meanwhile, too, measures would be taken for the more immediate relief of the distressed areas, such as increasing the Government grant to them and diverting part of the grant under the 1929 Act from prosperous to distressed areas. The Minister's statement, though it did not placate the greater part of the Labour Party, satisfied those Ministerialists who had been exerting pressure on the Government, and the amendment was carried by 384 votes to 46.

A similar show of energy was made by the Government with regard to the allied problem of slum clearance. On April 6 the Ministry of Health sent a circular to all housing authorities in England and Wales urging them to enter on a vigorous campaign of slum clearance on the lines laid down in the Housing Act of 1930. For this purpose they were advised "to concentrate upon direct action, to fix a limited time for the work, and to prepare a time table for its progress and completion within the time limit." Programmes should, as far as practicable, be drawn up on the basis of clearing all areas that required clearing not later than 1938, and should be submitted to the Minister not later than September 30 next. The Minister, it was stated, would in future be prepared to entertain applications from councils declaring a slum area for loan sanctions in respect of a reasonable proportion of the re-housing likely to be required. As a special inducement to the authorities to throw themselves into the work with energy, it was pointed out that, owing to low building costs and cheap money, conditions were now exceptionally favourable for building houses which could be let at rents within the capacity of the poorest of the working classes.

On March 17 a White Paper was issued containing the Government's proposals for the reformed Constitution of India. The new scheme followed closely the lines laid down in the declaration made by the Prime Minister after the second session of the Round Table Conference (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1931, p. 106), and consequently went a good way beyond the recommendations of the Simon Commission. Under it the Provinces were to be granted autonomy, and a Federal Government was to be established with a large measure of responsibility. It was, however, to be a condition for the setting up of the Federation that the Rulers of States representing not less than half of the aggregate

population of the Indian States and entitled to not less than half the States' seats in the Upper House should have executed the necessary instruments of accession, and that a Reserve Bank free from political influences should have been set up and should be already successfully operating. Under the new Constitution, the Governor-General and Viceroy would have a dual capacity, being Governor-General as head of the Federation and Viceroy as conducting relations with States outside the Federal sphere. As Governor-General he would be aided and advised by a Council of Ministers responsible to the Legislature in all matters save those concerned with the three Departments to be reserved to his personal administration, namely, Defence, External Affairs, and Ecclesiastical Affairs. He was also to be given special powers to be exercised only when occasion demanded, for such purposes as the prevention of grave menace to peace and tranquillity or the safeguarding of financial credit or the rights of minorities.

On March 27, in accordance with the procedure already announced at various times by the Government, the Secretary for India moved in the House of Commons that a Joint Select Committee of Lords and Commons, with power to call into consultation representatives of the Indian States and British India, should be appointed to examine and report upon the proposals in the White Paper. The motion itself was hardly a matter of controversy, but it was made the occasion for a full-dress debate lasting three days in which the spokesmen of a number of groups expressed their views on the White Paper. The Minister opened with an elaborate defence of the Government's policy designed to meet the objections of the Indian extremists on the one hand, and the English "die-hards" on the other, but more particularly the latter. He pointed out that for a hundred years India had been trained to believe that her political development would follow that of Great Britain, and he took it for granted that the time had now come to make a change in the system of Indian Government. Two courses were open to the Government. One was to commence with the grant of self-government to the Provinces, as recommended by the Simon Commission. The other was to go further, and establish some responsibility at the Centre at once. After long deliberation they had decided on the second alternative, for two reasons. One was that since the Simon Commission had reported, the Princes had expressed their willingness to enter a Federal scheme. The other was that only by means of a comprehensive scheme could they hope to obtain a reasonable atmosphere of good-will in India. But in all their proposals they had kept steadily in mind the principle that there must be no weakening of the Executive, either at the Centre or in the Provinces. As on a previous occasion, Sir Samuel Hoare admitted that the combination of responsibility at the Centre with powerful safeguards was not

strictly logical, but he refused to believe that it would not work.

On behalf of the Labour Party, Mr. Attlee criticised the Government's scheme as not being calculated to obtain the consent of the governed, and demanded full self-government with Dominion status for India. At the same time he admitted that the White Paper contained some good things, and promised that his party would send representatives to the Joint Select Committee. Sir Herbert Samuel on behalf of the Liberals gave his whole-hearted approval to the scheme as a whole. Sir John Simon, on the other hand, expressed himself as a somewhat unwilling convert to the policy of granting responsibility at the Centre at once, and insisted that it should be made conditional on Federation materialising.

Of the Conservative speakers in the debate the majority declared themselves satisfied with the White Paper, but not a few, as was to be expected, struck a different note. Sir Robert Home doubted whether the safeguards were strong enough, and questioned the wisdom of transferring the control of the police to the Provinces. The real "die-hard" attitude found its first spokesman in Lord Wolmer, who incidentally described Mr. Baldwin as a "sentimental Liberal." The same point of view was later put forward with a greater show of argument by Mr. Churchill, who for a time was listened to with marked attention. He maintained that experience had shown the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms to be a failure, since every service which had been transferred to Indian hands had deteriorated markedly. On the other hand, the way in which order had been restored in India in the past twelve months showed that Britain could still successfully apply the policy of the "firm hand." Somewhat fortunately for the Government, Mr. Churchill, after speaking with his usual force for half an hour, made a remarkable *faux pas*, by asserting that in recent years the path of promotion in the Indian services had tended to be more easy for those who were ready to swim with the prevailing current of British opinion. He was immediately challenged to furnish proof of this allegation, and his failure to do so robbed the rest of his speech of most of its effectiveness.

Mr. Baldwin in closing the debate referred to Lord Wolmer's gibe and insisted that it was necessary for the Conservative Party to move with the times, and that it would not do for them to have a pre-war mind in a post-war world. An amendment moved by the Labour Party that the Joint Select Committee should not be set up till the political prisoners in India had been released, was defeated by 475 votes to 42, and the motion was then carried by a similar majority.

The House of Lords also devoted three days (April 4, 5, and 6) to a consideration of the India White Paper. The debate was noteworthy for the large number of speeches contributed

To it by men who had themselves held high office at one time or another in India. As an expression therefore of expert opinion it was calculated to carry great weight. The Lord Chancellor moved the resolution to appoint the Joint Select Committee, and after giving an exhaustive review of the history of the problem and of the proposals of the White Paper, defended that document against the charge that it went too far. The subsequent discussion chiefly revolved round the proposals to transfer the maintenance of law and order to the Provincial Governments and to establish responsibility at the Centre, opinion for and against being fairly equally divided. The debate reached its climax on the third day, when the strongest attacks on the Government's policy were made by two ex-Governors of Provinces, Lord Zetland and Lord Lloyd, and the most authoritative defence of it by two ex-Viceroy, Lord Reading and Lord Irwin. Taken as a whole, the debate was held to have strengthened the Government's hands considerably.

The Government had originally intended to set up a small Committee of six impartial men, but it found this plan impracticable, and finally decided on a body of no less than thirty-two, sixteen from each House. In the representation of the House of Commons, an endeavour was made to assign a fair proportion to each of the groups in the House, with the result that the declared supporters of the White Paper were in a decided majority, which was rendered still more marked by the fact that certain critics of the White Paper who were asked to serve declined the invitation—Sir R. Home on account of pressure of business, and Mr. Churchill and Sir H. Page Croft because they were out of sympathy with the proceedings. When the Secretary for India laid the list before the House of Commons on April 10, objections were raised against it on a number of grounds, and a Conservative member moved an amendment to remove from it the names of six members of the Ministry, who had been included for various reasons. The amendment was defeated only by 209 votes to 118, this being the largest vote yet recorded against the Government. The representation of the House of Lords consisted largely of men with experience of Indian administration, but Lord Lloyd refused to join on the same grounds as Mr. Churchill had put forward. When the list was submitted to the House on April 11, objections similar to those raised in the House of Commons were brought forward, and an unusual warmth of feeling was displayed in the debate, but eventually the list was adopted by 65 votes to 13.

A crisis in Anglo-Russian relations was precipitated by the arrest in March by the Soviet Government of six prominent officials of the Metropolitan-Vickers Company in Moscow. In answer to his inquiries as to the ground of the arrest, the British Ambassador in Moscow could obtain no more definite information

than that they were suspected of having sabotaged electrical machinery. The British Government, on the strength of the information supplied by the Ambassador, immediately formed the conclusion that there was no substance in the charge and took a grave view of the incident. They accordingly made strong representations to the Russian Government, in a tone which provoked M. Litvinoff to a somewhat sharp reply. Public feeling ran high against the Soviet, and the House of Commons greeted with cheers an announcement by the Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs on March 20 that in view of the treatment to which British subjects were liable in Russia, the Government had decided to suspend negotiations with the Soviet Government for a commercial treaty to take the place of the existing one, which was about to expire.

Further reports from the Ambassador in Moscow convinced the Government that the liberty and even the life of the accused was in grave danger, and they resolved to spare no effort to save them. As further remonstrances made by the Ambassador proved ineffective, he returned on April 2 to London to consult with the Government. On April 4 a White Paper was published containing the despatches which the Ambassador had sent to London and the representations which he had made to the Soviet authorities. From these it appeared that some of the prisoners had been subjected to very trying treatment for the purpose of extorting from them confessions. Public opinion was greatly outraged, and the Government was urged from many quarters to take drastic action.

The step which the Government decided to take coincided with the long-cherished desire of the bitterly anti-Russian, which was also the highly protectionist, party in the House of Commons. On April 6 Sir John Simon moved the second reading of a Bill authorising the Government to prohibit at its discretion imports from Russia after April 18, the day on which the existing Trade Agreement expired. Sir John roused the House to a high pitch of indignation by his recital of the treatment to which the British prisoners in Moscow had been subjected, and the dangers to which they were exposed. He admitted that there was no direct immediate connexion between the powers contained in the Bill and the examination which was going on at Moscow. But they could not confine themselves to polite inquiries without taking any further steps, and he knew of no way save this of securing for the prisoners a fair trial.

On behalf of the Labour Party, Sir S. Cripps moved as an amendment that the White Paper disclosed no adequate ground for the demand made by the Government for the liberation of the prisoners, or for granting to the Government the exceptional powers requested. He maintained that the action of the Government had throughout been contrary to international law ; that

reprisals should not be practised till a miscarriage of justice had actually taken place ; and that the resources of courteous remonstrance had in this case by no means been exhausted—in fact they had hardly been tried. He particularly called attention to a telegram in which the Ambassador had distinctly prejudged the issue, and to a remark made by a Foreign Office official to the Soviet Ambassador, that " the arrests were a stage performance and a bad one at that " ; also to a passage in the White Paper about British subjects being " cast for the role of victims in this heresy hunt." Such language, he pointed out, would not be used to any other Power, and was not calculated to improve relations between them and Russia.

Sir Herbert Samuel agreed with Sir Stafford Cripps in thinking that the Government might have handled the matter much more tactfully, but by Ministerialists the speech of the Labour leader was denounced as a piece of special pleading on behalf of Russia. Mr. Runciman pointed out that events like those they were considering made it impossible for the Board of Trade to recommend British firms to engage in trade with Russia, and the Bill was frankly meant to touch the Russian Government on a sensitive spot—the only spot they could reach. The second reading was carried by 347 votes to 48, the Liberal Party abstaining. On the next day in the Committee stage, the Liberals insisted that the special powers conferred by the Bill should be used solely for the purpose of aiding the British prisoners, and not for any fiscal object, and Mr. Runciman gave an undertaking to that effect. In order to further placate the Opposition, a time limit of three months was inserted in the Bill, which was then rapidly passed through its remaining stages.

The trial of the accused Britons in Moscow, which opened on April 13, was followed with intense interest in England. At the outset public opinion was somewhat disconcerted when one of the prisoners pleaded " guilty " to the charges brought against him, but the subsequent proceedings convinced most people in England that even he was innocent and that his confession had been extorted by improper means. The verdict of " guilty " brought in against five of the prisoners was not unjustified on the evidence adduced at the trial—though that evidence itself was more than suspect—and the sentences inflicted—deportation for three of the prisoners and terms of imprisonment of two and three years for the other two—were extraordinarily lenient as judged by Soviet standards. Nevertheless, the British Government considered that they afforded sufficient ground for exercising the powers which had been granted to it by the Russian Imports Bill. Accordingly, on April 16, within ten hours after the sentences had been pronounced, a Proclamation was issued prohibiting, as from April 26, the importation from Russia of a number of articles, including butter, wheat,

petroleum, and timber, which between them had in the past constituted about 80 per cent, of Russian imports into England.

On April 6 the Prime Minister received an invitation from President Roosevelt to visit Washington during the Easter vacation in order to discuss with him the preparations for the World Economic Conference. The question of such a visit had for some time been actively canvassed in political circles in England, and as it had been generally agreed that the Prime Minister was the most suitable man for such a mission, he immediately, with the full concurrence of his colleagues, accepted the invitation. In a statement to the House of Commons on April 14 Mr. MacDonald made it clear that he was not going to America to make any agreements, but only to exchange views with the President of the United States on the subjects to be discussed at the conference.

The Prime Minister left Southampton, as arranged, on April 15, among those who accompanied him being his daughter, Miss Ishbel MacDonald, Sir Robert Vansittart, of the Foreign Office, and Sir Frederick Leith-Ross, Chief Economic Adviser to the Government. He reached Washington on April 21, and stayed there four days, during which he had numerous conversations with the United States President. The fact that two days before his arrival America had placed an embargo on the sale of gold aroused fears in England that his efforts to procure a better understanding would be stultified, but in fact it did not seem to place any fresh difficulties in his way. As had been generally expected, nothing definite emerged from the conversations, but they cleared the way for the World Economic Conference, and when the visit was over Mr. MacDonald expressed himself as satisfied with the result. He reached England again on May 3.

The outrages committed by the Nazi Storm Troops in Germany after the accession of Herr Hitler to power early in March were given great publicity in the British Press and aroused intense indignation in all sections of the population. Feeling was especially stirred by the persecution of the Jews, and numerous protests were raised against it at public meetings, while the Jewish community itself tried to combat it by means of a boycott of German goods. On March 30, in the course of a general debate on foreign affairs in the House of Lords, Lord Cecil called the attention of the Government to the matter, in conjunction with other problems raised by the change of Government in Germany, and urged them to make known to Germany the feeling of the British people. His request was supported by Lord Reading and the Archbishop of Canterbury. In reply Lord Hailsham said that the limits within which the British Government could act in the matter were strictly circumscribed, but he thought there could be no more effective way of giving voice to the views widely held by the people of Great Britain than by the speeches which had been made in that debate.

In the House of Commons the debate on the adjournment on April 14, being concerned with the question of treaty revision, which had been brought to the fore by Mr. MacDonald's interview with Signor Mussolini, gave a number of speakers an opportunity to voice the alarm and indignation which had been aroused in the public mind by the proceedings of the new rulers of Germany, especially by their persecution of the Jews. It was opened by Mr. Attlee, who said that concessions which had been denied to statesmen should not be made to Hitlerism and force, and that no minority should be entrusted to Germany while she treated her own minority as she was doing. This theme was elaborated by Sir Austen Chamberlain in a speech which made a deep impression on the House. Was this, he asked, a time to talk of revision with what had been happening in Germany before their eyes? Could they discuss revision with a Government which embodied the worst of All-Prussian imperialism, with an added savagery, a racial pride, an exclusiveness, which would not allow equality of rights to all fellow-subjects not of pure Nordic birth? Would the Government dare to put another Pole under the heel of such a Government? That was not a Germany to which Europe could afford to make concessions, or to grant equality of status in armaments. Before they could afford to disarm or urge others to disarm, they must see a Germany whose mind was turned to peace, who would use her equality of status to secure her own safety, and not to menace the safety of others; a Germany which had learnt not only how to live herself, but also how to let others live inside her and beside her.

A number of speakers having denounced the persecution of the Jews in Germany, Sir John Simon, speaking on behalf of the Government, said that the debate had been specially useful because it had expressed the general—in fact universal—feeling entertained in the country on that matter. He regarded that feeling as a spontaneous and inevitable expression of the attachment which they all felt to the principle of racial toleration, and which had now entered into the tradition of the whole of the British people. The Government therefore associated itself with all that had been said in the debate. It was also giving direct help through the agency of the High Commissioner for Palestine, who was providing material facilities for the immigration of German Jews into that country. On the other hand, he did not think that it would be for the interests of the Jews themselves that the Government should intervene—as had been suggested by some speakers—on behalf of foreign citizens in another country.

At the end of the session the text was published of a Road and Rail Traffic Bill which was meant to bring road traffic under stricter control and incidentally to curtail some of the unfair advantages which it at present enjoyed over rail traffic. The Bill was based on the recommendations of the Salter Conference

with regard to the licensing of vehicles, though it departed from them in one or two important particulars. It laid down that licences for all mechanically propelled vehicles, except those used exclusively for agricultural purposes, should be of three kinds : an " A " licence for public carriers ; a " C " licence entitling the owner to carry only his own goods ; and a " B " licence entitling him to ply for hire only under certain conditions. " C " licences were to be granted without restriction, but " A " and " B " licences only at the discretion of the licensing authority—viz., the Chairman of the Traffic Commissioners for each area under the Road Traffic Act of 1930—who was to be empowered to attach to " B " licences conditions which he might think to be in the public interest or necessary to prevent uneconomic competition. All licences were to be subject to certain conditions with regard to the fitness, speed, and loading of vehicles and the hours of employment of drivers, and " A " and " B " licences were to be subject to a " fair wages " clause. All holders, with certain specified exemptions, would be required to keep records of hours of work, journeys, and loads, and licences would be liable to be revoked or suspended where these conditions were not observed. The Bill also set up a Transport Advisory Council on lines laid down in the Salter Report.

On March 17 a meeting took place between representatives of the Communist Party and of the Independent Labour Party, and it was arranged that a " united front " should be presented by the two parties against capitalism and fascism. The two bodies then jointly approached the Labour Party and the Trade Union Congress with the purpose of securing their co-operation in mass demonstrations, but their proposal was rejected. At the annual conference of the I.L.P. at Easter revolutionary action—without violence if possible—was advocated by the Chairman, Mr. Brockway, and further approaches were made to the Communists. One effect of these proceedings was to cause a further split in the ranks of the I.L.P., Mr. Wallhead, a prominent member, resigning soon after as a protest against its countenancing methods of violence.

The accounts for the financial year ending on March 31 showed revenue to have been 744,791,000/., which was 22,009,0002. less than the estimate. Total expenditure was 777,070,000l. ; this included the payment of 28,956,000?. made to the United States in December, for which provision had not been made in the Budget Estimate, but it allowed only 17,239,000?. for Sinking Fund, against 32,500,000l. in the previous year. The yield from income tax was 251,539,000l. or about 8,500,000 less than the estimate, and from surtax 60,650,000l., or about 5,500,000 less than the estimate. Customs and Excise also, with a yield of 288,135,000l., fell nearly 12,000,000?. below the estimate. On the other hand, Estate Duties, with 77,140,000l., exceeded the estimate

by over 1,000,000l.; there was also an excess of 5,000,000l. from miscellaneous receipts, though the Post Office surplus was nearly 1,000,000l. less than had been anticipated. On the expenditure side, the charge for interest and management of the National Debt amounted to only 262,305,000l., or nearly 14,000,000l. less than estimated, but the cost of the Supply Services, amounting to 458,270,000l., was some 11,000,000l. more.

CHAPTER II.

THE WORLD ECONOMIC CONFERENCE.

PARLIAMENT reassembled after the Easter recess on April 25, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer immediately laid before the House of Commons the Budget for the coming financial year. Dealing first with the figures for the past year, he pointed out that, if the American debt was excluded, there had been a surplus of current revenue over current expenditure of approximately 11,250,000l. If the actual accounts showed a deficit of some 32,000,000l., this was owing to the payment of nearly 29,000,000l. to the United States for which no provision had been made and to the setting aside of a net sum of 14,600,000l. for the Sinking Fund. The fact, however, remained that the revenue had been some 22,000,000l. less than the estimate, as a result of a number of miscalculations. In the revenue from Customs and Excise there had been two serious disappointments. One was that the revenue from beer was below the estimate by some 6,000,000l., being in fact the lowest yield that had been received for thirteen years; and the other was that the new tariff had produced about 23,000,000l. instead of the estimated 32,000,000l. This he put down partly to the fall in prices, but mainly to the fact that they had been far more successful than he had anticipated in checking foreign imports, so that this particular set-back had its satisfactory side, as it meant that the adverse balance of trade was reduced. Further items in which revenue had fallen seriously short of the Estimates were stamp duty, surtax, and income tax. The fall in surtax, which produced about 16,000,000l. less than in 1931, reflected a great decline in personal incomes; no fewer than 12,000 persons who had been liable to surtax in 1931 were found in 1932 to have dropped below the level at which they would be liable. The deficiency of 8,000,000l. in income tax was due almost entirely to the fact that in the year before the mass of taxpayers had paid so punctually as to leave very little to collect in the year following in the way of arrears. On the expenditure side they had proved to be too optimistic in expecting a decrease in the level of unemployment figures, and the result of this error and of the default of the Irish Free State was that they had spent

about 10,000,000². more than they anticipated, in spite of having effected numerous departmental economies.

Looking back on the year as a whole, the Chancellor said it might be regarded as one of substantial achievement. Holders of fixed interest securities had made their contribution to the economy of the nation, and thereby they had helped to provide one of the essentials preliminary to a revival of business activity. The sacrifices which had already been suffered had been borne with a patience which excited general admiration, and in spite of the continued shrinkage of international trade and the continued high level of unemployment, the purchasing and saving power of the people had been maintained to a very remarkable degree. This was shown by the great increase which had taken place in the past year in Post Office and Savings Banks deposits, and the continued high consumption of tea, sugar, and tobacco.

In making provision for the coming year, the Chancellor at the outset simplified his problem, as in his previous Budget, by leaving out of sight all payments due on account of war debts, whether from England to the United States or from other countries to England. His total expenditure he estimated at 697,486,000^{l.}, made up of 234,000,000². for the Consolidated Fund Services, and 463,186,000². for the Supply Services. As compared with the Estimates in 1931, if account was taken of the borrowing that went on in that year for unemployment relief and for the Road Fund, and of the automatic increases which had since taken place in various departments of expenditure, the reduction amounted to about 113,000,000^{l.} Of this sum, 52,000,000^{l.} was due to the saving on interest effected by the Conversion Loans, and 61,000,000^{l.} to economies in other directions.

In ordinary times, as the Chancellor admitted, it would have been necessary to increase the expenditure by making some provision for the redemption of the national debt. This year he thought he could dispense with such a step, following the precedent set by Sir Robert Home in 1922. The conversion of the War Loans had brought the obligatory Sinking Fund down from 32,000,000^{l.} to about 7,500,000²., and he did not think the strictest financial purist would quarrel with him for borrowing to meet so small a sum. He also proposed to meet the deficit of 32,000,000². on last year's Budget by borrowing and not out of revenue.

Apart from this, Mr. Chamberlain aimed at producing a strictly balanced Budget, in which current expenditure should be completely covered by current revenue. He rejected uncompromisingly the policy—which had, as he admitted, the support of eminent economists, powerful journalists, and some members of the House—of deliberately unbalancing the Budget in order to take a slice off the income tax. The danger of leaving the Budget unbalanced even for a single year was obvious; the

prospects of a great trade revival being brought about by a reduction of income tax were problematical. The example of other countries with unbalanced Budgets was not encouraging. By paying their way, they had been able to secure low interest rates for industry, and it would be the height of folly to throw away that advantage. He was therefore determined to keep to the path of sound and orthodox finance.

Even without reducing the rate of income tax, Mr. Chamberlain found himself compelled to reckon on a considerably lower yield from this source than last year's actual receipts, viz., 240,000,000l., instead of 251,500,000l. Surtax he reckoned at 51,000,000l., which he called a "depressingly low figure." Stamps, however, he reckoned at 2,000,000l. more than the receipts of last year. Customs and Excise were estimated to produce 281,000,000l., which was less than last year's receipts by a little over 7,000,000l.

Another source from which a reduced revenue was anticipated was the beer duty. There could be no question that here the law of diminishing returns had begun to operate, and consequently from the purely financial point of view there was strong ground for reducing the duty. The Chancellor therefore announced that a change would be made in the duty on beer which would enable it to be sold at a penny a pint cheaper while at the same time being improved in quality. The decline in the revenue from this source was estimated at 14,000,000l.

Although the rate of income tax was not reduced, Mr. Chamberlain was able to afford a substantial relief to some 2,750,000 taxpayers by making only half the tax payable in January, instead of three-quarters, as in the preceding year, so that in the actual financial year they would have to pay only three-quarters of their income tax. This meant a loss to the revenue of some 12,000,000l., which Mr. Chamberlain was able to make good from a Depreciation Fund attached to the Five per cent. War Loan which after its conversion was no longer needed.

While lightening the burden of taxation for the brewers, the Chancellor made it heavier for two other interests whose contribution to the national Exchequer had long been the subject of jealous scrutiny. It was proposed in the Budget to increase substantially the licence fees for heavy motor vehicles, this being the second step taken by the Government to redress the balance between road and rail transport, on the lines laid down in the Salter Report. It was also proposed to subject to income tax for the first time the reserves of co-operative societies, and thus secure for the Treasury a sum of not less than 1,200,000l. Opinion on this subject had been greatly divided in the Cabinet, and the decision of the Chancellor represented a compromise between those who desired to tax all the profits of the co-operative societies and those who desired to exempt them altogether.

These items, along with additional duties on matches and heavy fuel oils, brought the total estimated revenue up to 698,777,000l., leaving a surplus of 1,292,000l.

Mr. Chamberlain's statement was listened to with apathy and discussed without animation. Some speakers expressed doubts whether the Budget was genuinely balanced, but they did not seem to think worse of it on that account. Conservatives, with their eye on the income tax, criticised it as a Budget of lost opportunities, but more in sorrow than in anger. Labour speakers blamed it for not attacking capitalism and Liberals for not discarding Protection, but even they had little fault to find with its actual proposals ; so that Mr. Chamberlain was able to say with some truth that its reception was satisfactory, though naturally not effusive.

Close on the heels of the Budget came the conclusion of three Trade Pacts, the negotiations for which had been going on since the end of the previous year (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1932, p. 90). The first, which was with Denmark, was signed in London on April 24 and published a couple of days later. It was based on a recognition by Denmark that the balance of trade was heavily in her favour and that therefore it was incumbent on her to make efforts to secure increased purchases of British goods both by tariff concessions and by purchase agreements in industries ; and on the British side that Denmark's desire to sell her produce in Great Britain should be met as far as was possible without relinquishing the degree of control necessary to benefit home agriculture and fisheries or infringing in any way the Ottawa Agreements.

With these ends in view, the British Government undertook not to regulate the import of bacon, butter, and eggs, and also of cream from Denmark, except in so far as might be necessary to secure the effective marketing of home supplies. The Danish allocation for bacon and hams was to be not less than 62 per cent. of the total permitted import from foreign countries. For three years there was to be no British tariff on bacon. The import duty on butter was to remain as fixed at Ottawa at 15s. a hundred-weight, and the Danish allocation was to be not less than 2,300,000 cwts. in any year. For eggs the existing duty was to be retained, and the Danish allocation was to be not less than 5,500,000 great hundreds in any year. On cream and fish the duties were not to be increased, though the Government reserved power to prohibit the import of cream altogether.

Denmark on her side agreed to admit free or at a reduced rate of duty a large number of articles in which the United Kingdom was principally interested, and in regard to others not to increase the existing duty. Articles to be admitted free included coal, coke, iron, and steel, jute cloth wrappers, sacks, artificial asphalt, copper sulphate, roofing slates, and sewing

machines. Goods on which the duty was to be reduced included certain classes of cotton goods, carpeting, felt hats, photographic plates, marmalade, jam, pickles, and biscuits and cakes. The British Government reserved the right to terminate the agreement at three months' notice if in any one year the amount of coal of United Kingdom origin imported into Denmark was less than 80 per cent, of the total coal imports.

The agreement with Germany, which was published on April 27, was more limited in scope, and on the side of British exports was concerned only with coal. By it Germany undertook to raise the quota of British coal imports into Germany, which, since April, 1932, had stood at 100,000 tons a month, to not less than 180,000 tons, or more if the total German consumption should exceed 7,500,000 tons a month. In return the British Government promised to make substantial reductions in the duties on some of the chief German imports into England, especially toys, musical instruments, clocks, and jewellery.

The third agreement, with the Argentine, was signed on May 8 and published the next day. It took the form of a Convention confirming and supplementing the Treaty of Amity, Commerce, and Navigation of 1825, and was intended in the first place to remove the impediment to trade caused by the Argentine exchange restrictions. The Argentine Government undertook to make practically the full amount of the sterling exchange arising from the sale of Argentine products in Great Britain available for current remittances from Argentina to the United Kingdom. In addition arrangements were to be made to facilitate the payment in sterling of the sums—amounting to some 10,000,000*l.*—already owing in Argentina to British creditors. Great Britain in return undertook not to impose any restriction on the imports of chilled beef from the Argentine in any quarter of a year below the quantity imported in the corresponding quarter of the year ended June 30, 1932, save in case of emergency. The Government further undertook that no restriction should be placed on the imports into the United Kingdom of frozen beef, mutton or lamb in excess of those imposed on Australian imports by the Ottawa Agreement of August, 1932. The Convention provided that a supplementary agreement should be concluded not later than August 1, fixing the duties and quantitative regulations to be applied to United Kingdom goods in Argentina and to Argentine produce in the United Kingdom. The Argentine Government, however, announced at once its intention to maintain on the free list coal and all other goods at present imported into Argentina free of duty, and in other respects to consider British interests ; while the British Government on its side announced its intention not to impose any new or increased duties on the chief Argentine imports into Great Britain.

These agreements were not allowed to pass without challenge. A large body of Conservatives had by this time convinced themselves that the National Government was committed to a policy of high Protection and would never again tread the path back to Free Trade. To these the concessions made by Mr. Runciman in order to secure the agreements came as something of a shock. They worked themselves into a state of great indignation over what they called "the three black pacts," and made efforts to organise a vehement opposition to them in Parliament. The first to run the gauntlet was the German agreement, which was discussed in the House of Commons on May 1. Mr. Runciman admitted that Britain already had at least a claim to all that she had secured by the agreement under the Anglo-German Trade Treaty of 1924, without making any concessions in return. To enforce this claim, however, it would have been necessary to resort to arbitration, which might have dragged on for a year, and therefore he thought it better to settle the matter by direct negotiation. Britain of course had not got all she asked for, but she had at least improved her present position. He calculated that the operation of this agreement would result in the employment throughout the year of 3,800 miners who would not otherwise be at work, besides large numbers who would be engaged in transport and other ancillary work. Against this had to be set a figure of some 1,800 persons who might be affected if the reduction in the duties on goods imported from Germany had its maximum effect. The Government, however, had to think not of individual interests alone, but of the interests of the whole. This defence was far from appeasing the malcontents, and Sir Austen Chamberlain, who strongly criticised the Government for paying for what they could claim as a right, moved to report progress, in order that the President of the Board of Trade might consult further with the interests chiefly affected. Mr. Runciman threatened to resign if he could not have his way, and this frightened the House into rejecting Sir A. Chamberlain's proposal by 269 votes to 80, after which a resolution for giving effect to the agreement was carried.

The agreements with Denmark and the Argentine were discussed in the House of Commons on May 10. They had a better reception than at one time seemed likely, Mr. Runciman's threat to resign seeming to have had a salutary effect on his critics. He maintained that in regard to agricultural products they were faithful to the principle that the home country should come first, the Dominions second, and foreign countries third. This view was challenged by Mr. Amery, but most of the speakers in the debate, including some representatives of agriculture, supported Mr. Runciman. The Minister of Agriculture declared that the Government considered quantitative regulation a much more effective weapon for raising wholesale prices than tariffs.

From the Free Trade side the agreements were criticised as being a very meagre result of the bargaining power supposed to be conferred on the Government by tariffs, and as yet being calculated to injure the prospects of the World Economic Conference. However, the opposition from either side was not carried to the length of challenging a division.

Trade agreements were also signed on May 15 between Great Britain and Norway and Sweden. They were on similar lines to that concluded with Denmark a short time previously. The chief British industry whose interests were considered was again coal-mining. Both Norway and Sweden undertook to take a considerably larger amount of British coal, so that compared with 1931 it was hoped that there would be an increase of 538,000 tons in the export to Norway, and of 1,046,000 tons in the export to Sweden. Assistance was also to be given to British industry in the form of reduced duties on wool and cotton textiles, motor-cars and motor-cycles, and footwear. In return the British Government undertook to reduce the duties on special kinds of steel imports, on wrapping and writing paper, on certain kinds of chemicals, and on some classes of wood-work, and to allocate an equitable share of imported dairy produce, and fish if quantitative regulation should be imposed. An agreement with Iceland was concluded on May 20.

Immediately after introducing the Budget, Mr. Chamberlain approached the leaders of the co-operative societies in order to induce them to submit to some form of income tax which would place them more on a level with private traders. They refused, however, to make any concessions of consequence, and the Chancellor therefore resolved to take his own course. The Government was far from united on the subject, but after much discussion it decided to proceed on the lines recommended by the Raeburn Committee which had been set up a year before to consider the taxing of co-operative societies. These represented a compromise between the demands of the private traders and the claims of the societies. The dividend paid out by the societies to its individual members was to be regarded not as income but as a trade expense, and would therefore continue to be exempt from income tax. On the other hand, the undistributed profits of the societies which hitherto had been exempt were now to be subject to income tax like those of any other trading company.

On May 22 Mr. Chamberlain introduced a financial resolution to pave the way for a Bill embodying these proposals. Nominally the resolution dealt with all incorporated societies or companies, but Mr. Chamberlain confessed that the co-operative societies would be the only bodies seriously affected by it in practice. He justified the action of the Government on the ground of a statement made by Sir Josiah Stamp, a great authority on

questions of income tax, that the "mutuality" nexus between the individual member's position as part owner and as purchaser was so slight and remote that it could be disregarded for taxation purposes, as it made no difference between the activities of the co-operative societies and of an ordinary business. He denied, therefore, that he was introducing penal legislation against co-operative societies. He was merely taking away their privileged position, and putting them in the same position as the trading companies.

Sir S. Cripps, on behalf of the Labour Party, denounced the resolution as an attack made at the behest of the private trader on a very old-established type of social organisation which had been fostered and encouraged by every party in the State for eighty years. He denied that the Government had any mandate from the electorate to alter the position of co-operators, and pointed out in particular that the Prime Minister, during his election campaign, had given a definite pledge that co-operative societies would not be taxed so long as he was a member of the Government. The Raeburn Committee Report, he said, had left out of sight the vital consideration that successive Governments had encouraged the co-operative societies to incorporate themselves by promising them that they would still remain exempt from income tax.

The Prime Minister, replying to the imputation raised against him, protested that his election pledge had been misrepresented, but his defence carried no conviction with the Labour Party. Sir Herbert Samuel also agreed with Sir Stafford Cripps that if the principle of mutuality was to hold good, the proposed tax was not justifiable. In the division the Liberals, and some Conservatives, joined the Labour members in voting against the resolution, which was, however, carried by 328 votes to 109.

On May 4 the Chancellor of the Exchequer asked permission of the House of Commons to borrow an extra 200,000,000*l.* for the Exchange Equalisation Account (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1932, p. 41). He assured the House that this request had nothing to do with the American abandonment of the gold standard, and that his only object was to prevent violent fluctuations in the exchange value of sterling. He intimated that the chief danger came from the immense amount of volatile capital in the world seeking short-term investment, but seasonal variations in demand and currency speculation were also important factors. The House was both startled and alarmed by the proposal to place so large a sum of public money outside of its control, but on receiving from the Chancellor an assurance that it would be used for no other purpose than the one he had mentioned, and that he would not be tempted into speculative courses, it acceded to his request.

On May 3 the Minister of Transport, Mr. Oliver Stanley,

moved the second reading of the Road and Rail Traffic Bill (*vide* p. 29). The chief object of the Bill, he said, was to make conditions fair as between road and rail vehicles in their competition for goods to transport. For this purpose it was necessary to see, first, that there was no element of concealed subsidy to one of the competitors ; secondly, that no restrictions greater than was necessary were placed on one and not on the other ; and thirdly, that one should not have a greater power of picking and choosing its trade than the other. What the effect of the Bill would be he could not prophesy, but he was sure the best results would be obtained by collaboration by those engaged in the two services, and by co-ordination which could best be obtained by the action of the services themselves.

The Bill was opposed from two sides—by the Labour Party because it did not institute the nationalisation of transport services, and by a group of Conservatives, led by Sir A. Steel-Maitland, on the ground that it might have a hampering effect on trade and industry. The former brought in an amendment which was negatived by 302 votes to 38, but the latter did not oppose the second reading. The Bill was skilfully piloted by the Minister of Transport, and though a section of the Conservatives retained their hostility to the end, it had on the whole a smooth passage and obtained its third reading on July 21 by 163 votes to 25.

The question of reorganising the police force of the Metropolis was brought forcibly before the attention of the public and the Government, by the annual report issued on May 3 by the Commissioner, Lord Trenchard, who had formerly been head of the Air Force. After an experience of eighteen months, Lord Trenchard had come to the conclusion that the educational level in the upper ranks of the police force was not as high as it should be, in view of the more mentally alert and scientifically equipped type of criminal with which they now had to deal. To remedy this deficiency, Lord Trenchard proposed that recruitment should no longer be limited to the constable class, as at present, but that facilities should be given to qualified young men to enter the higher ranks at once, in the same way as in the Defence Forces, the Civil Service, and to a large extent in industry.

Lord Trenchard's proposals were favourably considered by the Government, which decided to take action upon them without delay. On May 11a Memorandum in the form of a White Paper was issued in which the Government declared its opinion that, in the interests of the efficiency and welfare of the Metropolitan Police Force, reform on the lines suggested by Lord Trenchard was essential. Legislation, it was announced, would be introduced at an early date to effect certain changes in the organisation of the force. The chief of these was to be the direct recruitment of young men to the higher posts by a system of competitive

selection, as suggested by Lord Trenchard. It was pointed out that this proposal, although it might be rightly regarded as revolutionary in effect, was neither sudden nor novel. As far back as 1868, a Committee of Inquiry had reported that Peel's system was one adapted to the government of a force of 3,000 men, as it was in his day, but was likely to be defective when applied to the government of one of 8,000. How much more so then to the government of a force of 20,000, which was the number of the Metropolitan Police to-day. The Commission of 1868 recommended the introduction of superior officers with qualifications similar to those to be found in officers of other departments of the public service, and outside professions, and the need for this had been reiterated by subsequent Committees and Commissions. It was recognised that this proposal meant that in time there would be a reduction in the number of posts available in the normal course of promotion to men who entered the force as constables : but this drawback would be counter-acted partly by an increase in the number of higher posts, partly by the earlier retirement of senior officers.

The second reading of a Bill embodying these proposals was moved in the House of Commons by the Home Secretary on May 23. The Minister explained that the Bill dealt only with the police force of the Metropolis because this alone was under the direct control of the Home Office, and also because the police problems in London were considerably different from those in the rest of the country. The Bill was opposed by the Labour Party on the ground that, along with certain administrative changes which were contemplated, it would impair the democratic constitution of the police force and introduce into it a substantial measure of militarisation. These charges were ridiculed by the Home Secretary, who pointed out that similar criticism might with just as much reason be levelled against the Civil Service. Sir Herbert Samuel also, speaking as one who during more than one period at the Home Office had been in close touch with the Metropolitan police organisation, cordially supported the Bill, but he did not carry all his followers with him. The second reading was eventually secured by 321 votes to 60.

One feature in the Police Bill which was strongly criticised in both Houses of Parliament—and not only by Labour members—was the proposal to establish a short service element in the Metropolitan Police Force. Fears were expressed that the two branches of the service might clash, and that the short-service men, after completing their term, would find it difficult to obtain employment. The Government, however, preferred to rely on its expert advisers, who declared that these fears were unfounded, and that a short-service system was essential for the Metropolitan Police, though not for the county police forces. The authority of the Government carried the day, and the Bill, after passing

the Commons, obtained its third reading in the House of Lords on July 18.

The second reading of the Finance Bill was taken on May 17, and, as was expected, provoked comparatively little discussion. Labour speakers charged the Government with maintaining the "cruel" sacrifices demanded of the unemployed in order to favour the beer-drinker and the taxpayer. The Chancellor in reply pointed out that the Labour Party, in speaking of the unemployment benefit, always forgot to measure the amount of benefit by reference to the cost of living. Judged by this standard, it would be found that the 21s. 3d. which the married man was receiving to-day was 8s. 5d. more than the Labour Government gave in 1930 and 8s. 1d. more than in 1924. On the other hand, the peak of income tax and surtax to-day was 13s. 3d. in the pound and of death duties 50 per cent., whereas even in the war the highest corresponding figures had been 12s. and 40 per cent. A Labour motion for rejecting the Bill was defeated by 368 votes to 48.

One alteration which a considerable part of the Conservative members were very anxious to see introduced into the Finance Bill was the insertion of a clause repealing the taxation of land values which had been instituted by Mr. Snowden in 1931. This measure, it was true, had already been rendered entirely inoperative by the suspension in the previous year of the valuation of landed property, and it showed no sign whatever of emerging from what Mr. Baldwin had described as the state of coma into which it had then fallen. Nevertheless, its mere presence on the Statute Book was a source of violent irritation to a large number of Conservatives, and they made a determined effort to get rid of it. An amendment was put down for the repeal of the tax, and a letter, signed by about 300 members, was sent to the Prime Minister requesting that a free vote should be allowed on it, and threatening, if their demand was not complied with, to vote against the Government. The Conservative members of the Government, led by Mr. Baldwin, were in favour of the amendment, but again, as last year, they refrained from pressing their demand for personal reasons. Then it was out of consideration for Lord Snowden, who was still a member of the Government; now it was to spare the feelings of the Prime Minister, who had just suffered one humiliation over the tax on co-operative societies. It was decided therefore to make the retention of the tax a matter of confidence. On May 30 Mr. Baldwin announced the decision to a large meeting of Conservatives, and the amendment was thereupon withdrawn.

In the Committee stage of the Finance Bill, the proposal to tax heavy fuel oils was strongly criticised as likely to affect trade adversely, and demands were made from many quarters for its removal or at least modification. Mr. Chamberlain

defended it on various grounds: first, that it would bring in a certain amount of revenue ; secondly, that it provided some security that users of liquid fuels would not change over from taxed petrol to tax-free oil and so diminish the yield of the petrol tax ; and thirdly—what he regarded as most important—that it would benefit the industries producing coal and coal derivatives, by causing some reversion to coal, or at any rate by checking further transference to oil. After much pressing, however, the Chancellor consented to exempt from the duty oil for coastal shipping.

In the course of the further discussion on the Finance Bill, an attempt was made (June 1) to secure for Parliament some measure of control over the Exchange Equalisation Fund by means of a rule that the Account should be examined every year by the Comptroller and Auditor-General, who should render a report to the House of Commons. The Chancellor of the Exchequer was unable to consent to this, for the reason that the one thing which might frustrate the working of the Account was a knowledge of its condition at any specified date, as this might give speculators something to go upon. He was fully in sympathy, however, with the object of the proposal, and in order to lift the veil of secrecy as far as could be done safely, he offered to make arrangements by which it would be possible for the Public Accounts Committee to ascertain the monthly average of the holding of the Account in gold and foreign securities up to March 31, 1933. On the strength of this promise the proposal was withdrawn.

The third reading of the Finance Bill was taken on June 23 after what the Chancellor of the Exchequer described as a " calm and tranquil course." Only two of its proposals had met with any serious opposition in the Committee stage—the taxation of co-operative societies, and of heavy fuel oils ; and apart from certain small concessions under the latter head, the Government had not found it necessary to make any changes in the Bill. In spite of the agitation which the co-operative societies were still carrying on, Mr. Chamberlain ventured to affirm that they were really deriving two substantial benefits from the Budget. One was that they would now be free from the odium which had attached to them as unfair traders—and this at a comparatively insignificant cost; and the other was that for the first time it had been laid down in a statute that the " divi " was not a profit for the purposes of taxation but a trade expense, and in this way the position of the societies had been put on a firmer basis. Mr. Chamberlain again took credit to himself for not having deliberately unbalanced the Budget in order to reduce income tax ; what had happened in other countries, he said, since he introduced the Budget had confirmed him in the view that if he had done so he would have inflicted on the national credit an injury which it would have taken years to heal. A

Labour motion for rejecting the Bill was defeated by 209 votes to 42.

The Agricultural Marketing Bill, which had been introduced in March (*vide* p. 18), was on the whole favourably received by the agricultural community and in consequence met with little serious opposition in Parliament. The worst that could be said about it was that it was based on principles of regulation which were traditionally disliked by the Liberal Party and which might prove unfortunate in some future generation. But it was generally agreed that some bold step such as that advocated was needed to save British agriculture from disaster. The Bill was given its third reading without substantial alteration by the House of Commons on May 30, and had an equally smooth passage in the House of Lords.

While thus solicitous on behalf of agriculture, Major Elliot made similar endeavours to assist the fishing industry, which also had fallen into a perilous position. Here, too, the problem was to raise wholesale prices, which had fallen steeply since 1929, and the policy adopted by the Minister was again that of regulating supplies, as the tariff already imposed had not checked over-supply at present prices. With this object in view he introduced a Bill on June 28 which fixed a maximum size for the mesh of nets and a minimum size for the fish allowed to be sold. In addition the imports of foreign-caught fish were to be cut down by about 200,000 cwt., and during certain months the landing of fish caught in certain distant northern waters was to be forbidden. This scheme, it was explained, had already obtained the consent of the British Trawlers' Association, and of the foreign countries interested, and in Parliament it met with no serious opposition.

The Royal Commission on Lotteries and Gambling which had been appointed in the previous year (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1932, p. 33) issued its report on June 8. The Commissioners declared their main principle to have been that "while gambling among private individuals should not be interfered with, organised gambling facilities should be prohibited or restricted where they led to serious social consequences." With this end in view they proposed a number of changes in the existing laws on lotteries, betting, and gambling, chiefly in the direction of making them more rigorous. In the two fields where during the last year there had been the greatest outcry against the existing restrictions, they were definitely against granting additional facilities. Licences to operate totalisators for dog racing, they held, should only be granted by a Control Board to the management of an approved racecourse. The institution of large lotteries in England was declared to be undesirable in itself and unlikely to assist very materially in suppressing the sale in this country of tickets in lotteries promoted elsewhere. If, however, it should

be decided to permit the institution of any large lottery, the least objectionable form would be a State lottery for the benefit of the Exchequer. On the other hand, small private lotteries promoted in clubs, works, and elsewhere, and small public lotteries incidental to bazaars and sales of work, which were at present illegal, should be made lawful provided they fulfilled certain conditions. Newspaper competitions offering prizes for forecasting the results of sporting events also came under the ban of the Commission.

A "May Day" demonstration on a huge scale was held on Sunday, May 7, in Hyde Park, under the auspices of the Trade Union Congress, the Labour Party, and the Co-operative Movement. The Communists protested against it as an attack on the "united front," but having tried without much success to hold a demonstration of their own on May 1—in conjunction with the I.L.P.—they judged it prudent to join in. Mr. Lansbury was the principal speaker, and the speeches were mainly devoted to denunciation of Fascism and dictatorship, with frequent references to Herr Hitler. A resolution was carried protesting against "the savage suppression of democratic rights and institutions, political freedom, civil liberty, and racial and religious equality which had followed the rise of dictatorship," and reaffirming faith in international peace and co-operation, disarmament, democracy, and freedom as essential conditions for the attainment and consolidation of Socialism.

The visit to England of Herr Rosenberg, the unofficial Nazi envoy, in the early part of May, besides giving rise to one or two street incidents in London, was not allowed to pass without protest in the House of Commons. On May 11 the Home Secretary was asked from the Labour benches whether the visitor had been required to give an undertaking to abstain from political propaganda while in this country. The reply being in the negative, he was further asked why Fascists were granted facilities for entering the country which were denied to Communists, seeing that both were hostile to the British Constitution. The Minister's answer that each case was considered on its merits was received by the Labour Party with a good deal of scepticism. Mr. Lansbury was anxious to obtain a debate on the subject, but the Speaker ruled his request out of order.

The Conference of the National Liberal Federation, which was held at Scarborough on May 18 and 19, occupied itself chiefly with the question of the Liberal Party's relations with the Government. The speeches delivered made it clear that the great mass of Liberal opinion in the country was strongly averse to helping the Government to remain in office, and would be only too glad to see the Parliamentary Liberal Party go definitely into opposition. A resolution was passed asserting that the policy of the Government in the last year had been such as

to alienate the support of all persons of Liberal outlook; that in foreign affairs it had failed adequately to support the League of Nations; that its fiscal policy was a demonstrated failure; that its policy of economy had led to an increase in unemployment, and a decrease in social efficiency, and that it had failed to take proper steps to provide work for the unemployed or for the use of idle land, labour, and capital. At the same time many speakers declared their complete confidence in Sir Herbert Samuel, and disclaimed any intention to force his hand. Availing themselves of this liberty, Sir Herbert and his followers decided to continue as they were.

On May 4 questions were asked in the House of Commons about the Act abolishing the Oath of Allegiance which had just been passed in the Irish Free State. Mr. Thomas in reply stated that the opinion of the Government was that the attempt to abolish the Oath was in direct conflict with the Treaty of 1921. The passing of the Bill, however, did not, in their view, affect the duty on the part of members of the Irish Parliament of allegiance to the King, or amount to an act of secession, since the duty of allegiance did not depend on the Oath and therefore failure to take the Oath would not be in itself a repudiation of allegiance.

The subject was also discussed in the House of Lords on May 11, when fears were expressed as to the possible effects of the Free State Government's action on Imperial relationships and on the status of Irish citizens resident in England. Lord Hailsham in reply first repeated the statement of Mr. Thomas, and then in answer to various questions which had been asked stated that the Free State Removal of the Oath Act would have no effect at all on the treaty or on any article of the treaty, or on the rights or status of British citizens born or resident in the Irish Free State or on existing military arrangements in the Free State. Every citizen of the Irish Free State was born within the King's allegiance, and no one born within the King's allegiance could get rid of it and of the obligations which it involved. What concerned Britain was not the legal effect in Ireland of the alteration of the Constitution of the Free State, but the effect in international law of the treaty which was the binding bargain between Great Britain and Ireland; and he had no hesitation in saying that this could not be altered without the consent of both parties, and any attempt of one of the parties to make an alteration was inoperative without the consent of the other.

On May 2 the Government was asked in the House of Lords what policy they intended to pursue towards Russia, with special reference to diplomatic relations, trade debts, export credits, the Lena Goldfields award, and the treatment of British subjects in Russia. Lord Stanhope in reply stated that the time was

hardly favourable for laying down a general policy. He pointed out, however, that for the British prisoners in Russia it was a good thing that there was a Charge d'Affaires there who could see that they were properly treated, and that for other British subjects in Russia it was an advantage that diplomatic relations should be maintained so that they should have somewhere to go to if they got into difficulties. The Government, he said, anticipated that as a result of the attitude they had adopted in the Metropolitan-Vickers case no British subjects now resident in Russia were likely to suffer any further molestation at the hands of the Soviet authorities, though no guarantee of immunity could be given to British subjects desirous of proceeding to Russia, and he advised them to defer their visits if possible. At the same time he warned the Soviet Government that further interference with British subjects would create an even more serious situation for Anglo-Soviet relations than that already existing.

On May 11 Lord Cecil in the House of Lords called for a statement of policy from the Government on the position in the Far East and at the Disarmament Conference. Looking back over the events in the Far East since September, 1931, he criticised the attitude of the Government in dealing with them as lacking in firmness and consistency. He called attention to a statement attributed in the Press to the British Ambassador in Tokio expressing approval of Japan's action in Manchuria, and pointed to this as confirming the already widespread impression that the British Government had never been in earnest in supporting the attitude of the League of Nations towards Japan. He did not ask the Government to take unilateral action, but he challenged it to show that other nations were not prepared to take action in the matter. He suggested that the same treatment might be applied to Japan as had recently been applied to Russia. In regard to disarmament, he pointed out that the French in the past few months had acted with extraordinary wide-mindedness and temperateness, and he urged the Government to give due weight to their demands for security.

Lord Hailsham in reply said that the opportunity afforded by Lord Cecil to the Government of stating their policy was more in the nature of an embarrassment than an assistance. In fact, on the question of the Far East he made little effort to satisfy his curiosity, merely asserting once more that in regard to the situation between Japan and China the Government intended to go on acting as a loyal member of the League in the closest possible consultation and collaboration with other members of the League. On the statement attributed to the British Ambassador at Tokio he said he had no information, but he could hardly believe that he had been guilty of any indiscretion or impropriety; while the proposal to declare an embargo on

Japanese imports into England he put aside as impracticable on account of the still existing trade agreement with Japan. On the subject of disarmament the Minister was a little more outspoken, and he gave a warning to Germany which subsequent events showed not to have been lost on that country. If Germany, he said, declined to take any further part in the discussion on the proposals produced by the Prime Minister at Geneva, she would incur the responsibility for any failure which might ensue, and it would be a matter for the very gravest consideration what course should be followed by the Powers which were left. Speaking as an individual, he said he thought that Germany would remain bound by the Treaty of Versailles, and that any attempt on her part to re-arm would be a breach of the treaty, and would bring into operation the sanctions which it provided.

On May 26 the Secretary for Foreign Affairs gave the House of Commons a full account of the proceedings at the Disarmament Conference at Geneva which had followed the presentation of Mr. MacDonald's draft Convention in March. It was, he said, gratifying to the British Government that a resolution recommending that this draft should be taken thenceforth as the basis of discussion had been carried unanimously. Along with numerous criticisms they had had declarations from Italy, France, America, and Germany recognising that it was along the lines of this draft that progress was most likely to be made. In consequence of the attitude of America they had had to commence with the discussion of the second part of the draft, dealing with disarmament, before the first, dealing with security. On May 16, however, Mr. Roosevelt had made his historic declaration setting forth American interest in the subject, and this had been supplemented by important statements from Mr. Norman Davis at Geneva. He was anxious not to read into Mr. Davis's words more than they warranted, but he thought it was safe to say that America had abandoned her former conception of neutrality under which she was indifferent to the rights and wrongs of any war that was going on, and had reverted to the rule long ago laid down by Grotius that nothing should be done to strengthen the belligerent whose cause was unjust. It was true that she retained in her own hand the decision as to which she was to consider unjust, but England could not complain of this, as it was thoroughly in accord with the British mentality and way of looking at things, though on the Continent they preferred to lay down rules beforehand for all cases that might arise. With regard to the conference itself, he thought that although there was a great deal that was disappointing, real progress had been made. With regard to Germany, it would be idle to pretend that statements made there recently had not caused the greatest concern, and though Herr Hitler had just made a statesmanlike and moderate speech, it was deeds that counted and not words.

Still, it was a matter of satisfaction **that** the **Germans** had withdrawn their amendment to the British proposal for standardisation in the continental armies, so that this could now enter into the stage of negotiation and discussion. Finally, coming to British policy, the Minister declared that Britain could not proceed further along the path of reduction without general agreement, though she was ready to join with the United States in a world consultation to promote security.

In the debate which followed, Mr. Lansbury expressed regret that America, while making a declaration which went much further than anything she had yet said, joined to it a reservation which greatly mitigated its effectiveness. Sir Austen Chamberlain, however, chided him for questioning the good faith of America, which he was sure was no less than Britain's good faith in fulfilling the obligations of Locarno. He also declared that the conduct of the German Government was still causing grave anxiety, and urged the Government to insist that if Germany desired equality of status, she must show by her acts and the whole conduct of her policy that as other nations went to meet her in physical disarmament, so she would come to meet them in moral disarmament.

The proposal made by the British delegation at the Disarmament Conference at Geneva, that Britain should reserve the right to use aerial bombing for the pacification of outlying districts of the Empire, met with a chorus of disapproval at home. It was thought by many to be likely to prove a serious obstacle to the success of the conference, and to pacific sentiment was all the more disappointing because it seemed to be in direct conflict with the speech made by Mr. Baldwin on air bombing in the previous autumn (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1932, p. 101). In response to numerous questions in Parliament, the Government tried to defend itself on the ground that aerial bombing was both the most inexpensive and the most humane way of keeping in order the outlying districts on the North-West Frontier of India and similar regions, and that this reservation need in no way interfere with the acceptance of a general prohibition of aerial bombing. This defence by no means satisfied the House, and the question was raised in a debate on the Foreign Office Vote on July 5. Sir A. Chamberlain admitted that he could see no moral distinction between the use of the bomb and other means, and that in certain cases the aeroplane was probably the most humane instrument they could employ. But the real objection to the Government's proposal was that other nations could claim similar reservations with equal right, and so if it was persisted in the whole attempt to abolish aerial warfare between civilised nations might be nullified. The Government proved to be not insensible to the criticism which had been levelled at it, and the Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs now

promised, to the great satisfaction of the House, that they would not insist on their reservation to the point of causing a breakdown of the conference.

On June 7 Great Britain joined with France, Italy, and Germany in initialling the Four Power Pact which Signor Mussolini had first suggested some months before to Mr. MacDonald on the latter's visit to Rome. The actual document now accepted was considerably different to what had originally been proposed, and much more restricted in scope. In a despatch which he sent to the Ambassador in Rome on the next day, the Secretary for Foreign Affairs stated that the object of the Agreement was to ensure that over many years to come the four Powers might agree in Europe on the same policy of peace. It was not meant to rival or compete with the work of the League of Nations, but was to operate within the ambit of the League's Covenant, and in fulfilment of its object. Nor was it ever intended to involve any attempt on the part of the four Powers to impose their will on other States, or even to establish themselves as a kind of Directory in Europe. It was also pointed out that Britain's adherence to the Agreement did not imply any extension of the obligations of the United Kingdom in European affairs.

The joint statement issued from Washington by Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. MacDonald on April 14, though not so definite as might have been desired, was regarded by the Government at home as sufficient warrant for taking active steps to bring together the projected World Economic Conference. Accordingly at a meeting of the Organising Committee held at the Foreign Office on April 29, and attended by representatives of Great Britain, the United States, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, Belgium, and Norway, it was decided to convene the conference on June 12, and to send out invitations to some sixty Governments. Sir John Simon, who presided, announced that the King had indicated that he would personally open the conference. Mr. Norman Davis, the representative of the United States, informed the Committee that at the opening of the conference the American delegation intended to propose a tariff truce, and the Committee agreed to circulate this proposal along with the invitations.

On May 3 the Prime Minister returned to London from Washington, and on the next day he made a statement in Parliament on the results of his visit to the United States. He added very little to what was already known from the newspaper reports, thus confirming the impression that little had been in effect accomplished. On May 9 he made a somewhat fuller statement in the House, in which one or two new points emerged. The chief was that the question of debts could not be discussed at the forthcoming Economic Conference—for one reason because sixty nations would be represented there—but conversations on the subject would inevitably go on side by side with the

conference. He emphasised the fact that the United States Government desired to make the conference a success, and that it would collaborate with Great Britain at the Disarmament Conference. He also announced that in all probability there would be a "tariff truce" before the conference opened. The Prime Minister's statement was criticised by Mr. Lansbury on the ground that it contained no clear indication of policy, but other speakers recognised that this was not to be expected at the present juncture, and contented themselves with giving the Government suggestions as to the line they should take up at the conference.

Soon afterwards (May 12) the members of the Organising Committee met at the Foreign Office and unanimously passed a resolution recognising the urgency of adopting at the beginning of the conference a tariff truce, the provisions of which should be laid down by common agreement. At the same time all the Governments represented, being convinced that immediate action was of great importance, agreed, and strongly urged all other Governments participating in the conference to agree, that they would not, before June 12, nor during the proceedings of the conference, adopt any new initiatives which might increase the difficulties now arresting international commerce. Great Britain, however, was allowed the right to continue negotiations for trade agreements which were already in progress with a number of countries.

On May 16 the Prime Minister spoke on international and especially Anglo-American relations at a dinner given to celebrate his return from America. By a happy coincidence, Mr. Roosevelt had on that very day declared America's readiness to take a more active part in promoting international peace, and Mr. MacDonald commenced by giving a hearty welcome to his pronouncement, which, he said, had made the day almost historic. He declared that the cardinal point in the policy of Great Britain was to get into active, not quiescent, co-operative relationship with the United States in everything which related to peace, world prosperity, and human progress, and this was what he had been trying to promote in his conversations with President Roosevelt. There was, he maintained, a very broad and firm foundation of latent good-will between the two countries, but it was liable to be obscured by misunderstanding, and therefore no bigger service could be done to the whole of humanity than by seizing the unique opportunity they now had of exposing those foundations and making them available for those who would come after for rearing permanent abodes of peace and confidence. It was a great comfort to all of them that in spite of the trying nature of the times they could count on the co-operation of France and Italy, and the influence of the United States Government in regard to every policy which threatened to become a menace to the peace

of Europe. As for Germany—they were certainly not against Germany, and they accepted declarations of intention, but after all it was actions which counted, and to these they could not be indifferent.

On May 24 Lord Snowden startled the House of Lords, and indeed the whole country, by launching out into a bitter personal attack on the Prime Minister, for so many years his close colleague. The immediate cause was a statement made a few days previously by the Prime Minister in the House of Commons, that the Government's policy in regard to the forthcoming Economic Conference could be found in a speech made by Mr. Runciman in the House in March. In point of fact the only reference to the conference in the speech was a hope that it might be held soon. This led Lord Snowden to denounce in no measured terms the "ignorance" and "incapacity" of the Prime Minister, who, he said, was "constitutionally unable to make any intelligible statement on any question"—a view to which some of Mr. MacDonald's recent speeches certainly seemed to lend a certain amount of colour. Lord Snowden proceeded to draw gloomy omens for the conference from the vagueness and wordiness of the joint statement issued by Mr. MacDonald and Mr. Roosevelt, but he was assured by Lord Stanhope that the Government had a policy, though they would not disclose it till the time of the conference, following the example set by Lord Snowden himself on the eve of The Hague Conference of 1931.

In spite of this announcement, members of Parliament continued to press for further information, and at length, on June 2, just before the Whitsuntide holiday, the Chancellor of the Exchequer made some show of satisfying their curiosity. In fact, however, he told them very little which was not to be found in declarations he had already made. They had, he said, three main objectives, which he thought commanded general agreement both in the House and in the country. One was to raise price levels, the second was to stabilise currencies, and the third was to abolish or reduce the barriers to international trade. The fall in prices was due chiefly to over-production. It was not true to say that the Government believed that production should be restricted and consumption should be left to take care of itself, yet to allow production to go on unchecked when it could almost at a moment's notice be increased to an indefinite extent was sheer folly. The true solution, he thought, lay in the direction of regulation agreed upon among producers. In regard to currency he thought that the objective should be to get back to a gold standard, since this was the only one which would be accepted and worked by the nations as a whole, but they must first be assured that steps were taken which would ensure that it would work and would not be subject to the defects which had wrecked it a short time ago. Finally, in regard to trade

barriers, the removal of these depended to some extent on a revival of confidence and of financial lending. Tariffs also, where they were prohibitive, were a great hindrance to the revival of trade. While there might be a wide measure of agreement, continued Mr. Chamberlain, on the main issues, they might find a great deal of difficulty in coming to an agreement on the precise measures to be adopted. But necessity was driving : they dare not fail; and therein lay his chief hope for the success of the conference.

The Cabinet had now to come to a decision on the question of the next war debt payment to the United States, which was due on June 15. To its great disappointment, no concrete proposal had been forthcoming from the American side, and it was left to suppose therefore that America expected the payment to be made unless it could itself put forward some acceptable proposals. Now, as six months before, opinion in the Cabinet was sharply divided, some Ministers advocating payment in full and others repudiation. On the one hand, it was urged that if Britain paid again this time, there was no reason why she should not be called upon to go on paying for ever ; on the other, that repudiation could not be contemplated because of the harm it would do to British credit.

At a meeting held as late as June 9, the Cabinet was unable to come to a decision on the subject, and in spite of repeated inquiries no statement was made in the House of Commons before the Whitsuntide adjournment.

The plan which finally commended itself to the Cabinet was to offer a token payment of a small amount, pending the discussion in the next few weeks of a final settlement of the whole question. The British Ambassador in Washington put this proposal before the President, but was unable to obtain from him a definite reply. On June 13 Mr. Chamberlain, after keeping the House of Commons waiting in the greatest impatience for several hours for a statement, was at length forced to defer it. On the next day, however, at ten o'clock, he at last made the long-expected statement. President Roosevelt, he announced, had consented to accept an immediate payment of \$10,000,000, as an acknowledgment of the war debt instalment now due, pending a final settlement; and he had no hesitation in saying that he did not characterise the situation as a default. Mr. Chamberlain then sprang a surprise on the House by informing it that the payment would be made in silver, so as to represent in sterling the sum of 1,600,000Z. The statement was received with great satisfaction in all quarters of the House, and the settlement was generally considered a happy augury for the success of the Economic Conference.

By this time the delegates to the World Economic Conference had assembled in London to the number of 168, representing

66 States out of 67 to which invitations had been sent, Panama having been the only one to decline. Of these 66 States, 56 were members of the League of Nations. The British delegates were the Prime Minister, Mr. Chamberlain, Lord Hailsham, Sir John Simon, Mr. Thomas, Sir P. Cunliffe-Lister, Mr. Runciman, and Major Elliot.

The conference was opened by the King on June 12 at the Geological Museum, South Kensington, with a brief speech of welcome, part of which was in French. His Majesty remarked that this was probably the first time in history that any Sovereign had presided at the opening of a conference of all the nations of the world.

Mr. MacDonald then gave a short presidential address in which he laid stress on the importance of the conference for the future of humanity. It was, he said, a sequel to the work done in the previous year at Lausanne, when by a conditional agreement on reparations and war debts Europe was saved from an immediate financial collapse. The Lausanne Conference had recommended that for the clearance of the world crisis a wider conference should be called, and the League of Nations had taken up the matter without delay. In the intervening months of preparation and negotiation the tasks assigned to them had not grown easier or lighter. On account of this they had been advised from some quarters that they should postpone the meeting until circumstances more favourable for its success should have arisen. But what prospect was there that such circumstances could arise if the situation was left to right itself, and if each nation protected itself independently as best it could? No one conversant with the experiences of the past few years could doubt that a purely national economic policy in the modern world was one which by impoverishing other nations impoverished those who pursued it. The nearer they could come to making the world an economic unit, the better it would be for each nation. They were there, therefore, to pursue the better course of international agreement.

The first three days of the conference were taken up by speeches from the delegates on the general principles by which the conference should be guided. There was a general consensus of opinion in support of the view put forth by Mr. MacDonald that the way to prosperity lay through international co-operation and not isolated action on the part of the various nations. The opening proceedings of the conference gave the impression that most of the delegates had come with a sincere desire to work together and to find some joint plan for dealing with the world crisis.

The British suggestions to the conference were set forth by Mr. Chamberlain on June 14. They proceeded on lines already laid down by him in various speeches in Parliament and

the country, but contained one or two interesting additions. They started from the now familiar proposition that the great need of the world was to bring about a recovery in the world level of wholesale commodity prices, such as would be sufficient to yield an economic return to the producers of primary commodities and to restore equilibrium between costs and prices of commodities generally. For this purpose action in various spheres would be necessary—reduction of costs being ruled out for various reasons. Although the final settlement of reparations and war debts was not within the scope of the conference, yet such a settlement would be necessary if the measures taken in other fields were to be effective. Among these Mr. Chamberlain reckoned a number of reforms in the financial sphere, such as the abrogation of exchange controls and the resumption of international lending, and others in the economic sphere, such as the co-ordination of production and marketing, the removal of prohibitions and similar trade barriers, and the reduction of excessive tariffs. Action was also necessary in the monetary sphere, so as to make credit available by a policy of cheap money and to get it actively employed. Great Britain naturally recognised the importance of the stability of exchange rates, and therefore proposed that approximate stability should be secured at once between the currencies of the principal countries of the world, though the time was not ripe yet for restoring an international gold standard. The reduction of tariffs, Mr. Chamberlain thought, could be best effected by bilateral agreements with a wide application of the most-favoured-nation clause. Finally, Mr. Chamberlain put in a plea for the reduction and eventual abolition of export and shipping subsidies by international agreement.

The preliminaries having been disposed of, the conference appointed a number of Commissions. Of these the two chief were the Economic and the Monetary, but—for the time being at any rate—the former was completely overshadowed by the latter. For it was obvious that the task of removing impediments to world trade would be enormously facilitated if some agreement could be reached for stabilising, at least temporarily, the pound, dollar, and franc in terms of one another; and there was every reason to apprehend that without this no progress could be made at all in the economic field.

The real work of the conference began not inauspiciously. By the end of the first week the British, American, and French banking chiefs had come to an agreement for stabilising their respective currencies sufficiently for the purposes of the conference. The arrangement was known to have the cordial approval of Mr. Cordell Hull, the head of the American delegation, if not of all his colleagues. Naturally therefore those who wished the conference to succeed felt greatly encouraged. Unfortunately

they had failed to reckon with the new influences which were shaping Mr. Roosevelt's policy at home. On June 22 the American delegation, acting on instructions from Washington, distributed a statement to the conference to the effect that the American Government found that measures of stabilisation would now be untimely.

This action of Mr. Roosevelt was tantamount to disowning not only his financial experts but also Mr. Hull himself, although the latter bravely tried to make out that there was no conflict between the views he was expressing at the conference and the inflationary policy which was being pursued at home. Naturally, therefore, the well-wishers of the conference felt discouraged and commenced to take a gloomy view of its prospects ; nor were they greatly influenced by the chidings of Mr. MacDonald, who jauntily declared that the conference had merely suffered a setback such as was inevitable in all gatherings of the kind. However, some consolation was derived from the announcement of Mr. Roosevelt that he was sending over to England his confidential adviser, Professor Raymond Moley, with fresh instructions, or at any rate information, for the American delegation ; and in the hope that the President had not yet said his last word on the subject, the Monetary Commission resumed its efforts to bring about some kind of currency stabilisation.

The difficulty of securing agreement in the Commission arose not only from the American desire to inflate the dollar but almost equally from the French desire that England should return to the gold standard. No party in England would entertain such an idea, but there was a distinct cleavage of opinion in responsible British circles, the Governor of the Bank of England inclining more to the French side and the Treasury to the American. This rendered the policy of the British Government itself unduly vacillating. However, in spite of all difficulties, the Commission succeeded by June 30 in drafting a formula which provided for some kind of stabilisation and which obtained the approval of Professor Moley, who in America had been one of the great advocates of inflation.

The formula thus arrived at was little more than an agreement to differ, the countries which still remained on the gold standard declaring that they were fully determined to preserve the gold parity of their currencies, and those that had abandoned it declaring that it was their intention in an indefinite future to return to gold as the yardstick of exchange valuation. In spite, however, of what Mr. Chamberlain called its "innocuousness," it failed to satisfy the President, who on the next day telegraphed to Mr. Hull that he had rejected it "in its present form." The last words seemed to leave a loophole for further discussion, and hopes were still entertained that an agreement would-be reached.

These hopes were entirely dissipated by

Mr. Hull issued in the President's name on July 3. In this declaration Mr. Boosevelt not only rejected the proposed formula, but rejected it with contumely. It would, he said, be a catastrophe if the great conference of nations should allow itself to be diverted from the consideration of more serious problems by the proposal of a purely artificial and temporary expedient affecting the monetary exchanges of a few nations only. He blamed its framers for showing a singular lack of proportion and a failure to remember the larger purposes for which the conference was originally called together, and charged them with trying to lull the world by a specious fallacy. Before international stabilisation of currency could be profitably discussed, he said, nations should work out policies to produce balanced budgets and live within their means.

The tone no less than the content of this statement made it clear beyond all doubt that the President of the United States was committed irrevocably to the policy of trying to raise prices by means of monetary manipulation within his own country, and that therefore there was little prospect at present of the United States joining in any international action for achieving that end. To the British delegation this was a genuine disappointment, as in Great Britain at any rate the joint statement issued by Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. MacDonald in April, in which stress had been laid on the necessity of currency stabilisation, had been taken at face value. The whole of the conference too strongly resented being lectured by Mr. Roosevelt like a pack of schoolboys, though it was generally recognised that his statement was largely for "home consumption." In their heart of hearts, however, a great many of the delegates were probably not at all displeased with his open advocacy of "nationalism" in preference to "internationalism," as this accorded with their own secret desires. At any rate, the proceedings of the conference about this time led General Smuts to remark somewhat ruefully that "the tide of nationalism was still running very strongly in the world," and the most confirmed optimist could no longer venture to hope that the conference would produce any results of value.

In a message which he sent to Mr. Hull on July 5, President Roosevelt toned down some of the more offensive expressions which he had used in his previous message, and declared that he attached the greatest importance to the success of the conference. This did not prevent the gold standard countries from moving its adjournment on the next day. The British delegation, however, and still more those of the Dominions, were of opinion that the conference could still do useful work, and they secured the rejection of the motion. The Monetary and Economic Commissions therefore resumed their activities, though with very slender hopes of reaching any definite agreement of consequence.

In the Economic Commission the British representatives had shown little disposition to modify the protectionist policy which the country had been pursuing for the last year or more. For this they were roundly abused in Free Trade quarters. On June 21 a vehement attack was made in the House of Lords on the whole tariff policy of the Government by a Labour Peer, Lord Arnold. A year's experience, he said, had shown not only that the extravagant claims made on behalf of tariffs could not be sustained, but that they had been entirely disproved. Unemployment had not decreased; the new industries which had been established could only flourish behind tariffs, which meant that the consumer had to pay in some way or other; the use of tariffs as bargaining weapons had produced no result worth mentioning; the revenue from tariffs was disappointing; and Britain's tariff policy had done and would do much harm to the World Economic Conference. The other side of the picture was given by Earl Stanhope, the Under-Secretary for War, who pointed out that the adverse merchandise balance for 1932 compared with 1931 showed a reduction of 120,000,000Z., which he thought was a very great achievement. The World Economic Conference would not have been possible at all if Great Britain had not imposed tariffs. For it was when other countries realised that they were shut out of the British market that they thought it was worth while to come together, and so the Government had been able to take a strong line.

On July 10 the House of Commons discussed the situation which had arisen at the World Conference. Mr. Chamberlain opened the debate with a full account of the events which had led to the present impasse. He brought out clearly the contradiction between President Roosevelt's message on May 16 and his message on July 1, and he admitted that if the Government could have foreseen how America would act, they would probably not have convened the conference. With the issue of stabilisation ruled out, the scope of the conference was perforce greatly limited, and if Great Britain and the Dominions had pressed for its continuance in its original form, this was chiefly for psychological reasons—not, of course, that the conference could not still do much useful work. The British delegation was still convinced that the chief troubles from which the world was suffering were international in their origin, and that they could only be solved by international action and agreement. Hence the British policy remained what it had been from the beginning. In their view the raising of the prices of wholesale commodities still remained the primary objective. They still believed that it was not possible to effect the raising of price levels by monetary action alone, though certain monetary factors must be present as an indispensable preliminary to the raising of price level. At the bottom of the whole trouble, however,

lay the lack of confidence, and it was only the restoration of confidence which would enable them to obtain the full benefit from the various measures which they had taken for bringing about the raising of the price level. The depreciation of the dollar had undoubtedly brought into operation a very disturbing factor, but as it was to a large extent an unnatural and artificial phenomenon, not based upon intrinsic economic and financial factors, they should not allow themselves to be rushed by it into any hasty or ill-considered conclusions.

In the discussion which ensued, most of the speakers took a far more charitable view of Mr. Roosevelt's conduct than Mr. Chamberlain had done, and not a few hinted that the success of his experiment might be of at least as much benefit to the world at large as that of the conference. There were not even wanting those who urged the Government to follow his example—as far as British conditions would permit—of launching out into State-aided schemes with the object of reviving confidence. It was the general opinion that the conference might still achieve useful results and that the Government had done right in keeping it in being, but it was regarded on all sides as a foregone conclusion that no great contribution to the improvement of world conditions was any longer to be expected from it.

The later stages of the conference proved to be scarcely more fruitful than the earlier. On July 21 Mr. Runciman, as *rappor-teur* to the Economic Commission of the conference, presented to that body a report in which he suggested, without going so far as to state expressly, that genuine progress had been made. This pretence was unceremoniously brushed away by the Australian delegate, Mr. Bruce, who said that all the report indicated was that at some future time and in more suitable circumstances it might be possible to achieve some of the things which it was hoped the conference would accomplish—a statement in which he could see very little virtue. True, one of the sub-committees had drawn up plans for the limitation of production ; but for the conference to achieve nothing more than this was in Mr. Bruce's opinion a confession of failure. As a result of this and other criticisms, a number of alterations were made in the report which considerably modified its eulogistic tone.

The conference was wound up at a plenary session held on July 27, at which the reports of the Monetary and Economic Commissions were adopted, together with a recommendation of the Bureau that it should be empowered along with the President to determine the date of the reassembling of the conference. Mr. Runciman, in presenting the report of the Economic Commission, again sought to be complimentary, and praised the Commission for having achieved some very useful work in exploration, ignoring the fact that such work had been performed

very thoroughly before the conference met. Mr. Chamberlain was more realistic, and frankly recognised that practically no progress had been made towards the goal of the conference. Without specifically blaming America, he pointed out that the refusal of the American Government to contemplate proposals for stabilisation of exchanges, and/or for a return to an international monetary standard had rendered futile any attempt to continue the discussion of the full agenda. Failure was due to "circumstances over which they had no control," but he still believed that the world's troubles could be removed only by international co-operation, and sooner or later they would have to find an opportunity of completing what they had only been able to begin.

Mr. MacDonald also laid stress on the fact that he still looked forward to international co-operation for the solution of the world's difficulties. There should, he said, be no mistake regarding the fact that the present break-up was a recess and not a finish. The nations had been trying to meet their distresses by a policy of economic armament, and they had met to negotiate economic disarmament in order to restore the prosperity which had been almost destroyed. Was there a delegate who wished to stop his labours or who would take the responsibility of stopping others?

It was significant that the final meeting of the conference rejected a motion of Mr. Hull that the Bureau should meet not later than November 1 to fix the date of the resumption of the conference. This seemed to show a certain scepticism on the part of the delegates as to whether there was any use in the conference being brought together again. Such a view did not, however, mean that they intended to rely for the future on isolated national action. If the conference had not enabled all the nations of the world to agree on any common action, it had given a strong filip to the idea of concerted action between groups of nations faced by the same problem or problems in the economic or financial field. Striking examples of such concerted action were afforded by the nations attending the conference itself. One was the formation of the gold-standard *bloc*, which, though one of the major causes of the shipwreck of the conference, showed new possibilities of international co-operation. Another, more generally welcome and in fact wholly free from objection, was the conclusion, on July 22, of an agreement between the silver-using countries, India, China, and Spain, and the silver-producing countries, Australia, Canada, the United States, Mexico, and Peru, for raising the price of silver by restricting its sale or marketing. Most important of all was an agreement shortly afterwards drawn up by the chief wheat-producing countries for restricting the output of that cereal.

It was therefore a natural sequel to the conference that

immediately on its conclusion the United Kingdom Delegation, and the representatives of the Dominions (excepting Ireland) should have issued a declaration reaffirming their belief in the principles of joint action laid down at Ottawa in the previous year. The declaration dealt particularly with monetary policy, the ultimate objective of which was declared to be the restoration of a satisfactory international gold standard. Meanwhile, however, the delegations declared that they recognised the importance of stability of exchange rates between the countries of the Empire, and undertook to keep this objective steadily in mind in determining their monetary policy. They also pointed out that its achievement would be aided by the pursuit of a common policy of raising price levels. Finally, the delegations expressed their intention to recommend their Governments to consult with one another from time to time on monetary and economic policy.

One purpose of this declaration was to silence the criticism to which the Ottawa Agreements were being subjected at home. On July 20 questions were asked in Parliament which revealed the existence of widespread doubt as to whether the Dominions were interpreting the agreements in the proper spirit. Charges were brought that duties on British manufactures had been raised and that Dominion produce was being dumped in England below the cost of production. Mr. Thomas did his best to defend the Dominions, but his answers by no means satisfied the House. In the House of Lords also on the same day complaints were made about Dominion dumping or refusal to restrict supplies. Lord de la Warr, for the Government, admitted that regulation of imports would be useless if the Dominions were free to flood the market. He thought that the situation could be met by voluntary agreements, as in the case of meat, but he confessed that if the Dominions insisted on the letter of the Ottawa Agreements instead of acting in the spirit of them, it might be necessary to revise the letter.

Of the indirect results of the conference, one of the most gratifying was the relaxing of the tension in Anglo-Russian relations. M. Litvinoff, the Foreign Minister of the Soviet, had come over to London as a delegate of his Government, and he lost no time in placing himself in communication with Sir John Simon. After three interviews, he was able to announce on July 1 that the British prisoners, Messrs. MacDonald and Thornton, were about to be set at liberty. The British embargo on Russian imports was immediately raised, and the Russian Government also raised the counter-embargo which it had placed on British imports. The ground having been thus cleared, the negotiations for a new trade agreement between the two countries were soon afterwards resumed.

The renewal of trade negotiations with Russia was not allowed to pass without protest in both Houses of Parliament. In the

Lower House Mr. Baldwin, on July 20, reassured the critics by promising that if any agreement were made during the recess, it would be submitted for debate in the House before ratification, although the Executive was fully empowered to conclude such agreements as administrative acts. In the House of Lords on the same day the Government was pressed not to conclude any agreement with Russia which did not cover, besides the conditions of commerce, the questions of British representation in Russia, diplomatic immunity, propaganda, and other things. Lord Londonderry in reply promised that no permanent treaty would be made with Russia which did not cover or include a settlement of British claims, and though he said nothing definite as to the scope of the agreement, he gave the impression that the Government would not repeat the mistake made in 1930 of allowing Russia to sell to England so much more than it bought from her.

The existing Unemployment Act expired at the end of June. Early in the year the Government had announced its intention of carrying out in the course of the session a thorough reform of the unemployment insurance system, on the basis of the report presented in the previous year. Owing, however, to the complexity of the subject, it had not yet been found possible to draft the necessary legislation. Consequently the Bill which the Minister of Labour introduced on June 14 was a mere stopgap, and simply made provision for continuing the existing arrangements. Occasion was taken by Labour speakers to voice their grievances against the means test, and an amendment was brought forward for rejecting the Bill, but after a spirited reply from the Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry, this was rejected by 212 votes to 29.

At the same time that the Government provided for the transitional benefit of the unemployed, it gave some assistance to the so-called "distressed areas" where the burden of poor relief was exceptionally high. The Minister of Health had promised in the House of Commons on April 12 that the Government would seek to give temporary relief to the distressed areas, pending the framing of their long-term scheme for the relief of the able-bodied unemployed, by means of a temporary grant for the current year; and he had proposed that the grant should be financed by a reduction of the block grant to the more prosperous areas equivalent to a $\frac{1}{2}d.$ rate, with an addition from the Government. The areas approached, however, raised strong objections to this plan, and the Government felt obliged to drop it. Instead, therefore, it decided to provide a grant of 500,000*l.* from the Exchequer for the assistance of the distressed areas—a sum which the latter complained was wholly inadequate.

A request for this sum was placed before Parliament by the Minister of Health on July 6. In spite of criticisms from outside,

he maintained that owing to the improvement in trade, 500,000*l.* would be sufficient to tide the distressed areas over the present year ; and in any case, to place a larger burden on the Budget might be a hindrance to industrial recovery. Ministerialists were convinced by the second argument if not by the first, and a Labour motion of dissent was negatived by 298 votes to 37.

The opponents of the Government's Indian policy, though defeated in Parliament, refused to give up the struggle, and transferred the battle to another field. At their instigation, a meeting of the Central Council of the National Union of Unionist Associations was held on June 28 to consider the question of the Unionist Party's policy in the matter. Some 1,200 members attended, among them being nearly all the Parliamentary leaders of the Unionist Party. Mr. Baldwin, who had a most enthusiastic reception, opened the proceedings with a speech in which he assured the meeting that the White Paper had the support of the entire Cabinet and of a unanimous Government in India, including the Commander-in-Chief. A motion was then brought forward by Lord Lloyd "viewing with grave anxiety proposals to transfer at the present time responsibility at the Centre of Government in India, and to place control of the judicial system and of the police in the hands of Ministers responsible to elected Provincial Assemblies." To this an amendment was moved approving the resolute attitude of the Government in framing its proposals for a new Constitution for India, and postponing any final conclusion on the matter until the Joint Select Committee should have made its recommendations. After an animated debate in which Mr. Churchill also took part, a ballot was taken, and it was found that 838 had voted for the amendment and 356 against—a result which showed that the Government could still count on the support of the bulk of the Unionist Party for its India policy.

On July 21 the Government asked the House of Commons to approve its plan of converting Five and a half per Cent. United Kingdom Dollar Bonds—originally issued in 1917—into a sterling loan at Two and a half per Cent. and carrying interest repayable in gold dollars. Since the United States had abrogated the "gold clause," Great Britain might also have done so, but there was a moral obligation attaching to these bonds, because there was reason to suppose that most of them were not held by Americans. The Government proposed therefore to convert them into a sterling loan bearing interest at two and a half per cent., so that the net effect of the proposal would be to increase the capital repayable in 1937 by 7,500,000*l.* and to reduce the total interest payments by 2,250,000*l.* This he called a "square deal" for the bondholders. Sir Stafford Cripps, however, protested that it was much too square and contrasted the treatment of the bondholders with that of the unemployed. Members of

other parties also were none too well satisfied with the proposal, but in the end it was approved by 131 votes to 22.

On July 17 the Prime Minister announced in the House of Commons that the Government intended to give a preference for some years to come to light hydrocarbon oils manufactured in England from indigenous coal, shale, or peat. The object of this step was to encourage Imperial Chemical Industries, Ltd., to continue their experiments—on which they had already spent 1,000,000*l.*—for extracting petrol from coal by setting up a new plant, the mere erection of which might have an important effect on employment. When the proposal was discussed a week later in the House of Commons, it was subjected to criticism from a variety of angles, but the reception on the whole was not unfavourable.

By the irony of events, the failure of the Economic Conference to find any remedy for the world crisis fell in the midst of a distinct, if slight improvement in the economic situation in England. Already on May 18 the Minister of Labour had made the gratifying announcement that the unemployment problem had become slightly less acute in the first quarter of the year, the numbers having gone down during this period by about 200,000. There was a slight rise in April, but then the improvement was resumed. The trade figures in the summer were equally cheering, and in reviewing the situation on July 4 Dr. Burgin, the Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Trade, ventured to speak of "increasing confidence." For this he was taken to task by Sir Herbert Samuel, who advised him to pay a visit to the North of England, where he would find the position still deplorable.

The question of capital expenditure by Governments on public works was discussed by the Economic Commission of the World Conference on July 14, and Mr. Runciman took occasion to state with his usual definiteness that he did not believe in it. This statement came as a great disappointment to many members of Parliament who, on the strength of some remarks recently made by the Prime Minister and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, had formed the impression that the Government was about to embark on a more liberal policy in this respect. It was thought at first that there might be a division of opinion in the Cabinet on the subject, but in the course of a debate on the failure of the conference on July 26, Mr. Chamberlain fully associated himself with the views of Mr. Runciman, who took occasion to enunciate them once more in unmistakable language.

CHAPTER III.

THE DISARMAMENT PROBLEM.

PARLIAMENT rose for the summer recess on July 27, and a strenuous and exciting session was followed by a spell of political calm. During the month of August little of note occurred in public affairs. No great issues agitated the public mind, as in most other countries ; in fact, the outstanding feature of the whole period of the recess was the steady, if modest improvement in trade and reduction of unemployment, all the more gratifying because they took place at a season when the trend was usually in the opposite direction.

Not, of course, that there were not abundant grounds for discontent in England also. The Government's agricultural policy had so far not produced the rise in prices which was aimed at, and the livestock farmers again found themselves in a desperate position. They appealed to the Government for help, and in response the Minister of Agriculture pointed out that prices would have been much lower still but for the drastic action taken by the Government in the previous November to regulate by voluntary agreement imports of chilled and frozen beef and frozen mutton and lamb. As a result of this nearly 19,000 tons of chilled and frozen beef and mutton and lamb had been taken off the market between November, 1932, and May, 1933. Further reductions had also been made since which, it was hoped, would give a healthier tone to the beef market.

On August 2 the report was issued of the Committee under Lord Moyne which had been examining the question of housing. The Committee came to the conclusion that there was a large number of houses in the country which, though unfit for human habitation in their present condition, were yet capable of being reconditioned so as to be able to last several more years. Reconditioning therefore could play an important part in the policy of slum clearance. The local authorities already, it was stated, possessed the statutory powers necessary to carry it out, but were reluctant to use them. The Committee therefore proposed that the initiative should be entrusted to a number of local Public Utility Societies controlled by a central Public Utility Council, which should have the power in the last resort to acquire property compulsorily. On the other hand, the majority of the Committee rejected the proposal put forward by certain witnesses for the creation of a National Housing Corporation or Board. A few days later the Minister of Health issued a statement saying that the report was a document of great interest and importance, and was receiving the close attention of the Government. At the same time he took occasion to point out to local authorities

that there was nothing in the report which conflicted with the request he had made in April that programmes of slum clearance should be submitted to him by the end of September, and that he was still expecting them by that date.

On August 9 a statement was issued by the Dominions Office that, in accordance with a decision taken just after the close of the World Economic Conference by representatives of the United Kingdom and the Dominions Governments, the work of the Empire Marketing Board would be brought to a close after September 30. It was announced, however, that certain of the economic and statistical services furnished by the Board, namely, the periodical market intelligence notes and the world surveys of production and trade, would be carried on as part of the work of the Imperial Economic Committee. The decision to bring the Board to a close was due chiefly to the lack of interest shown by the Dominions in its work, and was received in England with no small regret. Even before Parliament rose members had tried hard to avert it, and Mr. Thomas had made it clear that he would be ready at any time to co-operate with the Dominions in restarting the Board. Now too the Government was urged from many quarters to reverse the decision, if possible, but it did not find any means of doing so, and the Empire Marketing Board was duly wound up on September 30.

On August 25 a delegation representing the textile trades, chiefly of Lancashire, left for India in order to take part in a tripartite discussion with representatives of the cotton trades of India and Japan regarding the regulation of exports from their respective countries. This step was the outcome of the alarm caused in Lancashire and in India by the very rapid increase of Japanese imports in certain markets, due chiefly to the depreciation of the yen. Before it left, the delegation received a letter from the President of the Board of Trade in which he expressed the hope that the discussions would mark a new development in the field of international competition which would be an example to other industries as well. He also appealed to the delegates to make it clear to the Indian representatives that Britain fully and freely recognised the very remarkable development of the Indian cotton industry, and that their only desire was to co-operate in every possible way with that industry to the mutual advantage of both countries.

On August 31 the General Council of the Trade Union Congress, in preparation for the Congress to be held in the following week, published a report on "Dictatorships and the Trade Union Movement," embodying its considered opinion on a subject which had been warmly discussed in trade union and Labour circles ever since the advent to power of Herr Hitler. Although condemnation of the Hitler regime was universal in these quarters, there were not wanting those who advocated a "dictatorship of

the Left " either to secure the more rapid fulfilment of Socialist aims, or to combat the danger of a " dictatorship of the Right " and Fascist rule in general. The General Council showed itself to be inflexibly opposed to this view. After giving an account of the events which led to the establishment of the Nazi dictatorship in Germany and the Communist dictatorship in Russia, the report went on to state that the General Council emphatically repudiated dictatorship as a principle and method of government, on the ground that it was contrary to democracy, and destructive of the foundations of freedom on which the true Socialist commonwealth must rest. There was no menace in this country of Communist violence nor was there such political disorganisation as might be an excuse for dictatorships in other countries. They should therefore be constantly on their guard to detect and combat tendencies towards dictatorship of any kind. A certain confusion of thought had created a tolerant attitude towards a dictatorship of the Left, and therefore it was well to remember that Communism stood for a dictatorship just as ruthless to minority opinion as Fascism. The Council in conclusion affirmed its belief in Parliamentary institutions, and while declaring itself ready to welcome improvements in the Parliamentary machine denounced any attempt to supersede Parliament or undermine its democratic working. It was still true that efficient government was no substitute for self-government.

The sixty-fifth Congress of the Trade Unions was opened on September 4 at Brighton, under the presidency of Mr. A. G. Walkden, the general secretary of the National Union of Railway-men. In his presidential address Mr. Walkden made a vehement attack on Fascism, which he declared to be the arch-enemy of the trade union movement and the last bulwark of Capitalism, and he laid special stress on the danger of Fascist propaganda among the young. Unlike the report of the General Council, however, he had no word of condemnation for the " dictatorship of the Left " ; and he had nothing but praise for Mr. Roosevelt's programme of industrial recovery. This he found in certain respects to be following sound trade union principles, and he thought it could be said, on the evidence available, that America had turned to the policy which organised Labour had long advocated as a solution of the present crisis.

The views of the General Council on dictatorship were endorsed by the Congress with scarcely a dissentient voice. This was the only matter of general interest on which the Council reported to the Congress. Two other subjects of equal importance, however, were raised by the delegates, and in regard to both the Council narrowly escaped being forced into a policy of which it did not approve. One was the question of a general strike as a weapon for preventing war. A resolution was brought forward that Congress should instruct the General Council to work within the

International Federation of Trade Unions for organising a determined boycott of war if and when it should be declared and a refusal to help in any shape or form measures calculated to assist in the prosecution of war. The general opinion of the Congress seemed to be in favour of the motion, but members of the General Council deprecated a vote on the ground that its implications were very serious, and asked for time to consider it further. It was ultimately decided that the Council should call a special conference to consider the subject within six months.

A similar division of opinion arose over the question of workers' control in industry. In its present report, the Council had gone so far as to recommend, in response to the widespread desire among the workers for greater control, that in appointing members to the boards of control of socialised industries, the Minister responsible should consult with the trade unions concerned. This was not enough for some of the delegates, and a motion was brought forward affirming the right of workers of all grades and occupations to a share in the control and direction of the industries in which they were engaged, and claiming 50 per cent. of the representation on managerial committees—in other words, a motion to replace "proprietor control" by "workers' control." Mr. Citrine, on behalf of the Council, pointed out that this was sheer syndicalism. Without going into the merits of the proposal, he put it to the delegates whether the Congress would help the Labour Party to get an electoral majority by telling the community that once an industry had been passed over to the State the entire management was to be handed over to the workers. The mover insisted on a card vote being taken as to whether the General Council's report should be referred back, with the result that there were found to be 1,428,000 against this course and 1,045,000 for—a majority of only 383,000 for the General Council.

In preparation for the forthcoming annual conference of the Labour Party, the National Executive Committee on September 19 issued a report in which it contrasted the inactivity and sluggishness of the National Government in England with the energy and boldness of the President of the United States. The Government, it said, had power in abundance, but lacked the will to use it for the nation's good. The report went on to say that two great tasks confronted the Labour Party. One was to plan the application of Socialist principles to national finance, trade, and industry; the other was at the same time to work out the means of securing to the mass of the people the degree of sustenance and comfort which the world's plenty now made possible. In the political field, the party would stand forward as the champion of liberty and democracy—of a free press, the right of free assembly, the right of free speech, and the holding of free elections. The Committee also recorded its appreciation of the untiring efforts of Mr. Henderson as Chairman of the League of Nations Disarmament

Conference, and stated that arrangements had been made for him to maintain contact with the head office of the party.

A definite scheme for "applying Socialist principles to finance" had been promulgated in a report issued by the Labour Party in August on "Socialism and the condition of the people." Here it was proposed that the Government should acquire the shares of the "big five" banks—Barclay's, Lloyds, the Midland, the National, and the Westminster—and therewith the right of appointing directors. The five large existing directorates could then be replaced by one small one, and the saving thus effected could be utilised in part for the creation of an efficient statistical and research department. The general lines of banking policy would be indicated by the Government, and the Banking Corporation would be required to co-operate with the socialised Bank of England and the National Investment Board in giving effect to it, in conformity with the National Plan of Development. Parliament would be entitled to discuss and criticise the general lines of banking policy as laid down by the responsible Minister, without interfering in matters of detail. To avoid the danger of loss of liquidity by the Banking Corporation while furnishing the necessary credits for industry, a new credit institution should be created under public ownership and control, to grant intermediate credits to approved industries and to agriculture. Deposit banking outside the Banking Corporation should be carried on only on the grant of a licence from the Government.

Other reports drawn up by the National Executive dealt with colonies, with housing, and with the procedure to be adopted by the party in forming a Ministry, should it be called upon to do so. Taught by the painful experience of the party with Mr. MacDonald, the Executive now framed rules for taking out of the hands of any leader of the party the power to use his personal authority and by himself alone to choose and appoint Ministers. The next Labour Prime Minister, it was proposed, should be required to consult in this matter with a body of three persons to be appointed by the Parliamentary party, and should also be subject to majority decisions of the Cabinet, and he should recommend a dissolution of Parliament only on the decision of the Cabinet confirmed by a Parliamentary party meeting. Proposals were also made for restricting the excessive authority of the Chancellor of the Exchequer in determining financial policy.

The annual conference of the Labour Party opened at Hastings on October 2. The Chairman, Mr. Joseph Compton, devoted his inaugural address partly to criticising the National Government both for its home and its foreign policy, and partly to repudiating all ideas of Fascism or dictatorship. The Labour Party, he said, pinned its faith to political democracy. It had spent its limited resources on its efforts to secure a Parliamentary majority, and it would not be deflected from its task. Once power had been

obtained, however, it would carry out the will of the people as determined at the polls with vigour and determination, and would not tolerate factious opposition and obstruction in the execution of its duty to the electorate.

From the outset of the conference, the proceedings revealed the existence among the delegates of a determined "Left Wing" element, which had organised itself in the form of a "Socialist League," and which favoured methods more drastic than might perhaps be consistent with democratic principles. The first move of this section was to propose the reference back of a paragraph of the Executive Committee's report which urged members of the Labour movement to abstain from assisting to establish Communist or other special organisations for purposes which could be pursued through the trade union movement of the Labour Party. This was rejected by a very large majority, but on the next day another attack was made from the same quarter from which the Executive did not get off so easily. This took the form of a motion to refer back to the Executive a section of the report on "Socialism and the condition of the people," with instructions to specify the means to be adopted by the next Labour Government for a rapid and complete conversion of the Capitalist into the Socialist system. The amendment went on to set out these means in detail as the immediate abolition of the House of Lords; the passing of an emergency Powers Act to enable the Government to take over the financial machine and take steps for the socialisation of industry; revision of the procedure of the House of Commons and the machinery of Government; and an economic plan for industry, finance, and foreign trade. Sir Stafford Cripps was to have moved the amendment, but, after making a long speech in its support, he refrained from doing so on receiving an undertaking from the Executive that they were prepared to take these matters into consideration and to bring them back next year. This decision of the Executive was subsequently confirmed by the conference, as were also the financial proposals of the report dealing with the banks.

The conference at its third day's sitting dealt with the question of war and disarmament, and passed a motion instructing the Executive Committee, in conjunction with the Trade Union Congress and the Co-operative Movement, to launch a vigorous propaganda for countering the war appeal, to work within the Labour and Socialist International for an uncompromising attitude against war preparations, and to pledge itself to take no part in war, and to resist it with the whole force of the Labour movement.

An address was given to the conference on the subject Of disarmament by Mr. Henderson, the President of the Disarmament Conference. He said that organising the world for peace and organising the country for Socialism were parts of the same task.

Just as at home Parliament was their instrument for carrying out their policy, so the League of Nations was the instrument for organising peace. It was far from being a perfect instrument, especially so long as Russia and the United States stood out, but nevertheless experience had shown that it was a powerful instrument which a Labour Government could use effectively. The machinery and obligations of the League were so constructed as to favour the kind of policies in which the Labour Party believed. That was why they of the Labour Party must make up their minds to use the League to the utmost the moment they got into power. Mr. Clynes moved a resolution favouring the total disarmament of all nations throughout the world and the creation of an international police force, and calling upon the British Government to abandon its retrograde attitude on the question of air bombing at the Disarmament Conference and to submit certain definite proposals to the conference.

Following the example of the Trade Union Congress, the Labour Party Conference, on the fourth day of its sitting, passed a resolution over the head of the Executive demanding acknowledgment by law of the right of wage earners of all grades and occupations to an effective share in the control and direction of socialised industries. In the discussion on the part of the Executive's report dealing with Fascism and dictatorship, the Executive was criticised for not having recommended the formation of a united front with the Communists to combat these dangers. Mr. Morrison pointed out that the reason why they had not done so was because they had found in the past that co-operation with that party was impossible and was asking for trouble. There would have been difficulties because the Communists believed in a form of dictatorship themselves. The same difficulty arose in connection with the I.L.P. because that party did not know whether they agreed with the Communist Party or the Labour Party. Mr. Morrison in conclusion warned the conference that if they flirted with a dictatorship of the Left they were preparing a political psychology which would find justification for a dictatorship of the Right. A motion to refer back the section of the report in question was defeated.

The annual conference of the National Union of Conservative and Liberal Unionist Associations was also held on October 5 and 6 at Birmingham. It showed no disposition to quarrel with existing political arrangements or even to claim for the Conservative Party a larger share in the Government. It accepted the Government's housing and agricultural policy, but urged it to show greater activity in the matter of Empire development and House of Lords reform. On the matter of disarmament it was frankly critical of the Government and passed a resolution, moved by Lord Lloyd and supported by Mr. Amery and Mr. Churchill, recording its grave anxiety in regard to the inadequacy of the provisions made for Imperial defence.

The conference provided an opportunity for another **trial of strength** on the subject of India. The lead was again taken by Lord Wolmer, who moved a resolution expressing apprehension at the proposals in the White Paper concerning finance, defence, police, the welfare of the Indian peoples, and trade discrimination in India. An amendment was brought forward expressing approval of the caution with which the Government was proceeding, and declaring that the conference could not itself come to any final conclusion on the matter until the Joint Select Committee had finished hearing the evidence and had made its recommendations. The spokesman for the Government on this occasion was Mr. Chamberlain, who had been purposely chosen for the task in order to allay persistent rumours that he was at variance with his colleagues on the subject. He now made an appeal to the delegates to approach the subject in a judicial spirit and not to jeopardise party unity. He pointed out that the whole question of India was one of immense complexity and difficulty which was not made less by the fact that they received diametrically opposing statements from people who professed to know India. He thought therefore that the best thing was that they should suspend judgment until the Joint Select Committee had had an opportunity of formulating their recommendations, provided there was a reasonable assurance that the Government was going on wise and sound lines. Safeguards were proposed against all the dangers apprehended, and he asked them not to prejudge the issue. On a vote being taken the amendment was carried by 737 votes to 344—a result which the Government could not regard as altogether satisfactory.

At the close of the conference, Mr. Baldwin addressed a mass meeting in Birmingham and took occasion to protest against the demand voiced at the conference for an increase in armaments. In view of the prevailing fear of war on the Continent of Europe, it was, he said, imperative, if it could be done, to bring about a Disarmament Convention. There were many sections of the party who treated this matter lightly, and he wanted them to think it out. Many people believed quite sincerely that it would not make much difference to the world if the Disarmament Conference failed. He believed that this was a wholly mistaken view, that the effects of failure might be disastrous to European civilisation. If rearmament began in Europe, they could at any rate say good-bye to any reduction of taxation for a generation.

At the end of September, Professor Einstein, the noted German-Jewish savant, crossed from Belgium to England, in order to render himself more secure from the attentions of the Nazis, and advantage was taken of his presence in this country by a number of sympathisers—chief among whom was Commander Locker-Lampson, M.P.—to organise a mass meeting in the Albert Hall for the purpose of raising money for the Refugee Assistance

Fund (October 3). The chair was taken by Lord Rutherford, O.M., and the principal speaker, besides Professor Einstein himself, was Sir Austen Chamberlain. The professor's appearance roused the audience to a high pitch of enthusiasm, and the financial response was described by the organiser as "entirely overwhelming—but still not enough."

Soon after the conclusion of the World Economic Conference the British Government was informed by President Roosevelt that he was ready to open formal negotiations on the question of war debts. The Government, which had been waiting patiently for such a message, lost no time in availing itself of the opportunity, and on September 27 Sir F. Leith-Ross, the Chief Economic Adviser to the Government, left for Washington in order to act as its representative, in company with the British Ambassador at Washington and the Financial Adviser to the British Embassy there. Another instalment of the debt was due on December 15, and in view of conditions in the United States there was reason to fear that if an arrangement was not made in time, the disconcerting experience of last year might be repeated.

Before the negotiations had proceeded very far, it became obvious that the President was not disposed, at least for the present, to make such reductions in the debt total as would in any way satisfy the British Government. They were therefore brought to a close on November 3, without any decision being arrived at on the main issue, and soon afterwards Sir F. Leith-Ross returned to England. With regard to the payment due in December, it was decided that Great Britain should again make a token payment of the same amount as in June, and that in so doing she should not be considered to be in default.

On September 29 a trade agreement was concluded with Finland on lines similar to those concluded in the spring with the Scandinavian countries. The chief gains for Britain were that Finland agreed to take in future not less than 75 per cent, of her coal imports from Great Britain, and also to lower very considerably the duties on cotton piece-goods; also to send her produce to Britain in British jute bags. In return, Britain made concessions to Finland in regard to duties on certain kinds of wood, and accorded her most-favoured-nation treatment in respect of agricultural produce, fixing 198,000 cwt. as the figure below which butter imports were not to fall. The treaty was to run for three years, and after that to be subject to denunciation at three months' notice.

On September 23 the Prime Minister, in view of a series of by-elections which was pending, made a public speech in which, for the first time for many months, he dealt with questions of home policy. Addressing a meeting at Kilmarnock he made a defence of the Government's record during its two years of office and an appeal for its continued existence. He saw no reason, he

said, in the events that had taken place in that time, for fearing that, when the past could be surveyed with more calm, he should ever be called on to apologise or to feel that he did wrong in joining the National Government. Two years before the very existence of the country's wealth had been at stake ; to-day their currency ranked with the very best and trade was showing hopeful signs. Through the efforts of the Government wholesale prices were rising without practically affecting the cost of living, and this was an achievement of which the National Government might well be proud. They still had to deal with the problems of unemployment and housing, and it was therefore essential that the co-operation between parties should continue.

On October 3 the Chancellor of the Exchequer, at a dinner given by the Lord Mayor of London to the city bankers, formulated afresh his financial policy in the light of the existing situation. He said that he saw *in* the present improvement both a justification of his work in the past and an encouragement to follow the same paths in the future. Keeping in mind the fact that the prosperity of this country was intimately bound up with the revival of international trade, he thought it possible to name four major objects which they might seek. First he would put a rise in wholesale prices, especially the prices of primary commodities. As to the methods of bringing this about there might be great differences of opinion, but he still held to the view that in present circumstances in the case of primary commodities there was no method so certain and so rapid in its operation as the control of production and the proper adaptation of supply to demand, where that could be effected by international agreement, as had recently been attempted in the case of wheat. The second object was the removal or lowering of oppressive trade barriers. For these he did not blame entirely or even mainly the growth of a spirit of economic nationalism, but he ascribed it rather to fears born of an experience of uncontrolled inflation in certain European countries. The third object was the establishment of an international monetary standard. This, he was fairly sure, would eventually have to be gold. But Britain could not consent to link her currency to gold until they were certain that the conditions prevailing were such as would permit a gold standard to function efficiently. Lastly he would mention the resumption of international lending, which had been stopped not because there was no money to lend, but because of doubts as to the safety of the loans. Considering that in the last resort the resumption of international lending must depend on a return of confidence, it looked as if this might be the last of the four objects to attain fulfilment.

A pendant to the Chancellor's speech was provided by an address delivered on October 12 by Mr. Baldwin as the first of a series of political broadcasts from leaders of all parties in which the ban on controversial matter was lifted, the same freedom

being allowed as at election time. Mr. Baldwin took the opportunity to bring to the notice of the public the great improvement which had taken place in many branches of national life since the advent of the National Government two years before. The adverse trade balance had been reduced in 1932 by 120,000,000Z.; valuable trade agreements had been made with foreign countries; some 700,000 additional persons had been brought into employment in the past twelvemonth; trade was slowly and steadily improving and confidence was returning; the national finances had been put permanently on a sound basis; by the great Conversion Loan the taxpayer had been saved 52,000,000l. a year on Government loans, and British industry and commerce could obtain capital at a much lower rate of interest; and lastly, the farmer could now look forward to the future with greater confidence than he had enjoyed for years. After pointing out that many difficult problems still lay ahead, Mr. Baldwin asserted that the Socialist Party was turning more and more to extremism, and warned his hearers against returning to party strife or putting their faith in policies of which class warfare was the very essence.

On September 5 the Cabinet met for the first time since the recess, to take stock of the situation at home and abroad and to commence making its preparations for the forthcoming session. A survey was made of the economic and industrial position of the country, and the question was raised whether the time had not come to embark on a new policy in the matter of public works. The failure of the World Economic Conference, along with the strengthening of the nationalistic tendency in many countries, had for the time being dashed the hopes of any great revival in the export trade. It was therefore no longer possible to defer making a resolute endeavour to absorb the unemployed in some other way.

But the subject which chiefly occupied the attention of the Cabinet was that of disarmament. The prospects that a Convention would be framed by the Disarmament Conference on the basis of the British proposals were now by no means so bright as they had been a month or two before. France had in the interval stiffened her requirements, thus making German agreement more difficult to obtain. The conference was in a more critical position than ever, and the problem of saving it became the chief pre-occupation of the Cabinet for some time to come.

Although the British Government was anxious to hold the scales perfectly even between France and Germany, various actions of the German Government had forced it into a stricter alignment with France and tended to bring about a closer co-operation between the two countries. A request made in July by the German War Minister for permission to purchase twenty-five aeroplanes in England strengthened the British Government's suspicions of

Germany's military designs ; and not only did it refuse the request but it took a greater interest thereafter in France's inquiries into Germany's alleged preparations for rearmament in contravention of the Treaty of Versailles. Early in August Britain joined with France in bringing pressure to bear on Germany to make her desist from her anti-Austrian propaganda by means of aeroplanes and wireless. A little later, Great Britain found it necessary to protest, in company with France and other countries, against German restrictions on foreign shipping companies.

On September 18 Mr. Eden, the Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, went to Paris to discuss certain points with the French Government. His report was considered at a long meeting of the Cabinet on September 21, and was held to be encouraging. On September 22 Sir John Simon and Mr. Eden left for Paris and Geneva. At Geneva Sir John strongly opposed a postponement of the disarmament discussions, or their transference to some other place, and largely through his influence they were continued at Geneva.

By this time opinion in England was beginning to grow pessimistic. Even the Prime Minister and Mr. Henderson, who usually took the more hopeful view, could find little to comfort them in the situation. Writing to a meeting of the International Peace Society on October 6, Mr. MacDonald admitted that the conditions which make peace secure had not improved within the last twelve months ; that untoward things had happened to disturb the sense of confidence and security and to diminish the willingness of nations to trust themselves to the neighbourly co-operation of others. Mr. Henderson, who addressed the meeting, also admitted that the apprehension of war was more widespread than ever before. It was true that the Disarmament Conference had come to an agreement on certain matters of principle. But the question was whether it would succeed in producing a genuine convention; and Mr. Henderson could find no reason for expecting this save the fact that the consequences of failure would be too awful to contemplate.

The general forebodings were soon fulfilled in a dramatic fashion. On October 14 Sir John Simon made a speech at the conference in which he charged Germany with having shifted her ground in the course of the preceding weeks. The German Government took great offence at this remark, and made it a ground for leaving the Disarmament Conference, a step which it at once followed up by giving notice to resign its membership of the League of Nations.

Sir John Simon's speech had been made with the full approval of the Cabinet, but naturally there were not wanting those in England who were ready to blame him for having needlessly provoked Germany to the fateful step which she had taken. He was also accused by the German Foreign Minister of having in his

speech grossly misrepresented Germany's attitude. He returned to London on October 17, and immediately replied to his critics in a broadcast speech. He explained that a difference had arisen between the Powers and Germany on the question whether Germany should be allowed to have "samples" of the weapons at present prohibited to her. Germany had been asked to define what she meant by samples, but instead of doing so had put forward a claim for rearmament from the very beginning. It was this that had led him to say that Germany's attitude had changed for the worse, and to this statement he adhered, and he refused to believe that his speech to the Bureau was the real cause of Germany's withdrawal from the conference.

To show that it identified itself with Sir John Simon in this matter, the Government on October 20 issued a White Paper containing among other things a record of the proceedings of the Bureau of the Disarmament Conference on October 14. From this it appeared that at this meeting Mr. Henderson had asked Sir John Simon to make a statement with reference to the conversations which had been going on since September 23. It was this statement to which exception had been taken by the German Government, but it had been accepted at the meeting as a fair and correct account by the delegates of the United States, Italy, and France.

Of more importance than the personal controversy between Sir John Simon and Baron Neurath was the question of the policy which the Government was now to adopt towards Germany. The action of that country was generally condemned in England; it was described by Mr. Chamberlain as "hasty and ill-advised," and by Mr. Henderson as "premature and unfortunate." The Cabinet, however, were agreed that the door should not be closed on Germany, and that every opportunity should be given to her to resume the disarmament discussions at any time she should so desire; and they were determined therefore that nothing should be done to accentuate ill-feeling or to make things more difficult for her.

In this spirit the Prime Minister a few days later (October 23) in a public speech made an appeal to Germany to reconsider her decision. Britain, he reminded her, had ever striven to remove the grievances of Germany. Again and again she had shown herself Germany's greatest friend in her struggle to recover a level of mental and moral equality of status with other nations. Britain had repeatedly given voice to the belief that there could be no settlement in Europe until all European nations could sit round the same table on terms of equality with one another. The idea that they had done nothing to meet Germany's case was absurd; this country could look Germany in the face without any blush or apology. It was, however, necessary that two parties should make contributions to disarmament. The heavily armed parties

must reduce their armaments, the non-armed parties must reduce the fear of their neighbours and increase the tranquillity of the mind of Europe. Germany would never have found great obstacles to a recognition of equality if she had been willing to play the part he had indicated. He would therefore appeal to Germany now to see the problem that faced her. Germany must make it possible for other nations to lie down alongside her without having fear aroused in their hearts and distrust reflected in their arms. Were they satisfied that they had done their share in making the recognition of equality possible? The British Government was not going to give up its attempts to secure an agreed scheme of disarmament. He would therefore ask Germany whether she had said her last word. He accepted the words in favour of peace spoken by her Chancellor. But was abandonment of the League of Nations the way to bring peace? He would answer, no. He hoped, however, that Germany would seize the first opportunity to show by her actions that she was pursuing peace and that she was anxious to return to a co-operation with the other nations, a co-operation of course that would not ask her to forfeit either honour or self-respect.

In spite of the official explanations of the deadlock which had occurred, the spokesmen of the Labour Party and the Labour Press as with one voice threw the blame for it on the Government in general and the Foreign Secretary in particular. The cry was raised that the Government was to say the least not sincerely anxious for peace, and that its policy, or want of policy, was calculated to bring war appreciably nearer. Although these charges were not supported by any definite proofs, they made an impression on a large part of the public, and provided the Labour Party with an effective battle-cry for the time being. At a by-election which took place at East Fulham on October 26, the Labour candidate gained a sensational victory over the Conservative, turning a minority of 14,581 into a majority of 4,840. A few days later, November 1, in the municipal elections which took place throughout the country, Labour on the balance gained over two hundred seats, largely recovering the ground which it had lost two years before. In both cases the denunciations of the Government as war-mongers played a considerable part in bringing about the Labour success.

A valiant effort to combat the rising prejudice against the Government was made by Mr. Eden, the Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, in a speech delivered on November 3 at Skipton, in connexion with a by-election campaign there. He reproached the Labour Party with indulging in an "hysterical exaggeration" of a difficult international situation, and with attempting to make party capital out of the deep and sincere anxiety they all shared to maintain the peace of the world. Although, he said, they ought to deplore Germany's action, this was no occasion for alarmist

language, still less for the scaremongering which had been indulged in in certain quarters during the last few weeks. The situation could without doubt be redeemed, but to do so they must keep their heads and their engagements. The Locarno Treaties, against which a campaign had been let loose, principally by Lord Beaverbrook, were one of the most effective instruments for peace in Europe. No British Government was blindly fettered by the Treaty of Locarno, but they had by that treaty assumed certain obligations. Some people, he said, seemed to imagine that if they were furnished with some means of escape from what they were pleased to call the " commitments " of Locarno, they would then be less likely to be involved in a European war ; but the very opposite was, of course, the truth. They could not avoid another war by saying that in no circumstances would they go to the aid of a power unjustly attacked. Britain was a great Power with the responsibilities of a great Power, and if they failed to discharge them, they would invite the disaster which would follow.

In regard to the charge against the National Government that they had not been whole-hearted in support of disarmament, he would only say that in general no delegation at the Disarmament Conference had worked harder to bring about the success of the conference than that of the British Government, and it was no fault of theirs if the attempt to reconcile the French demand for security with the German demand for equality had not yet been successful. Without doubt the departure of Germany must cause some dislocation in the work of the conference, but the British Government was determined that the work of disarmament should go on, and they were engaged in the examination of the problem as it now presented itself, endeavouring to find the best methods to employ in the circumstances that confronted them.

On the eve of the reassembling of Parliament after the summer recess, the solidarity of the Cabinet was strikingly demonstrated at a luncheon given on November 6 by the National Labour Committee to the Prime Minister, Mr. Baldwin, and Sir John Simon as heads of the three parties which constituted the Ministerial following. The luncheon was attended by most members of the Cabinet. There had been a widespread expectation that this function would witness the announcement of the formation of a new National Party, negotiations for which, it was believed, had been proceeding for some time. No suggestion of the kind, however, was to be found in the speeches delivered ; on the contrary, the Prime Minister even begged his hearers not to believe stories which were being circulated to that effect in some of the newspapers. The three principal guests each in his own way, however, emphasised the necessity of keeping the National Government in being. The Prime Minister maintained that the British National Government stood as the greatest steadying influence in the whole world, and that the condition of the world

was such that any return to party government—which was bound very soon to become partisan government—was not only a mistake but a crime. Mr. Baldwin pointed out that they were tending in certain forms of industry, particularly agriculture, to a new form of control which few could have envisaged a few years ago, and that these changes required the close co-operation of all the men who believed in the new order of things. Therefore "they were sticking together to see the job through." Sir John Simon laid stress on the fact that on all sides they saw threats to Parliamentary institutions, which really meant a threat of dictatorship; and that was the danger from which a national combination had to save England.

On November 7 Parliament met for a short spell to finish off the work of the session which had been left over when it broke up in July. Disarmament, however, was now the subject uppermost in all men's minds, and the first debate was given up to it. Sir John Simon opened with a long speech devoted chiefly to a recapitulation of past events, accompanied by a scathing exposure of the Government's critics, in particular Sir Stafford Cripps, who had been the most abusive. He adduced good grounds for thinking that Germany had been preparing for some time to leave the Disarmament Conference, and that his speech merely provided the excuse. He also laid stress on the fact that the British draft convention submitted in March had been almost universally regarded both at Geneva and at home as a really valuable contribution to the discussions and as the possible basis of an agreement. With regard to the Treaty of Locarno, he pointed out that of the four obligations laid by it upon Great Britain, three were conditional upon the unanimous verdict of the Council of the League, of which she was a member, and the fourth depended upon their own judgment as to whether a flagrant breach of the treaty had been committed, so that it could not be said that the obligations imposed had become intolerable. With regard to the future he said no more than that the problem was to reconcile German claims with French fears, and that Britain could best contribute to this end neither by remaining isolated nor by forming alliances, but by staunchly supporting the League of Nations and its machinery—a statement which not unnaturally left the House somewhat unsatisfied.

In the subsequent debate, Mr. Lansbury justified the Labour strictures on the Government by reference to the resolution in favour of increased armaments passed by the Conservative Conference, and by an allegation that armament firms in England were very busy and were showing increased profits. Sir Austen Chamberlain once more expressed his doubts of Germany's good faith, and incidentally took Mr. Lloyd George to task for having in a recent speech brought charges against his own Government and country which had been seized on with avidity by the German

authorities and used by them as political propaganda. Mr. George explained that the remarks complained of were made to a "talkie film" in which very little time was allowed him, otherwise he would have expressed himself differently. He again, however, somewhat perversely, tried to make out that Germany was the injured party and that her action was, to say the least, excusable. Mr. Eden, in winding up the debate, said he still maintained that if all nations had accepted the draft convention they would have realised by far the greatest measure of agreed disarmament that the world had ever attempted. The Government still stood by the convention, and if there were any who desired to criticise it, he appealed to them not to make peace an issue of party politics.

The subject was discussed on the next day in the House of Lords. The debate was opened by a Labour Peer, Lord Ponsonby, who said that he could not regard the speech of Sir John Simon as satisfactory, or as disposing of the general distrust which had grown up with regard to the Government's handling of the disarmament question. He himself suggested that Great Britain should propose to the Powers to reduce their armaments within the shortest period possible to the scale imposed upon Germany by the Treaty of Versailles. Lord Cecil acquitted the Government of the charge of having done nothing for the cause of disarmament, but he expressed himself as doubtful whether they had done as much as they could. He urged them to lay before the Disarmament Conference on their own responsibility an amendment to their draft plan designed to meet the altered circumstances. Lord Hailsham in reply rejected Lord Ponsonby's suggestion as useless and impracticable, because it would be impossible to obtain agreement on such a proposal as he mentioned. With regard to Lord Cecil's suggestion he maintained a discreet silence, only stating that the Government were discussing with other Powers what was best to be done, and that they were most anxious to repair the mischief which had been done to the cause of disarmament by the mistake made on October 14.

On the next day (November 9) the Prime Minister, in his speech at the Guildhall banquet, made a renewed appeal to Germany not to persist in her isolationist attitude. It was, he said, deplorable that Germany should have cut herself adrift just at the moment when another attempt was to be made to meet her claims. No doubt she had irritating grievances, but the policy which she had taken up in order to remedy and express them had only increased the fears and suspicions which hitherto had made removal very hard. Britain had always believed that the best policy for Europe was to help Germany to free herself from the conditions which she resented. What then was to hinder Germany even now from coming and putting her case before them? She would address a tribunal of men who wanted peace. If Germany

had any proposals to make, they would receive most favourable and impartial consideration. The German case was so sympathetically understood that the German problem was not to overcome hostility so much as, in company with the other countries concerned, to furnish proofs—which must, however, be more than mere words of good-will—of pacific determination, of being a co-operating influence in removing from Europe suspicions and unsettlement.

On November 10, the day before Armistice Day, the Archbishop of Canterbury as in the previous year led a deputation (this time not confined to representatives of the Churches) to the Prime Minister and the Secretary for Foreign Affairs to emphasise the general desire for disarmament. The Archbishop expressed himself as strongly in favour of equality of armaments, but insisted that such equality was on no account to be obtained by the re-armament of Germany. Both the Prime Minister and Sir John Simon in their replies took occasion to repudiate the report, which had been widely disseminated, that they had ever spoken about applying a "probationary period" to Germany. It was true that they had accepted the principle of supervision with some reluctance, but once they accepted it they agreed that it should be of general application, and that they themselves in regard to it should be on the same footing as Germany.

On November 13 the Labour Party, under cover of a vote of censure on the Government, laid before Parliament its own scheme for disarmament. This consisted of eight proposals, namely, the complete abolition of all air bombing, the general abolition of all weapons at present forbidden to Germany, the international control of civil aviation, an immediate reduction by all nations of their expenditure on armaments, international inspection and control of armaments in all countries, the suppression of all private manufacture and trade in armaments, the creation of an international police force, and the definition of aggression on the basis of the proposals made by the Conference Committee. The Prime Minister pointed out that of these eight items four were in the Government's programme, and about the other four there was not agreement in the Labour camp itself. He also pointed out that Germany had accepted the principle of disarmament by stages, and he upbraided the Labour Party for demanding on behalf of Germany more than she demanded for herself. Sir H. Samuel, while deriding the motion, was critical of the Government as having frequently postponed the consideration of vital issues until the propitious moment had passed. He suggested that they had been somewhat held back by elements in the Conservative Party which were sceptical with regard to disarmament. Sir S. Cripps repeated his statement that Britain had done nothing to disarm, and was vigorously controverted by Sir John Simon; after which the motion was defeated by 409 votes to 54.

On the very next day (November 14), as if to show that Sir H. Samuel's suspicions were not wholly without foundation, the First Lord of the Admiralty announced that the Government had decided, "after anxious consideration and with much regret," to include in its programme of naval construction two extra large cruisers of 9,000 tons, with increased armament. This meant a departure from the policy hitherto adopted of building cruisers of comparatively small tonnage. The justification given for the change was that that policy had been adopted in the hope that other nations would follow the British lead in reducing the size and armaments of cruisers, but that hope had not been realised. Consequently, if the British programme already approved were carried out, the British cruisers would be definitely inferior to those now being developed by other Powers.

In the meantime the work of the session had been completed with all due expedition. Members were eager to know what progress was being made by the Government's slum clearance scheme, and on November 9 the Minister of Health, in reply to questions, reported that out of 1,717 local authorities 1,176 had sent in programmes of slum clearance in response to his circular of the previous April. On the basis of these he said it was estimated that about 44,000 houses a year would be provided for five years by local authorities. He threatened those authorities which failed to submit a programme without good reason with the holding of a public local inquiry into the position.

On the same day (November 9) the House of Commons discussed the second reading of a Bill which had been sent down from the House of Lords for removing certain of the disabilities suffered by British women who married foreigners. The chief of these was the danger of their becoming "stateless" if the husband acquired American nationality. The Bill was severely criticised by Labour members and some women speakers for not giving effect to the policy declared by the Government at the 1931 Assembly of the League of Nations in favour of removing all disabilities of married women in the matter of nationality, and its rejection was moved on that account. The defence made was that the Government had spent three years in vain in trying to obtain agreement with the Dominions on this matter, and that legislative action to the extent which was open to them should not longer be delayed. The motion for rejection was negatived by 179 votes to 43.

On the same day also (November 9) members from Lancashire drew the attention of the Government to the fact that Japanese competition was playing havoc with the cotton export trade, and demanded some protection for it, whether through the abrogation of the most-favoured-nation clause or some other means. Mr. Runciman in reply, while recognising the seriousness of the Japanese menace, pointed out that in spite of it there had been

an improvement in the cotton trade in the last couple of years, so that Lancashire was by no means defeated yet. He thought it was very much better that they should regulate their relationships by agreement than that they should resort to a tariff war. He expressed the hope that the arrangements then being made in India between representatives of that country, Great Britain and Japan would be repeated in the conference with Japanese delegates which was shortly to be resumed in London. In any case he assured his hearers that the Government would not leave matters where they were.

On November 10 the Labour Party moved that the State should make a further contribution to the Health Insurance Fund in order that benefits might continue to be given to persons who, being in arrears, were about to be deprived of them under the Health Insurance Act of the previous year (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1932, p. 46). The Minister of Health, who placed the number of such persons at 80,000, announced that in order to make it easier for them to re-enter the insurance scheme, he had already given instructions that they should be allowed to pay off their arrears by instalments, also that he had already extended the period during which arrears might be paid from September 30 to November 30, and intended to allow a further period of grace to March 31. He refused, however, to interfere with the principle of insurance by making any further contribution from the State. The Labour Party were not satisfied with these concessions and took the motion to a division, in which it was rejected by 161 votes to 48.

In the course of this session the Road and Rail Traffic Bill was considered in the House of Lords, and one important amendment was introduced, *viz.*, that hospitals should be able to recover payments not exceeding 50*l.* for each in-patient and not exceeding 5*l.* for each out-patient treated for injuries arising out of road accidents. This regulation was meant to remedy an injustice against which the hospitals had long been complaining, and met with general approval in the House of Commons, which passed the Bill in its amended form with very little discussion on November 16.

Towards the end of October the Minister of Agriculture discovered that in fixing a quota for imported bacon he had seriously under-estimated the amount of the home supplies which would be available in the coming year. He accordingly asked the foreign countries which sent bacon to England, particularly Denmark, to consent voluntarily to a considerable cut in the amount of imports allowed them. They did not see their way to do this, and the Board of Trade accordingly issued an Order under the Agricultural Marketing Act restricting the importation of bacon in the period from November 10, 1933, to February 28, 1934, to a little over 1,900,000 cwt. On November 15 Parliament was asked to approve the Order, and a number of Labour and Liberal

speakers severely criticised the system of restricting imports on the ground that it was making bacon so dear as to place it beyond the reach of the very poor, and that it was causing friction with foreign countries. The Minister in reply maintained that it was bad policy to ruin an industry for the sake of cheapness. The Order was finally approved by 239 votes to 53.

On November 14 Mr. J. H. Thomas, in reply to questions in the House of Commons, made an important statement on Britain's relations with the Irish Free State. They were advised, he said, that three Bills then before the Irish Free State Parliament conflicted in important respects with the treaty of 1921, and involved a further repudiation of the obligations entered into by the Free State under the treaty. They had already made it clear that quite apart from any question of legality they looked upon such action as a repudiation of an honourable settlement, since no modification of the treaty could properly be made except by agreement between the two countries. In addition, the real significance of the Bills was that they indicated an intention gradually to eliminate the Crown from the Constitution of the Free State. The British view, however, was that the Declaration of the Imperial Conference of 1926 as to the relationship of Great Britain and the Dominions must be accepted as the basis of the constitutional position of the Irish Free State in the British Empire, and it was inconsistent with a state of things under which the Free State would be a member of the British Commonwealth of Nations for some things and not for all, and would cease to be united to the other members by a common allegiance to the Crown. Mr. Thomas went on to point out that membership of the Commonwealth conferred privileges and entailed responsibilities, and if the Free State renounced the one, she could not enjoy the other.

Immediately after Parliament met, the Government laid before it the text of its long-awaited Unemployment Bill. This measure was intended to apply to all persons belonging to insured occupations, and it divided them into two classes—those who were still in insurance, and those who had fallen out through having exhausted their benefits or who had not yet come in through inability to find work, although qualified for it. With regard to the first section the Bill made few changes, and, contrary to expectation, such changes as it did make were in the direction of improving the position of insured persons. While no change was to be made in the rates of contribution or benefit, there was to be an extension of the benefit period by anything up to 26 weeks for those with good contribution and benefit records. The minimum age for entrance into insurance was to be lowered to 14, and benefit was to begin at 16 instead of 16J. There was to be a wide extension of instruction courses, a Statutory Commission was to be set up to watch the finances of the fund and to consider

the practicability of a scheme for insuring agricultural workers, and the existing debt was to be amortised within forty years.

The really novel features of the Bill were contained in the second part, dealing with the unemployed who were not drawing unemployment benefit. It created a new central authority called the Unemployment Assistance Board, to consist of not more than five members, which was to take over from the Public Assistance Authorities their present duties in regard to transitional payments and the administration of relief to able-bodied persons on account of unemployment. In this way some 4,000,000 persons at present outside the Unemployment Insurance system would be brought within the new scheme. The regulations governing the assessment of need would be laid down by Parliament, but would thereafter be administered by the Board. The cost of the scheme would be a national charge, subject to contributions from the local authorities which were still being discussed. The Board would relieve all need other than medical need, which would still be the province of the Public Assistance Authorities.

Just before Parliament rose, the Liberal Party in Parliament, after much searching of heart, at length determined to abandon the equivocal position which it had occupied for several months and to go definitely into opposition when Parliament reassembled. Sir Herbert Samuel in a broadcast speech described this step as "resuming the fullest independence." His party, he said, could no longer pretend to support the Government, with whose policy it was in complete agreement only on one issue of importance, that of India. In respect of all others, including disarmament, it was profoundly dissatisfied with the Government. It was not, however, on this account going to enter into an alliance with the Labour Party, of which it would continue to be as independent as of the Government.

Parliament was prorogued on November 17. The King's Speech drew attention to the steady improvement in trade and employment, and pointed out with pride that, through the continued willingness of the people to bear heavy sacrifices, Great Britain almost alone among the great countries of the world was maintaining a satisfactory balance between its national income and expenditure. Among the Bills which had received the royal assent in the course of the session, special mention was made of those for the amendment and continuation of the Rent and Mortgage Restrictions Acts, for the reorganisation of London passenger transport, for the licensing and regulation of goods motor vehicles, for the consolidation of the law relating to children and young persons, and for the amendment of the law relating to the national status of married women.

Attention was drawn in the course of the debate (November 23) to the **plight of** the coal and cotton trades, and the Government was once more strongly urged by Lancashire members to assist their district in its struggle against Japanese competition. The President of the Board of Trade, in reply, stated that the view of the Government was that the best way to deal with the markets of the East was through the industrialists themselves. He drew attention to the fact that the delegation which had recently gone to India had come back with business-like arrangements between the parties concerned, and pointed to this as a step in the right direction, which showed the possibility of settling troubles without resort to a fiscal war. He took occasion once more to observe that the export of cotton goods from Lancashire was actually greater than it had been two years ago, so that there was no reason to despair even of the cotton trade.

On the next day (November 24) the Minister of Agriculture was urged by Miss Lloyd George to give greater encouragement to land settlement in England. In reply he pointed out that the critics of the Government could not have it both ways. If the production of food was to be increased in this country, it meant that less would be imported, and though the food could be produced, it could not compete in price with the dumped surplus product of selected producers in selected spots. If agriculture could prove itself remunerative, he said, capital and labour would flow into it without any assistance from the Government. The proof was that pig production, as soon as it looked like becoming a profitable proposition, had expanded 70 per cent, in a few months. If agricultural production in this country was to survive, it had to be insulated, as in every other country; and an insulated market meant an insulated price.

On the next day (November 27) the Labour Party moved an amendment to the Address which amounted to a comprehensive vote of censure on the Government. The mover, however, Mr. Hicks, confined himself to a criticism of its housing and slum clearance programme, which the Liberals also found far from satisfactory, and which was lagging far behind the demands of public opinion. The Minister of Health, in reply, pointed to the fact that since the abolition of the subsidy in 1930 there had been something in the nature of a house-building boom, and that unemployment in the building trade had decreased considerably. He also announced that out of 1,717 local authorities all but 45 have sent in programmes of slum clearance, and very few of these were inadequate. This would mean dealing with about 200,000 houses, a number which would be raised to 1,000,000 with the addition of those to be reconditioned.

The general defence of the Government was made by Mr. Baldwin, who set himself to prove that the Government had fulfilled the task originally imposed on it, namely, to create con-

ditions **in which industry and agriculture could prosper.** To this end they had first balanced the Budget; then they had taken various steps to defend their own trade and agricultural production; they had made agreements with the Dominions and with other countries, and they had secured for trade the great benefit of cheap money. The result had been a return of confidence throughout the whole business community which two years before no one could have believed possible. The problem of unemployment was still with them and was likely to remain, but what could they do more than they had done? They had tried their best to fulfil the mandate entrusted to them, and they had no idea of separating or relaxing their efforts until the time came to return it, when they would ask the country for a renewal of its confidence.

Mr. Baldwin's speech was very favourably received by the Ministerialists, and the Labour amendment was defeated by 424 votes to 53. On the next day a Liberal amendment was brought forward attacking the Government's fiscal policy, but this was also defeated by 427 votes to 54.

On November 22, while the debate on the Address was still in progress, the House of Commons was asked by the Government to approve the reconstitution of the Joint Committee on India, which had automatically lapsed with the prorogation of Parliament, when about half-way through its labours. Only one member—Colonel Wedgwood—actually opposed the motion, but a number of Conservatives took the opportunity once more to air their grievances against the White Paper. Mr. Churchill, however, attacked the Government on the somewhat novel ground that it was breaking its promise not to commit Parliament beforehand to support of the White Paper. He adduced various facts to show that it was carrying on what he called an "insidious propaganda" in favour of the White Paper policy, and taking various steps which would make it impossible for Parliament to recede from it. He singled out for special reprehension Mr. MacDonald and Mr. Baldwin, who, he said, had never ceased to pursue this aim steadily since they had made up their minds on it in 1930. Neither Mr. MacDonald nor Mr. Baldwin deigned to make a reply to this charge, and the Secretary for India bluntly told Mr. Churchill that he was discovering mares' nests.

On November 22 an attempt was made in the House of Lords to obtain a reversal of the Order issued in October, 1931, as part of the economy campaign, to reduce the salaries of the Judges. The Judges themselves had always chafed at these reductions, which had been made without their consent having been asked, and in July of this year they had presented a memorandum to the House of Lords contesting the validity of the Order under which they had been made, on the ground that Judges were not servants of the Government. This view was now warmly

CHAPTER IV.

TRADE IMPROVEMENT.

PARLIAMENT reassembled after an interval of five days (November 21) to enter upon its third full session. In accordance with the decision reached a few days before, Sir H. Samuel and about thirty of his followers left the cross-benches which they had occupied since the spring, and took their seats on the Opposition benches. Even, however, with this accession and the addition of a handful of Labour members who had won seats at by-elections since the General Election, the Opposition was numerically quite insignificant as compared with the following of the Government. What chiefly distinguished this Parliament as it now was from what it had been when first elected was the fact that a considerable section of the Conservative members were in open revolt against the Indian policy of the Government, and that discontent with its armament policy was becoming more and more rife in that party.

The King's Speech laid stress upon the determination of the Government to continue its efforts for reaching a solution of the disarmament problem, and to uphold the work of international co-operation by collective action through the machinery of the League of Nations. The work of Parliament was to include the reconstitution of the Joint Committee on India, and the consideration of a report of a Royal Commission on Newfoundland. It was announced that the negotiation of new trade agreements would be one of the chief instruments of the Government for stimulating the export trade, especially in cotton and coal. The principal measure to be laid before Parliament would be the Unemployment Insurance Bill, and legislation was also foreshadowed to deal with betting and gambling, with the beet sugar subsidy, with the reconditioning of houses, and the hours of employment of young persons. A promise was also given that Ministers would, in conjunction with the local authorities, press on with the clearance of slums and the improvement of housing conditions for the very poor.

Naturally the subject of disarmament occupied a prominent place in the debate on the Address. The Prime Minister intervened at an early stage to assure the House that the Foreign Secretary had gone to Geneva a couple of days before as the representative of the Cabinet, and not, as had been widely reported, on the personal request of Mr. Henderson. He devoted a great part of his speech to correcting a statement made by Mr. Lansbury a few days previously, that England was responsible for about a third of the world's export trade in arms. It was true, he said, that armament firms were busy, but not on armament

work. Their increased activity could be in part ascribed to orders given under the new hydrogenation scheme which the Government was encouraging, and most of the work of the so-called ammunition firms consisted of civil steel and engineering production. There was therefore no need to grow alarmed about the manufacture of arms in England, and he asked the Opposition to refrain from exaggerated and distorted statements which only made matters more difficult for Great Britain in her international relations.

On the third day of the debate (November 24), the Secretary for Foreign Affairs reported to the House that during his brief visit to Geneva the Bureau of the Disarmament Conference had come to a unanimous agreement on the procedure to be adopted in the new situation. While it could not be pretended that this was the same thing as an agreement on substance, at least it was an indispensable preliminary, and therefore, he thought, a matter for legitimate gratification. The course which had been adopted by the Bureau was to recommend that parallel and supplementary efforts between various nations should be made with the full use of diplomatic machinery to supplement the work of the Disarmament Conference. It was also contemplated that these efforts should be undertaken with energy, and that the period of the adjournment of the conference should not be one of inactivity in the cause of disarmament. In pursuance of this policy, the British Government had already made it plain to the French Government that if they saw their way to enter into closer communication with Berlin, they had their complete good-will in so doing. Their whole influence would be used for the purpose of trying to bring about again a spirit of negotiation and co-operation instead of keeping Germany at a distance. Seeing that the choice for the world was going to be between regulated and unregulated armament, he affirmed that the whole weight of any Government and any House of Commons in England and of the whole of British public opinion would be thrown unreservedly into the scale of securing regulation of armament.

From the Conservative side the King's Speech was criticised as not containing any reference to the reconstituting of the Second Chamber, especially in view of the agitation carried on by a section of the Labour Party for giving dictatorial powers to a temporary majority in the Lower House. Mr. Baldwin treated the complaint somewhat cavalierly. He admitted that the Government had not considered the subject, and intimated that it was not likely to do so until the advocates of House of Lords' reform were more agreed among themselves. Incidentally he remarked that in his opinion "Fascism was begotten of Communism out of discord," and that neither was ever likely to be seen in Great Britain.

Attention was drawn in the **course of** the debate (November 23) to the **plight** of the coal and cotton trades, and the Government was once more strongly urged by Lancashire members to assist their district in its struggle against Japanese competition. The President of the Board of Trade, in reply, stated that the view of the Government was that the best way to deal with the markets of the East was through the industrialists themselves. He drew attention to the fact that the delegation which had recently gone to India had come back with business-like arrangements between the parties concerned, and pointed to this as a step in the right direction, which showed the possibility of settling troubles without resort to a fiscal war. He took occasion once more to observe that the export of cotton goods from Lancashire was actually greater than it had been two years ago, so that there was no reason to despair even of the cotton trade.

On the next day (November 24) the Minister of Agriculture was urged by Miss Lloyd George to give greater encouragement to land settlement in England. In reply he pointed out that the critics of the Government could not have it both ways. If the production of food was to be increased in this country, it meant that less would be imported, and though the food could be produced, it could not compete in price with the dumped surplus product of selected producers in selected spots. If agriculture could prove itself remunerative, he said, capital and labour would flow into it without any assistance from the Government. The proof was that pig production, as soon as it looked like becoming a profitable proposition, had expanded 70 per cent, in a few months. If agricultural production in this country was to survive, it had to be insulated, as in every other country; and an insulated market meant an insulated price.

On the next day (November 27) the Labour Party moved an amendment to the Address which amounted to a comprehensive vote of censure on the Government. The mover, however, Mr. Hicks, confined himself to a criticism of its housing and slum clearance programme, which the Liberals also found far from satisfactory, and which was lagging far behind the demands of public opinion. The Minister of Health, in reply, pointed to the fact that since the abolition of the subsidy in 1930 there had been something in the nature of a house-building boom, and that unemployment in the building trade had decreased considerably. He also announced that out of 1,717 local authorities all but 45 have sent in programmes of slum clearance, and very few of these were inadequate. This would mean dealing with about 200,000 houses, a number which would be raised to 1,000,000 with the addition of those to be reconditioned.

The general defence of the Government was made by Mr. Baldwin, who set himself to prove that the Government had fulfilled the task originally imposed on it, namely, to create con-

ditions in which industry and agriculture could prosper. To this end they had first balanced the Budget; then they had taken various steps to defend their own trade and agricultural production; they had made agreements with the Dominions and with other countries, and they had secured for trade the great benefit of cheap money. The result had been a return of confidence throughout the whole business community which two years before no one could have believed possible. The problem of unemployment was still with them and was likely to remain, but what could they do more than they had done? They had tried their best to fulfil the mandate entrusted to them, and they had no idea of separating or relaxing their efforts until the time came to return it, when they would ask the country for a renewal of its confidence.

Mr. Baldwin's speech was very favourably received by the Ministerialists, and the Labour amendment was defeated by 424 votes to 53. On the next day a Liberal amendment was brought forward attacking the Government's fiscal policy, but this was also defeated by 427 votes to 54.

On November 22, while the debate on the Address was still in progress, the House of Commons was asked by the Government to approve the reconstitution of the Joint Committee on India, which had automatically lapsed with the prorogation of Parliament, when about half-way through its labours. Only one member—Colonel Wedgwood—actually opposed the motion, but a number of Conservatives took the opportunity once more to air their grievances against the White Paper. Mr. Churchill, however, attacked the Government on the somewhat novel ground that it was breaking its promise not to commit Parliament beforehand to support of the White Paper. He adduced various facts to show that it was carrying on what he called an "insidious propaganda" in favour of the White Paper policy, and taking various steps which would make it impossible for Parliament to recede from it. He singled out for special reprehension Mr. MacDonald and Mr. Baldwin, who, he said, had never ceased to pursue this aim steadily since they had made up their minds on it in 1930. Neither Mr. MacDonald nor Mr. Baldwin deigned to make a reply to this charge, and the Secretary for India bluntly told Mr. Churchill that he was discovering mares' nests.

On November 22 an attempt was made in the House of Lords to obtain a reversal of the Order issued in October, 1931, as part of the economy campaign, to reduce the salaries of the Judges. The Judges themselves had always chafed at these reductions, which had been made without their consent having been asked, and in July of this year they had presented a memorandum to the House of Lords contesting the validity of the Order under which they had been made, on the ground that Judges were not servants of the Government. This view was now warmly

supported by Lord Rankeillor and Lord Buckmaster, the latter of whom moved that the salaries of Judges should not be diminished during their continuance in office. In reply, the Lord Chancellor read a carefully worded memorandum which dealt fully with the constitutional aspect of the Government's action. He pointed out that while the Judiciary had been finally made independent of the Executive by the Act of Settlement of 1688, it was not until 1787 that salaries of Judges began to be put on the Consolidated Fund, and there were some whose salaries had not been "ascertained and established" till 1871. Parliament had on various occasions interfered with the salaries of Judges—sometimes in the way of increase but sometimes also in the way of reduction—in order to bring them into conformity with the economic conditions of the time; and this had never been held to involve any threat or danger to the independence of the Judiciary. This was all that Parliament had done in 1931, and therefore it was acting strictly according to precedent. If its action could be criticised, it was on the ground that it made the position of Judges so unremunerative that it would not attract barristers in good practice. This was a point of view with which he had much sympathy, but for the present he could see no solution for the difficulty save in the patriotism of the legal profession. On a division being taken, Lord Buckmaster's motion was defeated by 30 votes to 17.

After the Address had been disposed of, both Houses of Parliament devoted a day (November 29) to a discussion of Britain's air power, a subject which recent events had naturally brought into great prominence. In the Upper House, Lord Sutherland and Lord Lloyd asked the Government whether the time had not come to strengthen Britain's air forces so as to bring them more nearly on a level with those of the other great Air Powers of the world. Lord Londonderry, the Secretary for Air, in reply, agreed that public opinion was troubled and anxious about the subject, and required information and perhaps reassurance on a number of aspects, both civil and military. Experience had shown them, and was showing them every day, that the aeroplane was the weapon of which nations would make an enormous if not preponderating use if ever they went to war again. That was why efforts were being made to bring about a limitation of armaments in the air also. Britain had recognised her obligation to propound a policy of peace and to accompany it with a practical demonstration of disarmament, and she had done so by dispersing the greater part of the vast air fleets which she had formed during the war until now she was only fifth among the world's Air Powers in terms of first-line strength. Unhappily their example had elicited no response whatever in any part of the world, and they felt themselves bound therefore, however reluctantly, to abandon the policy of unilateral disarmament

which in the present state of international affairs it was manifestly not only useless but even dangerous to pursue further. The Government had made it plain in their successive pronouncements at Geneva that they recognised the necessity of a one-power standard in the air for Great Britain. There were various ways by which parity could be achieved; and he warned foreign Powers that if they would not consent to reduce to the British level, then Britain would have no option but to begin to build upwards, while, of course, still continuing its efforts to secure parity at the lowest level to which other nations would subscribe.

In the House of Commons on the same day, Admiral Sueter brought forward a motion stating that the House viewed with grave disquiet the present inadequacy of the provision made for the air defence of the British Isles, and urging the Government to complete at an early date the home defence force decided on in 1923 as the minimum necessary for national security. Mr. Baldwin, speaking for the Government, said he was grateful to the mover for calling attention to Britain's inferiority with regard to certain armaments, solely through the sincerity of its efforts in the past few years. He reminded the House that all Governments had consistently and deliberately, with the assent of Parliament, lagged behind the programme of 1923. It was clear that they could not continue to do so indefinitely: there must be agreement before very long, or there would be no agreement at all. He was therefore in sympathy with the substance of the motion, but he was somewhat nervous about its form, because in foreign countries, unfamiliar with English Parliamentary procedure, it might, if carried, be interpreted as a sign that Britain was about to increase quickly its air armament, an idea which might have a very adverse effect on the disarmament negotiations. On the strength of this plea, the House rejected the original motion, and adopted instead (the Labour Party dissenting) an amendment affirming its full support of the policy of the Government in working for the objectives in respect of air policy laid down in the British Draft Convention.

In quarters hostile to the Government, some of Lord Londonderry's remarks were seized upon as a proof that the Government intended forthwith to make enormous additions to the country's air armaments. On the subject being raised again in the House of Lords on December 7, Lord Londonderry described this as a "very far-fetched conclusion" to draw from his speech, and in fact stigmatised it as a deliberate attempt to mislead the public and confuse the issue. He then quoted passages from his speech to show that the Government's policy was unchanged, and that it adhered to the programme of air disarmament contained in the British Draft Convention which still held the field at Geneva.

On November 29 the question of the Japanese menace to

the cotton trade was again raised in the House of Commons by some **Lancashire** Conservative members, who urged the Government to do immediately everything in their power to minimise the competition of Japanese imports both in home and empire markets, freeing themselves, if necessary, from engagements which would prevent effective steps from being taken. On this occasion they had the support of Sir H. Samuel, who said there were four points in the Japanese competition on which there was legitimate ground for complaint—the unequal working conditions, the depreciated currency, the shipping subsidies, and the fraudulent imitation of trade marks. Mr. Runciman, in reply, criticised the view which seemed to be generally held that they would gain by abrogating the Anglo-Japanese Treaty. Balancing very carefully the advantages and disadvantages, he himself did not think that they would gain very much if they began that way, and he preferred therefore to exhaust all other means before embarking on a denunciation of the treaty'. He admitted, however, that if the Government found that the steps they wished to take were interfered with by the treaty, a new situation would arise.

On November 28 the Archbishop of Canterbury in the House of Lords drew the attention of the Government to the persecution of the Assyrians in Iraq, for whose protection he maintained Britain had made herself morally responsible. He based this view on the statement made by Sir F. Humphreys to the League of Nations, that if Iraq should prove unworthy of the confidence placed in her, moral responsibility would rest with the British Government, which would not attempt to transfer it to the Mandates Commission. Lord Hailsham did not deny that these words had been used, but he held that the inference drawn by the Archbishop was unjustified. He assured his Grace, however, that Great Britain would work within the League of Nations for a solution of the Assyrian problem on generous lines.

In the course of November no fewer than six by-elections took place. In all of them save one the poll for the candidate who supported the Government showed a precipitous decline as compared with that of the election of 1931, though the majorities in that year had been so huge that only in East Fulham was a seat actually lost. In all these cases the candidate was a Conservative, and the inference was obvious that Liberal and Socialist voters, who in 1931 had supported a Conservative National candidate, had on this occasion refrained from doing so. The lesson was not lost on the Conservative Party leaders. Hitherto the agitation for closer union between the constituent sections of the Ministerial Party had come mainly from the National Labour and National Liberal elements, who were conscious that they had no great backing in the constituencies and were therefore anxious to assure to themselves Unionist support. The

Conservatives, however, feeling confident of their position, had so far been somewhat unresponsive to the advances of their allies. Now, however, they perceived that their strength in the country was not as great as they had imagined, and they became less disdainful of Labour and Liberal assistance. The result was that the idea of a closer tation between the three sections was now taken up by the Government incarnest, and active preparations were madia, by it for an intensive propaganda campaign in the new ear

On November 30 the Minister of Labour moved the second reading of the Government's new Unemployment Bill (v. p. 84). He pointed out that the general principle on which it was based was that of including as many persons as possible in insurance, and of providing State relief, recognisable as such, for the rest. The reformed insurance system would comprise three main points. The first was that it would be contributory, as he was sure the workers themselves would desire. The second was that there should be a closer relation than at present between contributions and benefits, and for this reason he proposed to utilise the prospective surplus of the Unemployment Insurance Fund for extending the maximum duration of benefit to those with good contribution records, and in this way add some 167,000 persons to the beneficiaries and remove the same number from the necessity of submitting to a means test. The third point was that the Fund should be permanently solvent, which would be secured through the agency of the Statutory Committee. In the new system of relief there would also be three main points. The first was that it made relief proportionate to need, the test of need to be the income of the household. The second was that employment and morale should be preserved by an extension of training facilities. The third was that the system of relief should be centrally administered, as the system of local administration was obsolete. Local authorities would still have to contribute, but would be relieved of the payment of some 2,000,000l. which now had to be found out of the rates.

On behalf of the Labour Party, Mr. Arthur Greenwood opposed the Bill root and branch. His party, he said, had now come to the conclusion that the insurance scheme was unworkable, and had adopted the principle of "work or maintenance," meaning by the latter word payment on a scale sufficient to preserve health and employability, the cost to be defrayed by the general taxpayer and not at all out of the rates. The relief system contained in the Bill he denounced as a revival of the old Poor Law in a worse form, and he ridiculed the proposal to repay the debt on the Insurance Fund as "Treasury pedantry." The Liberal Party approved on the whole of the insurance part of the Bill, but found serious fault with the provisions for dealing with juvenile unemployment and poor relief.

When the debate was continued on December 4, Mr. Chamberlain defended the Bill from the charge of meanness which had been brought against it, pointing out that under it something like 100,000,000Z. a year would be paid out to those unable to find work. In the provision for juveniles also the Exchequer would be spending 678,000l. in addition to what it was already paying. As for the repayment of the debt on the Fund, if this were not thrown on the Fund it would have to be thrown on the National Debt, and in either case the burden would fall on posterity. Lastly, in regard to the local authorities, the choice lay between administering locally with a contribution from the centre, or administering centrally with a contribution from the localities. They had decided on the latter course, but the contribution from the localities would be only a fixed sum which after making all allowances amounted to no more than 2,400,000l. The second reading was eventually carried by 435 votes to 81.

Financial provision for the Unemployment Bill was made by the House of Commons on December 11. In the course of the debate criticism was directed against the proposal to make local authorities pay any specific contribution towards a centralised service. Mr. Chamberlain, however, maintained that as they had only to pay 5 per cent. of the total cost of relief, they should not be allowed to dissociate themselves entirely from the fortunes of their local unemployed. He admitted, however, that the contribution he had laid down bore rather hardly on some distressed areas, and he consented to allow them certain deductions which would have the effect of reducing it by a total of 300,000l.

On November 30 Mr. Thomas received from Mr. de Valera a despatch commenting on the statement which he had made in the House of Commons on November 14, on Anglo-Irish relations. The Free State Government, it appeared, inferred from this that the British Government now realised the evils of a forced association between the two countries, and had decided not to treat as a cause of war or other aggressive action a decision of the Irish people to sever their connexion with the Commonwealth. Mr. de Valera now asked the British Government to formulate that attitude in a direct and unequivocal statement, as such a step, he believed, would contribute to free and friendly co-operation between the two countries. In his reply which he sent on December 4, Mr. Thomas called into question Mr. de Valera's statement that Ireland's association with Great Britain was a forced one, nor would he accept the assumption made by Mr. de Valera that lasting friendship between the two countries could not be attained on the basis of the present relationship; this was disproved by the fact that the period between 1921 and 1932 was marked by the progressive development of friendly relations between them. Since therefore the British Government could

not accept his assumption, they saw no ground for answering a question founded on it. They could not believe that the Free State Government contemplated the final repudiation of their treaty obligations in the manner suggested, and consequently did not feel called upon to say what attitude they would adopt in circumstances which they regarded as purely hypothetical. Mr. Thomas read the despatches to the House of Commons on December 5, and evoked from Mr. Lansbury the comment that they were very important, and that all members should give them very close consideration.

On the next day (December 6) attention was called to the subject in the House of Lords by Lord Danesfort, who urged the Government to undertake that they would not tolerate any interference by the Free State with the status of Irish loyalists as British subjects. The debate drew once more into the political arena the veteran Lord Carson, who made a passionate arraignment of the Government for its betrayal of the Irish loyalists. Lord Hailsham, in reply, admitted that he was in the unenviable position of having to meet criticism much of which was entirely justified. He tried, however, to soothe Lord Carson by pointing out that there was a large section of the people of the Irish Free State who were just as anxious to carry out their obligations under the treaty as the British people were, and that it would not be right to assume that that body of opinion was not ultimately going to prevail.

On November 28 the Ministry of Transport issued a report which showed that in the matter of motor accidents and casualties the summer just past had been the worst period on record, as it had also been the busiest in respect of traffic. For weeks before this a correspondence had been going on in *The Times* which showed that a large section of the public was aghast at the state of the roads and was anxiously waiting for the Government to find a remedy. So far no echo of this demand had penetrated into the House of Commons, but the Upper House had shown itself in this matter more responsive to public opinion. In one of the debates on the Road and Rail Traffic Bill, Lord Cecil had sought, but without success, to introduce a regulation making it compulsory for motor vehicles to carry a speedometer which could be read from the outside. A Bill was actually before the House for assuring compensation to all victims of motor accidents and their dependants.

The report of the Ministry of Transport stirred Lord Buckmaster to move, on December 5, that "in the public interest steps should be taken without delay to lessen the danger of motor traffic," and once more to call the attention of the Government to the matter in no measured language. He was supported by a number of speakers who, if less vehement, were somewhat more practical, and put forward various suggestions. Lord Plymouth, on behalf

of the Government, stated that these would all be taken into consideration by the Ministry of Transport in dealing with the problem. The Government, he said, yielded to no one in their recognition of the gravity of the present situation and were fully aware that something had to be done to remedy it, but they also perceived that what was done must be the right thing. They therefore could not hurry matters, but must first ascertain the facts, which indeed they were doing. One fact already established was that there was no single sovereign remedy for this terrible evil, and he was convinced that there was no spectacular method by which they could reduce accidents on the roads by 50 per cent. in a year's time. One thing, however, which the Government proposed to do immediately was to call the attention of Chairmen of Quarter Sessions and others to the fact that magistrates were not enforcing the existing law as strictly as they might, with the result that dangerous driving was insufficiently checked.

The returns of oversea trade for November, published on December 12, showed that for the fifth month in succession there had been an improvement in the export trade of the country. The result was a general revival of confidence which showed itself among other things in a considerable increase in the imports of raw materials, especially wool and cotton. Appropriately enough, the Chancellor of the Exchequer seized this moment to announce to the House of Commons (December 13), much to its gratification, that the Government now saw its way to provide financial facilities for the completion of the great new Cunard liner, work on which had been suspended for nearly two years (*vide ANNUAL REGISTER*, 1931, p. 115). He explained that this decision had been made possible by the fact that an effective merger of the Cunard and "White Star lines would probably be brought about in a short time.

One industry which signally failed to share in the general revival in the summer was that of the mercantile marine. One reason was that British shipping, and especially tramp shipping, had to compete against foreign lines which were heavily subsidised by their Governments and could therefore afford to carry freight at wholly uneconomic rates. The consequence was that the British carrying trade declined more and more until in the autumn of this year the whole of the mercantile marine saw itself on the verge of bankruptcy, and some 40,000 British officers and seamen were unemployed.

To meet this emergency, the Council of the Chamber of Shipping, on October 5, appointed a special Committee on Tramp Shipping to investigate the situation. The report of this body, presented on December 7, pointed out that while British tramps had declined in number and tonnage between the middle of 1914 and 1933 by more than 50 per cent., foreign tramps had increased

by about 33 per cent. in number and tonnage. The issue therefore arose whether Great Britain was to possess in the future a well-balanced Mercantile Marine for supplying the nation in case of emergency, and it was suggested that in the national interest action should be taken to preserve the tramp section of the industry. With this end in view the Committee made a number of recommendations, the chief of which was that the Government should be asked to grant a temporary subsidy with the object of equalising the advantages of foreign competitors due to subsidies, depreciated currencies, and lower wage costs.

This report was considered by a meeting of the Council of the Chamber of Shipping on December 7, and was adopted with only three dissentients out of over eighty present—a fact which, as the Council commented, "considering the natural divergence of interest in the shipping industry was a strong indication of how fully the need for solidarity in the industry was recognised in the face of the present position." The Council further went on to state that the paramount need of British shipping, as of all shipping, was the restoration of world trade by the removal of restrictions and uneconomic practices, including subsidies. As the World Economic Conference had failed to announce economic disarmament or to denounce subsidies, and as the prospect of their removal was remote, the Council thought the time had come when, as a temporary measure, subsidy would have to be met by subsidy.

On December 13 a private member in the House of Commons brought forward a motion urging the Government to take immediate steps to assist and defend the shipping and shipbuilding industries against uneconomic State-aided foreign competition. The mover and a number of other speakers advocated a subsidy as the best means of achieving this end; the Labour Party, however, preferred the reorganisation of the shipping and shipbuilding industries under public ownership and control. Mr. Runciman, in reply, rejected the latter proposal out of hand, pointing to the experience of America and Australia as proof positive that their troubles could not be overcome by handing over the merchant fleet to the Government. He agreed with the mover of the motion that the mercantile marine of Great Britain must at all costs be preserved, and while he was prepared to negotiate with other countries for a removal of their grievances he recognised that it was useless to do so unless they had something with which to bargain. Nevertheless, he was not certain that a subsidy would not do as much harm as good, and he therefore refrained from committing himself as yet to any definite plan, though he promised that the Government would examine the problem with great care and rapidity. And he warned foreign countries that they would not hesitate to take whatever steps

were necessary to ensure that they obtained fair play, at any rate in their inter-Imperial trade.

On December 12 the Government's housing policy, which so far had been only perfunctorily discussed in the House of Commons, came in for some searching criticism in the House of Lords. The Bishop of Winchester put certain questions to the Government with the object of finding out how far their efforts were likely to succeed. He expressed doubts as to whether the policy was wide and comprehensive enough for the problem which it was intended to solve, and quoted with approval a sentence from a leading article in *The Times* which ran, "The problem is to obtain enough good houses to let cheaply, and the Government policy, as at present conceived postpones the day of solution too long if not indefinitely." On the lowest expert estimate there were required a million houses to be let at an inclusive rental of 10s. a week, and the Government was making provision for no more than 465,000. He therefore urged the Government to utilise to the full the unique opportunity offered by the lowness of prices and rates of interest, the availability of a large army of trained workers, and above all the support of public opinion, which was genuinely anxious that proper housing accommodation should be provided for the poorest citizens.

The Bishop's plea was reinforced by a number of speakers, most of whom urged the Government either to restore the building subsidy or to establish a National Housing Board or both. Viscount Gage, on behalf of the Government, tried to show that satisfactory progress was being made, but his speech was described as disappointing by the Bishop of Winchester, who commented severely on his inability to state precisely how many new houses were required for those now dwelling in slums or in overcrowded conditions.

About this time the Government received a report from the Commission which had been appointed some time before to investigate the state of affairs in Newfoundland. The Commission, after considering a number of alternatives, had come to the conclusion that the only way to rehabilitate that country was by suspending its Constitution and asking the Mother Country to take over its government for a time and guarantee it a loan. The Government decided to accede to this request, and on December 12 a Bill to this effect was laid by Mr. Thomas before the House of Commons. The Bill was opposed by the Labour Party on the ground that it imposed an unjustifiable burden on the British taxpayer in the interests of banks, moneylenders and stockholders, nor was it at all popular in other parts of the House. The argument, however, that it was the only way of saving Newfoundland proved convincing, and the motion for rejecting the second reading was defeated by 234 votes to 37.

Although the Labour Party were unable to prevent the passage

of the Bill, they managed on December 18 to keep the Commons sitting all night to discuss the Committee stage. They did this not so much out of hostility to the Bill as to express their resentment at the action of the Government in laying down a timetable for the Committee stage of the Unemployment Bill. The chief effect of their criticisms was to procure from the Government in the debate on the third reading (December 18) a declaration that the Constitution of Newfoundland would be only suspended and not abrogated, and that the case of Newfoundland would not be regarded as a precedent.

On December 13 a Liberal member brought in a motion urging the Government to make a declaration in favour of an international police force. The motion had the support of Liberal and Labour members, but Unionist opinion in the debate was divided. Mr. Eden, the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, said that the time might come when such a force would be useful, but that time was not yet. For the present they had to concentrate their efforts on securing world agreement for limitation of armaments, and he thought that harm might be done by introducing other issues which might be faced in the future but would only add to the difficulties of to-day. On the Minister's suggestion, the motion was withdrawn.

On the same day (December 13), in the House of Lords, Lord Peel suggested to the Government the appointment to the House of Lords of a Minister directly representing the Department of Foreign Affairs. A number of speakers supported the view that the Government replies to debates on foreign affairs in the Upper House were often, through the absence of a qualified Minister, not worthy of the debates themselves, which were frequently of a very high level. Lord Hailsham admitted that there was some justice in the contention, and assured their Lordships that the Prime Minister had the matter in mind.

Although, in the debate on the Address, Mr. Baldwin had made it clear that the Government was not interested—at any rate at present—in the reform of the House of Lords, the question was again raised—this time in the Upper House itself—before Parliament rose. On December 19 Lord Salisbury, who had already more than once shown his deep concern in this matter, asked leave to present a Bill which he had framed for this purpose on the basis of a report recently drawn up by a small committee of members of both Houses of Parliament. His request was challenged at the outset by Lord Ponsonby on the ground that a measure which involved a curtailment of the prerogative of the Crown should not be introduced without the consent of the Crown. Precedents, however, were adduced to show that it was sufficient to obtain the consent of the Crown at any point in the passage of such a Bill.

Having gained this point, Lord Salisbury took another

unusual course by making what was virtually a second reading speech on a first reading of a Bill. His object in proposing to reform the House of Lords at this juncture was, he said, to make it a more effective bulwark against the subversive aims of the Labour Party, or at any rate of a section of that party. To illustrate what he had in mind, he quoted a passage from a pamphlet issued in March by Sir Stafford Cripps—"the most active mind in the Labour Party," as he called him—which had become notorious and had already been practically repudiated by the Labour Party itself: "The Labour Government's first step will be to call Parliament together at the earliest possible moment and place before it an Emergency Powers Bill, to be passed through all its stages on the first day. This Bill will be wide enough to allow all that is necessary to be done by Ministerial orders. These orders must be incapable of challenge in the Courts." Lord Salisbury regarded the possibility of such a development as very real, and to guard against it proposed that the powers of the Upper House should be materially increased, while its constitution should be made somewhat more democratic.

In the debate which followed, Lord Salisbury's views were challenged from the one side on the ground that his fears were greatly exaggerated, and from the other that the House of Lords was doing very well as it was. On behalf of the Labour Party Lord Ponsonby moved the rejection of the first reading on the double ground that no mandate had been given for the Bill by the electorate and that its intention was still further to consolidate the dominance in the Upper House of the Conservative Party. Lord Hailsham, on behalf of the Government, made an entirely non-committal speech to the effect that he would like an opportunity to be afforded for discussing the Bill, when its terms were known, on the second reading. On a division being taken, the amendment was defeated by 84 votes to 35, the Liberal peers voting against the Bill.

About this time the Coal Mines Reorganisation Commission presented to the Secretary for Mines a full account of its work since it was first formed three years before as a result of the great Coal Mines Bill of 1930. From this it appeared that the process of amalgamation recommended in the Bill had made comparatively little progress. It was still regarded in many quarters with great hostility, and in fact in March of this year the Central Committee of the colliery owners had asked the Commission to recognise that their task was "both mischievous and impossible." This attitude, however, was by no means universal among the colliery owners. In November 70 per cent. of the coal-owners in Yorkshire had decided to form an amalgamation, and the Commission announced its intention of exercising its statutory powers to force the remainder to consent.

The miners on their side were as anxious as ever for the creation

of a National Wages Board, analogous to that which operated for the railways, but the owners still would not hear of it. On July 8 the Government had refused to renew the undertaking it had given to the miners a year before that their wages would not be reduced, and the desire of the men for a National Wages Board became stronger than ever. The owners, however, abstained from making any change in the wage rates, and so, though there was ill-feeling enough between the two sides, no open breach took place. On December 11 the Executive Committee of the Miners' Federation had an interview with the Prime Minister and laid before him arguments in favour of establishing national machinery for the regulation of wages in the industry, but they failed to make any impression either on him or on the officials of the Mines Department whom they saw a couple of weeks later. On December 28 a delegate conference of the Federation was held in London, in which some hard words were said about the Government and the Mining Association. In the end, however, the demand for a National Wages Board was dropped, and instead the conference passed a resolution calling upon the Government to pass an improved Minimum Wage Bill, and at the same time authorising the Executive Committee to take any action it should consider necessary in the event of a dispute arising in any district.

On December 20 the Minister of Agriculture announced in the House of Commons that in view of the state of the meat market, and to avoid further reductions in cattle prices, orders would be issued forthwith to limit imports of fat cattle from the Irish Free State by 50 per cent. and of store cattle by 12 per cent. till March 31. He also stated that the Canadian Government had consented to stabilise Canadian exports of cattle to the British market at the figures of the first quarter of the year, and that further restrictions would be placed on the imports of chilled and frozen beef and of bacon. Some Labour members complained of the way in which the announcement was sprung upon the House at the end of the session, but Major Elliot assured them that the Government were taking this step only after long and anxious consideration as the only way of saving the beef industry from a disaster which would involve most other branches of agriculture also.

The question of disarmament naturally continued to occupy the close attention of the Cabinet throughout this session. Some declarations made by Chancellor Hitler towards the end of November seemed to create a new situation, and the British Ambassadors at Paris and Berlin were summoned to London in order to confer with the Cabinet and enlighten Ministers on the precise dispositions of the French and German Governments.¹ Their reports were found to be not without encouragement, and Sir John Simon announced that in order to further the exchange of views, he would take the opportunity in the course

of his holiday, which he intended to spend at Capri, of seeking personal interviews with the French Premier and the British Minister in Rome, if not also with Signor Mussolini.

On December 21 the Government's disarmament policy was discussed in the House of Commons in the debate on the adjournment, and a number of speakers criticised the Government for not making its position in the matter more clear, and urged it to give the nations a definite lead. Sir John Simon, in reply, first reminded the House that the Bureau of the Disarmament Conference, consisting of the representatives of seventeen States, had unanimously resolved that the sittings at Geneva should be suspended, and what were called parallel and supplementary efforts should be carried on between various capitals and largely by diplomatic methods. What the British Government had been doing was chiefly to try to ascertain what was the real content and purpose of Herr Hitler's recent declaration that "it would be of the first importance for France and Germany once and for all to ban the use of force from their common life." As the investigation was still taking place, it would obviously be very unwise to make any declaration about it. In regard to the demand that Britain should "give a lead," he pointed out that what Britain was striving for above all things was to secure agreement, and for this purpose it must be very careful to avoid the appearance of favouring one section above another. One thing that it would insist on was that the authority of the League of Nations must be maintained, and for this purpose Great Britain was striving to bring Germany back to Geneva. Britain was also opposed to revising the constitution of the League in such a way as to place the control of it in the hands of the Great Powers, and, whatever ideas on the subject might be attributed to Signor Mussolini in view of a recent speech of his, he was not aware that any definite suggestion had been made to that effect. After hearing the Minister's explanation, Sir A. Chamberlain still complained that the Government had not yet sufficiently enlightened the public with regard to the events which led up to Germany's withdrawal from the Disarmament Conference, and he attributed to this much of the suspicion with which its disarmament policy was still regarded.

Before the year ended, the Government was able to register what appeared to be another success for its tariff policy. The surtax of 15 per cent, imposed by France on British imports, when Britain went off the gold standard, had always been a source of great vexation and loss to British traders, and the British Government had frequently demanded its withdrawal, along with that of certain discriminatory duties, but without effect. Since the institution of the tariff truce at the time of the opening of the World Economic Conference, Britain had been debarred from taking retaliatory measures. On November 7, following the

example of Holland and some other countries, the British Government gave a month's notice of withdrawal from the tariff truce, and on November 23 Mr. Runciman announced in the House of Commons that unless France removed the obnoxious duties, Britain would tax French imports to a corresponding amount. Not many days elapsed before the French Ambassador opened conversations on the subject with Sir John Simon and Mr. Runciman, and after a few weeks of negotiation the Board of Trade was able to announce that the French Government had decided to suppress, as from January 1, 1934, the surtax of 15 per cent., and was introducing legislation to remove the discrimination against British imports.

Parliament rose on December 21, and the remaining days of the year passed without incident in the political sphere. The improvement in trade and employment continued through December, and the country celebrated Christmas in a more cheerful frame of mind and with a more lavish expenditure than for some years past. The Government also allowed itself to be coaxed by the excellent revenue returns into a more expansive mood, and—not without its eye on the Anglo-Soviet trade negotiations—consented at the end of the year to guarantee to the British Museum the sum of 50,000l.—half the total price—for purchasing from the Library of Petrograd the famous Codex Sinaiticus of the Greek Bible. The economic conditions were not without their reaction on the political situation, and the rumblings of the Fascist movement were much less distinct than they had been at some periods earlier in the year. In spite of the failure of the Economic Conference, at the end of 1933 the omens were more favourable than at its beginning that the country would yet witness a return of prosperity.

IMPERIAL HISTORY.

CHAPTER I.

IRELAND.

NORTHERN IRELAND.

THE outstanding event in the political life of Northern Ireland in the last twelve months was the General Election. There was only one issue—the Union Jack or the Republican Tricolour ; the maintenance of Ulster's position within the Empire as established by the Government of Ireland Act, 1920, under which the Parliament for the Six Counties was set up, or merging into an all-Ireland heading towards an independent Republic. Polling took place on November 30, and Lord Craigavon, the Prime Minister, received another mandate from the electorate to pursue his policy of fostering peace and industry, the promotion of trade and commerce, and the preservation of the status of Ulster as an integral part of the United Kingdom in close association with Great Britain and the Empire.

The new Parliament which assembled on December 18 is composed of 36 official Unionists, 3 Independent Unionists, 9 Nationalists, 2 Socialists, 1 Republican, and 1 Fianna Fail. Two Nationalists were displaced by Republicans, who, as they will not take the Oath, will not be permitted to take their seats. The only other party change is that by a narrow majority a Socialist unseated a Unionist in the Dock division of Belfast. The most piquant incident of the elections was that Mr. de Valera, President of the Free State Executive, was returned for South Down. He did not come North to fight the campaign, but one of his chief lieutenants, Mr. Eamonn Donnelly, a member of the Dail, did, and was promptly arrested at Ne wry, after addressing a demonstration, for defiance of an exclusion order with which he had on a previous occasion been served. Before the magistrates he declined to give an undertaking to leave immediately and not return, and he was sentenced to one month's imprisonment, which he duly served in Belfast Jail, being released on New Year's morning. Mr. de Valera has not attempted to take his seat at Stormont.

In June there was an election for half the Senate which retired on the completion of their term. Most of the retiring

members were re-elected, but as the Nationalists of the Commons exercised their voting powers two Nationalists were returned in place of two Unionists, making the Opposition in the Senate five Nationalists and one Independent in a house of twenty-six members.

The new Parliament—the fourth—was opened in State by the Governor on December 18. There is one change in the Cabinet from which Sir Edward Archdale, Bart., owing to advancing years, resigned his position as Minister of Agriculture. His successor was Sir Basil Brooke, Bart., whose place as Junior Unionist Whip was taken by Sir Wilson Hungerford. Rt. Hon. H. G. H. Mulholland was re-elected Speaker of the House of Commons.

The King's Speech foreshadowed a number of domestic measures, one of which dealt with the reform of local government and another with the problem of road accidents. Perhaps more important than either was a proposal to extend considerably the period of residence for franchise qualification, this being designed to counteract the influx of Republicans from South of the Border.

The closing session of the preceding Parliament was marked by the return of the Nationalists, who, for a time had adopted a policy of abstention. The session opened in March but the Nationalists did not return till October, and then without their leader, Mr. Joseph Devlin, who for the greater part of the year had been suffering from ill-health.

During the year the revaluation of the Province in pursuance of the Act of the previous session was proceeded with. The Budget was presented by Rt. Hon. H. M. Pollock, Minister of Finance, in May, estimated revenue being 11,407,000/. and expenditure 11,754,000/., leaving a gap of 347,000/. to be met.

The Budget showed a balance of 273,000/. as the amount available for surplus and the Imperial contribution. The accounts at the close of the financial year showed a cash surplus of only 7,000/., the difference between that sum and the 273,000/. being held by the Treasury pending the final determination by the Joint Exchequer Board of the Account of Imperial Contribution. The Budget, therefore, was balanced for the twelfth year in succession, but the continued fall in revenue, coupled with the heavy expenditure on unemployment services, gave Mr. Pollock more anxiety in preparing his proposals for the current year than for any of the preceding eleven years. He issued a warning to public spending authorities that all unnecessary expenditure should be suspended. It was, he declared, either economy on the one hand, or additional taxation on the other.

The principal measure passed during the session was the Agricultural Marketing Bill, which enabled farmers to undertake the better marketing of their produce. This Act, together with the Agricultural Marketing Act passed at Westminster by the

Imperial Parliament, established a principle of supreme importance—namely, that Ulster agricultural produce was just as much a part of the home supply as that produced in any county or group of counties in England or Scotland.

This valuable measure, and the Marketing of Dairy Produce Act, formed part of the series having for their object the development of trade in the agricultural products of Northern Ireland and the conservation of her natural resources. The policy of maintaining uniformity as between Northern Ireland and Great Britain was pursued during the session, especially in respect of social services.

As a result of Republican activities in Belfast and certain other parts of the province—manifesting themselves in attacks upon individuals and houses, drilling, inciting to outrage, and the circulation and possession of seditious literature—special powers to deal with such offences were applied for by the Government and granted by Parliament. There was a sensational early round-up in the Falls area of Belfast as a result of which a number of Republicans were interned and others from the Free State were sent back across the border.

The third Parliament was dissolved on November 10. The session was the first held in the new Stormont Buildings. An amazing act of vandalism took place in the Parliament House, on May 2, when an allegorical painting of King William III. and other figures, on the wall of one of the corridors, was slashed with a knife and disfigured with red paint. The perpetrators of the outrage were arrested and tried, and two of them fined.

A memorable event was the unveiling of the statue of Lord Carson at the entrance to the Parliament House. The ceremony was performed on Saturday, July 8, by the Prime Minister before an immense assembly. Lord Carson, who was accompanied by Lady Carson and their son, had the unique experience of witnessing the unveiling of his own statue.

Outstanding events in other spheres were the ceremonial opening by the Governor, on May 31, of Ulster's new Royal Courts of Justice—like the Parliamentary Buildings a gift from the Imperial Parliament under the terms of the 1920 Act; the opening, also by the Governor, on May 23, of the Belfast Water Commissioners' huge artificial reservoir, in the heart of the Mourne mountains, with a storage capacity of 3,000,000,000 gallons; the naming by Princess Alice, on October 26, of the new dock and channel constructed by the Belfast Harbour Commissioners at a cost of three-quarters of a million, the ceremony of opening them being performed by the Governor; the inauguration of the new quarter of a million Craigavon Bridge across the Foyle at Derry by the Lord Mayor of London (Sir Percy Greenaway), who was accompanied by the Sheriffs. Less pleasing was the prolonged railway strike early in the year (January 30-April 6),

arising from the refusal of the majority of the railwaymen to accept the award of the Railways Tribunal, involving certain reductions in wages. In the end the men accepted defeat. The dispute involved both the companies and the employees in heavy financial losses.

THE IRISH FREE STATE.

The year 1933 brought an increase of political tension in the Irish Free State. The tariff " war " with the United Kingdom continued and trade between the two countries was further diminished.

Towards the end of 1932 Mr. de Valera's Government were becoming embarrassed by the uncertain attitude of their Labour allies, who held the balance of power, and by the energetic campaign of the Opposition Parties—Mr. Cosgrave's Party and the newly-formed Centre Party whose leader was Mr. Frank MacDermot, independent member of the Dail for Roscommon.

The Centre Party arose out of the National Farmers' and Ratepayers' League. Its constitutional aims were virtually the same as those of Mr. Cosgrave's Party, but Mr. MacDermot sought to create a new movement towards peace and reconciliation independent of the older parties, which he criticised in turn for their perpetuation of the civil war spirit. He advocated full and frank acceptance of the Free State's position in the Commonwealth of Nations as affording the only hope of winning over the people of Northern Ireland to join with the Free State in a reunited Ireland. The unity of the Irish nation, he held, was the paramount issue in Irish politics. This policy made a strong appeal to the large farmer class and the commercial community.

Efforts to consolidate the Opposition upon a common platform were being made when Mr. de Valera, with dramatic suddenness, dissolved the Dail on January 3, before any substantial progress could be achieved towards this end.

The General Election was held on January 24 and Mr. de Valera's tactical move proved successful, for his party gained, for the first time, a majority over all other parties, though only of one. *Fianna Fail* (Mr. de Valera's Party) won 77 seats (a gain of 5), *Cumann Na nGaedheal* (Mr. Cosgrave) 48 (a loss of 17), and Labour 8 (a gain of 1). The Centre Party won 11 seats and 9 independent members were elected. The result was a heavy blow to the Cosgrave Party. Mr. de Valera again obtained the support of the small farmer class, the rural labourers, and the great majority of the younger voters. He made only two changes in his Ministry—Mr. P. Rutledge replacing Mr. Geoghegan as Minister of Justice and Mr. G. Boland becoming Minister for Posts. The Partition question was much to the fore during the campaign. Mr. de Valera declared, shortly after the election, that

he would "sacrifice much" for Irish unity, and said that reunion could only be achieved when the people of Northern Ireland believed it to be in their interests to throw in their lot with the rest of the country.

On February 2 General O'Duffy, Chief Commissioner of the Civic Guard, who had incurred the enmity of the Irish Republican Army and other extremist bodies, was dismissed from his post. The dismissal caused much indignation, for General O'Duffy had organised the force and was highly popular among all ranks. The only explanation given by Mr. de Valera when questioned in the Dail, was that General O'Duffy's dismissal was "desirable in the interests of the State."

Colonel Broy was appointed to General O'Duffy's post. Two high officers of the Civic Guard were, at this time, placed on trial by the Government on charges under the Officials Secret Act, but the jury stopped the case and acquitted them.

On March 7 Mr. J. H. Thomas, Secretary for the Dominions, was informed by the Irish Free State Government that the monies in dispute between the two Governments, which had been placed in a Suspense Account, pending a settlement, would be appropriated to normal Exchequer requirements. These sums, claimed by the British Government under the treaty, in respect of land annuities, Royal Irish Constabulary Pensions, etc., amounted to 5,000,000l. per annum. Mr. Thomas, in the House of Commons, said the British Government regretted this step, but that the door still remained open for settlement either by arbitration by an Empire Tribunal or by negotiation. Towards the end of April Mr. de Valera, returning from a visit to Paris, was met in London by Mr. Thomas and they had a five minutes' conversation at Victoria Station, but nothing came of it. The next development was the passing in the Dail and Senate of the Bill removing the Oath of Allegiance from the Free State Constitution, which received the formal assent of the Governor-General (May, 3).

The Budget showed a decrease of revenue and an increase of expenditure and there was no relief in taxation.

The I.R.A. had openly supported Mr. de Valera's Party at the Election and nobody doubted that General O'Duffy's dismissal was the result of his former activities against this organisation. Mr. de Valera revealed in the Dail that the Government had offered General O'Duffy alternative employment, but that the General had refused it. General O'Duffy now came into the open as an active opponent of Mr. de Valera's Government. He devoted his attention to the development of the Army Comrades' Association, formed in the previous year to combat the activities of the I.R.A. and to secure the right of free speech for members of the Opposition at public meetings. General O'Duffy was appointed Director-General of the Association, which later

changed its name to the "National Guard." The Northern Ireland Government promptly declared the new organisation illegal in the Six Counties.

General O'Duffy, assisted by Mr. Ernest Blythe, Minister for Finance in Mr. Cosgrave's Government (who was defeated at the Election), and many former officers of the Free State Army, went round the country organising meetings to form branches, and wherever he went, he was greeted by his supporters with the Fascist salute. His activities reached a point at which the Executive became alarmed and General O'Duffy was accused of seeking to overthrow the Government by force of arms. A political crisis was indeed developing. The Government began to move against the organisation, and houses of its members were searched for arms in many parts of the country. Meanwhile, General O'Duffy was protesting that the National Guard was a constitutional and unarmed body, which respected the law.

Matters came to a head when the announcement was made that on August 13 the National Guard would hold a big parade in Dublin, on the occasion of the anniversary of the death of Michael Collins. The organisation had adopted a uniform of a blue shirt and black beret and, thus attired, groups of the National Guard had publicly paraded in several parts of the country. Attacks had been made upon them by Republicans and there was a widespread feeling of uneasiness throughout the country.

On August 5 the Government enrolled 300 men in a special auxiliary police force, for the purpose, it was announced, of guarding the Government and *Oireachtas* buildings. The Government also warned General O'Duffy that the National Guard would not be permitted to parade in uniform.

On August 12 the Government took an unexpected step, by invoking the Public Safety Act, which Mr. Cosgrave's Government had passed to deal with secret societies and sedition and which at the time was strongly denounced by the *Fianna Fail* and Labour Parties. The National Guard was proclaimed an illegal organisation, and a Military Tribunal, identical in its personnel with the Tribunal set up by Mr. Cosgrave's Government, was appointed to deal with persons accused under the Act. General O'Duffy refrained from carrying out the intended parade of the National Guard and the anniversary of Collins' death was observed with a quiet ceremony at the Cenotaph, in front of the *Oireachtas* building. The Government had taken elaborate precautions against the holding of the parade and there was a big muster of Civic Guards in the streets. Tanks and armoured cars, manned by Civic Guards, were also requisitioned, but, happily, beyond a few street fights, there was no serious disorder.

Meanwhile negotiations were being quietly carried on for the fusion of the Opposition Parties, and on September 3 complete agreement was reached. A new party, composed of the three

elements, was formed with the title of the United Ireland Party, under the leadership of General O'Duffy. Mr. Cosgrave was appointed Vice-President and leader of the party in the Dail. Mr. MacDermot and Mr. James Dillon (formerly an independent member of the Dail) also became Vice-Presidents, with Mr. MacDermot deputy leader of the party in the Dail. The United Ireland Party issued a manifesto declaring that it stood for the voluntary re-union of the Irish Nation as the paramount constitutional issue in Irish politics and rejected, as fatal to Irish unity and in every way disastrous, the Government's "double-faced policy of retaining the present constitutional position and at the same time discarding its advantages." It was decided that a "Young Ireland" movement should take the place of the National Guard.

While this hardening of opposition to the Government was going on, Mr. de Valera was further embarrassed by a campaign by the L.R.A. to prevent the sale of English beer, large quantities of which were destroyed. The Government issued a stern warning against the culprits and a considerable number of them were imprisoned. In most cases they refused to recognise the authority of the courts to try them. Some were tried and sentenced by the Military Tribunal.

Another trouble arose for the Government from the refusal of numbers of farmers opposed to Mr. de Valera's economic policy to pay rates. Nine of them were arrested on a charge of conspiracy to stop the payment of rates and brought before the Military Tribunal. They were all acquitted.

Clashes between "Blue Shirts" and Republicans were becoming frequent, especially in the south, and on October 7 a visit by General O'Duffy to Tralee, Co. Kerry, resulted in a serious riot. The General was injured, the Civic Guards were fired on, and the O'Duffy party had to be escorted by troops out of the town. A number of Republicans were subsequently arrested in connection with the affair and brought before the Tribunal. Several of them were sent to prison.

In December the Government proclaimed the Young Ireland organisation as illegal and General O'Duffy replied by dissolving it and substituting in its place a new body, which was named "The League of Youth." Its members continued to wear the Blue Shirt and the United Ireland Party served a writ on the Attorney-General to secure a declaration that the League was a lawful body. On December 17 General O'Duffy was arrested for wearing the Blue Shirt, while addressing a meeting at Westport, Co. Mayo. The High Court declared his arrest illegal and he was released.

Three Bills for amending the Constitution had been introduced : (1) transferring the function of recommending the purpose of the appropriation of money from the Governor-General to the

Executive Council; (2) withdrawing the right of withholding the royal assent; and (3) abolishing the right of appeal to the Privy Council. On November 14, in the House of Commons, Mr. Thomas said that His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom regarded these three Bills as a repudiation of the treaty of 1921. He added that Mr. de Valera had proposed the creation of an Irish Republic, owing no allegiance to the Crown, but associated in some vague way with the British Commonwealth. Such a proposal, Mr. Thomas said, was "totally unacceptable" to the British Government.

On November 29 Mr. de Valera sent a note to Mr. Thomas stating that the Irish people had never sought membership of the British Commonwealth and that the treaty of 1921 had been forced upon them by threats of immediate war. He asked Mr. Thomas for "a direct and unequivocal statement of the action they (the British Government) would take if the Irish people decided to sever their relations with the Commonwealth." Mr. Thomas's reply was that the British Government did not feel called upon to say what attitude they would adopt in a hypothetical case. Mr. de Valera characterised the reply as an evasion. Sinn Féin (the political wing of the extreme Republican movement) denounced Mr. de Valera for seeking the British Government's permission before declaring a Republic. The three Constitution Amendment Bills passed through both Houses of the *Oireachtas* in December.

Some slight progress was made during the year in the revival of industries, but unemployment was not appreciably reduced. The country's trade suffered a further serious decline. The official figures showed that the value of the total imports for the year was 35,789,153l. as compared with 42,574,222l. for the corresponding year 1932, and that the value of total exports fell from 26,940,228Z in 1932 to 19,650,800l. in 1933.

The United Kingdom continued to take over 90 per cent. of Free State exports. In December the Government issued a loan of 6,000,000l. at 3½ per cent., but the issue was a failure, only about half the sum being subscribed by the public.

CHAPTER II.

CANADA.

PARLIAMENT reassembled at Ottawa on January 30 after two months' recess, which followed the special October session to ratify the Ottawa Conference Agreements.

Economic problems had continued to dominate national attention, and early in the year the Prime Minister, Mr. R. B. Bennett, who had been urged by an influential group, mainly

from the Prairie Provinces, to link the Canadian dollar to the pound sterling, emphatically declared that Canada would not adopt a policy of currency inflation.

Acute controversy had been aroused by the proposed barter transaction between Canada and Soviet Russia, involving the exchange of cattle for oil and anthracite. The question of developing trade between the two countries had already received some stimulus by the successful arrangement in 1932 by which a group of importers had traded Canadian aluminium for Russian oil, and the Western farmers, still suffering from low wheat prices, were eager to explore any new market promising profitable terms.

In a statement in the House of Commons shortly after the re-assembly of Parliament, Mr. Bennett pointed out that there was no evidence that *bona fides* of the proposed transaction had ever been furnished by the Russian syndicate, and that, as the exchange entailed a considerable profit to the syndicate as well as a guarantee by the Canadian Government of a large proportion of the value of the cattle, his Government would not become a party to such an arrangement.

On February 1 Mr. E. N. Rhodes, the Finance Minister, tabled the Federal estimates for the fiscal year 1933-34. They provided for an expenditure of 358,656,488 dollars as compared with a total of 364,884,224 dollars for the main and supplementary estimates of the current year. Ministers, by paring estimates, had succeeded in reducing departmental expenditure by nearly 12,000,000 dollars, but they had to provide for an increase of nearly 5,000,000 dollars in debt charges and an additional 1,005,000 dollars for provincial subsidies which, following the last census, had been re-adjusted on a population basis.

At the first formal presentation (February 1) of the policies of the new Co-operative Commonwealth Party—whose activities were a notable feature of the year—Mr. J. S. Woodsworth (Winnipeg), President of the Commonwealth Federation, declared that it was imperative that the Government should at once take measures "to establish a co-operative commonwealth in which all natural resources and socially necessary mechanical production are used in the interests of the people and not for the benefit of the few." The Federation, he maintained, did not advocate bureaucratic State Socialism and had no connexion with Moscow, but he believed that a trend towards Socialism in Canada could be achieved by peaceful constitutional means. After some debate, in which the Liberals joined with the Conservatives, the Commonwealth motion was defeated.

On February 6 the Government announced the personnel¹ of the Tariff Board, constituted under the terms of the 1932

¹ Chairman, Mr. Justice George H. Sedgewick, K.C., of the Supreme Court of Ontario; Vice-Chairman, Mr. Milton N. Campbell, M.P., of Saskatchewan, and Mr. Charles Hebert of Montreal.

Ottawa Agreements. Appeals were made to the new Board from time to time throughout the year by both English exporters and Canadian importers, and although the powers of the Board were limited a number of important recommendations were made, particularly those affecting woollens, textiles, tinsplate, jute, and other imports.

In the Senate during February the Government's Railway Bill was introduced and created much public interest, as a campaign of propaganda in favour of amalgamation of the two trans-continental systems had been sedulously entered upon since the last session of Parliament.

After Mr. D. B. Hanna, the original President of the Canadian National system, had taken a strong stand against amalgamation, and two influential Conservatives, Senator Meighen, the Government Leader, and Senator Calder, an ex-Minister, had pronounced themselves firmly against any railway monopoly, sentiment in the Senate, which had been expected to yield a majority for amalgamation, swung round decisively, and the Government Bill, embodying the main recommendations of the Duff Transportation Commission, was carried.

Some weeks later, when the Bill was before the House of Commons, definite pledges were made by both the Conservative and Liberal parties against amalgamation, and the measure, providing compulsory economies between the Canadian National and Canadian Pacific Railways under a Board of Arbitration, was passed by 120 votes to 65.

The question of the development of trade with the United States came before the House on February 20 when a resolution was moved by Mr. W. Duff (Liberal, Nova Scotia) demanding reciprocity between the two countries. Mr. Bennett acknowledged that the United States was a natural market for Canadian raw materials, and said that the Government was under no illusion as to the great value to every section of Canada of free entry into the most populous nation in the world. "We must always be willing," he concluded, "to avail ourselves of proposals which are fair and reasonable, and are of such a character that they will not be injurious to the interests of this country if the agreement should be suddenly terminated."

Mr. Mackenzie King, the Liberal Leader, cordially approved of this principle, which, he asserted, the Liberal Party had long advocated, but he thought that instead of the resolution being withdrawn it would be helpful for the Canadian Parliament to pronounce itself in favour of reciprocity negotiations before the World Conference met. His view was that Canada needed foreign markets badly, and that as the incoming American President had publicly intimated his desire to negotiate reciprocal trade treaties, no time should be lost in instructing the Canadian Minister at Washington to begin the negotiations.

America's financial problems had continued to engage public attention and Canada's reaction to the suspension of payment by American banks (March) was comparatively mild. In a public statement at Ottawa, the Minister of Finance claimed that the Canadian banks were in a strong and liquid position and were wholly capable of meeting any demands made upon them.

The chief features of the Canadian Budget presented to the House of Commons on March 21 were : (1) increased taxation amounting to approximately 70,000,000 dollars ; (2) the lowering of the valuation of the pound sterling for special or dumping duty purposes from 4'40 to 4'25 dollars; (3) provision for the establishment of an agricultural stabilisation fund by which exporters to British markets of agricultural commodities, excepting grain, would be paid the difference between the pound sterling taken at 4'60 dollars and the price actually received.

The new taxation, Mr. Rhodes explained, would provide for balancing national accounts so far as all ordinary expenditure was concerned. The Government deemed it inadvisable, on the other hand, to provide under current conditions for Canadian National Railways deficits or for special expenditure on unemployment relief or for non-active advances to the Provinces.

The estimated ordinary revenue for the fiscal year ending March was 310,817,000 dollars and estimated ordinary expenditure 364,425,000 dollars, a deficit on the ordinary account of 53,608,000 dollars. In addition, special expenditures, including 37,400,000 dollars for unemployment relief and the wheat bonus, totalled 42,483,000 dollars. Capital expenditures totalled 9,123,000 dollars, while non-active loans advanced totalled 1,959,000 dollars. There was also a Canadian National Railways deficit of 53,422,000 dollars. The addition to the Federal debt for the fiscal year was 156,122,000 dollars, and the total debt at the end of March was estimated at 2,599,000,000 dollars. Reviewing the financial situation, the Finance Minister said that under the impact of the most severe financial storm in history the Canadian banking system had met every demand made upon it and had retained the fullest confidence of the public. The Minister referred optimistically to the trend of increased trade with Britain and the other countries of the Empire as the result of the Ottawa Conference. Canada's trade balance had reached 70,000,000 dollars for the first eleven months of the fiscal year. In 1932 Canada had regained fifth place among the trading nations of the world whereas in 1931 she held seventh place.

By a vote of 107 to 72 the Budget was approved on April 12.

On April 24 Mr. Bennett arrived in Washington, having accepted President Roosevelt's invitation to an informal discussion on Canadian-American affairs. The object of the visit was to examine possibilities of a trade and tariff pact between the two Governments and to take part in a preliminary exchange of views

on problems to be dealt with at the World Economic and Monetary Conference. During his visit, which occupied about six days, the Canadian Prime Minister met both M. Herriot, the former French Premier, and Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, the British Prime Minister. He also conferred with his own Minister at Washington, Major W. D. Herridge, who had been engaged almost continuously on negotiations for the St. Lawrence Waterways Treaty between Canada and the United States. The result of his journey was summed up in a statement made in the House of Commons immediately upon his return to Ottawa (April 30), in which he declared that he and Mr. Roosevelt had agreed that existing high tariffs between the two countries should be modified and their place taken by a Trade Treaty at the earliest possible date after the World Conference. Mr. Bennett tentatively proposed a treaty on a five-year term and stipulated that there should be no disturbance of the existing Anglo-Canadian agreements. Referring to the World Conference he said that Canada would play her part in the task of seeking world recovery through co-operation with the United States and all the other nations of the world.

Shortly after this visit the announcement was made in Ottawa of the appointment of Mr. Warren D. Robbins as the new United States Minister to Canada in succession to Mr. Halford Macnider.

By a new Franco-Canadian Trade Treaty signed on May 12 France extended the minimum tariff to Canada on wheat, salmon, lumber, woodpulp, maple syrup, and other manufactured articles, and easier access to the French market of Canadian lead and zinc. In return Canada granted France the intermediate tariff with preferences on a list of French products which did not compete with British goods.

In the same month the reciprocal trade agreement affecting dairy produce between Canada and New Zealand which expired on May 24 was extended for six months. Later, this was again extended for a similar period.

Parliament was prorogued on May 27 by Lord Bessborough, Governor-General. In his Speech from the Throne gratification was expressed in the benefits of the Ottawa Agreements, and reference was made to the measures taken to maintain the integrity of national finance, the redistribution of electoral constituencies, the extension of bank charters pending the Report of a Royal Commission to be appointed to consider banking and monetary problems, and the Canada-France Convention concerning the rights of Nationals and Commercial and shipping matters.

The most important domestic legislation passed dealt with Railway administration, an Act to give extra-territorial operation to Acts passed by the Canadian Parliament prior to December 11, 1931, in accordance with the provisions of the Statute of Westminster, the establishment of a Tariff Board, unemployment

relief, the constitution and work of the Radio Commission, and amendments to the Shipping Act and Soldiers' Pensions Act.

The Canadian delegation, headed by Mr. Bennett and Mr. Rhodes, left Montreal for England on June 2 to attend the World Economic Conference (see p. 31).

Mr. Mackenzie King, in a speech at Belleville, Ontario (June 8), condemned the Ottawa Imperial Conference as having been dominated by Protectionists, resulting in an increase of tariffs throughout the British Empire. He expressed the hope that the Empire lead at the London Conference, reversing the policy which prevailed at Ottawa, would recapture world leadership and begin the task of releasing the tariff bonds which were hampering world trade.

The first Annual Convention of the Co-operative Commonwealth Party opened at Regina, Saskatchewan, on July 20, when all Provinces from Quebec westwards were represented by some 200 delegates. Mr. Woodsworth, the President, urged the necessity of formulating a complete Socialist programme which would include : a planned socialised economic order ; the establishment of a Central Bank and National Investment Board ; organisation of foreign trade through export and import boards ; encouragement of all co-operative enterprises ; establishment of a National Labour code guaranteeing equality of economic opportunity ; insurance against sickness, death, old age, and accidents, and limiting hours of work, wages to be determined by family needs ; refusal to take part in any Imperialist wars ; steeply graded income, inheritance, and corporation taxes ; the abolition of deportations ; revision of statutes ; security of tenure for farmers, with guarantee of an equitable price-level for agricultural products, and an emergency programme for the period of transition into a Socialist state.

The Left Wing of the party objected to the maintenance of private property in land, but this was considered a necessary concession to farmers, and after three days' discussion a programme on the foregoing lines was adopted.

Other conferences held during the summer months were the Pacific Science Conference at Victoria, B.C. (July) ; the World's Grain Exhibition and Conference at Regina (July) ; and the Conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations at Banff, Alberta (August).

The first two public sessions of the Royal Commission on Banking and Currency were held in Ottawa on August 8 and 9. The Chairman, Lord Macmillan,¹ in a statement at the first session, paid tribute to the efficiency of the Canadian banks.

¹ The other members of the Commission were : Sir Charles Addis, British Financier, Sir Thomas White, formerly Dominion Minister of Finance, Hon. J. E. Brownlee, Premier of Alberta, and Mr. Beaudry Leman, General Manager of the Banque Canadienne Nationale.

He said there could be no question that the past ten years had seen the emergence of a number of new problems affecting the banking world of a singularly complex and refractory character, while many of the old problems had assumed a new guise and a new importance.

The Commissioners travelled throughout Canada investigating conditions and taking evidence. Their report, published three months later, recommending *inter alia* the immediate establishment of a Central Bank with wide powers was received with Dominion-wide interest and general approval.

The proceedings of the World Economic Conference and the International Wheat Conference in London (August) were also closely followed throughout Canada.

On Mr. Bennett's return he was given an enthusiastic reception in Montreal (September 1), where he briefly reviewed the work of both conferences. He laid emphasis on the friendly atmosphere in which the World Conference had adjourned, and referred to the useful results of the impromptu conference of the Empire delegates on a uniform monetary policy and the signing of a pact by silver-producing countries to which Canada had been a signatory. Defending the International Wheat Agreement, by which Canada had consented to limitation of her wheat exports and a reduction of 15 per cent. of her wheat acreage for the next crop year, Mr. Bennett declared that this agreement was necessary owing to the gravity of the wheat crisis, and that it would prove in the long run to be beneficial to the Dominion.

The successful flotation during his visit to London of a 75,000,000 dollar Government loan which had been greatly over-subscribed should be regarded, he said, as a signal demonstration of the high standing of the national credit.

In the same month the Prime Minister visited Toronto where he addressed large audiences on Imperial and domestic problems.

Shortly after his visit the British Commonwealth Relations Conference opened in the same city, attended by 41 delegates representing varying shades of political opinion. Canada was represented by 14 delegates, the United Kingdom 10, Australia 5, South Africa 5, India 4, and New Zealand 3. Sir Robert Borden welcomed the delegates on behalf of the Canadian Institute of International Affairs, and said they had gathered in informal council to estimate the nature and permanence of the relations of the Commonwealth that had ensued from a long series of developments and to consider the most acceptable means of increasing their efficiency and their probable tendencies in the future. Mr. Newton W. Rowell (Canada), who had headed the Canadian delegation to the Conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations in the previous month, was elected Chairman, and Lord Cecil (United Kingdom) was the principal speaker at an inaugural banquet. Four Commissions were set up dealing with

(1) Foreign policy within the Empire, (2) Imperial defence and machinery of consultation, (3) an Empire Tribunal, and (4) Commonwealth Co-operation in other spheres than that of foreign affairs. The findings of each Commission were incorporated in a report discussed at the final session on September 21.

The Trades and Labour Congress at its closing session at Windsor, Ontario, on September 25, after considerable debate, voted for the withdrawal of a resolution urging support of the new Co-operative Commonwealth movement. A further resolution favouring the resumption of trade relations with Russia was amended to cover resumption of trade with any country whose workers were paid fair wages, and which offered trade exchanges not detrimental to Canadian labour.

Both Mr. Bennett and Mr. Mackenzie King made short political tours in Western Canada during the late summer.

At Winnipeg (October 10), before a large audience, the Prime Minister discussed the proposals for quotas for the restriction of international wheat production and made an optimistic reference to the prospects of national and international recovery from the depression of the past few years. Canada's credit, gauged by the price of Dominion bonds, now stood higher than at any time in the history of the Dominion. Since August, 1930, the Federal Government had advanced sums totalling 122,000,000 dollars to the provinces and municipalities for unemployment relief and other emergency purposes. . . . The Government was watching carefully the great experiment in the United States but, in the light of the results obtained there, would confine itself to conservative action.

After defending the London Wheat Agreement by which Canada would supply 35 per cent. of the world's export demands, Mr. Bennett concluded: "We have perhaps built too ambitiously, federally, provincially, and municipally, and now we are faced by actualities. We will keep the ship afloat, however, and we will not fail to meet all the obligations we have undertaken."

On his return from the West the Premier undertook a personal supervision of the Customs administration under the Department of National Revenue. As the result of a hearing of an appeal by importing interests from a decision of that Department, the Tariff Board gave a ruling (November) which had a far-reaching effect on the system of arbitrary valuations. The fixing of such valuations by the Department of National Revenue had been originally imposed to check dumping but had, in effect, greatly increased the level of protection enjoyed by domestic manufacturers. The Bennett Ministry, by an amendment of the Customs Act, passed in November, 1932, had nullified the authority of the Minister of National Revenue to impose arbitrary valuations on British goods, but a series of valuation orders made before the amendment had been allowed to stand. The new ruling was

interpreted as a definite stimulus to the British export trade especially as, almost simultaneously, the same Department made a concession concerning cotton fabrics for which Lancashire exporters had been pressing since the Ottawa Conference.

Shortly after these decisions Mr. E. B. Ryckman, Minister of National Revenue, who had been regarded as a staunch protectionist, resigned, and on December 6 Mr. R. C. Matthews (Toronto) was sworn in as his successor.

Addressing a Conservative gathering at London, Ontario (December 10), Mr. Bennett again referred to Canada's financial policies and alluded to the report of the Macmillan Banking Commission which had been published during November. When Great Britain abandoned the gold standard, he said, and the money markets of the world were thrown into confusion, he had made up his mind that there must be some financial institution with authority to do business for the whole Dominion with other nations. If Canada was to be economically independent, there must be an agency for determining balances and settling international accounts. He pronounced against inflation and expressed pride in the fact that the financial credit and reputation of Canada stood unchallenged. Turning to trade policy he said that he would not apologise for having increased the tariffs which had transformed a heavy adverse balance to a favourable balance of 125,000,000 dollars in the twelve months ended October 31. Reviewing the inter-Imperial trade policy of his administration, he said that the proposals he had made to the conference of 1930 had been rejected, but in the business of government it was the long views which predominated in the end, and the fruits of the conference of 1932 were now visible in the increase of inter-Imperial trade.

The question of the importation of Russian timber into Great Britain in unfair competition with Canadian timber which had been the subject of strong representations made personally by Mr. Bennett during his visit to England, were continued by the High Commissioner in London throughout the year, and after continued pressure, based on Article 21 of the Ottawa Agreements, it was confidently expected that appreciable concessions would be made by the British Government.

In the last week of the year the appointment was announced in Ottawa of Mr. Justice C. P. Fullerton, Chairman, Mr. F. K. Morrow, and Mr. Eduard Labelle as the Board of Trustees of the Canadian National Railways according to the terms of the Railway Act passed at the last session of Parliament.

Seven new Senators were appointed on December 31, filling half the vacancies in the Senate.

Dominion by-elections resulted in Liberal successes. In the Restigouche constituency of New Brunswick, Mr. J. E. Michaud gained a Liberal victory with a majority of approximately 6,000

votes over the Conservative candidate, Mr. P. L. Dube. For the constituency of Yamaska, in the Province of Quebec, Mr. Aime Boucher, Liberal, was returned with a majority of 51 (position unchanged). Mr. J. A. MacMillan, the Liberal candidate, was elected to the Mackenzie constituency of Saskatchewan in place of Mr. Milton Campbell (Progressive), who had been appointed to the Tariff Board.

Two General Elections took place in the provinces.

In Nova Scotia, during August, the Liberals, by returning 22 members against 8 Conservatives, came into power for the first time since 1925. The issues were principally Provincial, and the new Government formed by Mr. Angus L. Macdonald, the Liberal Leader, was sworn in on September 5.

In British Columbia the most extraordinary General Election since that Province came into confederation in 1871 was held during November. The Conservative Leader, Mr. S. F. Tolmie, who was Premier at the time of dissolution, went to the polls without the support of his party, and the election, which came as a climax to bitter dissension concerning economic affairs, resulted in an overwhelming victory for the Liberals, the final returns being Liberals 34, Co-operative Commonwealth Federation 7, Independents 6. The new Premier, Mr. T. D. Patullo, whose Ministry was sworn in on November 15, had been given, prior to the election, a free mandate to choose his Cabinet either inside or outside the party in the best public interest.

In Prince Edward Island during October Lieutenant-Governor Dalton called on Dr. W. J. MacMillan, Minister of Public Works and Public Health, to form a new Government for the Province in succession to Mr. J. D. Stewart who died early in that month. Dr. MacMillan formed his Cabinet to include all the members of the Stewart Government (Conservative) with the addition of Dr. A. A. Macdonald, Speaker of the Legislative Assembly.

CHAPTER III.

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

THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA.

AN optimistic speech delivered by General Smuts, just before the end of the year, epitomised the immense progress which the country had made during the previous eleven months towards the great ideal of political and racial reunion. The leader of the South African Party remarked that the old chapters of discord had been closed, and that the country could now go forward

with new hope, fresh courage, and a common outlook on the future of the South African nation.

The industrial situation, which was almost as hopeless as the political position at the dawn of 1933, began to improve immediately the Government took the inevitable step of going off gold, but the domestic cares of the Government were not lightened so automatically. Early on there was much talk of a coalition between General Smuts, as Leader of the South African Party, and Mr. Tielman Roos, a former Nationalist Party Minister, as the chief protagonist of a Government founded on the principle of party co-operation (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1932, p. 141). Mr. Roos had suggested a Cabinet of five Nationalist Ministers, a similar number drawn from the South African Party, and one Labour member. Mr. Roos further suggested that agreement to this proposal was to be conditional on the ejection or resignation of the Government.

The South African Party agreed in principle to the coalition proposal, but favoured a Cabinet selected by General Smuts after the defeat of the Government. The Cabinet was to consist of ten members, three of whom should be personal supporters of Mr. Roos, with the latter as deputy Prime Minister. The attitude of the South African Party was apparently dictated by doubt as to whether Mr. Roos would be able to detach a sufficient number of Government supporters from their allegiance. During this period of uncertainty the negotiations broke down.

General Smuts, in a subsequent statement, affirmed that in spite of the deadlock the South African Party was steadfast in its determination to oust the Nationalist Government and to form a National Government pledged to non-racial Empire co-operation.

When Parliament met in January, General Smuts immediately took action to put his policy into force. On January 24, four days after the House met, he called on the Government to resign. His speech was, as he said, less an expression of no-confidence than an appeal for a new start by means of a National Government. The country was longing to rid itself of party strife, and to find something constructive. It was looking hopefully to the coalition movement which Mr. Tielman Roos, had, to his credit, brought to a head. He could not imagine the Government remaining unmoved in view of this intense feeling for racial co-operation. "If there is a General Election I do not fear the result," declared General Smuts. "But even with a complete victory for my party, people will feel that bitterness will remain. There is no way towards a change except through the resignation of the Government." General Smuts pointed to the practical example which had been set by the British Government, and in appealing to General Hertzog to follow it, urged that the Prime Minister could himself form a National Government. It was the wish of

the country that he should do so, but if he had not the desire he should give others the chance.

The Prime Minister's reply was, from a party point of view, a reasoned criticism of the arguments of the coalitionists. General Hertzog was prepared to do everything in his power to further the interests of racial co-operation and conciliation, but he doubted whether a National Government was the right instrument for the purpose. He declared that fraternisation and national unity could not take place along the lines of a heterogeneous mixture such as that proposed by General Smuts, and he feared that when a National Government came to the end of its period of office the old divisions would begin again. In rejecting the coalition suggestion, the Prime Minister invited his fellow-speaking South Africans to co-operate with the Nationalist Party in service for the common interests of the country. General Hertzog argued that the Government was entitled not only to a clear and unambiguous declaration of opinion from the House as to whether it had its support, but that it was entitled to continue in office until an answer was given in the clearest terms. He therefore moved as an amendment: "that this House expresses its confidence in the Government."

The debate lasted a week, and was conducted with such hostility as to suggest that whatever the feelings of the country might be, the House itself was in no mood for party coalition or racial co-operation. Unfortunately for the Government (although it eventually defeated the motion of resignation, which General Smuts had moved, by 83 votes to 63), its uncompromising hostility to the principle of a National Government estranged certain members of its own party who had been won over by the arguments of Mr. Roos. In particular, the expulsion of Mr. Steytler, a Cape member of considerable influence, from the Nationalist caucus, threatened to develop embarrassingly. Nor did the Government's Parliamentary victory impress the electorate, for throughout the country its attitude showed no tendency towards ratifying the opinion of the House, but rather to seek expression through the mouthpieces of coalition. The movement was given impetus by an official "fresh start" plea made by General Smuts in February. The gist of this was that the country was reduced to such a desperate plight that its economic restoration could only be tackled on national lines, and that as long as the parties continued to be ranged against each other it was inevitable that racial strife should constantly be flaring up.

Meanwhile, behind the closed doors of the Nationalist committee rooms and at the headquarters of Mr. Tielman Roos, the unexpected was happening. Despite the very powerful opposition of Dr. Malan—probably the most powerful member, individually, of the Nationalist Party—the Prime Minister evolved a satisfactory answer to some of the questions he had defied General

Smuts to elucidate, and from the country the cause of co-operation spread to the Cabinet. Ten days after General Smuts had issued his "fresh start" manifesto, General Hertzog, defying the hostility of Dr. Malan, invited the co-operation of the Leader of the South African Party. The country, with the exception of the extreme elements of both races, welcomed this friendly overture as heralding the dawn of a new era.

Events then moved rapidly. On February 23 it was announced that the coalition negotiations, which had been entrusted to General Hertzog and Mr. Havenga, representing the Nationalist Party, and General Smuts and Mr. Patrick Duncan, the S.A.P. (with Mr. Tielman Roos hovering benignly in the background), had been brought to a successful conclusion. The immediate effect of this generally-agreeable understanding was to confront the negotiators with the difficulty of securing the consent of their supporters. This was a far greater problem for General Hertzog than for General Smuts, whose critics were mainly confined to a small but vociferous minority in Natal. Dr. Malan led a considerable element of Dutch-speaking dissentients.

The basis of the agreement reached by what came to be known as the "Big Four," was, among other things, maintenance of South African membership of the British Commonwealth of Nations, and the safeguarding of the Cape's special Native Franchise rights. Among General Hertzog's conditions were provisions that the unitary basis of a united South Africa, as laid down in the South Africa Act, the national flag and equal language rights, should be retained. The government of the country should be continued on a basis of national principles in the spirit of South African independence and in harmony with South Africa's sovereign independent status as confirmed by the Statute of Westminster. It was further agreed that General Hertzog should be the Prime Minister of the new Coalition Government, that he should have the selection of six seats in the Cabinet, including one for Labour, and that General Smuts, as Leader of the South African Party, should rank immediately below the Prime Minister with an equal number of Cabinet seats at his disposal, including one without portfolio.

When the South African Party subsequently met in caucus, the Coalition Government proposals were unanimously accepted, but General Hertzog, at a similar gathering of his followers, secured only a majority of 14—42 votes to 28. But, obviously to the relief of the Prime Minister, Dr. Malan and the other dissentients, although disliking coalition, agreed to support the Government as long as it adhered to Nationalist principles.

Parliament was prorogued on March 2. General Hertzog at once proceeded to Bloemfontein, where a conference of 400 Free State Nationalists gave him a vote of unqualified support and confidence. His success was repeated the following day at

Smithfield, his own constituency, where an audience of between 3,000 and 4,000 people loudly cheered his plea for conciliation and racial co-operation. It was a remarkable demonstration for a district long notorious for its uncompromising Nationalist sentiments.

In accordance with agreed policy, General Hertzog, as Prime Minister, handed his resignation to the Governor-General on March 30, and was asked to form a new Cabinet immediately. The constitution of this was officially announced as follows: Prime Minister, General Hertzog (Nationalist); Minister of Justice, General Smuts (S.A.P.); Finance, Mr. N. C. Havenga (Nationalist); Railways and Defence, Mr. O. Pirow (Nationalist); Labour, Mr. A. P. Fourie (Nationalist); Native Affairs, Mr. P. G. Grobler (Nationalist); Agriculture, General Kemp (Nationalist); Mines and Industries, Mr. Patrick Duncan (S.A.P.); Lands, Colonel Reitz (S.A.P.); Posts and Telegraphs, Senator Clarkson (S.A.P.); Interior and Education, Mr. J. H. Hofmeyer (S.A.P.); Minister without Portfolio, Mr. R. Stuttaford (S.A.P.).

Parliament was dissolved on April 7, and the General Election was fixed for May 17. Thus far developments were according to plan, but at this stage Mr. Roos threatened to disorganise procedure by suddenly announcing his determination to form a new party called the United Coalition Party, and to enter as many candidates as possible. For this entirely unexpected move there was no apparent reason, except, possibly, the statement attributed to Mr. Roos, that he sought a true coalition instead of the Hertzog-Smuts pact of expediency. As the date of the election drew near, however, Mr. Roos modified his resolve, and in place of the proposed new party he decided to establish a fighting fund to assist independent coalition candidates along the Reef, and to proceed with his intention of opposing Mr. P. G. Grobler at Rustenburg.

The election was an overwhelming victory for the Hertzog-Smuts Coalition. For the first time in history European women went to the poll, and they signalled the granting of the franchise to them by electing Mrs. Denys Reitz for the Parktown division of the Transvaal. Dr. Malan had a hard fight to retain his seat at Calvinia against Mrs. Steenkamp, who stood as an Independent Coalitionist. Mr. Roos was beaten by Mr. Grobler, but two of his partisans were returned.

The new House, which assembled on May 26, consisted of 150 members, of whom 75 were Nationalists, 61 S.A.P., and 2 Labour, leaving 12 outside the Government Coalition.

When Parliament rose on June 22, ministers proceeded to their constituencies, and it soon became evident that the country was rapidly ripening for a further extension of the new principle of party and racial co-operation. The Transvaal Nationalist Party Congress, on August 10, passed by 591 votes to 9 a resolu-

tion favouring the fusion of the Nationalist and South African parties, and public opinion throughout the Union appeared to trend gradually towards the formation of a centre party, which was regarded as a natural outcome of the coalition movement. Following the lead of the Nationalists, the Head Committee of the S.A. Party in the Transvaal also unanimously voted for fusion, and so the spirit of *rapprochement* gradually pervaded all parts of the provinces. In a minority of malcontents Dr. Malan was loudest in voicing the tenets of a time-worn and circumscribed Africanderism. The isolation of the member for Calvinia was completed when Mr. Roos threw in his lot with the Hertzog-Smuts fusionists and when General Hertzog carried an overwhelming meeting in the Malanite stronghold of Paarl. Politically, the year closed with the prospects of fusion brightly in the ascendant.

General Smuts, Mr. Havenga, and Mr. Pirow visited England as the South African delegates to the World Economic Conference. During their stay in London they attended the opening of the new South Africa House by King George V. on June 22. The building, erected on a famous site at the Strand corner of Trafalgar Square, was designed by Sir Herbert Baker. In its externals the building conforms to the regulations and stipulations of the Office of Works, but in its internal fitments and decorations it is a striking example of early Dutch furnishing, and as such occupies a position wholly unique among the public buildings of London.

Before the delegates returned to the Cape they were the guests of honour of the South Africa Club, at which the President, Mr. de Water (High Commissioner), happily toasted a unique occasion.

SOUTH-WEST PROTECTORATE.

Mr. A. J. Werth relinquished the office of Administrator, and was succeeded by Dr. Conradie, formerly the representative for Lindley in the Union House of Parliament.

The new Administrator assumed office at a time when the country was at low ebb of prosperity. Upon arriving at Windhoek, the capital, in April, Dr. Conradie conferred with the Advisory Council, at which meeting the decision was taken to assemble Parliament in May without framing a Budget. Financially the Protectorate was impotent pending the granting of a loan by the Union Government. The Administrator asked for 400,000Z., comprising 300,000/. to cover the deficit, and 100,000l. to cover relief and essential works. The Union Government, in reply to this request, intimated its willingness to advance approximately 370,000l. to cover both purposes. Prior to the granting of this loan, the indebtedness of the Protectorate to the Union amounted to 1,824,715/.

Apart from the parlous condition of finance and industry, the general situation was aggravated by increasing political tension. The rise of the Hitler regime in Germany had repercussions in South-West Africa. On the one hand it gave new hope to the old aspirations of the Germans of the former Demaraland colony, and on the other it created among English and Dutch a desire for even closer association with the Union.

During the year Prince Hubertus, and his cousin Prince Frederich, two grandsons of the ex-Kaiser, toured the Protectorate.

SOUTHERN RHODESIA.

Sir Cecil Rodwell, the Governor of the Colony, opened the final session of the second Parliament on March 20.

An interesting measure, adopted early in April, was the Ministerial Titles Bill, which provided for changes in the nomenclature of certain Cabinet appointments. The "Premier" thus became Prime Minister, the "Treasurer" Minister of Finance, the "Colonial Secretary" Minister of Internal Affairs, and the "Attorney-General" Minister of Justice. The Attorney-General explained that the title of "Premier" was conferred on the heads of the Legislature in the Provinces of Australia and Canada, whereas Southern Rhodesia had almost attained the status of a dominion, and had, in effect, been given that status at the Ottawa Conference. The term "Treasurer" had caused confusion at Ottawa, since some of the delegates had thought that that Minister was the financial adviser to the Southern Rhodesia delegation, instead of being a fully accredited delegate. The term "Minister of the Interior" was largely used on the Continent, and Southern Rhodesia had decided to relinquish it in favour of the more British-sounding title of Minister of Internal Affairs.

It was announced on June 2 that the Legislative Assembly had ratified by 17 votes to 13 the purchase of the mineral rights of the British South Africa Company for 2,000,000l.

A month later the political situation underwent a marked change, when, on July 5, Mr. H. U. Moffat, the Prime Minister, resigned in accordance with his announced intention of retiring. He was succeeded by Mr. George Mitchell, Minister of Mines and Agriculture. The session came to an end a few days later, and there immediately followed preparations for the September General Election.

Although the resignations of Mr. Moffat and the appointment of Mr. Mitchell had not been regarded as significant of a fall in the fortunes of the Government, or Rhodesian, Party, the result of the election indicated in the clearest possible manner that the country desired a change. Messrs. Moffat and Mitchell were defeated at Gwelo and Gwanda, respectively. Mr. Mitchell thereupon tendered the resignation of the Cabinet, and Mr. G. M.

Huggins, Leader of the Reform Party, was called upon to form the new Government. His supporters had won 16 seats out of a total of 30. The Reform Party retained 9, and the Labour Party 5. The 9 Independent candidates were defeated.

The question of the amalgamation of the two Rhodesias figured prominently in the election campaign. Union of the two provinces was advocated by the Rhodesian Party, and although officially favoured by the Reform Party some of its members were reluctant supporters of the policy. In the programme of the new Government amalgamation was placed fifth in order of priority, with the incorporation of the Tati Territory and Northern Bechuanaland as a preliminary to the ultimate creation of a South-Central African Dominion.

BECHUANALAND PROTECTORATE.

During the absence in England of the High Commissioner, the Earl of Clarendon, Vice-Admiral Evans, as Acting High Commissioner, was called upon to adjudicate in a regrettable happening in which Chief Tschekedi was alleged to have flogged a European, contrary to the laws of the Protectorate.

The Commission of Inquiry sat at Serowe, and after hearing evidence the Acting High Commissioner pronounced judgment. Tschekedi was found guilty, and ordered to be suspended. The European concerned was ordered to leave the native reserves. In view of this man's history a very considerable volume of white opinion throughout South Africa sympathised with Tschekedi, and an attempt was made to bring him to England in order that he might lay an appeal before the Crown. Permission was refused. Many questions were asked in the House of Commons. The case was fully considered by the British Government.

Eventually, in October, a detailed statement of the circumstances was issued by the Dominions Office. In this document it was announced that as Tschekedi had abandoned any right to deal with a case in which a European is concerned, that he did not and will not claim to be immune from the laws of the Protectorate, and that he will at all times work in harmony and" loyal co-operation with the Administration, His Majesty would be advised to terminate the suspension. Tschekedi was officially reinstated by the Acting High Commissioner at Serowe on October 4.

Nevertheless, interest in the case did not subside with this formal reinstatement. Mr. Douglas Buchanan, a South African barrister, and the Rev. A. E. Jennings, of the London Missionary Society, came to England to plead for the deposed Chief, and an influential deputation representing the London Group on African Affairs waited on the Secretary of State for the Dominions to lay before him certain matters connected with the administration of native affairs.

CHAPTER IV.

AUSTBALASIA.

AUSTRALIA.

THE reorganisation of Australian finances which was inaugurated by the Lyons Ministry in 1932 reaped its reward in 1933, and the Commonwealth was well upon the road to renewed prosperity by the end of the year. This was due principally to the higher price which the Australian graziers received for their wool clip. *in* 1930-31 the average price for Australian wool was only 8-65d. a pound, being the lowest since 1901. During the 1933 season the price was 12-7d., and the difference meant millions of pounds sterling for Australian producers. The Lyons Ministry was able to bring about other noteworthy improvements in the economic situation by curtailing imports and refraining from borrowing overseas, except for meeting overseas debts which were actually due. An adverse trading balance was converted into a favourable one, thus stopping the heavy shipments of gold which had been necessary before the Lyons Ministry began their reforms. Such were the general factors which made possible the Recovery Budget of October, with its surplus of 3,547,000/., as against an expected deficit -of 1,302,000/.

With the improvements in trade and finance went a substantial reduction in the rate of unemployment and partial unemployment, an improvement represented by the difference between 30 per cent, and 25-7 per cent., this being the rate at the time of Mr. Lyons' Budget speech in October. The Federal Arbitration Court, in a judgment delivered on May 5, was unable to restore the 10 per cent. reduction in the basic wage applied to all awards of the Court in 1931, but adopted a new method of adjusting the basic wage which appreciably increased earnings. The Court was also able to avoid a further reduction of the basic wage amounting to Is. 10d. a week, which was to have come into operation. The effect of the Court's decision was to increase the basic wage in Melbourne by no less than 4s. *Id.* a week, the increase in other capitals ranging from 2s. 4d. to 4s. *Id.* A preliminary count of the Census of 1933 gave the population of Australia as 6,630,600, representing a percentage increase of 21'77 compared with the Census of 1921. The population of New South Wales was 2,601,104, of Victoria 1,820,360, of Queensland 947,789, of South Australia 580,987, of Western Australia 438,948, and of Tasmania 227,605.

Apart from the resignation, owing to illness, of Sir Harry Gullett from the Ministry of Trade and Customs, and of Mr. Stanley Bruce, to take up the office of High Commissioner in London, there was no important change in the Lyons Ministry. Sir Harry

Gullett was succeeded by Lieut.-Colonel T. W. White, a personality who is familiar to many Englishmen as "Australia White" in Mr. Yeats-Brown's "Bengal Lancer."

Colonel White introduced his Customs tariff resolutions in the House of Representatives at Canberra on March 8, thus amending the consolidated schedule introduced by Sir Harry Gullett in October, 1932. It was explained that seventy-five items were affected, the amending resolution lifting the surcharge of 50 per cent, upon thirteen important groups of goods, and giving effect to fifty-one reductions of duty. Incidentally Colonel White reviewed the steps which the Tariff Board was taking to reconstitute the tariff in accordance with the Ottawa Conference and gave an interpretation of the undertakings which Mr. Bruce and Sir Harry Gullett had given at Ottawa to allow "reasonable competition" with Australian industries. Colonel White summarised the objects of the Government's policy under three heads: (1) a selective tariff, where efficient industry is an essential qualification for tariff shelter; (2) a competitive as distinguished from a prohibitive tariff; and (3) the measure of protection to be guided by a Tariff Board composed of experts in trade affairs, and not by arbitrary ministerial action. Another aim would be to attain a fair balance between primary and secondary industries in Australia.

The Tariff Board's report was tabled in the Commonwealth House of Representatives on October 4 and recommended a reduction of 25 per cent. on most items in the tariff and 12½ per cent. on others.

Another tariff problem, which became acute during 1933, arose from allegations of Japanese dumping in Australia. It was announced on June 19 that the Customs Department was investigating the allegations and that the Tariff Board recommended an increased duty upon gum boots to meet some of the trouble. Advocates of action to prevent dumping pointed out that the cheapness of Japanese goods was not due to superior industrial skill, but to methods which Australia could not adopt—low wages, long hours, a seven-day week, and the exploitation of child labour. On December 11 it was announced that an Australian mission, probably led by Mr. Latham, would visit Japan early in the New Year, with a view to establishing proper relation with a country which was doing an ever-increasing trade with the Commonwealth.

Mr. Lyons, as Federal Treasurer, introduced his Recovery Budget in the House of Representatives at Canberra on October 4. The revenue during 1932-33 was 73,513,000.2. and the expenditure 69,966,000.2. In view of the great need to relieve industry of its heavy taxation burden Mr. Lyons stated that the Government did not intend to devote the excess receipts to the reduction of the accumulated deficit, but proposed to carry them forward

into the next two years for the relief of industry and the keeping down of the cost of living. The remission of indirect taxation for the year totalled 4,330,000/., most of which was devoted to reductions in the Sales Tax. The reduction in direct taxation upon companies, properties, land and income amounted to 3,020,000l. Mr. Lyons also announced a partial restoration of old-age, invalid and war pensions, as well as increases in public service salaries. Mr. Scullin, Leader of the Labour Opposition, criticised Mr. Lyons's speech on October 11, describing the Budget as a glaring example of class discrimination, but Dr. Page, on behalf of the Country Party, approved the Budget. Dr. Page added that, if the Tariff Board's report on primage and exchange was fully implemented, an Empire reconstruction plan could be initiated immediately. Later in the session, on October 25, a Bill was passed approving the increase from 150l. to 825l. per annum of allowances made to members of the Federal Parliament. Before the depression Federal members received 1,000l., and they apparently considered they were entitled to some consideration in view of the better state of public finances. The Salaries Bill aroused considerable opposition in the Australian Press, and several public meetings protested against members of Parliament granting themselves higher remuneration at a time when financial stringency had not entirely passed. During the session a special committee was appointed by Mr. Menzies, Minister for Railways, which reported in favour of transferring 29,623,000l. from the Railways capital account, so that responsibility for the payment of the account would pass to the general taxpayer. The effect of the change would be to make the Railway capital account once more represent live and productive assets, and wipe out capital losses which could only be regarded as bad debts. On March 16 Mr. Lyons announced the re-sale of six re-possessed Commonwealth Line steamers, which had been sold to the White Star Company in 1928 but had not been paid for. The sale in March was made to a British syndicate headed by Lord Essendon, and closed the costly experiment in the State ownership of cargo and passenger boats which arose when the "Bay" boats were built for the Australian Commonwealth Line in 1921 and 1922.

The financial reforms included in the Commonwealth Budget were preceded by meetings of the Loan Council in Melbourne on February 1 and June 11 which were attended by the Premiers and Treasurers of the Commonwealth and States. It was reported that all the Governments were living within the estimates presented at the beginning of the financial year in 1932 and it was eventually arranged that the Commonwealth Bank Board should advance 4,000,000l. towards the completion of the loan works programme which entailed the spending of 20,000,000l. within the financial year. It was also decided to budget in

1934-35 for an aggregate deficit of 8,500,000*l.* The Bank loan was made upon the understanding that the existing system of financing public works with Treasury Bills should cease, and that the Loan Council should approach the public market whenever it required money for public works in future. Partly because of these decisions, but still more because of the better economic situation due to the higher price of wool, Mr. Bruce, early in December, was able to arrange for the payment of maturing loans in London totalling 16,647,000*l.* at substantially lower rates of interest. Somewhat earlier, on November 17, a 10,000,000*l.* internal Commonwealth loan was subscribed in Australia within forty-eight hours of its announcement.

The international agreement regarding wheat was tabled at Canberra on October 6, when the plan, so far as it affected Australia, was explained by Mr. Stewart, Minister for Commerce. On November 1 a conference was held at Canberra between Mr. Stewart and representatives of wheat growers, wheat merchants, wheat pools and flour millers with reference to the Government plans for controlling the export of grain. Mr. Stewart explained that Australia produced about 15 per cent. of the world's exportable surplus of wheat, and its sale of the commodity was important when Australia, a debtor country, was liquidating her overseas debts. An arrangement was made whereby a fund should be established into which would be paid a proportion of any increase in price registered by wheat in 1934-35; this fund would be available for purchasing and disposing of any surplus in that season. On December 1 a Wheat Growers' Relief Bill was introduced in the House of Representatives at Canberra granting wheat growers 3,000,000*l.* which was to be raised by means of a tax upon flour sales, an increased Customs duty of 6*d.* a pound upon tobacco, and a special tax upon property income. The State Governments were required to confine the financial assistance to growers who did not receive taxable income during the financial year ended June, 1933. The object of the measure was to assist farmers who were really in need of assistance.

The defence policy of the Commonwealth was outlined by the Minister for Defence, Senator Sir George Pearce, in a speech to the Millions Club, Sydney, on September 25. The Minister stated that it had been decided to improve the coast fortresses by installing new armament and that an armoured car regiment would be raised. As for the navy, Sir George urged that Australia should provide a squadron of four effective cruisers in full commission with the requisite aircraft, ships, officers and men being interchangeable with the Royal Navy. A destroyer leader and four destroyers, sloops and surveying vessels, together with the necessary bases, were other desiderata.

On May 26 a Bill was passed by the Federal House of Representatives giving the Commonwealth authority over about

one-third of the Antarctic continent to the south of Australia. The territory covered by the Antarctic Territory Acceptance Bill lies between 160° and 45° East Longitude. Mr. Latham, introducing the measure, emphasised the potential economic importance of the territory, comparing it with Alaska.

Passing from Federal affairs to conditions in the several States, Mr. B. S. B. Stevens, as Premier and Treasurer of New South Wales, was able to give a reassuring account of his stewardship, after the disastrous experiences of his Labour predecessor, Mr. Lang. The New South Wales Budget statement on September 28 showed a deficit of 3,758,000l., being 741,000l. below the limit fixed by the Loan Council, and no less than 10,000,000l. below the deficit during the Lang regime. The expenditure for the year had been 49,913,0002., compared with 56,644,0002. in 1931-32 and would be reduced to 45,934,0002. during the coming year. Reductions in taxation, railway freights, rentals and other State charges during the current year would amount to over 4,000,0002., and business enterprise in the State had been stimulated by these savings. On May 14 a referendum was held in New South Wales on the Government's proposals for the reform of the Legislative Council, the result being an affirmative majority of about 20,000 in favour of reform. The figures were not altogether welcome to the supporters of the Stevens administration. Opposition came mainly from Radical voters in the big cities, where Labour is strongly entrenched, but it is probable that irritation against the drastic economies made by the Stevens Government also had its effect upon the referendum voting.

In Victoria a Budget statement was made by the Premier, Sir Stanley Argyle, on September 27, who informed the Legislative Council that the deficit was 841,0002. or 58,5002. below the amount named under the Premiers' Plan. The State was also concerned with the grievances of certain British settlers who were brought to Victoria about 1922 under a scheme of migration, in which the British Government, the Commonwealth and the State authorities were jointly concerned. A Royal Commission reported that the British settlers had a moral claim to aid from the State Government, as they had been selected under the personal direction of the then Agent-General in London. Accordingly, Sir Stanley Argyle proposed to make monetary grants to the extent of 100,0002. and to wipe off the liabilities of settlers to the extent of another 200,0002. On November 30 the Federal House of Representatives passed a Bill authorising the Commonwealth to pay the 100,0002., pending a decision by arbitration whether the State of Victoria or the Federal authorities were responsible in equity.

A General Election was held in South Australia on April 8 **and** the Labour Party, led by Mr. Richards, suffered a severe

defeat, the Liberal-Country League increasing its voting strength in the House of Representatives from 15 to 28 in a house of 46. Mr. Hill, the previous Labour Premier, had resigned on February 9 to take up the post of Agent-General in London. Mr. R. L. Butler formed a new Ministry on April 18, with Mr. G. Ritchie as his Chief Secretary, Mr. S. W. Jeffries as Attorney-General, and Mr. McIntosh in charge of Public Works, Railways, and Irrigation. On August 4 the Butler administration persuaded Parliament to sanction Loan Estimates providing for a gross expenditure of 2,417,000/. on public works with a view to countering the serious unemployment in the State; 750,000/. was granted to farmers suffering from low commodity prices; 758,000Z. being allotted to Murray River improvements, including further locks and weirs. The Government also introduced a Bill providing for a five years Parliament. The wine industry in South Australia suffered greatly during 1933, largely owing to a heavy increase in the duty upon fortifying spirit, imposed by the Scullin Labour Government to meet Federal expenditure. The industry reached a state of crisis, and on May 12 a conference was convened in Adelaide to find a market for the surplus of grapes then on the market.

In Western Australia, as in South Australia, there was a General Election on April 8, and the existing Nationalist Government at Perth was displaced, Sir James Mitchell and two of his ministers losing their seats. The Labour Party thus regained office, holding about 30 seats out of a House of 50 members. The new Government was formed by the Labour Leader, Mr. Collier. On the same day as the General Election a referendum was taken upon the question of secession from the Commonwealth and the resulting figures were 109,476 in favour of secession and 55,109 against. Mr. Collier stated that the vote was a reflection of the resentment of West Australians against their treatment by the Federal Parliament, and added that his party would take steps to give effect to the majority decision of the voters. The referendum vote was the more impressive as Mr. Lyons, the Commonwealth Prime Minister, had toured the State at the end of March and addressed crowded meetings in Perth and Kalgoorlie in favour of Western Australia remaining within the Federation. He said that if the State prepared her case it would receive every sympathy from the Commonwealth Parliament. After the referendum the Federal authorities pointed out that the only legal step which Western Australia could take in connection with the secession vote was to petition the Crown to create a new Dominion, and that there could only be one reply, a definite negative. With a view to meeting the difficulty, which also affects Tasmania and the northern districts of New South Wales, a special Premiers' Conference will meet early in **1934** to discuss the constitutional relations between Commonwealth and States.

In Queensland, where a Labour Government led by Mr. Forgan Smith is in office, the Parliamentary session was opened by the Governor on August 15. Twenty-five Bills were presented, including an Unproductive Private Land Development Bill, which empowered the Government to resume compulsorily good agricultural land near markets, if such land was not being properly developed. On January 30 the Commonwealth Government intervened nullifying certain Queensland legislation which prevented the sharing of work at Brisbane docks between volunteers and the members of the Waterside Workers Federation. Mr. Latham, the Federal Attorney-General, acted under the Federal Transport Workers Act, and Mr. Forgan Smith lodged a sharp protest, stating that his Government had secured a mandate to carry out Labour policy and would use all its resources to carry the mandate into effect.

Plans for the development of Northern Australia were announced by Mr. Lyons at Canberra on July 15, and included the formation of two chartered companies, the creation of a low tariff area, and the exemption of the district from income and land tax for a term of years. The development schemes will be carried out under the general advice of Sir Herbert Gepp, and Vestey's Limited, a British meat company which already has large interests in Northern Australia, are expected to take part. Mr. Lyons stated that the Government regarded the development of North Australia as an imperative responsibility and was willing to encourage private enterprise and capital. One chartered company could operate on the country lying to the south of the Gulf of Carpentaria, having as its port the mouth of the MacArthur River. Another company could operate on the Victoria River area, with Wyndham as its port, if the Government of Western Australia was agreeable. In June and July a scientific expedition, equipped by Adelaide University, spent several weeks in the interior of the continent studying the language, customs, and physical characteristics of the aborigines, 300 miles to the north of Oodnadatta. The expedition brought much interesting material for study when it returned to Adelaide in August.

NEW ZEALAND.

The depression which came upon Australia during 1931 reached New Zealand a year later, and for that reason the record of the sister Dominion in 1933 was less happy than that of Australia. In both cases the primary trouble was the low level of prices for such produce as wool, meat, butter, and cheese. In New Zealand the index price for exports during 1932 was no less than 53 per cent, below that in 1929, and a national income of 150,000,000*l.* was reduced to 98,000,000*l.* during the financial

year 1932-33. At the same time the burden of public and private debt became almost unbearable, the number of unemployed in the Dominion rose seriously, and nominal wages fell by about 20 per cent. But for the fact that both the State of New Zealand and the farming classes were able to draw upon reserves laid by in times of prosperity, the crisis in New Zealand would have developed as rapidly as it did in Australia. However, liabilities accumulated so fast and profits disappeared so rapidly, that, by the end of 1932, it was plain drastic Government action was essential if dire trouble was to be avoided. The New Zealand Parliament met on January 26, 1933, and sat until March 10. The session was devoted to measures for meeting the economic crisis, the principal item being a Bill sanctioning a high exchange rate under Government guarantee, and an internal debt conversion scheme, reducing the interest payable upon loans totalling 115,000,000l. By the end of 1933 the Dominion had the satisfaction of reaping the first-fruits of the national sacrifices which this legislation involved.

Throughout 1932 the Forbes-Coates Government had resisted the demand for a higher exchange rate in the interests of the farming class; on January 20, however, this decision was altered, after a conference with the leading bankers of the Dominion. It was decided to raise the exchange rate upon London to 25 per cent., in place of the then ruling rate of 9 per cent. The scheme was laid before the House of Representatives on January 27, when Mr. Coates, the new Minister of Finance, explained that a Budget deficit of 9,850,000l. was in prospect, which the Government hoped to reduce to 4,500,000l. Expenditure would be increased by 2,400,000l. on account of exchange charges, and the indemnity against loss which it would be necessary to give to the New Zealand banks. On the same day a Banks Indemnity Exchange Bill was introduced, empowering the Government to buy and sell surplus exchange in London through the Bank of New Zealand. Mr. Holland, Leader of the Opposition, moved the rejection of the Bill on the ground that the artificially high rate of exchange would increase the cost of living in the Dominion and intensify unemployment. A lengthy debate ensued. In the meantime Mr. Downie Stewart, the best-informed economist in the Cabinet, had resigned from the Ministry of Finance, owing to differences with his colleagues on the question of exchange. Mr. Downie Stewart explained his attitude to the House of Representatives on January 31. He admitted the desperate straits in which the New Zealand farming class found itself, but pointed out that the immediate effect would be to increase Budget charges by 3,800,000Z., which was nearly half the gap which the Minister of Finance foresaw in the coming year's expenditure. If the exchange was left at a 10 per cent. level and suitable remedial economies brought into force, this prospective

deficit could be reduced to less than 1,000,000*l.* The extra burden was immediate, enormous, and inescapable, while the margin of recovery due to increased national income was distant, doubtful, and speculative. While he differed from the Government upon the desirability for a depreciated currency, Mr. Downie Stewart refused to support the Labour motion for the rejection of the Bill, holding that this would only add political instability to exchange instability. The House of Representatives approved the measure after an all-day and all-night sitting on February 3, and the Legislative Council accepted the Banks Indemnity Bill on February 10, with four dissentients.

To meet the heavy expenses consequent upon a 25 per cent. discount on sterling, it was necessary for the Government to raise 2,400,000*l.* by fresh taxation, and also obtain a further 2,000,000*z.* by the liquidation of reserves in the soldier settlement loans. Resolutions to give effect to these decisions were introduced on February 8. The new taxes included 3*d.* a gallon upon petrol, making the duty 11*d.* plus primage, an export duty of 12*s.* 6*d.* on gold, an additional $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.* per pound upon raw and refined sugar, and a further 8*d.* per lb. upon pipe tobacco, making the total duty on cut tobacco 6*s.* 1*d.* per lb. and upon plug tobacco 6*s.* 5*d.* The Government also proposed a 5 per cent. tax upon the value of all goods sold by wholesalers to retailers, and all goods sold by manufacturing retailers, but a long list of exemptions included bread, flour, fresh meat, dairy produce, newspapers, and farm utensils. These Budget Resolutions were opposed by the Labour Party, but the Government proposals were carried.

A loan conversion scheme, similar to that successfully carried through in Australia in connexion with the financial crisis, was also included in the proposals of the Forbes-Coates Government. The Loan Conversion Bill was introduced on February 28 and passed on March 1, almost the only criticism being directed to a suggestion of compulsion if any holders of stocks refused to convert. The debt affected totalled 115,000,000*l.*, of which 45,800,000*l.* was in the possession of the New Zealand Treasury or Post Office. Holders, apart from the Government, were invited to convert into a 4 per cent. stock, but the issues of the new stock were so adjusted that no holder suffered a loss of income exceeding 20 per cent. The net saving to the Budget was 570,000*l.*, and Mr. Coates intimated that the leading bankers and insurance companies had already accepted the scheme. Mr. Forbes and Mr. Coates both appealed to bondholders to respond to the Government proposals, as British and Australian stock-holders had done, with admirable results. Mr. Forbes added that it would be well-nigh impossible to maintain interest payments at existing high levels, and that reduction in the rate was a necessary part of the policy for restoring financial stability.

The Labour Party did not oppose the Bill, but their speakers suggested that a better method of meeting the crisis would have been to use the public credit, as in wartime, to encourage industry. As part of the scheme for lowering the general rate of interest in New Zealand, the Government persuaded the local banks to lower their rate upon overdrafts from 6 to 5 per cent., while stock agents reduced their rates from 7 to 6 per cent.

As a result of these drastic measures the Dominion, by the middle of the year, was able to announce a balanced Budget, and, indeed, a surplus of 40,000Z., after taking into account 2,500,000l. taken from reserves. The revenue for 1932-33 turned out to be no less than 938,000l. above the estimate made earlier in the year, and an additional saving of 112,000l. had been made, thus bridging the gap between revenue and expenditure. Mr. Coates recalled that the satisfactory result was in no small part due to the generosity of the Mother Country in foregoing payments upon the funded War Debt, after the Hoover moratorium expired.

During the summer Mr. Forbes and Mr. Masters, the Minister of Industries and Commerce, were in London in connexion with the World Economic Conference, and the New Zealand Legislature was not in session. The Dominion Tariff Commission continued its inquiry into the fiscal changes which were likely to be needed to give effect to the Ottawa Agreement of the previous year. In general, the evidence showed that New Zealand farmers favoured reductions in tariff duties, while the manufacturing class wished for a continuance of the existing protection. After hearing evidence for seven weeks, the Commission was unable to draft its report in time for the meeting of the New Zealand Parliament on September 21, and it was announced that the tariff changes would not be considered in detail until 1934, when a special session would probably be called in February or March.

One other problem arising out of the Ottawa Agreement remained for settlement. That was the quota which Britain proposed for the benefit of her own farmers. During 1933 the problem of butter exports, not only to Britain but to Canada, became acute, the difficulty being the greater owing to the depreciation in Dominion currency in consequence of the higher exchange rate upon London. In the autumn Mr. T. Baxter, Chairman of the British Milk Marketing Board, visited New Zealand and conferred with the leaders of the dairying industry in New Zealand. Mr. Baxter found much opposition to any quota system. Mr. Coates issued an important memorandum upon the butter quota on May 5, in which he balanced the restriction of production and other interferences with industry against the chaos which must follow from unrestricted production and the collapse of prices on the world market. In general, New Zealand opinion inclines to the view that, if Great Britain

must impose quotas upon imports of dairy produce and meat, these should first be imposed upon foreign imports and not upon the trade of Dominions. Lord Bledisloe, the Governor-General, speaking at a dinner of the Canterbury Chamber of Commerce on September 29, pointed out that Great Britain was not seeking to become self-contained in regard to her food supplies, adding that patience was required for the proper development of inter-Empire trade contemplated by the Ottawa Agreement.

The autumn session of the New Zealand Parliament was opened on September 21 by Lord Bledisloe, in a speech from the Throne which foreshadowed legislation for the establishment of a Control Reserve Bank. This was introduced after a debate in which a Labour amendment calling for a General Election was defeated by 46 votes to 27. During the same debate the Government's policy in connexion with raising the rate of exchange was approved by 43 votes to 30. The second reading of the Reserve Bank Bill was moved by Mr. Coates on October 11, and it was approved by the House of Representatives after a two days' debate by 43 votes to 28, and on November 21 by the Legislative Council. Throughout, the principal point at issue was the measure of control which the Government should maintain over the operations of the Reserve Bank. As set out by Mr. Coates, the objects of the bank were fourfold: (1) To control the Government's monetary policy; (2) to strengthen and co-ordinate the existing banking systems in the Dominion; (3) to provide the community with cheaper credit; and (4) to effect savings for the State. Mr. Coates, however, agreed that there must be no suspicion of control by a political party in office, though Parliament could not abandon its power to amend a legislation. He estimated that the savings to the Government as a result of a Reserve Bank should be 640,000/. Mr. Savage, speaking for the Opposition, described the Bill as an excuse for perpetuating private control of the banking system in New Zealand. His party favoured a State banking system, rather than an attempt to control the existing system. On the question of independence from political interference, the final position reached was that the Reserve Bank would be in the hands of seven directors, of whom the New Zealand Government would elect three and the shareholders four, while the Government would appoint the Governor and his deputy, on the recommendation of the Board.

A report of the Auditor-General, presented to Parliament on December 11, sharply criticised the administration of native land development and Maori unemployment relief, the report alleging "grave irregularities." Sir Apirana Ngata, the Minister of Native Affairs, offered his resignation to the Prime Minister, but Mr. Forbes declined it until investigation showed the Minister's personal responsibility. The report was passed to the Public Accounts Committee for investigation.

The Budget speech, delivered by Mr. Coates on November 9, registered the sense of passing depression and the belief that better times were ahead, to which passing reference has already been made. The improved conditions in Great Britain and the higher range of export prices were the factors upon which Mr. Coates chiefly insisted. He said that, as a result of the national efforts, the gap between farming costs in New Zealand and the prices to be expected from farming products had narrowed considerably. Prices were now 16 per cent. below the 1914 level, while costs were no more than 20 per cent. above those ruling just before the World War. As for estimates for the 1933-34 financial year, Mr. Coates put the expenditure at 24,400,000l. and the revenue at 22,306,000l., representing a probable deficit of 2,094,000l. Mr. Coates, however, pointed out that the expenditure included 1,366,000l. on account of debt repayment, so that the actual difference between receipts and outgoings for the year was only 750,000l. The unemployment revenue for the year, 4,300,000l., was sufficient to meet all requirements. Mr. Coates added that particular attention was being devoted to utilising relief labour upon reproductive work such as road-making, drainage, land clearance, and land reclamation. The Budget speech also drew attention to the success of a conversion loan in London in the previous month, when 5,000,000l. of Bonds bearing 5 per cent. interest were converted into a 3½ per cent. stock, at the issue price of 97. During 1933 the gross debt of the Dominion was approximately 282,500,000l., equal to about 1852. per head of population, but against this liability were tangible assets valued at 305,000,000l., of which 265,000,000l. was directly interest-bearing and productive, being represented by railways, telephones, hydro-electric plant and the like.

In addition to work done by the Tariff Commission in connexion with rates to be charged upon British imports as a result of the Ottawa Agreement, trade arrangements were made with Australia, Canada, and Belgium. Returning from the World Economic Conference in London, Mr. Forbes visited Ottawa and conferred with Canadian Ministers, with view to a permanent tariff treaty between the two Dominions. As this was not possible at the moment, the existing trade agreement, which was due to expire on November 24, was extended for six months. On December 6 the New Zealand House of Representatives passed a Customs resolution accepting a trade agreement negotiated with Belgium, whereby each party granted the other most-favoured nation treatment. New Zealand made concessions to Belgium regarding carpets, floor rugs, glassware, matches, bicycle tyres, and other wares, in return for lower rates of duty upon cheese, apples, wool, hides, tallow, and flax. In introducing the Resolutions, Mr. Coates explained that the policy of New Zealand was to give preference to Great Britain as its best customer,

and then to affect arrangement with other countries willing to admit her produce. In order to maintain the margin of preference which Britain enjoyed before the Belgian agreement, the Government proposed to exempt several British exports from primage duty.

The trade agreement between New Zealand and Australia was tabled simultaneously in the Houses of Representatives at Canberra and Wellington on October 25, and followed upon several months of negotiation, including a visit of Senator Massy-Greene, Assistant Treasurer of the Commonwealth, to New Zealand. As a result Australia was granted a preference in respect of raisins, which was expected to assure the Commonwealth a market aggregating 250,000Z. a year; canned pineapples, hats, caps, asbestos sheets, and macaroni were other Australian commodities which profited by the agreement. New Zealand was assured of free admittance to Australian markets for her linseed, lucerne seed, whale oil, pig iron, agricultural insecticides and other goods. The Australian-New Zealand agreement included a clause which protected United Kingdom traders from any considerable diversion of trade, the possibility of diversion arising from the fact that Australian and New Zealand currencies were now on the same level, whereas previously the exchange rate had favoured British exporters. The matter was fully explained by Colonel White in his speech to the Canberra House of Representatives on October 25.

During the trade agreement discussions at Wellington and Canberra, both Dominions were reminded of the spirit of comradeship engendered during the years in which their soldiers fought side by side in Gallipoli, Palestine, and Flanders, and it was suggested that the Anzac spirit should be perpetuated economically in days of peace. The same sentiment was exemplified when the Australian cruisers *Canberra* and *Australia* cruised in New Zealand waters in mid-September, and carried out exercises with *Diomedé* and *Dunedin*, of the New Zealand Naval Division. The reception given to the Australian warships at New Zealand ports was of the heartiest description. On December 5 the motor ship, *Wyatt Earp*, with the Ellsworth Antarctic Expedition aboard, sailed from the Bay of Wales, the *Jacob Ruppert*, flagship of Admiral Byrd's Polar Expedition, being welcomed at Wellington on the same day. The year also witnessed the final reconstruction of Napier after the disastrous earthquake of February 3, 1931. The Dominion spent 1,700,000L upon the replacement of public building and similar works, and the new Napier is not only better built than the old city, but has a larger population.

CHAPTER V.

INDIA.

A REMARKABLE psychological change in Indian politics brought greater quietude towards the close of 1933 than for many years past. India emerged from a prolonged phase of excitement and the professional agitator found it difficult to capture the public interest in any subject, at least apart from that of the continued economic depression. Lord Willingdon's Government was unswerving in maintaining the dual policy of firm administration of law and order and pressing forward constitutional reforms. The White Paper issued in the middle of March outlining the proposals of the British Government for the latter purpose was condemned by the Nationalist newspapers as disappointing and inadequate, but as time went on its merits from the standpoint of Indian political advance gained more recognition. The centre of political gravity was shifted to London by the reference of the proposals to a Joint Select Committee of both Houses of Parliament and the association therewith of delegates, first from India and later from Burma.

The civil disobedience movement was ebbing when the year began, and on December 31 the total number of persons undergoing imprisonment in connexion therewith had fallen from 14,815 to less than 3,000. An attempt to hold a session of the National Congress at Calcutta early in April was frustrated by the police. Mr. M. S. Aney, the acting President, and Pandit M. M. Malavaya were arrested with some 700 other persons, but were soon after released. On May 1 from Yeravada Prison, Poona, where he had been detained sixteen months under a Bombay Regulation of 1827, Mr. Gandhi announced his intention to undertake an "unconditional and irrevocable" fast for twenty-one days on behalf of the eradication of the evil of untouchability of the Depressed Classes. A week later, when the fast was about to begin, he was released, to the not inconsiderable embarrassment of many Hindu supporters. The fast was observed in luxurious surroundings at the house of Lady Thackersey at Poona.

The Government made it clear that Mr. Gandhi would not be allowed to resume his activities at the head of the civil disobedience movement. On July 15 a conference of Congress Party leaders at Poona rejected his plan for "individual" civil disobedience. Three days later the Viceroy refused the request of this conference to grant Mr. Gandhi an interview to secure "an honourable agreement," stating that he was unable to see him as long as civil disobedience remained the declared policy of Congress.

Any hopes Mr. Gandhi may have entertained of embarrassing the Government by his advocacy of temple entry and removal of untouchability for the *Harijans* (men of God)—to use his phrase for the Depressed Classes—were unfulfilled. Their leaders made it clear that they were much less concerned with temple entry than with social and economic amelioration. On January 23 the Viceroy refused his sanction to the introduction of Bills in the Madras Legislature for the removal of the religious disabilities of the Depressed Classes and to secure them temple entry. Basing the decision on the ground that the issue was essentially of an all-India character, he gave his sanction to the introduction of Mr. Ranga Iyer's Bill for a similar purpose in the Indian Legislative Assembly, on condition of circulation after introduction in the widest manner and of adequate time being given for all classes of Hindus to form and express considered views. The introduction of the Bill was delayed by the obstructionist attitude of orthodox Hindus, but was ultimately achieved. It formed a rallying cry for their conservatism, and they urged at a conference held at Bombay at the end of the year that there should be incorporated in the new Constitution "an absolute and unalterable provision for non-interference in religious beliefs and practises of the people, and freedom of conscience in religious matters."

Setting out with a number of followers from Poona on August 1 to march to villages in the Kaira district to promote individual civil disobedience, Mr. Gandhi was re-arrested. He was sentenced on August 4 to a year's imprisonment for disobeying an order of Government requiring him to reside at Poona and to refrain from political activities. He was dissatisfied with the facilities given to him in prison to work for the *Harijan* movement, and refused to recognise that as a prisoner he could not have the same facilities as when merely under detention. He decided once more to fast, was released purely for medical reasons after a week of abstinence from food, on August 23, and was nursed to comparative health once more at the mansion of Lady Thackersey. He announced his intention to abstain from courting arrest for twelve months and to devote himself to the *Harijan* movement.

Meanwhile the disruption in the Congress Party was extending. Much dissatisfaction was shown in regard to Mr. Gandhi's negative attitude towards reforms. Moreover, he had alienated considerable Hindu support, particularly in Bengal and the Punjab, by acceptance of the hastily drawn Poona Pact (see ANNUAL REGISTER, 1932, p. 161), the withdrawal of which was asked for by the Bengal Legislature by 30 votes to 27 on March 14. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, released in the autumn from his long imprisonment, showed in an exchange of correspondence with Mr. Gandhi and other pronouncements a continuance of his strong bent towards Communism, largely on the Russian model. At the end of the year Mr. Gandhi nominally transferred the charge

of the Congress to the Pandit, and toured in the Central Provinces and Madras in advocacy of the *Harijan* movement. Out of the divisions among Congress supporters there came a new Democratic Swaraj Party which recognised the importance of making use of the democratic machinery which the proposed Constitution would supply.

On August 30 the Viceroy stated to the Indian Legislature that the improvement in the situation in Bengal had been maintained, though it would be the greatest mistake to suppose that the subterranean forces against constituted authority had yet been overcome. Unhappily, three days later Mr. Bernard E. J. Burge, I.C.S., District Magistrate of Midnapore, was fatally shot when about to play with a town team in a football match, being the third successive holder of the post to fall a victim to the terrorists. Later Sir John Anderson, the Governor, announced his intention not to relax the pressure until the movement had been brought under effective control; but recognising that economic conditions made the young educated Bengali an easy prey to terrorist inspiration, he established a special Economic Inquiry Board. The police had increasing success in rounding up Terrorist leaders and in getting information about the movement, although the movement itself remained a serious menace.

The Meerut conspiracy trial, begun with a magisterial inquiry four years earlier (see ANNUAL REGISTER, 1929, p. 158), ended on January 16, when three Englishmen and twenty-four Indians were convicted of treasonable conspiracy and waging war against the King-Emperor by organising a Communist revolutionary movement. The records in the case reached gigantic proportions and there were many criticisms of the unprecedented length of the proceedings, though it was recognised that these were due in large measure to the obstructive tactics of every kind (including hunger strikes and refusal to attend the proceedings) of the accused, whose statements of defence covered 3,092 printed pages. On appeal the Allahabad High Court on August 3 acquitted nine of the accused, including H. L. Hutchinson, one of the three Englishmen, and reduced sentences in some other cases. While criticising the voluminous selection of evidence, the Judges held that the prosecution was justified and complimented the police.

Though the Red Shirt movement almost entirely collapsed the need for constant watch on the North-West Frontier tribal area was illustrated from time to time. On July 21 some 1,500 Upper Mohmands crossed over into the Gandab Valley, 40 miles north-west of Peshawar and made an unprovoked attack on the Halimzais, an "assured" tribe. After heavy fighting they were driven back, and later the Government sent a column of 4,000 British troops and two batteries of artillery into the Valley to assist the Halimzais, with the desired results. In March, at the instigation of the Lewanai Fakir and his companions, a few thousand

of the tribes in Northern Waziristan made an incursion into Khost, in Afghanistan. On the threat of firm action by the Indian Government, these tribal *lashkars* were recalled from Khost; but the Fakir and his associates made good their escape into the country adjoining the Durand Line. Certain individual Khans in Bajaur were known to be harbouring offenders whose activities were inimical to Afghan interests. Non-compliance with an ultimatum presented to the Khan of Khar demanding surrender of the men led, after due warning, to the bombing of a village practically inaccessible to troops. The Viceroy claimed on August 30, in reply to criticisms not confined to India, that the bombing had in no way infringed the canons of international law or the dictates of humanity. The great importance of giving a friendly Afghanistan no occasion for complaint was demonstrated when on November 8 King Nadir Shah was assassinated. The time was one of anxiety in respect to the Frontier, but order was preserved.

In pursuance of the policy of constitutional reform, committees were set up to examine the administrative problems created by the proposals to establish a new province of Orissa and to separate Sind from the Bombay Presidency. The term of life of the Legislative Assembly, due to expire at the end of the year, was prolonged for twelve months, and similar action was taken in respect to some of the Provincial Legislatures. The Governor of Burma convened, on April 25, a further session of the Legislature for the purpose of coming to definite conclusions on the question of federation with or separation from India. The absence once more of a clear decision was due to the hope of the so-called anti-separationists that by temporary association with the Indian Federation a more advanced Constitution than that outlined by the Prime Minister at the end of the Burma Round Table Conference on January 31, 1931, would be obtained; but the Government made it clear that there could be no question of contracting out of the Federation.

Another reverberation of the prolonged discussions in London was an attack on the Federation scheme by the Maharaja Jamsaheb of Nawanagar—the Prince Ranji of cricketing days—at a session at Delhi of the Chamber of Princes on March 25. As Chancellor of the Chamber he was presenting the Report of the States Delegation to the third session of the Round Table Conference, when the Viceroy, who was in the chair, pointed out that the personal views of His Highness were not relevant in this connexion. The incident received more attention than it merited from the fact that returning to his State a few days later the Maharaja was stricken with pneumonia and died on April 2 [see under Obituaries]. Note may here be taken of the effect of the serious troubles which arose in the Alwar State following on the necessity in 1932 for troops from British India to be sent thither

to restore order and suppress a rebellion of the agrarian Meos, a predominantly Moslem tribe. Failing to give the co-operation he had promised to British officers sent to Alwar to assist in improving the administration, the Maharaja was advised by the Viceroy to absent himself from the State for a considerable time, and accordingly came to Europe in the summer.

A feature of the year in " Indian India " of a happily different character was the success of negotiations between the British Government and the Government of the Nizam for bringing to an end the controversy (three-quarters of a century old) on the administration of Berar. The Viceroy announced at Hyderabad on November 29 that an agreement had been reached with the Nizam on the position of the leased province under the contemplated Indian Federation. The agreement made more appropriate provision than hitherto for recognition of the Nizam's sovereignty over Berar and for his coming into the future constitutional structure of the sub-province, which will continue to be included in the administration of the Central Provinces of British India. The military guarantees in respect to which Berar was originally leased to the Crown remain unimpaired.

In the closing weeks of the year the Legislative Assembly debated a Bill to provide an essential pre-requisite of Federation, viz., a Reserve Bank free from political influence, discharging the duties in respect of currency and exchange now carried out by the Finance Department of the Government. The Bill was based on the report of a special Committee which, sitting at the India Office in London in the summer, included members of the Indian Legislature. The measure underwent close scrutiny from a Select Committee of the two Houses and in the protracted Assembly debates the Government suffered only one defeat (by 1 vote), this being on a relatively unimportant amendment to make the establishment of a branch in London obligatory. There were many echoes in the discussion of an intensive propaganda by the newly-formed Indian Currency League for lowering the rate of exchange by separating the rupee from sterling. It was argued that deflation would help to meet the economic difficulties of the cultivators arising from low prices of primary commodities and poor export demand. The view of the majority of the Select Committee that the rupee ratio did not arise in the Bill was unsuccessfully challenged in many ingenious amendments.

While there was comparatively slow advance in the index of prices of primary products, the mercantile export surplus of India showed a substantial measure of recovery. The meeting of her external obligations was greatly assisted by the continued export of gold sold at a high premium, which reached a value in the year of Rs. 51 crores (38,250,000l.). The credit of the country continued to improve, and remarkable progress was made both in India and in London in the reduction of short term debts.

Maturing loans were redeemed and replaced by issues of much longer maturity on terms highly favourable to the Government.

These transactions assisted in the balancing of accounts, and the prospect of fulfilment of Sir George Schuster's Budget estimate of a surplus. While unable to propose remissions of the emergency taxation of September, 1931, he reduced the salary cuts from 10 to 5 per cent. The financial prospect was further improved by the decision announced at the end of the year of the British Government to recommend, in compliance with principles laid down by a tribunal of eminent jurists, British and Indian, to make an annual grant of 1,500,000Z. as a contribution from Imperial funds towards the cost of the Army in India, to include a subsidy of 130,000l paid hitherto for the transport of British troops to and from India. It was announced simultaneously that an expert body which had considered in India the question of possible reduction of the number of British troops had come to the conclusion that this was not practicable at present.

The Ottawa preferences became operative at the beginning of the year and had a good effect on trade with Great Britain. Much attention was directed to the severity of the competition of cheap Japanese goods with Indian manufactures, particularly in the textile market. On April 12 the British Government gave the required six months' notice of denunciation of the Indo-Japanese Trade Agreement of 1904. The period was extended in October pending results of the negotiations for a new treaty with a diplomatic mission sent to India by the Japanese Government. The discussions were protracted and agreement on a quota basis was not reached until just after the year had ended. Meanwhile the Government, following on an Anti-Dumping Act passed in April, and the protective raising of the duties on cotton goods of non-British origin from 50 to 75 per cent. *ad valorem*, introduced on December 22 a measure to protect certain minor Indian industries by minimum specific duties on twenty categories of imports. An agreeable feature of the year was the success of a textile mission from Lancashire in negotiating a Trade Agreement with the Bombay millowners with a view to mutual advantage. The agreement had the sympathetic interest of the Government, but the preferences suggested required the concurrence of the Indian Legislature. The Governments of India and Ceylon were moved by the tea industry to share in international action with the Dutch East Indies in restricting the output of tea. A notification, subsequently confirmed by legislation, reduced the exports of tea for the trade year by 15 per cent.

Various important projects of material development were completed. On March 10 the Viceroy inaugurated the Uhl River or Mandi hydro-electric scheme, designed to supply electricity to 46,000 square miles of the Punjab. Developed to

its third and final stage the project will rank as one of the major schemes in the world. It transmits its energy at 132,000 volts, which is equivalent to the voltage of the new grid system in England. On December 7 the Viceroy opened new harbour works at Cochin, which has thereby been made the only protected harbour on the 600 miles of western coast between Marmagao and Colombo. Twelve days later he opened the Vizagapatam Harbour, the only great port between Calcutta and Madras, and providing direct access to the sea for a great tract of country. The telephone service between India and England was inaugurated on May 1 by conversations between the Secretary of State in London and the Governor of Bombay in Poona. The air mail service, hitherto ending on arrival at the western port of Karachi, was extended on July 8 to Calcutta and at the end of the year to Dacca and Rangoon.

The work of social amelioration and village uplift also went forward. At the end of the year it was announced that the Government of India had decided to make use of broadcasting by wireless for rural areas on lines which had been strongly recommended by students of the question in this country. Sir Frederick Sykes signalled his last months of office as Governor of Bombay by a broad scheme of rural improvement which sought to build upon existing material and to put new life into the panchayets (ancient village councils) as instruments for voluntary betterment. The enthusiasm with which he was received when touring the districts for this purpose was in striking contrast to the difficulties he encountered in the course of the 1930 and the 1932-33 civil disobedience movements. Sir Frederick was succeeded in the Governorship of Bombay early in December by Lord Brabourne. In the spring Sir Herbert Emerson became Governor of the Punjab in succession to Sir Geoffrey de Montmorency ; and in the autumn Sir Hyde Gowan took charge of the Central Provinces from Sir Montagu Butler, who had been Governor for eight and a half years.

The Indian Medical Council Bill passed by the Legislature originated in the reluctant refusal of the General Medical Council in London some years ago to continue to recognise Indian qualifications for purposes of registration in Great Britain. The measure establishes an Indian Medical Council for the purpose of securing a uniform standard in higher medical qualifications and for arranging schemes for reciprocity with medical authorities in other countries. British and certain other external qualifications receive statutory recognition for four years only. Thereafter any qualification not covered by an approved scheme of reciprocity will be invalid.

A triumph of scientific organisation and human endeavour must not go unrecorded. On April 3 the Houston-Mount Everest Expedition conquered the highest point of the world's surface

by flying over the mountain. From the base camp at Purnea, the two aeroplanes, piloted by Lord Clydesdale and Flight-Lieutenant McIntyre, accomplished the journey of 150 miles, rose to a height of nearly 7 miles and traversed the massif of Everest. On the following day Kanchenjunga was surmounted. In a further flight over Everest on April 19 a mass of important geographical detail was obtained.

FOREIGN HISTORY.

CHAPTER I.

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

AT the end of 1932 international affairs were left in a state of perplexing uncertainty. During 1933 many gloomy forebodings were realised. Alike in the spheres of economics, finance, and politics aggressive nationalism gained momentum as month succeeded month, with the inevitable result that the League of Nations suffered the most damaging series of setbacks in its history.

Although the Far Eastern crisis attracted comparatively little public attention, especially during the latter months of the year, there can be no doubt that this was at the root of many of the League's troubles. The inability, or lack of determination, on the part of its Member-States effectively to enforce the terms of the Covenant in order to secure a just and peaceful settlement between China and Japan shook confidence in the system of collective security. With this blighting influence penetrating to parts of the world far removed geographically from Manchuria, the League found it difficult to make progress with other important departments of its work. In Central Europe increasing tension produced a crop of war scares. The Disarmament Conference barely managed to survive a succession of crises.

With the Manchurian dispute itself such action as was taken at Geneva served only to emphasise the failure of the previous year. In January and February, whilst the Committee of Nineteen was considering the Lytton Report, Japan completed her occupation of a fourth Chinese province, Jehol. On February 24 the special Assembly, acting under Article XV. (4) of the Covenant, adopted by 42 votes to 1 (Japan) the Committee's report. This was based substantially on the Lytton Report, affirming that sovereignty over Manchuria belonged to China, but suggesting wide autonomy and measures to protect the special interests of Japan and other States. The United States of America endorsed these findings, and sent an observer to sit on the Negotiation Committee set up to recommend how this report should be applied. On March 27 Japan gave notice of resignation from the League. The Negotiation Committee discussed the question

of arms exports to Japan and the implications of non-recognition of " Manchukuo," but no effective action resulted. Meanwhile, Japan continued to consolidate her position unmolested.

The Disarmament Conference.—When the Bureau of the Disarmament Conference resumed its meetings in January, and the General Commission in February, it soon became apparent that the declaration of December 11, 1932, recognising both the German claim to equality of status and the French demand for security, would not easily be translated into practice. In the weeks which followed, widespread suspicions as to the intentions of Nazi Germany hindered the progress of negotiations. The bewildering conclusions reached by the committees of experts still further befogged the atmosphere.

Just as the conference seemed to be at its last gasp, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, on March 16, invited the General Commission to consider a draft convention in five parts and ninety-six articles. Part I. dealt with the question of security ; Part II. with disarmament (effectives, also land, naval and air material); Part III. with the exchange of information ; Part IV. with chemical warfare ; and Part V. with general provisions, the most important of which related to the establishment of a Permanent Disarmament Commission.

This " British Plan " combined many of the best features of earlier proposals submitted to the conference. On the whole, it was well received, so that hopes of reaching agreement began to revive. But although ultimately the plan passed its first reading, renewed political difficulties were already causing serious complications.

A temporary diversion from the main issue was created by the launching of the Italian scheme for collaboration between the chief four European Powers. The smaller nations, already jealous at having been excluded from so many of the disarmament talks, vigorously resisted what they interpreted as a sinister threat to revise frontiers over their heads. When at length the " Four-Power Pact " was initialled at Rome on June 7, it had been converted into a simple " agreement of understanding and co-operation," based on the League Covenant.

Meanwhile, as fears of German re-armament increased, France was more than ever unwilling to compromise on the question of security. On June 29 the General Commission saw no alternative to an adjournment until October 16. The President, Mr. Arthur Henderson, was authorised to undertake further negotiations, and during the next few weeks he paid visits to **Paris**, Rome, Berlin, Prague, Munich, and London. Nevertheless, tension in Europe showed few signs of diminishing.

Much that happened during the period of private conversation between the Great Powers which followed remains shrouded **obscurity**. France laid great stress upon the need for an adequa

system of supervision as part of the disarmament treaty and, for the purpose of testing its efficacy, urged a period of probation (the so-called "trial period") before the initiation of general reductions. Germany apparently began to press for further concessions, such as the right to have "prototypes" or specimens of the types of arms at present forbidden her, and the right to increase the Reichswehr to a strength of 200,000 by the end of the "trial period." During the League Assembly, private conversations turned on the question of German re-armament.

On October 14, when the Bureau met, Sir John Simon was asked to give an account of the conversations. He was regarded on this occasion as being the spokesman of the principal Allied and Associated Powers. It had been agreed, he explained, that the convention should cover a total period of eight years, but that it was necessary to proceed by stages. During the first stage, Continental armies would be transformed into short-term service armies as proposed in the British draft, and supervision would be established. At the moment of its signature the convention would also embody a detailed plan of disarmament agreed upon and a common list of arms allowed for all countries. The Powers subject to restrictions under the Peace Treaties, however, should not attempt immediately to increase their armaments.

The hopes aroused by this pronouncement were speedily shattered. On the same day Freiherr von Neurath communicated to the President the German Government's decision to leave the Disarmament Conference, which was followed five days later by notice of resignation from the League and its International Labour Organisation.

At further meetings on October 16 and 26 and on November 22 the General Commission was unanimously in favour of continuing its efforts to reach a definite convention even in the absence of Germany. Political difficulties, however, plainly precluded a second reading of the British draft convention at an early date. Consequently the conference was again adjourned until the New Year, with a strong appeal to the Governments concerned to make full use of diplomatic machinery in the interval to clear up the international situation.

Hard upon Germany's departure from the League came a threat from Italy, Signor Mussolini referring in a speech to its principles as "absurd." On December 5 the Fascist Grand Council, meeting in Rome, decided that Italy's continued membership of the League should be conditional upon "radical reform of its functions, objectives, and constitution." Although it was generally understood that the Duce wished to separate the Covenant from the Peace Treaties, to alter the League's constitution in such a way that the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. might be tempted to become members, and to place virtual control in the hands of

the Great Powers, no official proposals in this sense had been put forward before the end of the year.

Political Action by the Council,—Despite the unsettled outlook, the year 1933 began excellently for the League of Nations in one important political respect. When the Council began its seventieth session on January 26, the dispute between the Government of the United Kingdom and the Government of Persia, arising out of the cancelling of the Anglo-Persian Oil Company's concession in 1932, came before it. The subsequent handling of this dispute showed the League machinery being used with ease and efficiency.

Following an exchange of views, the Council asked its *rapporteur*, Dr. Benes of Czechoslovakia, to get into touch with the parties and to submit suggestions as to the manner in which the dispute might be settled. After conversations lasting for some days, a provisional arrangement was reached which was accepted by both parties and approved by the Council. An agreement, signed on April 29, providing for a new concession to the Anglo-Persian Oil Company, virtually settled the dispute, and on October 12 the final settlement was duly noted by the Council.

Far more difficult for the Council to handle were two political disputes in South America, where the nations involved had obviously been influenced in their truculent attitude by the course of events in the Far East.

It was a non-member of the League, Ecuador, which first drew the League's attention to the dangerous state of affairs created by the Peruvian invasion of Leticia, part of the Colombian territory on the Amazon. Colombia appealed to the League on January 24, and on February 17 invoked Article XV. of the Covenant. After investigation, the Council found Peru to be the aggressor and recommended her to evacuate the disputed area. Subsequently, efforts at peaceful persuasion having failed, it proposed a mild form of sanctions. The new President of Peru then accepted the Council's recommendations, and the preliminary agreement was signed at Geneva on May 25. A League Commission proceeded to Leticia, where it supervised the withdrawal of the Peruvian troops. Peace negotiations then began under a neutral chairman.

In the case of Bolivia and Paraguay, fighting in the Gran Chaco area occurred sporadically throughout the year. At the several Council meetings both parties alike blamed the other for the continuation of hostilities. On May 10 Paraguay declared the existence of a state of war, in order—it was explained—to compel other States to define their attitude regarding the export of arms. The Council was on the point of despatching a commission of investigation to the spot when, on August 3, a new proposal by Bolivia and Paraguay came before it. Four

neighbouring States (the Argentine Republic, Brazil, Chile, and Peru) were accordingly invited by the Council to act on its behalf for the settlement of the dispute. Their attempt having failed, the League Commission after all left for the Chaco in October. It received considerable moral support from the Pan-American Conference, in session at Montevideo. In December, after reports of a Paraguayan victory, an armistice was signed. At this juncture Mr. Cordell Hull, United States Secretary of State, proposed a resolution, which was unanimously adopted by the Pan-American Conference, emphasising that Bolivia and Paraguay were bound by the League Covenant to settle their dispute by peaceful means and that it was their duty to accept the procedure for settlement recommended to them by the League Commission.

Many of the recognised danger spots of Europe gave the League grounds for anxiety. Fortunately, after the very real threat of an armed clash at Danzig had been averted, an admirable agreement between Poland and the Free City was concluded in September. The League High Commissioner played a prominent part in the negotiations, which resulted in Danzig granting the Polish minority far-reaching rights in return for an undertaking by Poland to make full use of Danzig Harbour.

Unrest in the Saar Territory increased. The Governing Commission reported to the Council that the Nazis, in anticipation of the 1935 plebiscite, were embarking upon a systematic campaign with the object of intimidating the inhabitants.

Perhaps the most sensational case which came before the Council was that of the Assyrian Christian community in Iraq. In August the Iraqi Government notified the League of serious events which had occurred in consequence of a clash between a body of these tribesmen, returning from Syria, and Iraqi forces. The Council considered the situation in the light of a petition received from Mar Shimun, Patriarch of the Assyrians, and the observations of the Iraqi Government. After the original incident, it was admitted, organised massacres and widespread persecutions of Assyrian Christians had taken place. At its October session the Council appointed a strong committee with wide powers to prepare and execute, in co-operation with the Iraqi Government, a detailed scheme of settlement for such Assyrian Christians as might desire to emigrate to a place of safety outside Iraq. A local commission was subsequently appointed by the Government of Iraq, with instructions to explain to the Assyrians the exact meaning of the Council's decision.

Further discussion took place at Geneva on the plan of assistance to Liberia, provisionally accepted by the Government of that country in September, 1932. Certain amendments were approved by the Council for the purpose of safeguarding the political independence and the territorial integrity of the Republic.

Arbitration.—Some slackening was perceptible in the rate of

development of arbitral machinery. Two more States ratified the "Optional Clause," bringing up to forty-two the total number of States bound in advance mutually to accept the compulsory jurisdiction of the Permanent Court of International Justice in suitable classes of disputes. At the end of the year nineteen States were parties to the General Act for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes, covering other forms of quarrels not coming within the scope of the "Optional Clause."

The Permanent Court of International Justice was not kept so busy with the hearing of cases as seemed likely at the beginning of 1933. This was largely due to the German Government's decision, after its resignation from the League, not to proceed with two cases in which Germany was involved. One concerned the estates of the Prince of Pless and the other the treatment of German farmers in certain ex-German provinces in Poland. Earlier in the year the Italian and Turkish Governments withdrew the case regarding the limits of territorial waters between Anatolia and the Island of Castellorizo, their dispute having been settled by means of direct negotiations.

An important judgment, however, was delivered by the Court in the suit concerning the legal status of Eastern Greenland. Denmark, who summoned Norway, was thus the first State to invoke the "Optional Clause." An imposing array of counsel appeared for both parties at The Hague, and the arguments on both sides were heard at unprecedented length. The Court, in pronouncing its verdict on April 5, upheld the Danish contention that the Norwegian occupation of the territory in question was illegal. Within a few days, in accordance with these findings, the Norwegian Government revoked the relevant administrative decrees.

In December the Court gave judgment in another case between Czechoslovakia and Hungary, in which the former State appealed against a judgment of the Mixed Arbitral Tribunal set up under the Treaty of Trianon. That body had ordered certain large estates, situated in territory ceded by Hungary to Czechoslovakia, to be restored to the Peter Pazmany University at Budapest. By 12 votes to 1 the Court decided against Czechoslovakia, and the confiscated lands will be returned to the Budapest University.

Economics and Finance.—Few tasks entrusted to the League of Nations demanded a greater degree of patience combined with technical knowledge than the preparations for the World Monetary and Economic Conference. In January the Preparatory Commission of Experts issued a draft annotated agenda, including the following items: monetary and credit policies, prices, resumption of the movement of capital, restrictions on international trade, tariff and trade policy, and the organisation of production and trade.

Sixty-four States attended the conference, which met in London from June 12 to July 27 under the presidency of the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom. It soon divided its labours among a number of commissions and sub-commissions, which embarked upon detailed discussions of the various problems. From the start, the conference was handicapped by the fact that an understanding regarding exchange ratios was not at that time a matter of practical politics. The negotiations further emphasised that, during the economic crisis, the majority of States had turned in desperation to experimental policies, to which they had become deeply committed. Economic nationalism, in fact, stultified the conference throughout. Although reports were adopted on such subjects as commercial policy, the regulation of production and marketing, indirect protectionism, subsidies and bounties, and public works, the concrete results were extremely meagre. The adjournment of the conference *sine die* on July 27 was, in effect, a confession of failure.

One sequel to the World Economic Conference, nevertheless, was seen barely a month later, at the Wheat Conference summoned by the Secretary-General of the League at the request of the Argentine Republic, Australia, Canada, and the United States of America. Twenty-two States signed an agreement regulating the production of, and the trade in, wheat.

At the Assembly the Second Committee could do no more than draft a comprehensive report describing the depression and, despite the slight improvement in world trade, reiterating the warning of experts. One hopeful sign was the Tariff Truce, but before the end of the year this had been denounced by twenty-two States, including the United Kingdom.

Among the activities of the League's Financial Committee may be mentioned the provision of a financial adviser for Rumania.

International Co-operation.—In consequence of demands for economy despite the abnormal charges upon the League's budget, the non-political activities were bound to suffer to some extent. A tendency was apparent to concentrate on the most essential problems and to push into the background those which appeared of less immediate importance. Nevertheless, with certain humanitarian and social questions, developments were made which, in the circumstances, were remarkable.

One of the outstanding events of the year was the coming into force of the 1931 convention for limiting the manufacture and regulating the distribution of narcotic drugs. In response to urgent appeals from the League Secretariat, sufficient ratifications were forthcoming to allow this agreement to take effect on July 9. By the end of the year forty-six States were bound by it, which constituted a record number of ratifications for so short a period. The Supervisory Body, set up under the convention, received estimates of drug requirements from a large number

of countries and itself supplied appropriate figures in the case of others. On this basis limits for the world manufacture of dangerous drugs during 1934 were fixed.

The Opium Advisory Committee received evidence that illicit sources of supply in Western Europe were rapidly drying up, but that clandestine factories were being established in the Far East. Preparations were made for a proposed conference to consider limiting the cultivation of the opium poppy and the coca leaf.

With regard to the traffic in women, a diplomatic conference was called for the purpose of strengthening previous international agreements upon this subject. The new protocol, opened for signature during the Assembly, abolished the age limit, thereby making traffic in women a punishable offence even when the victim is over 21 and even if she is a consenting party.

The Nansen International Office for Refugees rendered further assistance to many thousands of refugees, mostly Russians and Armenians. The Advisory Committee of Experts on Slavery was appointed to watch over the execution of the 1926 Slavery Convention.

The Health Organisation conducted two important inquiries into the effects of the economic crisis on public health and the food conditions prevalent among the unemployed. In China, under the plan of reorganisation drawn up by the League, the Central Field Health Station at Nanking and the National Quarantine Service came into full working order. Greece and Czechoslovakia received technical assistance from the Health Organisation. A constitution and programme were drafted for the new International Leprosy Research Centre at Rio de Janeiro. The Eastern Bureau at Singapore devised improvements in its methods of transmitting information regarding outbreaks of epidemics. Progress was made with the expert inquiries into the treatment of malaria and syphilis and the radiological treatment of cancer.

International Labour Organisation.—The League's International Labour Organisation looked back upon a most encouraging year of constant activity and steady progress. Its record was marred only by the withdrawal of Germany, Japan, on the other hand, deciding to retain her membership of the I.L.O. on leaving the League. At the International Labour Conference, Turkey and Iraq appeared in the role of new members, while the United States of America were represented for the first time by a delegation of official observers.

The Seventeenth Session of the International Labour Conference was held at Geneva, June 8-30, forty-nine States being represented. Seven new draft conventions were adopted, six dealing with old age, invalidity, widows' and orphans' insurance, and the other with the abolition of fee-charging employment agencies. A first discussion also took place on the question of

a reduction of hours of work (the 40-hour week) as a part solution of the unemployment problem.

On December 31, 578 ratifications of International Labour Conventions had been officially registered at Geneva, representing an increase of 88 for the year. Thirty ratifications from Uruguay and 24 from Colombia materially helped to bring about this unusually high total.

The International Labour Office was able to report a general improvement with regard to unemployment throughout the world.

M. Joseph Avenol, the League's new Secretary-General, formally took over his duties from Sir Eric Drummond on June 30. During the annual Assembly, the Argentine Republic returned to the League. At the election of three non-permanent members of the Council, Denmark, Argentina, and Australia were chosen to replace Norway, Guatemala and the Irish Free State. Subsequently, in order to allow States not attached to any "groups" to secure representation, it was decided to add another non-permanent member, and Portugal was elected. The nominal strength of the Council now consists of five permanent and ten elected members.

Taking the year 1933 as a whole, it might not unfairly be described as, at one and the same time, the most critical and the most crowded in the history of the League of Nations. Unfortunately, the major failures still further diminished the League's prestige and detracted from the value of its constructive activities.

CHAPTER II.

FRANCE AND ITALY.

FRANCE.

IN 1933 as in 1932, the central problems of French policy, both internal and external, were disarmament and the Budget. Germany, basing herself on the Five-Power agreement of November 11, 1932, did not cease to demand the right to equality of armaments, without offering any guarantee of security; while France on her side furnished continual and clear proofs of her good-will in the matter of disarmament without relaxing her efforts to obtain at the same time compensating guarantees of security. Four French Governments in 1933 faced a budgetary deficit, which at the beginning of the year stood at a figure of a dozen milliards. Throughout the year there was a conflict between the moderate elements in Parliament, which desired to spread **the new** imposts over the largest possible number of contributors

and reduce the salaries of civil servants, and the parties of the Left, who demanded exemptions in the lower categories and the maintenance at their present level of the salaries of civil servants.

M. Paul-Boncour, who had assumed office on December 22, 1932, declared himself willing to enter into negotiations with the unions of civil servants. These, however, refused from the outset to waive any part of their rights. Though acting with the best intentions, M. Paul-Boncour was severely criticised for having invited these groups to assist him in his task, and he was reproached with having allowed doubts to be cast on the authority of the State. His Minister of the Budget, Senator Cheron, on January 2, suspended the recruiting of civil servants for a year. Faced with an expenditure of over 52 milliards, M. Cheron commenced by seeking power to raise by five milliards the maximum of the legal issue of treasury bonds. On January 17 he laid before the Chamber his new financial projects. The experts estimated the deficit at 10-541 milliards, which the Government intended to cover to the extent of 5 milliards 325 millions by economies, and of 5 milliards 453 millions by fiscal adjustments. Economies in the salaries of officials were to be effected by a reduction in their number and by a general reduction of 5 per cent. in their salaries. If M. Charon thus showed himself inclined towards deflation, the Socialist Party, whose whole idea was to solve the problem of the Budget by increasing revenue and who did not exclude any form of inflation, favoured the utilisation of the public resources under any form in order to stimulate consumption. The Financial Committee of the Chamber amended the Government's plan so as to bring it more into line with the project of the Socialists. M. Charon defended Article 6 of his plan which provided for an increase of 5 per cent, on all direct taxes, with the exception of the schedule of wages and salaries. The President of the Council moved a vote of confidence, which was defeated by a coalition of the Socialists with some Moderates and 30 Radical-Socialists. The Government was beaten by 401 votes to 171.

The crisis lasted from January 28 to 31. The first person to be summoned by the President of the Republic was M. Daladier, who had been Minister of War in the Cabinet that had just resigned. M. Daladier commenced by offering to the Socialists the vice-Presidency of the Council and five Ministerial posts. The latter, however, insisted to the full on their demands, especially those relative to the suppression of bearer bonds and the reduction of military credits. M. Daladier thereupon broke off negotiations with them, and being unable to extend his combination towards the Centre, he formed a new Ministry consisting mostly of the members of the previous one. M. Paul-Boncour remained at the Quai d'Orsay, M. Leygues at the Ministry of Marine, and M. Georges Bonnet at the Treasury. M. Lamoureux

succeeded M. Charon as Budget Minister. M. Daladier retained the Ministry of War, at the same time becoming Prime Minister. Almost all the members of the Government belonged to the Radical-Socialist group.

After four days and two nights of uninterrupted debate, the Chamber at dawn on February 14 adopted a scheme of partial rectification of the Budget by which the deficit was reduced to 5 milliards, 2 milliards being raised by economies, 1 milliard by emergency levies, and the rest by fiscal adjustments or new taxes. The unions of civil servants continued to agitate against these measures, necessary as they obviously were.

The French plan for disarmament, propounded on November 11, 1932, was further considered by the Disarmament Conference when it resumed its sittings at Geneva on January 24. The **plan** submitted by Mr. MacDonald on March 14, which was substituted for the French plan as the basis of discussion, followed the latter in its main lines. When Mr. MacDonald and Sir John Simon returned to Paris on March 21, they had important interviews with MM. Daladier and Paul-Boncour on the subject of the "Four-Power Pact" which Signor Mussolini had just suggested to them. The French Ministers affirmed their desire of seeing the institution, in the interests of European peace, of a close co-operation between the four great European Powers. France, however, made it one of the essentials of such an accord that it should be within the framework of the League of Nations. France's attitude was determined by her anxiety on the one hand to satisfy the desire of her British friends for international accords and a modification of the Peace Treaties, and on the other hand to preserve intact her alliances or friendships with Poland and the Little Entente. M. Henri de Jouvenel, the French Ambassador at Rome, came to Paris to explain the ideas of the Duce as far as he had been able to understand them in the course of his negotiations. The French reply was transmitted to **London** and Rome on April 11 in the form of a memorandum in which stress was laid on the desire of France not to separate **herself** from Poland and the Little Entente.

Meanwhile ominous creakings could be heard in the Unified Socialist Party. In the Parliamentary group of this **party there had** long been a conflict between the adherents of a strict orthodoxy and those who favoured a more liberal collaboration with the advanced Republicans. The orthodox, **known** as "the hards," followed M. Leon Blum; the others, nicknamed "the softs," obeyed M. Renaudel. On April 16 a Congress of the **party** was held at Avignon. A motion was **brought forward** by M. Renaudel with the **object** of according to the Socialist **Parliamentary group the right of taking opportunist decisions, such as the acceptance of Ministerialist posts by Socialists or voting for military credits.** Backed by their 2,807 mandates with which

they were able to overwhelm the 925 mandates of M. Renaudel, MM. Leon Blum and Auriol declared that the Socialist Party was not the advance guard of a party of reform, but a fighting organisation.

Since the fall of the Herriot Ministry, the war debt question had seemed to be dormant. Mr. Roosevelt, however, without waiting for his entry into office, in February discussed with M. Claudel, who was still French Ambassador at Washington, all questions relative to collaboration between France and the United States. After his installation at the White House, he invited France to send a negotiator over. The choice of the Government fell upon M. Herriot, who was particularly qualified for the task by his well-known powers of conciliation. While he was in mid-ocean, President Roosevelt prohibited the export of gold from America, thus practically suspending the convertibility of the dollar. This rendered the conversations between him and M. Herriot unreal, and prevented them from producing any tangible result.

From this moment France unmistakably signified its attachment to a fixed monetary standard, preferably a gold standard. Meanwhile the Chamber continued its piecemeal efforts at financial reconstruction ; in adopting the Budget of 1933, it still left open a deficit of over 4 milliards, and M. Georges Bonnet talked of a loan. While waiting for this, he made a deal with the British Treasury ; profiting by the stock of francs of which the latter was then disposing, he placed some short-term Treasury bonds with it.

In his message of May 16, President Roosevelt seemed to link the concessions which France might be disposed to make in the matter of disarmament with those to which he might himself consent in the domain of security. He admitted that no reduction of armaments was admissible without a permanent and automatic supervision organised in all countries and fortified with all necessary powers. France, through the voice of M. Paul-Boncour at the General Commission, on June 1, and by her Note of June 7, once more defined her position : interdependence of armaments and maintenance of **the** present proportions between navies and of the existing naval treaties. Her project of mutual assistance was, however, approved only by the Little Entente and Poland.

The monetary chaos **was regarded in** France as one of **the** principal causes of the stagnation of business. When the World Economic Conference assembled in London on June 12, **M. Daladier, the** Prime Minister, defined the position of his country by **saying that the establishment of a fixed and invariable relation between currencies, that is to say, a permanent relation between each of them and gold, was an indispensable preliminary to a useful economic conference.** Two days later, France, in her Note

to Washington, explained the reasons why she was not resuming the payment of War Debts. At London M. Georges Bonnet remained faithful throughout to the French view. Along with Italy, Holland, Switzerland, Belgium, and Poland, he affirmed France's willingness to maintain the free functioning of the gold standard at the existing parities. In London also M. Albert Sarraut proposed a series of measures having for their object the better organisation of production and markets ; the system of cartels of production and sale was by this to be placed under the control of Governments, but this experiment would be limited to products most commonly in use—wheat, wine, cotton, etc.

Parliament rose on July 14, and on the next day the Socialists held their annual Congress at Paris. The majority of the delegates disapproved the action of the majority of the Parliamentary Party who, for the first time, had voted for the Budget. M. D6at, a Deputy of Paris, demanded a Socialism which would separate itself neither from the middle classes nor from democracy, nor from the nation. M. Renaudel testified to the moral cleavage within French Socialism, and M. Leon Blum, in face of these statements, declared himself " appalled."

The wheat problem at this juncture became acute, owing to the fall in prices and the surplus stocks left over from the harvest of 1932. So great was the unrest in agricultural circles that the Government and the majority in the Chamber accepted a measure suggested by the Socialists—with the condition that it should only be temporary—that the price of a quintal of wheat should be fixed at 115 fr. The law of July 10 fixed July 15, 1933, to July 15, 1934, as the period during which this was to be in force.

The month of August brought a grave aggravation of Franco-German tension. For one thing, the Germans had carried off two French subjects in the Saar. Then on the frontier of Austria provocations continued and increased. The twofold d-marche of M. Francois Poncet, the French Ambassador at Berlin, and the British Charge d'Affaires only produced arrogant replies from the German Government. At this juncture, M. Georges Bonnet authorised the issue in France of the portion of the Austrian loan which by the Protocol of Lausanne in 1932 had been promised to Chancellor Dollfuss.

The death of M. Georges Leygues, Minister of Marine, which took place on September 3 [see under Obituaries], made a **slight** Ministerial rearrangement necessary. **M. Albert Sarraut** passed from the Colonial Office, which was given to M. Daladier, to **the** Ministry of Marine, for which he was well **fitted** by his **knowledge** of the French Colonial Empire and of its relations with **the** mother country.

Preparations for **the** resumption of **the Disarmament Conference** were made in the strained atmosphere created by the German provocations. When Mr. Eden and Mr. Henderson visited

Paris in September, M. Paul-Boncour put the French position before them in quite simple terms. There was to be no reduction of armaments without the institution of an automatic and periodic supervision. A period would have to be fixed during which the supervision would be experimental and its effect under observation. This period should be long enough—say five years—for the experiment to be decisive.

France, Great Britain, and the United States agreed on a plan which accorded new and valuable concessions to Germany. This plan would secure at once equality of rights as far as effectives were concerned, all the armies being reduced to a uniform type—200,000 men for Germany, 200,000 for France, 200,000 for France overseas, etc. Its distinguishing feature would be the eight months' service, including the time of training. In a second period of the same duration, equality of rights would be secured in respect of material also. Germany, however, refused to accept this, and left the conference on October 14. Naturally this action created intense feeling in France, but in spite of this the country remained remarkably calm. A few days before (October 8), at the Radical-Socialist Congress at Vichy, the Prime Minister had affirmed once more that he would not consent to any fresh reduction of the French forces without a sincere and loyal international accord which would organise a progressive disarmament, assured by an automatic and permanent supervision.

A few days later, on the reassembly of Parliament, M. Daladier had once more to face the serious financial difficulties which had so far only been shelved, not solved. With the object of restoring equilibrium to the Budget, M. Daladier drew up a plan which included the taxation of all salaries which had remained stable between 1930 and 1933. The Socialists opposed this. On the night of October 23 the Cabinet was defeated by 329 votes to 241 on Article 37, which struck at the salaries of civil servants. The minority, strictly deflationist as it was, included besides Coalitionists a number of Socialists who supported inflation. Thus the breach in the Coalition majority was complicated by the split in the Socialist Party. This had long been foreseen, but now became an open fact. The "Neos," following M. Renaudel, voted for the Government, and declared their readiness to accord their support, if not their participation, to a new Government of the Left.

M. Albert Sarraut succeeded M. Daladier as Prime Minister. In spite of the inclusion of M. Francois-Pietri, as authorised representative of the Republicans of the Left, the Sarraut Cabinet bore a very close resemblance to its predecessor. Senator Abel-Gardey took over from M. Lamoureux the heavy burden of the Budget.

The Socialist split, first announced at Avignon and later **made** definite at Paris, had by this time become effective. The

" Neos " took from MM. Marquet and Deat the watchword, " Order, authority, nation." The dissident Socialist Parliamentary group took the name of Union Jean Jaures. Nevertheless it was this same group of "Neos" which, on November 21, one month after its formation, brought about the fall of the Sarraut Ministry. Like M. Daladier, M. Sarraut came to grief over an attempt to tax the salaries of civil servants. The " Neos " brought in an amendment fixing the limit of exemption at 12,000 fr., whereas the Centre desired it to be 10,000. The Government proposed 11,000, but it was defeated by 321 votes to 247.

On the next day M. Camille Chautemps, who had been a member of all the preceding Cabinets, formed a Ministry predominantly Radical, which included the ex-Prime Ministers Paul-Boncour, Daladier, and Sarraut. It was so closely similar to its predecessors that it seemed doomed to an equally ephemeral existence, unless it could be saved by the skill and tact of M. Chautemps.

On December 5 the Grand Fascist Council in Italy demanded an immediate and radical reform of the League of Nations, and at the same time Germany proposed that France should enter into direct conversation with her. *Le Matin* published a sensational interview with Hitler, whose invitation to a *rapprochement* had been couched in very vague terms. In the course of two interviews between the French Ambassador in Berlin and the Reich Chancellor (November 28 and December 11), the latter claimed a Reichswehr of 300,000 men and equality in arms. M. Francois-Poncet remarked that these demands for the rearmament of the Reich did not seem calculated to solve the military problem. Some days later M. Chautemps declared at a Cabinet Council that France was resolutely opposed to all rearmament on the part of Germany, while she was quite prepared to study, within the framework of the League of Nations, a scheme having for its object the general reduction of armaments. But no one in France had any illusions about the dangers threatening Europe from the claims and still more the aspirations of Germany.

On December 24 M. Chautemps, more fortunate than his predecessors, at last succeeded in obtaining the assent of Parliament to a scheme of financial reform which provided for 1,291 millions from economies, 1,795 millions from emergency sources, and 1,167 millions from fiscal adjustments. A big loan was planned for 1934, along with the reconstruction of the national lottery, which in spite of its success in 1933 had been able to contribute no more than a fraction to a Budget of 50 milliards. Above all, after being bandied about between the Senate and the Chamber, the famous clause taxing salaries of civil servants above 12,000 fr. was adopted.

The year ended with a Franco-Russian *rapprochement*, for

which the foundations had been laid by the two visits to Russia in August of MM. Herriot and Pierre Cot.

ITALY.

Italy's foreign policy in 1933, as carried out and enunciated by Signor Mussolini, was marked by a distrust of the League of Nations in its existing form as an instrument for promoting peace and security in Europe, and a desire to create some more effective substitute. It was this desire which led him, when he was visited at Rome in April by Mr. Ramsay MacDonald and Sir John Simon, to suggest to them the formation of a Four-Power Pact between Great Britain, Italy, France, and Germany, which should settle between them the fundamental questions disturbing the tranquillity of Europe, such as the competition in armaments and the revision of treaties, practically without reference to other Powers. This plan was regarded not unfavourably by the Powers concerned, but it met with the most determined opposition from Poland and the Little Entente. France in consequence withdrew her support, and England followed the example of France. A Four-Power Pact was eventually concluded [see under Public Documents], but it contained little that was of a binding character, and it made no difference to the European situation beyond effecting a certain improvement in the relations between Italy and France.

On November 14, in the course of his speech on the Corporations, the Duce took occasion to assert that the League of Nations had lost all that gave it political significance, and that it could not (any more than Locarno) be relied on to bring about the requisite contacts between Governments. He also made references to the Four-Power Pact which showed that he had not yet given up the idea of using it in the way originally intended by him. Shortly afterwards (December 5) the Grand Council, interpreting the wishes of the Duce, passed a resolution that Italy should make her continued membership of the League contingent on the carrying out without delay of radical reforms in its Constitution.

The Nazi revolution in Germany was greeted with warm approval in Italy, as being a tribute to the superiority of the Fascist over the democratic form of government. Nevertheless, there were points in the policy of Herr Hitler of which Signor Mussolini **did** not hesitate to show his marked disapproval. One was **the** persecution of the Jews in Germany. Another, fraught with **grave** international importance, was the attempt of Germany to browbeat Austria into accepting a Nazi regime. On more than one occasion Signor Mussolini declared that the independence of Austria must at all costs be preserved, and assurances to this **effect were given** by him to the **Austrian** Chancellor, **Dr. Dollfuss**,

on the occasion of each of the two visits paid by the latter to Italy, in April and August. In the summer he also made strong representations to Germany to desist from its campaign of propaganda by aeroplane of which the Austrian Government complained so bitterly. Among other foreign visitors to Rome during the year were the Hungarian Premier, General Gombos, in April; the Russian Foreign Minister, M. Litvinoff, in December; and the German Ministers, Herr von Papen and General Goering, in April and November respectively, though the two last-named came primarily to see the Pope in reference to the Catholic question in Germany.

In September, after some months of negotiation, a new Trade Treaty was concluded with the Argentine, to take the place of the now antiquated treaty of 1894. It was to run for three years, and secured tariff facilities for Italian fabrics, and for certain vegetable and mineral products, granting Argentina in return facilities for its export trade in frozen and preserved meats, casein, horsehair, etc., in addition to those she already enjoyed for her trade in hides and wool. Conversations with the Hungarian Trade Minister resulted in an improvement in the methods of giving effect to the terms of the existing treaty, and providing a market for part of the wheat exported from Hungary. Other bilateral trade agreements made in 1933 included one with Turkey, securing collateral trade privileges, and one with France providing reciprocal facilities for wine exports.

In internal politics the only event of note was the assumption by the Duce, on November 6, of the portfolios of the Minister of Naval Affairs, Admiral Siriami, and the Minister of the Air Force, Marshal Balbo. Many observers saw in this a further application of the Duce's familiar policy of not allowing any outstanding personality to remain long in his entourage. Marshal Balbo, who was still a popular idol on account of his recent air exploit, was made Governor of Tripoli.

The financial situation in 1933 remained serious. Signor Jung, the Minister of Finance, in his Budget speech in May, estimated the deficit at about 4,000 million lire. In spite of this, however, the Government did not hesitate to provide for important works of public utility and for the relief of unemployment, at the same time cutting down expenditure on war services by over 500 million lire. The work of electrifying the State railways and of reclaiming the marshes was carried on with great vigour. It was found in October that some 14,500 agricultural workers were already employed in the reclaimed district of Littoria, in the Pontine marshes, 2,000 being settled on their own farms. Although the autumn of 1933 was exceptionally rainy, the drainage system stood the strain perfectly. Wheat production this year reached an average of 15'9 quintals per hectare, and a total of over 81 million quintals, being thus all but equivalent to the total national requirements.

This was no doubt one reason why the adverse trade balance was only 800 million lire as against 1,200 million in 1932.

In the course of 1933, attention was focussed on the future of the trade "corporations" which had existed for some years but had so far played singularly little part in Italian economic life, in spite of the fact that the country was already commonly known as the "corporative State." In April, an announcement was made that, now that the syndical phase, the group organisations of employers and employed, had been accomplished, the time was ripe for an advance towards the realisation of the corporative phase. This paved the way for the resolution unanimously adopted by the National Council of the Corporations on November 14, that the Corporations should be conciliatory and advisory bodies, and that, through their National Council, they should have the power of promulgating laws regulating the economy of the nation. The resolution had been framed by the Duce himself, and he supported it with a speech in which he contended that the capitalistic method of production had been superseded; they had long ago buried "political liberalism" and now with the creation of the Corporations, they were burying "economic liberalism." He foreshadowed the National Council of Corporations eventually replacing *in toto* the present Chamber of Deputies.

In March the style of the National Social Insurance Fund (Cassa Nazionale Assicurazione Sociale) was changed to the National Fascist Institute for Social Benefits (Istituto Nazionale Fascista per Previdenza Sociale). Early in the year the Istituto Mobiliare Italiano, a public utility company founded in 1931 for granting loans to commercial undertakings, was supplemented by an Institute for Industrial Reconstruction, a public corporation in two sections, one for assisting the reorganisation of sound and healthy concerns, the other for liquidating businesses established in the early post-war years but now of doubtful utility.

1933 was declared by the Pope a Holy Year. He opened the Porta Santa on April 1, and from that date there was a remarkable influx of pilgrims, which was largely responsible for the estimated total of 2 to 2½ millions of foreign visitors during the year.

In July and August Marshal Balbo successfully conducted an Italian air armada of eight squadrons of aeroplanes from Italy to Chicago and back. On August 12 he and his comrades were granted the honour of a triumphal entry into Rome.

CHAPTER III.

GERMANY AND AUSTRIA.

GERMANY.

THE year 1933 saw in Germany the assumption of power by the Nationalist-Socialist Party and the dictatorship of Hitler. Yet the beginning of the year showed a distinct waning of the importance of the National-Socialists; their defeat at the Parliamentary elections in November, 1932, had been followed by a still further weakening at the municipal polls. The party did not dare to take the lead by force, and as Hitler's exchequer was empty, distrust and dissatisfaction grew rife in the ranks of his followers.

At the year's opening General Schleicher was Chancellor. His aim was to bring about a reconciliation between the Army and the socially progressive elements in the country. He endeavoured to gain the good-will of the Trade Unions of no matter what political tendencies. This resulted in a tremendously increased opposition on the part of the aristocratic landowners and the big capitalist undertakers. Schleicher's Parliamentary position was therefore weak; he was faced with the bitter enmity of the Conservative German Nationalists and was unable to gain either the Social Democrats or the National-Socialists to his side. In order to damage his Conservative opponents, he allowed the malpractices in connexion with the relief of the East Prussian farmers to be made public. The German public learnt in January that millions of public money had been wasted for the benefit of the Prussian aristocracy.

The exasperation of the landed gentry became more and more embittered. They, together with the big industrialists, decided to get rid of Schleicher at all costs, for they feared that the General might yet lend his aid to democratic factions and help to give them the upper hand. The aristocrats managed to persuade President von Hindenburg that Schleicher must fall, and at the same time a *rapprochement* was brought about between the German Nationalists and the National-Socialists. The two Conservative leaders, Hugenberg and Papen, made common cause with Hitler, with the intention of forming a Government of a Nationalist character to overthrow Schleicher, put an end to the revelations anent the East Prussian relief scandals, and annihilate for all time the Marxist and Democratic parties. On January 28 Schleicher resigned, and on January 30 Adolf Hitler became Chancellor.

Hitler thus stood at the head of a Coalition Government, in which the Conservative Wing appeared to be much stronger than the National-Socialist. In the Cabinet itself there were.

at the time only three National-Socialists. Besides Hitler, Prick was Minister for Home Affairs but without any actual executive powers, and Goering was Air Minister. From the other party, Hugenberg, the German Nationalist, was placed in complete control of all matters affecting trade and production both in the Empire and in Prussia. In the same way, the Army, Finance, and the Foreign Office were under Conservative Ministers. The Conservative, Papen, not Hitler, was nominated as Commissary for Prussia, and though Goering took over the Prussian Ministry for Home Affairs, he nevertheless remained a subordinate of Papen's, without whose permission nothing effective could be carried out.

Such were the compromises which Hitler was forced to make in order to become Imperial Chancellor. It must be admitted that from the beginning he was able to chronicle one outstanding victory. The Reichstag, which had only been elected three months previously, was dissolved and a new election was fixed for March 5. The National-Socialists were hopeful that, by making use of Hitler's new power and that of his party, they would get an overwhelming majority. This would inevitably strengthen their position within the Government and the Empire, and at the same time weaken that of their German National Coalition colleagues.

Already in February, Goering showed a keen desire to dispose of the Prussian Police Force entirely on his own responsibility and to emancipate himself from Papen's supervision. On February 22 Goering incorporated picked S.A. men as auxiliary Police Corps. On February 27 the Council Chamber of the Reichstag was set on fire during the evening. The police arrested, on the scene itself, a feeble-minded tramp from Holland named Van der Liibbe, who alleged that he was the incendiary. The National-Socialist Police Staff immediately issued a statement that Van der Liibbe had fired the Reichstag at the behest of the Communist Internationale, and that the fire in the Reichstag was to be the signal for a Bolshevik Revolution throughout Germany. The Government declared that energetic measures must immediately be taken to crush the threatened Bolshevik revolt. Mass arrests of members of the Left parties were made, the Communist Party was proscribed, and over and above this Goering prohibited the newspapers and the election propaganda of the Social Democrats in Prussia.

Accused of having fired the Reichstag, the Leader of the Parliamentary Communist Party, Torgler, together with three Bulgarian Communists, domiciled in Germany, Dimitroff, Popoff, and Taneff, were arrested. During the last three months of the year the sensational fire trial took place in Leipzig. The accused were the four Communists together with Van der Lubbe. The Leipzig High Court decided that Van der Lubbe must unquestion-

ably have had fellow-conspirators, but at the same time it acquitted the four Communists. It was impossible to prove any collusion with the Communist Party of Germany on the matter of the fire. The suspicion that the National-Socialists themselves started the fire became more and more definite even in Germany itself when it was realised that they were thereby given a pretext for the complete suppression not only of the Communist Party but of all members of the Left Wing of the Opposition, and of standing forward as the saviours of Germany from the Bolshevik menace and thus influencing large numbers of still undecided voters.

Thus the Parliamentary elections of March 5 resulted in a great victory for the German National-Socialist Party. They polled 17 million votes, being 44 per cent. of the total poll. The German Nationalists polled 8 per cent., so that the Coalition Government of Hitler-Papen received a majority, with 52 per cent. of the total. The minority was composed of the Social Democrats, Communists, Centre Party, the Bavarian People's Party, and several small groups. The National-Socialists had therefore gained 6 million adherents as compared with November, 1932. Their success in South Germany was all the more astonishing as on the election day the Government locally was not yet in their hands, and all parties had complete liberty to publish whatsoever propaganda they pleased.

The gigantic swing-over of the Catholic middle classes in West and South Germany to the Nazi Party broke the power of the old middle-class Catholic parties, the Centre and the Bavarian People's Party. Without showing the slightest opposition, the South German Governments in the days following the election evacuated their positions. In all the German States the followers of the Hitler-Papen Government now came into power. Similar upheavals took place in the German municipalities and other self-governing bodies.

In spite of the overwhelming preponderance of the Nazis at the polls, the personnel of the Imperial Government remained for the time being unchanged, all the German Nationalist Ministers retaining their portfolios. In addition, on March 13, the National-Socialist, Dr. Goebbels, was placed in charge of a newly-created Ministry, that of Enlightenment and Propaganda. Since the end of February an ever-growing number of attacks by the S.A. had taken place on any who held opinions differing from theirs. But Hitler, in a broadcast speech, forbade his followers to undertake any policy of isolated aggression, and he appeared furthermore to be willing to continue along the well-marked lines of the Coalition policy.

The newly-elected Reichstag was opened with great ceremonial in the Garrison Church at Potsdam, thus linking up in demonstrative fashion with the old Prussian tradition. The Communists were excluded from the business sessions of the Reichstag,

but the bourgeois parties put in an appearance, as did those Social Democrats who had been elected on March 5. During this month, too, Hitler's speeches in the Reichstag showed a conservative tendency. He promised peace in foreign affairs and reform in home policy. He announced neither the forcible confiscation of private property nor any measures against the Jews. On March 23 the Reichstag passed an Enabling Law with the support of all the bourgeois parties, whereby the power to make laws was placed in the hands of the Imperial Government. By this act, both the Reichstag and the President abrogated many of their own important privileges. But the danger did not seem very great, for within the ranks of the Government which had just been given such stupendous powers, the National-Socialists were in the minority.

Meantime, during the last week of March and the beginning of April, the political equilibrium overbalanced in most dramatic fashion. The impetus came, not from the leaders of the National-Socialist Party, but from the throngs of their followers, principally the S.A. (storm-troops) people. Whilst the majority of the voters who had polled for Hitler came from the middle classes, those who called the tune in the S.A. were unemployed proletarians and University students without professions. The detachments of the S.A. troops were unable to understand that now in the promised "Third Empire" so little was to be changed. For years the main party slogan had been the picture of the Jew as the enemy of the German people, now in the Third Empire Jewish stores were to remain open, Jewish judges were to continue to function !

Everywhere the S.A. demonstrated against Jewish enterprises, principally against Jewish stores. In some towns the S.A. invaded the Law Courts and compelled by force the Jewish solicitors and judges to leave. It then became apparent that neither the German Nationalist Ministers nor Hitler himself were able to stem the anarchic procedure of the S.A., which was often accompanied by acts of violence. The authorities closed their eyes to the misdeeds of the S.A. On April 1 throughout Germany all Jewish shops were boycotted. During April the so-called Aryan Decrees were introduced, which ousted from their posts all Jews, save those who had fought in the war, who held official positions as civil servants, teachers, University professors, barristers, or doctors.

In May the Nazi students organised a strong movement against what they termed "Non-German Culture," which reached its height on May 10 in Berlin with a bonfire of books whose opinions did not please the students, including the works of some of the foremost authors of the present day. This outbreak was characterised all over the world as an illustration of **inexcusable barbarism.**

Thus the Coalition Government of January 30 was forced into an uncontrollable violent anti-Semitism. The S.A. proceedings all over Germany denoted the total defeat of the German Nationalist Ministers, who, while retaining on paper their power, were in reality unable to prevent anything of which they might have disapproved. The National-Socialists began to push their Coalition colleagues into the background. The final death-blow came on the Prussian question.

The Imperial Decree of April 7 appointed *Beichsstatthalter* (Governors), who as representatives of the Reich held sway over the individual States and were authorised to appoint the Prime Ministers of each specific country. Hitler himself became *Beichsstatthalter* of Prussia, and he made Goering his Prime Minister. By this overt act Papen was deprived of the supreme power in Prussia. He retained merely the ornamental but quite ineffective position of Vice-Chancellor. Throughout the country the Executive power was exclusively vested in Nazi hands. The prestige of the Ministers of Finance and of National Economy was completely undermined through the continual interference of the local Nazi organisations. Only the Reichswehr stood, as under the old Republic, entirely intact, a state within the State. Here the Nazis were powerless.

The results achieved by the National-Socialist Party now had the inevitable concomitant of bringing to the fore the conception of the totalitarian State, and the consequent annihilation of all other parties by the National-Socialists. These were to capture all unions and organisations, be they political, economic, or cultural in object. The Trade Unions were the next to be attacked. The May-day celebrations were officially taken over and arranged by the National-Socialists. On this date, "The Day of National Work," the National-Socialist Workers' Unions arranged processions and demonstrations on a large scale, and in these other workers perforce also participated. With the memory of the May-day celebrations still fresh in public minds, the whole of the buildings of the independent Socialist Trade Unions were occupied on May 2. The Trade Unions themselves were proscribed. Almost immediately afterwards the Christian Trade Unions met with the same fate. A uniform National-Socialist organisation embracing all German workers was called into existence under the designation "The German Workers' Front." The suppression of the independent Trade Unions automatically brought with it the dissolution of the Social-Democratic Party.

Similar action was taken against the Centre and against the German Nationalists. The Nazis succeeded in winning to their side the Stahlhelm, the great Conservative Association of ex-service men. The Stahlhelm leader, Seldte, disassociated himself from Hugenberg and placed himself at Hitler's disposal. Von Papen, too, now broke completely with Hugenberg. Deserted

by the Stahlhelm, Hugenberg resigned on June 27. The Centre Party and the German Nationalists dissolved themselves.

Thus the Coalition Government of January 30 was at an end and its place was taken by a dictatorship of the Nazis. On July 14 a formal Government Decree forbade the existence of any party other than the National-Socialist Workers' Party of Germany (N.S.D.A.P.). In October Hitler dissolved the Reichstag. The elections which took place on November 12 were a mere formality as none but the N.S.D.A.P. were allowed to do any electioneering. The great masses of the people feared lest the secrecy of the ballot should be violated. There was only too much ground for this fear, since after November 12 in many places in Germany individuals who had not voted for Hitler were subjected to violence. The election returned the only candidates, those put up by the Nazis, with a majority of 95 per cent, of all the votes polled. No conclusion as to the true opinion of the German electorate can thus be deduced from the results of this election.

In the course of their struggles against the old middle-class parties, especially during May and June, the Nazis paid special attention to the Socialist side of their programme. The local National-Socialist organisations, strengthened by the accretion of many former Communist workers, adopted in many cases a very threatening attitude towards employers. A number of industrialists and big business men were arrested. At the same time an insistent demand grew among the ranks of the Nazis for a redistribution of landed property in the interests of the smallholders. Numbers of landed proprietors were incarcerated just at this time.

But just as the National-Socialist Party had attained to complete supremacy, it once more changed its economic policy and once more adopted conservative methods; the leaders of the Nazis were prepared to leave the prominent business men in peace provided these severed their connexion with the German Nationalists and threw in their lot with the N.S.D.A.P. Hugenberg's successor at the Ministry of Economics was the Director of one of the large German insurance companies, Herr Schmitt, a definite representative of private capital. The newly-chosen Director of the Reichsbank, Herr Schacht, called to office by Hitler himself, was a man of the same outlook. The influence of big industrialists like Thyssen became more clearly visible during the second half of the year, in the politics of the Hitler Government.

The public was now officially informed that the period of active revolution was at an end, and that the time was now ripe for evolution. The initiative of private business was to be safeguarded. No further mention was made of dividing up the large landed estates. The Government left no stone unturned in attempting to suppress the dissatisfaction in the Radical groups

of the Brown Shirts. Special concentration camps were opened for unruly Storm Troopers, while endeavours were made to find as many posts as possible for unemployed S.A. men.

The touchstone of success for the new Government was to be the solution of the unemployment problem. But as the Hitler Government introduced no basic changes into German economic life, and as German export trade shrank more and more during the course of the year, a real improvement was out of the question. True, a certain number of the unemployed were put on to emergency work, financed by the State, and by means of pressure in certain factories more hands were taken on. In spite of this the official German figures showed that at the end of 1933 the number of unemployed was 4 million as against 5'3 million in December, 1932.

The complete Nazification of Germany was only carried through by a merciless persecution of all those of diverging views. For dealing with the masses of prisoners special concentration camps were opened. A conservative estimate put the number of the inmates of these camps at 100,000 at the end of the year. From all camps reliable reports found their way into the Press of all countries outside Germany, testifying to ill-usage and sadistic cruelties practised by the S.A. guards on their prisoners. In addition, authenticated records proved that during the course of the year, hundreds of murders were committed by the S.A. men of political opponents, Jews, and others. Not a single murderer was punished. The institution of these concentration camps did away with all personal safety of the subject in Germany. Within the camps the prisoners were kept without being brought to trial for as long as their captors pleased. The internment was carried out by the police or by any National-Socialist organisation. The treatment of prisoners in the concentration camps was such that all over the country incarceration in jail was considered preferable.

The methods of the Nazis brought about a widespread terrorisation and intimidation of the population. Spying and denunciation became rampant. The liberty of the Press was abolished, since all newspapers must choose between being subservient to the powers that be or being prohibited. The stage, the cinema, broadcasting, every artistic, scientific or literary production was in the hands of the Nazis. Non-Aryans and unpopular individuals cannot write in the papers or publish books. The idea of racial purity became a craze with the Nazis. Only Aryan "Nordics" counted as fully privileged citizens in Germany. All those were regarded as Aryans who had no Semitic ancestors. Though the official boycott of the Jews was announced for April 1 only, yet everything possible was done since that date to crowd the non-Aryans out of all intellectual and economic pursuits. The moral and material condition of the Jews became increasingly hopeless

during the year. An extensive emigration, mainly from among the intellectuals, Jewish and non-Jewish, and from among the political opponents of the party in power set in. An estimated figure of these emigrants from Germany was round about 60,000 at the end of 1933.

In two departments of the national life only was the Nazification of the country incomplete : in the Army and the Church. The Reichswehr maintained its organisation and its personnel intact from Nazi interference. The Pope on behalf of the Catholic Church entered into a Concordat with the Hitler Government whereby Catholic priests were to abstain from all political activities. As a *quid pro quo* the Government undertook to abstain from all interference in German Catholic life. But in practice the effective carrying out of the Concordat became increasingly difficult. The question of the Catholic Press and of the religious education of the young were the chief points at issue. Towards the end of the year the tension between the Nazis and the Catholics reached its height, one of the symptoms of the quarrel being the series of sensational sermons directed against the race theory of the Nazis which was delivered by the Archbishop of Munich, Cardinal Faulhaber. That a large number of Catholic priests were arrested was another symptom.

Influenced by the Nazis the various hitherto independent German Evangelical Churches were united within one uniform organisation. A former military chaplain, Mueller, who is Hitler's henchman, became the Reichsbishop of the Reich Church. The active Nazis within the Evangelical Church formed themselves into a Union of German Christians, who wished to eliminate all Jewish elements from the Church. In so doing they came into direct conflict with traditional Christian belief. Behind the German Christians stood certain Radical Nazi groups, who would like to abolish religion altogether. The Evangelical clergy, deeply imbued with the religious spirit, took up a more and more antagonistic attitude to the German Christians. Late in the year, a Pastors' Emergency Union was formed which was joined by thousands of the clergy. This Union openly opposed with great bitterness the introduction of Nazi-ideals into the life of the Church. In this quarrel within the Evangelical Church, the position of Hitler's Government was more delicate than in any question affecting any other affairs of the State, since here it was the Radical Left Wing which posed as the champion of the Nazi party, and it was impracticable for Hitler to identify himself with these. Reichsbishop Mueller did attempt, though unsuccessfully, to maintain a more moderate course, which was to be both Aryan and Christian in faith. This conflict was being waged in most embittered fashion as the year drew to a close.

Hitler's foreign policy was a natural development of the tendencies which marked his Home policy. The acute anti-

Bolshevik feeling which the Nazi party at all times fostered, led to growing tension between Germany and Russia. As a result the relations between Russia and France became increasingly cordial. The Nazi parties among the Germans beyond the borders of the Reich were stimulated to great activity by the victory of Hitler. At the elections in Danzig the National-Socialists gained a majority, and they thereupon formed a new Government of Danzig, while at the same time doing their utmost to avoid coming into conflict with Poland. The agitation carried on by the Austrian Nazis against the Conservative rule of Dollfuss brought the relations between Germany and Austria to the verge of open hostilities. In the Saar, too, there were numerous clashes between the Nazis and their opponents.

In accordance with the military character of the Nazi movement, the Hitler Government actively continued the re-arming of Germany and so came into direct conflict with France and her allies. In all his speeches since January 30 Hitler laid special stress on the desire for peace within his party and the wish for an understanding with France. However, as the Nazis had always prior to their accession to power preached the war of vengeance against France as an integral part of their programme, Hitler was unable to allay France's mistrust. At the Disarmament Conference of the League of Nations, the German and the French point of view stood out in the strongest contrast. Germany demanded immediate military equality with the other powers whilst France only wished to recognise this equality after a period of slow development. On October 14 Germany announced her decision to leave the Disarmament Conference and the League of Nations. By the end of 1933 no solution of the Disarmament question had yet been found. English and Italian efforts to bring about a *rapprochement* between the German and the French attitude had so far proved futile.

No Reparations payments were made by Germany during 1933. The payment of private external debts, too, was made more and more difficult. On December 18 the Reichsbank declared that in consequence of the adverse state of the export trade, in future only 30 per cent, of the interest due would be paid abroad. Violent protests were in consequence made by the badly hit debtors.

World history cannot show any revolution which, while combining an aggressive bearing with a relentless persecution of all political opponents, produced so few actual results as that of the Nazis since their rise to power. The organisation of the State and of the Administrative offices in Germany remained to all intents and purposes the same. Not even the remodelling of the Constitution, which was expected of Hitler, was carried out. The individual States maintained their integrity as heretofore. In the economic sphere, the total inactivity of the Government

was thinly masked by enormous social welfare plans for the benefit of the unemployed. The peasants received the gift of the " Erbhofsgesetz " which brought with it possession of the farms in perpetuity, and fixed prices for all farm produce. In addition, State loans were granted to young married couples. It was confidently expected that in his foreign policy, Hitler would immediately bring about the " rehabilitation of Germany's honour " and the abrogation of the Treaty of Versailles. Here, too, results were still being awaited, and Germany had once more been forced into a position of isolation—politically, economically, and spiritually, such as she had not occupied since the end of the Great War.

The contradiction between the promises and the actual achievements of the Nazis was already evident to large masses of the German people by the end of the year. But owing to the complete annihilation of their political opponents, the Nazis were for the time being in a position to maintain their power unchallenged.

AUSTRIA

Austria, although her lot has never been easy since the end of the war, will have cause to remember the year 1933 as one of the stormiest in her annals. A moderate economic improvement did little to mitigate the political disorders which affected her almost continuously. The long-continued efforts of the reactionaries to destroy the Democratic Republic established in 1918 met with a large measure of success. This was not in any way due to the strength of Austrian reaction, which actually was weaker this year than in the preceding three years. The forces of democracy, however, were completely paralysed and prevented from defending themselves against the stealthy encroachments of Habsburgian Clericalism, Monarchism, and Fascism by a new and far more dangerous force—Austrian Nazism, which derived its strength and munitions of war from the new-born Nazi-Fascist German State.

The picturesque legend created abroad of a united little Austria, headed by its little Chancellor, in a gallant fight against destruction by a big German bully, bears little relation to fact. The events of the year could better be summarised as follows. The sudden accession to power of Herr Hitler, the brutalities of his regime, and especially its persecution of the Jews, caused a thorough reshuffling of the political cards in Austria. Theoretically, the majority of the Austrian population has always been in favour of the reunion with Germany. The two Germanic Republics saw strength in union—a strength which for the majority of Austrians manifestly outweighed the many obvious disadvantages to Austrian industry. The Social Democrats, the largest

party in Austria, although (since they have been continually dominated by loose coalitions of their bourgeois opponents) never the governing party, from the first year of the Republic's existence, stood for union with the sister German Republic. Behind them stood (at the last election) 42 per cent. of the Austrian electorate. The Clericals (or Christian Socials) were somewhat lukewarm supporters of this same ideal. The smaller but active group of Pan-Germans were its active propagandists. So, of course, was the small and generally ridiculed group of National-Socialists.

The accession of the Hitlerites to supreme power in Germany changed the whole political situation in Austria. The Social Democrats, seeing the persecution of their German colleagues, promptly renounced all ideas of the *Anschluss* until reaction should be unseated in Germany. The disguised sympathies of a considerable section of the Clericals for the Habsburgs, and the consequent desire to keep Austria away from Germany until such time as the Habsburgs could be restored, were at once revealed in the form of an outburst of propaganda for an independent Austria. The Pan-Germans were practically absorbed by the Nazis, now no longer ridiculous, but an active and dangerously aggressive body. The greater part of Austria's very large Jewish population, the majority of whom were by temperament and tradition liberal and democratic, were seized by a very natural panic at the prospect of sharing the terrible fate of the Jews in the Third Reich. Democracy, Fascism, or Monarchy became all one to them if only the Nazi terror could be dammed. The Clerical-Heimwehr Government, definitely anti-Nazi, rejected the idea of making Austria a centre of German liberty and democracy, and took advantage of the Socialist dilemma to push forward all those reactionary ideals which but for this dilemma could hardly have advanced a step. The Jews, thinking only of the Nazi peril, largely threw in their lot with reaction, thus depriving Austrian democracy of its most skilled and urbane defenders. Left to themselves, the proletarian Socialist leaders fought a stubborn but losing battle against Fascism, continuously on the defensive throughout the year.

The troubles of the Dollfuss Cabinet began on January 1 with peasant riots against attempts to collect taxes and enforce payment of debts, which continued in many provinces for several weeks. Troops had to be employed to restore order, but although on several occasions the peasants rescued arrested men from the police, the Government, which has relied throughout chiefly on the peasants for support against the well-organised workers of the cities, maintained an extremely lenient attitude. Much more serious troubles were created for it by the revelation in the Social Democratic Press (which was savagely avenged later when the Social-Democrats, had lost the power to defend themselves), on

January 9, that an illicit traffic in arms between Fascist Italy and Hungary was being tolerated, if not encouraged, by Austria. Herr Mandl, a prominent Jewish financial backer of the Heimwehr, and Prince Ernst Rudiger von Starhemberg, its Commander-in-Chief, were involved in the armaments scandal. The Austrian Government defended the transaction, and delayed action so long that eventually a demarche had to be made (on February 11) in the matter by the Powers, including Great Britain. The Austrian Government was required to give a notification having the force of an oath that the arms (the transport of which was an open violation of the Peace Treaties) had been returned to Italy or destroyed.

The assurance was forthcoming in guarded form, but the whole scandal was revived when on February 24 the General Director of the Austrian Railways had to be dismissed in consequence of the revelation by the leader of the Austrian Railway Trade Unions that the General Director had attempted to bribe him to smuggle the arms into Hungary despite the assurance given to the Powers, while empty cases were sent back as a blind to Italy. The ultimate fate of the arms was never cleared up, but definite proof that they had been returned to Italy was never forthcoming, and there is little doubt that they eventually reached Hungary.

The Nazi riots in Austria, which continued up to the end of the year, first took on serious form on March 29, when thousands of Nazis raided the Inner City, smashing shop windows and mishandling Jews. On April 23 the Styrian branch of the Heimwehr rejected the leadership of Prince Starhemberg and allegiance to Dr. Dollfuss and became openly Nazi. On May 4 the Austrian Press first took cognisance of the long-existing plans for a *Putsch* by Austrian Nazis, to be supported by their German comrades. The Nazis steadily increased in strength in the provinces, especially in those bordering on Germany, but owing to the suspension of Parliamentary Government (see below) no means existed of testing their claims to have 25 to 35 per cent, of the population behind them.

In June the active terrorist methods of the Nazis came into operation and continued throughout the year. On June 11 Nazis attempted to assassinate the Tyrolese Heimwehr leader, Dr. Steidle, in Innsbruck, and on the following day the first serious bomb outrage in Vienna took place, when two persons were killed. The Government took advantage of the occasion to impose, by virtue of an obsolete war-time emergency law, severe restrictions on the liberty of the Press. The Nazis replied on June 15 with bomb outrages all over Austria, culminating, on June 19, in the murder by bombs of three Heimwehr militiamen at Krems. The next day the Nazi Party was proscribed throughout Austria. From this time onwards the Nazis took up the

attitude that they were the true patriots of Austria and that the country was dominated by the "mercenary" Government of Dr. Dollfuss, financed by international Jews and the old Entente enemies of Germany, in order to keep the Austro-Germans from rejoining their brothers in the Reich. The Austrian Press published various documents showing that the German Minister in Vienna, in violation of all democratic usage, was a keen supporter of Nazi propaganda in Austria.

The Nazis were next deprived of their seats in all provincial legislatures and otherwise prohibited from taking any part in public life. Just as public attention to their activities was beginning to flag, it was re-aroused by the daring rescue (on August 29) of one of the men who had attempted to kill Dr. Steidle, Franz Hofer, an Innsbruck Nazi commandant, from Innsbruck prison. Hofer was conveyed through police patrols to the Italian frontier and Italy refused to extradite him. He proceeded as a Nazi hero to Germany.

On October 3 an attempt was made to assassinate Dr. Dollfuss by Rudolf Dertl, a young Nazi storm trooper who had been discharged from the Army, as the Chancellor was leaving Parliament. He was hit by two bullets which inflicted slight wounds only, and within a few days was back at work. The Heimwehr took the opportunity to demand the introduction of the death penalty, which had been abolished at the Revolution of 1918. Dertl was tried on November 19, and sentenced to five years imprisonment. Many arrests were made in connexion with the attempted assassination, but no proofs of complicity were forthcoming.

Among the minor acts of defiance towards the Austrian Government which continued throughout the year, such as the detonation of thousands of small bombs, the fighting of Swastika fires and the daring hoisting of forbidden Swastika banners under the eyes of the police, there were a few graver incidents. On October 16 the police announced that they had discovered a Nazi plot in Linz to overwhelm the local garrison in their barracks and seize the arms. A number of ex-officers and soldiers were arrested. There were constant anti-Dollfuss riots at all the universities. On November 5 the whole city of Klagenfurt, the capital of Carinthia, was plunged into darkness by Nazis, who cut the main electric cable at the moment when Dr. Dollfuss was about to address a big meeting. On November 10, a Heimwehrman was shot dead while on patrol duty at Lochau in Vorarlberg, it is believed, by Austrian Nazis. The German elections of November 12, and the triumph which they brought to the Hitlerite cause, were celebrated in Austria by enthusiastic though forbidden demonstrations, such as the illicit ringing of church bells and the hoisting of Swastika flags.

Relations with Germany throughout the year were very

difficult, largely on account of the Nazi outrages in Austria, with which they were closely connected. Great annoyance was caused to the Austrian Government by the uninvited visit to Vienna on May 13 of Dr. Frank, the Bavarian Minister of Justice, who was accompanied by other German Ministers and Secretaries of State. The nominal reason for the visit, of which the Austrian Government was not officially informed, was to attend a conference of jurists in Vienna. Actually it was designed by the Nazis as a counterblast to the Heimwehr celebrations on May 14 of the 250th anniversary of the liberation of Vienna from its Turkish besiegers. On arrival at the Vienna airport on May 13, Dr. Frank was met by the Deputy Police President of Vienna, who told him that his presence in Austria was not desired. The police conducted him by side streets so that he was disappointed of the welcome which thousands of Vienna Nazis had assembled to accord him. Huge crowds of Nazis were present the same evening at an open-air meeting which Herr Frank addressed, nominally on the subject of the liberation of Vienna from the Turks, but actually to forecast the liberation of Austria from "foreign mercenaries," meaning the Heimwehr. The following day Dr. Frank summoned foreign press representatives to meet him in the German Legation in Vienna, where he delivered a violent oration against the Austrian Government.

On the same day (May 14) some 40,000 Heimwehr Fascists paraded in the grounds of Schoenbrunn Palace, where they were addressed by Major Fey, the Heimwehr Minister for Security, Prince Starhemberg, and Dr. Dollfuss. During the subsequent three-mile march of the Heimwehr to the Ringstrasse, they were received by angry Nazi crowds with hostile cries, rotten eggs, and stones. The police had to charge the crowd again and again, using their truncheons and sabres mercilessly. Over 500 arrests were made and scores of persons wounded.

Dr. Frank left Vienna the same day for Graz, where he offered fresh insults to the Austrian Government at a Nazi gathering, saying that his visit was not concerned with it, but with the "Austrian people." He promised to make a report to Herr Hitler on his return to Germany, and warned the Austrian Government that the country would be boycotted by Germany until the Austrian Government apologised for this treatment of him. The day would come, he said, when the Germans, both of Austria and the Reich, would be united, proud, and free. Herr Hitler, to whom, as an Austrian himself, the failure of the Austrians to accept his doctrines with the same enthusiasm as a large part of the German population had shown, was a bitter and incomprehensible blow, made good the threat within a fortnight. On May 15 Dr. Frank tried to address a Nazi crowd from his hotel at Salzburg. He was prevented by the police, who escorted him to the German frontier.

On June 1 a decree came into force in Germany imposing a tax of 1,000 marks on all Germans wishing to visit Austria. Attempted evasions were to be punished by imprisonment. Although Austrian official quarters made light of this prohibition at first, it proved a deadly blow to Austria, as some two-thirds of her tourists are usually Germans. The boycott was particularly severely felt in the Western provinces of Vorarlberg, Tyrol, and Salzburg, which by the end of the year were in consequence suffering serious economic distress. The large sums which the Austrian Government felt it wise to pay out on various occasions to the suffering hotel-keepers and others did little to alleviate discontent in these provinces, which strangely enough turned generally not against the Hitler Government, which imposed the boycott, but against Dr. Dollfuss.

Great indignation was caused in Vienna by the news that Dr. Wasserbaeck, the Press Attache* of the Austrian Legation in Berlin, had been aroused in the night by police, arrested on the orders of Captain Goering, and expelled. The German Government gave as its reason the arrest by the Austrians of Herr Habicht, a Nazi Reichstag Deputy, whom Herr Hitler had appointed "Inspector for Austria." Herr Habicht was expelled from Austria on June 14. Dr. Wasserbaeck was transferred to the Austrian Legation in London, where he related the fact that he had been treated by Captain Goering's police (who broke into his flat) as a common criminal. Another method of annoying the Austrian Government which now started in Germany was the constant issue of anti-Austrian broadcasts, against which Austria appealed to the International Broadcasting Union at Geneva. On July 1 occurred the first of a series of propaganda raids by German aeroplanes over the Austrian frontier, when leaflets abusing the Dollfuss Government were dropped. A number of diplomatic protests by Austria had no results. On August 7 a Heimwehr patrolman was shot dead by German Nazis on the frontier, near Kufstein, in revenge for the shooting of a German Nazi innkeeper, named Kantner, by the Heimwehr some days before. The efforts of the Austrian military authorities to cleanse the army of Nazis resulted during August and September in a certain number of desertions to Germany. Austrian Nazi civilians to the number of some 5,000 at least (the Germans claimed 10,000) made their way across the frontier into Germany during the summer and early autumn. They were formed by the Germans into an Austrian Legion, which until November was encamped close to the Austrian frontier and caused invasion scares in Austria on several occasions. In November the Legion was stated in Germany to have been broken up. Some of its members were given military training in other parts of Germany, a number who objected were put into German concentration camps, and a couple of hundred deserted and filtered

back across the frontier into Austria. During the Salzburg Festival in August the German Nazis left no stone unturned to alarm foreign visitors by propaganda air raids. They forced a number of German artists to cancel their contracts without warning in the hope of ruining the performances. Deputies were found, however, so that the Festival was a pronounced artistic success, and visitors from non-German countries rallied to its support in much greater numbers than had ever visited Salzburg before, that the absence of the Germans was to some noticeable extent made good.

On November 23 there was a serious frontier incident in which it finally appeared that the fault was on the Austrian side. A Heimwehr patrol shot dead a German Reichswehr soldier, named Schuhmacher, who with other soldiers was engaged in ski-ing practice near Reith-im-Winkel on the Austro-Bavarian frontier. The joint Austro-German commission appointed to investigate the case established that Schuhmacher was killed several hundred yards inside German territory. On November 28 the Austrian Government made a formal apology to the German Foreign Minister and promised exemplary punishment of the offender. Among the measures taken by the Austrian Government against the Nazis was the establishment of a concentration camp, somewhat on German lines, on September 26, at Woellersdorf, and the arrest of Herr Alfred Frauenfeld, head of the Vienna Nazi Party, on December 5.

Parliamentary Government was suspended in Austria on March 4. The Government of Dr. Dollfuss took advantage of a legal quibble, and although it has since ruled the country by arbitrary decree, maintains that the Constitution was not violated. The opportunity for the destruction of Parliamentary liberties came quite accidentally. The Government's proposals for severe punishment of certain railway strikers was defeated in Parliament by one vote on March 4. Government members disputed the validity of this vote and successively the President of the Chamber and his two deputies resigned, considering their honour had been attacked. Two days later it dawned on the Government that here was a chance to abolish Parliament. They declared that since under the Constitution sessions of Parliament had to be summoned by the President or his deputies, there was now no one available for this purpose. They disregarded the obvious argument that the sudden death by assassination or otherwise of the President and his deputies on the same day would certainly not have been allowed to bring Parliament to an end. A Government jurist dug out a long-forgotten war-time measure of Imperial Austria authorising the then Government to regulate certain economic war-time emergencies by decree. They declared that this law was still in force, and by virtue of it ruled Austria by arbitrary decree for the remainder of the year. On March 15

Dr. Straffner, the second Deputy-President of the Chamber, summoned Parliament to meet. Dr. Dollfuss had Parliament surrounded by police and troops armed with rifles and machine guns and the building filled with detectives. The non-Government deputies, however, defeated his plans by assembling beforehand in the building, and holding the session half an hour before the detectives arrived to bar the entrance to the Chamber. Dr. Straffner said that members would be notified in writing of the date of the next session (to elect a new President) and closed the meeting. Such notification was in fact never issued. Major Fey, Minister of Public Security, mobilised 2,000 men of the still illegal Heimwehr Fascists on the day of this final session of Parliament. The Vienna Police President, Dr. Brandl, had them dispersed and was subsequently forced to resign by Major Fey. Dr. Brandl then joined the Nazis. On March 21 President Miklas told a deputation from the Upper House that he was in favour of a return to Constitutionalism.

In June Dr. Dollfuss went to London to attend the World Economic Conference and seized the occasion to plead the cause of Austria very successfully. On September 4 the Minister of War, Herr Vaugoin, was able to announce that the Powers had sanctioned the employment of an additional 8,000 armed men to form a sort of temporary militia, for resisting Nazi violence. They were, of course, drawn exclusively from the Heimwehr Fascists. On September 11 Dr. Dollfuss declared that the suspension of Parliament was more than temporary, and that Parliamentary Government could never be restored. He was determined, he said, to make of Austria a corporative authoritative State in accordance with the principles enunciated by the present Pope in his encyclical, *Quadragesimo Anno*. During the remainder of the year there was much talk of a new Constitution on these lines, but nothing definite was done. The Government's numerous decrees, however, brought Austria more and more into line with Fascist Italy. In particular they cut the financial arteries supplying the life-blood to the Socialist Municipality in Vienna, and put an end to practically all its building schemes and other welfare activities which had attracted so much interest all over the world from the time that the revolution of 1918 put the Socialists in power in Vienna.

On the night of September 20 to 21 the Austrian Government took on a still more reactionary complexion through a Cabinet reconstruction. Dr. Dollfuss resigned and took office with a new Cabinet, which gave him even more dictatorial powers than he had before. He got rid of the Vice-Chancellor, Herr Winkler, and other Ministers of the Landbund group because of their opposition to Heimwehr Fascism, and of the leader of his own party, Herr Vaugoin, the maker of the modern Austrian Army, who had come to be regarded as Austria's permanent Minister of

War. **Dr. Dollfuss** concentrated the supreme command of the **Army**, police, and gendarmerie in his own hands and made the Heimwehr Fascist, Major Fey, his Vice-Chancellor. The Cabinet change was preceded by a series of wordy duels between Major Fey and Herr Winkler, which had much weakened the Cabinet. Prince Starhemberg, the commander of the Heimwehr, joined in the attacks on Herr Winkler. Although he was victorious to the extent of securing Herr Winkler's departure, Prince Starhemberg did not achieve his aim of becoming Vice-Chancellor himself, and he remained outside the Government. For the remainder of the year, relations between him and Dr. Dollfuss, although outwardly as friendly as before, were actually cool. As a consolation prize he was given the deputy leadership of the "Patriotic Front" by Dr. Dollfuss. In November there were negotiations for the re-admission of the Landbund to the Cabinet, but these were finally defeated by Heimwehr intrigues.

The Social Democrats passed through a difficult year of persecution by the Heimwehr and by the Government, and despite their strength they were unable to make any reply owing to their fear that any open resistance such as a general strike would give the Nazis the opportunity for which they were waiting. The Socialists' official organ, the *Arbeiterzeitung*, was confiscated nearly fifty times by the censor, its editor-in-chief, Dr. Oskar Pollak, frequently subjected to heavy fines, and the paper suppressed for one month in November, except for postal subscribers. The Socialists (although of course they were forbidden to publish their decision) made it known that despite the dangers it would involve for them, a general strike and armed resistance would be instituted in any of the following eventualities: the Prohibition of the Party, the Dissolution of the Trades Unions, the complete suppression of the *Arbeiterzeitung*, and their expulsion from the Vienna Rathaus and the appointment of a Government Commissary to govern the Federal State of Vienna. The dissolution of the Socialists' Republican Defence Corps, which was intended to protect the Republic against the encroachments of the Heimwehr Fascists, was one of the first acts of Dr. Dollfuss (on March 31) after he had got rid of Parliament.

The death penalty which was abolished at the revolution was restored on November 10, through the medium of a proclamation of martial law. This imposed the death penalty for murder, arson, and public disorder, imposable by military courts which could pass no less sentence than death. Sentence had to be carried out within three hours. Martial Law was proclaimed as a defence against the Nazis, but the Government never ventured to subject any Nazi to its operation. Only one person, the son of a wealthy peasant, who had murdered his mistress, was tried under martial law in 1933 and sentenced to death. He was pardoned, however, by the President,

As Austrian relations with Germany grew steadily worse, so to the satisfaction of the Heimwehr, the country came more and more under Italian influence. Dr. Dollfuss spent a week in Rome (from April 11 to 18) at the same time as the German Vice-Chancellor, Herr von Papen, was there. On August 19 Dr. Dollfuss flew from Vienna to Riccioni for another interview with Signor Mussolini. Each visit was to request Italy's help against Germany, but Signor Mussolini, although extremely sympathetic, was not prepared to come into the open and attack Herr Hitler. At the end of the year (on December 20), however, it was announced that the Italian Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Signor Suvich, would visit Vienna in January, 1934. The *rapprochement* with Fascist Italy brought about automatically very friendly relations with Italy's ally, Hungary, and a distinct cooling off between Austria and the democratic Czechoslovak Republic.

Although there were no important amendments to the currency restrictions which had proved such a hindrance to foreign trade in 1932, there was a general slackening off in their administration throughout 1933. The budgetary position improved during the year, and the quarterly reports of Dr. Rost von Tonningen, the representative of the League of Nations in Austria, continued to strike an encouraging note. On September 29 the Dollfuss Government issued an Internal Lottery Loan, the proceeds to be devoted to remedying unemployment and productive national investments. The Loan was well subscribed, although the banks had to play a big part in absorbing it, and some pressure was brought to bear to induce State employees to support the Loan. Two tranches of 100 millions each were floated and over-subscribed.

CHAPTER IV.

SOVIET RUSSIA — ESTONIA — LATVIA — LITHUANIA — POLAND —
DANZIG — CZECHOSLOVAKIA—HUNGARY — RUMANIA — YUGO-
SLAVIA—TURKEY—GREECE—BULGARIA—ALBANIA.

THE UNION OF SOCIALIST SOVIET REPUBLICS.

THE year 1933 witnessed a notable change in Russia's orientation in the international sphere. The expansionist tendencies of Germany towards the East and of Japan towards the North and West caused the Soviet Government no small alarm, and led it to cast about for new friendships. The result of this policy was to bring it into closer relations with a large number of States in all parts of the world. The advent of the Hitler Government in Germany came as a complete surprise in Russia. The German

Communists in 1932 had not scrupled to support the efforts of the National-Socialists to overthrow the Republican Government, but the victory of that party at the General Election was a grave disappointment for the Russian Government. The claims for Russian territory put forward in the memorandum laid by Herr Hugenberg before the World Economic Conference in June caused great irritation in Russia, as did also the expulsion of Russian journalists from Germany at the time of the Reichstag trial, but an open breach was avoided.

Another circumstance which rendered the relations between Soviet Russia and Nazi Germany more difficult was the inability of the Reichsbank to grant as extensive credits to Russian industry as in preceding years. In consequence of this the Soviet Government lost a good deal of its interest in purchasing in Germany ; and the fall in the American dollar further contributed to free Soviet Russia from Germany's commercial hold upon it. Russia's immediate reaction against the change in Germany displayed itself in a new attitude towards France, Poland, and even the League of Nations, with which she co-operated throughout the whole of 1933 both at the Economic Conference and at the Disarmament Conference. Moreover, the Soviet Government which had hitherto persistently denounced the Versailles Treaty as the work of " Capitalist Highwaymen," now declared against revision.

This new interest in preserving the *status quo* in Europe met with a grateful response from Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Rumania, as a result of which Soviet Russia was able to settle some of its outstanding differences with these three States and conclude a number of pacts of non-aggression [see Public Documents], by which it hoped to secure some sort of safety on its western border. In this year, too, Soviet Russia received much more sympathy and support from France. The visits of M. Herriot and of the French Air Minister, M. Cot, in August, pointed to a willingness on the part of France to replace Germany in the task of assisting the organisation of Russian Air Forces. Soviet foreign policy was able to register during the year further diplomatic successes, such as the establishment of normal diplomatic and trade relations with Spain, Uruguay, and several other small States, and the strengthening of friendly relations with Italy (with which an agreement was concluded on September 2) and Turkey.

But the most striking achievement of Soviet diplomacy was the securing of recognition of the Soviet Government by the Government of the United States, and the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries—an object for which the Soviet Government had persistently striven since the Revolution. For this they had largely to thank the efforts of Mr. William Bullit, who now became the first U.S.A. Ambassador to Moscow. Since 1919, when he went to Moscow on behalf of

President Wilson (and Mr. Lloyd George), he had advocated a *rapprochement*, but neither Mr. Coolidge nor the other Presidents would "enter into relations with a regime which refused to recognise the sanctity of international obligations/" and which showed *'an active spirit of enmity to our Institutions.'" President Roosevelt, however, allowed himself to be persuaded by his personal friend, Bullit, to consider more favourably than his predecessors had done the advances made by the Soviet Government. On October 10 he sent a letter to M. Kalinin, the President of the Central Executive Committee of the U.S.S.R., inviting him to send over a representative to discuss questions dividing the two countries. M. Litvinoff immediately went to America and opened negotiations, with the result that the recognition of the U.S.S.R. was officially announced on November 17. The Soviet Government undertook not to interfere in the internal affairs of the U.S.A., and to restrain all persons or organisations directly or indirectly dependent on the Soviet Government from engaging in propagandist activities. Economic considerations contributed largely towards this action on the part of the United States, where it was believed that as a result of recognition exports to Russia would increase.

Russia's relations with Great Britain were gravely compromised through the action of the Soviet Government late in March in arresting six British officials of the Metropolitan-Vickers Company in Russia, along with a number of Russians, on a charge of sabotaging Government electrical plant. Both the Government and the people in England were firmly convinced that the Soviet Government was using the accused Englishmen as a scapegoat to atone for its own shortcomings, and British indignation found vent in the placing of an embargo on Russian imports into England [*vide* English History]. Russia retaliated with a similar measure. M. Litvinoff, however, went to England in June to represent Russia at the World Economic Conference, and while there he succeeded in smoothing matters over and opening negotiations for a new trade agreement to take the place of the one which had lapsed in April. The negotiations were conducted in a very friendly spirit on both sides, but the difficulties in the way proved formidable, as Great Britain was determined that the new agreement should not be so one-sided as the old one had turned out, and by the end of the year no definite result had been attained.

Russia's relations with Japan, which had not been too friendly before, became seriously strained in the course of the year. Russia accused Japan in particular of aiding and abetting the Government of Manchukuo in the maltreatment of Russian officials of the Chinese Eastern Railway, and Japan on her side complained that the Soviet Government had withdrawn a large quantity of rolling stock into the Russian part of the railway. To ease the friction,

the Soviet Government in April offered to sell to Japan or Manchukuo its share in the railway—a somewhat surprising step, seeing that the loss of this railway would greatly weaken Russia's strategic position in the Far East. Negotiations for the transfer were opened at Tokio, but though they were continued throughout the summer, it was not found possible to come to terms. Meanwhile, owing to Japan's military activities in Mongolia and the Southern half of Chinese Turkestan, Russia was compelled to concentrate large contingents of troops in Eastern Siberia, where it also kept a considerable portion of its Air Force. Conscious of its weakness in that region, the Soviet Government was compelled to exercise much forbearance and circumspection in its dealings with Japan, but on October 9 it published a number of secret documents purporting to disclose the plans of the Japanese for a gradual seizure of the Chinese Eastern Railway before 1935, when Japan was due to secede from the League of Nations. This danger of war gravely affected the internal life of the Soviet Union, and the Government came to the conclusion that in order to strengthen its position in the Far East it must increase the Russian population in that region, and persistent efforts in that direction were made throughout the year.

No noteworthy developments took place during the year in the political system of Soviet Russia. Discontent among the population, the Red Army, and even the Communists did not abate, and towards the end of the year nearly a thousand officers and soldiers were reported to have been arrested. After a lapse of three years, it was at length decided to hold the Party Congress early in 1934. As a precaution it was deemed necessary to "purge" the party of the "undesirable" and "incompetent" members, and nearly a million lost their membership.

The agricultural position continued to be serious throughout 1933, and the Government was compelled to send large numbers of the young members of the party into the rural areas to keep a strict watch over the collective farms. In the spring there was starvation in many of the fertile districts of Russia. In despatches from the Ukraine, sent in October to a leading English newspaper, it was stated: "One cannot be in the countryside to-day without a sense of tragedy, when one sees empty huts, windows gutted, floors torn up—the former homes of fugitives and victims of starvation." The number of horses in the Ukraine, which in 1929 had been 5.5 million, had declined in 1933 to 2,772,000. Pigs had decreased from 3,472,000 to 1,390,000 and sheep from 6,652,000 to 1,543,000. The same decline took place among the cows, and in Russia generally the position is not better than in the Ukraine. On August 14 Stalin announced that a serious attempt would be made to supply with cows all those farmers who had none. In pursuance of this announcement an order was issued to purchase a million calves for distribution on a credit

basis among the needy farmers. 770,000 were to be "acquired" from other members of the collective farms possessing more than one calf. The remaining 230,000 were to be supplied by non-collectivised peasants at a Government price. By October, the Lower Volga district, which was to deliver 70,000 calves, had actually delivered only 1,500. In White Russia the plan provided for 40,000, whilst the actual performance amounted only to 1,880.

The harvest was comparatively good, but even as late as October the International Red Cross in Geneva was contemplating the organisation of a relief campaign for many starving districts in the Soviet Union. To a large extent this state of affairs was due to grave shortcomings, frankly admitted, in the organisation of the transport services—the weakest point in Soviet industry. The state of the railways was also the cause of serious derangements in practically all the other branches of industry.

1933 was the first year of the second Five-Year Plan, and there was scheduled for it a considerable increase in the production of goods for the use of the general public, such as ordinary household utensils, forks, spoons, china, simple tools, wearing apparel, simple linen, soap, and so forth, of which there was an acute shortage. A very considerable proportion of the means at the disposal of the Soviet Government had perforce, however, to be concentrated on the large-scale industry-producing machinery and working for the defence of the country, which could not have been brought to the level of efficiency which it actually attained had not the Government restricted the production and importation of other things not so vital at present. Military and civil aviation in 1933 developed considerably.

Among the most notable achievements in the sphere of large-scale reconstruction work completed during 1933 was the White Sea-Baltic Canal, constructed in most difficult country and at a heavy cost in money and human material in 21 months. The Canal is 227 kilometers long and connects Archangel with Lenin-grad, reducing the water distance between these two ports by nearly 2,000 kilometers and the time of journey by 10 days. It was carried out by convict labour supplied by the O.G.P.U. out of its numerous northern concentration camps in which it keeps large numbers of its prisoners. On the completion of the work a full amnesty was granted to 12,000 persons, remission of sentences to nearly 60,000, and restoration of civil rights to 500.

By the end of the year, Russian financial credit stood higher than ever before. Although the Soviet Government made no move towards the recognition of Russia's pre-revolutionary debts it met its own obligations more or less satisfactorily. This was not accomplished without great difficulty, since in Germany alone the maturities were 750,000,000 marks; the total responsibility assumed by the British Government by means of guarantees in respect of exports to Russia amounted to 12,500,000l., out of

which 7,250,000l. had run off. It required an enormous effort on the part of the Soviet Government to keep up these payments, more especially as the trade balances for the two previous years had been unfavourable (nearly 50,000,000l.), and the situation could be met only by rigid economy and by stimulating exports. By these measures and partly through the *Torgsin* shops (selling goods for foreign currency) the Soviet Government achieved an active trade balance in 1933 of about 5,000,000l.

ESTONIA.

Early in the year the Diet once more took up the question of a change in the Constitution, which had been defeated on a referendum in the previous year (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1932, p. 206), with the object of creating the post of State President and reducing the number of its own members. Feeling on the question ran rather high; there was a change of Government in May, and the scheme was not submitted to a referendum till the middle of October. The result was a great majority in favour of drastic constitutional reforms. In consequence, the Ministry of M. Tonnison, which had replaced that of M. Pats in May, resigned, and M. Pats once more assumed office. The chief task of the new Government was to formulate within 100 days new laws for reforming the electoral system, reducing the Diet to fifty members, and creating the office of a State President to be elected by direct popular vote for a period of five years. The champions of these reforms called themselves "Liberators," but were called by their opponents the "Fascists" or "Nazis" of Estonia. That they had little in common with the Nazis of Germany was shown by the fact that in December the Government liquidated the Nazi organisations led by local Germans.

The Estonian Government paid no part of the debt instalment due to the United States on June 12. On June 28 Estonia abandoned the gold standard, and the rate of the Estonian kroon immediately fell about 35 per cent. There was no revival of foreign trade—which in 1932 had been less than a third of what it had been in 1929—but a favourable balance was maintained.

The sale of two torpedo boats of the Estonian fleet to Peru in July gave rise to a great outburst of popular feeling, and on August 11 the whole country was placed under emergency law in consequence of the subversive activities of extremist political organisations. The population as a whole, however, remained calm.

LATVIA.

On February 3 the Diet rejected by 64 votes to 25 a Bill brought forward by the Coalition Ministry of M. Skujenieks for curtailing the rights of control and language of the national

minorities (Germans, Russians, Jews) in their secondary schools subsidised by the State. The Ministry thereupon resigned, and no less than seven weeks elapsed before a new non-Socialist Coalition Ministry of the Centre and Right Parties was formed by M. Blodnieks, Leader of the new Farmers' Party. He obtained a vote of confidence from the Diet on March 23.

In March a fracas took place on the railway station at Riga between some young Socialists and some Germans who were returning from Germany, whither they had gone to record their votes in the Reichstag election. A protest was made by the German Minister to the Latvian Government, in consequence of which the offenders were punished. Soon after, in response to the demands of the Latvian Socialist Party, a number of Latvian Fascist leaders were arrested, and some were banished temporarily to remoter parts of Latvia, while others were expelled from the country.

In the second half of the year there was some political unrest due to the activities of extremists on both wings. In August the Government was urged by the Socialists to close "Perkonkrusts," a society locally known as the "Latvian Facists," but after investigation it decided that there was not sufficient ground for doing so. On the other hand, the Latvian Court on September 5 ordered the suspension of the Left Wing "Workers' Sporting Club," the strongest political organisation in Latvia. In November six Communist members of the Diet were arrested, their immunity having been formally rescinded, and in December some members of "Perkonkrusts" were arrested and some Nazi leaders of German nationality were expelled from the country.

Latvian trade, the total of which in 1932 had been less than a third of the total in 1929, showed no improvement in 1933, though through the working of trade restrictions a favourable balance was secured. At the end of November a new trade agreement was concluded at Moscow with the Soviet Union, to take the place of the one which had expired over a year before. One of its chief features was a stipulation that Latvia should not have an unfavourable trade balance with Russia, the Soviet Government undertaking to effect purchases from Latvia each year for an amount equal at least to the amount of Latvian imports from Russia. On the other hand, the rebates of the duties on Russian imports into Latvia contained in the old agreement were not renewed.

After the advent of the Hitler Government in Germany, a boycott of German goods was planned by the Socialist and Jewish sections of the community in Latvia. The German Government in retaliation suddenly on June 10 announced an embargo on Latvian butter. The Latvian Government pointed out that the proposed boycott was of a private nature and had not the support of the Government, and at the same time it gave

orders to hold up imports from Germany at the Customs House. Trade between the two countries was at a standstill for about a week, after which Germany raised the embargo.

On June 30 the Latvian Government cancelled the contract which it had made in the previous October with an American company for the construction of a hydro-electric power station across the river Dvina (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1932, p. 207), as the company had not succeeded in procuring the stipulated foreign loan of 5,000,000 dollars.

On June 12 Latvia paid the United States 6,000 dollars or about 5 per cent. of the debt instalment due from her.

LITHUANIA.

While Lithuania's relations with the other Baltic States remained of the friendliest character, M. Zaunius, the Foreign Minister, declared on March 19 that she could not enter a Baltic Customs Union with Latvia and Estonia unless she had some prospect of obtaining Vilna. A different view, it is true, was taken by Dr. Bistras, the Leader of the Christian Democratic Party, but it found no support in Government quarters. After the advent of the Hitler regime in Germany, friction arose in Memel owing to the presence there of a German element with Nazi sympathies, and in consequence relations between Lithuania and Germany became somewhat strained. Lithuania's isolation was made still more marked by the *rapprochement* later in the year between Russia and Poland.

Towards the end of April the population of Kovno "went on strike" against the Belgian company which supplied the town with electricity, on account of the high prices charged, and used candles and lamps for illumination. The boycott was brought to an end in May by the Government fixing lower rates for the supply of electricity.

Like the other Baltic States, and to an even greater extent, Lithuania showed a disposition to encourage trade with England. In May, an order for 60,000 tons of coal for the State railways was placed in England and in November a contract for constructing automatic telephone centrals at Kovno and Memel was also placed in England. English was also made a compulsory subject in Lithuanian schools. Foreign trade, which in 1932 was half of what it had been in 1930, showed no improvement.

In the middle of July a State funeral was given to the remains of two Lithuanian airmen who, in attempting a non-stop flight from New York to Kovno, had crashed in Germany, just before reaching the Lithuanian border.

At the end of June the Government paid about 10 per cent. of the instalment due from Lithuania on account of the American debt.

POLAND.

The year 1933 witnessed a distinct improvement in the relations between Poland and those of her neighbours with whom she had for years been more or less at variance—Russia, Germany, Lithuania, and the Free City of Danzig. In the case of Germany and Danzig this was probably due to a certain fellow-feeling between two regimes essentially dictatorial in character, while a contributing cause was the personality of the Polish Foreign Minister, M. Beck, who showed himself more independent of French influence than any of his predecessors. The *rapprochement* with Russia was due chiefly to that country's fear of German expansionist aims as proclaimed by the Nazi Government, and the example of Russia apparently was not without its influence on Lithuania.

The first dealings between Poland and Germany in the course of the year did not augur well for their future relations. At the meeting of the Council of the League of Nations on February 1, the head of the German delegation refused to accept the report of the Special Committee of the League regarding the treatment of the German Agrarians in Poland, and thereupon M. Beck stated in the course of a speech that "the Polish Government would in future oppose every attempt to create unjust privileges for certain groups of the population, and it would not tolerate any attempt to hinder the normal functioning of the State, under any pretext whatsoever." On top of this came the installation of the Hitler regime in Germany, with its bellicose attitude and its avowed determination to spare no effort to recover the Polish corridor for Germany. The prospects of a Polish-German reconciliation never looked so hopeless.

The attitude of the Polish Government to the new regime in Germany was at first one of definite hostility. It allowed the Jews in Poland to organise demonstrations against Germany, in spite of the fact that the National-Democratic Press protested that this privilege should have been reserved for Poles by birth and descent. It also banned from Poland a number of German newspapers. On May 5, however, Herr Hitler declared to M. Wysocki, the Polish Minister in Berlin, that he had no desire to act otherwise than in accordance with the existing treaties. From this point the tension between the two Governments relaxed, and on October 6 M. Beck was able to tell a newspaper correspondent that he expected that in their mutual interest the two countries would succeed in solving practical questions arising out of everyday relations in a spirit of mutual respect and confidence. This declaration was followed at no long interval by the visit of M. Lipski, the Polish Minister in Berlin, to Herr Hitler and the opening of direct negotiations between the two countries for placing relations between them on a stable basis.

Polish relations with Danzig followed a course not dissimilar to those with Germany. In the early part of the year there was considerable friction between Poland and the Free City, and there was every fear that this would be greatly accentuated when a Nazi Government was installed there in May. In fact, however, the opposite occurred. Dr. Rauschnig, the new President of the Danzig Senate, showed himself most anxious to come to an accommodation with Poland, and for that purpose paid a visit to Warsaw early in June. As a result of his negotiations, two agreements were drawn up in August and signed on September 18 regarding the rights of Poles in Danzig and the future development of the port of Danzig. By the first agreement, the Polish language was placed practically on a level with the German language in Danzig for educational purposes. By the second, Poland undertook to take all necessary steps to arrest the decline in the trade of Danzig, and to secure for it, as far as possible, an equal share in the sea-borne trade of Poland. Incidentally the security of Jewish traders in Danzig was guaranteed. On December 11 Dr. Rauschnig paid another visit to Warsaw and had interviews with various Ministers.

In July Poland became one of the signatories of the Pact of Non-Aggression drawn up by the Soviet Government. Attempts were once more made in the early part of the year to reopen negotiations with Lithuania, but they broke down because that country made the cession of Vilna a *sine qua non* of any agreement. In spite of this, various evidences of a more friendly feeling appeared during the year, and at the end of the year it was expected that a Lithuanian delegation would soon proceed to Warsaw to discuss the possibility of restoring normal relations.

The conclusion of the Four-Power Pact in April caused a good deal of misgiving in Poland, which was not entirely allayed by the assurances given by Mr. MacDonald and others that it was not meant to affect the position of the smaller States. In October M. Beck paid an official visit to Paris, and had a series of conversations with the Foreign Minister with a view to clearing up certain misunderstandings which had arisen between France and Poland since the signature of the Pact.

The year was one of great activity in the sphere of commercial negotiation. On October 12 a revised Commercial Treaty with Austria was signed at Vienna and the Commercial Treaty with Rumania was renewed at Bucharest on August 30. Negotiations for a fresh Commercial Treaty were commenced with Czechoslovakia but made little progress, as did also the conversations with France for a renewal of the existing Franco-Polish Treaty.

In internal politics the energies of the Government, as in the previous year, were largely taken up with efforts to relieve economic distress. In introducing the Budget in February, M. Prystor, the Prime Minister, explained that it was the intention

of the Government to afford further relief to agriculture by the extension of the present export premiums, credits against liens on grain, the organisation of agricultural exports, the reduction of railway freights, reduction of and special facilities for the settlement of agricultural debts, etc. In accordance with this policy, the Diet in February passed three laws for the relief of agriculture, one reducing the rate of interest on mortgages to 6 per cent. and deferring the date of repayment till 1934, a second granting a guarantee to banks and financial institutions which had lent money to the farmers for 50 per cent, of the sums due to them, provided they would agree to a postponement of the date of payment, and a third establishing special arbitration offices for the settlement of agricultural disputes. On October 27 it was announced that a National Development Fund would be created for the financing of public works on a large scale. It was stated in the Diet on November 4 that the State Labour Fund of 50,000,000 *zl.* had enabled work to be found for 70,000 workers.

The decline in trade caused serious financial difficulties. The Budget for 1933 was finally passed on February 17 with an expenditure of 2,451,980,000 *zl.* and revenue of 2,057,800,000 *zl.* Later in the year it was anticipated that the deficit would amount to about 200,000,000 *zl.*, and as it seemed impossible to cover this by increases of taxation, an Internal Loan of 100,000,000 *zl.*, afterwards increased to 350,000,000 *zl.*, was placed on the market in September. Nominally the loan was voluntary, but in reality considerable pressure was exerted to procure subscriptions, which eventually amounted to 350,000,000 *zl.*

The Prystor Cabinet resigned on May 9, and a few days later a new Cabinet was formed under the premiership of M. Jędrzejewicz, who had been Minister of Education in the late Ministry, and now retained the same post. The change of Government, however, made no practical difference to policy, as plenary powers were again conferred on the President (which meant in practice Marshal Pilsudski) by the Parliament before it rose in March. Protests were raised by the Opposition, as in fact they had been throughout the session against the loss of liberty generally, but without avail. On May 8 Professor Moscicki was re-elected President for a further term of seven years.

One of the more important measures passed by the Diet before it rose on March 13 was the Local Government Law, which introduced some uniformity into local administration throughout the country, and made the mayors and presidents of towns and communes with more than 25,000 inhabitants Government officials. The purpose of this measure was to purify local government of the abuses which had crept into it since the war. On July 11 the Ministry of the Interior, with general approval, dissolved the Municipal Councils of the towns of Lodz, Pabjanice, and Tomaszow,

the three principal textile centres of Poland, which had long been notorious for their corruption and inefficiency.

Another measure passed by the Parliament in February placed the Universities under Government control. The Rectors of all the Universities resigned in protest and several students' strikes took place, but by the middle of March all the Universities had been reopened with the exception of that of Lwow.

On March 23 the Government's proposals for the revision of the Constitution were announced by M. Car, and when the Diet met again in November they were laid by him before the Government *bloc* in an enlarged form. Supreme authority was by these vested in the President, who was to have power to appoint or dismiss the Prime Minister and to dissolve the Diet, and to issue decrees regarding the command of the armed forces. The Diet was to be elected for five years and to be in session regularly for four months in a year, from November to March, its chief business being to pass the Budget. It could also demand the resignation of the Government or of a Minister. The Draft was referred to the next sitting of the Constitutional Committee of the Diet which was to take place in January.

On October 5 the Supreme Court at Warsaw finally rejected the appeals against the verdicts given at the Brzesc trials in 1930. By this time, however, a great many of the more prominent of the accused had found refuge in other countries.

On August 2 the Government concluded an agreement with the English Electric and Metro-Vickers firm regarding a loan for the electrification of the railways in the Warsaw district. The sum involved was 1,980,000l., of which 900,000l. was to be spent in the United Kingdom.

During the last ten days of June there was a succession of anti-Governmental riots in Eastern Galicia, as a result of which three policemen and fifteen rioters were stated to have been killed. The troubles continued through the autumn, and there was no sign of any improvement in the relations between the Polish authorities and the Ukrainian minorities.

DANZIG.

The elections to the Volkstag were held on May 28. The result was to give the Nazis, with 37 seats as against 12 in the last Diet, a clear majority over all the other parties together. A new Government, consisting wholly of Hitlerites save for two members of the Centre, was formed on June 2 under the presidency of Dr. Rauschning. Contrary to expectation, Dr. Rauschning adopted a distinctly conciliatory policy towards Poland, with the result that relations between that country and the Free City improved considerably in the course of the year [*vide* Poland].

On February 5 the League of Nations extended the term of office of M. Rosting as High Commissioner till October 16. On October 26 Mr. Sean Lester was appointed High Commissioner for a period of three years as from January 15, 1934.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA.

The Coalition Government in Czechoslovakia which had been formed in the autumn of 1932 with the Leader of the Agrarian Party, M. Malypetr, as Prime Minister, and which included the majority of the Czechoslovak parties, both bourgeois and Socialist, together with the two largest German parties (Agrarians and Social Democrats), remained in power throughout 1933. It was in substance the same Coalition as had originally been constituted on the basis of the results of the General Election of 1929.

Economic questions were again the main care of the Government. The bulk of their efforts was directed towards counter-acting the consequences of the economic crisis which affected Czechoslovakia later than most other countries. The effects of the crisis manifested themselves particularly in the decline of railway traffic and increasing expenditure on unemployment ; several categories of revenue too, among them the tax on turnover, and the excise duties in particular, failed as a consequence of declining economic activities to attain the yield laid down in the Estimates. The ordinary Budget figures were estimated with reasonable accuracy, but those relating to the State enterprises and the expenditure on unemployment fell far short of the actual figures. The Government therefore decided to make considerable economies in the 1933 Budget, which had not been discussed by Parliament until the first two months of the year, and framed a number of other measures (postponement of the regular drawings of State Loans, a coupon tax, reduction of unemployment pay, etc.), with a view to bringing the Budgetary figures into closer conformity with the actual conditions.

Thus the authorities—most effectively assisted by an " Economy Commission "—in drafting the Budget for 1934 devoted still more careful attention to the actual facts of the economic situation than in the preceding year. The Estimates submitted to the Chamber of Deputies at the beginning of November fixed ordinary expenditure at 7,631 million crowns and revenue at 7,632 millions. Compared with the 1933 Budget these figures represented an economy of 1,002 millions, or 11'6 per cent., while if the cut of 710 millions made in respect of the State enterprises be included the total economy was one of 1,712 millions.

The Government's activities in the economic sphere were not restricted merely to securing Budget equilibrium. Within the framework of a general plan they attempted by a series of measures

to mitigate the consequences of the economic crisis as well as to give a direct impulse to trade and activities in the home market. This was done in particular by initiating work of productive investment on a big scale. The necessary funds for this public enterprise were raised by means of the so-called "Employment Loan" which was issued in the spring of 1933, no limit being fixed to the amount to be raised. The loan, on which interest was at the rate of 5 per cent., carried a number of advantageous features, but the total amount (2,007 million crowns) subscribed at a time of such profound economic depression undoubtedly represented a success for the State, contributing at the same time to a certain measure of economic recovery and a partial relief of the burden of unemployment. Since April, 1933, public works were undertaken out of the yield of this loan—most of them in connexion with communications, the roads, waterways, etc.—representing a total outlay of about 1,500 million crowns.

The trade depression in Czechoslovakia continued throughout 1933. Exports fell to 5,850 million crowns, against 7,340 millions in 1932, while the imports declined to 5,830 million crowns compared with 7,490 millions in 1932.

In addition to the steps taken by the State to regulate in some measure the economic life of the country as a consequence of the economic crisis, the Government proceeded in the second half of the year to put through a number of measures of a political nature. These laws were intended to provide the Government with more effective means of preserving the democratic institutions of the Republic, to give them greater power of resistance, and a larger executive capacity than they had hitherto possessed. This policy was dictated by the rise of new dictatorships in the close neighbourhood of Czechoslovakia, and the danger threatening from the Nazi regime in Germany for the frontier regions of Czechoslovakia bordering upon that country. The Nazi regime in Germany aroused an intense national feeling among the Germans in all the countries bordering on the Reich, inciting them to extremist political activities little compatible with loyalty to the Czechoslovak State. Proof of this was forthcoming in the course of the trials during the year of the members of certain German organisations, ostensibly formed for sports and athletics, which proved that a close connexion existed between the Nazi party in Czechoslovakia and that in Germany, and that the ultimate aim was the same in both cases, namely, the union of **all** German-speaking populations in the Third Empire. As an outcome of these trials proceedings were also taken against several Nazi deputies who had inspired this movement.

Among these measures of a political character there were in particular laws passed amending the standing orders of both Houses of Parliament, with the object of tightening discipline, of fixing sharper sanctions, enforcing the attendance of members of

the legislative bodies, and extending the powers of the Speaker. Another measure which amended the rules of franchise for local elections extended the term of local government mandates from four to six years, and provided that the election of burgomasters must be confirmed by the Office of the Province or by the Ministry of the Interior, which has the power of declaring the election null and void, and in certain cases of dissolving the local council, and appointing a nominated commission of administration in its stead. A new Press law passed in this connexion increased the responsibility of editors and provided greater facilities for proceeding against newspapers guilty of persistent violation of the law. The Government took power to prohibit the public sale of newspapers, and of suspending their publication for two or three months following a third confiscation of their contents and the judgment of a Court. Further measures supplemented various provisions of the Defence of the Republic Act, and the Law concerning special measures, extending protection expressly to the democratic and republican form of the constitution, and giving the Government the right to proclaim martial law in certain eventualities. Experience of Nazi agitation in Czechoslovakia compelled the Government to pass a law punishing anti-State activity on the part of State employees, accelerating the disciplinary proceedings hitherto adopted in such cases, and giving the Government the right even to take action, if need be, against magistrates and judges.

The culminating point of these measures was the law touching the stoppage of the activities of political parties and their dissolution. This law was promulgated in autumn, 1933, when the Supreme Court confirmed the verdict against the German sports organisations and expressly declared that the German National-Socialist (Nazi) Party was pursuing activities hostile to the State. This law was also put into force against the two radical German parties—the National-Socialist (Nazi) Party, which was dissolved, and its deputies deprived of their seats in Parliament, and the Nationalists, whose activities were suppressed.

Although these special measures extended the powers of the executive in certain directions, they never tended to diminish the authority of Parliament or to restrict the powers of the democratic institutions. This applied even to the so-called Enabling Act of June, 1933, by which the Government was empowered to issue decrees and regulations possessing the force of laws. These decrees and regulations had to be signed by the President of the Republic and, within fourteen days, to be submitted to Parliament; if they were rejected they lost their validity. The Government was empowered by this Act, for the period of exceptional economic conditions at home and abroad, to adjust by means of decrees and regulations the scale of customs tariffs, to take measures to secure a due adjustment of prices and

conditions of production and sale in industry, trade, and agriculture, and to preserve the equilibrium of the Budget. This Act, it was expressly stated, did not apply to an adjustment of the currency, and its validity was to terminate on November 15. As, however, conditions showed no improvement, the validity of the measure was subsequently prolonged to the end of June, 1934. In addition to the Customs tariff, the speedy adjustment of which, prior to the opening of the World Economic Conference, was one of the main reasons for the passing of the Enabling Act, there were issued under that Act a number of decrees for the benefit of agriculture and agricultural products, and in particular, for a new adjustment of unemployment pay. This latter, while retaining in principle the so-called Ghent System which had hitherto been in force, reduced the Government contribution towards the pay granted through the trades unions, and introduced a stricter supervision.

In its foreign policy Czechoslovakia maintained the closest contact with the Little Entente, and the States forming that alliance guarded against the uncertainty in contemporary international relations by an ever-intenser collaboration. This was effected by means of the so-called Organisation Pact of the Little Entente which was signed by the Foreign Ministers of the three countries (MM. Benes, Jevtic, and Titulescu) at Geneva on February 16, 1933, and which consummated the previous co-operation of the little Entente States by creating a complete diplomatic unity. Under the terms of this Pact the Little Entente set up special organs (a Standing Council with Secretariat, and an Economic Council) to conduct its foreign policy on lines common to all [*vide* Public Documents].

The Standing Council of the Little Entente met for the first time in pursuance of this Pact at Prague on May 30 and June 1, 1933. The agenda comprised that great question of European politics, the Pact of the Four Western Powers. In the end the Prague Conference adopted a favourable attitude towards it, after substantial amendments had been made in the original text, and after the Little Entente had secured guarantees from France. Simultaneously, however, it was made known that the Little Entente would not for a moment entertain the question of a revision of frontiers. At Prague work was seriously begun on the second main purpose of the Little Entente, namely, the formation of the three countries into an economic unity alongside the already existing political unity. The composition and activities of the Economic Council were here decided upon, and a definite scheme of collaboration laid down.

This programme was carried a stage further at the autumn Conference of the Standing Council of the Little Entente held at Sinaia in Rumania on September 24-27, in the concluding deliberations of which King Carol and King Alexander took part,

In the course of the conference common principles were laid down for negotiations touching Central European problems, while at the same time emphasis was laid upon the inviolability of the Peace Treaties, and the readiness of the Little Entente States to enter into far-reaching economic co-operation with the neighbouring countries. The meeting of the Economic Council originally fixed for November was postponed, but towards the end of that month a meeting of experts took place to arrange preliminaries for the next session of the Economic Council.

Dr. Benes, the Czechoslovak Minister of Foreign Affairs, had several opportunities in 1933 of explaining in Parliament, either in the Foreign Relations Committee or in full session, the policy of the Little Entente and of Czechoslovakia—a policy based on the principles of the League of Nations and upon the terms of the Peace Treaties. As against the revision campaign conducted with increased intensity by the Hungarians throughout the whole year, Dr. Benes did not omit to emphasise the inviolability of the frontiers of Czechoslovakia. This he did once again at the beginning of December in a joint declaration made with M. Titulescu, the Rumanian Foreign Minister, at Kosice.

Friction arose between the Czechoslovak Government and the Papal Nuncio as a result of newspaper attacks on the Nuncio, and of his unfriendly reference to the Government, but the incident was settled by the transfer of the Nuncio to a new appointment at Lisbon.

HUNGARY.

The foreign policy of General Gombos throughout the year was characterised by a noteworthy spirit of enterprise, accompanied by an extreme mobility. While economic considerations continued to be the chief factor in determining his diplomatic activity, an unceasing propaganda was carried on to improve the international position of Hungary with a view to the eventual revision of the Trianon Peace Treaty.

As the Foreign Minister, E. Puky, was not considered to possess the requisite force for coping with the exigencies of this double task, he gave way (January 4) to M. Kalman Kanya, Hungary's diplomatic representative in Berlin (February 7). This choice was far from being unanimously approved of and severe criticism was levelled against the Premier in the House of Commons (February 16) on account of the Hitlerist sympathies of Kanya, which, it was feared, would influence unfavourably the diplomatic relations of Hungary with France.

Meanwhile, as usual, the Minister of Finance, M. Imredy, had to defend his financial policy before the League of Nations (January 13), particularly regarding the management of the annuities and

interest of the foreign loans deposited with the National Bank of Hungary. Concurrently Baron Koranyi, President of the Central Office of Financial Institutes, concluded in London (January 23) a new "standstill" arrangement with the British and American creditors, as a result of which the League of Nations, under certain guarantees, gave its authorisation for the liberation of 50 million pengos out of the "transfer-funds" deposited with the National Bank of Hungary (January 26). The town of Budapest concluded a similar arrangement with its foreign creditors, thus liberating 10 million pengfts for investment (January 18). Another success for Hungary was the verdict of the International Court of Arbitration at The Hague, by which Czechoslovakia was forced to restore to the University of Budapest an agricultural estate of 20,000 acres confiscated in 1919.

The new Austro-Hungarian Commercial Treaty was ratified on January 28, and Count Bethlen took the opportunity to emphasise the necessity of a still more intimate economic collaboration with Austria as well as with Italy. He also urged the Government to respond to the conciliatory allusions made by the Rumanian Minister of Foreign Affairs, M. Titulescu, concerning the desirability of Rumania's economic and political collaboration with Hungary. Premier Gombos on his side expressed his willingness to discuss these questions as soon as the Rumanian Government declared itself ready. It was unfortunate for Hungary that the "Hirtenberg affair" should have occurred just at this juncture. While nothing definite was proved, the affair looked very suspicious, and it did appear that arms were being sent from Italy to Hungary *via* Austria.

The incident tended to increase the distrust of Hungary by the Little Entente. In the opinion of the Liberals, as well as that of the legitimist Royalists and nationalist Agrarians, this distrust must have been aggravated by a series of lectures delivered by Count Bethlen in Germany paying court to the Hitler regime. This opinion found expression in the violent attacks on him delivered by the Christian-Nationalist, M. Zsilinszky, in the House of Commons (March 17-18), who declared that the "Nazi" system would endanger the very existence of Hungary. For similar reasons the Parliamentary Opposition condemned Kanya's policy at the Disarmament Conference at Geneva (March 17), which consisted mainly in a continual support of Germany's demands. This naturally did not prevent M. P. Mesko, leader of the Hungarian Hitlerists, from paying a visit to his master in Berlin (April 4), and the encouragement which he received there was no doubt partly responsible for the excesses committed throughout the rest of the year.

M. Kanya went on a mission to Rome (March 16), but his interview with the Duce only elicited from the latter some expressions designed to allay the international nervousness and to

prove his willingness to help Hungary by strengthening Italy's economic relations with her.

Meanwhile the tension between Hungary and the Little Entente somewhat relaxed, thanks to the renewed assurances of good-will on the part of M. Titulescu, and M. Benes even went so far (April 26) as to admit the possibility—under certain very restricted conditions—of a revision of the Trianon Treaty, in return for adequate compensations. But the anti-Hungarian and anti-revisionist demonstrations in Rumania (May 27), through which many Hungarians lost their life and property, again envenomed the political atmosphere. This naturally had its repercussions in the diplomatic steps which followed and in the Hungarian Parliament, where the Rumanian outrages were violently denounced (May 30).

The visit of M. Jakoncig, Austrian Minister of Commerce, to Budapest (April 24) led to a great strengthening of the economic ties between the two countries, one of the aims of GftmboVs foreign policy which met with general approval. The same could not be said of the Premier's sudden decision to pay a visit to Hitler (June 17). He pretended to be guided solely by economic reasons, but he was vehemently accused by Rassay in the House of Commons (June 22) of seeking rather a political *rapprochement*, calculated to compromise Hungary in the eyes of the Entente countries. Yet, that the pivot of the Premier's general diplomatic activity was really of an economic nature was proved by the simultaneous negotiations with Switzerland, Czechoslovakia, and Yugoslavia. Eventually a commercial agreement was signed with the last-named country (May 15). Great activity was also displayed by the Hungarian delegates, MM. Walko and Imr6dy, at the Economic Conference in London, although the proposals made by the latter with a view to increasing the Hungarian export of cereals were not accepted (June 23).

Great excitement was caused both in France and the countries of the Little Entente by an alleged proposal of Mussolini (June 23) for the union of Austria and Hungary under a restored Habsburg monarchy. Although this was denied, the visit of GombOs to Chancellor Dollfuss in Vienna (July 9) gave further nourishment to such rumours, although on the other hand it at least served to wipe out the bad impression created by the Berlin visit. The basis of Hungarian foreign policy, however, remained friendship with Rome, as a renewed pilgrimage of Gftmbfls and Kanya proved (July 25). This was supplemented by a mission of the Hungarian Minister of Commerce, M. Fabinyi (August 5), for the purpose of concluding a new economic agreement with Italy. Concurrently the Minister of Agriculture, M. Kallay, concluded in Vienna an agreement (August 9) for increasing the quota of cereals to be exported to Austria. Similar results were obtained as regards Germany on the occasion of the visit of Vice-Chancellor von Papen to Budapest (September 21).

As regards France, the Hungarian Premier at last satisfied an important part of public opinion by despatching M. Kanya to Paris (September 14). His interviews, however, with the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, M. Paul-Boncour, brought no nearer to realisation the French plan of a "Danubian Confederation." Hungarian official policy was indeed more in favour of the new Mussolini project (October 3) for a solution of the Danube problem, with the help of the Four-Power Pact, based upon bilateral preferential Customs agreements. As this proposal also eventually obtained the consent of France, there was a double advantage for Hungary in accepting it as a basis for future negotiations.

In the meantime the indefatigable activity of M. Gftmbfts led him to new fields—Ankara and Sofia (October 17). Both these visits were successes from the propagandist point of view, and they also led to arrangements both with Turkey and Bulgaria for stimulating commercial intercourse.

In internal politics a well-organised Government party with strict military discipline saved General GftmbOs from the necessity of losing too much time in Parliamentary debates, although some hard battles had to be fought—for instance, right at the beginning of the session (January 21), when the vehement accusations of the Socialist, M. P. Peyer, regarding official corruption, had to be energetically repelled by the Minister of Justice, M. Lazar, under a constant fire of invective on the part of the Opposition. But these were only a comparatively tame introduction to the general outburst of indignation which greeted the new financial decrees of the Government (February 1). These consisted mainly in a host of new or increased taxes imposed in spite of the Minister of Finance's own admission that the national income had fallen since 1929 from 5 milliards to less than 3 milliards of pengOs. The most novel of M. Imredy's new taxes were those on electric lamps, radio sets, and commercial publicity, while the house tax was increased by 20 per cent., the income tax by 60 per cent., the tax on capital and the invalid tax by 100 per cent., and the taxes on industrial, financial, and commercial societies by 40 per cent. On the other hand, the economies announced by him were few and insignificant, with the exception perhaps of a fresh reduction of the salaries and pensions of Civil servants by 3 to 7 per cent. In spite of the new imposts a total deficit of 150 million pengos was anticipated. The Minister of Finance proposed to cover this partly by a forced internal loan of 45 millions and partly by the issue of 50 million pengos worth of Treasury bills in guarantee of the "transfer funds" liberated by the League of Nations. But even these measures proved to be insufficient, and a month later the Financial Commission of the House of Commons had to authorise the increase of the internal loan to 110 million pengos.

Meanwhile, on account of the general exasperation caused

by the crushing taxation and the desperate economic situation, the Government took the precaution of suspending anew the right of assembly and of political demonstrations (February 7), not without violent protests from the Parliamentary Opposition (February 10). Renewed outbursts of discontent (February 16 and 22) were also caused by the terrorism exercised, according to the Opposition, by Governmental agents at the by-election of Mezokereszt. Concurrently with these the Opposition vehemently pressed once more for the fulfilment of the Premier's solemn promises for the introduction of the secret ballot. Nor was the reform of public administration voted (March 10) without serious objections being raised by the Opposition. On this occasion the Government had also to defend its financial policy and to give categorical assurances that inflation would be avoided at all costs.

The discussion in the House of Commons (March 30) of the final accounts for the financial year 1931-32, showing a deficit of 184·8 million pengos, again brought to the fore the part in it due to the State enterprises, which the Opposition maintained to be squandering public money. The Budget for 1933-34 as presented to the House by M. Imredy (April 7) promised, however, no improvement in this respect, nor any serious reduction of the expenditure on the salaries and pensions of Civil servants. The chief obstacle to a reduction of these disproportionate outlays (which according to the Minister of Finance form 57·8 per cent. of the total State expenditure) is the obligation forced upon Hungary to pay about 87·6 million pengfts for the pensions of Civil servants, natives of former Hungarian provinces now belonging to the Little Entente.

A series of irregularities amply justified the introduction of a Bill (April 24) for the State control of all enterprises in which public funds were invested. This control was also extended to agricultural properties using loans and other help granted by the State to alleviate the agricultural crisis. Such measures were, amongst others : a premium amounting to a total of about 60 million pengfts to supplement the low prices of wheat and milk, a reduction by 2½ per cent, of the interest to be paid on mortgages (April 26), facilities granted to farmers to pay their taxes in cereals (September 12), reduction of the railway rates on the transport of cattle, a moratorium for the payment of the land tax as well as an extension of the general moratorium for the reimbursement of mortgages (October 24). With all these concessions it was no wonder that while thus doubling the burdens of the rest of the taxpayers, M. Imredy had to present a supplementary Budget (July 4) which for the first eleven months of the year amounted to more than 100 million pengos. This explains also why a 50 per cent. reduction in the interest due on foreign loans in foreign currency had to be proposed to the creditors by

the Government (July 15). Yet all these measures proved to be insufficient, and the Minister of Finance had to resort to the National Bank of Hungary for help in the shape of bolder financial measures (October 24) consisting of a series of credit manoeuvres for raising 200 million pengos. This was to finance the reimbursement of the mortgages of the smallholders in instalments of ten years.

Violent attacks were levelled once more against the Government on account of such undisguised favouritism of the agricultural class, at a mass meeting of the representatives of commerce and industry, and in the name of the Civil servants M. Rassay protested in the House of Commons (December 12) against a reduction of the pensions, which meant a saving of 3-5 millions only, while 175 millions had been spent already for the agricultural classes. Yet the governmental party was strong enough to carry through a Bill even when directed against its own supporters (December 18). All that M. Imredy could grant to the industrial, commercial, and intellectual classes was some facilities for the payment of the arrears of taxes.

This year the Financial Controller of the League of Nations made the same remarks (December 24) as in previous years on the specific causes of the disorder of Hungarian finances : the excessive number of Civil servants, the lavish expenditure of the municipalities, and the unbusinesslike management of the State concerns (railways, industrial undertakings, agricultural enterprises). He also noted that although the value of Hungarian exports had increased, the reserves of the National Bank in gold and foreign money had diminished. The report closed with the gloomy prediction that the artificial raising of the price of Hungarian agricultural products would make their export increasingly difficult.

Among political events other than those of an economic nature may be noted a recrudescence of the pro-Habsburg legitimist movement throughout the year. It began with a speech of Count Joseph Karolyi delivered at a meeting of the " Society of National Collaboration " (March 29), where he advocated union with Austria, thus interpreting the views expressed to him by the claimant of the Crown, the Archduke Otto. It was continued by the declarations of Count Sigray in the House of Commons (May 3) in which, while taking up the same argument, he emphasised the necessity of thus counteracting the *Anschluss* of Austria with Germany, as a result of which Hungary would be reduced to a mere colony of Hitler's country. On the other hand, the prospect of a union of Austria with Hungary might induce France and Italy to agree to the restoration of the Habsburg dynasty. These views, however, were far from being shared by General Gombos, who declared himself in the House of Commons (May 18) flatly against a personal union with Austria, and said

that he would never consent that the King of Hungary, instead of being a strictly national ruler, should also be Emperor of Austria. He added the warning that the recrudescence of the legitimist movement would be opposed by his Government. As a consequence of this attitude the opposition of the Legitimists against M. Gombos became much more determined both in the Upper and Lower Houses of Parliament, and led to many spirited attacks (May 23, June 10, June 12, June 22, etc.). These attacks became particularly embittered after a speech of M. Gombos (June 13), in which he referred somewhat disparagingly to the "Child King," and the unfolding of the banner of the new Royalist Parliamentary Party by M. P. Griger (June 27) was certainly hastened by this "insult." The prohibition of the Legitimist banquet (July 6) also contributed to inflame their resentment against Gombos. They could not prevent, however, an extension of the rights of the Governor being voted by the House of Commons (July 8). Neither was the introduction of the new Legitimist party a success in Debrecen (in spite of its democratic guise under the name of "National Popular Party") and street demonstrations against them took place. The Royalists fared still worse on the occasion of their annual banquet in Budapest (November 21), when a pitched battle took place between the Royalists and the anti-Royalist-Hitlerist University students who forced their way into the building where the banquet took place. The outrages of the students continued in the street, where even women were insulted by them.

The same brutality was manifested by the University students belonging to the different extremist organisations, at the renewed anti-Semitic demonstrations and outrages which, during 1933, attained a degree of particular gravity (November 14-December 10) in all Hungarian Universities. As the University authorities once more proved to be impotent to stop these excesses and as, on the other hand, the demands of the students for a tightening of the "numerus clausus" law and the relegation of the Jewish students to the rear benches, the so-called "Ghetto" of the classrooms, could not for international reasons be accepted by the Government, the Minister of Public Instruction had to close the Universities (December 10). The disciplinary steps taken by the University authorities were limited to very few students; besides, punishment was also meted out to an equal number of Jewish students whose only fault, according to the investigations of the Democratic leader, M. Fabian, was to have defended themselves against the aggressors.

The connexion between these events and the intensification of the Hitlerist propaganda was clear enough to a considerable section of public opinion, which regarded them as the consequences of the sympathy of the still powerful extremist circles and the toleration granted to the Hitlerists in spite of the repeated

declarations of the Premier (May 18 and July 14) against the importation of the "Nazi" system into Hungary. Yet a contingent of German Hitlerist students which visited Budapest (August 19) was lodged in public schools, and scenes of disorder naturally followed this visit. Other anti-Semitic Hitlerist demonstrations took place in Budapest (August 27), Debrecen, Gyor, Tapolca, and Nagykanizsa. The participants in this last-named were acquitted (June 7). An important gain from both the political and financial point of view for the Hitlerists was the accession to their ranks of the wealthy landowner, Count Festetics, who in consequence, at the request of M. Gombosi, left the Government Party.

Communist agitations somewhat slackened in 1933, being limited to a street demonstration of the "young-workmen" (February 21), and to the propagandist activity of a group of intellectuals in the schools and Universities, ending in the arrest of 38 of their number (July 19).

A great sensation was caused by the arrest (January 19) of the political emigrant, J. Hock, a former member of the Michael Karolyi Government, and his condemnation to one year's imprisonment and ten years' loss of civil rights on account of some newspaper articles judged to be harmful to the reputation of the country. The former Socialist Minister, Garami, was condemned for the same reasons (August 9).

RUMANIA.

In the course of 1933, Rumania in spite of vigorous efforts made little progress towards extricating herself from her financial difficulties. The relations between the Court and the people were not of the happiest, and public discontent threatened to take violent forms.

After mature consideration, the Government early in the year decided to accept the proposal of the League of Nations Finance Committee, that Rumania should allow the League to appoint controllers to supervise her finances. The Committee had in the autumn made this a condition of granting financial assistance to Rumania, but the proposal was so unpopular that the Government had asked for further time for consideration (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1932, p. 227). Now, however, it saw no alternative, and submitted to the inevitable. In February, an agreement was initialled with the Finance Committee of the League of Nations to come into operation on April 1, by which Rumania pledged herself to balance her Budget and carry out financial reforms that would enable her to repay the loans advanced by the National Bank of Rumania. These reforms were to remain operative till March 31, 1937, and during those four years the Rumanian Government was to accept a Control Committee of three technical experts, while M. Auboin would remain Controller of the National

Bank. M. Lugoshanu, the Minister of Commerce, tried to put the best face on the matter by stating at the end of February that the collaboration of the League experts involved no direct foreign financial control, as Rumania had not asked the League for a loan. In fact, the financial assistance of the League took a somewhat different form. By an agreement concluded in February at Paris between the Rumanian Government and foreign bond-holders, the sinking fund payments in regard to the whole of the foreign debt were suspended as from January 1, 1933, till March 31, 1935, which meant an annual relief to the Rumanian Treasury of 1,533 million lei.

The agreement with the League of Nations was submitted to Parliament in April. The Senate ratified it by a large majority, the Chamber only by 155 votes to 64, after prolonged discussion.

In March, M. Madgearu, the Minister of Finance, submitted his Estimates for 1933-34 to Parliament. His original estimate of expenditure had been 19,000 million lei, but he was forced by the opposition of the Departments to raise it to 23,437 million lei, at which figure he made it balance with revenue. Later in the year, however, he again found himself in difficulties, and on August 14 he was authorised to suspend the transfer of all sums due abroad by the State. Negotiations with the foreign bond-holders were carried on in Paris and London during September and October, and an arrangement was made on October 26 with the French bond-holders by which they consented to forgo a considerable part of their due for the time being. In this way a saving was effected of some 1,300 million lei, which it was thought would enable the Budget to be balanced.

M. Maniu, the Premier, resigned on January 13, in consequence of differences with the King over the appointment of certain of the latter's military favourites to civil positions. He was succeeded by M. Vaida-Voevod, also a member of the National Peasants' Party, who re-formed M. Maniu's Cabinet with M. Nicholas Titulescu as Minister of Foreign Affairs and M. George Mironescu as Minister of the Interior. One of the first acts of the new Cabinet was to proclaim martial law in Bucharest and four other districts in order to combat Communist propaganda. On February 14 over 200 Communists were arrested in different parts of the country. The Government, however, by no means showed a similar energy in suppressing the activities of the Iron Guard, an anti-Semitic organisation having close affinities with that of the Nazis in Germany. As the Iron Guard was strongly opposed to the Court Camarilla, the King looked on this supineness of the Government with displeasure, and although Dr. Vaida-Voevod was personally a favourite of his, friction between them at length reached such a pitch that on November 12 the Cabinet resigned.

On November 14 M. Duca, the Liberal leader, formed a Cabinet with M. Titulescu as Foreign Minister and M. George Bratianu, the Leader of the dissident Liberals, as Minister of Finance. Parliament was convened on November 15 to hear the King's Speech and dissolved a few days later. Elections were held on December 20 on approved " Liberal " lines, as a result of which the Liberals obtained 300 out of 387 seats and the National Peasants were left with only 29 out of their previous 277.

The Government meanwhile had been putting down the Iron Guard and similar organisations with a strong hand. On December 11 searches were made in the headquarters of the Iron Guard at Bucharest and in the provinces, and some 320 members of the party were arrested. On December 21 measures were taken to control the activities of the anti-Semitic Party led by M. Cuza. These steps, and the way in which the elections were conducted, led to a great ferment in certain sections of the people, and on December 30 M. Duca, the Premier, was assassinated on the railway station at Sinaia by a student member of the Iron Guard. The King appointed M. Angelescu, the Minister of Education, Premier. Martial law was proclaimed in nine of the principal towns and many more members of the Iron Guard were arrested. The country as a whole was in a state of great unrest.

At the end of April the Chamber passed a Bill establishing a moratorium for five years for the farmers specified in M. Mironescu's Agricultural Debt Act of 1932 and for certain debtors in towns, and also reducing the principal. Shortly afterwards, in order to ensure to farmers a remunerative return for their crops, the Government established a Commission to purchase large quantities of wheat at a fixed price. A law was also passed for the establishment of a Sugar Commission to fix prices for beet and sugar and to act as a Court of Arbitration in disputes.

A conference of Eastern European Agrarian States, attended by delegates from Rumania, Hungary, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, and Bulgaria, was held at Bucharest on June 2-4. Resolutions were passed demanding the abolition of inter-Governmental debts, monetary stabilisation, restoration of freedom of exchange, abolition of prohibitions and restrictions, and extension of preferential tariffs. The States represented did not think that they should be called upon to curtail production, as none of them had increased the area under cultivation.

On February 16 M. Titulescu on behalf of Rumania signed the new Statute of the Little Entente [*vide* Public Documents]. Explaining the Statute before the Foreign Affairs Committees of the Chamber and Senate on March 17, he pointed out that it contained no military obligations nor any secret military clauses, and did not affect existing treaties or alliances. The Little Entente, he said, was in no sense an instrument of France, and

sincerely desired to maintain friendly relations with Germany and Italy.

In point of fact, relations with Italy at this point were not entirely satisfactory. The Pact of Friendship between Rumania and Italy which expired in January was renewed only for six months and not without difficulty, partly on account of the pro-Magyar policy of Italy. However, an improvement subsequently took place, and no difficulty was experienced in renewing the Pact for another six months in July.

In the same month, Rumania became a party to the two Pacts of Non-Aggression drawn up by the Soviet Government and signed in London. The Bucharest Press noted with much satisfaction that in the Convention Bessarabia was definitely assigned to Rumania. In October, M. Titulescu, the Foreign Minister, made a tour in the course of which he visited the capitals of Poland, Turkey, Bulgaria, Greece, and Yugoslavia. At Warsaw he read a statement to the Press in which he referred to the joint efforts of Rumania and Poland to improve relations between all countries in Eastern Europe. At Ankara he signed a Treaty of Friendship and Non-Aggression with Turkey. On December 10 he met Dr. Benes at Kosice in Eastern Slovakia, and discussed with him the results of his visits to Sofia, Ankara, and Athens. A *communiqué* issued the next day stated that the two Ministers were agreed that the Covenant of the League of Nations must be upheld in its present form. M. Titulescu also took occasion to protest against the propaganda being carried on for territorial revision, which, he said, meant war.

Towards the end of January, King Alexander and Queen Marie of Yugoslavia paid a visit for some days to King Carol at Sinaia. On October 30 King Carol met King Boris of Bulgaria at Ramadan on the Danube. The two monarchs sailed together in the royal yacht to Nicopoli, and discussed the question of the minorities in their respective kingdoms.

YUGOSLAVIA.

During the first four months of the year, the movement for constitutional liberties and national, especially Croatian, self-government gathered considerable force. On January 1 Dr. Korosetch, the Leader of the Slovene Clericals, who had not hitherto formally adhered to the Zagreb manifesto of November 7 (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1932, p. 231), made a pronouncement in which he claimed for the Slovenes the same status as a national unit as that of the other units in the State and an agreement on a democratic basis. In the course of January the Left Wing of the Serb Agrarians issued a circular expressing sympathy with the Zagreb manifesto and accepting the year 1918 as a

starting-point for a national agreement. Statements of a similar tenor were issued by M. Davidovitch, the Serb Democratic ex-Premier, and twenty-eight leading politicians of the Voivodina. Most significant of all, six Croat Deputies and eight Senators of the subservient Skuptschina left the official party, openly attacked the Premier, and declared that far-reaching autonomy must be introduced.

The reply of the Government to these manifestations was to order the internment of the Croat leader, Dr. Matchek, at a village near Sarajevo, and of Dr. Korosetch and his colleague, Dr. Kulovetch, in Central Serbia, and to imprison the Moslem leader, Dr. Spaho, and a number of Serbs. On March 13 Dr. Matchek was removed to a prison in Belgrade, and on April 24 he was brought to trial before the special tribunal for the defence of the State, on a charge of Separatist aims and propaganda against the State. The charges were based mainly on the Zagreb manifesto and on interviews in the *Manchester Guardian*, the *New York Times*, and the *Petit Parisien*. Although no evidence of treason was forthcoming, Matchek was sentenced to three years' imprisonment. The effect of the trial, which had been denounced as a folly by the Foreign Minister, M. Jevtitch, was to draw the Serbs and the Croats closer together in opposition not only to the Government but also to the Throne. The leaders of the four Serb parties issued a strong protest against "this case of political persecution" perpetrated by "an anti-national regime upheld against a whole nation."

In spite of friendly hints from Paris and Prague, the King was firmly bent on maintaining the existing system, and the stage seemed to be set for an obstinate struggle between him and the advocates of decentralisation. At this point, however, the latter, without renouncing their aims, called a truce to their agitation, and they left the Government in peace for the rest of the year. The chief reason was that Italy at this juncture was pursuing a policy which seemed to be highly inimical to Yugoslavia, and even those who were most bitterly opposed to the regime recognised that it was the best defender of Yugoslavian national interests. The Government on its side made some attempts to win popular support. On April 22 a monster meeting was organised at Nish, 40,000 delegates being brought in ninety special trains from all parts of the country to inaugurate the Yugoslavian Radical Peasant Democratic Party in support of the Government. The public, however, received these overtures with apathy. On July 2 the Government Party, which had by this time changed its name to the Yugoslav National Party, held its first Congress at Belgrade; the ex-Premier Uzunovitch was elected President, and MM. Marinkovitch, Srskitich, Maksimovitch, and Kumanudi Vice-Presidents. Forcible deportations and political assassinations, however, still continued, among the victims of the former

being Professor Jovanovitch, leader of the advanced wing of the Serbian Agrarians, and Dr. Misetitch, a well-known Croat, and of the latter M. Predavetch, Vice-President of the Croat Peasant Party. Towards the end of the year the Court was transferred for a month to Zagreb, and the King celebrated there his forty-fifth birthday.

The foreign policy of the Government was marked on the one hand by opposition to the expansionist tendencies of Italy and Germany, on the other hand by the strengthening of friendly relations with Rumania and a certain *rapprochement* with Bulgaria. On March 3 M. Jevtitch, the Foreign Minister, reported to the Senate the protest made by the newly constituted Council of the Little Entente [*vide* Czechoslovakia and Public Documents] at its meeting at Geneva against the ignoring of the rights of the smaller nations in the Four-Power Pact, and he denounced the revisionist agitation being carried on in Hungary and elsewhere. In June the King consented with some misgiving to the signing of the " Eastern Locarno " Pact between the Little Entente and Russia, consoling himself with the thought that it terminated the period of Russo-German understanding ushered in by the Treaty of Rapallo.

The same fear of Germany led Yugoslavia to work for closer union between the Slavonic peoples, the first-fruit of this endeavour being a better understanding with Bulgaria. On his return from his unofficial visit to the West in September, King Boris of Bulgaria, along with Queen Giovanna, stopped at the station at Belgrade, and had a most cordial meeting with King Alexander and Queen Marie. Almost immediately after, a Yugoslav-Bulgarian League was founded at Belgrade, its two chief promoters being General Gjurgjevitch and Professor Zecevitich. King Alexander along with Queen Marie then paid a visit to the King and Queen of Bulgaria, and this was followed in November by the State visit of King Boris and Queen Giovanna to Belgrade. Although these courtesies did not lead to any definite political action, they undoubtedly created a more favourable atmosphere for the discussion of the questions at issue between the two countries.

The economic and financial position of the country remained far from satisfactory. The total trade of Yugoslavia in 1932 was not much more than a third of what it had been in 1928, and 1933 brought no improvement. In June, Yugoslavia informed the United States that it could not pay the annuities demanded of 260,000 dollars and 275,000 dollars, owing to the suspension of the German Reparation payments due to it. On May 8 M. Demetrovitch, the Croat ex-Socialist, resigned from the Cabinet owing to disagreements regarding agrarian reforms.

TURKEY.

The tenth year of the Turkish Republic was in many respects the most notable in its short history, both in the political and in the economic sphere. In the former it was characterised by the definite lead taken by the Turkish Government in promoting the cause of Balkan harmony and co-operation.

The year was marked by much diplomatic activity among the Balkan States, which may well have been promoted by a desire on the part of the other Governments concerned not to appear to lag behind Ankara in the espousal of the cause of peace. On July 3 advantage was taken of the World Economic Conference by Soviet Russia to conclude the London Convention defining the aggressor as a supplement to the Kellogg and Litvinoff Pacts, the eight countries adhering to it being Russia, Afghanistan, Estonia, Latvia, Persia, Poland, Rumania, and Turkey [see under Public Documents]. The Pact was ratified by the Turkish Grand National Assembly on December 26.

The most significant event for Turkey, however, was the signing in Ankara on September 14 of a further Greco-Turkish Treaty. In October, 1930, the two countries had signed a Treaty of Friendship and Arbitration, which formally brought to an end the antagonism between them which had been a basic factor of the situation in the Near East for more than a century. The new treaty recorded their joint resolve to give a new and solemn proof of their attachment to the cause of peace. To this end it was agreed that the two countries mutually guarantee the inviolability of their common frontiers ; that in all international questions affecting their interests they would first consult each other with a view to arriving at a common line of action for the protection of their respective and common interests ; that in all international conferences with limited representation the delegate of one country should represent the common and individual interests of both, the two countries undertaking to endeavour to obtain such representation either in turn or exclusively by the country whose interests are more directly involved ; and that the Pact should remain in force for ten years and become automatically renewed for another ten years, unless denounced by either of the High Contracting Parties one year before its expiration.

The visit of M. Tsaldaris, the Greek Prime Minister, to Ankara for the signing of the Greco-Turkish Treaty was followed by the visit of Ismet Pasha and Tewfik Rushtu Bey, Prime Minister and Foreign Minister respectively of Turkey, to Sofia, the only tangible result of which was the renewal, nine months before its expiry, of the Turco-Bulgarian Treaty of Neutrality, Conciliation and Arbitration, concluded on March 6, 1929. During October Turkey received visits from the King and Queen of Yugoslavia,

who were met at Istanbul by the President, Ghazi Mustapha Kemal (October 4) ; from M. Titulescu, the Rumanian Foreign Minister, who concluded on October 16 a Treaty of Friendship and Non-Aggression between Rumania and Turkey ; from General Gombos, Hungarian Prime Minister, who on October 22 signed the prolongation for five years of the Treaty of Neutrality, Conciliation, and Arbitration between Hungary and Turkey ; and from M. Voroshiloff, Russian Commissar of War and Marine, and M. Karakhan, Assistant Commissar for Foreign Affairs, in connexion with the celebrations of the tenth anniversary of the Republic. Finally, the agreements with Balkan neighbours were rounded off by a Turco-Yugoslav Treaty of Friendship, Arbitration, and Conciliation, signed on November 27 in Belgrade by Tewfik Rushtu Bey, to remain in force for five years.

On October 29, the Day of the Republic, special celebrations were held in 1933 in honour of the tenth anniversary. A three-day public holiday was proclaimed, every town, village, building, and dwelling place was decorated by day and illuminated by night, and speeches were delivered throughout the country by selected orators, who dwelt on the achievements of New Turkey and the progress made during the last ten years.

During 1933 the financial position registered a slight improvement. As a result of a prudent estimate of revenue and a rigorous application of economies in expenditure the Budgetary situation for 1932-33 (the financial year runs from July to June) proved satisfactory. Estimates had provided for a revenue of 169,354,800l.T., and an expenditure of 169,146,747l.T. Actual receipts, according to a preliminary announcement of the Treasury, amounted to 174,841,251l.T., or an excess over estimates of 5,486,451l.T. There was also an additional sum available of 11,270,392l.T. in respect of encashments effected in 1926, 1927, and 1929, carried forward to receipts in 1932-33. Expenditure during the same period amounted to 170,005,080l.T., as compared with an estimated 169,146,747l.T., or an increase of 858,333l.T. The Treasury was able to reduce the debt of 20,000,000l.T. arising from the Budgetary deficits of 1930-31 and 1931-32 by 10,000,000Z.T.

On April 22 the Turkish Government and the Council of the Repartitioned Public Debt of the former Ottoman Empire concluded in Paris an agreement, superseding that of 1928 (which had reduced Turkey's annual payments for debt redemption from 6,500,000l.T. gold to 2,000,000Z.T. gold), for the reorganisation and resumption of the service of the Turkish share of the Ottoman Debt. The new agreement provided for the creation of Turkish National Bonds for an amount of 962,636,000 francs (about 7,700,000l.), of which 940,193,000 francs represented Turkey's quota of the old Ottoman Public Debt and 22,443,000 francs were in settlement of other claims against Turkey. The agreement was ratified by the Grand National Assembly on May 28.

For the purpose of adjusting her trade balance Turkey introduced both increased tariffs and quotas. The latter, restricting goods imported, were at first on broad and general lines and allocated according to tariff categories. The quota system had been amended in September, 1932, by the application of the compensation system, which provided for the importation of foreign goods against the export of Turkish products of equal value ; but the abuses to which this latter system gave rise caused a decree to be issued on August 20 suppressing it. Subsequently, however, compensation was re-established (September 18) until November 20, and the system was to be maintained for one year as regards imports to be made against the export of minerals (with the exception of coal). After November 20 the value of these imports was not to exceed half that of the minerals exported, the other half having to be returned to Turkey in the form of currency. Moreover, in 1933 the system of quotas on general lines gave place to the allocation of definite quantities to particular countries.

A Commercial Agreement with Greece, concluded on May 9, which came into force on June 1, was intended to facilitate payment for trade between the two countries and to enable Greece to redress to some extent her adverse trade balance by means of a guaranteed share of freights for Greek ships. Greece was enabled to export to Turkey goods to a value of 100 million drachmae, as compared with 8 to 10 millions, the value of her exports previously, and Turkey would export to Greece goods to the value of 350 million drachmse. Greece was to pay for Turkish goods at the rate of 70 per cent. in currency and 30 per cent. in bonds, which were to be used, as to 25 per cent., for the payment of goods exported into Turkey, and, as to 5 per cent., for the cost of transport effected from Turkey to Greece or elsewhere under the Greek flag. At the end of the first three months the relative percentages were to be changed to 65 and 35 per cent. Trade agreements with France and Germany were also concluded during the year.

On May 31 the Government promulgated, shortly before the opening of the World Economic Conference in London, a new Customs Law providing for a general and heavy increase of duties on manufactured goods. The application of the new Law was almost simultaneously postponed for three months in regard to imports from countries having commercial treaties with Turkey.

With a view to the more rapid development of industry, which was practically non-existent before the advent of the republican regime, the Ministry of National Economy drew up during the year an economic five-year plan. Under this scheme the Government proposed to devote to industrial purposes the credit of 16,000,000l.T. opened by Soviet Russia for the supply of industrial machinery and a sum of from 25,000,000l.T. to 30,000,000l.T.

to be spread over the five or more financial years, 1934-38. The programme includes the foundation of new wool and cotton factories ; the installation of glass and paper factories ; the creation of an iron industry, with iron ore from the Kayseri district; the development of production in the Eregli-Zonguldak coal-field, by the rationalisation of the processes at present employed, by the fitting up of Zonguldak or Eregli port and by the eventual construction of a coastal railway line connecting Filyos, Zonguldak, and Eregli; the resumption of work in mines abandoned through lack of capital, and increased production in those already worked ; intensification of research undertaken by the Departments created in June, 1933, in respect of oil and gold. At the same time the five-year plan, with a view to developing external trade, embodied the following programme : the standardisation of exported articles, for their better protection against falsification ; the creation of a special Department to promote the distribution abroad of local products ; and the establishment of an organisation for the control of trade, in conformity with the engagements which Turkey assumed on her entry into the League of Nations.

In April the Grand National Assembly passed a Bill creating the Sumer Bank to manage all industrial enterprises owned by the State, to study industrial projects, with a view to creating new branches of industrial activity, and to supervise the training of Turkish engineers, experts and skilled workmen at home and abroad.

On June 5 the Ottoman Bank's concession, which was due to expire on March 1, 1935, was prolonged until March 1, 1952, under a new agreement by which the Bank undertook to open a credit of 2,500,000Z. in favour of the Turkish Government.

An important development in connexion with the extension of railway construction was the Turkish Government's decision, ratified by the Grand National Assembly on January 12, to float an internal loan for the building of the Shefkatli-Arghana (copper mines) section (55 miles) of the Fevzipasha-Diarbekir railway, which is being constructed by a Swedish group. The loan for 12,000,000l.T. was to be issued in three instalments of 4,000,000l.T. each. The first instalment was over-subscribed, and the second was still open to subscription at the end of the year. The Grand National Assembly also authorised the construction of the Afiun Karahissar-Adalia line, at a cost of 25,000,000l.T., and of the Sofular-El Aziz branch (15 miles) of the Fevzipasha-Arghana line, at a cost of 600,000l.T.

During the year an issue of silver coins to the amount of 12,000,000l.T., in the place of deteriorated notes of 17.T., and an issue of nickel and bronze coins, to the amount of 7,000,000l.T., to replace the copper coinage of the Sultanate was authorised by the Grand National Assembly (June 7).

In pursuance of the policy of making Turkey self-supporting

a list of professions and minor trades that would be closed to foreigners as from July, 1933, was promulgated earlier in the year. The foreign population of Turkey amounts hardly to $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of the total population, and the foreigners mostly affected were to be found in Istanbul. By a later enactment the measure was to be enforced gradually, in six periods of three months each, as from December 1, 1933. As part of the same policy may be mentioned the reorganisation of Istanbul University. On May 31 a Bill passed the Grand National Assembly abolishing the existing University (*Darulfunun*) and creating a new University with four Faculties, which was inaugurated on November 18. The reorganisation was carried out under the supervision of a Swiss Professor, M. Albert Malche. The whole of the former teaching body was discharged on July 31; about one-third were re-engaged for the new University, and thirty-eight foreign professors (many of them Germans who had been forced to leave Germany under the Nazi regime) were appointed.

GREECE.

Politically the year 1933 may come to be associated in Greece with the final loosening of the remarkable hold that M. Venizelos had exercised over his country for practically a quarter of a century. The elections of September 25, 1932, resulted in the formation of a Tsaldaris Ministry which was a minority Government (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1932, p. 237). On January 8 differences of opinion in the Cabinet led to the resignation of the Minister of Finance, who objected to the policy of including in the Budget the amount required to meet the 30 per cent. of the interest on foreign loans which Greece had undertaken to pay. M. Angelopoulos was succeeded by a banker, M. Spiridion Loverdos. Three days later M. Venizelos attacked the Government's financial policy and announced that he would support the Cabinet only on the condition that the Ministers of War and Marine were replaced by officers on the active list. The vote of confidence asked for by M. Tsaldaris was rejected, and the Government resigned. On January 15 M. Venizelos formed his eighth Ministry, but he had no mind to risk an adverse vote in the Chamber and took advantage of Article 79 of the Constitution, which provides that the President may dissolve the Chamber before the end of the legislative session on decision taken by the Senate according to its own proposal and voted by the absolute majority of its members. The Chamber was accordingly dissolved on January 23, and elections for a new Chamber were held on March 5. These elections resulted in the return of 131 members of the Populist group, 111 Liberals, and 6 Independents.

On the evening of March 5 General Plastiras, who had headed

the revolution of 1923 against the Monarchy, was in M. Venizelos's house, receiving the results of the elections as they came in and were reported to the Prime Minister. Towards midnight, when it was evident that the Populist Party had obtained a majority, General Plastiras left M. Venizelos, took possession of the Ministry of War, and ordered the streets of Athens to be patrolled by troops and armoured cars. All the day's newspapers were suppressed, to prevent the results of the elections from becoming known, and by mid-day proclamations announced that General Plastiras and a few others had been obliged to take charge of the situation until a strong Government could enter upon office. The Parliamentary system, it was declared, had failed, and the unfortunate results of the elections were a prelude to anarchy and civil war. The bulk of the Athens garrison refused to support General Plastiras, and the populace of the capital remained apathetic. Discussions took place between the President of the Eepublic (M. Zaimis), M. Venizelos, M. Tsaldaris, and General Othonaios, and the latter was appointed by the President to form a temporary Government for the purpose of restoring law and order, and to hand over the administration of the country to the party that had secured the majority of votes at the election. There had been some fighting in the streets, but with few casualties, and by the evening the revolution had been quashed. A warrant was issued for the arrest of General Plastiras, but he remained in hiding for a month and then succeeded in making his escape to the island of Rhodes.

M. Tsaldaris became Prime Minister, and the new Government took office on March 10. For the rest of the year the internal political situation was largely dominated by efforts to liquidate the Plastiras *coup d'etat* and the sequel to it—an attempt on the life of M. Venizelos. On the evening of June 6 the Liberal leader and Mme. Venizelos were returning by car from Kephissia to Athens, followed by another car containing members of M. Venizelos's personal bodyguard. At a distance of some six miles from Athens the two cars were intercepted by a third, the occupants of which immediately began to fire at both cars. The rear car had its front tyres punctured and one of the passengers was mortally wounded. M. Venizelos's car drove on towards Athens, the assailants in the strange car following and continuing to fire at it. The chauffeur was wounded and Mme. Venizelos was injured by broken glass, but M. Venizelos escaped unscathed, in spite of the fact that some fifty shots were fired at the car.

The police failed to discover the would-be assassins of M. Venizelos. A court of inquiry carried out a desultory and mainly ineffective investigation, but evidence was forthcoming of complicity or connivance in high police quarters, and two officials were arrested. At the end of the year the magistrate in charge of the investigation was superseded and a member of the Court

of Appeal was appointed in his place ; but the identity of the culprits had not been established.

The liquidation of the *coup d'etat* proved the main source of dispute between the Government and Opposition Parties throughout the year. The Government had decided that the senior officers who had supported General Plastiras should be retired from the Army, and secured the approval of the Chamber for the measure. The Bill was thrown out by the Senate, with its strong Liberal majority, but the Government held to its policy and the Bill became law. At the same time M. Metaxas, Leader of the Party of Free Opinion, which was represented in the Government, insisted upon the impeachment of M. Venizelos on the charge of complicity in the Plastiras *coup d'etat*. When the impeachment motion came before the Chamber, M. Venizelos, speaking in his own defence, made a provocative statement in eulogy of General Plastiras, which caused an uproar. He and his followers thereupon left the Chamber, and the party resolved to absent itself from further debates until the Government could guarantee free speech and the protection of Deputies. When the Chamber, after an adjournment necessitated by the absence of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs and Finance abroad, resumed its sittings, M. Tsaldaris refused to allow the impeachment motion to be discussed in the absence of M. Venizelos and his fellow-Liberals. Ultimately, as M. Metaxas was not to be deterred from his purpose, the Prime Minister cut the ground from under his feet by proclaiming an amnesty for all political offenders concerned in the *coup d'etat* of March 6. M. Metaxas's nominee in the Cabinet resigned.

M. Tsaldaris was responsible for an innovation in Greek public life in making political appeasement the corner-stone of his policy. He ignored all provocation coming from the Liberal Party, and repeatedly tried to bring about an understanding with M. Venizelos, but the latter failed to respond. On assuming office, M. Tsaldaris had established a private agreement, through intermediaries, with M. Venizelos, by which the latter undertook to refrain for one year from embarrassing the Government with internal dissension, and the Prime Minister undertook to refrain from interfering with the Senate, from altering the electoral law, and from following the invariable custom in Greek party politics of changing the personnel of the Civil Service, in this case by installing anti-Venizelists in the place of Venizelists. When M. Tsaldaris sought to side-track M. Metaxas's proposal for the impeachment of M. Venizelos by the adjournment of the Chamber, the latter forced the issue by insisting upon being heard in his own defence, with the consequent disturbance in the Chamber. A mutual friend of the two leaders, himself a Liberal, arranged a meeting between them in the autumn, but it proved abortive owing to the uncompromising attitude of M. Venizelos, and shortly

afterwards the latter threatened the country with civil war and acts of terrible vengeance which few of its enemies would survive, if the Government persisted in its policy of retiring from the Army the senior officers implicated in the Plastiras *coup d'etat*. The proclamation of the amnesty and the introduction of certain measures in regard to the policing of the Chamber and supervision of the debates secured the return of the Opposition Deputies to Parliament, but the tension between the two main parties remained acute at the end of the year.

At the General Election on March 5 the Jews of Salonika had been required, under a measure introduced by the Government of M. Venizelos, to vote on a separate list. The Courts decided that this proceeding was unconstitutional, and a fresh election was held on July 2. Of the 20 seats involved 18 had been held by Venizelists and 2 by Populists. At the new election the Liberals captured all the seats, but the Government won two by-elections elsewhere, and the relative position of the two parties in the Chamber remained the same.

In the domain of foreign affairs Greece played a full part in the political activities of the Balkan States. Visits to Athens were paid by the Turkish Foreign Minister, Tewfik Rushtu Bey, on July 16, and the Rumanian Foreign Minister, M. Titulescu, on October 20. On September 14 M. Tsaldaris and his Foreign Minister, M. Maximos, signed in Ankara the Greco-Turkish Treaty of mutual security and diplomatic co-operation [*vide* under Turkey] in amplification of the treaty of 1930. Trade agreements were signed during the year: with Turkey, to come into force from June 1 for six months (renewed on December 22); with Albania, to come into force from July 15 for six months; and with Soviet Russia on September 8. In November negotiations were opened in Athens with Bulgaria for the settlement of economic questions outstanding between the two countries, but no result had been reached by the end of the year. In December M. Maximos started on a tour which took him to Zagreb, to meet King Alexander and members of the Yugoslav Government, and to Paris, Rome, and London, the object of the visits being in part to make known to the respective Governments the steps then being taken towards co-operation among the Balkan States, and in part to "introduce" the new regime in Greece to the Great Powers, who had been so long accustomed to deal with M. Venizelos as the fountain-head of Greek policy.

The Fourth Balkan Conference met at Salonika from November 5 to November 12. Its resolutions covered a wide range of subjects. It renewed the wish expressed by previous conferences that the Foreign Ministers of the six countries should meet annually with a view to furthering the general *rapprochement* of the Balkan States, and renewed the resolution of the Third Conference regarding the Balkan Pact in requesting the respective Governments

to conclude a multi-lateral pact on the basis of the principles contained in the draft scheme adopted by the Third Conference.

General economic conditions in Greece during 1933, in spite of some fluctuations, were satisfactory. There was a record harvest, with a greater area under cultivation ; the increase in retail sales and an improved financial position, helped by the fall of the dollar and the consequent arrest of the exodus of capital, steadied the drachma and held out hopes of a gradual emergence of the country from the slough of the depression. The holding of the Bank of Greece in gold and foreign exchange increased from 1,883 million drachmae at the beginning of the year to 3,994 million towards the end of December; the discount rate was reduced from 9 to 7½ per cent. in June and to 7 per cent. in October. Although the Tsaldaris Government had decided in December, 1932, to honour the agreement, entered into during the previous September with the Council of Foreign Bond-holders and the League Loans Committee, for the payment of 30 per cent. of the interest due on the League loans, it was found that the amount involved too severe a strain on the Exchequer, and further negotiations took place for a reduction of this percentage. As the bond-holders refused to accept the Greek offer to pay 22½ per cent. for 1933-34 and 27½ per cent. for 1934-35, negotiations were broken off on April 11. They were subsequently renewed, and on November 7 agreement was reached, on the basis that Greece should pay 27½ per cent. for 1933-34 and 35 per cent. for 1934-35. Greece undertook to enter the amount required to meet the payment in her 1933-34 Budget, and was authorised to borrow in drachmae the part of the interest not transferred, on depositing the equivalent in drachmae Treasury bonds bearing no interest. She agreed also that, in the event of more favourable terms being accorded to any other foreign loans made by the State, the bond-holders should have the benefit of the same terms. The service of the loans after April, 1935, was to be the subject of further negotiations. Under these terms the sum to be paid by Greece as interest in 1933-34 amounted to 613 million drachmae, and in 1934-35 to 784 millions. The bond-holders refused the Greek request for a definitive settlement of the debt question. The agreement with the bond-holders had the effect of increasing the Budget deficit from 325 million drachmae, when submitted, to 650 million drachmae as finally voted, with provision for the enhanced debt payments and for an increase in Civil Service salaries.

Excavations on the site of Ancient Athens were continued during the year by the Greek authorities and by the American School in the Agora. The former revealed the enclosing wall of Plato's Academy and the Gymnasium and located the positions of the Metroon (Temple of the Mother of the Gods) and the Bouleuterion (meeting chamber of the Five Hundred Counsellors);

the American School discovered the remains of a stoa with Ionic columns.

BULGARIA.

As in 1932, so in 1933, Bulgaria was kept in a state of unrest by quarrels between the Agrarians and the Government, and of the Agrarians among themselves, by the spread of Communism, and by a revival of the feud among the Macedonian revolutionaries (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1932, p. 239).

If after the reconstruction of his Government on December 30, 1932, by changing the portfolios held by the Agrarian Ministers, M. Mushanoff obtained more harmony in his Cabinet, its stability was threatened not long afterwards by an interpellation, brought by the Agrarian Vice-President of the *Sobranie*, which was directed nominally against the Agricultural Bank, but was aimed actually at the Agrarian leader in the Cabinet, who had been Minister of Agriculture at the time when the acts complained of took place. The Government majority held firm and the demand for a Parliamentary inquiry was rejected. Thereafter Agrarian co-operation within the Government seemed to rest on a sincerer basis, owing to the pressure exercised by hostile critics within the Agrarian Union. By March 5 the four Agrarian leaders who had been in exile, MM. Athanassoff, Stoyanoff, Oboff, and Kosta Thodoroff, had returned to Bulgaria in virtue of the amnesty. They challenged at once the right of M. Ghitcheff, Minister of Commerce and Labour, to the leadership of the Union, but their campaign did not meet with much success. Subsequently there were three clearly defined antagonistic sections among the Agrarians, and when the Congress of the Agrarian Union opened on October 23 one section held a separate conference of its own. The Congress, however, showed that the great majority of the party were behind M. Ghitcheff and his colleagues in the Cabinet; the dissident section was excluded from the Union for three years, and M. Zakhariieff, the leader, was deprived of his post of Vice-President of the *Sobranie*.

The early part of the year was marked by considerable activity on the part of the Communists. Encouraged by the possession of thirty-one seats in the *Sobranie* and the capture of the Sofia Municipal Council, they took full advantage of the severe economic distress throughout the country; an extensive propaganda was carried on in schools and barracks, and Communists were held responsible for numerous disturbances. Uneasiness over the expansion of the Communist movement increased. Already in January the organisation of Army Officers of the Reserve had called upon the Government in a striking memorandum to bring about the immediate dissolution of the Labour Party, on the ground that it was merely a camouflage for the Communist Party

that had been forbidden by a special law to exist. The Communists countered the threat of legal proscription by threatening a general strike ; but the Government struck first, and on April 12 the Sobranie declared the mandates of the Communist deputies cancelled. Of the thirty-one members of the group two claimed to have left it ; the remaining twenty-nine were expelled from Parliament. At the same time the seats of municipal and rural councillors of avowed or suspected Communist leanings were declared forfeited, and all Government officials coming within the same category were to be dismissed. These measures did not, however, put a stop to Communist activities. In September conflicts with the police occurred in Sofia and Philippopolis, numerous arrests were made, and sixteen Communists were condemned to death by a military court.

The feud between the Mihailoffist and Protogueroffist factions of the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organisation reached its zenith during the year, and the resultant murders of members of both factions became so frequent and were carried out so openly that the lives of the ordinary citizens of Sofia were endangered. There had been a short lull in the second week of February, during the holding of a Macedonian Congress at Gorna Jumaia—a gathering notable for the attendance of an official emissary of Mihailoff, the head of the Revolutionary Organisation. His speech to the Congress and the resolution in favour of an independent Macedonian State provoked a protest in Sofia from the Yugoslav Government against the attitude of the Bulgarian authorities in tolerating the Congress. Attempts to bring about a truce between the two factions were at first not successful, and eventually the Government was forced to take action. Early in May an order was issued regulating the carrying of firearms, but it failed to stop the murders. On June 25, after the passing, two days previously, of a law introducing capital punishment for political murder, attempted murder, or complicity in either, martial law was proclaimed in Sofia ; all the inhabitants were kept indoors throughout the day, a house to house search for arms was carried out, and a certain number of arrests was made. The appointment of a new Prefect of Police was followed at the beginning of July by more effective action on the part of the authorities, and some of the leading Protogueroffists were arrested. An appeal to the rival factions by the Macedonian National Committee led to the publication of statements from both, but no basis for any understanding between them was found. An uneasy truce, however, was observed, less as a result of any abandonment of hostility than in consequence of the clear risk to both sides from the exhaustion of Bulgarian patience.

Towards the end of 1932 Bulgaria, as a result of her financial plight, had been obliged to place herself again in the hands of the League of Nations. The Prime Minister and the Director of the

Public Debt visited Geneva, Paris, and London in March to open negotiations with the bond-holders with a view to obtaining a moratorium for a year, a reduction in the rate of interest and a substantial writing-off of pre-war loans. As a result of the various conversations a Committee of Inquiry of the League of Nations was sent to examine the Bulgarian situation on the spot. Since her default in the spring of 1932 Bulgaria had met 50 per cent. of the service of her League loans during the first half-year and 40 per cent. during the second half-year; from May, 1933, she met only 25 per cent. of the interest. The genuineness of her plight was recognised and certain measures of relief were sanctioned. It was found that the Budget for 1933-34, estimated at 6,000 million leva, would show a deficit of 1,300 million, and Bulgaria was called upon to make the necessary economies. As an additional revenue of 400 million leva was expected from new financial measures, Budgetary equilibrium was accordingly established at 5,100 million leva. To meet immediate needs in regard to the liquidation of Treasury arrears the Government was authorised to raise the normal limit of Treasury issues to 1,100 million leva and to increase for one year the issue of Treasury bonds up to 800 million leva. Negotiations with the bond-holders were resumed in the autumn. The Financial Committee of the League agreed to abandon its project of attaching a foreign expert to the Bulgarian Ministry of Finance to supervise the collection of taxes and a new arrangement was sanctioned in regard to the two League loans. The sums blocked in the National Bank during the period from April 1, 1932, to April 1, 1934, were to be freed, interest on sums not transferred was to be reduced for the same period from 6 per cent. to 2 per cent. ; 10 per cent. (60,000,000 leva) of the sum due was to be transferred in four bi-annual payments as from January 1, 1934, the remaining 90 per cent. being released. The resulting benefit was the release of a sum amounting to 830,000,000 leva for the Bulgarian Government, which undertook to include the full service of the loans in its Budget.

The question of the furthering of co-operation or a good understanding in the Balkan Peninsula acquired considerable prominence during the year. The policy adopted by Bulgaria, while emphasising her desire for peace, has been to make the satisfaction of her claims against her neighbours (which covered territorial and economic questions as well as the problem of Minorities) a necessary preliminary to the conclusion of treaties. One effect of the Little Entente Pact of February 16 [*vide* under Public Documents] and of the London Treaty defining an aggressor had been to emphasise her isolation, but she still showed no inclination to avail herself of any opportunity of forming a separate pact with Turkey and Greece. At the same time there had been clear evidence of a tendency for relations between Yugoslavia

and Bulgaria to improve. Throughout the year visits were exchanged by various Yugoslav and Bulgarian societies and organisations ; comparatively little was made of the incident when Yugoslav military aeroplanes came down on Bulgarian soil in July ; at the end of August an agreement regarding the frontier questions was reached by the two Governments, and on September 29 a Bulgaro-Yugoslav Society was inaugurated in Bulgaria as the counterpart of a similar society in Yugoslavia. The meeting of King Boris and Queen Giovanna with the King and Queen of Yugoslavia at Belgrade station on September 18 invested the *detente* between the two countries with an official character, and was followed by the visit of King Alexander and Queen Marie to Euxinograd, near Varna, the summer residence of Bulgarian sovereigns, on October 3, and the State visit of the latter to Belgrade on December 10. Instead of acquiescing in Bulgarian isolation, her neighbours showed an anxiety to secure her adherence to a scheme of Balkan co-operation. The Turkish Prime Minister and Foreign Minister visited Sofia on September 20, the Rumanian Foreign Minister on October 12. The Hungarian Prime Minister and Foreign Minister were also the guests of the Bulgarian Government during the latter month (October 18), and on October 30 King Boris met King Carol of Rumania on the Danube, spending a few hours with him on a yacht. By the end of the year, however, no definite outcome to all this diplomatic activity had emerged.

On January 13 a daughter was born to the King and Queen, and three days later was baptised according to the rites of the Bulgarian Orthodox Church. This baptism of the infant, which drew a formal protest from the Vatican on the ground that it was in conflict with the undertaking given by King Boris and Princess Giovanna before their marriage, was justified by the Bulgarian Government, in assuming responsibility, on the ground that it was in the higher interests of the Bulgarian nation.

ALBANIA.

Towards the end of 1932 strong feeling was manifested against the introduction of Italians in increasing numbers into important posts in the Albanian services, and on December 7 the Prime Minister, M. Pandeli Evangheli, was compelled to resign. The crisis was not terminated till January 12, when M. Evangheli returned to office as Prime Minister and Minister of Justice and Economy. The pro-Italian policy was gradually resumed, and in August decrees were issued that the teaching of Italian should be compulsory in all secondary schools, and that 80 per cent, of the Albanians sent abroad to pursue higher studies should attend Italian universities.

CHAPTER V.

LESSER STATES OF WESTERN AND NORTHERN EUROPE : BELGIUM
— NETHERLANDS — SWITZERLAND — SPAIN — PORTUGAL —
DENMARK—SWEDEN—NORWAY—FINLAND.

BELGIUM.

THE Ministry of Count de Broqueville, which had been formed at the end of 1932, remained in office throughout the year. In the middle of February it was defeated on an interpellation of the Socialists regarding some irregularity in a village communal election, and the Prime Minister thereupon handed in his resignation to the King. The latter, however, refused to accept it, on the ground that the defeat had been on a trivial matter and should not deter the Ministry from applying itself to the vital task of restoring the finances and the economic welfare of the nation. After a day's consideration, the Cabinet decided to remain in office, and on February 21 Count de Broqueville obtained a vote of confidence by 94 votes to 76.

The defeat of the Government was due in no small measure to a lack of proper collaboration between the two elements among its supporters, the Catholics and the Liberals. The President of the Liberal Party, M. Deveze, who was also Minister for National Defence, found more support for his defence policy among the Catholics than among his own followers. Accordingly on March 12 he resigned his Presidency of the party, on the ground that his position as Liberal leader was incompatible with his position as a member of the Government, which he felt had the first claim on his duty.

One of M. Deveze's acts early in the year was to forbid the distribution in barracks of the official Socialist newspaper, *Le Peuple*, on the ground that it created unrest in the Army. For this he was charged by Socialist Deputies on March 1 with interfering with the freedom of the Press. He thereupon brought in a Bill, applying to civilians as well as soldiers, rendering liable to punishment all who imperilled recruiting or undermined discipline, and on the following day the Chamber approved the Order forbidding the distribution of *Le Peuple* by 82 votes to 69.

The apprehensions of Belgium with regard to a possible invasion from Germany were greatly intensified by the advent of the Nazi regime, and additional efforts were in consequence made to strengthen the frontier on that side. On March 16 M. Deveze stated that 150 million francs would be allotted to the defences of the valley of the Meuse, of which 58 million francs would be used for those near Liege, and that a new regiment of Chasseurs Ardennais would be formed. It was further announced that all

troops had been provided with gas masks, and that provision of gas masks for the civil population was contemplated. A Cabinet meeting held under the Presidency of the King on October 11 unanimously approved a programme for the strengthening of the national defences by means of a defensive line on the eastern frontier with equipment for military defences on the plateau of Herve, about ten miles east of Liege, additional artillery and aeroplane squadrons, and reserves of ammunition. The estimated cost of this scheme was 75 million francs. On December 12 it obtained the approval of the Senate by 80 votes to 59, and ten days later of the Chamber, by 86 votes to 50. The Socialists opposed on both occasions, though M. Vandervelde, the Socialist leader, expressed the view that, if Germany rejected the Disarmament Conference, the economic and financial sanctions contemplated in the Treaty of Versailles should be enforced against her.

Feeling against the Nazis was very bitter in Belgium, and the introduction of the Swastika emblem into the country was strictly forbidden. During the Labour demonstrations at Liege on May 1 a Nazi flag was torn down from the German Consulate, and a few days later it was exhibited by a Communist Deputy in the Chamber without calling forth protest. In the middle of September four members of a party of English schoolboys who were crossing into Belgium from Germany were observed to be wearing small Swastika badges, and the whole party were ordered to return to Aix-la-Chapelle at their own expense and to leave the badges there.

On November 29 M. Hymans, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, made a statement in the Chamber in which he said that the situation in Europe was difficult and dangerous, and called for the greatest courage and coolness. In spite of Herr Hitler's pacific declarations, the withdrawal of Germany from the Disarmament Conference and the League of Nations must be regarded as a disquieting symptom. Belgium, he said, was keeping in contact and consultation with other interested Powers ; the Government was opposed to the idea of using force, but she was resolved to resist all violent assaults on her independence, and she would use all her resources, moral, economic, and military, to protect her frontiers and safeguard her liberties.

Even apart from the strain imposed by the requirements of national defence, the task of balancing the Budget was difficult enough, owing to the loss of reparation payments and the shrinkage of foreign trade. Early in the year, in the face of strong Socialist protests, the Government sought to raise an additional 600 million francs by direct taxation and 300 million by indirect. As this was not sufficient to balance the Budget, M. Hymans on May 9 introduced a Bill to confer on the Government emergency financial powers for three months. The Bill was passed by the Chamber

on May 12 after a debate lasting twenty-five hours by 96 votes to 82, and on May 17 by the Senate after a debate of sixteen hours by 91 votes to 16. In virtue of its new powers, the Government on May 31 issued a Decree reducing wages, salaries, and pensions of State servants, and old age pensions by 5 per cent., and increasing the National Crisis tax by $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. Unemployment pay and State subsidies were also reduced. The Decree caused a great outcry among the Socialists, and some of the Liberals joined with them in declaring that the Government was exceeding its powers, and demanding the immediate convocation of Parliament. The Government, though it did not comply with this demand, yielded so far as to introduce some modifications into the Decree.

When the Chamber reassembled on July 18, M. Vandervelde attacked the Government for having, as he said, balanced the Budget at the expense of the working classes. After a debate running over several days, the Government on July 25 secured a majority of 97 votes to 79. On September 15 the Government issued a loan of 1,500 million francs, at 5 per cent., which was over-subscribed in the course of the same day. On December 15 M. Jaspar, the Minister of Finance, announced that the Budget for 1934 had an estimated surplus of 170 million francs.

Towards the end of the year, the Government, acting on the advice of a Commission which had been set up in 1932 to examine the matter, but against the wishes of several of its members, proposed to restore to their positions 74 Civil servants out of a total of about 5,000 who had been dismissed after the Armistice in 1918 for having during the war co-operated with the German Army of Occupation. The news caused a great commotion in the country, and on December 31 some 8,000 ex-Service men from all parts of the country assembled in Brussels in front of the Royal Palace shouting, "Long live the King! Down with the traitors!" The King in reply stated that the Government had not yet submitted to him any such proposal, and that he would never sanction a measure which would restore to their offices as servants of the State those who had failed in their duty to the country during the war.

At the Congress of the Belgian Labour Party held in Brussels in May, apprehensions were expressed that the way was being prepared for a dictatorship. At a special Congress of the party held in December, a new plan of economic reconstruction was expounded by M. Henri de Man, one of the leading intellectuals of the movement. It was based in part on the principle of the nationalisation of credit. It was at first opposed by M. Vandervelde, but he subsequently accepted it, and it was finally adopted by the Congress without dissent.

THE NETHERLANDS.

The Governmental crisis, which had been averted in the last weeks of 1932, broke out again in the early days of February, when the Second Chamber passed a motion by a Liberal member in which the opinion was expressed that retrenchments in the cost of judicial and legal organisation were necessary and possible, but that the closing of a large number of Courts and District Courts as proposed by the Government was undesirable. The motion was passed by 51 votes to 38, only the Roman Catholics and Anti-Revolutionaries voting against it. The Minister of Justice, Dr. Donner, had previously announced that the Government could not be expected to acquiesce in the adoption of such a motion.

The Minister thereupon requested that the debate should be adjourned. At the same time, a statement was published on behalf of the Government that rumours concerning a dissolution of the Cabinet were without foundation.

It was not easy to find a solution of the crisis. There was indeed a deeper ground for discontent against the "extra-parliamentary" Cabinet of M. Ruys de Beerenbrouck. It had never been in a strong position. The fatal blow came a few days before, by the mutiny in the East Indian waters on board the *Zeven Provinciën* (*vide* Dutch East Indies), which gave the impression of weakness on the part of the Government.

In view of the unprecedented difficulties, both economic and otherwise, the Cabinet did not consider itself justified in resigning. It advised the Queen to dissolve the Second Chamber, in part at least, in order to open the way for the anticipated formation of a parliamentary Cabinet, as being more in accord with the State organisation of the Netherlands. A further consideration stated as necessary that the dissolution of the Chamber should take place on such a date that the newly elected Chamber could immediately substitute the preceding one. On the same ground, the closing of the session of the States General should immediately precede the dissolution. The Cabinet, in fact, judged it desirable that the Government at any time should be able to solicit the co-operation of the States General for measures which brooked no delay.

On the advice of the Cabinet, the Crown decided, on February 15, to close the session of the States General on May 6 and to the dissolution of the Second Chamber on May 8, at the same time fixing March 15 as nomination day, April 26 for the elections, and May 9 for the first sitting of the First Chamber and the newly-elected Second Chamber. In this way, continuation of parliamentary government was rendered possible within the framework of the Constitution.

Although voting was compulsory, only some 3,720,000 voters went to the poll, or about 340,000 more than in 1929. In that year,

thirty-six parties and groups participated in the elections, but only twelve with a favourable result. This time not less than fifty-three parties and groups nominated candidates, of which only eleven were returned. On the whole, there was, as might be expected in a system of proportional representation, but little change in the composition of the Chamber. Roman Catholics polled 1,037,000 votes, and obtained 28 seats (— 2), various dissident Roman Catholics polled 75,000 votes, obtaining 1 seat (+ 1), anti-Revolutionaries polled 450,000 votes, and obtained 14 seats (+ 2), Christian-Historicals polled 340,000 votes, and obtained 10 seats (—1), various dissident Protestant groups polled 165,000 votes, entitling them to 5 seats (+1), Liberals polled 259,000 votes, and obtained 7 seats (—1), Radicals polled 189,000 votes, and obtained 6 seats (—1), Social Democrats polled 799,000 votes, and obtained 22 seats (— 2), Communists polled 118,000 votes, and obtained 4 seats (+ 2), Revolutionary Socialist groups, including a dissident Social Democratic group, polled 76,000 votes, and obtained 1 seat (+1), various Fascist groups polled 55,000 votes, and obtained 1 seat (+ 1). The Agrarian Party retained its 1 seat.

The gain was thus in the first place for the Anti-Revolutionaries, or rather for their leader, Dr. Colyn, the Minister of State and former Minister of War and of Finance, who was regarded by a great number of Liberals and Christian-Historicals as the strong man, whom the country needed in these times of economic and political confusion. Confusion there certainly was. On the one hand, the Social Democrats, on the occasion of the mutiny of the *Zeven Provinciën*, had displayed revolutionary tendencies; on the other, under the influence of the Hitler movement in Germany, various Fascist groups had been formed, one of them preaching "National Recovery," under the patronage of General Snyders, who had been Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy during the World War. It was this group which had obtained a seat in Parliament.

As was to be foreseen, the Government resigned, and Dr. Colyn was charged by the Crown to form a parliamentary Cabinet. Dr. Colyn's intention was to form a Cabinet supported by the former Right, i.e., the Roman Catholics, Anti-Revolutionaries, and Christian-Historicals, together with the Liberals and the Radicals. Dr. Aalberse, the Leader of the Roman Catholics, however, refused the official support of his party to a Cabinet which rested on a "bourgeois bloc," and was in fact an anti-Socialist group. The Left Wing of the Roman Catholic Party inclined to co-operation with Radicals and Socialists. Theoretically a majority of these democratic groups was possible; the difficulty was the revolutionary and partly anti-dynastic tendencies of a good many of the Socialists.

A parliamentary Cabinet, supported solely by the Right (52

out of the 100 members) was too risky a venture, and Dr. Colyn was charged to attempt the formation of a "Crisis Cabinet," a goal he actually reached by including 3 Roman Catholics (Dr. van Schaick—Justice ; Dr. Deckers—Defence ; and Dr. Verschuur—Economic Affairs), 2 Anti-Revolutionaries (Dr. Colyn—Premier and Colonies, and De Wilde—Home Department); 1 Christian-Historical (Dr. Slotemaker de Brume—Social Affairs); 2 Radicals (Dr. Marchant—Education, Arts and Sciences, and Dr. Oud—Finance); 1 Liberal (Mr. Kalff, an engineer—Public Works); and 1 of no party (Jhr. de Graeff—Foreign Affairs).

The composition of the Cabinet implied an important change in the political situation. It connoted firstly the disappearance of the opposition between Right and Left. Within living memory every Government in Holland, even when called a business or extra-parliamentary Cabinet, had been either Right (the parties on a religious basis) or Left (Liberals and Radicals). No less remarkable was the bridging of the gulf between Conservatives and Democrats. Even the Socialists, though excluded from this "National" Cabinet, did not announce their opposition. The statement made in Parliament on May 31 by Dr. Colyn was very well received both in the House and in the Press. The new Cabinet promised to proceed with a systematic regulation of production; it declared that it would not even shrink from a change in the commercial policy of the country. Under the stress of circumstances, even Holland had, to a considerable extent, to abandon her free trade policy though without condemning the principle of free trade. The first need was to balance the Budget. Considerable retrenchment in public expenditure therefore was indispensable. The question of unemployment would have the full attention of the Government.

The Government emphatically made it clear that the authority of the State would be upheld. It promised to take most decisive action against extremists from whatever side they came. The exercise of terrorism towards the law-abiding population and the provoking of unrest would be unhesitatingly suppressed. The Government made a serious appeal to the States General for their co-operation in this policy. Just because the times were difficult the Government considered constant co-operation and continuous consultation with the States General of the greatest importance.

It must be acknowledged that, on the whole, the Government maintained its programme. In view of the sympathy shown in the Socialist Press to the mutineers in the East Indies, the Cabinet of Ruys de Beerenbrouck had already forbidden Socialist papers in the Army and Navy and in all establishments of the Department of Defence. This was followed by forbidding all Civil servants from joining Socialist organisations. On the other hand, members of civic guards were not allowed to join any Fascist group, of which in the course of the year half a dozen were

formed. Of these, the National Socialist League, modelled on the German plan, with a well-known engineer, Mr. Mussert, as a "Leader," attained to some importance, but was handicapped by the ban on all private uniforms and outward symbols.

As to the economic situation, the Cabinet, after the disillusionment of the London Conference, where Dr. Colyn had taken a prominent part, and the introduction of a new American gold policy, firmly determined, in agreement with the National Bank, to maintain the gold standard, and protected home industries by a system of quota restrictions. The Crisis Import Act had endowed the Government with large powers. The Farming Crisis Act, moreover, made it possible to create a general Farming Crisis Fund, from which relief could be extended to various branches of agriculture, and to prohibit or reduce the production, the storage or the sale of certain products. The stock of cattle was diminished by 200,000. A provisional arrangement with Germany gave some relief to the growers of vegetables, and was followed by a new Treaty of Commerce in December which was fairly satisfactory for both countries.

The financial situation of the Netherlands was not very sound, when the Minister of Finance, Dr. Oud, published his "Millions Note" in September. The deficit for 1932, estimated at 43·8 million guilders, was actually 77·3 millions; that for 1933, estimated at 54·4 millions, would, notwithstanding various new taxes, still presumably be no less than 38·1 millions. If the existing temporary taxes were maintained, the deficit for 1934 would amount to 190·7 millions (expenditure, 730·5; revenue, 539·8 millions). More drastic retrenchment and the imposition of new taxes was foreshadowed, to make the Budget balance. The task was a heavy one, inasmuch as while hitherto the crisis expenditure was defrayed from the Loan Fund, henceforth it would have to be derived from the ordinary revenues. To cover the deficit, economies were planned to the extent of 84·1 millions, including a reduction in salaries of public servants. New taxes were voted. A turnover and luxury tax was expected to yield 85 millions, a coupon tax, 6·4 millions. Other proposals were a crisis income tax, an increase in the tobacco excise and an excise on roasted coffee. From these various taxes 15 millions were expected.

Owing to these proposals, the Budget was given a favourable reception. On December 31 the floating debt amounted to 251 millions, and consolidated debt to 2,900 millions. The situation of the Netherlands Bank remained very strong. Its stock of gold on December 27 was 921·9 millions. Notes in circulation and short-time liabilities totalled 1,142 millions, its cover was 80 per cent., though the legally obligatory minimum of covering was 40 per cent.

SWITZERLAND.

Although the long-standing dispute between Switzerland and France over the proper interpretation of Art. 435 of the Treaty of Versailles relating to the free zones of Geneva had been settled by The Hague International Court in 1932 (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1932, p. 247), the framing of an agreement which should give effect to The Hague judgment proved no easy matter. After some fruitless negotiations, resort was had to arbitration, and both sides accepted a decision by which the importation from the zones to the Canton of Geneva was regulated for a period of ten years. The settlement of this matter was a great relief for Switzerland.

Relations with Italy were throughout the year smooth and friendly. A visit paid by a group of Swiss Fascists to Mussolini was regarded with general disapproval in Switzerland, and its spokesman, Herr Fonjallez, had to resign his post at the Federal Technical Academy in Zurich.

The victory of National-Socialism in Germany was a matter of grave concern to Switzerland, as it added a Fascist neighbour on the north to the already existing Fascist neighbour on the south, while her eastern neighbour, Austria, could be regarded as half Fascist. In the spring and summer voices were raised in Germany inviting the German-speaking Swiss on account of their racial affinity to join the Reich, but they were uncompromisingly repudiated by the whole Swiss public. These solicitations were eventually silenced by the German Government, which several times declared officially, as also through the mouth of its Minister, Goebbels, on the occasion of his visit to the meeting of the League of Nations at Geneva in September, that it fully respected the independence of Switzerland.

The activities of some subordinate German officials led to a number of frontier incidents. Although these were settled satisfactorily, Switzerland strengthened her Customs guards on the German frontier and armed them with rifles. A propaganda was carried on in the foreign Press with the object of enticing Switzerland from her neutrality by representing her as being threatened by Germany. The Swiss Press combated this view, and the attempt to represent the strengthening of the Swiss Army as directed against Germany led to official declarations, *e.g.*, from Bundesrat Minger, the head of the Federal Military Department, that Switzerland would oppose any Power which violated her neutrality, and that the strengthening of the Army had been long since planned and was necessary in itself, and was not due to the attitude of any particular State. Sharp attacks in the Socialist and Radical Press on National-Socialism led to the prohibition of Swiss newspapers in Germany. This, however, was partially removed on representations being made by the Bundesrat.

The victory of National-Socialism in Germany was of far more consequence to Switzerland from the cultural than from the political point of view. Hitherto the German-speaking part of Switzerland has actively participated in the cultural life of Germany, and its natural repugnance to a cultural *Oleichschaltung* must lead to its isolation in the cultural field. The German part of Switzerland is separated from German Austria by the fact that the latter is strongly Catholic, whereas in the former Protestantism is dominant. The Swiss Protestant churches will have nothing to do with the "Germanising" of Christianity. Switzerland cannot accept the racial basis of National-Socialism, since this would mean its dissolution, based as it is on the equal co-operation of three racial groups.

True to its traditional policy, the Bundesrat offered an asylum to many thousands of fugitives from Germany, under the condition that they would abstain from all political activity. As at the same time many Swiss returned from Germany, the Bundesrat, on account of the prevailing unemployment, was not able to permit the German refugees to take up occupations for gain.

Relations with Austria remained of the usual friendly character. The National-Socialist attacks on Dr. Dollfuss's Government caused great concern in Switzerland, to which it is a matter of great importance that its eastern neighbour should remain independent. Swiss interests would be gravely affected if the Austrian Federal province of Vorarlberg were to be placed under foreign sovereignty or domination.

In internal affairs the year was one of great excitement, due to the so-called "Front movement." The various "fronts" and leagues which arose in this year were not of the Fascist or National-Socialist type, with the exception of the numerically negligible "National-Socialist Confederates" and the Fascists of Ticino, in spite of the influence of the Italian and still more the German example. Their rise was due to the disturbances which took place on November 9, 1932, in Geneva (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1932, p. 248), and which revealed the inadequacy of the State's powers to deal with revolutionary activities. Their object is to strengthen the State, by methods adapted to Swiss conditions, for resisting and combating Marxism. They are opposed to Parliamentarianism, which, strictly speaking, is not found in Switzerland, as in the last resort the people decides directly, and the Government is not responsible to Parliament. The Fronts are directed against the influence of the secret societies, the National-Socialist Front against the Jews.

Towards the end of the year the Front movement began to die down. It was from the beginning hampered by the fact that it was not unified, that a number of various fronts were formed, and that there was no commanding personality who could capture the imagination of the people. Hence the emphasis laid on the

principle of leadership remained completely theoretical. The Federal system is also a hindrance to the centralised leadership which the Front movement requires. The seizure of power by force is also impracticable in Switzerland, as the whole people is armed, since every soldier on leaving the militia retains his weapon.

Conflicts having broken out between the Frontists and Socialists, the Bundesrat on May 12 forbade all party uniforms.

In the Catholic districts a movement arose for the Corporative State, and it found numerous adherents in the Protestant parts of the country also. Among the small traders and handworkers a movement arose for restricting the freedom of trade and industry guaranteed by the Federal Constitution. Both these movements, like that of the Fronts, were opposed to the liberal principles which have been dominant in Switzerland since 1848.

The peasants, who were severely affected by the low prices of their products, made political and economic demands which in some places, especially in the mountain districts which were the worst sufferers, were put forward in a revolutionary tone. The peasants through their leaders made their watchword the adjustment of the home market, and in ever-increasing degree called for help from the State and the public in the shape of fiscal, economic, and financial measures. They demanded the relief of agricultural indebtedness from public resources.

The reduction in the cost of living required by the export industry was prevented by the policy of economic self-sufficiency and by the adherence to the gold standard. The cost of living index fell in 1933 only four points, and the export industry became more and more insistent in its demands for a State guarantee.

In May the trial took place before a Federal jury of the leader of the Geneva riots in November, 1932, the extreme Left Wing Social Democrat, Nicole, with six accomplices. The jury pronounced a verdict of guilty. Thereupon on June 6 the Criminal Chamber of the Federal Court sentenced Nicole to six months' imprisonment and the others to shorter terms. On June 12 the National Council resolved, by 112 votes to 50, to exclude Nicole from the current session and the next. In the elections to the State Council (Government) of the Canton of Geneva on November 26, the Socialists were victorious, obtaining four seats against the bourgeois parties' three. Nicole became President of the State Council and at the same time Minister of Police. Geneva is the first Swiss Canton to have a Socialist majority. The Socialists were also victorious in the elections to the Town Councils of Zurich and Lausanne.

On June 22 the National Council, by 102 votes to 39, accepted a Bill submitted by the Bundesrat and demanded by large sections of the population, intended to supplement the wholly inadequate legal regulations for the defence of the State. The law is to be submitted to a referendum in 1934, a sufficient number of votes

in favour of this having been collected, largely through Socialist efforts.

The Federal Law for reducing the salaries of Federal officials, for which a referendum had been successfully demanded (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1932, p. 249) was on May 28 rejected by the people by 503,812 votes to 409,343. The Bundesrat thereupon drew up a great financial programme which aimed at saving 49 million francs by economies and raising 100 millions of additional revenue. In the Autumn session of the Federal Councils, it was adopted without substantial alterations, by the National Council by 107 votes to 49 and by the Council of States (Ständerat) by 31 votes to 4. In order to save the Budgetary balance thus secured from being exposed to a referendum, the financial proposals were given legal force in the form of an urgent Federal resolution. This included also the crisis tax which had been introduced in response to a popular agitation (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1932, p. 249).

To prevent a collapse of the Schweizerische Volksbank, a co-operative bank with branches and members all over Switzerland, the Bundesrat resolved on November 18 that the Federal Government should contribute 100 million francs to the reorganisation of the bank, a decision which was endorsed by the National Council and the Council of States on December 6 and 7 respectively with overwhelming majorities. The Federal Government secured for itself a predominating influence in the affairs of the bank. Like the Schweizerische Diskontbank in Geneva before it, the Volksbank had fallen into difficulties through losses on its investments abroad.

As a result of the energetic measures taken by the Department of National Economy to restrict imports as far as possible to those countries which took a corresponding quantity of Swiss exports, the export trade rose from 801 million francs in 1932 to 852 million in 1933. The chief gainer was the textile industry, especially in the cotton goods and silk branches (109 million against 66). Employment rose correspondingly, and in the middle of the year the number of unemployed had sunk by about 14,000 to 67,867. Concurrently, imports were reduced by about 170 millions. Nevertheless the excess of imports amounted in 1933 also to about 740 million. A sign of returning confidence in industry was the rise of the industrial share index from 126 at the end of 1932 to 156 at the end of 1933, while the index for other shares showed very little change.

The situation of the railways remained unsatisfactory. In December the Federal railways commenced to issue weekly tickets and to make reductions for travellers from abroad. There was a further increase of visitors from abroad in motor cars, and statistics of their number are being compiled. By substantially lowering their tariffs, the hotels procured a greater

number of visitors. The winter season of 1931-32 brought 111,324 guests, of whom 6.4 per cent. were English, the season of 1932-33 brought 125,652 guests, of whom 10.3 per cent. were from England. The English figures, however, were still below those before the fall of the pound.

In spite of great losses on the capital invested in industry, railways, agriculture, and hotels, the latest estimate of the national wealth is 60-65 milliards, whereas before the war it was only 34 milliards. The very considerable deposits in the savings banks have maintained their level.

SPAIN.

The year, which was to witness the downfall of the Azaiia Government and a national reaction, was ushered in appropriately with the news of the escape on New Year's Eve of twenty-nine of the Royalist prisoners from their camp on the Saharan coast. Sailing far out into the Atlantic in a French fishing schooner, this little band eventually reached Portugal on January 13.

On January 2 came a blow from the Extreme Left in the shape of a revolutionary outbreak at Barcelona. The rising spread to other parts of Catalonia and thence to Cuenca, Madrid, Valencia, and the South, and was accompanied by a number of acts of terrorism. That this organised attack on the Republic should have been possible was significant of the chaotic state of the country, but its repression was to have even graver consequences. When the trail of outrage and arson had practically burnt itself out, the Government were ill-advised enough to take a leaf out of the anarchists' book. "Neither prisoners nor wounded" was the watchword given to the Storm Police, who, in stamping out the last spark of revolt in the Province of Cadiz, committed the very gravest excesses and, by way of reprisals, shot sixteen inhabitants of the village of Casas Viejas out of hand (January 12). The facts gradually leaked out and roused a storm of indignation. When the Cortes met on February 1, the appointment of a Commission of Inquiry was demanded, and, though obstinately refused by the Prime Minister, was finally set up by the Chamber. Government attempts first to bribe the officers of the police and then to enforce their silence by imprisonment failed, and a stormy scene in the Cortes early in March led to the dismissal of the Chief of Police and the discrediting of the Government. Though the debates ended on March 16 with a vote of confidence, which Senor Azana secured with Socialist support, the "Casas Viejas gang," as the men in power were thenceforth dubbed by their opponents, were gradually to become asphyxiated by their growing unpopularity.

This was strikingly shown in the partial Municipal Elections held

throughout Spain on April 23, when in spite of official precautions the Ministerial group secured only 5,000 supporters out of a total of some 16,000 councillors. The result of this first challenge to the Government naturally strengthened the Opposition in the Cortes, which, with the support of the Right and the Extreme Left, was led by the Radicals, who thenceforth adopted a policy of obstruction. This ban was lifted by the Radicals for a time to secure the voting of the Bill against the Religious Orders, which was finally passed on May 17 by a narrow majority of 28, the total poll being only 278 votes, as if the Chamber, though packed with anti-clericals, had been aware of the unpopularity of the Bill and the dead letter it was to become after its signature by the President on June 2. Indeed the law, which provided that the Religious Orders should cease teaching in secondary schools on October 1, 1933, and in primary schools three months later, was rather a concession to anti-clerical feeling than a measure at all applicable in the circumstances. That the passing of such a Bill, however, should add to the difficulties of the Government, was inevitable.

A week later, on June 8, the first of a series of crises broke out, on the withdrawal of the Presidential confidence from Senor Azafia. In view of the political deadlock, however, he was again entrusted with power three days later. But henceforth his position was insecure. Public opinion was opposed to the trend the Republic had taken towards Socialism and violence, and the Chamber itself had grown weary. The Conservative Republicans, alarmed at the attacks on the President, joined the Radicals in a fresh policy of obstruction, and even the Radical Socialists began to waver.

Meanwhile attention was drawn from the Chamber to the Courts of Justice by the State trials in July of the prisoners taken in the rising of August 10, 1932, and by the creation of a Court of Constitutional Guarantees. This institution, under the Presidency of the Minister of Justice, it was hoped would ensure the permanency of the system established in the last two years, but, as the Government was shortly to find out, proved a two-edged sword. For, after the split among the Radical Socialists on August 4 had further weakened the Ministerial Coalition, its position became frankly untenable upon its defeat, on September 4, in the elections of Municipal Representatives to the Court, a defeat that was turned into a rout in the elections of legal members. On September 8 Senor Azafia resigned, and on September 9 Senor Lerroux, who had grown old in the Republican cause, succeeded him.

By this time, however, the regime had become very unpopular with a large number of Spaniards, particularly in the country districts, where Socialist excesses had made life well-nigh impossible for the landowners, both large and small, and difficult even for the workers. A mass meeting of protest, which was to

be held in Madrid on September 18 by 200,000 farmers, was forbidden upon the Socialist threat of a general strike. Indeed, the Socialists, according as opposition to them grew, became more violent in their attitude and more anxious not to lose the hold on the Government that their numbers in the Cortes still gave them. The Constituent Cortes, however, whose legislation was largely responsible for the anarchical condition of the country, had outlived their Mandate and lost all support among educated public opinion. They went into recess until the end of September, but, while they remained in being and under the influence of the parties formerly in power, there could be no hope of a saner system. Senor Lerroux himself was a prisoner of a Coalition Cabinet, in which the men of the *bienio* pulled the strings, and as soon as the Cortes met again on October 2 this Cabinet fell.

The ensuing crisis was even more laborious than the former ones, and not until October 8, upon a last-hour reconciliation being effected between Senor Lerroux and Senor Azana, could a fresh Coalition Cabinet be formed under the Radical, Senor Martinez Barrio. This was to serve as a stop-gap until General Elections had been held in November. For, heartened by the overwhelming opposition to the Socialists, the President of the Republic had at last dissolved the Constituent Cortes. The new Government, which contained no Socialist Minister, in a large measure achieved its task of maintaining order until the nation should have pronounced its decision. A typical instance of the lighter hand now holding the reins of government, is the treatment of the millionaire, Don Juan March, who was allowed to escape from the prison in which he had lain for sixteen months on a charge trumped up by his political enemies. Beyond the confines of a few regions, such as Extremadura and Galicia, the Socialist *caciques* or bosses could no longer apply their rough and ready methods of coercion, and the country as a whole breathed again under the welcome change in the methods, if not the principles, of government. The relief afforded was all the more important as this was the first occasion on which women were to vote in Spain.

The General Elections were held on November 19. Polling was so heavy that under the complicated system established by Senor Azafia and the Socialists in the vain hope of perpetuating their rule, a second ballot was necessary in many constituencies, including Madrid. The result of these was a victory for the parties of the Right and a crushing defeat for the Socialists. Senor Azana's Republican Party melted away, and it was only at the cost of countenancing Basque autonomy that he himself secured a seat at Bilbao under the wing of the Socialist leader, Senor Prieto. In Catalonia, the stronghold of extreme Republicanism, Colonel Macia's Party of the Esquerra was defeated by the Lliga, or Catalan Right, whilst the results for the country

as a whole were as follows : Out of a total of 473 seats, the Right, composed of Agrarians, Acci6n Popular or Catholic Party, Traditionalists, and Monarchists, had secured 207 ; the Radicals, who had directed the elections, obtained 104 seats and formed with the Catalan Right and other moderate Republicans a central group of 167 members ; the Socialists were represented by only 58 new Deputies, but formed, with the 19 members of the Catalan Left and the remnants of their old allies, such as Accion Republicana, the Left.

In these circumstances only the Radicals could govern, and on December 17 Señor Lerroux again took over power, after being promised the support of the Catholic Party under Señor Gil Robles. But before this Government was formed, the country was again shaken by a revolutionary outbreak, organised on a far greater scale than any of the preceding ones. The rising, which was again accompanied by acts of terrorism and this time by the mutiny of a few soldiers, was suppressed with difficulty in some ten days' time. On Christmas Day Catalonia lost her first President by the death of Colonel Macia at the age of 74 [see under Obituaries]. Earlier in the year, shortly before his marriage with a Cuban lady on June 21, the Prince of Asturias had waived his rights to the Spanish Throne, as did his brother, Don Jaime, a few days later.

PORTUGAL.

On March 26, 1933, the country was asked to vote the New Constitution, the details of which had been fully announced in the newspapers many months before. It was a simple plebiscite. The result showed that the vast majority of the people of Portugal and the Colonies were fully in favour of it and consequently of the conditions under which they were being ruled. Portugal, therefore, is no longer a Dictatorship ; her President has been elected by suffrage and her Constitution is now founded on the will of the people.

There has already been promulgated a new law governing elections, and the establishment of what is to be called a Corporate Regime will take place by popular vote probably in April, 1934.

For the fifth year in succession the Minister of Finance, who is also Prime Minister, Dr. Oliveira Salazar, had a surplus in his Budget, which for the financial year 1932-33 amounted to the equivalent of 740,0002. This brought the total surpluses of the last five Budgets to nearly 6,500,0002. The floating debt was practically extinguished, and the first part of the naval programme, costing 1,270,0002. paid out of the year's receipts.

Portugal continued to follow Great Britain in abandoning the gold standard, with the exception of a short period during

the summer when the Escudo was attached to the franc. But in August she reverted to her previous system, and at present the Escudo remains steady at 110 00 to the *l*.

The relations between Portugal and the United Kingdom were friendly throughout the year. The vexed question of flag discrimination which worked so unfavourably against British shipping for over twelve years, was finally decided, and the discrimination made in favour of Portuguese ships was to be abolished on July 1, 1934, for the Continent, and two years later for the Colonies. In return the United Kingdom guaranteed the protection of the marks of Port wine and Madeira until June 30, 1941.

The Union of South Africa gave notice that it wished the Mozambique Convention, which dealt with the supply to the Rand mines from the Portuguese possessions in East Africa, to be revised. The revision was to take place at Cape Town in February, but the Portuguese Government asked that it should be held at Lourenco Marques.

The year was particularly free from political disturbances. But on the night of November 19 an insubordination occurred in the garrison stationed at Braganza, where a few soldiers endeavoured to create a rising and murdered an officer. The rebels were quickly overpowered by the rest of the garrison.

The business in port wine, cork, and sardines, the principal products of Portugal, showed slight improvement during the year. The Douro vintage was of fair amount and excellent quality, and it is very probable that 1933 will be made a vintage year.

DENMARK.

At the beginning of the year Denmark was feeling the full force of the world economic depression. There were nearly 200,000 unemployed: agriculture, shipping, and the import trades were terribly depressed; and industry was in many cases being carried on at a loss. A reduction in wages suggested itself to the employers as the readiest means of meeting their difficulties, but the idea was bitterly opposed by the workmen. An industrial struggle seemed to be impending, and the Government therefore approached the Opposition with the suggestion that it should support a measure to make strikes and lock-outs illegal for one year. Meanwhile, in the middle of January, the Danish General Employers' Association announced its intention to lock-out workers in various industries; the number involved was at first 100,000, but subsequently was increased to 150,000. The Government thereupon on January 27 introduced an Emergency Measure, which was passed by both the Folketing and the Landsting with all speed. The support of the Left parties was obtained

by provisions for the prohibition of interest rates in excess of 3 and 3½ per cent, respectively for bank deposits and on demand ; a moratorium for frozen agricultural debts ; destruction of a certain number of cattle weekly to bring about a rise in meat prices ; reduction of the agricultural property tax ; expenditure on public works ; speeding up of building plans ; and where possible the shortening of hours in order to provide employment for the maximum number of workmen. The Employers were placated by a promise made by the Government, in defiance of its election pledges, to allow the Kroner to fall to 22.50 to the pound ; and they cancelled the lock-out notices on January 31.

The new proposals of the Government threw a heavy burden on the finances of the country, mainly due to the increased requirements of the Ministry for Social Affairs. In order to raise additional revenue, the Government in February accepted the proposal of the Left Party that an extra quarter's income tax—the second in the course of the twelvemonth—should be imposed, to yield about Kr. 14,000,000. Further, on May 8, the Minister of Finance introduced into the Riksdag a number of measures intended to increase the revenue substantially, and including a 40 per cent. increase in income tax and a 50 per cent. increase in certain categories of succession duties.

Economic conditions improved somewhat during the summer, but further Government action was still deemed necessary for the relief of distress. On September 19, in the course of a special session, the Government laid before the Folketing twelve new Crisis Bills having this object in view. They were opposed by the Conservative Party, and on September 28 the Riksdag was prorogued without their having been passed. When the normal winter session opened on October 3, the Minister of Finance presented a Budget which balanced at Kr. 335,000,000, all the extraordinary temporary taxes which had been imposed for the current year only being continued. Early in December the Government with the help of the Left Party carried through its programme for meeting the economic situation by means of an additional 10 per cent. on the income tax, various schemes for the relief of agriculture, and certain measures of social reform, including an extension of unemployment benefit and distribution of meat to the unemployed.

On April 24 a new Trade Agreement with the United Kingdom was signed in London [*vide* English History]. In submitting the agreement to the Folketing, Dr. Munch, the Foreign Minister, maintained that while concessions had been made to Great Britain, Denmark had gained some measure of security for its agricultural produce, and Danish agriculture had now three years in which to reach a new basis of production. The agreement met with little adverse criticism, and was ratified by the Folketing on April 26, and the Landsting on April 27. Great disappointment

was caused in Denmark when the British Government in October, acting on its rights under the agreement, imposed a cut of 16 per cent. on the imports of Danish bacon. A delegation went over from Denmark to London to try to obtain more favourable terms, but met with no success [*vide* English History],

Towards the end of May, a certain shuffling took place within the Cabinet. Hr. Hansen, the Minister of Defence, was transferred to the Ministry of Finance, made vacant by the appointment of Hr. Bramsnaes as a Director of the State Bank. Hr. Stauning, the Prime Minister, became Minister of Defence, giving up the Ministry of Shipping and Fisheries, which was transferred to the Ministry of Commerce.

The advent of the Nazi regime in Germany caused serious complications in South Jutland. The German population on both sides of the border adopted an aggressive attitude, carried on Nazi propaganda, and talked loudly of the necessity of frontier revision. The Government bore with these manifestations patiently, relying on the pacific declarations of the German Government, though on its side it declared frontier revision to be out of the question, and, while it refused the demand put forward in some quarters for strengthening the forces on the South Jutland frontier, undertook to dispose those already there in such a manner as to increase their defensive power. The population sought to counter the Nazi danger by forming a number of voluntary defence organisations, and one effect of the Nazi movement was to cause the Socialists in Denmark to take a much keener interest in the problem of national defence than they had previously done.

On October 26 the Prime Minister of Sweden visited Copenhagen to take part in the celebrations in connexion with the sixtieth birthday of Hr. Stauning, and discussed with him the question of closer Scandinavian co-operation. After the decision given by the Permanent Court of International Justice on the dispute between Denmark and Norway in reference to Greenland in favour of Denmark [*vide* Norway], the King of Denmark sent a message to the King of Norway stating that he understood the disappointment of the Norwegian people, but that he entertained the hope of continued good relations between the two peoples.

Iceland.—A general election to the Alting was held at the end of July with the following result: Home Rule Party, 20 seats; Progressives, 17; Socialists, 5. The Home Rule Party won six seats from the Progressives and lost one to the Socialists. On November 15 the Socialists moved a vote of no-confidence in the Minister of Justice, Hr. Gudmundsson, whereupon the Premier, Hr. Asgeirsson, tendered his resignation. As, however, a successor could not be found, Hr. Asgeirsson remained in office.

Before rising on December 9 the Alting sanctioned an amendment to the Constitution by which the number of its members

was increased from 42 to 49. Of these 38 were to be elected by the constituencies, and the rest chosen according to the total number of votes obtained by each party.

In a plebiscite held in the autumn on the question whether Prohibition should be abolished, 57'74 of the votes were against Prohibition. The Alting thereupon passed by a large majority a resolution calling on the Government to give effect to the plebiscite.

On May 19 a Trade Agreement was signed in London between Iceland and Great Britain. The Icelandic Government agreed to reduce the duty on certain cotton, linen, and silk goods and not to increase certain other duties. It also undertook that Iceland should import not less than 77 per cent. of her coal requirements from Great Britain. In return the British Government undertook not to increase the existing 10 per cent, *ad valorem* duty on Icelandic fresh and salted fish.

SWEDEN.

The political unrest which prevailed over large regions of Europe during 1933 spread also in a certain measure to Sweden. The ideas and the methods which obtained mastery throughout Germany naturally exercised a certain fascination for certain sections of the Swedish population, especially for youthful people lacking in political experience—not least for students. For the most part, however, the various small groups of National-Socialists were engaged chiefly in quarrelling among themselves. During the first days of the German Revolution, indeed, when the note of patriotism was emphasised so strongly, certain manifestations of sympathy with the movement were to be noted here and there in the Conservative Press, and there were many dissertations on the weak sides of Swedish democracy. When, however, the Revolution began to take the shape of tyranny attended by the ruthless stamping out of all forms of opposition, Swedish inclination to sympathise disappeared entirely, and at the end of the year the fabric of Swedish democracy remained unshaken. The National-Socialist disease produced swiftly its own antidote, and people who formerly had been lukewarm in their support of a free democratic form of government roused themselves to assert in a more energetic and conscientious manner their belief in the time-honoured Swedish tradition of political liberty.

Nor were the Ministry and the Riksdag disposed to allow the new political tendencies, whether they derived from the east or from the south, to spread over the country. The Ministry brought in, and the Riksdag passed, a law forbidding the use of political uniforms, this measure being directed against the National-Socialists and the Communists. Even more notable

was the decision taken by the Riksdag, on the suggestion of the Leader of the Party of the Right, the Ministry and the other parties concurring, that an impartial investigation should be made of the need and possibilities of measures to cope with propaganda of a kind injurious to the State. On the other hand, the Government, on principle, resisted as anti-democratic the demand put forward by the Right for the suppression of political movements which conduct propaganda for a violent revolution.

One result of the attacks made on democracy was the growth of a stronger inclination towards co-operation between the different parties than has, perhaps, ever existed before. All parties agreed that a united attitude was more than desirable to face the crisis ; all recognised that extensive measures must be taken to cope with unemployment and with agricultural distress. Even the Right, therefore, were singularly restrained in their criticisms of the programme, directed to these ends, which the Government introduced at the beginning of the Riksdag session. Despite the fact that in the Riksdag there were strong non-Socialist majorities in both Chambers, a Social Democratic Ministry was able to navigate its course in all weathers and to secure for its programme acceptance in all important particulars.

The Government made a resolute effort to counteract unemployment in industry and agriculture and to cope with unemployment in the future by measures for stimulating employment and for assisting agricultural production. The dominant idea was to create—by the institution of public works and especially by building operations and the electrification of the State railway system—not only direct possibilities of employment but also indirect possibilities through the resultant improvement in market conditions of those industries which would be providing the materials required for the works in question. This indirect encouragement of individual enterprise was complemented by direct support in the form of grants in aid or loans for the starting of enterprises, while the Riksdag also was asked to vote sums for the continuance to some extent of the unemployment policy hitherto pursued, *i.e.*, the institution of State and communal relief works as well as pecuniary assistance for such workmen as could not be provided with employment.

The Prime Minister was anxious to obtain general agreement for his measures, and was willing to make modifications in them for this purpose. The Opposition, however, while not rejecting them in principle, criticised points of detail, and in the end he had to be satisfied with a majority vote from a combination of the Peasants' Party with a section of the People's Party and one member of the Right.

This co-operation between the representatives of the two parties, the farmers' and the workmen's, that were hardest hit by the crisis, was the most notable event of the year in home

politics. Mr. Hansson, the Prime Minister, declared that he preferred to regard it not as a transient episode merely but as a beginning of a deeper understanding between these two great groups, and that he hoped there would grow out of it an habitual, perhaps even a permanent, practice of co-operation. The Prime Minister's hopes would seem to be shared by the leading members of the Farmers' Union.

The main provisions of the Bills ratified by the Riksdag were as follows. For the combating of unemployment a total sum of 180 million kroner was voted, of which 100 millions was to be used for the creation of opportunities for employment in the open market, that is, on measures calculated to stimulate productive activity. The remaining 80 millions were to be used for relief works and pecuniary assistance, that is, for direct measures of support. In order to stimulate foreign trade and support export industries, as well as agriculture and fisheries, the State made itself responsible for export credits up to 75 million kroner. In addition to all this, grants were to be made for the institution of educational courses and for voluntary labour for the youthful unemployed, so that these might have the opportunity of maintaining and increasing their inclination and capacity for work and thus become better qualified as workers in the future. It was calculated that by these measures about 74,000 men would be given employment throughout the year. The financing of the programme was to be covered chiefly by a short-term loan, the amortisation of which was to be effected by the sums accruing from an increase in taxes on inheritances and from a tax on donations and gifts.

The relief measures enacted for the benefit of agriculture, the most important of which the Government had formulated long before coming to the above-mentioned understanding with the Farmers' Union, provided for the continuance, first of the grain regulations which had been in force hitherto, and by which a combine of the grain companies was granted an importation monopoly on condition that it bound itself to purchase the surplus of Swedish cereals at a certain minimum price and to arrange for the sale thereof to the mills ; secondly, of the arrangement ratified by the 1932 Riksdag for the relief of the sugar beet industry, by which the sugar importation monopoly was granted to the sugar companies on the condition that they bound themselves to adhere to the prices fixed by the State in their purchases of beet and their sales of sugar. Both these Bills were passed by the Riksdag. In addition to them, a whole series of similar measures were carried through by agreement with the Farmers' Union. In the same way certain milk-grants were later decided on, to be used principally for the maintenance of the price of butter, while at the same time duties were put on margarine products and a tax on oil-cakes,

The Government's Bill dealing with unemployment insurance was not among those covered by the agreement with the Farmers' Union, probably because the Government counted on its being passed by the Riksdag in any case. It went through the Second Chamber, but it was unexpectedly defeated in the First by 4 votes.

The heavy burden placed upon the Budget by all these grants in aid had to be made up, at least in part, by drastic economies in other directions—among others, by considerable reductions in the matter of military training for the Army and Navy, especially as a substantial decrease was to be expected in the yield of taxation. There could be no question of any substantial increase of taxation, but a slight increase in the taxes on incomes and property could not be avoided, while the taxes on tobacco and spirits also were raised slightly. The Government's Budget figured at 1,029 million kroner, but after some reductions made by the Riksdag it was eventually fixed at 1,010 million kroner.

The first months of 1933 were marked by a steady though slight intensification of the economic crisis. From the beginning of April, however, a slight improvement was to be noted, and this kept on until the end of the year. The export industries and agriculture were the hardest hit throughout. The latter found itself, nevertheless, in a better position on the whole at the end of 1933 than a year previously. The great export industries benefited a little in varying degrees from the development of the international situation. Thus there was a perceptible improvement in timber, paper-pulp, and iron products, though the engineering industry made little progress and the mining industry, although stronger than in 1932, remained throughout somewhat depressed. A protracted conflict in the building trade, which lasted for the greater part of the year and was still not settled at its close, was not only the cause of worsened market conditions for a number of home industries but also prevented the programme agreed to by the Riksdag for coping with unemployment from attaining its full effectiveness, for this programme was based to a considerable degree on great public works in the field of the building industry.

The improvement in the general situation did not result in a corresponding decrease in the number of the unemployed registered in the books of the Unemployment Commissions. The total number of these had reached its maximum, 189,000, in January. During the following months the figure sank, and in July it was below 139,000. It then rose again until it reached 170,000 in November. The percentage of increase in 1933 was lower than in 1932, but the total number of registered unemployed was greater. The chief cause of this was that in spite of the improvement in the market the increased opportunities for labour were used to provide a more normal employment for those already

in work, while unemployment of a kind previously unnoticed became manifest owing to the prolongation of the crisis, which destroyed the individual workman's chance of pulling through without public support, and new masses were forced to take their place among the petitioners for assistance. That the actual amount of unemployment really did decrease was shown by the fact that the number of unemployed in the trade unions was considerably lower; while from July to October the number recorded by the Unemployment Commissions was increased by nearly 26,000, the figure from the trade unions was diminished by over 4,000.

In the field of commercial policy the Government displayed great activity and succeeded by a number of agreements with foreign countries in bringing about some kind of tolerable condition for Swedish foreign trade. Most conspicuous among these was the Commercial Treaty with England which was signed in the middle of May, and the results of which were considered to be satisfactory. By their negotiations with France, the Government succeeded in protecting another important sphere for exportation in which Swedish interests were subjected to serious risks. The agreement came to provide that the French surtax against countries with depreciated currency was not to hold good as against Sweden if Sweden carried out certain modifications of import duties, etc., in respect to certain French exports. Commercial agreements were concluded also with Czechoslovakia, Belgium, South Africa, Chile, Turkey, and Greece. An old-standing dispute with the Soviet Union was ended by an agreement regarding a large sum of Russian gold which had been lying in Sweden since 1917. Among a series of other trade compacts with far-reaching effects was one with Poland by which a large number of Swedish exports were freed from the danger threatening them in the new and greatly increased Polish tariffs. Preparations were also made for negotiations with the United States. Negotiations in respect to commercial treaties with Germany begun in the autumn of 1932 had to be abandoned in January, 1933, without result. The treatyless relationship with Germany began on February 15 and was still existing at the close of the year, without any immediate prospect of negotiations being resumed. While no discriminatory measures were taken by either side, Germany imposed increased tariffs to the disadvantage of Sweden, and Sweden considered it necessary to impose certain increased tariffs to prevent the trade balance between the two countries from being dislocated. In spite, however, of the peculiar difficulties caused by her relations with Germany, Sweden did not depart from the most-favoured-nation principle, a principle which she has always sought to uphold. The dissatisfaction called forth in Sweden as in other countries by Germany's treatment of her foreign debt liabilities naturally did not tend to improve the chances of a settlement in regard to commercial policy.

In the sphere of foreign policy in 1933 Sweden continued to do her utmost to strengthen the League of Nations. At the Autumn Assembly of the League Mr. Sandler, the Foreign Minister, uttered a strong protest against the growing tendency to remove international co-operation from the League, and he insisted that if the Disarmament Conference failed, the whole question of disarmament would fall with all its weight upon the League. He maintained that the duties imposed by Article 8 in particular remained unchanged for all members of the League. Speaking in the name of humanity, with reference to events within the knowledge of all, he asked that humane treatment should be dealt out also to the victims of civil wars, and in this connexion he declared that the Swedish Government would like to see an inquiry set on foot as to the possibility of bringing about a more general application of the principle of minority treaties so that the idea of equality, which is the mainspring of the League of Nations, might be introduced also into this sphere.

Italy's peremptory demand for a swift and drastic revision of the League of Nations aroused much misgiving in Sweden. All political parties in Sweden were agreed that she could only support measures which were calculated to strengthen the League and increase its authority. All other measures of revision would meet with resolute opposition from the side of Sweden. Sweden presumed, moreover, that the question of alterations in the League's Constitution should be dealt with before the forum and in accordance with the forms prescribed by the Covenant of the League.

NORWAY.

The Storting was formally opened by the King on January 11. The Speech from the Throne announced that the Government (the Agrarian Cabinet, headed by Mr. Hundseid) intended to submit to the Storting a Bill prohibiting industrial boycott and blockade when considered likely to injure the interests of the community.

The Estimates for the financial year, July 1, 1933, to June 30, 1934, balanced at 374,000,000 kroner, 2,000,000 less than the Estimates of the preceding financial year. To cover an estimated Budget deficit the Government proposed to reduce the expenses by 22,000,000 kroner, and to raise additional revenue by means of a new tax on the turn-over of the retail trade.

In the debate in the Storting on the Speech from the Throne on January 30 and the following days, the Government came in for some sharp criticism, not only from the Leader of the Labour Party, Mr. Nygaardsvold, who submitted a vote of censure, but also from the Leader of the Left, Mr. Mowinkel. The Liberal ex-Premier criticised particularly the financial policy of the Govern-

ment and deplored the lack of consistency in its foreign policy. He declared that the Left intended to vote against the Bill on industrial boycott and also against the proposed tax on the turn-over of the retail trade. He recommended co-operation between all parties on the following lines : negotiations to be opened with the various unions of Civil servants with a view to obtaining a general reduction of salaries ; the turn-over tax to be avoided as far as possible; and no alterations to be made in the law on labour disputes before the parties directly concerned had been given an opportunity of expressing their opinion. Mr. Nygaardsvold stated that the Labour Party was willing to co-operate with the Left on such a basis. The Premier, Mr. Hundseid, said that the declaration of the Liberal leader had created a confused political situation, and challenged Mr. Mowinckel to propose a motion in conformity with the conclusion of his speech. If a resolution to this effect was carried, the Government would at once resign. If, however, Mr. Mowinckel did not submit a motion the Government would consider that the so-called " programme of co-operation," recommended by the Liberal leader, had not the support of the majority of the Storting. Mr. Mowinckel declined to bring forward a motion, stating that his intention was only to indicate the lines on which he wished that a Coalition Government could be formed representing all parties, Labour included. The vote of censure proposed by the Labour Party was rejected by 103 to 44 votes, and a Government crisis was averted for the time being.

It was, however, evident that the Government had only been given a short respite. Barely three weeks later, during a debate in the Storting on the financial situation, the Opposition started a new offensive against the Government. Mr. Mowinckel proposed the following vote of censure : " The Storting regrets that the Government has rejected the programme recommended by the Left during the debate on the Speech from the Throne. The Storting considers this programme a suitable basis for co-operation between the parties." The motion was carried on January 24, by 80 votes to 67, the majority consisting of the Left and the Labour Party, the minority of the Farmers' Party and the Conservative Party.

On the following day Mr. Hundseid's Cabinet resigned, and the King entrusted Mr. Mowinckel with the task of forming a new Government. The Liberal leader approached all parties with a view to forming a Coalition Cabinet. This attempt failed owing to the opposition of the Labour Party, and the result was the formation of a pure Liberal Government, composed as follows : Johan Ludwig Mowinckel, Premier and Minister of Foreign Affairs ; Haakon Five, Minister of Agriculture ; Ole Mjelde, Minister of Works ; Per Lund, Minister of Finance ; Lars Meling, Minister of Commerce ; Arne Sunde, Minister of Justice; Jens Kobro,

Minister of Defence ; Ole Stromme, Minister of Social Affairs ; Knut Liestol, Minister of Church and Education. With the exception of Mr. Kobro, Mr. Strömme and Mr. Liestol all the members of the new Cabinet had held office before.

The new Premier read a declaration in the Storting on March 7, stating that the Government in conformity with the programme recommended by the Left during the debate on the Speech from the Throne, invited the Storting to co-operate with it in order to improve the economic position of the country.

The Estimates, proposed by the Hundseid Cabinet, for the financial year 1933-34, were withdrawn by the new Government, and new Estimates submitted to the Storting. In order to avoid a turn-over tax the Government proposed a provisional increase of the Customs duties on sugar, coffee, and tea, calculated to yield about 10,000,000 kroner, an increase of the income tax, estimated to yield 8,500,000 kroner, and an increase of the fares of the State Railways. At the same time the Government entered upon negotiations with the Civil servants, and an agreement was eventually obtained for a general reduction of salaries of about 4 per cent.

The debate on the declaration of the new Government did not take place till the last days of May. Votes of censure were proposed by the Conservative Party and the Farmers' Party, but rejected, the Labour Party voting with the Liberals.

The most important event of the year in foreign politics was the verdict pronounced on April 5 by the Permanent Court of International Justice at The Hague in the Greenland dispute. The Court, practically unanimously, only the Norwegian judge *ad hoc*, Mr. Vogt, dissenting, declared the occupation effected by Norway in East Greenland on July 10, 1931, to be contrary to law and invalid. The decision of the Court caused considerable disappointment in Norway, but the Premier, Mr. Mowinkel, without doubt expressed the unanimous opinion of the people in a statement to the Press on the same day, in which he said : " Norway of course unreservedly accepts the award of the Court." King Haakon telegraphed to the King of Denmark, congratulating him on the verdict and expressing the hope that it would not prevent a friendly co-operation between the two countries in the future. By a royal decree of April 7, the occupation of 1931 was withdrawn, and also the occupation in South-East Greenland of 1932.

The Greenland question was thus definitely settled as a juridical dispute. But it was unavoidable that the Norwegian defeat at The Hague should have its aftermath in domestic politics. The opposition to the occupation policy of the Agrarian Government had kept practically silent since July, 1931, in order not to prejudice the Norwegian case at the International Court. No consideration of this kind prevented the Opposition from expressing its opinion after the verdict. One of the Committees of

the Storting, the Committee of Foreign Affairs, and a Committee of the Odelsting, the Protocol Committee which reported on the various aspects of the question, submitted motions strongly condemning the policy of the Hundseid Cabinet. They expressed regret that the two occupations had been enacted without the knowledge of Parliament, and declared that these badly prepared and inadequately considered measures had been harmful to the interests of the country. The reports also criticised the lavish expenditure entailed by the law-suit.

Before these rather sensational reports came up for discussion in Parliament, a private agreement was arrived at between the leaders of the bourgeois parties to avoid a public debate for national reasons. On July 3 the Storting by 121 to 29 votes adopted the report of the Foreign Affairs Committee after two short speeches by Labour members. The day after the report of the Protocol Committee was adopted without debate by the Odelsting with thirty dissentients. In the Storting as well as in the Odelsting the minority consisted of the Agrarian Party and a few Conservatives.

The Bill on industrial boycott, submitted by the Hundseid Cabinet, was amended in several important points by the Mowinckel Government, the general tendency of the alterations being to restrict the scope of the Bill and render it more acceptable to the trade unions. During the Committee stage a compromise was arrived at between the bourgeois parties, the Government making some concessions to the Agrarians and Conservatives. The Bill was passed by the Odelsting and the Lagting in June, the Labour Party opposing. Among the provisions of the Bill is the establishment of a special boycott court.

The session came to a close on July 6, the Storting having the day before adopted the new Budget, balancing at 373,500,000 kroner.

The Premier, Mr. Mowinckel, presided over the session of the Council of the League of Nations in September, and, as President of the Council, opened the Assembly of the League on September 25 with a speech which attracted considerable attention.

Mr. Mowinckel had to leave Geneva before the close of the Assembly in order to take part in the electoral campaign, which was being conducted with more liveliness than usual. For the first time a party with Fascist leanings appeared on the political stage of Norway, headed by Mr. Quisling, who had been Minister of Defence in the Hundseid Cabinet, but severed his connexion with the Farmers' Party mainly owing to personal differences with Mr. Hundseid. Mr. Quisling sought co-operation with the Conservatives but without success, the Executive Committee of the Conservative Party reaffirming its adherence to democratic and constitutional principles. The chief plank of the Labour platform was a radical unemployment policy.

The General Election took place on October 16. That the Labour Party, which had suffered a serious decline at the election in 1930 would recover some lost ground was expected, but the headway actually made by it was greater than even its most optimistic members had thought possible. With a net gain of 22 seats from the bourgeois parties it fell only 6 seats short of an absolute majority in Parliament. The composition of the new Storting is as follows ; the Labour Party 69 (47 in the previous Storting), the Right 30 (41), the Left 24 (33), the Farmers' Party 23 (25), the Liberal People's Party 3 (1), the Radical People's Party 1 (no change). Two small parties, mainly of a local character, the Christian People's Party and the Social Reform Party, obtained one seat each. Neither Mr. Quisling's Fascist Party nor the Communists succeeded in getting any of their candidates elected.

A few days after the election the National Executive of the Labour Party sent a letter to the Premier, Mr. Mowinckel, calling upon him to resign at once and make place for a Labour Government. The Premier replied that, in accordance with the Constitution and political practice, the Government intended to remain in power till the new Storting assembled in January, 1934. The Premier emphasised the fact that the bourgeois parties still had an absolute majority in the Storting.

FINLAND.

The Coalition Government formed by Hr. T. M. Kivimaki at the end of 1932 remained in office throughout 1933. On July 1 a General Election was held, as a result of which the Social Democrats obtained 78 seats in place of 66, the Agrarians 53 instead of 59, and the Finnish Coalition 32 in place of 42. The Social Democrats, though they still remained in opposition, were now in a position to defeat any Bills brought forward by a bourgeois Coalition which required a two-thirds majority.

Some political unrest was caused during the year by a body calling itself the Patriotic Popular Movement, an offshoot of the Lapuans having affinities with the German Nazis. To curb its activities, the Diet on May 4 passed by 133 votes to 41 a Bill prohibiting the formation of military organisations within political parties. After the General Election, which brought a distinct set-back to the Lapuans, the President confirmed the Bill.

On January 31 the Diet passed a Bill enabling a certain bank to take over peasants' debts where there were prospects of their becoming solvent again, and authorising it to buy farms put up to auction for the purpose of reinstating the former owners. It was expected that the Bill, though it would not abolish

distress, would enable about 3,000 peasants to be maintained on their lands.

On February 5 a demonstration took place for the transformation of the Helsingfors University into a purely Finnish institution, and at the same time a movement was set on foot to abolish the regulations requiring officials of Town Councils to have a good knowledge of Swedish as well as Finnish. The justification for this demand lay in the fact that the number of Swedish-speaking Finns had declined considerably of recent years, and it had the sympathy even of the Social Democrats. The Municipal Council of Helsingfors made certain concessions to the movement, but not enough to satisfy the True Finns, while the Swedish Finns on their side demanded that their students should be taught in Swedish and that examinations should be conducted in Swedish. A proposal made by the Government for the establishment of a separate Swedish University gave rise to noisy demonstrations on the part of Finnish students against the Minister of Education. Later in the year, however, there was a certain revulsion of feeling in favour of Swedish, and the Prime Minister observed in the Diet that it would not be wise to make the Swedish Finns feel that Finland was not their country. A motion brought forward in the Diet on November 21 to substitute English for Swedish as a compulsory subject in the school curriculum was defeated by 111 votes to 55. A proposal to make Finnish the sole language of the Diet was also defeated.

At the beginning of September a "British Week" was held at Helsingfors. It proved a great success, the Finns enthusiastically welcoming everything British. On September 29 a Trade Agreement was concluded with Great Britain by which Finland obtained most-favoured-nation treatment and concessions in regard to the duties on birch-wood, ply-wood, and wooden sewing-thread reels, in return granting England a wide range of tariff concessions and agreeing to take not less than 75 per cent, of her annual requirements of coal from Great Britain. The agreement was to run for three years and then be subject to denunciation at six months' notice. The Finnish Government declared its intention of promoting by all means the importation into Finland of British goods. On October 13 a Liquor Smuggling Convention was concluded with Great Britain, by which the Finnish authorities obtained the right to board all privately owned British vessels of not more than 500 tons suspected of liquor smuggling within one hour's sail of the Finnish coast, provided notice had been given to the British representative at Helsingfors.

Towards the end of April the Finnish Seamen's and Firemen's Unions went on strike for increased wages. The transport workers and railwaymen in the United Kingdom threatened at one time to place an embargo on Finnish vessels arriving at British ports in order to assist them, but they were dissuaded by

the Finnish Legation in London. In the middle of June the Shipowners' Association consented to adopt as a general scale the highest wages actually paid in the industry, and this satisfied the workers.

CHAPTER VI.

THE MIDDLE EAST : PERSIA—AFGHANISTAN—IRAQ—PALESTINE— SYRIA—ARABIA.

PERSIA.

ON December 31, 1932, a delegation left Teheran for Geneva to represent Persia at the meeting of the Council of the League of Nations which was to deal with the dispute between the British and Persian Governments arising out of the cancellation of the Anglo-Persian Oil Company's concession (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1932, pp, 271, 272). On its arrival at Geneva, the delegation circulated to the members of the Council and to the Press a memorandum stating the Persian Government's case in which special stress was laid on the fact that the dispute between the Persian Government and the Company was a domestic one, and that diplomatic intervention was inadmissible until the Company should have exhausted all means of obtaining redress in the local courts. To this Sir John Simon, in a speech before the Council on January 26, replied that recourse to the local courts would have been useless for the Company, since the Mejliss had confirmed the decision of the Government.

The Council of the League appointed Dr. Benesh its *rapporteur* to deal with the dispute, and through his mediation the two Governments agreed, while reserving their legal standpoints, to suspend all proceedings before the League until May, during which period negotiations should be carried on between the Company and the Persian Government for a new concession. In the meantime the Government was to allow the company to carry on its operations as before the cancellation of the concession, and to guarantee the safety of its employees and property. At the same time the anti-British campaign in the Press of Teheran was silenced.

Sir John Cadman, the Chairman of the Anglo-Persian Oil Company, arrived in Teheran at the beginning of April, and negotiations for a new concession were opened without delay. Little progress was made for some time, but the intervention of the Shah at length made the Persian representatives more pliable, and an agreement was concluded by the end of April. The new concession was somewhat more favourable to Persia

than the old, and certainly left less room for dispute. It fixed the amount of taxation to be paid by the Company at 225,000Z. yearly for the first fifteen years and 300,000l. for the next fifteen, and the minimum royalty payment at 750,000l. yearly. The Company also undertook to replace progressively its foreign employees by Persians and to pay for the education of twenty Persians annually at British Universities. The Government on its side consented to extend the period of the concession from 1961 to 1993, and undertook to refer all difficulties to arbitration outside Persia. The agreement was ratified by the Mejliss on May 29, and soon after received the Shah's signature.

A sensation was caused in Teheran by the announcement on January 18 of the arrest of Timurtash Khan, who as Minister of the Court had been for many years the Shah's trusted adviser and the most influential subject in Persia. Differences had arisen in the previous summer between Timurtash and the Shah over the policy to be followed in regard to the Anglo-Persian Company's concession, and he had asked to be relieved of his office, but his resignation had not been accepted till the end of the year. No reason was now given for his arrest, but it was popularly supposed to be connected with the irregularities which had been reported in the affairs of the National Bank. His trial took place *in camera* before the Criminal Court on March 16 and 17, and he was condemned on a charge of extortion to three years' imprisonment with loss of civil rights and repayment of bribes to the amount of 20,000 tomans, and on charges of embezzlement and swindling to two years' imprisonment and payment of 38,600 tomans and 1,700l.

The proceedings against Timurtash Khan were part of the general campaign carried on by the Shah against official corruption, nor was he the only sufferer during the year. The manager of the National Bank of Persia, Dr. Lindenblatt, a German, was sentenced to a period of imprisonment and a fine of 46,000 rials (7,000l.), though five of his companions were acquitted. At the end of November the Minister of War, Sardar Assad, and other leading chiefs of the Bakhtiari were placed under arrest for "having been concerned in engagements to the detriment of the State," and as there was no sign of tribal disaffection it was commonly thought that the engagements referred to were financial.

In the early part of the year an agitation was carried on in commercial circles for the abrogation of the Perso-Soviet Trade Treaty of 1931, the object being to check Russian commercial penetration into Persia, which was assuming formidable proportions. As a result, a Commission headed by the Minister of Posts and the Director-General of the Department of Commerce was appointed to examine the trade situation between Persia and Russia. Meanwhile, at the instigation of the Teheran

Chamber of Commerce, a kind of boycott of Russian merchandise was instituted in Persia, the effect of which was to reduce Persian-Soviet trade in the first seven months of 1933 to 12,000,000 roubles, as compared to 55,000,000 roubles in the same period in 1932. On August 3, however, partly through the efforts of M. Pastukhoff, the new Soviet Ambassador in Teheran, the boycott was raised. At the end of September M. Karakhan, the Soviet Deputy Commissar for Foreign Affairs, paid a visit to Teheran, nominally to return the visit of the Persian Foreign Minister to Moscow a year before, but really in order to try to improve Soviet-Persian relations.

The eighth Mejliss was dissolved on January 14, and its successor, largely composed of the same deputies, was convened on March 15.

In April a contract for completing the 950 kilometres still remaining of the Trans-Persian railway was given to a Swedish and two Danish firms. The contract was for 320,000,000 kr. (nearly 18,000,000/.), and the work was expected to take six years.

AFGHANISTAN.

Towards the end of February a " Crazy Fakir " appeared in the Khost district in the South of Afghanistan, proclaiming that the ex-king Amanullah would soon arrive. At his instigation a number of tribesmen took up arms with the intention of marching on Kabul, and they received considerable reinforcements from the Wazir and Mahsud tribes across the Indian border. They met the Government troops which had been sent south to oppose them in the neighbourhood of Matun, and some sharp fighting took place at the end of February and beginning of March. The tribesmen from across the border then began to withdraw at the bidding of some of their elders who had been sent by the British authorities to recall them, and the rising soon came to an end. Later in the year one of the ringleaders, Tor Malang, was executed with some of his associates, but the " Crazy Fakir," who had fled abroad, was allowed to return with the assurance of a free pardon, on account of his advanced age.

No further risings took place in the course of the year, but the tranquillity of the country was rudely disturbed by the assassination on November 8 of the king, Nadir Shah, at a school prize-giving in the courtyard of the palace. The assassin proved to be a servant of Yuzufsai Sirdar Ali Ghulam Nabi Khan, who had been executed for conspiracy and treason exactly a year previously, and his motive was to revenge his master. He was executed along with a number of his associates on December 22.

Nadir Shah had reigned for just over four years, during which time he had laboured chiefly to instil into his subjects a desire for national unity and for peaceful progress in the arts of civilisation. The success of his policy was demonstrated by the fact that his assassination had no political repercussions. His son, Zahir Shah, a youth of about 20, was immediately proclaimed king, and received the allegiance of his three uncles, Sirdar Muhammid Hashim Khan, the Prime Minister, Sirdar Faiz Muhammed Khan, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, and Shah Mahmud Khan, the Minister of War, and of the rest of the Ministry, the Ulemas, and the tribal leaders. Kabul soon resumed its wonted aspect and the rest of the country remained perfectly quiet. One of the new king's first acts was to pardon Ghulam Dastgir, the Kotkai pretender, who had given a good deal of trouble earlier in the year and who now transferred his allegiance from Amanullah to Zahir Shah.

On account of the increasing demand in Afghanistan for Japanese textiles, chemicals, and machinery, it was decided earlier in the year to establish an Afghan Legation at Tokio. The first Afghan Minister, Habibullah Tarzi, arrived there on October 6.

In July, Afghanistan became a party to the Eight-Power Pact of Non-Aggression formulated by Russia.

IRAQ.

The year 1933 will stand out in the annals of Iraq, and this for more than one reason. First in importance among the events of the year was the loss, on September 8, of King Feisal, who died suddenly of a heart affection in Switzerland, whither he had gone on medical advice [see under Obituaries]. He had gone to Europe early in the summer for a cure, but had had to return suddenly to Baghdad in August in consequence of the Assyrian troubles that had arisen. He was in Baghdad but a short time and was very anxious to return to Europe, but he was pressed by the British Minister to remain until the situation had to some extent settled. A few days after leaving Baghdad he was dead.

His successor, his son Ghazi, is a youth of twenty years, of little experience in government, who during a short period of regency during the summer had shown himself somewhat of a firebrand. The coming years will doubtless afford him many opportunities of showing his mettle. King Feisal's death and the circumstances surrounding it stirred the emotions of Arabs in all countries. The body was brought to Haifa in Palestine on a British man-of-war and thence taken to Baghdad by air. The High Commissioner in Palestine went to Haifa to receive it. At one time there was some talk of taking the body to Jerusalem, and even of burying it there in the Moslem Pantheon that is being

created in the Holy precincts of the Dome of the Rock. To the relief of the British authorities this intention was abandoned, but the excitement of the people in Haifa and the universal mourning for one who was hailed as the Father of Arab unity were disturbing, and had their place in the series of events that culminated in the Arab outbreak of October in most of the principal towns of Palestine.

King Feisal's last journey to his kingdom arose out of troubles that ended in something of the character of a massacre of the Assyrian Christians in Northern Iraq. This community whose history goes back to the beginning of the present era had previously lived in Asiatic Turkey, but having assisted the British during the war had been evacuated to Iraq, and after the settlement found it impossible to return to their former homes. They had been very unhappy over the withdrawal of British control from Iraq without the grant of adequate safeguards for the racial and religious minorities, but when the question of the independence of the kingdom came before the Council of the League of Nations in the previous year, the assurance was accepted by the Council of the League from the representative of that Government that steps would be taken to settle the Assyrians within the borders of Iraq in homogeneous units. The Assyrians, a highland race with military qualities, were however far from satisfied, and the encouragement of their youthful and hot-headed Patriarch Mar Shimun, and not less that of his aunt who wielded great influence over her people, did not induce satisfaction. The Iraquian Government realised that the influence of these two personalities was not in the direction of what they considered a satisfactory settlement, and as a means to their end the Government in the early summer called the Patriarch to Baghdad where they kept him under a very moderate sort of arrest. The knowledge of this doubtless reacted on the more spirited members of his flock. Some fifteen hundred of them, apparently despairing of all hope of satisfactory treatment from their own Government, crossed, without warning (July 6), into Syrian territory. The French did not welcome them and told them they must return to Iraq. The Iraqui Government however refused to readmit them unless they surrendered their arms. This the refugees refused to do, as they said for fear of their hereditary enemies, the Kurds, among whom they had been living. Part of the party broke through the Iraquian cordon, and in the ensuing action there were casualties on both sides. Apart from the immediate deplorable aspects of this incident, much resentment was aroused against the French, who, it was said, should have seen that all these refugees were disarmed before they were sent back to Iraq. It was even said that the French, in order to cause trouble, instead of disarming them deliberately saw that they were armed when they started on their return to their homes. The Iraquian Govern-

ment protested vigorously against the action of the French to the Council of the League of Nations and stated clearly that it held the Mandatory Power in Syria responsible for all moral and material losses that had occurred or might occur as a consequence of the return of the Assyrians. The French, while admitting that they had restored their arms to some of these refugees, disclaimed all responsibility for the consequences since the Iraquian Government had not kept them informed of what was transpiring, and in consequence they had no knowledge that these refugees were in effect rebels against their Government.

This was bad enough, but still worse happened. Only a small minority of the Assyrians was involved in the fighting or even in the trek. The outbreak was, however, a signal for a general massacre of the Assyrians, men, women, and children, in which the Iraquian army, their irregular auxiliaries and the hereditary enemies of the Assyrians, the Kurds, took part. When this became known in Europe, as it shortly did, the conscience of Christendom was shocked. One consequence was the hurried return of King Feisal to Baghdad. He was followed almost immediately by the British Minister, Sir Francis Humphrys, who was on leave in England.

Hard on the Iraquian representations to the League came a petition from the Assyrian Patriarch, complaining of the treatment of his people who formed a minority in the Iraquian State, a minority whose rights were recognised by treaty. A few days earlier the Patriarch had been deported by the Government and had taken refuge in Cyprus, where he was joined by his aunt and other members of his family. He was shortly afterwards deprived of Iraquian citizenship. The army that had been engaged in the operations against the Assyrians and had been accused of murder, looting, and other outrages—the execution of prisoners was admitted—returned to Baghdad where it was given a great welcome by the Government and the populace. Its commander, Colonel Beker Sidky Beg, a fanatical enemy of the Assyrians, was given promotion and its officers a year's seniority. At the same time the Iraquian Government, minimising the atrocities, said that stolen property was being restored and compensation given for that which could not be returned. Steps were also being taken to protect the survivors. The incidents were mentioned at the meeting of the Council of the League in October, and the Iraq case was put by the representative of that Government who admitted the excesses and stated the willingness of his Government to contribute towards the cost of transferring the Assyrians elsewhere. A Committee to consider the possibility of settling the Assyrians outside of Iraq was appointed, but in consequence of the death of the King postponement of a detailed consideration of the incident was asked for and granted.

The Assyrian troubles caused the principal disturbances in

the history of Iraq during the year, but apart from this the annals of the Kingdom were not those of undisturbed peace. The year opened with fighting between the Iraqi forces and the Kurds, always a thorn in the side of the Government. The trouble, however, was not very serious although desultory, and in June the leaders of the rising, after months of hiding, surrendered.

There were two changes in the Cabinet, apart from the resignation and reappointment without change that marked the accession of the *new* King. The General Elections in February, although they changed half the membership of the Chamber of Deputies, were not expected to affect the Government. Nevertheless the following month the Cabinet of Naji Beg Shawkat, having been seriously criticised in debate, resigned and was succeeded by one under Rashid Ali Beg, the King's Chamberlain. This Cabinet lasted less than a fortnight before changes were made in it. Its attitude towards the Anglo-Iraq Treaty, the main basis of the Iraqi Kingdom, was one of friendliness despite the severe criticism of the treaty by nationalist extremists. This was the Cabinet that was reappointed by King Ghazi on his succession in September, but which fell six weeks later. The resignation was obviously due to differences with the King. The new Prime Minister was Jamil Beg Midfai, the Chairman of the Chamber of Deputies. The reappointment of the Minister for Foreign Affairs suggested no change in foreign policy.

It cannot be said that the feelings of the Iraqians or of those of them who were vocal became more friendly to Britain during the year. The death of King Feisal gave birth to ugly rumours, and the Assyrian troubles also gave rise to a certain amount of anti-British agitation. In March there was a formal demand in the Iraqi Parliament for the amendment of the Anglo-Iraqi Treaty which was said to be too favourable to Britain. The disturbances in Palestine at the end of October led to a reaction in Iraq, as in other Arab countries, and was not in favour of the British standpoint. Finally at the end of the year, there was a movement against foreign, that is British, businesses.

PALESTINE.

Unprejudiced and intelligent onlookers anticipated any time during the past two years the outbreak that occurred in Palestine in October, 1933. They foresaw also that on this occasion the outbreak would be anti-Government and anti-British, not anti-Jewish, as all the previous ones had been, although if the rioters had to any extent succeeded, it would no doubt have gone very ill with the Jews of Palestine. The growth of Jewish immigration, the acquisition of land and the Government encourage-

ment of and refusal to prohibit them, were the ostensible causes of the outbreak. Jewish immigration had grown very considerably during the past year, but nevertheless fell below the dimensions advertised in the Arab press and cafes. Jewish acquisition of land had not been considerable—most purchases of land during the year by Jews were from fellow-Jews—but it happened that relatively large areas that had been acquired earlier passed completely into the possession of the purchasers in the course of the year, and the consequent eviction of Arab tenants and squatters created a situation that worried the Government from the beginning of the year and even earlier. The Government took two steps to deal with this difficulty. The one was the enactment of legislation to prohibit, with certain exceptions, the removal of agricultural tenants or small owners unless suitable land in the neighbourhood is provided for them. The other was the acquisition of land near Beisan on which to settle some hundreds of cultivators who had to leave their fields near the coast, on the land being occupied by the Jewish National Fund. The latter proposal, however, failed, for the cultivators refused to go so far from their former homes, and the end of the year saw them still in temporary encampments near the lands from which they had been evicted.

The outbreak began in the middle of October with a demonstration in Jerusalem which was prohibited by the authorities. The crowd, at the head of which walked a number of the leading members of the Moslem and Christian Arab communities, was determined in its intention and had ultimately to be broken up by the police with not very serious casualties on both sides. A fortnight later there was a similar demonstration at Jaffa which was also prohibited. The police also had to intervene on this occasion, but here the riot was far more serious and there were killed and seriously injured on both sides. From Jaffa the trouble spread to the other towns and there were disturbances in Haifa, Jerusalem, Nablus, Jenin, and Tul-Karm, and a total casualty list of 25 including 1 policeman killed and 233 including 28 policemen injured. Several of the leaders of the demonstration were arrested and prosecuted for illegal assembly. At one point during an anxious week the constitution had to be suspended and Palestine placed in effect under martial law except that the army was not put in control. The formal opening of the Haifa Harbour which had been appointed for the Tuesday of the disturbances (Oct. 31) took place, but in the simplest of style in the presence of a handful of officials, instead of the colourful pomp that had been intended.

Haifa Harbour is the largest in the Eastern Mediterranean, and is expected to have a considerable influence on the economic fortunes of Palestine. It should make Haifa the largest and most prosperous town in Palestine.

Contemporary with but independent of this outbreak was a certain tightening up of the immigration regulations with a view to the more effective control of immigration into Palestine. Legal immigration had increased five or sixfold in the course of the year, but by the side of this there had grown up an illegal immigration, also mainly Jewish, which was also considerable. The legal immigration was in accordance with the law, and there was no desire on the part of the Government to interfere with it. The case was, however, different with the others, and in order to curtail or even suppress it, the frontier controls were made more effective and new conditions introduced for the grant of visas to tourists and other temporary visitors. These measures led to an outburst of indignation on the part of the Jews in all parts of the country. Protest meetings were arranged, resolutions condemning Government action adopted, deputations sent to the High Commissioner and a widespread Press campaign inaugurated. The vehemence of these protests was, however, to some extent subdued by a consciousness of the electrical atmosphere that pervaded the country, and the consequent latent danger to the entire Jewish population, and it is probable that the greater evil of an Arab outbreak subdued the minor one of a widespread Jewish protest that might have been carried to further extremes. There was, however, one riot in Tel Aviv (Dec. 9) in the course of which both police and members of the public were injured.

Before the events of October and November occurred, apart from a few rumblings earlier in the year, the year 1933 was noteworthy from beginning to end for a wave of prosperity that had not yet spent itself at the close. The prosperity, however, was not general. It was limited to the towns and the orange-growing districts. Elsewhere the state of affairs was far from satisfactory. In agriculture the year was again one of drought, the fourth in succession, weighed down by the accumulated misfortunes of the previous years, and once again the Government had to come to the assistance of the agriculturist and not only relieve him of his taxes and debts, but also provide him with seed, fodder, and relief works.

The two reports of Mr. Lewis French, the Director of Development, were published during the summer, and gave no satisfaction to the Jews and very little more to the Arabs. The Government published the reports but did not accept their conclusions in full. Simultaneously a loan of 2,000,000(M. was announced, partly for the resettlement of Arabs, partly for general agricultural development and an agricultural bank, and partly for public works. The Jews also objected to this distribution on the ground that it was too favourable to the Arab section of the population, and they would not get what they considered their fair share.

The question of a legislative council did not come to a head

during the year, although the announcement that one would be introduced shortly was repeated and led to further Jewish protests. On the other hand, the preparations for the reform of the Municipalities law and the election of new Municipalities proceeded apace.

Early in the year an Arab conference decided on a campaign of non-co-operation with the Government. The campaign was duly initiated but was never taken very seriously, and after a few months faded into oblivion. Shortly afterwards there was a meeting in Jerusalem between Dr. Weizmann, the Zionist leader, and other prominent Zionists on the one hand, and a number of leading sheikhs from Trans-Jordan. Much interest was aroused in this meeting which was quite open. Its purpose was not at the time clear, but it was later connected with some secret negotiations, which were ultimately disclosed by both sides, for the acquisition either by purchase or lease, of lands for Jewish settlement in Trans-Jordan. These lands included part of the private domains of the Emir of Trans-Jordan. When the proposal became public, however, the hostility among the Arabs both in Trans-Jordan and Palestine was so great that the project had to be dropped. Moreover, it failed to find sympathy with the Government, as was admitted by the accredited representative of the Government before the Mandates Commission of the League of Nations in June, for the Government felt that the task of protecting Jewish settlers in Palestine was sufficient. The further task of protecting them in Trans-Jordan would be beyond its power.

The whole of the Palestine population who had in any manner come in contact with him, and many elsewhere, were shocked in June by the cold blooded murder in the presence of his wife of Dr. Chaim Arlossoroff, the *de facto* head of the Jewish Agency in Palestine, a few days after his return from Europe (June 16). Three members of an opposition party in the Zionist movement were arrested for the crime. Dr. Arlossoroff, a loyal and courageous advocate of the policy of the Jewish National Home and also a strong advocate of co-operation with the British Government and friendship with the Arab population, had the support of the Zionists and the complete confidence of the Government. His death was a serious loss to the Government of Palestine as well as to his own people. Apart from this tragedy other vacancies occurred in the personnel of the Jewish Agency Executive in Palestine. In fact a practically new Executive was appointed by the Zionist Congress in August.

While the figures of immigration into Palestine showed a great increase on the numbers of previous years, there were also qualitative differences. The proportion of men of substance among the immigrants showed a noticeable increase, and the volume of money that was brought and sent to Palestine by them proved

to some extent an embarrassment. One consequence was a great rise in rents and the price of land, with speculation in both house and real estate as a further consequence. Another result was a great demand for building and agricultural labour, a demand due to the limited number of skilled men, sometimes difficult to satisfy. Another change in the quality of the immigrant was the increasing proportion of German Jews, although in the total number they remained a relatively small minority.

Apart from land legislation, the principal proposal—it is still a Bill not yet an Ordinance—was a new Criminal Code superseding the Ottoman Code, and to a large extent following English criminal law. The enactment of this legislation will mark the greatest step yet made under the British Mandate. Another announcement of the year was that the fabric of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre was in danger and a sum of 75,000/. needed for urgent repairs. No one knows whence the money will come. Under tradition if not under the law whoever repairs a building secures possession of it. Each sect would prefer the sacred building to fall to pieces rather than that the other should gain possession of it. They are only united in opposition to the interference of a third party, and if the Government stepped into the breach it is probable that both the Jewish and Moslem taxpayers would object most strongly to their money being spent on a church.

Trans-Jordan, entirely an agricultural country, suffered very severely from the drought that was prevalent in Western Asia, and much misery among the people followed. In diplomacy the principal, the only, event was the conclusion in August and the ratification in December of a Treaty of Friendship and Arbitration between the Emir and his hereditary foe, the King of Saudia-Arabia.

SYRIA.

The whole year was over-shadowed by the question of altering the Constitution of the Mandated territories and of the possible end of the Mandate.

The year opened with the examination of the French Government's Report on its administration by the Mandates Commission of the League of Nations. The talk there centred mainly round these questions and the creation of an independent Syrian State on the model of Iraq came on to the tapis. In the discussions opinion at any rate was unanimously in favour of this policy. The division in opinion both in Syria and at Geneva was whether or not there should be a united Syria. The separation of the Lebanon from the other States was conceded, but Syrian opinion refused to go further and in this they were supported by the Italian and German members of the Mandates Commission. In

the other States of the French Levant, however, those of the Druzes, the Alouites, and the Djezireh, local opinion, so far as it was expressed, favoured partition. At the same time a treaty which was to govern the status of the State or States to be constituted was under discussion between their representatives and those of France, and at length on November 16 it was signed.

The Government of Syria with which the treaty had been negotiated had been more or less appointed by the French authorities. It was therefore not surprising that the announcement of the signature of the treaty and the publication of its terms brought all the simmering discontent to a head and led to an outbreak, which on this occasion stopped short of physical violence, against not only the French but also against the Syrian Government. The terms of the treaty, at any rate in detail, had little consideration. The hostility to it was part of the general hostility against the French and their nominees. The purpose of the treaty was to prepare for the termination of the French Mandate in Syria, which would lapse when Syria became a member of the League of Nations. It provided for a transition period of four years after which its other provisions would come into force. In this treaty the French Government followed closely the procedure adopted by the British Government in terminating the Mandate over Iraq. The Franco-Syrian Treaty was in conformity with the general lines of French policy, which since 1926 had steadily aimed at eventual self-government for Syria ; but the treaty affected Syria only, not the Lebanon, and special provision was made for preserving the separate Administrations of Latakia and the Jebel Druze. The French undertook, at the end of the appointed period, to support Syria's application for admission to the League of Nations, but the Syrian Government on its part undertook to accept French wardship for a further period of twenty-five years. During this period French troops and a French military mission would assist the Syrian Government in its task of defence, and French expert advisers and magistrates would be employed in the administration. The Lebanon and the whole of the sea-board, together with the Jebel Druze, were to be under separate administration, and there was no prospect that the Mandate over those areas would be terminated at any appointed time.

A vital clause made Syria with the other States under French Mandate, one Customs union. Thus her Customs revenue, her principal source of income, would remain under French control. The appointment or displacement of French officials moreover did not depend on the decision of the Syrians but also required the agreement of the French. In short the proposed Constitution approximated to that of Trans-Jordan rather than to that of Iraq with which it was compared by the French.

No sooner did the terms of the proposed treaty become known

in Damascus than the Nationalists began to work up a violent agitation against it, representing it as a betrayal of the country. They succeeded in forcing one member of the Cabinet to resign, and by the time the draft came before the Damascus Parliament for ratification they had obtained the consent of 46 out of the 66 Deputies to vote against it. The debate on the treaty opened on November 21 in a hysterical atmosphere ; the Nationalists had mobilised a deputation of women to wail and rend their clothes round the entrances to the building. M. de Martel, the High Commissioner, judging that calm discussion of the treaty was impossible, caused the sitting to be suspended. Eventually he suspended Parliament for the rest of the session to give the Deputies and the public alike a chance for second thoughts.

In April the Coalition Cabinet had come to an end with the resignation of the two Nationalist members. The prospective treaty was the cause of their resignation, the Nationalists being adamant in favour of unity and independence. After a fortnight's delay a new Cabinet was formed without the assistance of the Nationalists. The policy of the new Cabinet was declared to be to guarantee individual liberty and the rights of the Minorities. They would concentrate on securing Syria's independence and sovereignty and the abolition of the Mandate. On meeting Parliament the Cabinet secured a vote of confidence by a majority of one. The Nationalist Press called on the merchants to strike as a protest against the composition of the Cabinet. The Government, however, took steps to prevent the closing of the shops, after prominent merchants had declared their willingness to keep their premises open if the authorities would guarantee security. Some of the shops were nevertheless stoned, and the few police in evidence were unable to put down the disturbance. The Cabinet crisis led to more widespread trouble. A general strike was declared in Damascus in support of the Nationalist Party's policy, and became so widespread that for a while telephone communication between Syria and the Lebanon was suspended. Parliament met in the midst of a great protest demonstration and with military precautions in evidence on all sides. Strikes broke out also at Aleppo, Hama, and Latakia, where shops were closed in protest against the opening of Parliament in the absence of the Nationalist members.

In July the High Commissioner, M. Henri Ponsot was transferred to Morocco and was succeeded by M. de Martel, another civilian, thus continuing the tradition introduced with the appointment of M. de Jouvenel after the suppression of the Civil War.

The Arab outbreak in Palestine at the end of October had its repercussions in Syria as in other Arab lands. In Damascus the markets were closed as a sign of mourning, and crowds assembled for prayers for the dead in the Ommayyad Mosque where

violent addresses were delivered. A few days later there were further meetings in the same historic mosque when anti-Zionist addresses were delivered and blood-curdling accounts of the events given. The congregation poured out uttering cries and attacked the police who opened fire, killing one person and wounding three. A night-guard also was wounded, and twenty-five persons arrested. The British Consulate had to be strongly guarded.

ARABIA.

The opening of the year coincided with very strained relations between the forces of Saudia and Assir. The relations were in fact more than strained and fighting broke out between them. Assir was in the position of a Saudia protectorate, so that the fighting was in effect a revolt. This revolt was in due course suppressed, but shortly afterwards trouble arose between the Imam of the Yemen and ibn Saud of Saudia, the two surviving independent rulers in Arabia. By August the situation became threatening. A Wahabi mission visited the Imam's capital in order to effect a settlement, but the work of this mission was delayed by the illness of its host, and when he recovered, his disposition had changed and the members of the mission found themselves in effect prisoners instead of negotiators. Ibn Saud was more conciliatory, but he was nevertheless compelled to mobilise his forces. The year ended with the situation very unsettled and rumours of armed clashes between the rival forces rife.

In another direction, however, international relations improved. The Amir of Trans-Jordan was a member of the Hashimite family which had been forcibly ejected only a few years ago from the Hedjaz by ibn Saud, and the wrongs his father and brother had suffered at the hands of the Wahabi continued to rankle in the mind of the Amir. His assistance to, nay encouragement of, the abortive rebellion against ibn Saud of the previous year was more than suspected, and it was believed that Abdullah would seize any means to revenge himself on his family's enemy. All the more satisfactory therefore was the conclusion of a treaty of friendship between the two rulers. The treaty was signed in Cairo in December. Another project which at first gave great promise of success did not eventuate. Saudia is a poor country dependent largely on the pilgrimage whose dimensions have very noticeably shrunk during the past few years. It has no fluid resources, either in public or private hands, without which whatever other resources the Kingdom may hold cannot be developed. The ex-Khedive Abbas Hilmi was in Western Asia early in the year, anxious so it appeared to use his considerable wealth for the benefit of the Arab populations. One of his projects was the establishment of a State Bank for the Wahabi Kingdom, in which he proposed to invest a million pounds. High hopes were based

on this offer, but something or somebody intervened, and the project passed stillborn. A second project, with greater reality, was the building of a railway along the Pilgrim road from Jeddah to Mecca, the concession for which was granted to an Indian Moslem group. Yet another proposal was the encouragement of an American syndicate to prospect for minerals which undoubtedly exist within the unknown confines of the Kingdom.

The status of Aden which had for long been a dependency of the Government of India had undergone more than one change during recent years. The latest occurred only in April, 1932, when the territories were placed under a Chief Commissioner responsible direct to the Governor-General of India. The prospective change in the Constitution of the Indian Empire, however, still made another change desirable. The proposals were described by the Secretary of State in the House of Commons on June 19. The reasons which suggested that Aden should not remain linked with India under the new Constitution were, he said, that it was an area geographically remote from India ; that it would not naturally fit into the new Federation ; that it was already to some extent under Imperial control; and that it was inseparable in practice from the Aden Protectorate, which had already passed wholly out of Indian control. If it should be decided that the administration of Aden should be separated from that of India the British Government contemplated that the following conditions would be established : —

(1) India would be relieved of the annual contribution of approximately 150,000l. sterling, or Rs. 20 lakhs, at present payable towards the military and political administration.

(2) The right of appeal in judicial cases to the Bombay High Court would be maintained.

(3) His Majesty's Government would maintain the existing policy of making Aden a free port unless some radical change in the present economic situation should take place. From their own point of view the abandonment of this policy would clearly in existing economic conditions be financially unsound, since the prosperity of Aden depended largely on its transit trade.

(4) His Majesty's Government would do their utmost to maintain the present standard of administration and would not impose any additional taxation unless such a course became, in their opinion, absolutely necessary.

(5) A proportion of Indian service administrative personnel would be retained in Aden service for some years after transfer took place.

(6) No racial legislation or segregation would be permitted by His Majesty's Government.

The proposals, however, were not welcomed by unofficial opinion in India, and the Council of State adopted without opposition a resolution deprecating them. The British policy, however, seemed to remain unshaken.

The relations between the Aden Protectorate and the neighbouring Imam of the Yemen, always uneasy, again attracted attention during the year. Despite all the measures that had previously been taken the Imam remained in occupation of a

portion of the territories of the Protectorate and kept some of its prominent men as hostages. In the last days of the year negotiations which had been dormant for some time were reopened, and Lieut.-Col. Reilly, the Chief Commissioner of the Protectorate, left for Sanaa, the Imam's capital, on December 15. The year thus ended with some prospect of a treaty that would bring the long-standing dispute to an end and put commercial relations between the two States on a satisfactory footing.

CHAPTER VII.

THE FAR EAST : CHINA—JAPAN—THE NETHERLANDS EAST INDIES.

CHINA.

IN accordance with the resolution passed by the Kuomintang in December, 1932, that every effort should be made to resist further Japanese advance from Manchuria (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1932, p. 283), a large Chinese Army had been stationed south of the Great Wall under the command of Chang Hsueh-liang, and in addition numbers of Chinese soldiers, to the number it was said of 100,000, had assembled at various points in the Province of Jehol, under the immediate command of Tang Yu-lin, the Governor.

It was widely expected that they would put up a very stubborn resistance. Those, however, who had seen them at close quarters cherished no such illusions. The only section of them that had any military value was a couple of brigades of Chang Hsueh-liang. The rest were little more than a rabble, badly armed and poorly led. Mr. T. V. Soong, the Finance Minister, who visited Jehol just before the operations commenced, described the Chinese forces as "an army with no staff work, with the generals staying hundreds of miles behind, with no transport except of the most primitive sort, no liaison between the different commands, no anti-aircraft guns and trenching materials or artillery, and soldiers trained only in drill-ground rudiments."

The result of pitting such a force against an Army like that of Japan was such as might have been expected. After the Nanking Government and Chang Hsueh-liang had in the middle of February rejected an ultimatum from Japan demanding the Chinese withdrawal from Jehol, the Japanese advance began on February 23. On March 2 the passes blocking the road to the town of Jehol were captured, and on March 4 the city itself fell into Japanese hands. The Chinese forces then retreated at full speed to Kupei-kou, on the Great Wall. Here they made some show of resistance, but Kupei-kou was captured on March 7, and by March 12 no

Chinese forces were left north of the Great Wall. Chang Hsueh-liang was made a scapegoat for the debacle and was forced to resign his command, which was transferred to General Ho Ying-ch'ün, a nominee of Chiang Kai-shek.

The main Chinese Army south of the Great Wall kept up a desultory warfare with the Japanese troops, which occupied a section west of the Luan River, till the middle of May. At length the Japanese advanced to within three kilometres of Peking, and the Chinese Government, recognising that resistance was hopeless, consented on May 31 to sign an armistice in accordance with which the Chinese Army withdrew west of Peking and the Japanese undertook to retire as soon as possible north of the Great Wall, the territory evacuated to become a demilitarised zone policed by Chinese. The Japanese withdrawal was officially announced as having been completed by August 7, and through traffic was shortly afterwards resumed on the railway between Tientsin and Shanhaikwan.

Fighting against the Japanese was kept up for a time after the armistice by the "Christian" General, Feng, but he retired from the struggle in July. It was still carried on, however, by some of his lieutenants, who entered the demilitarised zone in September. With the help of Japanese bombers, the Government forced them to surrender at the end of October, and their troops were incorporated in the Chinese Army. At the beginning of November the Chinese officials appointed to administer the demilitarised zone assumed office at Tungchow and Tangshan, and with the storming of Funing by Government forces on November 6, the anti-bandit campaign in the Luan area was brought to an end.

Meanwhile on June 17 a political council had been inaugurated in Peking as a branch of the Executive Yuan to control affairs in the northern province. It was under the chairmanship of General Huang-fu, who had been chiefly responsible for the armistice negotiations, and included the principal generals and politicians of all factions, not excluding the Anfu clique, being intended to reconcile conflicting northern interests as a safeguard against separatist intrigues.

Early in November, General Okamura and the Japanese Minister, Mr. Ariyoshi, proceeded to negotiate with General Huang-fu at Peking regarding "local problems." On November 9 an agreement in principle was reached for the restoration of through service on the railway, together with Customs, postal, and telegraph facilities. The Political Council at Nanking, however, could not make up its mind to accept the agreement, and ordered the suspension of the Peking negotiations.

Early in September a conference to discuss the future orientation of Chinese policy took place at Ruling between Chiang Kai-shek, T. V. Soong, Wang Ching-wei and General Huang-fu. Mr. Soong, who had just returned from a trip to Great Britain and

America, pressed for closer relations with those countries and the formation of a National Reconstruction Commission staffed by foreign experts to control all revenue-producing machinery other than the Maritime Customs. The others favoured closer relations with Japan. Feeling against Japan had in fact by this time become less bitter, save in the South, though China maintained her policy of technical and economic co-operation with the League of Nations and the Western Powers. Soon after Sir Arthur Salter, formerly Director of the Economic Section of the League of Nations, was invited by the Chinese Government "to report on methods for reorganising the national finances." At the end of October Mr. T. V. Soong resigned from the posts of Finance Minister and Vice-Chairman of the Executive Yuan, though he retained his position as a member of the Standing Committee of the National Economic Commission. He was succeeded in both the posts he vacated by Mr. H. H. Kung.

Earlier in the year other important changes of personnel had also taken place in Government circles. On January 16 Br. Sun Fo, son of Dr. Sun Yat-sen, became President of the Legislative Yuan, and both he and Mr. Yu Yu-jen, President of the Control Yuan, became members of the Standing Committee of the Central Political Council, along with Wang Ching-wei, Chiang Kai-shek, and Hu Han-min. This change was thought to signify a weakening of the power of Chiang Kai-shek. On August 17 Dr. Lo Wen-kan resigned his post as Minister of Foreign Affairs, the duties of which were taken over by Mr. Wang Ching-wei, the President of the Executive Yuan.

In internal affairs as in external, the year 1933 was for China one of retrogression rather than progress. The jealousy between Canton and Nanking continued, and the armistice with Japan was severely criticised in the South. For the greater part of the year Chiang Kai-shek found a valuable ally in Canton in the person of General Chen Chi-teng, the Governor of Canton and Chairman of the South-Western Political Council. Chen Chi-teng was said to be subsidised by Chiang Kai-shek, and certainly he checked disruptive tendencies in the South with a strong hand. Eventually, however, his repressive policy produced a violent reaction, and towards the end of the year a number of malcontents supported by the Nineteenth Route Army, the heroes of the Shanghai fighting against the Japanese in 1932, proclaimed a "People's Revolutionary Government" at Foochow, on the south-west coast in the Province of Fukien. Its President was Li Chai-sum; Eugene Chen was the Foreign Secretary, and General Tsai Ting-kai was in command of the troops, while one of the moving spirits was Chen Ming-shu, an ex-Governor of Canton. The Nanking Government moved troops to Chekiang and instituted a blockade of the Fukien coast, but up to the end of the year no decisive action had taken place.

Throughout the year fighting on a considerable scale took place between various armies and the Communists, whom all factions united in regarding as common enemies. Nevertheless, they more than held their own. In January they made an advance towards Nanchang, the capital of Kiangsi. They were opposed by Chiang Kai-shek, but they inflicted a severe reverse on him early in April. In the summer they penetrated into the Province of Fukien and advanced nearly as far as Amoy on the coast. Here, however, they were met and defeated by the Nineteenth Route Army under General Tsai Ting-kai. Though driven out of Fukien, however, they retained their hold of Kiangsi. In Szechuen also the Communists were able to gain some notable successes owing to the quarrels between the two Government Generals, Liu Hsiang and Liu Wen-hui.

Trade continued to decline during 1933 and there was a considerable excess of imports over exports. Early in the year a regulation was promulgated that all imports as well as containers should be conspicuously marked in Chinese characters with the country of origin. In deference to foreign representations, the coming into force of these regulations, originally fixed for August 1, was postponed till January 1, 1934. On May 22 a new Customs tariff was introduced, in which duties on a large number of imports were considerably increased. The reason given for it was the need of finding new sources of revenue to meet the new expenses caused by Japanese aggression. In the same month the Chinese Government contracted a loan of 50,000,000 dollars with the Reconstruction Finance Corporation of the United States for the purchase of American cotton and wheat. A vigorous protest was entered against this step by the South-Western Political Council at Canton, which asserted that the new loan would be used for civil war. Owing to the decline in trade and other causes the finances also became greatly embarrassed, and in October the Budgetary deficit was officially estimated at 14,000,000 dollars per month.

Early in the year the Tungans and Turkis in Sinkiang (Chinese Turkestan) rose in revolt against the local Chinese Government. The rebels soon captured the capital, Urumchi, and in May the towns of Yarkand and Kashgar. An internecine conflict then broke out between the Tungans and the Turkis in Kashgar and its neighbourhood. Early in September Ma Chung-ying, the Tungan leader and the instigator of the rebellion, met Dr. Lo Wenkan, the Chinese emissary, in Turkestan, and swore allegiance to the Chinese Government in return for being appointed Eastern Route Garrison Commander. He then joined his arms with those of the Chinese and drove the Turki leader, Khojaniaz Haji, back westwards to Aksu. The Turkis in Kashgar then went to the help of their comrades, leaving the Tungans in control.

At the beginning of March the new central mint at Shanghai

began minting a new standard silver dollar weighing 26'6971 gms. and containing 88 per cent. of pure silver. The new dollars were made exchangeable for taels on the basis of 7171-50 taels for 100 dollars. On April 6 a decree was issued by the Government that all private and public transactions in order to be valid must henceforth be made in silver dollars. No standard dollars, however, were as yet current, as the samples minted were not approved, and foreign banks continued to keep their accounts in taels.

In July Sir Miles Lampson, who had for many years been the British Minister to China, was appointed High Commissioner of the Sudan. It was announced in September that his successor would be the Hon. A. M. G. Cadogan..

Enormous damage was wrought in the autumn by floods in the Yellow River valley, over 2,000 villages being destroyed.

JAPAN.

Japan in 1933 consolidated and further extended the territorial gains which she had acquired in the previous year, and, in contrast with almost all other countries, continued the expansion of her foreign trade at a rapid rate. Dazzled by these achievements, which brought Japan to an unparalleled pitch of power and prosperity, the people willingly acceded to the demands of the military clique which dictated the policy of the Government. Yet that policy, if successful in the immediate present, threatened serious dangers for the future. It cost Japan the hostility not only of China but also of Russia, and the estrangement of the rest of the world ; and it entailed a burden on her finances which strained them almost to breaking-point.

When the year opened, Japan's action in declaring Manchukuo an independent State under Japanese suzerainty was still being considered by the League of Nations. Japan consistently maintained the standpoint that by assuming control in Manchuria she was acting in the interests of peace and tranquillity in that region, and on that ground refused to entertain any proposals for abandoning the position she had won there. When on February 24 the Assembly of the League of Nations accepted a report declaring that the Japanese occupation of Manchuria in 1931 was unjustified and calling for the recognition of Chinese suzerainty over the country, Japan came to the conclusion that it was impossible for her to co-operate with the League in finding a solution for her dispute with China, and on March 27 gave formal notice of her intention to withdraw from the League. In order to mitigate the unfortunate effect which this step might have on world opinion, an Imperial rescript was at the same time issued from Tokio stating that Japan's attitude towards measures

intended to promote international peace had not changed, and that she would not isolate herself in the Far East from the fraternity of nations. In contrast with this, however, the Minister of War sent the Army a message stating that the nation had been re-born in the nation's moral principles, a positive policy established, and an opportunity created for national expansion.

In the meantime Japan had commenced the task of clearing the Chinese out of Jehol, which she regarded as an integral part of Manchukuo. Preparations had been made with the utmost care for months before, and the result was a foregone conclusion. The Chinese resistance proved much feebler than was expected, and in consequence the campaign was carried through with incredible rapidity. The Japanese offensive was started on February 23, and by March 12 the whole of the Chinese forces had been driven south of the Great Wall (*vide* China). Nevertheless, though the fighting qualities of the Japanese Army were hardly tested, it won the admiration of the world through the excellence of its staff work and the powers of endurance displayed by the soldiers. True to the declaration they had made at the outset, the Japanese confined their conquests to Jehol, and though Japanese troops penetrated south of the Great Wall and remained there for some months, this was only to keep in check the Chinese forces which threatened to invade Jehol. This danger was dispelled by the arrangement made on May 23, and Japan withdrew all her forces from the other side of the Great Wall by August 7.

In a speech before the Diet on January 21, Count Uchida, the Foreign Minister, said that he felt sure that the auspicious growth of the new state of Manchukuo and the advantages which all nationalities were enjoying within its borders would eventually convince the League of Nations and the world at large of the fairness and justice of Japan's attitude, and that even the Chinese would ultimately recognise that co-operation between themselves, Japan, and Manchuria as an independent State was the best way of ensuring the peace of the Far East. In China itself conditions were abnormal, and therefore in matters relating to that country there should be some elasticity in the operation of the Covenant. Any attempt to draw analogies from conditions in Europe was bound to fail.

By this time there could be no doubt that the bulk of the country was behind the Government in its "forward" policy, and that it had implicit confidence in the military men who inspired it. Early in the year a member of the Seiyukai Party asked the Minister of War in the Diet if he had any notion of abandoning, at least for the time being, the notion that the Army was all-powerful, and of appointing civilians as well as military men to important posts in Manchuria, but though he created a certain sensation he met with little sympathy.

The spirit of the country came out most clearly during the

trial of the cadets and young officers accused of the murders of Mr. Inukai, Mr. Inouye, and Baron Dan in the previous year (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1932, p. 288). Great popular sympathy was shown towards the accused on the ground that they were prepared to sacrifice their lives in order to secure national reform and the purification of politics and the ruling class. The Nationalist element in the Cabinet was further strengthened by the replacing on September 14 of Count Uchida as Foreign Minister by Mr. Koki Hirota, a super-patriot, who in his youth had been connected with the Black Dragon Society. Rumours became current soon afterwards of the possibility of a purely military Cabinet, and the two political parties, the Seiyukai and the Minseito, took alarm and discussed the question of amalgamating for the defence of Parliamentary institutions, but without effect.

Japan's forward policy in Manchuria brought her almost inevitably into conflict with Russia. Count Uchida, it is true, in his speech on January 21, mentioned that Japan's relations with that Power had throughout the crisis been unexceptionable. Yet Russia's suspicions were already aroused, as was shown by the fact that M. Molotov brought a charge—which was afterwards withdrawn—against Count Uchida of having made a provocative statement concerning the activities of the Soviet Government and its future Embassy in China. In March the Soviet Government transferred a large quantity of rolling stock from the Chinese Eastern Railway back into Russian territory. Vigorous protests were made both by Japan and Manchuria, but without effect. A way to a peaceful solution of the dispute seemed to be opened by Russia's offer in May to sell its share of the Chinese Eastern Railway to Manchuria. Negotiations for that purpose were opened at Tokio on June 26. Japan would not go beyond 50,000,000 roubles, an offer which Russia considered derisory, and the Soviet Government became convinced that Japan was meditating the appropriation of the railway by force.

The reverse side to Japan's military and political successes during the year was presented by the country's finances, the state of which was calculated to arouse no small misgiving. The Budget presented by the Finance Minister on January 21 reached the unprecedented figure of 2,239,000,000 yen. A deficit was inevitable, and as increased taxation was out of the question, the Minister proposed to meet it by means of loans. Supplementary estimates raised the Budget total to 2,309,000,000 yen. Some 223,000,000 yen was allocated to the relief of distress, both agricultural and industrial. The National Debt at the beginning of the year stood at 6,548,749,000 yen, which was 500,000,000 yen more than twelve months before.

In the sphere of commerce the achievements of Japan in 1933 were no less notable than in that of war, and equally aroused the apprehensions of the rest of the world. Throughout the year

Japan's export trade continued to increase by leaps and bounds, the most striking expansion being in cotton piece-goods, raw silk, rayon and rayon products, tinned provisions, hosiery, and flour. Three factors contributed almost in equal measure to the strengthening of Japan's competitive power—her magnificent industrial organisation, the depreciation of the yen, and the cheapness of her labour; for though wages had risen considerably in the last few years, they were still much below those current in the countries with which Japan had chiefly to compete, especially Great Britain.

Nowhere was Japanese penetration more marked than in the Indian market for cotton goods, which had once been the monopoly of Great Britain and which recently that country had commenced to share with India itself. Whereas in 1929 Japan had contributed only 4 per cent. of the Indian imports of this class of goods, in 1932 her share had been 48 per cent. Manufacturers both in India and Lancashire became seriously alarmed, and clamoured for Government protective measures. In response, the Indian Government on April 1 notified its intention to terminate the Indo-Japanese Trade Agreement of 1904 at the end of six months. The Japanese Government in consequence proposed to the Indian Government that negotiations should be opened with a view to reaching an agreement. After some delay, due in part to the necessity of consulting the British Government, an agreement was reached that official negotiations should be opened without delay between representatives of the Governments of India and Japan with the object of concluding a new trade agreement; that simultaneously informal discussions should take place in India between representatives of the textile industries of India, Japan, and Lancashire, with a view to reaching an arrangement covering the Indian textile market generally as well as British Colonial markets in which India was interested; and that immediately afterwards similar discussions should be started in London between Japanese and British industrialists to cover all other textile markets in which Japan and Great Britain were interested.

The official negotiations between the delegates of the Japanese and Indian Governments opened at Simla on September 23, and resulted in an arrangement by which Japanese textiles were subjected to a duty of 50 per cent, (with Imperial preference), while Japan undertook to buy a certain quantity of raw cotton from India. The projected tripartite conversations, however, between the industrialists did not take place, although they had come both from Great Britain and Japan, and the only fruit of their presence was a report issued at the end of October in which both the Japanese and the British expressed a desire to adjust the problem of competition by measures of common consent.

According to a report published in January, no less than

6,900 persons had been arrested in 1932 on suspicion of Communist activities, and of these 2,200 were still in custody. Another round-up lasting through the greater part of 1933 resulted in the arrest of 1,696 persons, of whom 926 were Koreans. Of those arrested, 147 were committed for trial.

THE NETHERLANDS EAST INDIES.

The economic crisis no less than the financial position of Netherlands India continued all through the year 1933, while the development of the political situation, both internal and external, required constant attention. Contrary to the opinion expressed by Nationalist and Communist extremists who demanded the total independence of the Dutch East Indies, the Government, both in the mother-country and in the islands themselves, supported by the States-General and the Volksraad (People's Council) at Batavia, continued the policy hitherto in vogue. This task was not facilitated by the precarious situation of the public finances, as was proved by the alarming mutiny in the Navy, caused by the announcement of a cut of 14 per cent, for Europeans and 17 per cent, on the salaries of natives in December, 1932. On several occasions the crews refused to perform military service. The holding of meetings was prohibited, but various members of the European crews did not obey orders. It was necessary to place nearly 500 men, Europeans and natives, under arrest in the isle of Madura. On February 7, on board the *Zeven Provinciën*, a training-ship stationed in the roads of Oleh-leh, the northern extremity of Sumatra, a mutiny broke out. While the Commander and a large number of the officers were ashore, the crew decided to make off with the ship. They wired afterwards that they proposed to "protest" against the salaries cut and the drastic measures against the crews who had refused to serve. The *Zeven Provinciën* skirted the west coast of Sumatra in a southerly direction, in order to steam to Somabaya, the naval base. The ship was followed at a short distance by a Government vessel, whilst the naval authorities summoned the armed cruiser *Java*, with destroyers, submarines, and other small craft, to bring the mutineers back. As the mutineers on board the *Zeven Provinciën* refused to surrender unconditionally, a bomb was thrown from a seaplane, bursting with terrible effect on the ironclad's deck, killing twenty-three men and wounding nine. The mutineers then surrendered. The leaders of the mutiny were tried by court-martial and severely punished. Discipline in the Navy was restored, the greater part of both the European and the native members of the crews proving loyal and obedient.

The drop in State revenues continued in 1933, a matter which was provided for in the Budget for 1934, Ordinary expenditure

was reduced from 524 million guilders in 1930 to 392 millions for 1934. The revenues for that year were estimated at 269 millions, leaving an estimated deficit of nearly 124 millions. To cover this deficit, 28 millions were expected from fresh taxation. Further retrenchment in salaries, wages, and pensions also proved necessary. A change in the distribution of the cost of defence as between the mother-country and the Colonies was considered. Conversion of debt was contemplated. In the future a far-reaching revision of the administration will become necessary. Salaries will have to move in the direction of a much lower level, whilst the process of replacing an increasing number of Netherlands employees by Netherlands Indians, both in private concerns and in the State service, is in full swing.

Under the force of economic circumstance a Crisis Import Ordinance was passed by the Volksraad, aiming at protecting home industry and affording support to the present commercial position.

CHAPTER VIII.

MOROCCO AND EGYPT.

MOROCCO.

French Zone.—In the course of 1933 the French completed the pacification of the Atlas district which had been commenced in 1931. The operations this year were under the direction of General Mure, who had under his command some 20,000 troops, both French and native, along with tanks and aeroplanes and heavy artillery. At the outset of the campaign, at the beginning of March, the French, through endeavouring to push on too quickly, suffered a serious reverse at Jebel Saghrû. Rumour placed the casualties at 2,000, but some time later the French Premier stated authoritatively that the French losses had been about sixty killed—mostly officers and non-commissioned—and about 100 wounded. From this point the French advance, though slow, was continuous. The tribesmen made a heroic resistance, but one by one their strongholds were taken and the dissident chiefs surrendered, until at the beginning of September only a handful were still holding out at Tazigzaut and the conquest of the Atlas was regarded as complete. The French losses were not heavy, but they included a large proportion of officers, among them Captain Bornazel, one of the most romantic figures in the French Army, and Lieutenant Mangin, son of the late General Mangin, who had himself had a distinguished career in Morocco. The only part of Morocco still "unpacified" was now the Anti-Atlas in the extreme south, inhabited chiefly by nomads, and before

the end of the year plans were made for bringing this **under** control in 1934.

On May Day the section of the Fez-Ujda railway from Guereif to Taza was opened for public use. The whole of the railway was completed and formally opened on November 28, affording through railway communication between Morocco and Algeria and Tunisia.

On September 14 M. Henri Ponsot arrived at Casablanca to take up his post as Resident-General in French Morocco, in succession to M. Lucien Saint.

Spanish Morocco.—At the beginning of January a decree reorganising the high administration of the Spanish Protectorate in Morocco was published. According to this, all officials who had held posts for more than nine years in Morocco were to be retired. The High Commissionership was to be attached to the Presidency of the Council, so that the High Commissary would be under the direct orders of the Prime Minister in Spain, instead of the Foreign Minister. Orders or decrees affecting Morocco were to be signed by the Khalifa, and published in the official *Journal* of the Protectorate before taking effect in that territory. All officials without exception were to be appointed by the Prime Minister.

On November 1 the President of the Spanish Republic, Don Nicete Alcala Zamora, paid an official visit to Morocco. He had an enthusiastic welcome at Ceuta and Tetuan, and visited among other places Bab Tazza, in the centre of a district which a few years before had been inhabited by the wildest and most rebellious tribes. In the course of his visit, which lasted about four days, he formally opened the new road between Tetuan and Melilla.

Tangier.—The financial position of Tangier at the beginning of the year was desperate, and it was obvious that it would not be able to balance its Budget without assistance from one or more of the Powers. At first all held back, but on Italy giving a hint that she would be willing to help if some changes were made in the Statute of Internationalisation, France, in order to avoid such an occurrence, undertook to come to the rescue, and Spain with some reluctance followed suit. The result was that provision was made sufficient for the year, though on a scale the reverse of liberal.

In March a delegation representing the various British interests in Tangier went to London to interview the Foreign Secretary on the disadvantages from which British interests suffered under the Statute of Tangier. Its purpose was to draw special attention to certain anomalies in the administration, to press for a revision of the charges imposed by the Statute and for the reorganisation of the Law Courts, and to recommend the appointment by the League of Nations of a High Commissioner for Tangier.

On May 4 the whole population of Tangier, and many Moslems from other and distant parts of Morocco, paid the last honours

to the remains of Mr. Walter B. Harris, for many years *The Times* correspondent in Morocco, which had been brought from Malta for burial in Tangier. Business was suspended in a great part of the town, and most offices and shops closed while the funeral was in progress. The Mendoub and many of the leading members of the Administration walked in the funeral procession, and the whole ceremony testified to the affection and respect in which the deceased was held by all, irrespective of race or creed, as one who had always shown himself a staunch friend of Tangier.

M. Henri Ponsot, the new French Resident-General, while on his way from Paris to Rabat in the latter part of November, held a reception at Tangier during which the Diplomatic Corps, the Judges, members of the Tangerine Assembly and Administration, and representatives of the Moslem and Jewish communities were presented to him.

At the end of July the Tangier Assembly agreed to the raising of two loans, one of 10,000,000 francs for the continuation of the port works, and the other of 8,000,000 francs for sanitation and urbanisation works.

EGYPT.

The state of the Prime Minister, Sidky Pasha's health was nominally the most important item in the history of Egypt during the greater part of the year 1933. He suffered from a stroke in March, and despite several attempts to return to work was practically in retirement until September. On March 5 he returned from Europe with his health much improved. There were the usual rumours of his resignation during his absence from his country, and these gathered special force immediately before his return. On his arrival he was seen by the King, and Sidky Pasha then announced that his health was fully restored and he had no intention of resigning. Sixteen days later he resigned. Such is the precariousness of politics in the East. The difference between the Prime Minister and the King arose out of the filling of two or three prospective vacancies in the Cabinet. Within three days of the resignation (March 24) a new Cabinet was formed under Abdel Fattah Pasha Yehia, who had been Foreign Minister in Sidky Pasha's Cabinet until the previous January. The majority of the members of the new Cabinet had held office in the retiring one. The majority also were described as independents rather than members of any definite political party, and they were generally understood to be closely dependent on the favour of the King. The two members of Sidky's party, the Shaab, who remained in the Cabinet, were promptly expelled from the party, although somewhat inconsistently, Yehia Pasha, who had left it at the beginning of the

year, was readmitted to the same party. The new Prime Minister, in his statement of policy, announced that he would follow the policy of his predecessor, especially with regard to the economic situation.

The Cabinet crisis in January, in the course of which Yehia Pasha and two colleagues resigned from Sidky Pasha's Cabinet, arose out of the Badari case. Two young men of that district had been convicted of murdering the local Mamur or Sub-Prefect, but were recommended to mercy because the Mamur had persecuted and tortured them, apparently merely because they were opponents of the Government. The facts were not in dispute nor was it contended that the Badari affair was a solitary one. But a serious difference arose out of it between the Prime Minister and his Minister of Justice, Aly Pasha Maher. The latter wanted to take immediate steps to prevent a repetition of the practices to which the trial had drawn attention ; the Prime Minister himself was less inclined to a change. Maher Pasha thereupon resigned and nothing further was heard of his proposed reforms. In March, after the Prime Minister's first return to duty subsequent to his illness, there were a few additions to the Cabinet intended to lighten somewhat his heavy burden. A week or so later Nahas Pasha, the head of the Wafd, or extra-parliamentary opposition, resumed his activities which had been suppressed in the previous year. He, however, met again with the same fate. His meetings in the provinces having led to disorder, he suddenly found the railway coach in which he and some of his principal supporters were travelling returning at full speed to Cairo.

In June and July the principal towns of Egypt were the scene of an unfortunate agitation which involved both religious and political aspects. The trouble arose at Port Said where a Moslem girl in a Christian mission school received corporal punishment for some breach of discipline. The rumour, however, at once spread, and spread very quickly, that the school authorities were attempting to force her to adopt Christianity. At once an anti-missionary agitation arose and spread throughout the vernacular Press. Petitions demanding the closing of all mission schools poured in upon the King. The Government was assailed with telegrams of protest from all parts of Egypt. A Committee for the defence of Islam was formed. The subject was raised in Parliament. There were attacks on Christian missionaries and even Coptic clergymen, and two or three Christian buildings were sacked. The practical consequences were the departure, more or less compulsory, from Egypt of the English headmistress of the school in which the incident arose, and a vote of 70,000L for the establishment of Moslem orphanages. One section of the opposition seized on the agitation as a godsend, but the official Wafd which has a strong Copt support exercised considerable reserve.

It is greatly believed that Sidky when he resigned the premiership had no intention of retiring from politics. It is even said that he aspired to the Presidency of the Chamber from which office his influence on affairs and power would have been considerable. The greater part of the membership of that body were his followers, and in such a position he would undoubtedly be a cause of difficulty to his successor. The successes of the latter, assisted no doubt by royal pressure, however, had their due effect, and the overwhelming majority that Sidky had created melted away in the sunshine that poured upon them from the new Government. Sidky prevented from attaining his object vacillated. First he announced his complete retirement from public life, greatly to the delight no doubt of his successor. But ten minutes before the hour appointed for the acceptance of his resignation of membership of the Chamber he withdrew it. This sudden change was possibly due to an unexpected revival of his influence among the members, an influence that could not be quenched despite all the efforts, public and private, made in the highest quarters.

In August the British High Commissioner, Sir Percy Loraine, was appointed Ambassador at Angora, and Sir Miles Lampson, British Minister in Peking, was chosen in his place. Sir Miles took up office in December. The change as usual aroused great interest, almost excitement, in Egypt. Throughout Sir Percy Loraine's term of office, he and the British Government had remained neutral in Egyptian internal affairs. The party in opposition had always vehemently criticised the previous High Commissioners for their supposed interference in Egyptian internal affairs. Curiously when the High Commissioner ceased all pressure the criticism from the same quarter was equally severe. By his neutrality he was said to be supporting a Government with which the great majority of the people was completely out of sympathy.

Apart from the suppressed struggle with Sidky and the hostility of the Wafd, the new Government even during the short period of its existence before the close of the year was not without its difficulties. The funeral in Cairo of two Egyptian airmen who were killed in an accident on their way from England degenerated into a political demonstration at which Nahas Pasha, the head of the Wafd, was proclaimed the prospective saviour of his country. On the last day of the year a celebration in honour of the fiftieth anniversary of the foundation of the native law courts was almost completely boycotted by the members of the Bar. The Order of Barristers had, despite the objections of the Cabinet, elected an ex-Wafdist Minister their Batonnier. The Government thereupon annulled the election by Act of Parliament. The boycott was the response, and there was no one to speak on behalf of the Bar on this auspicious occasion.

The question of the Egyptian debt was active throughout

the year. On January 21 the Cairo Mixed Court gave its judgment that the service of the debt should be paid in "sterling at gold parity." The Government at once appealed against this decision and at the same time negotiations were opened between the Egyptian Government with the support of that of Great Britain on the one side and those of France and Italy representing most of the creditors, apart from the British, on the other. The French, however, did not show themselves very amenable. The amount involved was about one and a half millions a year with accrued arrears of about two millions. The decision of the Court which was resented as an injustice aroused intense indignation among the Egyptian Press and public, and on this matter all parties in Egypt were at one. The poverty of the agriculturists and the financial difficulties of even the large agricultural landowners were another cause of anxiety. The price of cotton, that is the return from the land, had fallen by 30 per cent, and at the same time taxation had doubled and the needs of all classes in the population increased. As a consequence the burden of taxation on the Egyptian farmer was heavier than he could bear. It amounted to about 60 per cent. of his income and as a further consequence the Government and moneylenders were seizing the land on a wholesale scale. Early in the year it was recognised that steps had to be taken to relieve the cultivators, and Sidky's Government devoted a million pounds to the remission of rural taxation. Steps were also taken to lower the land tax, but as this is the guarantee for the payment of part of the external debt there were difficulties in the way.

The Report of Sir John Maffey, the Governor-General of the Sudan on the previous year, stated that the country was still suffering severely from the effects of the world economic crisis, and in view of the dependence of the Government and of a large section of the population upon the cotton market no great improvement in the situation of the country could be expected until the general economic position of the world improved and became more stable. In such circumstances no very considerable development took place during the year in the social, political, or material conditions of the inhabitants of the Sudan. In the circumstances the Sudan Government achieved as good results as could possibly be expected. Sir John Maffey stated that the financial prospects for the year 1933 were better, and the Budget had been balanced at 3,722,000£E. The Gezira had grown the largest and finest crop of cotton that it had ever produced, yet the Government lost on their share of the crop. "We have grown the cotton, but we cannot sell it, even at the existing unremunerative prices." Again, in gum, next to cotton the most important export of the Sudan, the arrivals on the market were the heaviest on record, yet much could not be sold. The trouble that arose out of the raids from Abyssinia in the summer of 1932 was settled

by the punishment of the raiders, the restoration of almost all of the captives and the payment of compensation in respect of those who had been killed and cattle that had been stolen.

CHAPTER IX.

AMERICA : THE UNITED STATES—ARGENTINA—BOLIVIA AND PARAGUAY — BRAZIL — CHILE — CUBA — PERU — URUGUAY— OTHER COUNTRIES.

THE UNITED STATES.

THE year in the United States opened with a prophecy. Summing up its careful three-year study of American economic and social currents, the Hoover " Research Committee on Social Trends " predicted that " a bewildering variety of changes " was in store for the nation.

Few forecasts can ever have been fulfilled more speedily than this one.

The concluding months of President Hoover's unhappy term of office saw the depression suddenly worsen. Virtually all the business and financial indices and many commodity prices started downward at the beginning of 1933, and the banking position became much more serious. Withdrawals from the banks and hoarding started up abruptly ; total money in circulation, adjusted by the Federal Reserve Board to allow for seasonal influences, rose steadily from 5,307,000,000 dollars on December 31, 1932, to 6,867,000,000 dollars on March 4, the increase of 1,560,000,000 dollars (312,000,000l.) representing a clear increase in hoarding.

Mr. Hoover had done all he could, and it was not enough. Orthodox in his fiscal views, he had strained hard to keep the National Budget balanced, year by year, in spite of the sharp reduction in Federal revenues. He had cut his own salary in 1932 from 75,000 dollars to 60,000 dollars and there had been cuts of 15 per cent, throughout the Government service, but the House of Representatives showed its curious anti-Hoover temper when on February 4, 1933, it voted against reducing the salaries of Representatives and Senators from 10,000 dollars to 7,500 dollars.

Mr. Hoover's pet theory that public works should be increased during a depression had been instrumental in securing rather cautious appropriations ; the Federal Government loaned to the States for good roads 80,000,000 dollars in 1931, 120,000,000 dollars in 1932 and 125,000,000 dollars in 1933. " But I earnestly recommend," said Mr. Hoover, in his last Budget message, " that

there be no further appropriations . . . for Federal-aid highways until the financial condition of the Treasury justifies such action."

Another Hoover device, the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, with a capital of 500,000,000 dollars and a total revolving fund eventually of 3,800,000,000 dollars, was striving to save the banks and hard-pressed railroads from disaster. For outright relief the R.F.C. had loaned to the various States 300,000,000 dollars. Further than this neither Mr. Hoover nor his hostile Congress seemed prepared to go.

But a new leader was being slowly borne towards the White House. On January 4 in the various States the " presidential electors " met and cast their votes for the candidates for President and Vice-President who had polled in each State the largest popular vote in November, and on February 8 the Senate and House of Representatives, in joint session, had opened the electoral ballots and certified that Franklin D. Roosevelt of New York and John N. Garner of Texas, both Democrats, had been duly elected President and Vice-President of the United States. While this rigid constitutional procedure was slowly going forward, riots broke out in Iowa where farmers whose mortgages were in default forcibly resisted foreclosure, and in towns and cities " runs " on the banks brought almost daily closings until the climax on February 14 when the Governor of Michigan, to save the two largest Detroit banks, closed all banks in the State for eight days. Similar proclamations followed in other States.

Meanwhile the Senate Committee on Currency and Banking, investigating the big New York city banks, had uncovered facts so damaging to the prestige of several institutions that Charles E. Mitchell was forced on February 27 to resign as President of the big National City Bank of New York ; smaller banks throughout the country began withdrawing their deposits from the big New York banks. This reached such a pass that, on the suggestion of the New York Federal Reserve Bank, the Governor of New York State declared on March 4—the day of Mr. Roosevelt's inauguration in Washington—a two days' banking holiday. This was accompanied by simultaneous action in Illinois and most of the other States, so that the newly elected President, addressing the nation at noon on March 4 in a country-wide radio " hook-up," spoke at a moment of extraordinary seriousness ; virtually every deposit bank or savings bank in the country was closed. In those few States where the banks had not been closed, steps had been taken to restrict withdrawals.

Mr. Roosevelt's inaugural address made a deep impression on the country. It was brief, solemn, and vigorous. He referred to the banking situation and, contemptuously, to those " money-changers " and " banker-speculators " who had exploited the country; he promised to invoke war-time powers to deal with the national crisis.

The next day he summoned Congress to meet in special session on March 9, and in the interim, using the War-time Act of October 6, 1917 (which had never been repealed), he declared a banking holiday for all institutions, whether State banks or National, from March 6 to March 9. But he simultaneously gave the Secretary of the Treasury the power to re-open any institutions he considered sound and to permit withdrawals for the purpose of providing food and medicine, or to meet payrolls. On the 7th many banks in New York, Chicago, and other centres re-opened on this restricted basis, and from that time on, the banking situation slowly improved throughout the year.

But the President's proclamation on March 5 went even further; by it he took over control of the export of gold and silver, and the purchase and sale of foreign exchange. Gold could only be exported by licence from the Federal Treasury; 6,000,000 dollars (out of a total shipment of 9,000,000 dollars), which had already been put in the strong-room of the *S.S. Paris*, bound for Europe, was seized and taken ashore. Though the country scarcely realised it, the United States was "off" the gold standard.

The new 73rd Congress, meeting on March 9, was overwhelmingly pro-Roosevelt. The Lower House passed unanimously and the Senate by a vote of 73 to 7 the Administrations first Bill, giving the President dictatorial powers over the issuance of credit and currency, as well as of gold, silver, and foreign exchange. Gold hoarding was expressly forbidden, under severe penalties, and in New York city alone about 30,000,000 dollars in hoarded gold was turned back to the banks within a week. By April 5, when the punitive clauses of the Bill became effective, about 633,000,000 dollars in gold and gold certificates had been turned in and about 600,000,000 dollars in gold certificates and about 400,000,000 in coin and bullion were still outstanding—much of it, no doubt, in European hoards.

Mr. Roosevelt's second piece of legislation, known as the "Economy Act," is especially interesting as showing that, at the outset, the new President shared the views of his predecessor regarding the imperative necessity of "balancing the Budget," for the Economy Act proposed wholesale reductions in expenditures totalling 500,000,000 dollars. Even the salaries of Senators and Representatives were cut from 10,000 to 8,500 dollars—what Mr. Hoover could not get from the 72nd Congress, Mr. Roosevelt easily got from the 73rd. Even more striking were the powers given the President to revise downward the pensions and relief allowances granted to the politically powerful war veterans. The House of Representatives passed the Bill promptly on March 11 and the Senate on March 15.

At this stage in his career the President stood at the crossroads. His economy measure was "orthodox" and, in its economic

effects, deflationary, but his monetary control, with the divorce of the currency from immediate contact with gold, started instantly a strong upward sweep in commodity prices. Within his own party there was a large group of avowed "inflationists," some of them clamouring fearlessly for the issuance of "printing press money," if such was necessary to lever prices upward. Mr. Roosevelt could not fail to notice, and even exult in, the wave of relief which passed over the country at the first glimpse of rising commodity prices. Surely this was, broadly, the only way out of the depression. The metallic standard, faithfully adhered to for fifty years, had ended—despite the best efforts of the Federal Reserve system—in a colossal stock market orgy, followed by the most severe depression in the country's history. If this was the best that orthodoxy could do, was it not time to try unorthodox methods? The President promptly ranged himself on the side of rising prices and assumed the leadership of the avowed "inflationists" in Congress. Action quickly followed. The Senate on April 28 (followed by the House on May 3) adopted by 64 votes to 21 the so-called "Thomas controlled inflation amendment" to a Bill providing for farm relief. That Bill, signed by the President on May 12, was permissive rather than compulsory, but it revolutionised the currency system.

It authorised the twelve Federal Reserve Banks to expand Federal Reserve credits by the purchase in the open market of Government securities up to 3,000,000,000 dollars. This was an echo of the bull stock market which had been traced to extensive open market purchases in 1927 by the Federal Reserve system. The additional credit created in 1927 had, unfortunately, gone not into business and commerce, as intended, but into real estate and stock market speculation, but in spite of this, many members of Congress (as well as some economists outside) had been converted to the view that central banking systems had, in open market operations, a powerful weapon in raising prices; to their minds this clause promised the beginning of definite control of commodity prices by the new central bank technique.

The next clause looked in another direction; it provided that if these open market operations failed to improve prices or turned out to be impracticable, then the Treasury was authorised to issue Treasury notes up to 3,000,000,000 dollars for the purpose of repaying sums borrowed by the Government or of purchasing Government securities. Another clause, inserted by the "bi-metallists," authorised the "unlimited coinage" of both gold and silver and permitted the President to establish, in his judgment, the proper fixed ratio between gold coins, nine-tenths fine, and silver coins of the same fineness. (Previously the Senate, at the President's special request, had resisted an attempt by the "silver forces" to fasten the old "Bryan ratio" of 16 to 1 upon the currency.) But this clause, although it "looked"

toward a double standard, reiterated that the unit of currency was to be the gold dollar. Next, the Bill provided that the gold content of the dollar might be reduced by the President to not more than 50 per cent. of its present content. He was specifically authorised to enter into international currency agreements. And finally the Government was authorised to accept within the next six months war debt payments in silver up to 200,000,000 dollars ; this silver was to be coined into dollars and used as a backing to silver certificates to be put into circulation.

Mr. Roosevelt signed the Bill but told the country over the radio on May 7 that he would use this legislation only to raise prices to a point " permitting debtors to pay their debts in the same kind of dollar which they had borrowed." This was taken to mean the price level obtaining in 1926-27-28.

The strength of the dollar in the foreign exchange markets during this period was astonishing. Americans, as has been noted, regarded the gold standard as having been definitely abandoned by the decree of March 5 which had forbidden the private ownership of gold coin or bullion, or its export except under Treasury licence. This system of export by Treasury licence was exactly the same system as had prevailed during the Great War at which time the foreign exchange value of the dollar had, on occasions, fallen as low as to 76 cents in Holland and Switzerland, 70 cents in Spain, and 63 cents in Sweden. Nevertheless, the demand for dollars abroad was so strong and persistent in 1933 that the dollar, measured against the French franc, held firmly around 99'2 cents in Paris from the President's inauguration on March 4 down to April 18. On April 19 a presidential decree tightening up the system of export licences was interpreted abroad as *the* definite and final abandonment of the gold standard and the dollar promptly fell in Paris to 91 cents. With some fluctuations it finally reached the low figure of 58'3 cents on November 16, but only after the Government had embarked upon a deliberate depreciation of the foreign exchange value of the dollar in its further efforts to raise prices.

But this somewhat tentative currency legislation of May 12, although it looked in several directions at once, crystallised public opinion. " Controlled inflation " became popular. Commodity prices were rising without a break from March until July, and every rise, it was recognised, strengthened the security behind the frozen loans of the banking system.

The conservative classes may have had misgivings about the possibility of " controlled inflation " but they were grateful for the vigorous handling of the banking crisis, they admired the President for his political courage, and they were not disposed to oppose him at this point. But they were distinctly jarred by the next step, a Bill which passed Congress and was signed by the President on June 5 which, at one stroke, abolished the " gold clause "

not only in all Government bond issues but also in all public or private contracts. This Act declared that wherever a contract stipulated payment in U.S. gold coin, or in money measured by gold, such payments could be made in any legal tender currency. The "gold clause" was null and void.

This was painfully concrete and stung the Diehards into speech. They denounced this "repudiation" of the Government's solemn pledge to meet its obligations to lenders in gold, and protested against the "unconstitutional" interference with the sanctity of private contracts. However, they were, throughout the year, curiously slow to appeal to the courts.

Up to June it seems fairly clear that Mr. Roosevelt's programme, hasty and extemporised as it was, included a large measure of co-operation with the rest of the world, partly through the World Economic Conference which met in London on June 12 (at which he and his Secretary of State, Mr. Cordell Hull, hoped to see some scaling down of tariff walls), and partly through a definite agreement to be reached simultaneously in London with Great Britain and the leading gold countries for the tentative stabilisation of foreign exchanges. Certainly the American delegates to London, headed by Mr. Hull, plunged into their work with the air of men having a definite mandate from the President to get something done.

But even while they were on the high seas bound for London the President was reconsidering the situation. While individual commodities had had a handsome rise, the well-known commodity index of the U.S. Bureau of Labour (embracing 784 different items) was rising with great sluggishness. The 16 to 22 per cent, depreciation of the foreign exchange value of the dollar, quoted in Paris in June at from 78 cents to 84 cents, had been accompanied by an increase in the domestic price level of only 7.6 per cent, since April.

At this time, early in June, the President added to his intimate staff of expert advisers—the well-known "Brain Trust"—two outstanding American economists who seem destined to play a remarkable part in the history of the Roosevelt administration. One was Professor George F. Warren, of Cornell University;¹ the other, Professor James Harvey Rogers, of Yale

¹ Professor Warren's views on the gold standard may be gathered from this excerpt from a paper on "Stabilisation of the Measure of Value," written by him for a group called "the Committee for the Nation": "There are four factors in price, not two, as is commonly supposed. This error has been the cause of innumerable business failures and of much foolish legislation. The price of wheat is the ratio of the supply of wheat and demand for it to the supply of gold and demand for it. Since the general level of commodity prices is the reciprocal of the value of money, there is no way to raise the price level except as the value of money declines or is lowered by law. The dollar has to be rubber, either as to weight or as to value. It cannot have a fixed weight and also have a fixed value. This proposal [the compensated dollar, i.e., changing the gold content of the dollar in direct proportion to changes in the price level] would give it a fixed value and a rubber weight. A scientific money is one with a constant buying power for commodities rather than a fixed weight for one commodity [meaning,

University. They were asked by the President to devote the summer to a special study of the problem of raising American prices, and it seems clear that, without anticipating the results of their study, they cautioned the President not to tie his hands by an agreement in London to stabilise the foreign exchange value of the dollar at that time.

But in London things had very nearly reached a settlement of a sort. The British authorities, working with Professor Raymond Moley, Assistant Secretary of State and one of the President's closest advisers, had drafted an agreement pledging the gold standard countries "to maintain the free working of that standard at current gold parities," while the Governments which had abandoned the gold standard declared their intent "without prejudicing their future ratios to gold, to bring back an international standard based on gold " and pledging themselves to adopt common measures against speculation in foreign exchange.

But President Roosevelt, in a statement to the American delegation which was released in London on July 3, abruptly withdrew from even this tepid agreement. He said :—

" I would regard it as a catastrophe amounting to a world tragedy if the great conference of nations, called to bring about a more real and permanent financial stability and a greater prosperity to the masses of all nations, should, in advance of any serious effort to consider these broader problems, allow itself to be diverted by the proposal of a purely artificial and temporary experiment affecting the monetary exchange of a few nations only.

" Such action, such diversion, shows a singular lack of proportion and a failure to remember the larger purposes for which the Economic Conference originally was called together.

" The sound internal economic system of a nation is a greater factor in its well-being than the price of its currency in changing terms of other nations.

" Let me be frank in saying that the United States seeks the kind of dollar which a generation hence will have the same purchasing power and debt-paying power as the dollar value we hope to attain in the near future. That objective means more to the good of other nations than a fixed ratio for a month or two in terms of the pound or the franc.

" Our broad purpose is the stabilisation of every nation's currency. Gold, or gold and silver, can well continue to be a metallic reserve behind currencies, but this is not the time to dissipate gold reserves. When the world works out concerted policies in the majority of nations to produce balanced budgets and living within their means, then we can properly discuss a better distribution of the world's gold and silver supply to act as a reserve base of national currencies."

Unlike all his other public declarations, this one was not felicitous in its phrasing ; it caused consternation in the American delegation at the Economic Conference and certainly gave offence in Great Britain and the gold standard countries. But its excessive vigour may have been due to two things.

of course, gold]. Our whole tax and debt structure rests on commodity prices. If this structure is to be kept sound either for the creditor or the debtor, it is commodity prices **that** need to be kept stable, not the weight of gold for which a dollar will exchange."

One, perhaps, was the natural embarrassment at being forced to snatch back with the left hand what had already been tendered the world with the right. The other reason may have been the desire to mask from the country, at that stage, the real reason, namely, that the President was groping toward the decision to explore the price-raising powers to be derived, not from inflation of the printing press variety, but by the deliberate depreciation of the gold value of the paper dollar, both at home and abroad, through the purchase of gold at steadily rising paper prices. This novel technique is understood to have been worked out during the summer by Professors Warren and Rogers.

Countries have, of course, depreciated their currencies in order to increase their exports, but Mr. Roosevelt throughout his first year showed almost no interest in the country's foreign trade. His references to it are almost perfunctory. In this absorption in the domestic price level he was at one with the public ; nevertheless, the beneficial (if somewhat limited) effects of the new policy upon the country's foreign trade was closely watched abroad.

The new technique began on September 9 when the Treasury began the publication daily of the price at which it was prepared to sell, on behalf of the producers, the gold from American mines. When the dollar is on the gold standard, the mint's price for gold is 20-6718 dollars per fine ounce, but the Treasury's price, in paper dollars, on September 9 was fixed at 29-62 dollars per fine ounce and rose gradually to 31-46 dollars. The country—not to mention the world—was completely mystified. The gold value of the dollar in Paris fell from 71 cents to 65 cents in September, only to rise again to 71 cents in October ; commodity prices, measured in paper dollars, moved erratically. Finally, on October 25 the Treasury abandoned this device and embarked through the Reconstruction Finance Corporation upon the policy of buying all gold offered, at home or abroad, at steadily rising prices. The price was raised slowly from 31*36 dollars on October 25 to 34-06 dollars on December 18.

By the end of the year the Treasury had invested 75,000,000 dollars in the purchase of gold (of which 50,000,000 dollars was purchased abroad), but markets responded with difficulty. The U.S. Department of Labour's index—which the President followed attentively—rose from 86'2 in March (1913 average = 100) to 101'6, an increase of 17'8 per cent., but individual commodities behaved erratically. Those like tin, rubber, and wool, which had enjoyed a big rise abroad, had a similar rise in the United States, but farm prices in general seemed much more affected by various restriction schemes than by the Government's manipulation of the dollar. From the beginning of the year to the end, wheat rose 62'5 per cent., other grains from 49 to 91 per cent., cotton by 72'1 per cent., but beef in Chicago fell 13 per cent. during **that** period, and cattle on the hoof in Chicago by 1 per cent.

Significant also was the decline in world prices calculated on a gold basis. The New York *Annalist's* composite index of wholesale prices (calculated on their gold value) in the United States, Canada, United Kingdom, France, Germany, Belgium, Netherlands, Italy, and Japan showed a severe decline from 81·0 in November, 1932 (average for 1913 = 100), to 77·8 in March, 1933, when Mr. Roosevelt was inaugurated, and to 73·6 in the following November. The *Annalist* contended that world gold prices had declined "under the burden of the United States' currency policy."

But the experiment, whether or not it met the hopes and expectations of its authors, became extraordinarily popular. Professor O. M. W. Sprague, who had been President Roosevelt's instructor in banking and finance at Harvard, resigned from the U.S. Treasury on November 21 in protest against the new currency policy, and for a few weeks was the centre of conservative opposition which included the Advisory Council of the Federal Reserve Board and a number of economists. But the President, in his radio address to the nation, carried everything before him.

But currency was not the only field in which this remarkable administration broke new ground. In sending to Congress in April his proposed Bill for the relief of agriculture, the President remarked candidly :—

"Deep study and the joint counsel of many points of view have produced a measure which offers great promise of good results. I tell you frankly that it is a new and untrod path, but I tell you with equal frankness that an unprecedented condition calls for the trial of new means to rescue agriculture. If a fair administrative trial of it is made and it does not produce the hoped-for results, I shall be the first to acknowledge it and advise you."

The method proposed was to raise agricultural prices by making it worth while, in immediate cash return, for farmers to plant less, to take land out of production.

During the last half of the nineteenth century, politicians had been clamouring successfully for Government appropriations for the reclamation of semi-arable land. Such projects had been extremely popular and had ranged from irrigation projects and swamp-clearings to schemes for the "deep soil" cultivation of lands with little rain-fall. Triumphs, all of them, of scientific agriculture and engineering.

The result was that the 500,000,000 acres of arable land reached in 1900 (and stationary thereafter) included, according to the Department of Agriculture, about 100,000,000 acres of marginal and submarginal land which could be successfully farmed only when good crops synchronised with good prices. But whenever this 20 per cent, of marginal land enjoyed good crops, its surplus was just enough to break agricultural prices. The total value of the 500,000,000 acres had doubled from 1900 to 1910 and again from 1910 to 1920—thanks to the speculation in farm

lands during the war. This rise had disguised the situation. But the break in prices in 1921, followed by a long decline thereafter to unprecedented levels, had revealed the over-production due to the marginal lands. For twelve years farm indebtedness and farm relief had been political issues.

President Harding and President Coolidge had both successfully vetoed Bills appropriating Government funds for the purpose of holding farm products off the market, but President Hoover had reluctantly yielded to "farm bloc" pressure in 1929 and had set up the Federal Farm Board with a fund of 500,000,000 dollars, partly to be loaned to farmers' co-operatives for holding products off the falling markets and partly for outright Government purchases of cotton, wheat, and wool. This device had proved completely unsuccessful, and, when inherited by the Roosevelt administration, was promptly liquidated; the original 500,000,000 dollars had dwindled to 150,000,000.

The new scheme as elaborated in the Agricultural Adjustment Act signed by Mr. Roosevelt on May 12 provided for the voluntary reduction in acreage and livestock devoted to the production of seven basic commodities—cotton, wheat, maize, hogs, rice, tobacco, milk and milk products. Each farmer agreeing to restrict production according to the Government's schedule would receive a cash payment per acre taken out of production; that cash payment was based on the difference between the current price of the commodity and its purchasing power over the years 1909-14. This cash payment, originally advanced by the Government, was to be recovered through a "processing tax" collected from the manufacturers, millers, packing-houses, etc., which used the products in question. Receipts from this tax in the year ending June 30, 1934, were estimated at 403,000,000 dollars; in 1935, at 548,000,000 dollars.

In cotton, for example, the farmers in 1933 ploughed up about 10,000,000 acres (one-fourth of the total) and reduced the total production from an estimated 17,000,000 bales, which would have been the second largest in history, to 13,100,000 bales. Cash payments earmarked for this were 110,000,000 dollars. The official aim is to get the area down to 25,000,000 acres in 1934 and 1935 and the crop down to 9,000,000 bales.

The scheme, though extremely complicated, was accepted with enthusiasm though 1934 will, of course, afford a clearer view than 1933 of its success or failure. It was accompanied by heavy appropriations for outright relief to impoverished farmers, and by State and Federal legislation looking toward the scaling down of farm indebtedness. There can be no disputing that the immediate effect of all these measures was an immense improvement in the economic position of the farm population.

The third big problem attacked by the semi-invalid in the White House was the prostration of industry and the widespread

unemployment, estimated at from 12 to 14 million when he assumed office.

The bulk of this was admittedly due to the prolonged depression, but the hard core of it, as the public well understood, was "technological unemployment" which had begun to be noticeable as far back as 1925. It was due, of course, to the complete overhauling of American plants and the introduction of labour-saving machinery, "mass production," "scientific planning"—all designed to reduce labour costs per unit of output. But while production costs in America were, perhaps, the lowest in the world, the costs of distribution were high, due to extravagant advertising, relentless price-cutting, and other phenomena of an intensely competitive regime.

Mr. Roosevelt's remedy amazed and angered American industrialists as soon as they grasped it, for he proposed, in a word, to reverse the whole post-war trend and deliberately to raise labour costs. Industry must itself furnish, in a higher total wages bill, an additional buying power in the domestic market for its collective output. The different industries must get together and eliminate unfair competitive practices and redundant forms of production, they must establish co-operative forms of advertising and distribution so as to bring down those preposterous costs of distribution, and the fund saved must go in large part to a higher bill for wages.

This was the gist of the National Industrial Recovery Act drafted by the administration's little coterie of experts and passed by Congress on June 16, the closing day of the memorable special session which had begun on March 9.

Briefly, the Act provides for the voluntary adoption by all trade groups of special "codes"—to be approved by the Government—designed to remove all unfair and costly competitive practices. Overlying all these thousands of individual "codes" was "the President's code" or "the blanket code" which Mr. Roosevelt, in a remarkable radio address on the evening of June 24, invited the employers of the nation to sign. That "blanket code" pledged the industrialists to abolish the use of child labour, to reduce the hours of work without reducing current payrolls, to pay certain minimum wage rates or better, and, in a word, to do everything possible to increase employment and the nation's total wages fund. This pledge was to hold good from August 1 to December 31 unless its terms were embodied in a "trade code" for a longer period. Employers who signed the code were given the right to display a special Government badge containing the American eagle, in blue, and the words "Members N.R.A.—We do our part."

When Mr. Roosevelt faced the microphone on the evening of June 24, he knew that most of the small employers of the country were in straitened circumstances and that the large

employers loathed, above everything, high labour costs and Government meddling. A single false note of class or partisan appeal, a single phrase which could have been denounced as "claptrap," would have instantly lined the employers up against him. No such note was struck. It was a remarkable address, grave in tone, not minimising the sacrifices he was calling upon the employers to make but rising slowly to the confident note that in this crisis American employers would courageously embark upon the new course to which the nation called them. "Send me a telegram if you will sign," he concluded.

The response was tremendous ; for days the telegraph companies and the postal authorities were clogged with telegrams and letters. National hopes rose so high that those employers who still disliked the scheme dared not stand out against the "blue eagle." Mr. Henry Ford was among the slower ones to come in, but he too finally signed the "blanket code" and joined the American motor industry in "setting its house in order."

But the rest of the year was full of controversies between various groups and the Government, the latter represented by the burly figure of General Hugh S. Johnson, Chief Administrator of the National Recovery Act. And there were clashes between employers and employees, the latter alleging specific violations of the "code." There were, in fact, more strikes and labour disturbances in 1933 than in the two preceding years together. Unemployment decreased by about 2,000,000 but more slowly than the country had hoped.

Employers may have been helped by the economies derived from more orderly marketing methods but more tangible was the help derived from the huge sums of money "placed in circulation" by the Government. Mr. Hoover and the 72nd Congress had more or less succeeded in holding down Government appropriations, but Mr. Roosevelt, after initial misgivings, went deliberately out for increased spending. His programme was based on the theory that the country, if it were involved in a war, would face a colossal deficit with equanimity—why not, therefore, now when every effort was being made to "down the Depression" ?

This began with an appropriation of 238,000,000 dollars in June to permit the Navy Department to lay down thirty-two new war vessels under the London Treaty, and was followed by an appropriation for "public relief" to the various States of 500,000,000 dollars, another of 400,000,000 dollars for good roads, and so on.

These schemes, in fact, were so numerous and huge that the President calmly told Congress when it assembled on January 3, 1934, that he expected a total deficit on June 30, 1934* of 7,309,000,000 dollars. The National Debt on that date would exceed 29,000,000,000 dollars and a year later it would reach

31,000,000,000 dollars ! Congress and the country gasped. But by 1935, the President contended, the country would be on its feet and the debt could be steadily reduced thereafter.

The year was noteworthy for the adoption of two important constitutional amendments. The twentieth amendment, which was ratified on October 5, advanced the date of the inauguration of the President and Vice-President from March 4 to January 20 and, by advancing to January 3, the date on which the newly elected Congress came into existence, abolished the notorious " lame ducks " session (made up of many Senators and Representatives who had been defeated in the November elections).

There was almost a race between the States to ratify the twenty-first amendment, repealing the eighteenth or Prohibition amendment. The Senate voted on February 16 by 63 to 23 to submit this amendment to the States and the House concurred on February 20 on a vote of 289 to 121. Conventions in the various States quickly followed until on December 5 Utah became the 36th State to ratify it, thus furnishing the necessary three-fourths. The " noble experiment " had been in existence 13 years 10 months and thirteen days when it passed out amid general execrations.

The President, in his proclamation early in the evening of December 5 said, among other things :—

" Furthermore, I enjoin upon all citizens of the United States and upon other residents within the jurisdiction thereof to co-operate with the Government in its endeavour to restore greater respect for law and order by confining such purchases of alcoholic beverages as they may make solely to those dealers or agencies which have been duly licensed by State or Federal licences. I ask especially that no State shall by law or otherwise authorise the return of the saloon either in its old form or in some modern guise."

Thus the regulation of the liquor traffic returns to the States. Eleven of them have constitutional amendments prohibiting the sale of alcoholic liquors ; under the new amendment they are free to continue Prohibition if they so desire but sentiment seems overwhelmingly against it.

Other striking developments in the national life were almost too numerous to be cited. Congress passed a law which went into force on January 1, 1934, setting up a fund for the guaranteeing of bank deposits under a certain amount; this fund is raised by an assessment on the banks. Another Act, known as the " Truth in Securities Act," regulates with Draconian severity the issuance of new securities to investors, requiring the promoters to file with the Government full particulars. The penalties for misrepresentation are severe. Congress also devoted much time to studying the technique of Stock Exchange speculation ; regulation of the Stock Exchanges seems inevitable.

The domestic scene was of such overwhelming interest that foreign affairs went almost unnoticed throughout the year. France, by her refusal to pay any instalments either in June

or in December, upon even the " commercial " portion of her war debt, incurred great unpopularity, and the Senate in December began consideration of a Bill which would make illegal the sale within the United States of any securities of a nation defaulting upon its debts to the United States Government. On June 15 Great Britain, which owed 75,950,000 dollars, made a " token payment " of 10,000,518 dollars in the form of 20,001,036 ounces of fine silver, officially valued by the United States at 50 cents an ounce. Similar token payments, in silver, were made by Czechoslovakia, Finland, Italy, Lithuania, and Rumania. On December 15 eleven countries, including Great Britain, made " token " payments aggregating 8,898,123 dollars, with France, Belgium, Poland, Estonia, and Hungary in default. The President made no comment, obviously preferring to defer consideration of the war debts until domestic difficulties were on the way towards solution.

On November 17 the United States officially recognised the Union of Soviet Republics, after a lapse of sixteen years. The President sent Mr. William C. Bullitt to Russia as Ambassador Extraordinary and both countries began the consideration of a treaty to promote trade.

On May 16 the President addressed a message to fifty-four countries pressing for a greater measure of common disarmament and a fresh pact of non-aggression, but the vicissitudes of the Disarmament Conference during the year could not distract the country, apparently, from its overwhelming absorption in the new economic programmes placed before it. The revolutions in Cuba during the year occupied the administration's attention for many weeks, but the Government succeeded in avoiding any direct intervention in the affairs of that island though war vessels were despatched thither to protect the lives of Americans in Cuba. The Philippine Islands rejected the Act submitted to them providing for ultimate independence, and that question went over into 1934 for fresh consideration. The Japanese " menace " in the Pacific makes the final solution difficult to forecast, though the American producers of sugar, tobacco, and other commodities seem determined to shut out Philippine competition in one way or another.

Photographs show that Mr. Roosevelt aged perceptibly during his first year in office but his health remained excellent, despite the heavy load laid upon his shoulders and the immense amount of work he had to do. His courage, his sincerity, and his immense personal charm, gave him a remarkable ascendancy.

ARGENTINA.

Throughout 1933 world conditions remained very unfavourable for Argentina's export trade, and in consequence the country

suffered both economically and financially. Early in the year the agrarian crisis assumed alarming proportions, especially in the province of Entre Rios, where 18,000 farmers and their dependents were officially stated to be in danger of starvation owing to the ravages of locusts and unfavourable weather conditions. Conditions were almost as bad in other localities also. A meeting of delegates of the Argentine Agrarian Federation in January voted in favour of a farmers' strike failing the acceptance by the Government of a drastic plan for agricultural relief, and a deadlock was only averted through joint emergency action on the part of the National and Provincial Governments, the Banco Nacion, and agricultural co-operative societies.

The Government of General Justo made a valiant endeavour to stem the tide of adversity by means of various activities both at home and abroad. Foremost among these was the despatch of a special Mission to England, primarily to return the visit of the Prince of Wales in 1931, but with the ulterior object of negotiating a commercial agreement with England. Argentina had been seriously affected by the new fiscal policy inaugurated by the National Government in England, and though at first her attitude had been one of resentment, she had subsequently deemed it wisest to adapt herself to the new state of affairs, and make the best terms she could with England.

The Mission, which was headed by the Vice-President of the Republic, Dr. Julio Roca, had originally intended to sail on December 14, 1932, but for various reasons its departure was delayed till January 11. A couple of days before, at a lunch given in honour of the Mission by the British Chamber of Commerce of Buenos Aires, Sir H. (Jibson pointed out that Great Britain had had to abandon free trade as a measure of self-defence, and that the long-standing co-partnership between Britain and the Argentine should henceforth be continued on a basis of reciprocity. The Vice-President, in reply, paid a tribute to the personal influence of the Prince of Wales in fostering Anglo-Argentine sympathy.

The Mission arrived in London on February 7, and three days later was entertained by the Argentine Club of London to a dinner at which the Prince of Wales spoke. The courtesy part of the visit having been completed, the Mission spent over a couple of months discussing with representatives of the British Government the future of Anglo-Argentine trade relations. The result was a Trade Agreement, signed on May 1, by which Great Britain undertook not to restrict imports of Argentine chilled beef into the United Kingdom below the quantities permitted under the Ottawa Agreements Act, save in exceptional circumstances, and then only after consultation with the Argentine Government. The latter on its side undertook to take measures for releasing a large quantity of " frozen money " owing to England

in the Argentine; also, by means of a supplementary agreement to be concluded before August 1, to reduce or stabilise the duties on a number of classes of British goods entering the Argentine. Included in the Trade Agreement was a protocol under which the Argentine Government made a declaration of their benevolent intention towards British enterprises operating in the Argentine (*vide* English History, p. 35).

The agreement was opposed in Argentina by the Socialists, who maintained that the benefits it conferred would be trifling. It also failed to secure the support of the Minister of Finance, Sefior Hueyo, who complained that the revision of Customs duties would entail a loss of revenue. Nevertheless it was approved by the Senate Committee on July 25, and passed by the Chamber on July 29 by 41 votes to 21, and by the Senate by 15 votes to 4. The negotiations with regard to the duties were not concluded till September 27, when a Trade Agreement was signed supplementary to the Convention by which a number of duties were removed and a number of other duties and exemptions were stabilised. Arrangements had also been made in the meanwhile for releasing the "frozen" currency.

In her desire to pave the way for a new Trade Agreement with Great Britain, Argentina had already in 1932 practised a certain discrimination against German goods. This action was deeply resented by the German Government, which in January retaliated with similar measures, and a tariff war between the two countries was in progress for the rest of the year. On the other hand, in September a Commercial Treaty was concluded with Chile, and a Customs Convention with Italy for a period of three years. In February a barter arrangement was made with Spain by which Argentina was to send to that country maize to the value of 250,000,000 pesetas (about 250,000/.) and receive in exchange a corresponding quantity of steel rails.

The Government made equally vigorous endeavours to battle with the financial crisis. In January Sir Otto Niemeyer, the Bank of England financial expert, was invited to draw up a scheme for improving the financial administration. His report, which was presented on April 2, recommended a balanced Budget, a co-ordinated banking system, and a Central Reserve Bank. He also deprecated any inflation experiments. The report won general admiration for its comprehensiveness and clearness, and had the strong support of the Minister of Finance, Senor Hueyo. In other quarters, however, some of its recommendations were opposed, more on political than on financial grounds, and it was thought that the friction thus generated was the chief cause of Senor Hueyo's resignation in July.

Thanks to various economies the financial year, in spite of a shrinkage of revenue, closed on March 31 with a deficit of only 29,000,000 paper pesos, which President Justo claimed was a very

solid achievement in the circumstances. On May 30 Senor Hueyo stated in the Senate that the Government's resources would be sufficient for the continuance of the prompt payment of all debt services, and that the present Government would not break the tradition scrupulously maintained by all previous Governments. On November 21 a Budget was submitted to Congress showing an expected expenditure of 865,113,494 paper pesos compared with the previously estimated amount of 841,381,000 paper pesos. The increase was due to the additional requirements for the debt service of 24,800,000 pesos and 2,726,000 pesos for public works, against which was to be set off departmental economies of 382,000 pesos. As there had been no revival in trade, it was found necessary to continue the 10 per cent. surtax on the Customs duties, and further tax increases were imposed on wine and beer and new taxes on firearms, petroleum concessions, and gramophone records.

In foreign politics the outstanding event of the year was the visit of President Justo to Brazil in October (*vide* Brazil). On February 2 a meeting between Argentine and Chilean representatives at Mendoza produced an agreement that the two countries should co-operate in trying to terminate the conflict between Bolivia and Paraguay and also in other activities for the general welfare of the South American countries. In September Argentina resolved once more to renew her formal connexion with the League of Nations, which had been broken off in 1930.

Throughout the year there was an under-current of political unrest in the country due to the activities of the Radicals and partisans of the ex-President Irigoyen. At the beginning of the year the ex-President, Dr. de Alvear and Don Adolfo Guemes, who had been a candidate for the Vice-Presidency, were placed in detention in the island of Martin Garcia in the river Plate for the part they had taken in the recent conspiracy against the Government (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1932, p. 308). Nevertheless, in the second week in January, a number of Irigoyenists attempted to provoke a mutiny in a section of the Army. They failed, however, and were arrested. The Government thereupon on January 16 extended indefinitely the application of martial law throughout the country. Martial law actually remained in force till the meeting of Congress in May, when the President transferred to that body the responsibility for keeping order. Some scenes of disorder took place at the funeral of Dr. Irigoyen on July 7, which drew together a crowd of half a million people. In August a Bill was passed reintroducing the death penalty in order to strengthen the hands of the Government in dealing with secret societies. At the beginning of October the Government nipped in the bud a conspiracy in which General Toranzo, a political refugee who had returned secretly from Uruguay, was implicated.

Trouble again broke out just at the end of the year, following a National Radical Convention at Santa Fe. On December 28

and 29 revolutionary outbreaks took place in that town and a number of others, leading to a certain loss of life. The Government took prompt measures to quell the disturbances, arresting Dr. de Alvear and a number of other leaders, and declaring a state of siege. Though it kept the situation well in hand, the political atmosphere in the country remained disquieting.

BOLIVIA AND PARAGUAY.

On May 10, after hostilities had been going on in the Gran Chaco for nearly a twelvemonth, Paraguay formally declared war on Bolivia, thus apparently violating the Kellogg Pact to which she was a signatory. At a meeting of the Council of the League of Nations on May 16, the Paraguayan representative maintained that Bolivia was in reality the aggressor, and stated that the reason why Paraguay had made a formal declaration of war was to prevent her obtaining assistance in the way of transport facilities and arms from neutrals. After making various remonstrances to the combatants which passed unheeded, the League on July 3 decided to send out a Commission to South America to approach the Bolivian and Paraguayan Governments directly. Before the Commission could start, both Governments addressed a request to the League that the Mandate of the Commission should be transferred to the four South American States of Argentina, Brazil, Chile, and Peru. In compliance with this request, an offer to that effect was made to the four Governments mentioned, but on September 3 they replied that they were unable to accept it, because the interchange of views with both Bolivia and Paraguay in the preceding two months had forced them to recognise the impossibility of finding a peace formula acceptable to both Republics. Nevertheless the Presidents of Brazil and Argentina made another appeal to them on October 14 to submit the dispute to arbitration, but again without effect. The League Commission accordingly duly proceeded to South America, and in the latter part of November visited both the Chaco and the Paraguayan and Bolivian capitals. In the second week of December, the Paraguayan Government announced that its troops had gained a decisive victory, capturing 8,000 of the enemy with much ammunition, and great rejoicings took place at Asuncion. The report was not denied in Bolivia, and its truth seemed to be confirmed by the fact that immediately afterwards the chief command of the Bolivian Army was transferred from the German, General Kundt, to General Enrique Penaranda. At this juncture the Uruguayan President, Senor Terra, on behalf of the Pan-American Conference then sitting at Montevideo, again submitted proposals for an armistice. This time both belligerents were in an accommodating mood,

and an armistice was concluded on December 19 to last till December 30.

BRAZIL.

In spite of the vast amount of coffee destroyed in the latter half of 1932, prices failed to rise, and the export trade continued to languish. In consequence the Government much against its will found itself compelled to maintain the system of exchange controls which had been instituted to check imports. Early in the year, however, it entered into negotiations for the purpose of releasing "frozen" milreis, and held out hopes of supplying more extensively the necessary exchange for the current needs of importers. Certain arrangements to this effect were actually made through the Banco do Brazil in June.

Politically the year was quiet but not uneventful, and witnessed the return of a more harmonious spirit in public affairs. In March, Senhor Flores da Cunha, the Federal Interventor for the State of Rio Grande do Sul, paid a visit to Rio de Janeiro, during which he discussed with President Vargas the question of permitting political exiles to return to Brazil and of restoring civil rights to the leaders of the Paulista revolution (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1932). On April 8 a decree was published providing for the convocation of a National Constituent Assembly, to consider the new Constitution and the election of a President. The election took place on May 3; there was an unprecedentedly heavy poll, but no disorder. The Assembly met on November 16, and by a large majority granted the fullest powers to Dr. Getulio Vargas, the Chief of the Provisional Government, to continue to direct the destinies of the country. A member for the State of Rio de Janeiro introduced a Bill for abolishing the Press censorship and according an amnesty to all political and military exiles. He was told that the latter part of the Bill would be unnecessary once Dr. Vargas had declared the frontiers of Brazil open to all.

A draft Constitution was laid before the Assembly consisting of thirteen Chapters and 136 Articles, covering both political, social, and economic questions. Its chief innovation was the abandonment of the bicameral system of the old Constitution in favour of a unicameral system both at the Centre and in the States. In addition there was to be a new organ, called the Superior Council, consisting of thirty-five members partly elected and partly nominated for seven years, which was to be a "technical, consultative, and deliberate body with political and administrative powers." The President was to have the right, after consultation with the Superior Council, of prohibiting the organisation of any armed force on Brazilian territory. The reception of the draft by the public was somewhat critical, especially in regard to the parts dealing with State rights.

At the end of July General Waldomiro de Lima, Interventor of the State of Sao Paulo, offered his resignation, which was accepted. The Government appointed in his place Senhor Armando de Salles Oliviera, an engineer who had so far taken no prominent part in politics. His appointment gave general satisfaction and finally reconciled Sao Paulo to the existing regime, or, as it was said, "liquidated" the Sao Paulo affair. Shortly before, Dr. Julio Prestes, whose election to the Presidency in 1930 had led Dr. Vargas and his associates to revolt, was sentenced to deprivation of civil rights for ten years on a charge of having unlawfully applied the funds of the Coffee Institute for furthering his candidature.

At the end of July the Government agreed to sign the Pact for South American peace which had been proposed by the Argentine Government in the previous November (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1932, p. 308). Although Argentina had been throughout the moving spirit in securing adhesion to the Pact, the actual signing took place at Rio de Janeiro on October 11, on the occasion of the State visit of General Justo, the President of the Argentine, to Brazil. The Mexican, Chilean, and Uruguayan Ambassadors, the Paraguayan Minister, and the Ministers for Foreign Affairs for Brazil and the Argentine were also present. The Treaty of Non-Aggression provided for the formation of a Conciliation Committee of five members, which should function during periods of strained diplomatic relations, the countries concerned binding themselves not to take any action likely to aggravate the controversy from the time the Committee began to sit till it should announce its findings. Nine other treaties between Brazil and the Argentine, chiefly of a commercial character, were signed at the same time. General Justo's visit lasted from October 1 to October 14, and evoked great enthusiasm.

On October 25 the Brazilian Government imposed a tax of 100 per cent. on all French imports, thus annulling the existing Franco-Brazilian *modus vivendi*. In retaliation the French Government imposed a heavy surtax on goods imported into France from Brazil. The Bank of Brazil, thereupon, by order of the Brazilian Government, instructed its London agents to withhold payment of the instalment of 9,419,187 francs due in France on October 31 in accordance with The Hague findings until the French decree should have been revoked.

On May 24 a decree was issued stating that Brazil would observe strict neutrality in the war between Bolivia and Paraguay, and warning the disputants that they would not be allowed to use Brazilian rivers as bases for warlike operations or for any acts constituting an infraction of neutrality.

CHILE.

The new President, Senor d'Alessandri (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1932, p. 314), maintained himself in office throughout the year, partly by keeping a vigilant watch over possible opponents, partly by complying with popular demands for reforms. On the first day of the year he issued a manifesto to the Press in which he stated that his policy would be chiefly directed to an intensive development of agriculture, to make good the losses to the country caused by the chaos in the nitrate industry. He laid stress on the fact that 50 per cent, of Chilean soil was undeveloped, and that agricultural properties were too large. He also warned his countrymen that, though times were bad, there was worse to come, since the rise in the cost of living had not yet caught up with the depreciation in the value of the currency. He anticipated in the Budget for 1933 a deficit of about 500,000,000 pesos in addition to the deficit of 250,000,000 pesos brought forward from the Budget of last year, and he insisted that this should be balanced by a combined effort of the nation itself.

Immediately after this statement was made the Government issued a decree, practically without notice, for the liquidation of Cosach, the great nitrate combine which had been formed a couple of years before. A large section of public opinion demanded the dissolution of this body, but the President was averse to going so far. The President of Cosach, Mr. Medley Whelpley, protested vigorously against the Government's action on the ground that it was *ultra vires*, and that the task of separating the thirty companies which had been merged in Cosach was impossible of execution. Nevertheless he announced his intention of loyally assisting the Government in order not to cause international complications. The Government replied that the formation of Cosach had been from the outset unconstitutional, and that its continued existence was detrimental to the interests alike of the country and of the shareholders, as it was grossly over-capitalised. The Government Bill for the liquidation of Cosach was approved by the Chamber on January 16. On May 7 the Minister of Finance submitted a memorandum outlining a scheme for the future organisation of the nitrate industry, the chief proposal being the establishment of a sales corporation having complete control of the output of the industry, including iodine and sub-products.

Various steps were taken during the year for coping with the financial stringency. On February 7 a Bill was laid before Congress increasing the taxes on tobacco, cigarettes, matches, medicinal products, perfumery, agricultural real estate, bill stamps, and entertainments. On March 10 all Customs duties were increased by half, and in March this regulation was extended to the end of the year, coffee, rice, sugar, and edible oil, however, being exempted.

In April the Executive sought powers from Congress to apply severe measures against agitators. A Bill giving extraordinary powers to the Executive "for the defence of the State and the preservation of constitutional government" was accordingly passed by the Chamber on April 25 by 77 votes to 34, and by the Senate on April 29 by 28 votes to 13. The Bill was aimed chiefly against military and political members of recent Governments who were suspected of plotting against the existing regime, and in consequence of it the ex-President, General Ibañez, had to leave the country and a number of political leaders were banished to the south of Chile.

CUBA.

The repressive regime instituted by President Machado at the end of 1930 was kept in force by him until the middle of 1933. In May Mr. Sumner Welles, the newly appointed United States representative, arrived in Cuba, and he at once set himself to bring about a better understanding between the President and the chief organisation of the malcontents, the secret society known as "A.B.C." As a result of his endeavours, constitutional guarantees were restored in July and at the same time a general amnesty for political offences was passed by Congress, and a number of exiles returned. Discontent with the administration, however, continued to increase, largely owing to economic distress. In the first week of August, a transport strike took place which threatened to paralyse the daily life of Havana. On August 7 a rumour spread that President Machado had resigned. This seemed to act as a signal to the populace to give the rein to their long pent-up indignation against the regime. A great crowd began to march to the Palace, but they were met by police and troops who fired point blank at them, killing 20 and wounding at least 130. As the attitude of the mob still remained threatening the President on August 9 declared a state of war throughout the island and ordered the Army to take over full control. The Army, however, turned against him, and on August 12 he formally petitioned Congress for leave of absence and immediately fled from Cuba in an aeroplane. With the approval of a number of political factions and of the Army, Dr. Carlo Manuel de Cespedes became Chief Executive.

Riotous scenes followed the deposition of President Machado, his enemies in many places seeking to wreak vengeance on the instruments of his tyranny, and especially on the "Porristas," the members of the Porra or secret police force which had been responsible for numerous outrages in the previous couple of years. Many of them were discovered and done to death, and much property was destroyed and looted, including the interior of the Presidential Palace. Clashes between the mobs and the military led

to considerable loss of life. The strikes throughout the country, however, ended, and normal conditions began to return.

The de Cespedes regime obtained the approval of the United States, but it lacked popular support. Under pretence of putting down the Machadists, Communists and others, elements which were opposed to United States' influence kept up disorders throughout August, and rendered the position of the Government impossible. On September 4 the non-commissioned officers of the Army mutinied, deposed the officers and the Government, and placed supreme power in the hands of a Junta of five. The United States Government took a very grave view of the situation, and moved warships to Havana and other places in the island for the protection of its own citizens and foreigners of other nationalities. It abstained, however, from intervention, largely in order not to offend the susceptibilities of the South American States.

On September 11 the Junta and all sections of the Opposition to the Machado regime nominated Dr. Ramon Grau San Martin, formerly a professor at Havana University, President of the Republic. The new Government was actively opposed from two sides—by the Communists, and by the ex-officers of the Army, who had entrenched themselves in the National Hotel in Havana. Strikes and disturbances took place throughout the country, and the United States withheld its recognition from the new Government. On October 2 the National Hotel was bombarded by Government troops and the officers forced to surrender. On November 9 heavy fighting took place between supporters of the Government and the A.B.C. Organisation, the former eventually gaining the upper hand. In spite of this, however, unrest continued till the end of the year.

To aggravate the horrors of civil war, the south coast of Cuba was on November 9 swept by a cyclone which wrought terrific havoc. Santa Cruz del Sur, a township of 3,000 inhabitants, was practically wiped out and many other places suffered severely.

PERU.

The seizure of Leticia, on the Amazon, by Peruvian filibusters from Iquitos in September, 1932 (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1932, p. 316), nearly led to a serious war between Peru and Colombia. After having in vain tried to induce Peru to withdraw by peaceful representations, Colombia in January moved troops to the neighbourhood of Leticia, and Peru did the same. On January 26 the League of Nations warned both parties to keep their troops within their own territories, and Brazil at the same time offered to mediate. Peru, however, would not agree, and Colombia thereupon broke off negotiations and bombarded the post of

Tarapaca on the Putumayo, which also had been occupied by Peruvians. On February 17 diplomatic relations between the two countries were broken off, and on February 19 Colombia appealed to the League of Nations under Article 15 of the Covenant. The League had no hesitation in declaring Peru to be in the wrong, a view in which the United States fully concurred. At the end of February there was a lull in hostilities, but both sides increased their preparations for an active campaign. On March 1 a Committee appointed by the League of Nations submitted a plan by which Leticia should be evacuated by the Peruvian troops and placed in charge of a League Commission, which should administer it with the aid of Colombian forces until a settlement should be reached. This was approved by the Council of the League on March 18, and was accepted by Colombia at once and Peru on April 12. None the less skirmishing continued till the end of April, largely by means of bombing aeroplanes.

On April 30 Congress elected to the Presidency of the Republic General Benavides, who had till recently been Peruvian Minister in London. On the next day President Cerro was shot dead by an assassin, and General Benavides assumed office immediately. He at once adopted a much more conciliatory attitude than his predecessor, and invited Colombia to enter into direct negotiations. Colombia accordingly on May 15 sent to Lima Dr. Don Alfonzo Lopez, who had been a colleague of General Benavides in London, and discussions between them were conducted in a very cordial spirit. The result was that on May 25 the representatives of Colombia and Peru at Geneva signed an agreement for the immediate and simultaneous cessation of all hostilities between the two countries and for negotiations on the lines recommended by the League Council on March 18. The League Commission for the territory of Leticia was appointed on June 9, and arrived at that place on June 30. The Peruvian forces were immediately evacuated, and at the same time Colombia withdrew her troops from certain points in Peruvian territory which had been occupied. A conference between Peru and Colombia for a settlement of their dispute in regard to Leticia was opened at Rio de Janeiro on October 26.

Early in March the standard of revolt was raised by Senor Gustavo Jimenez in Cajamarca, about 550 miles north of Lima. He had the support of the 11th regiment stationed there, and was said to be in league with the Apristas and Communists. The Government suppressed the revolt without difficulty; Senor Jimenez committed suicide and the revolting regiment was removed from the Army list.

In home as in foreign affairs, General Benavides pursued a policy of conciliation. On July 1 a new Cabinet under Don Jorge Prado took office which obtained general approval. On

August 11 the President issued a manifesto calling upon all Peruvians to co-operate with him in restoring peace and concord and to forget old animosities. At the same time Senor Haya de la Torre, the Aprista leader, was released and an Amnesty Bill was submitted to Congress. A law was also passed fixing the election of fifteen Senators and twenty-six Deputies for November 5. Subsequently, however, the date was postponed to June, 1934, on the ground that the country was not sufficiently pacified. This view seemed to be borne out by the discovery towards the end of October of a revolutionary plot to overthrow the Government and assassinate the President.

URUGUAY.

On March 31 President Terra carried out a *coup d'ttat*, dissolving Parliament and appointing a Junta to act as his Advisory Council. His chief object was to gain a freer hand for carrying out certain administrative and constitutional reforms on which he had long set his heart. The revolution was entirely bloodless, save that the ex-President, Don Balthazar Brum, shot himself to escape arrest. One of the first steps of the Junta was to appoint a Deliberative Assembly to draw up proposals for a reform of the Constitution. The Assembly's Report, which was presented in the middle of May, contained a recommendation that it should itself continue to act in a legislative capacity till 1935. This was contrary to the President's intentions, and on June 25 an election was held for a Convention to consider the plan for a new Constitution. The elections passed off without any disorder, and resulted in a majority for the President's Party, the Battlistas, although numbers of the Nationalists also supported his reform policy. Towards the end of the year Senor Terra was adopted as candidate for the Presidency by the Battlista Party.

The sixth Pan-American Conference was opened at Montevideo on December 3. It was attended by delegates from twenty American Republics. Dr. Mane, the Uruguayan Minister of Foreign Affairs, was elected President. The conference showed a lively interest in the Chaco dispute, and played a certain part in bringing about a cessation of hostilities [*vide* Bolivia]. On December 12 Mr. Hull, the United States delegate, made certain proposals for closer economic union between the American States which the other delegates found difficult to reconcile with the actual policy of the United States. A motion was passed unanimously that there should be conventions for abolishing import and export prohibitions between the American States and that all agreements made should contain an unconditional and unrestricted most-favoured-nation clause. Some countries, however, made certain reservations with regard to the last item. In the

debate on intervention on December 19, impassioned accusations were brought by the delegates of Haiti, Cuba, and Venezuela against the United States for interfering in their internal affairs. Mr. Hull in reply stated that President Roosevelt was determined to follow scrupulously the policy which he had embodied in his declarations since March 4. All the delegates approved a non-interference pact, the United States, however, making certain reservations. At its plenary session on December 22, the conference resolved to create a Pan-American Labour Institute, with headquarters at Buenos Aires, to co-ordinate labour conditions in the Pan-American States. The conference broke up on December 26, the President declaring that it had contributed to the economic and social unity of the Continent.

OTHER COUNTRIES,

ECUADOR.

On October 18 the Senate, by the unanimous vote of the twenty-two members present, sustained the charges against the impeached President, Don Juan de Dios Martinez Mera, who had assumed the Presidency in November, 1932, and removed him from office. Two months later Don Jose Maria Velasco Ibarra was elected President in his place.

VENEZUELA.

On December 19 Venezuela celebrated the twenty-fifth anniversary of the assumption of executive control by General Juan Vincente Gomez. Speaking at a luncheon in London to commemorate the event, the Venezuelan Minister said that thanks to the efforts of President Gomez, Venezuela had secured internal peace, stabilised its finances, cancelled its foreign debt, and carried out many valuable social and legislative reforms.

NICARAGUA.

On January 1 and 2 the last of the United States troops in Nicaragua left the island by aeroplane. The rebel general, Sandino, still continued his activities, and on January 22 the whole island, with the exception of four provinces in the south-west, was declared to be in a state of siege. On February 2, however, General Sandino, to the great surprise of the public, appeared before the Presidential Palace in Managua, to which he was immediately admitted. As a result of his colloquy with the newly elected President Sacasa, terms of peace were arranged, and General Sandino returned to his headquarters.

MEXICO.

On September 24 the northern coast of Mexico was visited by a terrific hurricane which fell with special force on the important port of Tampico, reducing it almost to ruins. The disaster was generally described as the worst in Mexican history. The Chamber of Deputies voted an appropriation of 500,000 pesos for relief work.

PART II.
CHRONICLE OF EVENTS
IN 1933.
JANUARY.

1. In the New Year Honours list peerages were conferred on Sir Joseph Duveen [Lord Duveen, of Millbank, in the City of Westminster]; Sir Thomas Horder [Lord Horder, of Ashford, in the County of Southampton]; Field-Marshal Sir George Milne [Baron Milne, of Salonika and of Rubislaw, in the County of Aberdeen]; Sir Charles Nail-Cain [Baron Brocket, of Brocket Hall, in the County of Hertford]; Sir Rennell Rodd [Baron Rennell, of Rodd, in the County of Hereford]; and Sir Walter Runciman [Lord Runciman of Shoreston].

— For the period January 1, 1933, to December 31, 1936, Mr. R. C. Norman was appointed Governor and Vice-Chairman of the British Broadcasting Corporation, and Viscount Bridgeman and Mrs. Mary Agnes Hamilton as Governors.

2. The new Corps of Custodians began their duties at the Houses of Parliament.

3. It was announced that the National Playing Fields Association had been granted a Royal Charter.

10. The Postmaster-General appointed a new Post Office Advisory Council, to serve as a link between the Post Office and the public.

17. The central portion of Ardenrun Hall, Lingfield, the home of Captain Woolf Barnarto, the racing motorist, was destroyed by fire.

19. At the by-election in the Exchange Division of Liverpool, the Conservatives retained the seat, by a reduced majority.

23. A sharp frost occurred in London, producing the coldest day **for four** years.

26. Mrs. Florence **Ada** Coxon, aged 70, was called to the **Bar** at Gray's Inn.

27. The *Glasgow Herald* celebrated its 150th anniversary.

— Mrs. R. G. Burden provided a gift of 10,000l. for research into mental disorders.

FEBRUARY.

3. At the by-election at East Fife, where five candidates stood, the seat was retained for the Government by a National Liberal, with a large majority.

— The Royal Society Mond Laboratory, at Cambridge, was opened by Mr. Baldwin, the Chancellor of the University.

9. The *National Review* celebrated its Jubilee.

14. Mr. William McMillan, sculptor; Mr. W. Curtis Green, architect; Mr. H. R. Macbeth-Raeburn, engraver; Mr. Terrick Williams, painter; and Mr. W. Russell Flint, painter, were elected Royal Academicians.

19. The *Western Independent* celebrated its centenary.

22. Sir Malcolm Campbell set up a new record at Daytona Beach, Florida, driving his car, the "Blue Bird," at an average speed of 272-108 miles an hour, being 18'14 miles an hour faster than his previous record.

— The London Fur Exchange, the first of its kind in the world, was opened by the Lord Mayor of London.

24. The worst snow blizzard experienced in the British Isles for many years caused great dislocation of traffic by road and rail, and extensive interruption of the telegraph and telephone services.

27. Alderman J. G. Graves of Sheffield presented 450 acres of moorland, known as Blacka Moor, near Fox House, on the outskirts of Sheffield, to the Corporation there as an open space.

28. At the by-election at Rotherham, Labour regained the seat.

MARCH.

2. Mr. Leslie Cecil B. Bowker was elected City Remembrancer.

— The Rev. Cyril A. Alington, M.A., D.D., headmaster of Eton College, was appointed Dean of Durham.

12. An earthquake in Southern California resulted in the death of over 150 people.

13. The new extension of the Piccadilly Railway between Amos Grove and Enfield West was opened.

23. Mr. Roger Fry was elected to the Slade Professorship of Fine Art at Cambridge.

28. The Imperial Airways Liner *City of Liverpool*, on the London-Brussels-Cologne service, caught fire in the neighbourhood of Dixmude and crashed ; all the passengers, pilot and crew, numbering 15 persons, were killed.

— At the by-election at East Rhondda, Labour retained the seat, by a reduced majority.

29. Mr. W. Reid Dick, R.A., was elected President of the Royal Society of British Sculptors.

APRIL.

1. The Office of Crown Agents for the Colonies celebrated its centenary.

— Cambridge won the Boat Race for the tenth time in succession.

3. It was announced that King George V. had approved the grant of a Charter to the Institute of Marine Engineers.

— Automatic traffic control was inaugurated in Trafalgar Square.

— Two machines of the Houston Expedition flew over Everest, clearing the summit by 100 ft. The flight was completed in exactly three hours.

4. The U.S. naval airship *Akron*, carrying 77 officers and men, crashed into the sea on the New Jersey coast, with the loss of 74 lives.

9. Summer time commenced.

10. Warrant Officer Agello, of the Italian Air Force, beat the world's record (hitherto held by Great Britain) by attaining an average speed of 423 miles an hour.

12. The Great Western Railway inaugurated a regular daily air service (the first to be operated by a British Railway Company) between Cardiff and Torquay and Teignmouth*

21. Mr. Reginald Grenville Eves, painter, and Mr. Arthur Davis, architect, were elected Associates of the Royal Academy.

25. The new bridge, joining Venice to the mainland, was opened by the Prince and Princess of Piedmont.

— The North Circular Road was formally opened to the public by Lord Rochdale, Lord Lieutenant of Middlesex.

29. The University of Zurich celebrated its centenary.

MAY.

1. A radio-telephone service from the United Kingdom to India was opened.

3. The Entomological Society of London became the Royal Entomological Society of London.

4. Faraday Building, the largest telephone building in the world, and the new telephone headquarters of Great Britain and the Empire, was opened by the Lord Mayor of London, Sir Percy Greenaway.

6. At Wembley Stadium, Huddersfield (for the fourth time) won the Cup Final under Rugby (Football) League Rules, defeating Warrington by 20 points to 17.

8. Dr. James Bryant Conant, Professor of Organic Chemistry, was elected President of Harvard University, in succession to Dr. A. Lawrence Lowell, resigned.

16. The Chancellor's English Essay Prize at Oxford was awarded to Miss Bertha Maude, the first woman to obtain this distinction.

19. *The Times* published the will of Sir Edward Manville, in which 10,000l. was provided for the establishment of Engineering Scholarships.

22. Automatic control of traffic in Piccadilly began.

— The Italian liner *Conte de Savoia* set up a new record for crossing the Atlantic, having taken 5 days 20 hours from Genoa to New York.

25. Mr. Baldwin opened the first permanent headquarters of the Library Association at Chaucer House, in Malet Place.

— A Royal Charter was granted to the London Library.

29. *The Times* announced the establishment by the trustees of the will of the first Lord Leverhulme of a scheme of Research Fellowships for which they intend to provide 12,000l. a year.

31. Lord Derby's colt, Hyperion, won the Derby at Epsom by four lengths.

JUNE.

3. In the Honours List issued on the occasion of King George V.'s sixty-eighth birthday, peerages were conferred on Colonel Lane Fox [Baron Bingley]; Sir Edward Uiffe [Baron Iliffe, of Yattendon, in the County of Berks]; Sir Ernest Palmer [Baron Palmer, of Reading, in the County of Berks]; and Major-General J. E. B. Seely [Baron Mollistone].

— Professor W. G. S. Adams was elected Warden of All Souls College, Oxford.

15. At the by-election at Altrincham Sir Edward Grigg, the Conservative candidate, retained the seat for the National Government.

26. King George V., who was accompanied by Queen Mary, laid the foundation-stone of the new buildings of the University of London in Bloomsbury.

28. *The Times* announced that a Royal Charter was to be granted to the Company of Newspaper Makers.

29. Lord Cecil declared open to the public use for ever "Nansen Hill," on Bonchurch Down, Isle of Wight, given to a trust by Mr. J. Howard Whitehouse, Warden of Bembridge School, as a memorial to Dr. Nansen.

JULY.

1. The newly created London Passenger Transport Board took control of nearly all the passenger transport undertakings within a radius of 30 miles from Charing Cross. The London General Omnibus Company and the Underground Railway Companies ceased to exist as separate entities. Lord Ashfield is the Chairman of the new Board.

— *The Times* announced that the Company of Newspaper Makers is to amalgamate with the Worshipful Company of Stationers under the style of Company of Stationers and Newspaper Makers.

5. The Liverpool Philharmonic Hall, one of the most famous concert halls in the North of England, was completely destroyed by fire.

15. Mr. Wiley Post, the American airman, who left New York on July 14 in an attempt to fly round the world, landed at Berlin. Mr. Post is the first airman to fly direct from New York to Berlin.

17. Mr. Neville Chamberlain, Chancellor of the Exchequer, laid the foundation-stone of the British Post-Graduate Medical School in Hammer-smith.

19. The Masonic Peace Memorial, the new central home in London for English Freemasons, was dedicated, with impressive ritual, and in the presence of 6,000 Freemasons from all parts of the world, by the Duke of Connaught, Grand Master of the United Lodge of England.

— Mr. Angus Miller crossed the Channel between Dover and Calais and back in the record time of 1 hour 45 sees, in his motor boat, *White Cloud II*

23. Mr. and Mrs. Mollison, who left Pendine Sands, Carmarthenshire, at noon on July 22 on a non-stop flight to New York, successfully crossed the Atlantic, but crashed at Bridgeport, Long Island Sound.

26. King George V., accompanied by Queen Mary and the Duke and Duchess of York, opened the world's largest dry dock at Southampton, and named it "The King George V. Graving Dock."

— At Kew a temperature of 88 degrees was registered, and at midnight 78 degrees was recorded on the roof of the Air Ministry.

— Sir Richard Livingstone, Vice-Chancellor of the Queen's University of Belfast, was elected President of Corpus College, Oxford.

30. Great Britain, after 20 years, again won the Davis Cup for Lawn Tennis.

AUGUST.

1. The Parcel Post celebrated its jubilee.

6. A temperature of 92 degrees was registered at South Farnborough ; in London, the heat reached 91 degrees.

17. *The Times* announced the constitution of a new department of the British Museum to be known as the Department of Oriental Antiquities and of Ethnography.

18. News reached England that four Eton College Masters had lost their lives in a climbing accident in the Alps.

23. King George V., accompanied by Queen Mary, opened the new Civic Hall at Leeds.

26. *The Times* reported that Trinity College, Cambridge, had purchased some 4,000 acres, part of Mr. Pretymann's Orwell Park estate, near Felixstowe.

29. Miss Sunny Lowry, aged 22, of Manchester, swam the Channel from Cap Gris Nez to the South Foreland in 15 hours 39 minutes.

SEPTEMBER.

1. Canon B. H. Streeter was elected Provost of Queen's College, Oxford.

2. At the by-election in the Clay Cross division of Derbyshire, Mr. Arthur Henderson retained the seat for Labour.

3. A hurricane which struck Cuba killed 80 people and injured 450.

7. The Lord Mayor of London visited Willesden in order to hand over the Charter of Incorporation by which Willesden became a Borough.

11. Sir Robert Hadfield made a gift of 5,000l. to the University of Sheffield, for the advancement of research in metallurgy.

13. The Lord Mayor of London visited Dartford to present the Charter of Incorporation.

18. *The Times* reported that a new diocese of the Arctic is to be created, with the Ven. A. L. Fleming as the first Bishop.

20. The Lord Mayor of London presented the new Borough of Wood Green with its Charter of Incorporation.

29. Mr. Alderman C. H. Collett was elected Lord Mayor of London.

30. Prince George presented the new Borough of Southgate with its Charter of Incorporation.

OCTOBER.

1. A Public Relations Officer was established at the Post Office, with Sir Stephen Tallents as the first holder of the office.

— The Soviet balloon *Stratostat S.S.S.R.*, carrying three persons, ascended from Moscow into the stratosphere and reached a height of 19,000 metres (nearly 12 miles).

3. *The Times* reported that Mrs. Caroline Merriot, believed to be the oldest woman in London, celebrated her 108th birthday.

5. **The Earl** of Athlone presented the new Borough of Finchley with its **Charter of Incorporation**.

6. *The Times* reported that Taddington Wood, in Derbyshire, comprising 50 acres of woodland, was presented to the National Trust by an anonymous donor.

8. Summer time ended at 3 A.M. (See under April 9.)

15. Glasgow University announced the receipt of two gifts—one from Mrs. M. D. Rankin, of Greenock, of 20,000l., for medical research, with special reference to cancer; and the other from Miss B. Aitken Gray, of 8,000l, for a travelling bursary in engineering.

20. The Nobel Prize of Medicine for 1933 was awarded to Professor Thomas H. Morgan, of the Institute of Technology, in California.

— Mr. Ulm and his companions landed in Western Australia after completing a flight from England in 6 days 17 hours 56 minutes, being 10 hours 54 minutes less than the time taken by Sir Charles Kingsford Smith on his last flight.

— Barleythorpe Hall, near Oakham, formerly the seat of Lord Lonsdale, from whom it was purchased in 1929 by Mr. Lawrence Kimball, M.P. for Loughborough, was destroyed by fire, only the north wing being left.

23. The Post Office Research Station at Dollis Hill was opened by Mr. J. Ramsay MacDonald, the Prime Minister.

25. The Rev. H. J. Chaytor, Litt.D., was elected Master of St Catharine's College, Cambridge.

— At the by-election at East Fulham, Mr. J. C. Wilmot captured the seat for Labour from the Conservatives.

28. The 350th anniversary of the University of Edinburgh was celebrated; Sir James Barrie, the Chancellor, delivered a characteristic speech at the ceremony of conferring honorary degrees.

31. The new harbour at Haifa, said to be the finest in the Levant, was opened.

NOVEMBER.

2. Alderman J. G. Graves presented 16,000l. to the Sheffield Corporation **for** the extension of the Weston Park Museum to double its size.

— It was announced that King George V. intended to offer every year **a** gold and a silver medal for poetry in English. The first award was to be **made** in December, 1934, for works published in 1933.

4. Mr. George Pirie, R.S.A., of Wardend, Torrance, Stirlingshire, was elected President of the Royal Scottish Academy, in succession to Sir George Washington Browne, resigned.

7. Details were published of the Elsie Ballot Scholarships at Cambridge, on the lines of the Rhodes Scholarships at Oxford. The Elsie Ballot Scholarships, of the value of 400l. per annum, are intended to enable South African born young men to study at Cambridge.

8. At the by-election at Skipton, Mr. G. W. Rickards retained the seat for the Conservatives, but by a reduced majority.

9. The Nobel Prize for Literature was awarded to Ivan Bunin, the Russian writer.

10. The Nobel Prize in Physics for the year 1933 was awarded jointly to Professor P. H. M. Dirac, of Cambridge, and Professor Erwin Schrodinger, lately of the University of Berlin. The Prize for Physics for 1932 was awarded to Professor W. Heisenberg, of Leipzig.

11. Mr. J. T. Sheppard, M.A., was elected Provost of King's College, Cambridge.

13. *The Times* announced a gift of 10,000l. to St. George's Hospital by Dr. Charles Slater, for the purpose of building a new clinical laboratory.

14. The Wine and Food Society, formed for the purpose of studying good food and wine in England, held its first meeting at the Cafe Royal at a luncheon.

21. At the Rusholme and Rutland by-elections, the Conservatives retained the seat in each case, but by a considerably reduced majority.

25. Lord Irwin was elected Chancellor of the University of Oxford, in succession to the late Lord Grey of Fallodon.

28. Ferguslie Park, Paisley, and its grounds were presented to Paisley Infirmary by Sir Thomas Glen-Coats, Mrs. E. H. T. Parsons, and Mrs. Harold Glen-Coats. A sum of money was also provided towards the cost of maintenance.

30. At the Harborough by-election the Conservatives retained the seat by a majority of 6,860, as compared with one of 19,576 at the General Election in 1931.

DECEMBER.

2. Sir Cecil Hurst (Great Britain) was elected President of the Permanent Court of International Justice at The Hague.

5. A luncheon was held at Anderton's Hotel to mark the jubilee of *Great Thoughts*.

7. *The Times* announced the gifts to the nation, through the National Trust, of Hurts Wood (50 acres) and Hall Dale (60 acres), two beautiful properties in Dovedale, by Mr. Robert McDougall.

— Mr. Ernest Alfred Benians, M.A., was elected Master of St. John's College, Cambridge.

12. King George V., accompanied by Queen Mary, opened the new buildings of the Medical School and the Pathological Institute of St. Mary's Hospital.

13. Kildwick Hall (known as East Riddlesden Hall), originally built in 1640, together with 12 acres of land, was presented to the National Trust for the nation by Mr. Alderman J. J. Briggand Mr. Alderman W. A. Brigg.

-- Dr. Cyril Norwood was elected President of St. John's College, Oxford.

18. Mr. Terrick Williams, R.A., was elected President of the Royal Institute of Painters in Water Colours.

21. Lord Buckmaster presented 3,000/. to Somerville College, Oxford, in memory of his daughter Margaret.

— Mr. William Craig, of Aberdeen, a working upholsterer, presented 6,000/. to the University of Aberdeen, for the purpose of founding Scholarships.

22. Two pilots of the Royal Dutch Air Service. MM. Smirnoff and Soer, broke all records on the Holland-Indies service by Hying from Amsterdam to Batavia in 4 days 4 hours and 40 minutes.

23. The worst disaster in the history of the French railways occurred at Pompoane, near Lagny, 15 miles from Paris, when 200 people were killed in a collision.

24. The *Codex Suiaiticus*, purchased from the Soviet Government for 100,000/., arrived in London and was placed in the British Museum.

31. According to the Meteorological Office, the summer of 1933 was one of the driest, sunniest, and warmest in the records of the British Islea; the total of 1759 hours of sunshine recorded at Kew being the highest annual aggregate for that station during the present century.

RETROSPECT

OF

LITERATURE, ART, AND SCIENCE IN 1933.

LITERATURE.

(Books marked with an asterisk are specially noticed at the end of this section.)

IN a record of literature during 1933 it is regrettably necessary to record the loss of three significant figures in the literature of the last half-century. With the departure of George Saintsbury [see under Obituaries, January 28] England lost a critic who had impressed himself on the literary consciousness of his time by his encyclopaedic reading and his incisive and stimulating analyses. His style was often a stumbling-block, because he preferred to include the vivid processes of his thinking in the record of his findings ; and parentheses and footnotes enshrined more wisdom than the set pieces of many a more polished writer. His scholarship in English and French literature, his *Hutury of European Criticism*, his *History of the French Novel*, his invaluable and still unsurpassed one volume *Short History of the English Literature*, his studies in prosody, and his innumerable critical surveys as well as his notes on wines, combine to produce a body of work that is unapproached by any modern critic. He founded no school and contributed nothing to the main course of English criticism, but he touched nothing that he did not illuminate.

George Moore's achievement [see under Obituaries, January 21] was of a different order, for in his later years he was known as an exquisite stylist and a detached observer, and his real contribution has been overlooked for decades. In the '80s and '90s of the last century he was one of the most potent forces in helping English literature to take its place among the adult literatures of modern Europe. He fought against the gratuitous censorship of the circulating libraries, and championed the realist writers of France and Russia in the interests of totality of treatment in English fiction. His novels, *A Mummer's Hife* and *Esther Waters*, are important cultural landmarks as well as important artistic achievement*. His sensitiveness to the fine arts led him to be a pioneer in smoothing the difficult path of the French Impressionist school of painting in England. No history of modern English literature or English taste will be complete without a chapter devoted to his influence and achievement.

John Galsworthy [see under Obituaries, January 31] comes into a different category. In his later years his reputation increased without any adequate justification in the continuance of his literary quality. His reputation abroad, like that of a select body of earlier English writers, was based on reasons external to his literary quality. He was regarded, especially in Germany, as the accurate chronicler and analyst of English upper middle class society in the early years of the twentieth century. The strain of benevolence and universal pity which made him the champion of caged birds and pit ponies turned him from the original intention of satire in *A Man of Property* to the somewhat stylised structure of *The Forsyte Saga*. His dramas, diagrams of vital forces of great public interest when he wrote them, have faded with the fading of their topicality, and in his later novels he was clearly out of touch with the younger generation he so valiantly strove to understand and record. His personal dignity and integrity, however, made him an admirable official head of the body of English writers.

Not for many years—indeed not since the great war-time boom in poetry—has the outlook for pure literature seemed so bright as during 1933. It was a remarkable year for poetry, in both extent and quality. The year began with the publication of one of its most important volumes, *Poems*, by Mr. L. Aaronson (Gollancz), the second book of a poet whose career is being watched with close attention, above all by fellow-poets. After the display of his past history in the ten years' experiment of *Christ in the Synagogue*, he offered the maturity of more recent work to his critics. The precision of his imagery, the personal struggles with word-meaning, the compulsion of new word groups, the sense of colour, the mystical intensity of observed nuances of time, feeling, and landscape, the ecstasies, tendernesses, wearinesses, and disillusionment of passion belong to none of the rival schools now contending for public acclamation. In poems such as *Paysage Luxembourgois*, *The Resurrection in Bunhxl Fields Cemetery*, *Cain and Abel*, and *Aftermath*, the volume made distinguished additions to the English anthology. Of poets banded together lightly or loosely into schools, there is the recent achievement of three poets, Mr. W. H. Auden, Mr. Stephen Spender, and Mr. Cecil Day Lewis, the poets of the previous year's *New Signatures* who appeared again, with others, in *New Country*, edited by Mr. Michael Roberts (Hogarth Press), an important volume for gauging the quality and direction of the new work. " Sergeants of our school O.T.C.s, admirers of our elder brothers, we grew up under the shadow of war." The result of this is to mark these poets with a strong Communist flavour, and to link literature with political comment. The position is most clearly stated, in the editor's preface, and in two essays, *Letter to a Young Revolutionary*, by Mr. Day Lewis, and *Poetry and Revolution*, by Mr. Spender. The poetry includes attacks on the mechanism of capitalist society by employing the imagery of modern mechanical civilisation. The most skilful technician of the group is Mr. Auden, whose *Dance of Death* (Faber & Faber) shows the influence of Mr. T. S. Eliot on the younger generation, the most generally acceptable is Mr. Spender, whose *Poems* (Faber & Faber) contain individual qualities

that seem to contradict the group movement to which he is perhaps least closely attached, and the poet richest in pure poetic promise appears to be Mr. Day Lewis, whose *Magnetic Mountain* (Hogarth Press), despite a pattern of utterance paying deference in the main to Mr. Auden, is full of directing passion and urgency. With one exception the writers of the remaining outstanding volumes are already known and classified in England. The exception is Mr. Archibald MacLeish, the most gifted of the younger American poets, whose Pulitzer Prize poem, *Conquistador* (Gollancz), was his first official introduction to this country. By its largeness of theme and narrative sweep it is perhaps excellent preparation for the more serious analytical work as yet generally unknown here. A small pamphlet, *Frescoes for Mr. Rockefeller's City* (John Day), gives a clearer picture of his technical skill, his satirical powers, and his sense of America. Of the older poets the most welcome volume of the year was * *The Collected Poems of W. B. Yeats* (Macmillan). Since his emergence from the purely decorative and musical moods of his earlier days Mr. Yeats has earned the respect of the modern poet and critic by the fierce integrity of his mature technique and philosophy. The *Poems of Harold Monro* (Cobden Sanderson), with Memoir by Mr. F. S. Flint, and criticism by Mr. T. S. Eliot, gave an opportunity of assessing the work of a genuine poet and one who, by his conduct of "The Poetry Bookshop" and publication of the series of *Georgian Poetry* from 1911 to 1922 materially assisted the course of poetry in recent times. Miss Edith Sitwell, in *Five Variations on a Theme* (Duckworth), continued to display the maturity of her gifts, which have earned her the medal of the Royal Society of Literature, and Mr. Sacheverell Sitwell, in *Canons of Giant Art* (Duckworth), explored the poetical stimulus of heroic sculpture. Mr. Roy Campbell returned from satire to his more customary music in *Flowering Reeds* (Boriswood), and Mr. Robert Graves collected the experiments of three years in *Poems, 1930-32* (Barker). Among the more revolutionary of older poets Mr. Ezra Pound published his impressive and provocative poetical fugue in *Draft of XXX Cantos* (Faber & Faber), a work which has already influenced the younger generation of poets, as well as exciting the admiration of older writers. In *Active Anthology* (Faber & Faber) Mr. Pound presented a very personal selection from those poets whose work still shows signs of development. Two popular poets collected their work for the delight of their admirers, Mr. Edward Shanks in *Poems, 1912-1932* (Macmillan), and Miss V. Sackville-West in *Collected Poems* (Hogarth Press). Mr. Richard Aldington made his poem, *The Eaten Heart* (Chatto & Windus), generally available, and also prefaced D. H. Lawrence's *Last Poems* (Seeker). Mr. W. Force Stead in his philosophical study, *Vriel* (Cobden Sanderson), continued to remain above the battle of the moderns with his hymn in praise of divine immanence, and from Messrs. Faber & Faber came three excellent small volumes, Mr. Herbert Read's *The End of a War*, Mr. Siegfried Saasoon's welcome new work *The Road to Ruin*, and Mr. Wyndham Lewis's fierce attempt at poetical satire. *One Way Song*. Mr. Thomas Moulton continued his search for *The Best Poems of 1933* (Cape), and in *Recent Poetry, 1923-1933* (Gerald Howe) Mrs. Alida Monro,

despite grave omissions and puzzling inclusions, gave some useful indications of the course of post-war poetry. It is gratifying also to record that in *New Verse* (Grigson), edited by Mr. Geoffrey Grigson, appeared a periodical devoted exclusively to the interests of modern poetry, whose continued and growing circulation is a proof of the revived concern with poetry.

Some interesting attempts were made to survey aesthetic theory and to examine the standards of criticism in art and in literature. The Earl of Listowel in *A Critical History of Modern Æsthetics* (Allen & Unwin) gave an account of recent theories from France, Germany, and Italy, the doctrine of empathy, and the impact of Bergson, Freud, Croce, Lipps, and Wolfflin on critical philosophy. In literary criticism the outstanding work was Mr. T. S. Eliot's Harvard lectures on * *The Use of Poetry and the Use of Criticism* (Faber & Faber), a profound analysis of the relation of criticism to poetry in England. Professor A. E. Housman's Cambridge lecture on *The Name and Nature of Poetry* (Cambridge University Press) excited deep interest as a rare pronouncement from a concentrated and infrequent poet. A timely volume was Mr. F. R. Leavis's selection under the title of *Towards Standards of Criticism* (Wishart) from the pages of Mr. Edgell Rickwood's *Calendar of Modern Letters, 1926-1927*, the most consistently brilliant of recent critical periodicals. An urgent problem was explored in Mr. R. D. Charques's *Contemporary Literature and Social Revolution* (Seeker), while in the field of the arts Mr. Herbert Read's * *Art Now* (Faber & Faber) successfully endeavoured to map out the theory of modern painting and sculpture. Apart from these volumes the art of criticism was quiescent during the year.

The impetus of the long-delayed English exhibition at Burlington House produced a crop of works specifically devoted to English Art. Mr. C. H. Collins Baker and Dr. M. R. James produced a measured account of *English Painting* (Medici Press), with adequate attention to the mediaeval field. Mr. R. H. Wilenski wrote a very provocative and personal survey of *English Painting* (Faber & Faber). Mr. John Rothenstein's *Introduction to English Painting* (Cassell) showed freshness of approach, but the best book of all was Mr. Lawrence Binyon's *English Water Colours* (A. & C. Black), the views of a poet and an expert utilising the results of recent researches, and placing the evolution of this specifically English art in a light rendered even brighter by the skilful and unhackneyed choice of illustrations. The historians and critics ranged over a wide field from Professor E. A. Gardner's illuminating study of *Poet and Artist in Greece* (Duckworth), and Mr. S. Casson's skilful presentation of recent continental discoveries concerning *The Technique of Early Greek Sculpture* (Oxford University Press), to the modernity of Mr. A. C. Barnes's study of *The Art of Henri Matisse* (Scribner), and Mr. Horace Brodsky's richly illustrated account of the brilliant sculptor and war victim, *Henri Gaudier-Brzeska* (Faber & Faber). The gulf was bridged by a penetrating analysis by Sir Charles Holmes of *Raphael and the Modern Use of the Classical Tradition* (Christopher), and the fascinating cross-section of taste in Miss Phyllis Ackerman's *Tapestry the Mirror of Civiltysatton* (Oxford University Press).

The problem of taste was approached in a stimulating inquiry by Miss Margaret Bulley, *Have You a Good Taste* (Methuen), the record of a public investigation into standards of artistic choice. A remarkable contribution on the borderline of art and archaeology was provided by Dr. E. L. Sukenik in his monograph on *The Ancient Synagogue of Beth Alpha* (Oxford University Press), with its important new light on the evolution of primitive Christian art. A lively account of the progress and observations of modern art was given in Mr. Frank Rutter's *Art in Our Time* (Rich & Cowan), while a fascinating variety of examples could be studied in Mr. Campbell Dodgson's *Modern Drawings* (Studio), and Mr. Arnold Haskell's vigorous and personal selection of drawings in *Black on White* (Barker). An outstanding book, rare in its grasp of theory and in exposition of practical findings, was Mr. R. W. Alston's monograph on *The Rudiments of Figure Drawing* (Pitman), based on minute study of the problems and practice of the earlier masters.

The publications in the field of drama were more important than for some years back. The outstanding work was that monumental labour of exact scholarship, *The Drama of the Mediaeval Church*, 2 vols. (Clarendon Press). For the first time the whole body of religious drama of the middle Ages was surveyed and placed in its framework of liturgy and society. It is the most important contribution to its field of inquiry since Sir E. K. Chambers's *The Mediæval Stage*, which was followed in the year under review by its author's *English Folk Play* (Oxford University Press), the first comprehensive examination of the whole field. Dr. F. S. Boas, in *An Introduction to Tudor Drama* (Oxford University Press), collected the work of himself and other recent scholars into an ordered picture. The most important theatrical biography of the year was Professor H. X. Hillebrand's *Edmund Kean* (Oxford University Press). Mr. L. S. Driver's *Fanny Kemble* (Oxford University Press), and Miss Naomi Royde Smith's *The Private Life of Mrs. Siddons* (Gollancz), both dealt with important figures of the past. The present was represented by Mr. B. H. Clark's compact study of that vigorous American dramatist *Eugene O'Neill* (Cape), while Mr. St. John Irvine, with his customary vigour and independent views, gave an account of *Drama in My Time* (Rich & Cowan). One of the most stimulating volumes, on the margin of dramatic criticism, was Mr. C. K. Munro's *Watching a Play* (Gerald Howe). The published plays of the year included a rich gift in a single generous volume containing the *Complete Plays of J. M. Barrie* (Hodder & Stoughton), a collection of the *Plays of Elmer Rice* (Gollancz), the *Plays of D. H. Lawrence* (Seeker), and a number of single plays by contemporary authors. Mr. W. Somerset Maugham's fantasy in a barbers shop, *Sheppey* (Heinemann), Mr. Sean O'Casey's sturdy and startling * *Within the Gates* (Macmillan), Mr. Rodney Ackland's popular success *Strange Orchestra* (French), Mr. Gordon Rottomley's poetical *Acts of Saint Peter* (Constable), Mr. G. Kaufman and Miss Edna Ferber's *Dinner at Eight* (Heinemann) between them gave a representative picture of the more serious theatre of to-day. Three widely contrasting plays were brought from foreign theatres. Mr. Thornton Wilder translated M. Andre Obeyes stately *Lucrèce* (Longmans), presented some time

ago by the accomplished and youthful Compagnie des Quinze, and from the same company came M. Jean Cocteau's *Orphee* (Oxford University Press), with a frontispiece by Picasso. From Russia came a version of one of the recent additions to the national repertory in Vsevolod Ivanov's *Armoured Train 14-69* (Martin Lawrence). The art of the cinema was represented by a revised and enlarged edition of V. I. Pudovkin's *Film Technique* (Newnes), and by the theoretic analysis in Mr. Rudolf Arnheim's *Film* (Faber & Faber).

The serious appraisal of literature and the scholarly shaping of its history continued to loom large in the year's productions, and much attention was given to the problems of language. Chief among the accomplishments of the year was the *Shorter Oxford Dictionary* in two volumes (Clarendon Press), a miracle of compression in retaining all the unique features of dated quotation which makes the great dictionary even more a history of the nation's thought and expression than a rich work of reference. This concern with the history of the language was seen even more clearly in the massive *Supplement* (Clarendon Press) supplying omissions from the original work and dealing with the vast body of change and advance in English vocabulary during the past fifty years. Mr. M. M. Mathews's *Survey of English Dictionaries* (Oxford University Press), gave some idea of the historical evolution of the difficult art of lexicography. Much that is not to be found in the dictionaries, and much of importance for the social history of England was to be found in Mr. Eric Partridge's comprehensive and informing survey of *Slang To-day and Yesterday* (Routledge). Professor H. C. Wyld's *Some Aspects of the Diction of Modern Poetry* (Blackwell) dealt illuminatingly with the higher levels of word employment.

Every period of English literature was explored with greater or less intensity. Professor G. P. Krapp edited that important linguistic monument, *The Paris Psalter* (Routledge), and a new *Old English Library* devoted to early English texts was inaugurated by Messrs. Methuen. A brilliant compression of the problem of *Cynewulf and his Poetry* was provided by Mr. Kenneth Sisam (Oxford University Press), and Mr. A. McTear's edition of *Athelstan, A Middle English Romance* (Oxford University Press), revived an important poem. Chaucer's text was again investigated for the new edition of *The Complete Works* by Professor F. N. Robinson (Oxford University Press), and his followers were admirably edited in *The Poems of William Dunbar*, by Mr. W. M. Mackenzie (Faber & Faber), and *The Poems of Robert Henryson*, by Mr. H. Harvey Wood (Oliver & Boyd). Mr. G. R. Owst's *Literature and Pulpit* (Cambridge University Press) was a massive survey of mediaeval social and literary history. One of the most brilliantly written of recent treatises was Mr. D. Bush's investigation of *Mythology and Renaissance Tradition in English Poetry* (Oxford University Press), and Mrs. L. E. Pearson's *Elizabethan Lone Conventions* (Cambridge University Press), broke new ground for the Renaissance Lyric. Spenserian scholarship took a stride forward with the first volume of the Variorum edition of *Canto I of the Faerie Queen* (Oxford University Press), and a more formal study, of value to students,

was Mr. B. E. C. Davis's *Edmund Spenser, a Critical Study* (Cambridge University Press). The new edition of Marlowe concluded with Messrs. H. B. Charlton and R. A. Waller's edition of *Edward 11.* (Methuen). Shakespeare was not so fully examined as in previous years, though an outstanding volume was Professor E. E. Stoli's *Art and Artifice in Shakespeare* (Cambridge University Press), a realistic study, bringing the light of Elizabethan standards and conventions of the theatre to dispel the mists of sentiment and conjecture. Another lively corrective was Mr. L. C. Knights' attack on certain diseases of Shakespearean scholarship under the fanciful title of *How Many Children had Lady Macbeth?* (Minority Press). Dr. R. B. McKerrow, who is editing the new Oxford Variorum edition, wrote a concentrated study of *The Treatment of Shakespeare's Text by his Editors in the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford University Press). Dr. G. B. Harrison brought some of the knowledge gleaned in the making of his Elizabethan Journals to a conjectural reconstruction of *Shakespeare at Work* (Routledge). Opposite approaches to Shakespearean problems were made by Mr. L. Pearsall Smith in his elegant *On Reading Shakespeare* (Constable), and by Mr. G. A. Plimpton in his survey of Elizabethan school-books in *The Education of Shakespeare* (Oxford University Press). A very useful body of information was collected by Miss G. M. Sibley in her list of *The Lost Plays and Masques* (Oxford University Press). Mr. Michael Roberta recalled attention to the glories of *Elizabethan Prose* (Cape) in a useful selection of unhackneyed and robust passages.

It would seem as if the post-war fever of interest in the seventeenth century has abated. Most of the big tasks have been accomplished, but several important things remained to be done. Mr. C. Williams examined afresh the life and achievement of *Francis Bacon* (Barker), while John Donne's admirers were again indebted to Professor H. J. C. Grierson for his compact one-volume edition of the *Poets* (Oxford University Press). One of the most considerable undertakings of recent years was the great Columbia edition of *The Works of Milton* (Milford), which added several new volumes during the year, notably the edition of the Latin works. John Dryden is coming into favour again, and Mr. C. L. Day's edition of his *Songs* (Oxford University Press) was an exact and scholarly achievement. Mr. M. Ellehaug re-examined the field of *Restoration Drama* (Williams & Norgate), and several minor but interesting figures were given new biographical study. Mr. J. W. Dods gave a useful account of the veteran dramatist, *Thomas Southerne* (Oxford University Press), Miss Elizabeth Handasyde wrote on *Granville the Polite* (Oxford University Press), being George Granville, Lord Lansdowne, and Mr. R. N. Cunningham gave an excellent study of *Peter Anthony Motteux* (Blackwell), that varied and interesting writer remembered now as the translator of Rabelais and Cervantes. The problem of Swift's character continued to puzzle the biographers, and three several attempts were made. Messrs. J. M. Hone and M. M. Rossi investigated the psychological pattern of *Swift the Egoist* (Gollancz), Mr. Stephen Gwynn dealt with the more familiar approach of *The Life and Friendships of Ikan Smifl* (Thornton Butterworth), while the academic attack was provided by Mr. W. D. Taylor in *Jonathan*

Swift, a *Critical Essay* (Davies). The Augustan writers were very little studied. Mr. R. P. Bond took a revealing cross-section in *English Burlesque Poetry (1700-1750)*, (Oxford University Press), and some light on the changing taste of the eighteenth century was thrown by Mr. W. D. McClintock's *Joseph Warton's Essay on Pope* (Oxford University Press). The novelists were approached in varying manner. Fielding was illuminated by two powerful cross-lights by Mr. B. Jones in *Henry Fielding, Novelist and Magistrate* (Allen & Unwin), and Mr. F. O. Bissill in *Fielding's Theory of the Novel* (Oxford University Press), while Miss E. G. Kent, in a study of *Goldsmith and his Booksellers* (Oxford University Press), showed how literature could be served by adjacent studies. One of the chief biographies of the year was Mr. R. Crompton Rhodes's *Harlequin Sheridan* (Blackwell), a picture based on vast reserves of scholarship and research. A reprint of interest was Mr. James Laver's edition of *The Poems of Charles Churchill* (Eyre & Spottiswoode), an undeservedly forgotten satirist.

In the Romantic Movement activity was unusually great. Mr. J. Middleton Murry turned his special apparatus of critical feeling to the study of *William Blake* (Cape). Jane Austen received very valuable attention. Dr. R. W. Chapman's edition of her * *Letters* (Oxford University Press) was one of the most considerable contributions of recent years, and Austen enthusiasts also welcomed the new material in *Volume the First* (Oxford University Press). The Wordsworth circle was re-examined by Professor E. de Selincourt in a masterly *Life of Dorothy Wordsworth* (Oxford University Press), and by Miss E. C. Batho in a plea for kinder indulgence towards *The Later Wordsworth* (Cambridge University Press). A special study of *Keats's Craftsmanship* (Oxford University Press), by Mr. M. R. Ridley, was the only personal attention given to the poetry of the period, but the forthcoming centenary of Coleridge was heralded by a compendious one-volume selection of *The Prose and Poetry of Coleridge*, by Mr. Stephen Potter (Nonsuch Press). Mr. Edmund Blunden published his graceful and profound Clark Lectures under the title of *Charles Lamb and his Contemporaries* (Cambridge University Press), and the centenary edition of *William Hazlitt* (Dent) added two important volumes containing uncollected material, while the great *Complete Works* of Walter Savage Landor moved forward by two substantial volumes of poetry. The centenary edition of *Sir Walter Scott's Letters* (Constable) added a volume devoted to the years 1815 to 1817 under the editorship of Professor H. J. C. Grierson. A work of rare comprehensiveness and brilliant comparative investigation was Dr. Mario Praz's account of *The Romantic Agony* (Oxford University Press) in its struggles and decadence throughout European literature of the nineteenth century. A very different picture of the nineteenth century could be gleaned from Mr. R. H. Wilenski's industriously constructed picture, *John Ruskin* (Faber & Faber), or from the contrasting contents of Matthew Arnold's *Letters to A. H. Clough* (Oxford University Press), and *Robert Browning's Letters* (Murray), edited by Mr. T. L. Hood from Mr. T. J. Wise's manuscript*. A useful study was Mr. C. H. Ryder's *Swinburne's Literary Career and Fame* (Cambridge University Press). A more general picture was given in Mr. B. I. Evans's

English Poetry in the Later 19th Century (Methuen), while an interesting literary relation was studied in Mr. A. H. Abie's *George Meredith and Thomas Love Peacock* (Cambridge University Press). Very little was done on more recent literature. Miss R. C. McKay examined the relationship of *George Gissing and his Critic Frank Swinnerton* (Cambridge University Press), and Mr. Middleton Murry's *Life of Katherine Mansfield* (Constable) threw much new light on a writer who passed too soon. The third volume of *The Journals of Arnold Bennett* (Cassell) gave a lively picture of events and persons from 1921 to 1928, and the story of literature was brought up to date by Mr. Louis Golding, who wrote an account of *James Joyce* (Thornton Butterworth) and by Mr. Compton Mackenzie in his brilliant survey of *English Literature in My Time* (Rich & Cowan). Special mention must be made of the memorial collection of the *Prefaces and Essays of the late George Saintsbury* (Macmillan), with an appreciation by Professor Oliver Elton, whose *English Muse* (Bell) was the kind of brilliant and incisive survey of a nation's poetry possible only to a master of the field. The novel received some attention, in a special study, long needed, of the *Epistolary Novel*, by Mr. G. F. Singer (Oxford University Press), and in a more general survey of the *History of the Novel in England*, by Professors R. M. Lovett and H. S. Hughes (Harrap).

Apart from specialised works only a handful of volumes emerged from the study of ancient and foreign literature. Prominent among them was Professor Gilbert Murray's stimulating portrait of *Aristophanes* (Oxford University Press), and Mr. C. M. Bowra's masterly and compressed account of *Ancient Greek Literature* (Thornton Butterworth). German literature, since the regretted death of Professor J. G. Robertson, has had no important student in this country, and for a general survey it was necessary to translate Mr. F. Eloesser's *Modern German Literature* (Hamish Hamilton). Of special interest were Mr. James Cleugh's study, as from one novelist to another, of *Thomas Mann* (Seeker), and a more minute analysis in Mr. H. J. Weygand's *Thomas Mann's Novel "Der Zauberberg"* (Appleton). The most distinguished attention to French literature was given in Miss Enid Starkie's unusually comprehensive and illuminating * *Baudelaire* (Gollancz), and in Miss Theodora Bosanquet's concise and penetrating critical study of *Paul Valéry* (Hogarth Press). A useful work of orientation was provided in Mr. T. Jorgenson's *History of Norwegian Literature* (Macmillan). In this section also should be mentioned two books of a remarkable personality. Lauro de Bosis was a young Italian intellectual who met his death in October, 1931, while dropping anti-Fascist leaflets over Rome. *The Story of My Death* (Faber & Faber) gives a short biography and the text of his last message, while *Icaro* (Oxford University Press) is a translation of the dramatic poem which received the Olympic Prize for Poetry at Amsterdam in 1928.

Historical studies were surprisingly inactive during the year, and there appeared very few volumes of outstanding contribution to the historical library, although a number of very useful works and special studies continued to appear. In English history the earliest topic approached was the difficult problem of *Anglo-Saxon Influence on Western*

Christendom, 600-800, by Mr. S. J. Crawford (Oxford University Press), and Mr. J. F. A. Jolliffe explored *Pre-Feudal England: The Jutes* (Oxford University Press). The concluding portion of a very important work was Volume VI. of T. F. Tout's *Chapters in the Administrative History of Mediaeval England* (Manchester University Press). Dr. Eileen Power and Mr. M. N. Postan edited a valuable series of studies in *English Trade in the 15th Century* (Routledge), and contrasting material emerges from *The Letters of Stephen Gardiner*, edited by Mr. J. A. Muller (Cambridge University Press). An invaluable work of reference was the *Bibliography of British History. The Tudor Period (1485-1603)*, edited by Dr. Conyers Read (Clarendon Press), and Dr. G. B. Harrison brought to completion his survey of the current topics of discourse in Shakespeare's England in ** A Last Elizabethan Journal* (Constable). An important cross-section of the national life appeared in Mr. J. D. S. Paul's history of *The East India Company* (Luzac). A valuable detailed contribution to social and political history was Miss Mary Coate's *Cornwall in the Great Civil War and Interregnum, 1642-1660* (Oxford University Press). A long-awaited volume was the first instalment of Mr. Winston Churchill's ** Marlborough* (Harrap), based on documents inaccessible to historians in general. One of the most vivid contributions to the explanation of England during the eighteenth century was the fine two-volume composite work, *Johnson's England* (Oxford University Press), edited by Mr. A. S. Turberville. It is a companion to the fascinating and authoritative *Shakespeare's England*, and presents every facet of the intellectual and social life of the time, surveyed by a team of specialists. A composite volume of more contemporary interest was Professor H. J. C. Hearnshaw's *Edwardian England* (Benn), in which an attempt was made to clear away the uncertainties obscuring recent history. Two great co-operative works continued their steady march in *The Cambridge History of India* which issued its sixth volume, and *The Cambridge History of the British Empire* (both from the Cambridge University Press) whose seventh volume dealt with Australia and New Zealand. The ancient world received attention in Dr. M. P. Nilsson's close and stimulating investigation into the problem of *Homer and Mycenae* (Methuen) and Mr. S. Runciman's account of *Byzantine Civilisation* (Arnold). French history was well served in a comprehensive *History of the French People* by the veteran scholar, Charles Seignobos (Cape), and in Mr. G. P. Baker's vivid treatment of *Charlemagne and the United States of Europe* (Grayson). Dr. J. T. Adams surveyed the panorama of American development in *A History of the American People from Civil War to World Power* (Routledge), while a work of supreme interest in both novelty of treatment and importance of the social and economic forces revealed was Mr. H. J. Thornton's *History of the Quaker Oats Company* (Cambridge University Press).

More attention was devoted to contemporary affairs, and the events in Germany evoked argument, description, and analysis, both favourable and unfavourable. The fairest and most penetrating account of the growth of the new movement was given in Mr. E. A. Mowrer's *Germany Puts the Clock Back* (John Lane), and Professor Calvin Hoover in *Germany*

Enters the Third Reich (Macmillan) presented the conclusions of an experienced observer. Three works of advocacy deserve special attention; above all *The Brown Book of the Hitler Terror* (Gollancz) with its exposure of the baser sides of political upheaval, and Mr. Johannes Steel's account of *Hitler as Frankenstein* (Wishart). On the other side was Mr. Friedrich Sieburg's defence of the new order in *Germany My Country* (Cape). Very little real information, however, was available, and even Herr Hitler's autobiography, *My Struggle* (Hurst & Blackett) appeared in a truncated and selected fashion which completely obscured the nature of the original.

The interest in Russia showed no sign of abatement, and among a large number of publications many call for special mention. The work of greatest importance and most durable value was Mr. Leon Trotsky's * *History of the Russian Revolution* (Gollancz), whose concluding volumes followed "The Overthrow of Czarism " with " The Attempted Counter Revolution " and " The Triumph of the Soviets." It is a document unique in history in being an attempt at an impartial history written by a man who was not only one of the two chief architects of the new state, but a master of historical reconstruction. *The Memoirs of Lenin*, by his widow, Krupskaya (Martin Lawrence), continued to throw light on Trotsky's companion architect, while the translation of *The Complete Works of Lenin* (Martin Lawrence) reached its 26th volume. Maxim Gorki's *Days with Lenin* (Martin Lawrence) presented recollections with his customary vividness. An important pronouncement, revealing both parties of the contact, was Stalin's monograph on *Leninism* (Martin Lawrence), and a standard Russian text-book was translated in Professor N. Pokrovsky's *Brief History of Russia* (Martin Lawrence). The sensational events of last year were reflected in an almost verbatim report of the proceedings of the court concerned with *Wrecking Activities at Power Stations in the Soviet Union* (Allen & Unwin), and in a lively description by Mr. A. J. Cummings, the special correspondent at *The Moscow Trial* (Gollancz). Glimpses of special aspects were given in Madame Lili Kober's *Life in a Somet Factory* (Lane), in Mr. Klaus Mehnert's *Youth in Soviet Russia* (Allen & Unwin), and in Miss Fannina Halle's *Women in Soviet Russia* (Routledge). A problem of wide political interest was explored in Dr. M. T. Florinsky's *World Revolution and the U.S.S.R.* (Macmillan), and Dr. J. F. Hecker presented a discussion of " Red Philosophy " in unusually clear terms in *Moscow Dialogues* (Chapman & Hall). Contemporary Russian literature was helpfully dealt with in a valuable anthology of *Soviet Literature*, edited by Messrs. George Reavey and Marc Slonim (Wishart), containing not only a selection of fiction but a number of important critical pronouncements explanatory of recent movements. A special English edition of a new periodical, *International Literature* (Kniga), gave critical theory as well as fiction and drama by such representative writers as Alexei Tolstoy, Panteleimon Romanov, S. M. Eisenstein, S. Tretiakov, and A. Lunacharsky.

In the field of biography and autobiography the year was much richer than usual in variety and interest. A new series of inexpensive *Great Lives* was inaugurated by Messrs. Duckworth, and included studies of

public figures such as *Queen Victoria*, by Lord Ponsonby, *Cecil Rhodes*, by Mr. J. G. Lockhart, an excellent book on *Charks IL*, by Mr. John Hayward, a concise account of *William Blake*, by Mr. A. Clutton Brock, as well as studies of *Wesley*, *Burns*, *Strindberg*, and *Nietzsche*. Perhaps the most fascinating autobiography was the limited issue of Mr. Norman Douglas's *Looking Back* (Chatto & Windus), with its excellence of style, variety of incident, and shrewd and humorous comment on existence. A work of perhaps greater significance for immediately contemporary literature was Miss Gertrude Stein's strange book *The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas* (John Lane), in effect the story of her own life with its fascinating glimpses of the artistic world of Paris during the progress of the Post-Impressionist movement. The arts were also represented in the tragic story of the great Russian dancer, *Nijinsky*, by Roniola Nijinsky (Gollancz). A welcome group of personal reminiscences told us much about the early lives of some interesting modern figures. Mr. Herbert Read, in *The Innocent Eye* (Faber & Faber), gave an exquisitely written account of his childhood in Yorkshire, and the volume was noteworthy in that it introduced to general notice the painting of that remarkable mystical artist, Marc Chagall. Miss Vera Brittain's *Testament of Youth* (Gollancz) attracted wide and enthusiastic attention. A special experience was vividly conveyed in Mr. R. Dataller's *A Pitman Looks at Oxford* (Dent). Mr. Humbert Wolfe's *Now a Stranger* (Cassell) was considered by many to be his most interesting literary achievement. Viscountess Rhondda dealt with a variety of experiences in *This Was My World* (Macmillan).

The different approaches to biography could be observed in interesting contrast in M. Andre' Maurois' *Edward VII. and his Times* (Cassell), and in Mr. E. F. Benson's *King Edward VII.* (Longmans). M. Maurois also presented a topical picture of the great colonial figure, *Marshal Lyautey* (John Lane). Mr. J. L. Garvin continued his full-length portrait in the second volume of *Joseph Chamberlain* (Macmillan). A work of unusual literary distinction and vivid re-creation was Mr. Michael Sadleir's *Blessington-D'Orsay* (Constable), and Mr. Arthur Bryant followed up his triumphant treatment of Charles II. with a study of Samuel Pepys, *The Man in the Making* (Cambridge University Press). Another portrait of a man in the making was Mr. B. Sharga's important account of *Ghandi* (Luzac). Native and foreign monarchs were treated by Mr. Hilairo Belloc in *Charles I.* (Cassell), by Miss Margaret Goldsmith in *Christina of Sweden* (Barker), and by Mr. Stefan Zweig in *Marie Antoinette* (Cassell). Mr. Zweig was particularly concerned with psychological interpretation and selected an excellent field for his gifts in a study of three *Mental Healers* (Cassell), admirable and penetrating portraits of Mesmer, Mrs. Eddy, and Freud. Mrs. Eddy was very seriously examined in Messrs. E. S. Bates and J. V. Dittmore's *Mary Baker Eddy, The Truth and the Tradition* (Routledge). The centenary of Charles Bradlaugh evoked biographical treatment in *Charles Bradlaugh, Champion of Liberty* (Watts), and in Mr. J. Gilmour's *Charles Bradlaugh* (Watts). American problems were examined in Mrs. M. R. Bradford's *The Making of William Penn* (LongmanB),

and in the eleventh volume of the now formidable *Dictionary of American Biography* (Oxford University Press). Mr. Basil Maine contributed an interesting account of *Elgar: His Life and Works* (Bell), and many aspects of human existence were reflected from the pages of the Earl of Birkenhead's life of his father, *Frederick Edwin, Earl of Birkenhead* (Butterworth), Mr. Hector Bolitho's life of *Alfred Mond: First Lord Melchett* (Seeker), and from the autobiographical recollections of Sir Charles Oman in *Things I Have Seen* (Methuen), of Lord Baden-Powell in *Lessons from the Varsity of Life* (Pearson), and in Mr. Albert Schweitzer's fascinating account of his activity as missionary and scholar in *My Life and Thought* (Allen & Unwin).

The events in Europe during the past year gave special prominence to the past and present history of the Jews. Dr. K. H. Kennett's *Ancient Hebrew Social Life and Custom* (Oxford University Press) was an important investigation, and Mr. C. Koth's *History of the Marranos* (Routledge) pointed an historical moral. The translation of the great mediaeval compendium of mysticism, *The Zohar*, reached its third volume (Soncino Press), while one of the most fascinating volumes of the year, apart from the intrinsic attraction of its varied subject-matter, was Mr. Marvin Lowenthal's *A World Passed By* (Harper), a very human chronicle of "Scenes and Memories of Jewish Civilisation in Europe and North Africa." A Jewish companion to the "Week End Book" was presented as *The Friday Night Book* (Soncino Press), while the Jewish contribution to modern fiction could be measured in the compendious *Yisroel, The First Jewish Omnibus* (Heritage), with its revelation of the quality of fiction written in Modern Hebrew.

The sciences presented several works of interest to the general reader. In the more human science of psychology the chief work was Professor Freud's *Netv Introductory Lectures on Psycho-Analysis* (Hogarth Press), and his *Interpretation of Dreams* (Allen & Unwin) was reprinted in a completely revised and up-to-date text. A very valuable survey was Professor J. C. Flugel's *100 Years of Psychology* (Duckworth). A very welcome volume was the translation of the late Professor Vladimir M. Bechtereve's epoch-making *General Principles of Human Reflexology* (Jarrold), and this, with the already translated work of Pavlov on *Conditioned Reflexes*, brought English readers in touch with the great achievements of continental neurology. Various aspects of psychology were touched in Mr. S. Zuckerman's *The Functional Affinities of Man, Monkeys, and Apes* (Kegan Paul) and in Dr. Esther Harding's * *The Way of All Women* (Longmans). A borderline study was Sir J. G. Frazer's * *Fear of the Dead in Primitive Religion* (Macmillan). *The Way of a Bee* (Longmans), by Georg Rendl, well translated from the German by Patrick Kirwan, told the life-story of these insects in the language and with the knowledge of a peasant-poet.

The more formidable sciences of astronomy and physics still offer difficulties, but scientists did their best to establish communication. Professor Einstein's Herbert Spencer lecture on *The Methods of Theoretical Physics* (Oxford University Press) was an important pronouncement, and both Sir Arthur Eddington in *The Expanding Universe* (Cambridge

University Press), and Sir James Jeans in *The New Background of Science* (Cambridge University Press), endeavoured to popularise abstruse matters. A more methodical survey was Dr. Bernhard Bavink's *Anatomy of Science* (Bell), and Professor Max Planck, one of the great pioneers of modern physical theory, gave some fascinating speculation in *Where is Science Going?* (Allen & Unwin). Professor A. N. Whitehead's * *Adventures of Ideas* (Cambridge University Press) pursued the path of "Science and the Modern World" into even more abstract concern with the philosophical and scientific substructure of modern civilisation, while Dean Inge scrutinised * *God and the Astronomers* (Longmans). Two works of more concrete quality were the successive volumes of *Faraday's Diary* (Bell), and of Charles Darwin's *Diary of the Voyage of H.M.S. Beagle*, edited by his granddaughter, both of which showed the practical paths followed by the great scientists. A science nearer to daily life was explored in an impressive volume by Professor H. E. Sigerist, *Great Doctors: A Biographical History of Medicine* (Allen & Unwin), while the man in the street was granted a lively glimpse by Mr. H. S. Hatfield, of *The Inventor and his World* (Kegan Paul).

In sociology three items stood out, the eighth volume of the great *Encyclopædia of the Social Sciences* (Macmillan), a fascinating survey of the white slave traffic in the reprint of the late Albert Londres *The Road to Buenos Ayres* (Constable), and a formidable though compact survey of international armament scandals in *Patriotism Ltd.* (Union of Democratic Control). A plea for a bold policy of economic planning was attractively put forward by Mr. Harold Macmillan in his *Reconstruction* (Macmillan), and received a good deal of attention. In *The Shape of Things to Come* (Hutchinson) Mr. H. G. Wells depicted his ideas of how the world would develop; some critics were of opinion that this was one of Mr. Wells's best books. An important work in theology was the translation of Karl Barth's superb *Commentary on St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans* (Oxford University Press). From the sublime to the agreeably ridiculous is the descent to Mr. Hugh Lofting's welcome account of *Dr. Doolittle's Return* (Cape), and to a fascinating medley in Mr. W. Juniper's anthology, *The True Drunkard's Delight* (Unicorn Press).

New periodicals were not numerous. Apart from *New Verse* and *International Literature* already mentioned, the chief were *Lovat Dickson's Magazine* (Lovat Dickson), devoted exclusively to the modern short story, *Population* (Allen & Unwin), the organ of the "International Union for the Scientific Investigation of Population Problems," *The New Atlantis*, devoted to the "Future of Western Man," *The Seagoer*, an illustrated quarterly of the Sea, Travel, and World Affairs, and *Film*, concerned with the cinema as an art.

As usual a vast proportion of the year's publication was devoted to fiction, and with the increasing competence on the part of the ordinary novelist, and the strict canons of selection exercised by publishers, the task of selection becomes increasingly difficult. Fortunately the pre-selection applied to foreign fiction before translation into English forces the agreeable conclusion that very few foreign novels are translated without

some serious achievement to justify the choice; of course a few best-sellers break through the ranks, but even these serve a useful purpose in throwing light on European taste and also in providing a standard of measurement. More than a dozen literatures were represented. An almost perfect picture of the contemporary French novel was given. Jules Romain's *The Body's Rapture*, translated by Mr. John Rodker (Boriswood), was perhaps the most considerable in high technical management and profound psychology of individuals. His *Men of Good Will* (Lovat Dickson) was the first instalment of a gigantic picture of the evolution of recent civilisation, and an equally impressive panorama was presented in R. Martin du Gard's *The Thibaults* (Lane), another first instalment of a giant work. Of the younger generation J. Kessel's *Crossroads* (Grayson), and F. Mauriac's mordant *Viper's Tangle* (Gollancz) were admirably representative, with Jean Schlumberger's *The Seventh Age* (Gollancz) to round off the trio. In lighter vein Colette's *The Last of Cheri* (Gollancz) and Drieu La Rochelle's *Hotel Acropolis* (Grayson) completed the balance. German fiction was more varied, if not so uniformly good. The veteran Jacob Wassermann gave in *The Jews of Zirndorf* (Allen & Unwin) an earlier work of renewed topical interest, as were Hugo Brehm's *They Call It Patriotism* (Bles), and Lion Feuchtwangers' *The Oppermans* (Seeker). The "other man's world" was well presented in the popular *Little Man What Now*, by Hans Fallada (Putnam), in Gunther Birkenfeld's *A Room in Berlin* (Constable), and in Ernst Erich Noth's *Berlin Tenement* (Hurst & Blackett). The newer generation of writers included O. M. Graf's *The Statummaster* (Chatto & Windus), E. Lothar's *Little Friend* (Seeker), and R. Neumann's *Mammon* (Davies). Three writers whose works had already found an appreciative public in England were Stefan Zweig who gave his *Letter from an Unknown Woman* (Cassell), Hans Carossa with *Doctor Gion* (Seeker), and Paul Alverdes, whose brilliant *Whistler's Room* was followed by the profound psychology of *Changed Men* (Seeker). In lighter vein was A. Lernet-Holenia's riotous comedy, *A Young Gentleman in Poland*, translated by Mr. Alan Harris (Duckworth), and Erich Kastner's whimsical *The 35th of May* (Cape), by the author of *Emil and the Detectives*.

Translations from the Russian were fewer. Maxim Gorki gave a further instalment of his epical survey of the century's history in *Other Fires*, translated by Mr. A. Baksy (Appleton), and Ivan Bunin, the winner of the Nobel Prize for literature, in *The Well of Days* (Hogarth Press) began an extensive work of some surprise to those who knew him only as a consummate writer of short stories. Panteleimon Romanov's *The New Commandment* (Benn) gave a picture of contemporary life, and Ilya Ehrenbourg in *A Street in Moscow* (Grayson) gave a less strenuous cross-section of recent Russia. Italian fiction was represented by a volume of short stories, *Better Think Twice About It*, by Luigi Pirandello (Lane), which proves him to be in the direct line of descent from the great master of psychology, Boccaccio. Pitigrilli's *Mr. Pott* (Lane) balanced with a national brand of humour. The Scandinavian world continued to make serious contributions. Selma Lagerlofs *Gosta Bedings Saga* (Cape) was presented in a complete form, and Sigrid Undset's *Ida Elizabeth* (Constable)

was another gift from its powerful author. P. Hallstrom's *Short Stories* (Cape) were of the highest technical and emotional excellence, and J. V. Jensen's *The Fall of the King* (Grayson), and Sigurd Hoel's *A Day in October* (Duckworth), completed a distinguished batch. From Finland came a profound fantasy in F. E. Sillanpaa's *Fallen Asleep when Young* (Putnam). Spain gave only one volume, but that of the highest quality, in Ramon Perez de Ayala the Ambassador's profound *Tiger Juan* (Cape), with an introduction by Dr. Walter Starkie. From the East came a varied group. Mr. Arthur Waley presented the last volume, *The Bridge of Dreams* (Allen & Unwin), of Lady Murasaki's tender epic, and at the very opposite pole, in time and in mood, was a volume of short stories by Communist writers, *The Cannery Boat* (Martin Lawrence), mainly by Takiji Kobayashi, the victim of a political murder early last year. Miss Pearl S. Buck gave a translation of a Chinese classical novel in *All Men are Brothers* (Methuen). From Holland came *The Rest is Silence*, by C. and M. Scharten Antinck (Rich & Cowan), and two Jewish novels of outstanding merit were *The Sinner*, by I. J. Singer, translated by Mr. Maurice Samuel (Gollancz), and the impressive *Three Cities* (Gollancz), by Sholem Asch, the author of that grim realistic tragedy, *The God of Vengeance*.

In English fiction 1933 did not display quite such all-round excellence as the previous year. In 1932 it would have been possible to find an outstanding "Book of the Week" for every week in the year, but the emphasis changed from profusion in works either of the highest class or of unusual promise and penetrating analysis of actual and urgent themes of the mind, spirit or society, to a general level of accomplishment perhaps even higher than before. The "Book of the Month" temptation has been strengthened by the extension of the principle from choice by a committee of distinguished and popular authors to selection by a single newspaper critic in the interest of the entertainment of a much wider clientele.

The selection of novels specially dealt with in this year's survey reflects the main currents of present fictional achievement in English. Mr. H. G. Wells's inexhaustible energy turned in * *The Bulpington of Blup* (Hutchinson) to the depiction of the thinly intellectual atmosphere of the years immediately before and after the war, to the portrayal of a weak and vacillating character, to the influences of heredity and to the castigation of a type hero who had not been saved by a scientific education. The combination of personal evolution and social background is one of the debts which the modern novel owes to this still-living great master. From America came Mr. William Faulkner's * *Light in August* (Chatto & Windus) with its very different picture of the world—disturbing, digging at the heart of reality with strange poignancy of intuition, and urgency of technical compulsion. As with so many Neo-Georgian writers the goal of Edwardian inquiry into society is the starting-point of the new inquiries. Mr. Richard Aldington's * *All Men are Enemies* (Chatto & Windus) represented a middle stage, in which the power of an individual career is softened and adorned with romance without losing the grip on experienced emotion which is the valuable possession of the better contemporary novelist. **Romance** was provided in Mr. David Garnett's stylised reconstruction of

the story of * *Pocahontas* (Chatto & Windus). Reality showed in the fine and dignified first novel of a distinguished dramatist, Mr. Halcott Glover in * *Morning Pride* (Dent), with its sense of place and person in twentieth-century Manchester. Mr. James Hanley at last obtained the public recognition of a Book Society choice for qualities which in * *Captain Bottell* (Boriswood) justified the hopes his fellow-craftsmen had entertained for some time. The sense of pity for humanity, the richness of character construction, and the muscular tension of the prose are characteristic of the best work of the younger writers of to-day. Miss Norah Hoult, who proved her quality in *Poor Women*, is one of the best exponents of the mature modern feminine contribution to fiction, and in * *Youth Cant be Served* (Heinemann) showed an economy of expression, a deft power of significant selection, and a grimness of manipulation of the realities of human and family existence that added importantly to the year's achievement. Fiction of more comprehensive scope and intention was represented in Mr. Sinclair Lewis's * *Ann Vickers* (Cape). Here the author of the personal satire of *Babbitt*, and the social analysis of *Main Street*, examined the relations of modern feminism and feminine psychology with distinguished results. Satire is difficult to write without an equipment of good humour, of detachment, of analytical power, and of intellectual powers superior to those of the victim. All these, together with gifts of style not surprising in a poetical family, were displayed in Mr. Osbert Sitwell's * *Mtrade on Sinai* (Duckworth). The chief characteristic of modern fiction is undoubtedly experiment in form, presentation or approach, in a desire to shake up the accepted materials of the novel into a new pattern. The most distinguished of living experimentalists is Mrs. Virginia Woolf, who has a long list to her credit. Mrs. Dalloway, *Jacob's Loom*, *To the Lighthouse*, *The Waves*, and *Orlando* are all modernist structures, in close relationship to modern fashions in art. * *Flush* (Hogarth Press) was a return to Neo-Victorianism, a fictional portrait of the Browning household from the invented standpoint of the dog whose name gives the book its title. Miss I. Compton Burnett, since *Brothers and Sisters* and *Pastors and Masters*, has been known as a fine wielder of character and subtle situation. In * *More Women Than Men* (Heinemann), almost entirely by means of conversation, she succeeded in building a massive character in conflict with herself and her surroundings without confusing the distinction between novel and drama. Mr. A. Calder-Marshall in his second novel * *About Levy* (Cape) joined the ranks of modern experiment in indirect construction of which an earlier masterpiece was Miss Clemence Danes' *Legend*. He created a character by means of shafts of illumination thrown from those who had known and observed him.

Fiction of an older order achieved its period with the last volume of the Forsyte world in the late Mr. Galsworthy's *Over the River* (Heinemann), and a new tumultuous and inchoate world was shown in Mr. J. C. Powys's vast * *Glastonbury Romance* (John Lane). The distinction and economy of Mr. J. D. Beresford's work was richly represented in *The Camberwell Miracle* (Heinemann), *The Inheritor* (Benn), and *The Young Peojte* (Collins), Miss Eleanor Scott went from strength to strength in two notable

contributions, *Swings and Roundabouts* (Hamish Hamilton), and *Beggars Would Ride* (Hamish Hamilton). Another woman writer, Miss Zona Gale, not as well known as she deserves to be in this country, published a brilliant volume of short stories, by no means *Old Fashioned Tales* (Appleton Century). From America also came Mr. William Faulkner's short tales, *These Thirteen* (Chatto & Windus), though native talent was well represented in Mr. Somerset Maugham's superb craftsmanship in *Ah King* (Heinemann), in Mr. Rhys Davies's emotional profundity in *Love Provoked* (Putnam), following in the wake, though by no means in exact imitation of his master, D. H. Lawrence, whose *Lovely Lady* (Seeker) and *Love Among the Haystacks* (Seeker) were notable additions to the year's shelf. Mr. A. E. Coppard continued his whimsical excellence in *Dunky Fitlow* (Cape), while Mr. Francis Brett Young among the older masters, with *The Cage Bird* (Heinemann), and Mr. William Plomer among the younger with *The Child of Queen Victoria* (Cape), contributed valuably to the output of short stories.

Competence and sometimes much more than competence was the keynote of the larger proportion of the year's fiction. The power of the present-day novelist to do a good and satisfying piece of work is largely the secret of the high level of secondary fiction to-day. Hundreds of novels reach a high level, but special qualities distinguish such work as Mr. Anthony Powell's bitter and penetrating *From a View to a Death* (Duckworth), Miss Elizabeth Sprigge's experiment in fictional absenteeism, *The Old Man Dies* (Heinemann), and Mr. F. C. Boden's grimly serious *Flo* (Dent). Mr. F. Prewett took the land as the hero of his notable *Chazzezy Tragedy* (Chatto & Windus). Miss Mary Butts reached long-delayed recognition in *The Macedonian* (Heinemann). Mr. Robert Graves cut away the superfluous fat from the *Real David Copperfield* (Barker). Mr. J. G. Cozzens in *A Cure of Flesh* (Longmans) continued the mastery he had already displayed. Mr. H. M. Tomlinson gained new laurels with *The Snows of Helicon* (Heinemann), and many hitherto sceptical readers considered that Mr. J. B. Priestley had at last found himself in *Wonder Hero* (Heinemann). Mr. Hugh Walpole concluded his massive series with the eagerly awaited *Vanessa* (Macmillan). Other well-known writers continued with their customary excellence, Mr. J. Masefield in *The Bird of Dawning* (Heinemann), Mrs. Sheila Kaye-Smith in *The Ploughman's Progress* (Cassell). Miss Winifred Holtby with two robust works, *The Astonishing Island* (Lovat Dickson), and *Mandoa, Mandoa* (Collins), consolidated her growing reputation. Mr. John Collier outdid *His Monkey Wife* in his *Tom's a'Cold* (Macmillan). Mr. Richard Church's second novel, *The Prodigal Father* (Dent), further enriched his growing fame. Mr. Adrian Alington in *Chaytor's* confirmed his admirers' trust, and Mr. Liam O'Flaherty in *The Martyr* (Gollancz) went on to new strength. Two masters of wide scope turned to compression in Mr. Louis Bromfield's *The Farm* (Cassell), and Miss G. B. Stem's happily satirical *The Augs* (Heinemann). Miss Helen Waddell gained a sweeping success with the romantic construction of the perennially acceptable story of * *Peter Abelard* (Constable), and Mr. Adrian Bell continued his bucolic Successes in *Folly Field* (Cobden Sanderson). Mr. Alec

Brown's dignified handling was again rewarded for *Winter Journey* (Cape), and Miss Theodora Benson's *Facade* (Gollancz) was a popular success. A volume of unusual quality was Mr. M. Levin's *The New Bridge* (Gollancz). Two acceptable volumes by admired writers were Mr. L. A. G. Strong's *Sea Wall* (Gollancz), and Mr. Martin Armstrong's *The Foster Mother* (Gollancz). Miss Elizabeth Jenkins's *Portrait of an Actor* (Gollancz) was another triumph of style and psychology. *Let the Hurricane Roar* (Longmans), by Rose Wilder Lane, was a simple tale, notable for the delicate touches which gave it the quality of an exquisite miniature.

The penultimate category includes work by new or recently arrived novelists of outstanding promise and interest. Mrs. Willa Muir's *Mrs. Ritchie* (Seeker) was robust in feeling and powerful in understanding. Mr. James Cleugh's *Rush Hour* (Rich & Cowan) was an excellent patterning of human emotions. Miss B. Bergson Spiro's *The Mere Living* (Gollancz) was an admirably constructed first effort in group and individual psychology. Mr. George Beaton's *Jack Robinson* (Chatto & Windus) attracted considerable attention to its grimness and richness of imagination. Miss N. Streatfeild's *Tops and Bottoms* (Heinemann) profoundly impressed a large number of discerning readers. Miss Catherine Brody in *Nobody Starves* (Collins) attacked present-day problems with serious artistry, as did Mr. Walter Greenwood in *Love on the Dole* (Cape), and Mr. F. Tilsley in *The Plebeian's Progress* (Gollancz). Mr. Stanley Hopkins's *The Ladies* (Harper) was of outstanding quality. Miss Margery Sharp won recognition for *The Flowing Thorn* (Barker), and Mr. Derrick Leon in *Livingstones* (Hogarth Press) was of quite unusual quality and distinction in depicting the contemporary scene.

The world of entertainment was well served. The banners of romance, contemporary and bygone, were followed by Mr. Hugh Talbot in *Gentlemen, The Regiment!* (Dent), and the mysteriously anonymous *Gold Falcon* (Faber & Faber). Mr. John Buchan gave of his best in *A Pritice of the Captivity* (Hodder & Stoughton), and Mr. Michael Arlen turned to fantastic vision in *Man's Mortality* (Heinemann). Two works of widely differing humorous appeal conclude the list. Mr. P. G. Wodehouse's irresponsible joy in *Heavy Weather* (Jenkins), and Mr. Hillel Bernstein's fantastic satire of high politics and finance in the purely imaginary country of France in *L'Affaire Jones* (Gollancz).

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.

The Collected Poems of W. B. Yeats (Macmillan).—There are very few instances in the world's poetry of a poet outliving the reputation of his early singing days and gaining a new fame as a wise and melodious thinker.

Mr. W. B. Yeats is singularly fortunate in the evolution of his muse. Nurtured on Blake and Spenser and Irish legend and alchemy and mystical doctrine, his early verse brought him the raptured homage of youth for such poems as *Down by the Sattety Gardens*, *The Lake Isle of Innisfree*, *When You are OU*, and *The Secret Rose*, in the ten years from 1889 to 1899. In the new century his mind turned to revolt from the stupidities and pretensions of men, still keeping melody in his verse, until the war forced clear thinking and plain speaking upon him. After the war came the record of his philosophical delvings, with a new and clearer music, less consciously poetical, less certain that mere tune is a passport to permanence, and in the two volumes, *The Tower* (1926) and *The Winding Stair* (1933), he conquered even the most restless of modern poets, earning respect by his emotional integrity, his intellectual awareness, and the recognition of that other harmony of spoken poetry which is the great achievement of modern verse. The measure of his mature genius may be taken from *Sailing to Byzantium* and *Meditation in Time of Civil War*, and from *Leda and the Swan*, perhaps the greatest of modern English sonnets. Some of his later work is perhaps a little oryptic, and the notes aid a little in their understanding, supplementing the valuable guidance given in the companion and indispensable volume of *Autobiographies*.

Recent Poetry, 1928-1983. Edited by Alida Monro (Poetry Bookshop and Gerald Howe, Ltd.).—Nobody is better equipped than Mrs. Harold Monro to gauge the direction and taste of contemporary poetry. Her conduct, with the late Harold Monro, of the Poetry Bookshop is a major contribution to the cause of literature, and now, in a sequel and a supplement to *Georgian Poetry*, we are given some glimpses of the newer trends in verse. The Georgian legacy, the Imagist movement, the new individualism, the new social and revolutionary satire, are all displayed in specimens from Mr. De la Mare, Mr. Yeats, Mr. Aldington, Mr. Roy Campbell, Mr. T. S. Eliot, Miss Edith Sitwell, Mr. Sassoon, Mr. W. H. Auden, Mr. Spender, Mr. Day Lewis, and others. In her kindness Mrs. Monro has included the work of younger writers of promise and of a number of women poets specially attractive to herself. The absence of any critical guidance, and the alphabetical order of the selections is no doubt intended to leave the problem of assessment to the taste of the individual reader. The material is abundant, and ample illustration can be found for any account of the evolution of verse technique, of the quarrel between eye and ear, of changing philosophies and theme, of imagery under the compulsion of modern civilisation and modern politics, and even of the relationship of master to disciple. Certain poets, such as Mr. Ezra Pound, Mr. D. H. Lawrence, Mr. Masefield, Mr. W. H. Davies, and Mr. Robert Graves have been deliberately omitted, but a large number of poets of importance and contemporary significance seem left over for a later volume, and will complete the debt that recent poetry owes and continues to owe to Mrs. Monro.

The Use of Poetry and the Use of Criticism, by T. S. Eliot (Faber & Faber).—Amid the vast output of literary comment to-day very few volumes of permanent value have emerged, and English literature must

feel doubly grateful to Mr. Eliot for his achievement as poet and as critic. It is nothing new to find the author of *The Sacred Wood* contributing to the course of criticism, but the present volume goes even more surely to join the company of Sidney, Jonson, Dryden, Johnson, Coleridge, Arnold, and Pater, the writers he discusses. The ostensible object is to survey the relation of criticism to poetry in England, but while keeping to this formal purpose Mr. Eliot throws out wise and fruitful hints concerning the appreciation of poetry, concerning the function of poetry and of criticism, the relation of literature to civilisation, the teaching of literature, the relation of poetry to politics and religion, and in a revealing autobiographical section, the development of taste. From Mr. Eliot's investigations emerge valuable thoughts on the literary unities and on Shakespeare, and on a dozen other individual writers and critical approaches. The volume is an important landmark in English criticism because of its threefold quality: it reveals a fascinating and ascetic intellectual machine, it stimulates speculation by well-posed questions, and it makes pronouncements in which impeccability of phrasing accompanies undogmatic finality of statement. We are grateful to Harvard University for the compulsion which achieved the publication of these Charles Eliot Norton lectures.

Art Now, by Herbert Read (Faber & Faber).—At a moment when art is hesitating between the aberration of Surrealisme on the one hand, and the refuge of Neo-classicism on the other, it is particularly necessary to have an analysis of the principles underlying the experiment of recent years. Modernistic art is not the abandoned libertinism it is so often accused of being. The discipline in the work of Picasso, George Grosz, Rouault, Marc Chagall, Henry Moore, Georges Braque, and Paul Klee is far greater than any academicism based on unaltered tradition. Mr. Read bases his aesthetic of modern art on the recognition of a complete break-up of the academic tradition, despite the forlorn attempt of the academics to hide this fact, and traces the variations of the newer philosophies. The new teachings of primitive art and the mutations of philosophical aesthetics prepare the way for a consideration of symbolical art, and a discussion of Cezanne and Nature, for an examination of German expressionism, of the work of the little-known painters, Edvard Munch and Emil Nolde, of "The New Objectivity," and of abstraction with its special case of Cubism. A final section on Surrealisme, concluding with a differentiated praise of that remarkable, though fashionable artist, Paul Klee, completes a very important analysis of the theoretical bases of contemporary art. The work is documented by a unique selection of 128 reproductions from recent painting and sculpture, good, bad, or pretentiously indifferent.

Within the Gates, by Sean O'Casey (Macmillan).—The attraction of Continental expressionism as an aid to dramatic construction has for some time been felt in England. Mr. Galsworthy tried it in *Escape*, in its more obviously episodic form, and Mr. O'Casey in *The Silver Tassie* introduced it to English audiences as a novelty which was hotly debated. It is a method suited to times of violent transition, to a theatre worn to bare bones

of effectiveness through economic and social agony. There is much of the medieval morality play in its personifications and typifications, and its analysis or even dissection of secular instead of moral positions. The older chorus is replaced by mirror facsimiles and multiplied mechanical gestures. When to all these elements Mr. O'Casey adds some of the ingredients of Maeterlinck and Barrie the result is a challenging mixture which can be labelled equally as symbolic fantasy or fantastic symbolics. Many of the situations compel by virtue of their familiarity or their suitability to mass beliefs, and many of the characters have an added public attraction as being part of the repertory of public entertainment. The romantic sentimentalisation of the harlot, the linking of Bishop and Harlot, or of Salvation Army leader and Harlot, the bravura of forbidden vocabulary, and the stylised Cockney dialect, all provide a familiar basis from which the pity and terror of the chorus of Down and Outs is expected to emerge. The deploying of contemporary doubt and unrest, both civil and spiritual, within the gates of a London park, is a daring bid for modern sympathy, disturbing in its unravelling, and awaiting the test of the theatre before it can be canonised or rejected.

Jane Austen's Letters. Edited by E. W. Chapman (Clarendon Press).—A few years ago English classical literature was enriched by a loving and careful edition of Miss Austen's novels under the editorial supervision of Dr. Chapman. Now Dr. Chapman places "Janeites" even more deeply in his debt. The correspondence was in large part accessible in the various lives, memoirs, and reminiscences, but often in an untrustworthy text and incomplete form. Every scrap of extant correspondence has now been collected and arranged chronologically, to give a consecutive picture of their writer's mind. Much new matter has been added, and the text scrupulously compared with originals in the rich Pierpont Morgan library and the family collections. The work is adorned with elucidatory notes, in which a multitude of gratefully acknowledged collaborators have assisted; contemporary illustrations give a reconstruction of the background, and, rare thing indeed, the indexes are real and minute guides to every facet of the world contained in the letters. The detachment of the novels is seen to be an artistic restraint, for Miss Austen was very much in the world, alive equally to the circulating library and the dressmaker's shop, the whirl of gaiety of balls, music, dancing, and the minute contacts of village and family life. There emerges a picture of a society vividly rooted in its own standards, a society from which Miss Austen abstracted a deliberately constructed pattern. No richer aid could be found to the understanding of our most prominent female classic than this generously edited collection of her informal utterances.

Baudelaire, by Enid Starkie (Viator Gollancz).—Since the days of Swinburne and Arthur Symonds the influence of Baudelaire in England has been very marked. It is an influence based largely upon the biographical legend and upon the reading of little more than the *Fleurs du Mal* and the prose poems. In Miss Starkie's biography, the first substantial study in English, and surprisingly enough, the first really compre-

hensive modern study, we have an opportunity of tracing and estimating the whole career and achievement of one of the most remarkable figures of modern European literature. As a personality Baudelaire was an agonised investigator of the inner life, a metaphysical sufferer with closer affinities to English than to French poetry. A mixture of John Donne and of Edgar Allan Poe would not be far from the strange and contradictory creature whose passionate agonies are recorded in grim and severe and disciplined poetry. The Macabre element, combined with the ruthless self-revelation of a mind intensely critical of emotion, of society, and of literature and the arts, was the chief element in the notoriety which made him an object of fascinating terror, a bourgeois tempter-bogey whose legend needed to be submitted to the light of scholarly investigation. This investigation, based on the writings, which are pertinently quoted in support of each step in the argument, and on documents not fully exploited even in France, has been made by Miss Starkie with admirable result, and English readers are fortunate in having a study which is both scholarly and readable without running into the danger of hysteria so often accompanying the discussion of Baudelaire.

A Last Elizabethan Journal (1599-1603), by G. B. Harrison (Constable).—Dr. Harrison in this volume comes to the end of his patient survey of the things most talked of during Queen Elizabeth's reign. He has consulted diaries, documents, official papers, works of the imagination, records of publishers, title pages, prefaces, legal archives, and a score of other sources in order to find material for his picture of the changing mind and body of Shakespeare's England, hoping thereby to indicate the topical background of the plays. There is much to be gleaned from his pages, vivid episodes, fears and anxieties of government, the alarms and excursions of private life, the world of the theatre, and of the incautious pen. The course of satire in hinting at fashion and its vagaries, the movement of prose and verse accompanying the changing moods of a turbulent age, the deliberations of parliament, the defence of tobacco, the preaching of sermons and the hanging of seditious printers all go to make up the rich pageant ended only, if then, by the Queen's indisposition, sickness, and death. It is a new idea to make a chronological scrapbook of a nation's personal history, and Dr. Harrison would do well to pursue it into the century of James the First.

Marlborough: His Life and Times, by the Right Hon. Winston S. Churchill. Vol. I. (Harrap).—This is a great undertaking, to rehabilitate the character and career of a soldier and historical figure. The picture has been obscured for long by the powerful interpretation in Macaulay's *History of England*. It is an interpretation so unfavourable, yet so vivid, that his biographer-descendant does not hesitate to call Macaulay in very blunt terms, a liar. He examines the evidence, submits all the documents to combined scrutiny of searchlight and microscope, and brings strong reason and argument to bear in favour of the complete reversal of Macaulay's judgments. It is an heroic task, for the supposed character of Marlborough is based on a bundle of accusations which the biographer must deal with and dispose of one by one. Mr. Churchill is happy in being allowed the

full use of those Blenheim documents so long and so jealously guarded from the mere academic historian. On the basis of Mr. Ashley's researches he has drawn vivid and boldly rhetorical sketches of the wild youth, the early military career, the marriage, and the preparation for his great historical achievement. Mr. Churchill has his own style, and this, with his trenchant advocacy, makes this first volume an unusual piece of history, for the completion of which the two concluding volumes will be eagerly awaited.

The History of the Russian Revolution, 3 vols., by Leon Trotsky (Victor Gollancz).—Trotsky's history is perhaps the most remarkable European book of the twentieth century. Its subject is the story of "the direct interference of the masses in historic events," up to the acceptance of power by the Soviets in October, 1918, but the work is unique in that it is a history and an interpretation by one of the chief participants. Trotsky was the executive leader of the revolution, of which Lenin was the directing genius. Not only is the physical course of events brilliantly portrayed, not only are the actions, the resolutions, the struggles, the quarrels, the dissensions, the suspicions, the treacheries, the vacillations set forth with incisive vividness, and the personalities etched with the needle and acid of a consummate observer and psychologist, but the history itself is shaped into an artistic structure. As a writer Trotsky has obvious constructive and analytical genius; his portraits of his colleagues, and of atmospheres of critical tension will make the work live independently of its topical and controversial interest, but even more important is the masterly picture of the processes of history analysed in terms of factors and purposes and inevitable movements. The tone is objective yet individual, written in the third person, but with first-hand authority based continually on corroborative evidence, frankly partisan in its defence of the author's own interpretation of events and processes, yet with an air of passionate conviction which imposes the quality of a personal gospel. The interpretation offered of the processes of history in general may not be universally acceptable, but no history, professional or amateur, has yet displayed so clearly the workings of individual and mass forces at a turning-point in a nation's destiny.

The Way of All Women, by Esther Harding (Longmans).—Modern psychology has admittedly opened up recesses of the mind which formerly were unknown, in fact, realms that were denied. This denial rather than this ignorance has led to an emotional blindness which produces the major problems in individual and group life. The relationship of the sexes to one another produces the chief problems in human psychology, and the happiness or otherwise of human beings depends entirely upon the successful adjustments that are achieved. While the psychology of Freud and Jung has explored with amazing results the recesses of man's mind, the psychology of women has scarcely received the attention it deserves. On the basis of Dr. Jung's psychology Dr. Esther Harding has written not only an illuminating book but a very moving one. She shows from a knowledge of depth psychology how much women have yet to learn of the motives behind Friendship, Work, and Marriage. She brings

into relief the subtlest of relationships, and the most powerful of emotional needs. The author discusses the deep stirrings of maternity and the problems of the afternoon and evening of married life. However attractive and helpful such an analysis of human motives in group and family life may be, every student of depth psychology realises the dangers inherent in the exposition of such situations in more or less general terms. The individual problem, while dependent on deep general motives, is manifest, however, in a thousand nuances, and a sensitive, nay, a troubled reader, may see himself in a wrong perspective, and for fifty problems illuminated, another fifty are thrown into deeper shadow. For such, individual attention is necessary. Dr. Harding's book is therefore to be read with balanced judgment and with reserve, and when in doubt the reader must consult the author or her colleagues personally, and seek solutions of their problems without the aid of the jargon of any particular school of psychological thought.

The Fear of the Dead in Primitive Religion, by Sir James George Frazer (Macmillan).—A book by Sir James Frazer is bound to find many readers ; this, containing his Wyse lectures delivered at Trinity College, Cambridge, is no exception. It bears all the marks of Sir James's work—an attractive style, a wealth of illustrations, and interesting deductions. Here he shows the profound influence exercised in the lives of primitive peoples by fear of the dead. Hence the customs of driving away spirits or to shut them out of huts or dwellings. Yet, as Sir James shows, there was no uniform belief in this matter. Among many primitive peoples it was held that the dead helped the living,—in hunting, fishing, agriculture ; in fertilising the earth and the womb. Rain was a gift from the dead, so was victory over the foe. On the other hand, many of the evils that befall man—earthquakes, thunder, lightning, famine—also came from the dead. It is not surprising therefore that the dead, and ceremonies connected with them, played so significant a part in the life of primitive communities. Indeed, as Sir James writes, " This belief in the continued power of the dead to affect the life of the survivors for good or ill is one of the most marked differences between the primitive and the civilised conceptions of life after death." Sir James throws a flood of light on conceptions which, beginning in primitive times, still continue among the populace even in these days.

Adventures of Ideas, by A. N. Whitehead (Cambridge University Press).—In a world overwhelmed by vast incomings of fact, theory, and experience, two guides are welcome, the maker of syntheses and the populariser. When they are combined in one man, the modern reader has cause to be grateful. Professor Whitehead continues the triumph of *Science and the Modern World* in this present volume devoted to the processes by which ideas force civilisation on mankind. It is a mental history of the human race, and the adventure is the transmission of civilisation from the Near East to Western Europe. The interwoven threads provided by the destinies of the ideas introduced by Hebrews and Greeks into Europe form a basis for the broader pattern which is concerned with those sociological factors enriching the human soul first with a consciousness

of itself and then with the notions of humanitarianism and freedom, until Plato's doctrine of the real moment of creation is confirmed in the victory of persuasion over force. The changing cosmologies, the relation of science and philosophy, the problems of appearance and reality, and even the fundamental problem of philosophic method are explored with the exact analysis, pregnant phrasing and wise historical reference we have come to associate with Professor Whitehead almost alone of recent philosophic guides. The final section gives some tense and concentrated consideration to the ultimate problems of truth and beauty, and proves that a synthesis need not be superficial nor a popular exposition shallow. Professor Whitehead has done much to restore shape to the present chaos.

God and the Astronomers, by W. B. Inge (Longmans).—In recent years the physicists and astronomers have been proclaiming that the world is running down like a clock. This is a point of view that must generate a feeling of despair as to the future of mankind. Dean Inge, in these Warburton lectures delivered in Lincoln's Inn chapel, attempts to show the other side of the medal. "Is there really," he asks, "no escape from the final doom of the universe?" His answer is a distinct affirmative; and he finds it in the teaching of Religion. He approaches the problem as a believing Christian. For him the true realities of Life are Truth, Beauty, and Goodness. He makes out a case for spiritual values which, in his view, are more important for mankind than the scientific theories of matter. In so doing he touches and illumines some of the fundamental problems of philosophy, problems which have engaged the minds of the world's great thinkers. What is time? What is the relationship between God and the universe? In what sense is it asserted that God reveals Himself in History? Dean Inge writes on these matters in a most attractive fashion, with learning, illumination, and courage. "If we are asked why God made the earth, sun, and stars, it is best to say simply that we do not know." The physicists and astronomers have their point of view and have popularised it. It was necessary to present the opposite point of view. No one was better qualified for this task than Dean Inge.

FICTION.

The Bulpington of Blup, by H. G. Wells (Hutchinson).—Mr. Wells is confessedly a novelist for whom discussion is the mainspring of fiction. Tendency and bias, in the best sense of the term, are inseparable from any portrait, either of society or individual, he wishes to argue for our instruction and delight. No contemporary writer can excel him in the art of portraying the uneasiness of a half-educated permanent adolescent in the world to which the hero feels himself inferior. Mr. Wells's sympathies with this type have gained him vast and extensive approval from those whom modesty or past history compels a partial identification with the processes of adjustment or maladjustment. Mr. Wells's peculiar sympathy has always been directed towards the scientific mind, and in this present volume he directs the opposite emotion of searching and analytical

hate upon a weak member of the supposedly artistic temperament. Theodore Bulpington, the weakling, is followed in hesitation, meanness, cowardice, and inner treachery through a career to which is vividly contrasted the implied nobility of a contemporary young, scientifically minded counter-hero. The story and portrayal show bias carried to forensic unfairness by taking the weakling for the type and condemning a way of life in terms of the failure of an uncertain temperament. The very tone of the book calls for searching, and sometimes brilliantly condemnatory analysis of pre-war intellectualism, of the facile and tram-line enthusiasms of a youth Mr. Wells seems to be forgetting or discarding, a superb picture of the threshold of the war, of war-time waverings of the conscience, of love, sacred and profane, as experienced by adolescence, of the more ignoble side of shell-shock, of post-war Europe with its intellectual smoke-screens, and the emergence of a new youth, the very flower of education in the new science of Social Biology. Mr. Wells's powers of fantasy are undimmed, whether he deals with the world of science or the arts of life.

Light in August, by William Faulkner (Chatto & Windus).—Mr. Faulkner goes from strength to strength. *Soldier's Pay* was hailed as the most brilliant first novel of this century, and later in *The Sound and the Fury*, *Sanctuary*, and *Sartoris*, his technical powers, his texture, and his structure won recognition from the most reticent. He has revived the art of the novel in that mysterious sense of total possession of its means and effects which Dostoevsky was the last to impose on English readers. The opening of *Light in August* with its inexplicably beautiful and moving picture of the pregnant woman walking slowly through America in search of the man who is to be her husband, is among the most poignant passages in modern fiction. The steady march of the quiet statement, through the character of a camp, the wild nature of the mysterious Joe Christmas, the masterpiece of construction of the Rev. Gail Hightower's existence, the slow moving fidelity of Byron Bunch to the tumult and climax of the crime, and its swirling antecedents, is a triumph of pre-envisaged management and inevitable construction. The interest of Mr. Faulkner's work does not lie in the mere story, though that is abundant and complex enough, but in the spatial deployment of his motives, and in the uncanny grip of time problems, and of verbal evocation and suggestion. The reader is as clay in the author's hands, and can be moulded to any conclusion.

AD Men are Enemies, by E. C. Aldington (Chatto & Windus).—Mr. Aldington is steadily covering the field of contemporary problems concerning the destinies of men and women in the new upheaval. *Death of a Hero* dealt with a man whose fruition was denied by his death in the war. *The ColoneVs Daughter* dealt with the frustration of a woman who did not die. His third novel deals with a renunciation and a flowering. The war, which must inevitably loom large in the work of a contemporary who has vividly experienced, is disposed of in a consummate medley of war songs, and in a war-nightmare. The hero is almost contemporary with the century, and shares its hopes and fears. The framework of the action, fascinating in its vividness and compulsion, is the resumed love

of the hero for an Austrian girl, his search for her in war-broken Europe, and final reunion—outwardly a romance—but the romance which forms part of the title is a different matter. According to the author's manifesto, and evident in every line of the book, romance is the over-riding desire for the full union of man and woman into completeness, and vivid awareness of all the senses atrophied by society. Mr. Aldington before he became a novelist was a poet of high distinction, and the quality of the story lies not merely in the convincing urgency of the action, the poignancy of anguish and passion, but in the imagery and alertness which inform the writing and bring a glow to its author's picture of that delight in life which is itself a philosophy.

Pocahontas, by David Garnett (Chatto & Windus).—In some of his earlier fantasies Mr. Garnett showed his virtuosity in making something out of nothing, a comparatively easy task beside his present one of making something out of very little. The story of Pocahontas has always been a complete romance in its simplicity and its reserve of suggestion. Mr. Garnett has drawn the veil and set the story of the Princess Pocahontas partly in the world she left and dreamt about, and partly in the world of Jacobean England, with the court of James I., the English countryside, a world of fantastic gentlemen, constructed for the purpose, of whom Sir Walter Raleigh is the richest glimpse. In a way there is a philosophy in this fictional biography, a philosophy of the noble savage seen in tapestry logic, a world in which the example of Defoe and Swift, from whom Mr. Garnett has learnt so much, is followed calmly and persuasively. Details of character, landscape, and society are subtly forced upon the reader, and result in the most extended entertainment the author of *Lady into Fox* has yet given us. His powers of illusion must be envied by many a novelist with more sedate and realistic material to manage.

Morning Pride, by Halcott Glover (Dent).—Although this is his first novel, Mr. Glover has a distinguished record in the Theatre. His *Wat Tyler*, perhaps the best modern historical drama, was the first non-classical play to be performed at the "Old Vic." *The King's Jewry* and *The Second Round* were no less distinguished achievements. This dramatic activity explains much in the solid achievement of *Morning Pride*. The dedication recalls Mr. Richard Aldington's statement that "every novel is an historical novel," and the same powers of documentation and reconstruction have gone to the building up of recent Manchester as to the reconstruction of revolt in mediaeval England. The grimness of struggle for existence is powerfully compelled on the reader, the human factors of hero and heroine are stopped down to the exact requirements of the scale and mood required. Humour and grotesque form a background, as well as the more exact portrayal of the *milieu* in which the happenings occur. Nothing is gained or invited from glamorous settings or romantic personality, but sheer craftsmanship leads the action inevitably and surely to its own climax in the mood of the Song of Songs. *Morning Pride* is a triumph of achievement in a deliberately measured and sustained low key unusual in a world of hectic, lurid, or optimistic appeal.

Captain Bottell, by James Hanley (Boriswood).—Mr. Hanley has

won through and amply justifies the hopes entertained for him since the agonised endeavours of *Drift*, the profound pathos of *Boy*, and the infinite pity and humanity of *Men in Darkness*. Here the scale is larger, and breathing space is provided. The sea seems to call out the profundities of his treatment of man forced up against nature. Mr. Hanley is of those novelists, increasingly common nowadays, who might be called abstract, in that they make a pattern by organisation of action and character, which, although adequately recognisable, subserve the superstructure which is the main purpose of the novel. The character of Captain Bottell, fascinating as it is, the clash of uncertainty and rivalry in relation to a woman, and the tension of shipwreck, exciting as they appear in their narrative function, are only subordinate to the curve of the novel's course, the flickering philosophy, the depth of human analysis, and the wildly pathetic undertone of the captain's tragedy which adorn that course. For all these Mr. Hanley is to be thanked. The new novel of to-day is at the same time uncannily inexplicable in its methods, and amazingly certain in its effects, and of that tendency *Captain Bottell* is generously representative.

Youth Can't be Served, by Norah Hoult (Heinemann).—Miss Hoult made her reputation with *Poor Women*, a study of five drab and faded creatures presented in all the grimness of apparently ruthless naturalism, but in reality with a power of sure selection possessed by few modern writers. *Time, Gentlemen, Time* deals with the degradation of an alcoholic hero, a situation doubly poignant in its tragedy of subject and authority of presentation. Here in *Youth Can't be Served* a family is presented in all its vivid detail, trivial in fact, but vital in narrative construction, point after point going home to the reader, to the ultimate benefit of the novel's persuasion. Miss Hoult penetrates her characters, and ruthlessly exposes them to view in the certainty that they will be accepted, and such is her power of swift analysis and conversational selection that they are accepted without hesitation, leaving the business of the novel itself unhindered. The two young heroes, or victims of the eternal experiment of society in the rivalry of young and old, work out their own destinies in contact with sample and selected worlds. There is nothing essentially new in the material and the situation, but the author's own contribution is as individual as the contribution of any great master of *genre*, or interior as still life. The characters are presented for judgment, and so great is the skill of arrangement that the reader is deceived into thinking that the conclusions so delicately forced on him are his own original findings, a flattery which is returned a hundredfold to the author.

Ann Vickers, by Sinclair Lewis (Jonathan Cape).—Mr. Sinclair Lewis has been singularly lucky in receiving the Nobel Prize for literature. His intensely local material has somehow appealed to the widest public, eager for minute but detached analysis of national institutions and national faults. The seething life of America with its strange contradictions of convention and progress was bitterly and ruthlessly portrayed in *Main Street* and *Babbitt*. In *Elmer Gantry* and *Arrowsmith* the field opened out into the more novelistic treatment of representative individual in

character and profession, but with marked emphasis on the masculine viewpoint. Here in *Ann Vickers* the viewpoint is feminine, but the two strains of sociological satire and individual destiny are worked together into perhaps the most mature structure Mr. Lewis has yet given. Ann Vickers herself is a social worker, passing through the typical phase of suffrage revolt, and dedicating half of herself to settlement work and prison reform. The other half was human, with the age-old desire for fulfilment and procreation, affection and stability. The two sides in their conflict provide the tension of the novel, but there is also the author's customary and forcible indictment of details in the conduct and management of society. The close and unified interweaving of the two motives produces the firmest and most successful novel Mr. Lewis has yet achieved.

Miracle on Sinai: A Satirical Novel, by Osbert Sitwell (Duckworth).—When "a satirical novel" is included in the title, the work must indeed be of power to justify it. Mr. Sitwell is fully justified in his daring. Few novels have assembled the galaxy of Aunt Sallies so ingeniously inventoried through the gossip-hunting mind of a society journalist. The newspaper magnate, the financial genius, the Indian general, hero of the famous massacre, and a dozen lesser butts are searingly described in the Aaron Palace Hotel from which the picnic on Sinai is recruited. Each page is a crackle of wit and of penetrating analysis of the flies in the precious ointment of British character. The new tablets of stone, with new commandments adapted to each reader's desires, lead to the riotous nonsense of the concluding chaos. Mr. Sitwell uses exact prose, has a sparkling mind and a shrewd understanding of human nature. Merely for the parodies of the agony column of the great daily newspaper, and of the tourist's letter home, the volume deserves wide recognition, and these are but side dishes to the banquet of fun and character.

Flush, a Biography, by Virginia Woolf (The Hogarth Press).—Mrs. Virginia Woolf's researches into fiction have for long been the most exciting things in modern conscious writing, partly because of their daring, and partly because of the recurrent successes she achieves. The post-impressionist treatment of *Jacob's itoowi*, the fugal structure of *Mrs. Dalloway*, the shot-silk poetic texture of *The Waves*, have added distinction to modern fictional experiment. In *Flush*, Mrs. Woolf has stopped down her lens to a minute observation, and clear-cut recording of a constructed world on a known theme. Mrs. Browning's dog, the spaniel Flush, is the ostensible hero, but the world is the Browning world seen from a few inches off the ground. The method is cameo-work, limited relief and exquisite detail, and from it emerges a world of exact portrayal combined with emotional patina. With considerable tact of handling there are portraits of humans, re-creations of scene, evocations of atmosphere, the tragedy of a stolen dog in the wilds of Whitechapel, and the delights of speaking Italian to the local little dogs, all elements in a fantastic essay on the frontier of the novel, but well within the domain of fiction. There are four original drawings by Miss Vanessa Bell to add to the adornment of the slim but exquisite volume.

More Women than Men, by I. Compton Burnett (Heinemann).—Miss

Compton Burnett is a past master of continuous and revealing dialogue. In *Brothers and Sisters* and in *Pastors and Masters* there was something almost uncanny in the way in which passion, perversion, and smouldering relationships emerged from mere interchange of speech, apparently innocently handled, and with no obtrusive direction on the part of the author. This gift is employed to good purpose in a more narrative history. When conversation is so much the life-blood of a novelist's method, stylisation inevitably follows, and the character of Josephine Napier, headmistress of a girl's school, Josephine only because she cannot be Napoleon, is ruthlessness itself in the tones of her masterly speech. Softness only comes in her devotion to her nephew, who escapes into a marriage which is an affront to his aunt's authority. The change in her character and the subsequent tragedy is the occasion for superb handling of half-lights in revealed emotion. The hair-trigger relationships of a world of women are admirably brought out, and the criss-cross of usually hidden passion enriches the texture of a distinguished novel.

About Levy, by Arthur Calder-Marshall (Jonathan Cape).—The major concern of the experimental novel of to-day is to find new methods of presenting the eternal truths of human personality and human relationships, and new structures by which the incidents may be not merely related but proved upon the reader. Mr. Calder-Marshall has devised a method by which the character and motives of a man on trial for the murder of a friend are brought to the surface by indirect means. The man does not appear in person, but only in reflexion and ricochet from the discussions of men in the street, an old nurse, a school friend, the various members of his family, the judge in his summing up, the deliberations of the jury, and half a dozen other angles of vision. Tragedy, passion, and romance emerge as subsidiary adornments from the interlinked narratives, a world social and intellectual surrounds the poignant circumstances of the victim, and the verdict of guilty comes as a shock to the sympathy aroused by the guiding skill of the novelist for a character clearer and more subtle than any of the ostensibly real creatures of the novel. This is Mr. Calder-Marshall's second novel, and augurs well for his career as a serious writer.

A Glastonbury Romance, by J. C. Powys (John Lane).—Glastonbury is a place of pilgrimage and every visitor there finds something different, according to his humour. With one it may be God, with another the devil, while this, our most subjective of authors, finds only Mr. John Powys. He meets him sitting on every doorstep, peering into every bedroom, lurking in every man's soul. It is a dark story he has to tell and a long one, but his pace is hurricane swift. Down the ages he rushes us, from the very First Cause, whirling Cybele, Merlin, and the Christ of Glastonbury into a mystic unity, until he halts at one moment in the vast eternity of Time and shows us sinister forces at their work. It is all like some stupendous Babylonian frieze, carvings from the Black Pagoda of Konarak or a Diagaleff Ballet of the Golden Bough produced in Oberammergau. Against a Gontcharova backcloth of the dark Tor and the dim phallic caves of Wookey Hole, groups of figures are seen, their movements

*little more than posturing compared with the *pas d' action* of the principal dancers.* In and out before them in a continually interchanging series of *pas de trois* glide the Dekkers, father and son, the Zoylands, the Spears, Philip Crow, and the tragic Barter, while the sensual duet of John and Mary runs like a constant thread through the whole. Evans with his "unpardonable sin" leaps from his cellar, and by a swift succession of *entre-ckats de deux, trots, dix* reaches the heights and hangs for a moment, cruciform, against the universal sky which he rends with his terrible "Eloi, Eloi"; and lastly there is Geard, embodiment of the Tor as the Tor is of the Absolute, mystic, gross, fanatic, dominating the scene until his arch erected, his miracles performed, he finds death at the foot of the triple hill he has exploited. It is a curious mixture, this Romance, of beautiful prose and morbid eroticism, of profound erudition and mystic philosophising. Taking it all in all it was a noteworthy contribution to English imaginative literature during 1933.

Peter Abelard, by Helen Waddell (Constable).—It is easy to stir the blood or arouse feelings of tender sympathy by the retelling of the stories of brave adventurers or immortal lovers, but it is a far harder task to make the very beings themselves re-assume the flesh and the breath of life that was theirs in the long gone days of Mediaeval Europe. This is the goal that Miss Waddell has set herself, and without either wearying herself or us she **has** achieved it. The breath of the spring-time, the sap rising in the trees, the exultation of the thrust and parry of swift verbal duels, the deep, slow-moving all-consuming passion of love such as comes but rarely to men and women, the picture of the faery isle of Notre Dame, vignettes of priest and commoner, all woven in a multi-coloured fabric,—how can these fail to attract the eye or rivet the attention of the reader? Abelard and Heloise have always held pride of place among those who are deemed the world's great lovers, but surely never before have they stood before us as they do here. Peter is thirty-seven, arrogant in his clear estimate of his own superior intellectual powers, and not only eager but anxious to prove his mettle in the Schools of Mediaeval France and throw the glove down for any prelate in Christendom to pick up. Yet withal he is an unsophisticated Breton yeoman, at the mercy of his rogue of a servant who half-starves him with ill-cooked, ill-served food; he is in many ways but a half-grown lad, and it is his joy of life and his youthfulness which let us forget the disparity between him and seventeen-year-old Heloise, the niece of Fulbert, one of the canons of Notre Dame. The main action of their meeting and final parting fills but two swift years, yet their cup was overflowing with joy supreme and intensest tragedy. In Miss Waddell's pages the two live again; possibly her smooth prose contributes to the enchantment she affords.

ART, DRAMA, CINEMA, AND MUSIC.

I. ART.

THE season commenced on January 7, when a commemorative exhibition of works by late members of the Royal Academy was opened at Burlington House. It was composed of paintings or sculpture by fourteen recently deceased artists,—Sir Frank Dicksee, Sir George Frampton, Maurice Greiffenhagen, George Washington Lambert, Henry Hubert La Thangue, Sir Bertram Mackennal, David Muirhead, Sir William Orpen, Frederick William Pomeroy, Henry Poole, Charles Ricketts, Charles Sims, Henry Scott Tuke, and William Lionel Wyllie. The exhibition, the largest of its kind ever held at Burlington House, filled all the fifteen galleries, but nevertheless was not entirely representative of the best work of the artists concerned. In particular, more of the earlier paintings by Sims, and the pastorals by La Thangue might well have been included. On the other hand, too much space was given to portraiture by Orpen, the display of which though certainly good was enormous.

Portraiture also prevailed at the summer exhibition of the Royal Academy, and this perhaps had something to do with the marked falling off in the attendance. The subject and problem pictures, which drew crowds to Burlington House a generation ago, are now practically extinct, and the ordinary visitor finds little to attract him in an exhibition composed almost entirely of portraits, landscapes, and studies of still-life. However, the works submitted to the Council of the Royal Academy for the summer exhibition were almost as numerous as in the preceding year. They numbered 11,327, against 11,706 in 1932. Of these 4,805 were paintings in oil, 3,769 of which were rejected, 1,007 made doubtful, and 29 accepted outright. The water colours submitted were 3,486; 2,774 were rejected, 671 made doubtful, and 41 accepted. The similar figures for works in black and white were 1,278; 934 rejected, 315 doubtful, and 19 accepted; and for sculpture 710 submitted, 534 rejected, 171 doubtful, and 19 accepted. Apart from the contributions of members, the exhibition, as usual, was made up principally of works selected from those in the doubtful division.

The sales at the Royal Academy amounted to rather more than 15,000/., which was below the average of the decade before the war, but perhaps as good as could be expected in the present economical conditions. The principal works sold were "Dorette" (750/.), by Mr. Gerald L. Brockhurst; "Delius," a portrait of the musician (1,250/.), by Mr. H. James Gunn; a portrait of Mr. Maxton, M.P. (500/.), by Sir John Lavery; "The Shadow"

(225/.), by Mr. Arnesby Brown; " June's Largesse " (200/.), by Mr. Leonard D. Philpot; " A Man with a Pint " (1831. 15s.), by Mr. Frederick W. Elwell; " Colliure the Net-Mender " (150/.), and " A Little Port—Rough Morning " (52/. 10s.), by Mr. Adrian Stokes; a portrait of the Queen by Mr. Arthur T. Nowell, purchased by Her Majesty from the exhibition; " The Priest's Walk " (84l.), by Mr. Guy Kortwright; " They see an Oread " (200/.), by Mr. Walter Hutton; " A Cornish Painter " (105/.), by Mr. Arthur Hayward; " The Christmas Tree " (150/.), by Mr. Harry Bush; " Quality Street " (105/.), by Mr. Fred Roe; " Gregalach, winner of the Grand National, 1929 "—statuette, bronze, by Mr. Martin Alexander; " Spring " (500/.), and " Gitana Dancers resting, Albaicin, Grenada " (250/.), by Mr. W. Russell Flint; " The Parlour Maid " (200/.), by Mr. Harold Knight; " Clare " (200/.), by Mr. W. G. de Glehn; " A Young Woman " (288/. 15s.), by Dame Laura Knight; " Going to Pasture " (100/.), by Miss Dorothy Adamson; " The Shores of Clyde " (150/.), by Mr. Robert Houston; and " Evening, Mousehold " (100/.), by Mr. Terrick Williams.

The President and Council of the Royal Academy purchased eleven works for the Chantrey collection: " The Jester (W. Somerset Maugham), 1911 " (500/.), by Mr. G. F. Kelly; " Shakespeare's Cliff " (100/.), by Mr. Henry Bishop; " A New Arrival at the Zoo " (200/.), by Mr. Philip Connard; " Bank Holiday, Brighton " (250/.), by Mr. Charles Cundall; " The Harvest Moon " (500/.), by the late William Taggart; " The Old Troubadour " (47/. 15s.), by Miss Clara Klinghofler; two cartoons, " Suffer Little Children to Come Unto Me " and " Pentecost " (75/.), by Mrs. Mary Sargent Florence; " Oriental Portrait " (31/. 10s.), by Miss Janet Cree; " Thought-seated figure," bronze (500/.), by Miss Winifred Turner; and " Portrait of the Painter " (315/.), by Professor Frederick Brown. The last-mentioned work was purchased from the exhibition of the New English Art Club.

In the spring, Sir Philip Sassoon held another remarkable exhibition in aid of the Royal Northern Hospital. It was representative of the fine and applied arts of France in the reigns of three Kings, Louis XIV., XV., and XVI., and Queen Mary was among the collectors who contributed the pictures, furniture, tapestries, plate and jewellery displayed in the spacious rooms of Sir Philip's house in Park Lane. There were pictures by Boucher, Fragonard, Greuze, Lancret, Drouais, Chardin, Watteau, and Largilliere; miniatures, statuary, and a wonderful show of plate, and of small objects of art. To the last-named department the Queen contributed a whole case of boxes, candlesticks, bonbonniers, etc., in gold, silver, and enamel.

In the spring, also, Messrs. Knoedler lent their galleries in New Bond Street for an exhibition in aid of the War Service Legion, of portraits of " Beautiful Women of the Nineteenth Century," which included some striking canvases by Watts, Millais, Carolus-Duran, Shannon, Cabanel, Sargent, and Winterhalter. The portraits of Mrs. Langtry by Millais and Watts were among those shown. Another loan exhibition held at the same gallery, on behalf of the Artists' General Benevolent Institution, was of a large collection of striking portraits of contemporary eminent soldiers,

sailors, statesmen, and beautiful women, painted by Mr. Philip A. de Laszlo. A collection of paintings by Mr. William Nicholson, an artist whose work is too rarely seen, was shown at the Beaux Arts Gallery, where also two exhibitions of the work of Mr. Sickert were held. A more important collection of Mr. Sickert's paintings was shown in the autumn at the gallery of Messrs. Agnew in New Bond Street.

An exhibition of work by James Tissot at the Leicester Galleries attracted considerable attention. Tissot, an accomplished French painter, settled in England soon after the Franco-Prussian war of 1870, and painted some admirable pictures of London life, social and otherwise. Later, after his return to Paris, he abandoned modern subjects, went to Palestine and remained there for several years painting small studies illustrative of the life of Christ. The exhibition of his pictures of London at the Leicester Galleries was one of the most interesting of the season. Other exhibitions at the Leicester Galleries were, in the summer, of paintings by Mr. James Pryde; views of London by Mr. Algernon Newton, and of sculpture by Mr. Epstein—who afterwards made a new departure by figuring as a painter of landscape. His pictures, all in water-colour, and all painted from nature in Epping Forest were shown at Messrs. Tooth's gallery in New Bond Street. They were strong and bold in drawing and full of character, but too vivid in colour for English scenery. An interesting collection of pictures and sketches by Scarlett Davis, an able but little-known artist of the early nineteenth century, was on view at the Cotswold Gallery; excellent water-colours at the Walker Gallery in New Bond Street; and Spanish drawings by Mr. McBey, Old Master paintings, and a fine collection of French engravings at Messrs. Colnaghi's.

The exhibition by Messrs. Spink of a portrait of Henry the Eighth, described as by Holbein, and certainly in his manner, caused some sensation in the autumn, and much correspondence in *The Times* by artists and critics, some challenging and some supporting the attribution. After the close of the controversy Earl Spencer lent his superb small portrait of King Henry by Holbein to the Burlington Fine Arts Club, at whose winter exhibition it was the centre of attraction. A portrait at the same exhibition that was the subject of discussion was of Dr. Johnson, lent by Lord Crawford. The portrait, which had been exhibited more than once before, has been attributed to Opie, to whom Johnson is known to have sat, and to Gainsborough. It was at first catalogued as an Opie, but the entry was afterwards altered by the hanging-committee and the portrait credited to Gainsborough. At the same exhibition some beautiful little sketches of skies, and one or two larger studies of landscape by Constable were shown. The latter included an interesting early version of the famous "Cornfield." At the National Gallery the term of office of the Director, Sir Augustus Daniel, expired at the end of the year, and Mr. Kenneth McK. Clark, Keeper of the Department of Fine Art at the Ashmolean Museum, was appointed in his place. There were no important acquisitions or re-arrangements at the National Gallery, but the National Portrait Gallery was enlarged in March by the opening by King George V. of the new wing, the cost of which was generously defrayed by Lord Duveen.

The galleries in the new wing afford space for the display of many portraits of importance hitherto unhung, and other improvements include **a lift which makes** access easy to the top floor of the building. Several special exhibitions were held at the National Portrait Gallery during the year, including one of portraits of Queen Elizabeth, another of paintings bequeathed to the Gallery by Lord Dillon, and a third of portraits newly acquired, which was opened in December. At the Tate Gallery the centenary of the birth of Burne-Jones was marked by an exhibition of eighty-eight of his pictures and drawings. Opened in June, it was a great success, although there had been doubts as to whether works by the master whose reputation was so high in the second half of the last century would charm the picture-lovers of to-day as they did those of thirty-five years earlier, when the Burne-Jones Memorial Exhibition was held at the New Gallery. But that the charm had survived and that Burne-Jones still ranks as a great designer and a fine colourist was proved by the success of the exhibition at the Tate Gallery, where his pictures, admirably hung, showed to great advantage. They included, among many others, the famous "Wheel of Fortune," the "Aurora," finished only a few months before the artist's death; and the huge "Arthur in Avalon," upon which Burne-Jones was engaged for nearly twenty years and left incomplete.

In the saleroom the atmosphere was still depressing, and although many collectors and owners of pictures were anxious to sell, it was obvious that they were holding them back in the hope of better times to come. At Christie's a landscape by Hobbema was bid up to 3,255/.; and a Reynolds, a portrait of a lady, reached a thousand guineas; but several Raeburns went for comparatively small prices. A set of seven sketches by Rubens, illustrating the career of Achilles, sold at Sotheby's for 9,200/.; and a portrait of Lord Baltimore, founder of the American city, by Soest, for 4,600/., represented the highest prices of the season.

II. THE DRAMA.

One of the facts chiefly worth noting in connexion with outstanding events during the theatrical year was the distinction achieved by some of the new authors who came forward. The most striking instance was that of the young woman dramatist who, adopting the pseudonym of Gordon Daviot, wrote *Richard of Bordeaux* (New, February 2). This, a revised version of her first play—originally presented at the Arts Theatre Club—proved a memorably successful attempt, all the more gratifying because of the play's seriousness, to put history on the stage in such a way as both to re-create atmosphere and give dramatic point and significance to the episodes chosen for treatment. No doubt the play, which was still drawing large audiences at the close of the year, owed a good deal of its success not only to John Gielgud's masterly work as producer but to his superb performance in the title part.

Another woman dramatist, the late Dorothy Massingham, better known as an actress of decided accomplishment, should be included in the list

of playwrights who helped to give a measure of distinction to the theatrical year. That her life should have been cut short only about a fortnight after the production of her play, *The Lake* (written in collaboration with Murray Macdonald), was greatly to be deplored. *The Lake*, first seen at the Arts (March 1), and transferred thence for a run to the Westminster, was in some respects a remarkable play, showing real imagination and dramatic insight, all the more effective because of the sincerity revealed in the handling of its tragic theme. Faults the play undoubtedly possessed—chief among them, perhaps, one scene in the nature of what used to be called "comic relief" which seemed to introduce a somewhat incongruous note. But, all in all, the play, if only by virtue of its imaginative qualities, deserved a place among the few memorable productions of the year. To Marie Ney, in the role of the ill-starred heroine, it gave uncommonly fine opportunities, and one could hardly over-praise the sympathy and understanding she brought to the part.

With an entirely different class of play remarkable success was obtained by Anthony Armstrong in *Ten Minute Alibi*. Although long familiar to readers of *Punch*, Mr. Armstrong's name was not known to the general body of playgoers. Yet this, his first essay in the domain of the stage "thriller," showed him to be a first-rate craftsman. It possessed the virtue, uncommon in plays of a similar type, of placing no reliance on mechanical tricks whereby audiences are kept in the dark as to what is happening on the stage. In *Ten Minute Alibi* the author's ingenuity enabled him to put all his cards on the table without his play thereby losing grip of the spectators. Experimentally staged at the Embassy on January 2, it was moved a few weeks later to the Haymarket, where it was still attracting the public at the end of the year.

Before further reference is made to the achievement of previously untried dramatists, attention must be claimed for the work of those of already established repute. At the moment, however, we may omit detailed consideration of the two plays—one each—contributed by George Bernard Shaw and Somerset Maugham, as the foremost representatives of the older generation, and turn to the examples of some of their juniors. Chief among these were John van Druten and Mordaunt Shairp. The former was represented by one play only, *The Distaff Side* (Apollo, September 5). Although this work, in relation to its merits, secured only a modest run, it stood out as a remarkably fine and finished illustration of dramatic methods peculiar to the author—as an example, in other words, of mostly static drama (or comedy) in which the interest is developed by means of adroit dialogue and no less adroit character-drawing. More, almost, than any other living playwright Mr. van Druten has mastered the extremely difficult art of writing dialogue which, whilst sounding perfectly natural, is admirably effective for dramatic purposes, and of this very rare virtue *The Distaff Side* was an outshining instance. Its merits in this respect were the more remarkable inasmuch as the writing contained one or two passages of extraordinary beauty, alike in feeling and expression. The play, moreover, was well-nigh flawless as regards form and construction, while the contrasts presented by the various characters

enabled practically all the members of an admirably balanced cast to gain distinction. Notably its appeal was enhanced by Sybil Thorndike's exquisitely sympathetic performance in a quiet reticent key exactly attuned to the sentiment and mood of her part.

In its somewhat morbid and certainly unconventional way Mr. Shairp's *The Green Bay Tree* (St. Martin's, January 25) was a no less noteworthy production. In the hands of any dramatist of less tact and insight a play based upon such a theme as he developed might easily have been found more than a little daring and even unpleasant. Indeed, from the very nature of that theme, Mr. Shairp, for all his skill and discretion, was unable, even if so minded, to conceal the underlying taint of "unpleasantness." But for its qualities as real, human drama, true in its psychology and brilliantly written, the play in any case deserved to succeed, as surely it did. It should be added, however, that the author was considerably indebted to Frank Vosper, one of the cleverest of our young actors, for his extraordinarily finished, even subtle, portrayal of the central character. James Bridie, who came into prominence a few years since with his somewhat gruesome, but uncommonly interesting, play *The Anatomist*, took a further step forward with a piece entitled—none too happily—*A Sleeping Clergyman* (Piccadilly, September 19). Its first production had been one of the features at the Malvern Festival. The play, in its "lay-out," might be said to bear some analogy to *Milestones*, in that the story ran through three generations of one family, illustrating the workings of heredity. An engrossing theme, this, which the author handled with no little skill and a sense of stage values. As a whole, nevertheless, his play would have been more satisfying if the interest of the first half had been sustained to the end.

No really discerning theatregoer who saw J. B. Priestley's *Dangerous Corner*—a work whose cleverness was never sufficiently recognised—can have felt any doubt that in this accomplished novelist were all the makings of a first-rate playwright. In *Laburnum Grove*, presented at the Duchess on November 28, the hopes raised by the first-named play were abundantly fulfilled. In point of fact, there was less subtlety in the pleasant humours of Mr. Priestley's comedy than in the skill with which he had fashioned the more dramatic substance of *Dangerous Corner*. But probably for that very reason his later play was destined to make a more popular appeal. The piece, brightly and cleverly written, proved for the most part thoroughly entertaining, besides exciting in a comparatively mild form the interest of a "mystery" play in the doubts and conjectures surrounding the true character of the protagonist. This part was splendidly played by Edmund Gwenn, who had not been so well served by any author since Galsworthy's *The Skin Game*. The various suburban types in the comedy were faithfully as well as amusingly observed.

Mr. Shaw's solitary contribution to the year's dramatic output was, by a somewhat curious turn of irony, produced during a season of popular prices at the Winter Garden (November 25). Whether his *On the Rocks* was destined to make such a wide appeal as might be implied by the circumstances of its production appeared at least doubtful, seeing that the ordinary

playgoer insists that a play shall at least be a play and not a more or less inconsequent series of dissertations. But viewed in that light as some sort of an entertainment, *On the Rocks* proved at any rate more satisfactory than Mr. Shaw's *Too True to be Good*. The later piece, in fact, showed that the veteran still has a good deal of "kick" left in him—or should one rather say "lash"—and can still juggle dexterously with his gifts of whimsical satire in a vein peculiarly his own. As often before, some of his most telling shafts were aimed at politicians. If only as a remarkable feat of memory, Nicholas Hannan's performance in the part of a particularly shavian Prime Minister deserves to be recorded.

Any play bearing the signature of Somerset Maugham would claim the interest naturally attaching to a work coming from so distinguished an author—one, moreover, with probably an unequalled record of successful plays to his credit. But his last play, *Sheppey* (Wyndham's, September 14), was hardly a success. Nor can there be much doubt that Mr. Maugham himself could not altogether escape blame for the public's attitude towards his work. In *Sheppey* he seems to have set himself to create a kind of modern Morality, and the result was only partially convincing. He started off with a brilliant first act, rich in fun and introducing any number of shrewdly-observed types. But in its later stages the play became patchy, with gleams here and there of the author's characteristically mordant humour, but with a tendency for its serious interest to sag. And almost more fatal to its chances than anything else in the play was the unsatisfactory nature of the last act. A singularly fine performance in the title-part was given by Ralph Richardson.

In *The Old Folks at Home* (Queen's, December 21) it was pleasant to find that extremely able playwright, H. M. Harwood, almost consistently at the top of his form. He has generally been found to have something interesting to say, even when not wholly at his best, and in the play which thus late in the year made a notable addition to the productions of 1933 he gave us a work that, while light in texture and written with Mr. Harwood's accustomed ease and feeling for character, yet possessed substance. The play, in short, afforded fresh proof, if any were needed, of his assured skill and resource. It gave to Marie Tempest superb chances in one of the best parts to which in recent years she has applied her finely polished art.

Prominent among the "lucky" authors was Ivor Novello, who for a considerable period had two plays running simultaneously. *Proscenium* (Globe, June 14) showed him in a vein of seriousness which, if it did not altogether carry conviction, made it at any rate "good theatre." The piece, indeed, compelled respect rather for what it revealed of the author's sense of the theatrically effective than for any real depth of feeling. But of its sheer effectiveness there was no doubt, while it served admirably to exploit the persuasive charm and talent of Fay Compton. Mr. Novello's knack of writing parts happily fitted to their exponents was perhaps even more strikingly illustrated in his diverting comedy, *Fresh Fields* (Criterion, January 5), which shared with Mr. Armstrong's play at the Haymarket (produced in the same month) the good fortune of surviving the year.

For in this agreeably light-hearted affair he provided Lilian Braithwaite as an impoverished aristocrat full of absurd affectations with a part exactly suited to the display of her personality and gifts at their best. Ellis Jeffreys was also equipped with an excellent part.

Quite exceptionally it was an adaptation from a French comedy that yielded one of the most striking "hits" of the year. The play in question was René* Fauchois' *Prenez Garde a La Peinture*, which, in an extremely deft English version by Emlyn Williams, was produced as *The Late Christopher Bean* at the St. James's on May 1 and achieved immense popularity. In this instance the public's enthusiasm was fully justified, since the play, unlike most adaptations, proved exceptionally entertaining. It contained the elements both of wit and satire, as well as some excellent characterisation. Equipped with such material, a fine cast, which included such distinguished players as Cedric Hardwicke, Edith Evans, and Louise Hampton, did full justice to the parts assigned to them.

Reverting to plays that brought to notice new authors of decided promise, particular mention should be made of *The Brontes*, by Alfred Sangster (Royalty, April 20). This was a well-fashioned and by no means uninteresting play about the immortal sisters which conveyed what could reasonably be accepted as a faithful suggestion of the Haworth atmosphere, the family characteristics, allowing for a few pardonable exaggerations, being neatly touched in. Curiously enough, in a play called *Wild Decembers* (Apollo, May 26), that gifted and expert author, Clemence Dane, succeeded far less well—though her piece was admirably written—in giving dramatic shape and substance to incidents in the uneventful lives of the Brontes. In the part of Charlotte, Diana Wynyard made a welcome return to the London stage. *The Wind and the Rain* (St. Martin's, October 18) was the effort of another novice, Merton Hodge, who must be ranked among those from whom really good work may be confidently expected. This (presumably) first play was pleasantly cheery and human, with its freshly-written scenes of student life in Edinburgh, and the success it met with was well deserved. There was decided promise in the work of another new author, W. Chetham Strode, whose *Sometimes Even Now* (Embassy, May 18), while not free from blemishes of the kind that pointed to inexperience, was a play very far from amateurish, with moments in it that compelled interest. After it the same author's *Man Proposes* (Wyndham's, November 29), proved somewhat of a disappointment. Unusual both in setting and atmosphere, *The Rats of Norway* (Playhouse, April 6), was another piece that introduced, in Keith Winter, an unknown dramatist of more than average ability and promise. This play contained scenes of genuine dramatic grip, and its emotional appeal was emphasised in the excellently-balanced acting of Gladys Cooper and Raymond Massey.

Yet another newcomer to the ranks of our playwrights, Ronald Gow, merited a better reward than he reaped with *Gallows Glorious* (Shaftesbury, May 24), wherein he gave us a sincere and virile re-creation of the character of John Brown, whose heroism in the cause of anti-slavery has been immortalised in song. The part was finely played by Wilfrid Lawson.

In the list of previously untried dramatists should also be included Percy Mandley, whose tense, breezy and vigorous drama of the sea, *Eight Bells* (Duchess, June 13), secured quite a good run. A very effective, though not long-lived "thriller" was James Dale's *Wild Justice* (Lyric, Hammersmith, April 21), which had been seen earlier in the year under the auspices of the Repertory Players. And to this particular category should be added *Beggars in Hell* (Garrick, April 17), a melodrama in the lurid manner by George Cuddon and Patrick Turnbull, both of them young Anglo-Indian officers discovered by Leon M. Lion, who produced their play and gave in it a clever performance in the part of a crafty money-lending Sikh.

Not because of any particular virtues in the play itself, one must record the production of Margaret Kennedy's *Escape Me Never* (Apollo, December 8), a kind of sequel to her *The Constant Nymph*. The real importance of this event lay in the magnificent and quite memorable portrayal of the chief part by the German actress, Elizabeth Bergner.

More than one successful Shakespeare revival marked the dramatic calendar. The Old Vic season—run in conjunction with that at Sadlers Wells—opened on September 18 with *Twelfth Night*. In the summer a long series of open-air performances of Shakespeare plays, notably *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, drew large audiences to the Inner Circle Gardens, Regent's Park.

III. THE CINEMA.

The year 1933 saw few sensational developments in the cinema, but on the whole there was a general improvement, both in the technique of picturemaking, and in the quality of story and dialogue. Even the film public improved, and "fan hysteria" notably decreased. Many American stars made "personal appearances" on this side, but there were no more cases of enthusiasm leading to mobbing. Like the pictures themselves, the picturegoers have been growing up.

In the spring pictures were having a prison phase. The censor was kept busy deleting scenes considered too brutal for English audiences. Paul Muni scored a big success in "I Am a Fugitive," a chain gang story, and this was quickly followed by "20,000 Years in Sing Sing" and "Laughter in Hell." The sadistic vein was exploited further by Cecil de Mille in the spectacular arena scenes of his "Sign of the Cross."

With this the apex was reached and pleasanter themes were allowed precedence. The big event of February was the showing of the Fox version of Noel Coward's "Cavalcade." An all-English cast, headed by Diana Wynyard and Clive Brook, were assembled in Hollywood, and the elaborate backgrounds which covered the period from the Boer War to the present day, were produced with the most amazing accuracy. The film was the technician's triumph.

Film mechanics, however, reached their height in "King Kong," with which the Coliseum went over to pictures. This fantastic story took two

years to make, and the hero was a gorilla, of enormous size, and actually a mass of machinery. Its movements had to be photographed inch by inch, and the high light of the story was a battle between the gorilla and some pre-historic creatures—also artificial. Artistically the result was not worth the time and trouble expended. It was, however, a huge box-office success, ran for fourteen weeks, and took over 50,000/.

A revival of back stage musical comedies was started by the success of "42nd Street," and culminated in a new version of "The Gold Diggers of 1933." There were many interesting experiments in chorus number production and full use was made of light and trick photography. The first result was merely flashy, but it may lead to something interesting.

Out of a number of excellent films sent from America, certain pictures stood out because they attempted something new. "If I Had a Million" told a number of short stories linked by a central idea; "The Conquerors" made a good use of symbolism to illustrate the passage of time, for the picture was a pageant of American development; a new brand of highly sophisticated humour became popular with Mae West in "She Done Him Wrong" and "I'm No Angel"; Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer continued their all-star policy in "Dinner at Eight" and "Service"; and Paramount made "Alice in Wonderland" a welter of trick photography. Walt Disney's "Silly Symphonies," in colour, became an important feature of every programme, and "Three Little Pigs" proved a tremendous success at Christmas.

The star discovery of the year was Katherine Hepburn, first seen in "The Bill of Divorcement," and fulfilling prophecy in "Morning Glory." At the end of the year she was America's biggest box-office attraction.

British production was active and a very definite advance can be recorded in the quality of its special features. The same cannot be said of the "programme pictures." These were the inexpensive fill-ups which exhibitors had to book in order to show the number of feet required annually by the Quota Act. They remained a disgrace to the industry, and were partially responsible for the public distrust of British pictures. "I Was a Spy" was the year's most notable achievement, and the atmosphere of war-time Belgium was wonderfully reproduced at Welwyn. The picture was directed by Victor Saville, who has come to the front during the last two years. The most popular British picture of the year was "The Private Life of Henry VIII.," directed by the Hungarian, Alexander Korda. It was a merry burlesque of Tudor times, and gave Charles Laughton many fine opportunities.

On the whole, there was very little attempt by the studios to develop their own stars, or to put promising young players under contract, and there was a great deal of interchange of artists between Elstree and Hollywood. British International Pictures made it a definite feature of their policy to import a star for every important picture. Among those who worked at Elstree during the year were Constance Cummings, Sally Eilers, Ben Lyon, Bebe Daniels, Thelma Todd, Victor Varconi, Sally Blane, Greta Nissen, Charles Bickford, Raquel Torres, Don Alvarado, Marian Marsh, and Ralph Ince. At the close of the year Douglas Fairbanks joined the Board of

Directors of London Film Productions, for which company Douglas Fairbanks, Jnr., and Elizabeth Bergner were working on "Catherine the Great."

British artists under contract to Hollywood during the year were Hugh Williams, Leslie Banks, Claude Rains, Elizabeth Allen, Pat Patterson, and Heather Angel.

During the year the Cinematograph Exhibitors Association undertook two campaigns. Before the introduction of the Budget they organised a deputation to wait on the House to urge the abolition of the Entertainments Tax. Nothing was accomplished, but propaganda on the subject has not relaxed.

Under the same auspices, voting on the Sunday opening question was taken in thirty-nine districts—of which all but a dozen were in London and the Home Counties. The result was a three to one majority in favour of Sunday opening.

The Quota, which is on a rising scale, obliged the exhibitor during 1933 to show 17½ per cent, and the renter to buy 20 per cent. of British film.

In October the British Film Institute was opened. It is financed by receiving 5 per cent. of the money which goes to charity under the Sunday Performances Act (1932). The bulk of this came from London, and assured the Institute of a revenue of 5,000l. a year. Its main object is to "encourage the use and development of the cinematograph as a means of entertainment and instruction."

From the Continent came some important pictures. Germany displayed a charming sense of humour in "Emil and the Detectives," and G. W. Pabst did well with his direction of Fedor Chaliapin in "Don Quixote." France discovered a new child actor in Robert Lynen, and "Poil de Carotte," the story of a neglected youngster, proved an artistic and financial success. Rene Clair showed no advance in "Le Quatorze Juillet," but his influence is noticeable in several of Hollywood's lighter pictures.

IV. MUSIC.

Musical doings in 1933 pursued a somewhat uneventful course. Events of anything like compelling interest, indeed, were few in proportion to the very large number of concerts and other forms of musical enterprise to which the public were invited. Precedence may be given to the international opera season which was held at Covent Garden from May 1 to June 9. But even this venture ran upon very much accustomed lines, opening with Strauss's "Der Rosenkavalier," under Sir Thomas Beecham, and proceeding by way of the usual "Ring" cycles (of which Robert Heger took charge), with the addition of "Tristan" and "Parsifal," to the customary Italian repertory. A good many of the performances suffered all too palpably from lack of adequate rehearsal, two exceptions being "Die Walküre" and "Parsifal." The singers, both German and English, were mostly those who had appeared frequently in previous seasons, and, as might have been expected, much of the singing was of a high order of

excellence. Yet, as a whole, the performances derived their chief claim to distinction from the playing of the orchestra—the London Philharmonic—as, notably, when Beecham conducted "Tristan."

The Italian season was chiefly remarkable for a production of Berlioz's "La Damnation de Faust," so familiar to concert-goers as a cantata, and a revival of Verdi's "Don Carlos," which had not been given at Covent Garden since 1867. It was interesting to hear Berlioz's work in the form of opera. Much of the music, particularly the macabre element, proved thoroughly effective from the dramatic standpoint. For this result most of the credit must go to the splendid orchestral playing—again under Beecham. As for the singing, it hardly ever rose above the mediocre, although the Mephistopheles of Formichi, towering above the rest, vocally and otherwise, was impressively sinister. The production generally betrayed a sad lack of imagination, the scenery resembling that of an ill-equipped touring company. The Verdi revival was also full of blemishes, and it was to be regretted that an opera which, in spite of many weak and ineffective passages, bears ample witness in others to the composer's genius, should have been so indifferently sung. To a revival of "Otello" Melchior's performance in the title-part lent a certain distinction. Vocally the Puccini operas hardly fared better than the others in the Italian list.

Under far more modest conditions, opera, as sung in the vernacular, continued to hold its own at the Old Vic and Sadlers Wells. There were interesting productions of two unfamiliar Rimsky-Korsakov operas—"The Snow Maiden" and "Tsar Saltan," both of which acquired added colour and charm from the artistic staging and *decor* given to them. A special feature during the season was made of ballet, and among new productions of this kind was one entitled "Wise and Foolish Virgins," with music by Kurt Atterburg, a composer who might be said to claim a certain measure of notoriety rather than fame. In the season's purely operatic features the Old Vic standard was more than sustained, while special recognition should be made of the very marked improvement in the quality of the orchestral playing, for which Lawrance Collingwood was chiefly responsible. In connexion with ballet, one must record a successful season at the Savoy, where a series of performances was given under the style and title of "The Ballets of 1933." Tilly Losch was among the principal soloists, and some interesting—as also whimsical—novelties were introduced. Among these was a typically modern example entitled "Anna Anna," of which the music, appropriate to the subject, was by Kurt Weil. On somewhat more ambitious lines was a season at the Alhambra which introduced London to the Ballets Russes of Monte Carlo, the company including several distinguished dancers who had served under Diaghileff. For a ballet called "Les Presages" the score of Tchaikovsky's Fifth Symphony was requisitioned. But more remarkable, as being entirely unconventional, was an attempt to fit the movements of Brahms's Fourth Symphony into the scheme of a ballet designated "Choreartium." But the experiment left one unpersuaded that the Brahms symphonic idiom can be made suitable for stage purposes.

Orchestral concerts were almost more numerous than in any previous

year, owing to the activities—in a sense competitive—of three representative organisations : the London Symphony Orchestra, the B.B.C. orchestra, and their younger rival, the London Philharmonic Orchestra. The performances of the latter, there can hardly be any question, put into the shade those given by the two older bodies. Indeed, under Sir Thomas Beecham's direction, the L.P.O. has now attained a perfection of ensemble that can challenge comparisons with almost any foreign orchestra in the front rank. So it happened that their playing lent a rare distinction to the Royal Philharmonic Society's 122nd season. The scheme included a programme in honour of Brahms (February 9), the centenary of whose birth was commemorated at various other concerts; a revival of Dvorak's long-neglected "Stabat Mater," and Tchaikovsky's little-known "Manfred" Symphony. The first performances in England were given of Szymanowski's Piano Concerto, Pizzetti's Rondo Veneziano, the composer conducting, and Heger's Verdi Variations, played under the composer's direction. Szymanowski's work showed him to be, what already we knew, a first-rate technician. But beyond its brilliant colour and clever orchestral devices the concerto had nothing special to commend it. In some respects a more attractive novelty was that of Pizzetti, which showed, at any rate, that he can express himself individually in the "orthodox" musical language. The work, in short, made quite an agreeable impression.

An English novelty produced under the same auspices was Cyril Scott's "Disaster at Sea," the first performance of which was conducted by Albert Coates. It proved to be, strangely enough, a tone-poem of the crudely illustrative type so much in favour more than a generation ago. From a composer once classed among the advanced moderns this was strange indeed. For that matter, the year brought forth little enough of any real significance in the way of new native music. Delius's "Idyll" for soprano, baritone, and orchestra, introduced by Sir Henry Wood during the Promenade season, was a mere trifle, however redolent of the fragrance of the composer's idiom. Vaughan Williams was represented by a new Piano Concerto played by Harriet Cohen under Adrian Boult in a B.B.C. symphony programme. For all its finished workmanship, the score can hardly be said to have added to the composer's laurels. Constant Lambert's Piano Concerto, more or less typical of our young generation of composers, had at least the qualities of life and energy, without, however, marking an advance upon "The Rio Grande." A new Violin Concerto by Arthur Benjamin, unconventional in form, was found to contain passages of interest and beauty. But it left no deep impression. With two new works, a Clarinet Quintet and a Sonata for Piano and Viola (played by Solomon and Lionel Tertis), Arthur Bliss made it evident that his art continues to mature now that he has definitely discarded earlier mannerisms.

Of foreign works, mostly new to this country, there was the usual crop. Schonberg's Orchestral Variations did not lead us to any clearer understanding of that much-discussed composer's aesthetic principles. He would seem to be as determined as ever to concede nothing to the ordinary plain music-lover. An important novelty in its kind was the prolific

Paul Hindemith's oratorio, "Das Unaufhorliche," a B.B.C. feature. No doubt this work in parts contains elements of grandeur. Unfortunately, a good deal of it failed to be impressive because of the apparent meaninglessness of many passages in the text. Two unfamiliar pieces came from Arthur Honegger—a Symphonic Movement (No. 3), and a kind of cantata, called "Les Oris du Monde." The latter, in its expression of a mood of restlessness and despondency, revealed not a few tokens of sensitive feeling. In some respects the Symphonic Movement was a more characteristic example. Bela Bartok's new Piano Concerto (No. 2) was heard with the composer as soloist. This, again, was a characteristic piece, with any amount of fierce energy, which seemed to demand more powerful playing than that of Bartok. Hugo Alfven, a Swedish composer unknown in this country but distinguished in his own, came over to conduct a programme of his own works, including a Symphony in E which held enough of charm and musicianship to create in the hearer a wish to better his acquaintance.

A retrospect of the year's salient musical events must include finally mention of the Jubilee of the Royal College of Music, which was graced on one occasion by a visit from King George V. and Queen Mary, and of a recital given at the Albert Hall by Paderewski, in aid of the Musicians' Benevolent Fund, which yielded £3,344.

SCIENCE OF THE YEAR.

THE BIOLOGICAL SCIENCES.

Evolution and Genetics.—Leakey's Kanjera skulls were accepted as *Homo sapiens* from the Middle Pleistocene associated with a Chellean industry. An adolescent skull of *Sinanthropus* approximated 960 c.e, the structure suggesting the possession of articulate speech. *Sinanthropus* may be a variant of the widespread Neanderthal race, further remains of a distinct type of which were found in Palestine. Leakey's Kanam jaw represents a new species of Lower Pleistocene or possibly Pliocene man (*H. kanamensis*) contemporaneous with *Pithecantropus*, *Eoanthropus* and *Sinanthropus*. Artefacts associated with bones of mammoth and extinct species of horse and bison relegate man's antiquity in America to about 11,000 B.C. Sirk's studies on racial immunity indicated that Europeans are a very old variation of *H. sapiens*, and that the various groups are not fully established races but inconstant variations in process of making. Interesting volumes were Zuckerman's "Functional Affinities of Man, Monkeys and Apes," Kluver's "Behaviour Mechanisms in Monkeys." Mollison's "Phylogenie des Menschen," and Lundborg and Wahlund's "Race Biology of the Swedish Lapps."

A changing viewpoint was manifest in numerous evolutionary studies, viz., that an evolution of form and structure implies an evolution of physiological activities as, for example, in the respiratory function of the blood. In "The Meaning of Animal Colour," Hingston argued that interplay between fear and anger is the determining cause of animal evolution; a theory which obviously cannot hold for plants. Osborn put forward a theory of "aristogenesis" in which adaptations are not chance variations experimentally selected but definite steps in an orderly series.

In genetics a primary theme was the origination of new forms by intergeneric and interspecific hybridisation in various crop plants, fungi insects, fish, amphibia, etc. Further analysis was made of self and cross incompatibility in economic plants. Increased emphasis was placed on the evolutionary value of interspecific crossing, the occurrence of gene mutation in the hybrid swarm and genetic isolation by reason of chromosome constitution. Much work was done on species analysis, and it is now clear that the Linnean species can often be resolved into a multitude of elementary species which may well be the only objective categories, although, since the majority of botanists and zoologists cannot work with such units, there may be no legitimate reason for the existence of species whose limits are

perceptible only to their makers. The relation of classical systematy to speciation, as seen by the geneticist, is a primary issue.

Many researches dealt with the induction of mutation by exposure to physical influences, and it was shown that the rate of mutation in resting seeds is multiplied by heat and ageing. Bud mutations were found to be very frequent in highly heterozygous plants, and in the potato they seem to be periclinal chimaeras. Polyploidy in plant speciation was further emphasised, and even the polyploid (*Enothera*) were brought into line with other spermatophytes. Polyploidy, hitherto almost unknown in animals, was found in various insects. Cytogenetic studies showed that the mitotic and meiotic mechanisms of the cell are subject to control through mutations, just as are the phenotypic characters, and that there is apparently a process of nuclear variation during evolution.

In "Chromosome Numbers in Angiosperms" Gaiser collated the work in this field, and it seems that parthenogenetic species have higher and less variable numbers. Cytological maps were made of the X-chromosome in *Drosophila*, the gene size was estimated at 10^{-18} cm. with more than 14,000 loci in the nucleus. In general, support accumulated for Darlington's precocity theory of meiosis. The nature of chondriosomes remains obscure, but they do not contain chromatin, and are not in genetic connection with the nucleus.

Sex received a vast amount of study. In maize the egg-cytoplasm determines the male sterile condition, and an important event was the experimental breeding of a dioecious variety. Amphibians and fishes possess no clear sex-chromosome; in insects the chromosomal mechanism of sex-inheritance is not irreversible and, in *Drosophila*, the sex-chromosome has genetically active and inert regions. Note may be made of Plate's "Vererbungslehre."

Numerous memoirs were published on the genetics of individual genera and species, statistical analysis was increasingly applied to genetic phenomena (see Laughlin's "General Formula of Heredity"), and marked attention was given to the study of physiological characters in which it was often found that phenomena of apparently complex causation behave as simple Mendelian characters. The inheritance of economic characters in farm animals received much study, and note may be made of Smith and Robinson's "Genetics of Cattle," Jull's "Poultry Breeding," and a general work by Naef, "Die Vorstufen der Menschwerdung." Numerous publications appeared on human genetics, including Frischeisen-Kohler's "Das Personliche Tempo," Curtius' "Multiple Sklerose und Erbanlage," Cockayne's "Inherited Abnormalities of the Skin and its Appendages," Hogben's "Nature and Nurture," and Lidbetter's "Heredity and the Social Problem Group."

The outstanding feature of the year was the leading position of Russia in both theoretical and applied genetics; see, e.g., "Plant Breeding in the Soviet Union," issued by the Imperial Bureau of Plant Genetics.

Zoology.—Published results of expeditions included Scott's conclusions on the fauna of the Seychelles and Andrews' "Natural History of Central Asia," in which the significance of this region as a dispersal area of terres-

trial mammalian life was confirmed. Important volumes were issued of the "Faune de France," and the encyclopaedic German works of Bronn, Grunpe, Schultze, Ktinenthal, etc., and also Colosi's "Fauna Italiana," Gadow's "Evolution of the Vertebral Column," and Bolk *et al's* "Vergleichende Anatomie der Wirbeltiere." Study of insectivora brains supported the view that the tree shrews are allied to primitive Primates, and examination of the genital organs of the cetacea revealed primitive features suggesting affinity to some group near the insectivores. Mammalian studies included Freund's "Cetacea of the North Sea and Baltic," Tate's revision of the marsupial genus *Marmosa*, Wolff's "Anatomy of the Eye and Orbit," Lucien and Vermelin's "L'oeuf humain et ses annexes," Henderson's "Economic Mammalogy," and Torcelli's "Fossil Mammals of Patagonia."

In ornithology volumes were published on the food of British birds, the nidification of Indian birds, and on the bird fauna of West China, Japan, the Belgian Congo, tropical West Africa and local areas, such as Westmorland, etc. Investigations of reptilia and amphibia included Young's account of the autonomic nervous system of selachians and Thomson's anatomy of the tortoise. Much attention was given to the pisces, and one may note Beebe's "Deep-sea Fishes of Bermuda," Fowler's "Fishes of the Philippines," Joubin's "Faune ichthyologique de l'Atlantique nord," Regan's "Deep-sea Angler-Fishes," and Roule's "Fishes: their Journeys and Migrations." "Fisheries" publications dealt with salmon, hake, haddock, cod, plaice, sprat, and herring, and Worthington reported on "The Fisheries of Uganda."

Entomologists published numerous systematic studies, and tended to use morphological and larval characters to separate species and varieties. Wigglesworth and others developed further a science of insect physiology which may re-orientate knowledge of this group. In economic entomology note can only be made of the invasion of south-east England by the Colorado beetle, the efficacy of the Harris trap in mitigating the Tsetse fly menace, and the continued success of *Cactoblastis* in destroying prickly pear in Australia. Books included Collin's "Empididae," Paillot's "L'infection chez les insects," Wheeler's "Colony-founding among Ants," and Berland's "Les Arachnides."

The lower invertebrates received much study, but attention can only be drawn to Rose's "Copepodes Pelagiques," Brolemann's "Chilopodes," Gurney's "British Fresh Water Copepoda," Yokoya's "Decapod Crustaceans of Japan," volumes by Galloway and by Heron-Allen and Earland on Foraminifera, Goodey's "Plant Parasitic Nematodes," Fauvel's "Annelida Polychaeta," Wang and Nie's "Protozoan Fauna of Amoy," Calkin's "Biology of the Protozoa," Kahl's "Ciliata," researches by Viets and others on aquatic mites, and Ubisch's study of implantation and skeleton building in sea-urchins.

An outstanding event in 1933 was the Centenary Meeting of the Royal Entomological Society of London.

General Physiology.—Each year it becomes more difficult to draw any line between physiology, biochemistry, pathology, and genetics. On the chemical level the activities of organisms can be interpreted in physico-

chemical terms, but there are other levels intrinsic to living things without parallel in the inanimate realm, where it is not certain that physico-chemical concepts will suffice. As Bohr stated, "The existence of life must be taken as an elementary fact that cannot be explained, but must be taken as a starting-point in biology in a similar way as the quantum of action which appears as an irrational element from the point of view of classical mechanical physics taken together with the existence of the elementary particles, forms the foundation of atomic physics." Compare, however, Bertalanffy's "Theoretische Biologic" In "The Brain and its Mechanism," Sherrington said, "There is, so far as I know, in the chemical, physical properties, or microscopical structure no hint of any *fundamental* difference between non-mental and mental regions of the brain." During activity nerves utilise chemical energy and produce heat. Evidence supports an electro-chemical theory of self-propagating waves of disturbance to explain the behaviour of impulses in their passage along nerves.

Much work was done on vitamins. Both the growth promoting and the anti-infective properties of vitamin A seem to depend upon its ability to maintain a normal structure in the different tissues of the organism. Harris devised a chemical test for vitamin C, which is probably ascorbic acid and a specific constituent of the adrenal cortex. The effect of vitamin D on calcification is probably indirect, stimulating intestinal absorption of phosphate. The National Institute for Medical Research published a definitive edition of "Vitamins," and issued international standards for A, B, and D. Particular attention was given to oestrogenic hormones. (Estrogenic substances were discovered in plants and certain hydrocarbons and vitamins can induce the cestrus reaction and possess an activity approaching that of the normally occurring hormones. It would seem that sterol metabolism is more important than has been suspected, and that a connexion may exist between carcinogenesis, certain sex phenomena and vitamin D activity, a view which undermines the whole conception of the specificity of the hormones. Note may be made of Cameron's "Recent Advances in Endocrinology," Engelbach's "Endocrine Medicine," Allen's "Sex and Internal Secretions," Harington's "The Thyroid Gland," and Evans, Meyer, and Simpson's "Growth and Gonad-Stimulating Hormones of the Anterior Hypophysis." Work by Waddington and Needham suggested that the Spemann organiser in amphibian embryogenesis may be a lipoid.

Investigations showed that the sexual activity of certain birds and mammals depends on light, which stimulates the pituitary, and hence indirectly the gonad. Koltzoff and Schrober found it possible to separate the male and female producing sperms of horse and rabbit, but the most striking results came from the Russian investigation of artificial insemination, where the findings were widely applied to sheep and cattle, a revolutionary step in animal breeding.

The technique of explanation and tissue-culture coupled with the use of the micro-cinematograph film was applied to new fields of biological research, and gave promise of remarkable value. Evidence stresses the independence of cell activity and cell division. Work on the chemistry

of muscular contraction suggests that the phosphagen mechanism is peculiar to muscle, whereas the lactic acid mechanism is common to all animal cells, and is perhaps their fundamental source of energy. Books included Clark's "Mode of Action of Drugs on Cells," Turck's "The Action of the Living Cell," Beutner's "Physical Chemistry of Living Tissues and Life Processes," and Lauren's "The Physiological Effects of Radiant Energy." Russian workers insisted on the reality of mitogenetic rays whereas many workers in other countries failed to substantiate their existence. Numerous workers, led by the Robinsons, studied the biochemistry of pigmentation. All the anthocyanidins and the more important anthocyanins were synthesised, the widespread distribution in plants of a new class of colourless anthocyanidins was established, as well as the peculiar association of carbohydrates with functional pigments. Results suggest that while the anthocyanins, flavines, and tannins are not directly interconvertible in the living plant, they probably have a common natural precursor.

The physiology of the eye received much attention, but note can only be made of Byrne's "Studies on the Physiology of the Eye," and Pierce's "Individual Differences in Normal Colour Vision." Following Astbury's lead work of fundamental importance was carried out in the X-ray analysis of the minute structure of living matter. Apart from increased knowledge of the structure of animal and vegetable fibres, silk, hairs, cellulose, etc., the application of the methods of molecular physics has wide implications. Thus the X-ray pattern common to feathers and tortoiseshell is quite different from that of mammalian hairs, confirming the recognised affinity between reptiles and birds and their differentiation from mammals. Books included Astbury's "Fundamentals of Fibre Structure," Lower and Nichol's "Roentgenographic Studies of the Urinary System," and Barclay's "The Digestive Tract." Attention may be drawn to Bechterev's "Human Reflexology," and Oppenheimer's "Handbuch der Biochemie des Menschen und der Tiere."

Botany.—Many general systematic works were published, such as Supplement VIII. of the Index Kewensis and Wettstein's "Handbuch der Systematischen Botanik" or of particular regions such as the floras of Surinam, the Prairies and Plains of Central North America, Graubünden, Leicestershire and Rutlandshire, the Clyde area, the Liverpool district, etc. Monographs appeared on Potamogeton, Linum, the cultivated Conifers in North America, the native British Orchidaceae, Narcissus, South Indian Weeds, German Wheats, British Economic Grasses, etc. In systematics there was an increasing tendency to take into account vegetative, anatomical, cytological, biometrical, genetic and other characters, as seen, for example, in Harle's "Monograph on Veronica," Kato's application of the Spodogram method to the "Systematics of Wheat," and Wright Smith's Hooker Lecture on "Taxonomy and Cytology."

Revolutionary views were put forward in morphology, by Arber, who rejected the conservatism of the vascular bundles, by Hamshaw Thomas, who called for a modification of our ideas of homologous structures, by McLean Thompson who, in his beautifully illustrated "Theory of Scitamihean

Flowering," declared that "in the modern flower there is a unitary shoot and ovulation occurs where surface for ovulation is provided. The concept of the carpel is no longer assured a place in interpretation, and function has ceased to be considered obligate on organs of prescribed category," and by the Snows, who found that each leaf arises in the first available space. Much work was done on plant, especially wood anatomy, and Kiinemund found that lignification is a gradual process of impregnation leading to a final condition of concentration. Books included MacDougall and Working's "Pneumatic System of Trees," Vuillemin's "Les Anomalies vegetales," Neotolitzky's "Die Pflanzenhaare," Pearson and Brown's "Commercial Timbers of India," and various parts of Solereder's "Systematische Anatomie der Monokotyledonen." Odell's results showed that epidermal characters plus leaf form are unsafe criteria in paleobotanical identification, and Hamshaw Thomas's examination of Pteridospermous plants from the S. African Mesozoic indicated that gymnospermous seeds are branch terminal rather than foliar marginal structures, and that the Caytoniales are probably derived from the Pteridospermas by the closing of the cupule. Lang published further work on the Old Red Sandstone flora of Scotland, and the Carnegie Institute issued a memoir on "Pliocene Paleobotany in California."

A mass of work was published in physiology. Dixon stressed the importance of the bast in the transport of organic substances, Mason determined that carbohydrate chiefly travels as sucrose, Woodhouse suggested that the walls of the vessels imbibe and support the weight of water moving through them by tensile strength; it was shown that potassium circulates in the plant. Much work was done on the necessity for growth of minute traces of rarer elements, on photoperiodism in relation to nutrient conditions and on the plant's usage of organic nitrogen compounds. Many researches were published on plant hormones, and results in general tended to support the statolith theory of geotropism, the fall of the statoliths possibly bringing about the redistribution of growth hormones in the stimulated organ. Russian methods of "Iarovization" were extended to other cereal crops and to cotton, and in Germany much work was published on the physiology of grass germination. Cold storage physiologists studied the effects of the emanations from fruit and vegetables on the development of other plants, the effect on storage life of the early development of the fruit and the respiration/sugar relation in stored fruit and vegetables. Books included Becker-Dillingen's "Handbuch der Ernährung der Gartnerischen Kulturpflanzen," Blanck's "Die Massnahmen zur Kultivierung des Bodens," Klein's "Handbuch der Pflanzenanalyse," Vol. I I I., Krenke's "Wundkompensation, Transplantation und Chimaren bei Pflanzen," and Stern's "Pflanzen-thermodynamik."

Ecologists gave much attention to standardisation of the methods of description of plant communities, and numerous papers were published on vegetation analysis and plant growth in relation to precipitation and soil type and reaction. The disappearance of *Zostera marina* from the North Atlantic coasts remains a mystery. Phytogeographic surveys were published of Albania, Italy, the Middle Kuriles, various regions in Russia and

Siberia, Aberystwith, East Anglia, etc., **and** note may be made of Timoshenko's "Agricultural Russia and the Wheat Problem," Schoenisch's "Deutsche Waldbaume und Waldtypen," Braun-Blanquet's "Plant Sociology," and a fourth edition of Warming-Graebner's "Okologischen Pflanzengeographie."

Of numerous publications on the higher cryptogams attention may be drawn to Christensen's "Pteridophytes of Madagascar," Grout's "Moss Flora of North America," Vol. III., Bartram's "Hawaiian Mosses," and Kashyap's "Liverworts of the Western Himalayas." Algologists published many systematic, developmental and cytological studies, and a welcome feature was the attention given to the ecological relationships, physiology and parasitism of alga?. Monographs included Woronichin's "Crimean Fresh Water Algae," Iyengar's "Indian Volvocales," Cedergren's "Swedish Alga?," and Meister's "Kieselalgen aus Asien." Books included Mill's "Index to the Diatomaceae," Schiller's "Dinoflagellata," Dangeard's "Traite d'algologie," and Gilbert Smith's "The Fresh Water Algae of the United States."

An enormous amount of work was published on the fungi, more especially on cytology and reproductive processes, hybridisation, variation, racial specialisation and the influence of light and radiation on development. Henry made twenty-six new records of mycorrhizal trees and shrubs, and Knudson found that mycorrhizal fungus is not required for the proper root development of *Calluna vulgaris*. Attention was given to the distribution of fungi. Systematic memoirs included Hammarlund's "Swedish Micro-mycetes," Larsen's "Fungi of Iceland," Vesely's "European Amanitas," Lange's "Agarics of Denmark," Kern, Ciferri, and Thurston's "Rust Flora of the Dominican Republic," Schaeffer's "Russula," Fischer's "Gasteromycete," and Frey's "Umbilicariaceae³." Buller's "Researches on Fungi," Vol. V., and Naumov's "Elements de la Mycologie" appeared.

Of general botanical interest were Went's "Allgemeinen Botanik," and Senn's remarkable essay, "Theophrast von Eresos."

Microbiology and Disease.—The most important work concerned virus diseases of animals and plants. The virus causation of influenza, herpes, Rift Valley fever, louping ill and canary pox was confirmed, and a number of viruses were cultivated in media. The application of the Elford filter technique gave accurate measurements of both animal and plant viruses and bacteriophages. The researches of Pettit and Stefanopoulou on the development, in horse and baboon serum, of anti-viral properties promises a means of immunising populations to yellow fever. The developmental cycle of the Psittacosis virus seems to relate it to the myxomycetes or the microsporidia. In plant virology considerable research was done on the physiology of diseased plants, and individual lesion technique allowed of quantitative estimation of virus particles and rate of virus increase. New techniques were fruitfully applied by Storey to insect vectors, and it was shown by Kunkel that peach yellows is transmitted by *Macropsis trimaculata* while Indian work on spike disease of Sandal indicated *Moonia albimaculata* as vector. Further work was carried out on the synthesis and analysis of virus complexes and on the possible chemical nature of tobacco mosaic

virus, and Sheffield discovered that Molybdenum induces, in cells of various Solanaceae, processes analogous to all stages of an attack of aucuba mosaic disease. Valuable results promise from the use in virology of infra-red photography, and Hey and Wartenburg's technique of electrometrical measurement of "degeneration" in potato tubers seems applicable on a field scale. An important book was Kenneth Smith's "Recent Advances in the Study of Plant Viruses." In cancer research the virus theory is still in question, and whilst the natural bird tumours and some of the fowl tar tumours are filterable this has not yet been shown with certainty of any clear mammalian tumours. Other important results were the isolation of 1 : 2-benzopyrene, the carcinogenic agent in tar, the confirmation of the inheritance of cancer susceptibility in mice and the discovery that it is possible, by altering the respiratory mechanism of cancer cells, to produce great variation in their susceptibility to radium.

In plant pathology Wallace and other students advanced our knowledge of the nutritional disorders of plants, and Storey and Leach proved tea yellows to be a sulphur deficiency disease. Considerable attention was given to the statistical analysis of experimental work, to disease measurement and to the relation of starch and resin content of timbers to their invasion by wood rotting fungi. Although critical evidence is still lacking there was increased receptivity towards the idea of physiological immunity in plants, and Salaman described what is apparently a clear case of acquired immunity to potato virus in tobacco plants.

In bacterial research the primary issue was still the problem of variation and life cycles, but there was no confirmation of the idea that bacteria pass through a filterable stage or viruses through a bacterial stage. Pribram published "Klassifikation der Schizomycetes," and Williams "Streptococci."

In general microbiology increased attention was paid to research on staining methods, and the use of new physical techniques. Important volumes were Feher's "Mikrobiologie des Waldbodens," Topley's "Outline of Immunity," "Die Nichtparasitaren und Virus-Krankheiten," in Sorauer's Handbuch, and Jacobson's "Fungous Diseases" of man.

General.—During 1933 increased attention was given to human biology, and there was a definite reaction against crude Eugenic ideas. It is regrettable that sound knowledge on almost any problem of human biology is incredibly lacking, and as Hogben stated : "A balance sheet of nature and nurture, if it has any significance in the light of modern experimental concepts, does not entitle us to set limits to changes which might be produced by regulating the Social OR physical environment of a human population," and again, "Genetical deductions from observed differences of intelligence recorded in occupational and racial studies are devoid of any scientific validity." The one-sided development of science to-day is a dangerous misfortune. Our high degree of control over inorganic nature, combined with our relatively profound ignorance of human nature and consequent inability to control it, may easily prove disastrous to the whole social system. Biology has at last acquired a foothold in the schools, but any general recognition of its basic importance and cultural value is yet far to seek, whilst the sciences of psychology and sociology are still in their infancy.

THE PHYSICAL SCIENCES.

The outstanding features in the development of the physical sciences during the year were the discovery of the "positive electron" and the investigation of the properties of the isotope of hydrogen H^2 discovered in 1932.

The first indication of the existence of something behaving as if it carried a positive charge but otherwise resembling the negative electron was obtained by Anderson at Pasadena in 1932 (*Science*), in a photograph showing the tracks of particles apparently projected from the walls or surroundings of a Wilson cloud chamber when "cosmic rays" impinged upon them. The curvature of these tracks under the influence of a large magnetic field perpendicular to their plane showed that the particles producing them carried a positive charge, and the length of the tracks suggested that the mass of the particles was of the same order as that of the electron. In 3,000 photographs taken in 1932 Anderson found one track of this type. Later in 1933 he found fifteen tracks in 1300 photographs (*Phys. Rev.*). Meanwhile similar tracks had been observed by Kunze working at Rostock (*Zeit.für Physik*), but the observations did not attract much attention until, on February 16, P. M. S. Blackett read a paper before the Royal Society describing the results of experiments made by himself and G. Occhialini at the Cavendish Laboratory with a cloud chamber ingeniously arranged so that photographs were taken only when "cosmic rays" passed through the chamber. Their results left little room for doubt that positive "particles" and negative electrons appear in pairs when "cosmic rays" collide with atomic nuclei.

Once detected the positive particles or, as Anderson called them, positrons, were soon obtained by other means. In a letter to *Nature* (April 1) Chadwick, Blackett, and Occhialini stated that they are emitted when lead is bombarded by the mixture of neutrons and gamma rays ejected from beryllium when it is bombarded by alpha rays from polonium. It was doubtful at first whether the neutrons or the gamma rays were the effective agents, but Curie and Joliot (*J. de Physique*), Thibaud (*Comptes Rendus*), and others, showed that the gamma rays are responsible. Thibaud was able to deflect the particles by an electrostatic field, and found that the ratio charge/mass is of the same order of magnitude as for the electron. He showed also that they are emitted when gamma rays strike many other elements (aluminium, copper, silver, platinum, etc.), and perhaps spontaneously by radon and radiothorium. Grinberg (*Comptes Rendus*) confirmed this spontaneous emission for the case of a mixture of radium B and radium C.

Blackett regarded the discovery of the positron as a confirmation of Dirac's theory of the existence of particles of negative energy (ANNUAL REGISTER, 1930, Part II, p. 60)—particles which had been identified with the proton—but this view did not appear to receive general acceptance. It was generally agreed, however, that the discovery had brought to light that long sought phenomenon the transformation of a quantum of radiation (in this case the gamma ray) into electricity. Exactly where the change

occurs remained uncertain, but it seemed possible that it takes place within the K level of the atom just outside its nucleus (*Nature*, Dec. 16). The reverse process occurs very soon after the positron is born for, in the conditions obtaining on the earth, it soon reacts with an electron and both disappear leaving (one or) two quanta of radiation. In interstellar space the chances of such a reaction are much reduced and there are indications (e.g. Johnson, *Phys. Rev.*) that the primary cosmic rays consist largely of positrons; if this be true they form a very important constituent of the universe taken as a whole.

The discovery of the positron raised doubts concerning the nature of the neutron and the proton. When it was discovered in 1932 the neutron was regarded as a system composed of a proton and an electron differing from a hydrogen (H^1) atom only in the closed proximity of the two constituents, now it is possible that the neutron is the unitary particle and the proton a combination of neutron and positron (Anderson, *Phys. Rev.*). The evidence was conflicting and no decision could be made. Chadwick (*Proc. Roy. Soc.*) went so far as to consider the possibility of the existence of neutral particles with electronic mass.

Oliphant and Rutherford showed that alpha particles are obtained when lithium is bombarded by protons accelerated by only 30,000 volts, while for boron 60,000 volts suffices. For both elements the yield increases rapidly with the voltage, and it was estimated that with 500 kilovolts one proton in every two million is effective. It was considered probable that the proton is captured by the atomic nucleus which then breaks up into alpha particles (e.g. $B^{11} + \text{proton} = 3 \text{ alpha particles}$). Proton bombardment had no observable effects on the heavy elements (e.g. bismuth and lead) or on oxygen sodium, aluminium, and iron.

The heavy isotope of hydrogen (H^2) was discovered by Urey, Brickwedde and Murphy in 1932 (ANNUAL REGISTEK, Part II, p. 61). Aston's measurements with the mass-spectrograph had shown the atomic mass of normal hydrogen (H^1) to be 1.00778 (oxygen = 16)—a figure identical with the chemical atomic weight. Discovery of the heavy isotopes of oxygen, however, implied that the chemical atomic weight should be about 2 parts in 10,000 less than that obtained with the spectrograph, and Birge and Menzel pointed out that the discrepancy could be accounted for if ordinary hydrogen contained 1 part in 5,000 of an isotope H^2 —a proportion now confirmed by the experiments of Bleakney and Gould (*Phys. Rev.*). It was this small difference which led directly to the discovery of the isotope. Hertz obtained pure samples by diffusion, but the isotope is most easily obtained by first preparing "heavy water" H^2_2O . This water was first found by Washburn and Urey in the acid of old accumulators (1932), and it was prepared in quantities by the electrolysis of water with nickel electrodes by Lewis and Macdonald in California (1 litre) (*Jour. Amer. Chem. Soc.*), and by Harteck in Cambridge (25 c.e). It boils at $101.42^\circ C$, freezes at $+3.8^\circ C$, and has a maximum density at $11.6^\circ C$. It appears to be toxic and seeds will not germinate in it.

The constitution of the H^2 nucleus was not determined: it may be a separate entity (Estermann and Stern, for example, found that the magnetic moment of the H^2 nucleus is probably much less than that of the

proton although it has *twice* the angular momentum of the proton (*Zeit. fur Phys.*)), but as a result of experiments by Lawrence in which H^a ions were used to bombard other elements, it seemed possible that it consists of a neutron and a proton in close association. H^2 ions were found to be about ten times as effective as protons in causing the disintegration of atomic nuclei (Dee, Rutherford and Oliphant, Cockcroft and Walton, etc.). The products of the disintegration are alpha particles, protons and neutrons (e.g. $Li^7 + D = 2 + n$). Urey suggested the name *deuterium* for the isotope and Lewis *deuton* for its nucleus. In speech, however, deuton is easily confused with neutron, and Rutherford proposed instead *diplogen* and *diplon*. It was agreed that the symbol D is appropriate.

The cosmic radiation formed the subject of many investigations. Measurements of its intensity were made at different heights and depths, in different latitudes, at various times and in various directions. The magnitude of its effects were agreed, but the nature of the *primary* radiation remained a matter of dispute. Millikan continued to uphold the view that the rays consist of quanta of radiation, and Regener considered that his observations could best be explained by this hypothesis. Other workers, however, regarded the primary rays as corpuscular, basing their opinion on the variation of the intensity with geomagnetic latitude first observed by Clay and A. H. Compton in 1932, and since confirmed by many other observers, e.g., by Hoerlin on a voyage from Hamburg to Peru and back through the Straits of Magellan. The intensity is about 14 per cent, less in equatorial latitudes than it is near the poles (Compton, *Phys. Rev.*), and the variation appears to be unsymmetrical, the low equatorial values persisting between lat. 5° S. and 20° N. (geomagnetic). The variation (but not its assymetry) is in general agreement with that which would be produced by the action of the earth's magnetic field on charged particles arriving from outer space (Lemaitre and Vallarta). Kollhorster reported observations made at different depths in the Stassfurt mines which confirmed the existence of a radiation capable of penetrating 700-800 metres of water and possessing an energy at least as great as 10^{11} electron-volts.

Many improvements were made in the technique of electron diffraction experiments, notably by G. I. Finch at the Imperial College of Science. Rupp and Meibom (*Ann. d. Physik*) observed the diffraction rings produced when 180 kilovolt protons passed through gold foil and obtained results in fair agreement with de Broglie's calculations.

A new type of electrostatic machine developed by van der Graaf, K. T. Compton, and van Atta at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology gave 7 million volts and may perhaps double this figure (*Phys. Rev.*). In this apparatus electric charges are sprayed on to a moving silk belt which passes into the interior of a large hollow spherical conductor. Here they are removed by point collectors and pass to the outside of the sphere. Two spheres 15 ft. in diameter mounted on shellac towers 24 ft. high were used, the belts running inside the towers.

W. T. Astbury described the results of his application of X-ray analysis to fibre structure (*Proc. Roy. Soc. and Science Progress*, Oct.). He found that the molecules of fibres form long thin sub-microscopic crystalline

aggregates which lie with their long axes roughly parallel to the fibre axis (silk, mammalian hairs), or arranged in spiral form round this axis (cotton). He determined the structure of the molecular chains and was able to explain such phenomena as the "setting" of wool and the "permanent waving" of human hair.

On May 15 de Haas, Wiersma, and Kramers announced in *The Times* that they had attained a temperature of 0.27° on the absolute centigrade scale (0.27° K.) by placing the paramagnetic salt cerium fluoride in a magnetic field at the temperature of liquid helium and suddenly reducing the strength of the field. On July 14 they stated that they had reached 0.085° K. by the same method with cerium ethyl sulphate, and later using potassium chrome alum they reached 0.05° K. (*Physica*). Giauque and MacDougall (*Phys. Rev.*) used gadolinium sulphate and reached 0.25° K. It is difficult to use the material so cooled to cool other bodies since the processes of heat transfer become almost inoperative at such extreme degrees of cold. The temperatures themselves were deduced by extrapolation from observations of the susceptibilities of the salts at temperatures which could be measured by other means.

Experiments on the ionosphere confirmed the existence of the E (Heaviside) layer at a height of about 100 km. and the F (Appleton) layer at about 180 km. There were also indications of the presence of a less well-marked region between E and F and others suggesting that the F region has a banded structure. Although ultra-violet light from the sun was still regarded as the chief ionising agent, it was realised that the effects of corpuscular radiation from the sun and of thunderstorms could not be ignored. Results obtained by the Radio Research Board Expedition at Tromsø showed that, at such latitudes, incoming "charged particles" produce ionisation in and below the normal E region.

In May the Marconiphone Co. placed on the market a series of all-metal valves (Catkin valves) which, as compared with ordinary glass valves, possess greater strength and greater uniformity in their characteristics.

The West Regional Broadcasting Station commenced experimental transmissions on April 24. It radiates from umbrella aerials carried on steel masts 500 ft. high, and was located so that it might serve the west of England and South Wales.

Considerable progress was made during the year in the development of television, although it remained in the experimental stage. Processes involving the use of the cathode ray oscillograph showed most promise, but considerable claims were made for a new device called the iconoscope by its inventor Dr. Zworykin. Satisfactory reproduction could only be obtained by using side band widths of from 150 to 1,000 kilocycles per sec, and there was no room for such a range of frequencies between the limits allotted for broadcasting. Attempts were therefore made to use very short waves outside these limits, and one of the towers of the Crystal Palace was utilised for the purpose. The shielding effects of buildings and rising ground formed one serious obstacle to the general reception of such transmissions.

Astronomy yielded nothing of outstanding interest. Milne's theory of the expanding universe (ANNUAL REGISTER, 1932, Part II, p. 62) did

not meet with much support. The difficulty which the recession of the galaxies introduces into the time scale of stellar evolution still remained, but de Sitter suggested (*Roy. Ast. Soc. M.N.*) that the radius of the universe passed through a minimum value 5×10^9 years ago, so that this period does not represent the age of the universe but merely measures the time which has elapsed since the galaxies were comparatively close together and the chances of collisions between galaxies and between individual stars much greater than they are to-day. It was at this epoch that the sun's planetary system was formed.

In the George Darwin Lecture delivered to the Royal Astronomical Society in May, Professor V. M. Slipher summarised the knowledge of the planets provided by the spectroscope, e.g., that there is no oxygen in the spectrum of Venus but possibly carbon dioxide; that there are small quantities of water vapour in the atmosphere of Mars and of ammonia in that of Jupiter; finally that there is a faint permanent aurora in our own atmosphere.

The table of International Atomic Weights published in February (*J. Amer. Chern. Soc.*) gave the atomic weight of iodine as 126.92 instead of 126.93, and lanthanum as 138.92 (138.90). The conversion factor from the physical to the chemical scale remained uncertain. Aston gives 1.00022 while chemical methods give 1.00012.

The British Association met at Leicester during the week September 6-13. In his presidential address Sir Frederick Gowland Hopkins, P.R.S., dealt with certain chemical aspects of life, e.g., enzyme control of cell reactions, the chemical reactions resulting from nerve stimulus, hormones and recent work on cancer-producing substances (cf. *Science Progress*, July, 1933, p. 106 and p. 117). He pointed out the remarkable progress in biology which has resulted from investigations of the chemistry of living matter and their very great importance to humanity. Sir Gilbert Walker, the president of Section A, dealt with Seasonal Weather and its Prediction, and Professor R. Robinson, president of Section B, described recent investigations of Natural Colouring Matters.

The Royal Society Mond Laboratory, presented to the University of Cambridge by the Royal Society, was opened on February 5 by Mr. Stanley Baldwin, Chancellor of the University. It contains the plant required by Professor Kapitza for the production of low temperatures and intense magnetic fields.

On July 17 the Prime Minister announced that a preference of 4d. per gallon would be given to light hydrocarbon oils manufactured in Great Britain from indigenous materials for a period of nine years from April 1, 1935. In consequence Imperial Chemical Industries Ltd. announced that they proposed to erect a hydrogenation plant at Billingham costing 2,500,000. Its output would be about 100,000 gallons of first grade petrol per day at an estimated cost of 7d. per gallon.

Among the important discussions which took place during the year were two arranged by the Faraday Society, one on Liquid Crystals and Anisotropic Melts and the other on Free Radicals. The Chemical Society discussed the significance of the Raman effect in chemistry, and the Royal Society ionospheric phenomena and the new isotope of hydrogen.

FINANCE AND COMMERCE IN 1933.

THE world began to recover from the world economic crisis in 1933, the first signs of improvement having shown themselves in the closing months of 1932. No country, except the Irish Free State, failed to share in the recovery, which, however, was more marked in the British Empire than outside it. Australia, South Africa, and Great Britain offered marked examples of recovery. In the case of Australia a general deflation of debts, rents, wages, salaries, and Budgets gave the country a firmer foundation on which to work, and thanks to a sharp rise in the price of wool the country made notable progress. South Africa, which abandoned the gold standard at the end of 1932, depreciated her currency to the level of the pound sterling and the resultant extra profit to the gold mines caused a marked expansion in this, the greatest industry of the country, while it brought succour immediately to the hard-pressed farmers who realised a higher price in the cheaper South African pounds for their products while their expenses remained the same. Thus exports of South African products were stimulated by their being made cheaper. In Great Britain the recovery which began in 1932 made good and steady progress in 1933. It was due mainly to two factors, namely, the combination of two factors, the cheapening of the pound and the institution of a tariff, these representing an advantage estimated at an average of about 70 per cent, to British trade and industry compared with the conditions existing prior to September 19, 1931, when England suspended gold payments and got rid of an over-valued pound—the pound having been over-valued because British debts and British costs of production were too high. Thus British products became too dear to buy while England was a good country to sell to, since she offered a high gold price for goods. For years down to September, 1931, Britain continuously increased her imports while her exports as steadily declined. The cheapening of the pound and the tariff completely altered all that by making British goods cheaper to foreigners, and foreign goods dearer to home consumers. In 1932 imports were reduced by nearly 160,000,000l. ; and in 1933 there was a further reduction of 26,000,000l. Exports, which fell by 181,600,000l. in 1931, were reduced by 25,500,000l. in 1932, but in 1933 they were increased slightly, namely, by 2,400,000l. The building trade was stimulated by the construction of new factories set up under the protection of the tariff. The woollen industry made a good advance, Bradford mills working overtime for several months during the year. The production of the rayon industry was a record ; iron and steel made more rapid progress than in any year since the war, and the recovery in

trade and industry generally was reflected in a recovery, at long last, in railway traffics in the last six months of the year. The recovery was also heightened by the sound financial policy pursued by the British Government. Refusing to be led into the dangerous experimental field that theoretical monetary reformers had urged, it resolved to balance the Budget, and it did so successfully without producing those unfortunate results which the following of a sound policy was alleged to entail. The resultant gain to confidence played no small part in bringing about the great improvement in the British position.

The outstanding event abroad was the abandonment of the gold standard by the United States in the middle of April, 1933, and the adoption of a policy of deliberate depreciation of the dollar. This happened under rather sensational circumstances. Early in the year the American Press was flooded with curious monetary propaganda, some of which was based on a book, "Planned Money," written by Sir Basil Blackett, formerly controller of Finance at the Treasury and a Director of the Bank of England. American publicists seized upon certain passages in this book to support their wild theory that Britain's abandonment of the gold standard was a sort of new economic trick to enable Great Britain to take away the trade of the gold countries, like the United States, and that the Exchange Equalisation Fund, which was really started to check speculation in the pound, was being used to depress the pound artificially so as to complete the foul design on the trade of other countries. There was not a word of truth in these allegations. At that time bank failures were of daily occurrence in the United States, unemployment was rife, farmers were in revolt, and the country was reduced to a state of despair such as it had not known for half a century or more. Immediately President Roosevelt took office in March, 1933, he found it necessary, owing to the bankruptcy of the banking system, to declare a general banking moratorium.

On March 3, the day before Roosevelt took office, banking operations had been restricted or totally suspended in 27 out of 48 States, and on the following day other States were added to the number. Gold was leaving the country rapidly, business men were becoming panic-stricken, stock and commodity markets were closed in many places, and so the President placed an embargo on gold exports and declared a general banking moratorium for four days. On March 9 he secured from Congress dictatorial powers over the banks and prolonged the banking moratorium indefinitely. Although credit was already extremely abundant and cheap the Emergency Bank Act provided for a considerable extension of credit. On March 13 the banks reopened in the twelve Federal Reserve cities, and dealings in the foreign exchanges which had been suspended were resumed; two days later the Stock Exchanges opened, and on March 16 the grain and cotton markets resumed business. The great speculative bubble which followed the war and began to burst in 1929 finished its bursting in March, for in April the top of the crisis was passed. Congress decided upon inflation, and to control it the President, who hitherto had shown an attachment to and belief in orthodox financial principles, decided to meet its wishes

and to indulge in a series of strange and revolutionary financial and monetary experiments which pleased the politicians and the man in the street who knew nothing about the principles involved, but frightened experienced business men and the more responsible economists. On April 19 the President abandoned the gold standard, took powers to expand Federal Reserve credit by 3,300,000,000 dollars, to reduce the gold content of the dollar by 50 per cent., and to put the currency on a gold and silver basis. The real policy and intentions of the President remained undisclosed. In spite of remonstrances from economists, chambers of commerce and other business men, and bankers, the President announced that he intended to raise the price level by depreciating the dollar, and refused to restore confidence in the monetary unit by putting it back on gold. He brought about the failure of the World Economic Conference by refusing to participate in any agreement to stabilise the currencies; declared that it was necessary to raise the price level to the 1926 level first, and expressed his resolve to establish a commodity dollar which would always be steady in commodity value. The dollar-sterling exchange which at one time was down to $3'32\frac{5}{8}$ rose ultimately to $5'53$ dollars. For three months there was a boom arising from fear of the dollar with wild spending and speculation. Then the boom came to an end, for the expected inflation did not happen, and business slackened for the rest of the year. By December all the earlier gains had been lost, and two-thirds of the price rise in April-July was lost also. By the Farm Relief Act Roosevelt took absolute control over every form of production, processing, and marketing of principal agricultural products, and created a system of finance and credit to meet every possible need. No less than 286,000,000 dollars was given to farmers to restrict production; they took the money but did not restrict except in a few cases. The Government also took powers to issue 2,000,000,000 dollars in farm loan bonds to buy out mortgagees. The President's policy was first and foremost to secure and keep control of Congress by taking powers to do anything, and the more he asked the more he got. In this he proved himself an astute politician. His avowed economic policy was to raise commodity prices by 50 or 60 per cent., and to bring about certain factory, industrial, and social reforms like the abolition of child labour. By the end of the year the average rise in commodities was less than 20 per cent., while the depreciation in the dollar was about 36 per cent., which means that the price rise, if it was only to offset the currency depreciation, would have had to be about 60 per cent. The President took control of industry under the National Industrial Recovery Act (N.I.R.A.), and proceeded to shorten hours by compulsion, increase wages, and to set up codes of fair competition for, each industry which was designed largely to bring about the illusion that employment had increased, whereas all that happened in fact was that hours being shortened, work was spread, costs were increased, and prices had to be raised to cover the extra cost. The scheme worked havoc with the small business but admirably suited big business, and especially the oil industry which had suffered severely from over-production and low prices. The President took power to

spend 3,300,000,000 dollars on Public Works, and though nearly all this sum was allocated by the end of 1933 actually less than 200,000,000 dollars had been spent. Indeed despite promises of wholesale inflation Roosevelt actually inflated credit to a smaller extent in the second half of 1933 than Hoover did in the same period of 1932. On October 28 Roosevelt initiated a scheme for buying gold in order to depreciate the dollar more. But though he bought increasing amounts of gold, at rising prices, he failed to depreciate the dollar as he wished, and early in January, 1934, he decided that it was necessary in order to re-establish confidence in the dollar to let the public know that he intended to devalue the dollar somewhere between 50 cents and 60 cents gold. On February 1, 1934, the United States returned to the gold bullion standard by fixing the gold value of the new dollar at 59'06 of its former value. As a free market was established, America being prepared to buy and sell gold, the fixing of the gold value of the dollar much below its exchange value, enormous amounts of gold were bought in the cheaper markets of Europe and shipped to America for sale at the high price prevailing there. Over £60,000,000 was shipped in about a month, the shippers making a good profit at America's expense. The Government gave a subsidy of 50 per cent, to the silver producers of America in order to equalise the bonus he was paying to the gold producers. They instituted a scheme for insuring bank deposits, and passed a Securities Act which completely stopped the flow of capital to industry. At the close of the year the prices of commodities stood at 71 per cent. of the 1926 level against 62 per cent. at the end of 1932, but the gold price level fell to 45, the lowest figure it ever touched. Stock Exchange prices were raised about 50 per cent, owing to inflation, and business activity was 10-15 per cent. higher than in 1932. The Treasury had a deficit of 1,000,000,000 dollars, but it was to be increased to 6,000,000,000 dollars by June. The policy of depreciating the dollar which, while not completely successful, was the only successful part of the President's financial experiments, had a disturbing effect upon the exchanges and upon the economy of other nations, particularly the gold countries. Those disturbances arose simply because the United States failed to raise prices sufficiently to offset the fall in the dollar, with the result that the depreciation of the dollar had a deflationary or depressing effect upon prices outside the United States which could only be avoided by depressing other currencies step by step with the dollar. That would have involved a currency war which would have benefited nobody, and brought disaster to all. If Roosevelt had inflated more vigorously, spent as freely as he foreshadowed, the required rise in prices would have taken place. But Roosevelt was often of two minds on the subject of price raising. On May 21 he said in a broadcast that if prices rose it would defeat his recovery plan, and though he afterwards spoke differently, as late as January 19, 1934, General Johnson, the administrator of N.I.R.A., declared that prices must not rise.

Banking.—After three successive years of decreases, the turnover of bills, cheques, etc., at the London Banker's Clearing House in 1933 showed a slight recovery. The total was 32,137,626,000/., an increase

of 25,667,000/. or '07 per cent. Town clearing was smaller but the suburban clearing was larger; the biggest increase was in the country cheque clearing which resulted from the recovery in trade. The greater part of the increase was in the latter part of the year. By contrast the New York Clearing House reported a further substantial shrinkage in turnover, the total being 31,323,397,000l., a decrease of 1,563,475,000/. This clearly reflected the diminution of activity following upon President Roosevelt's violent experiments. In banking the year was marked by unparalleled low rates, which fell below the exceptionally low figures touched in the 'nineties. In September, Treasury Bills were sold at an average rate of discount of only 4s. 9'15d. per cent. per annum. Trade demands for money were less again than in the previous year, fewer trade bills coming forward for discount, and the demand for loans was less. This incidentally offers proof once again that abundant and cheap money are not essential to trade recovery, for this took place with trade demands for money steadily growing less. The average rate for Treasury Bills for the year was 11s. 937d. against 11. 13s. 2'9d. per cent. In the early part of the year there was a marked influx of money from abroad, owing to currency nervousness abroad especially in America. This enabled the Bank of England, through the Exchange Equalisation Account, which had been increased from 150,000,000/. to 350,000,000/. in the Budget of 1933, to purchase 70,928,788/. in bar gold. Foreigners also bought gold freely in London, and it was computed that by the end of the year private hoards of gold in this country amounted to nearly 100,000,000/. These hoards were accumulated in obedience to Gresham's Law that bad money drives out good, *i.e.*, paper money drives gold out of circulation since paper money can be depreciated by Government action but gold cannot. At the end of March the fiduciary issue of notes which in the crisis of 1931 had been raised to 275,000,000/. was reduced to its original figure of 260,000,000/. There were the usual protests from monetary reformers that this action would be disastrous to trade and industry because it was deflationary, but nothing of the kind happened for the simple reason that the reduction did not affect the amount of active money in use, but only the inactive money which nobody was using. The Treasury carried out a number of small loan operations, chief amongst which was an issue of 205,000,000/. of 2½ per cent. Conversion Loan, the first and smaller part of which was issued in the spring in small lots by weekly tender and the balance in the autumn at the fixed price of 94. American war debt payments were made in token form, 10,000,000 dollars in June in silver, and 7,500,000 paper dollars in December. The Government took one highly questionable step—much regretted in the City—in defaulting on its obligation to pay the interest on the U.K. 5½ per cent. Dollar Bonds in gold or its equivalent in accordance with the Contract. The Government paid in paper dollars in order not to offend the United States Government which had deliberately repudiated all gold contracts. The banks' earnings were the lowest for many years, and as their wage and salary bill was about double the pre-war figure, dividends had to remain at the reduced level established in recent years. Fortunately

provision for bad debts was smaller, and the banks gained from the revival in Stock Exchange business and from the speculation in foreign exchanges.

BANK OF ENGLAND RETURNS.

	End Dec., 1933.	End Dec., 1932.	End Dec., 1931.
Coin and bullion •	191,686,728	120,593,672	121,348,721
Note circulation -	391,981,846	371,193,057	364,150,042
Public deposits -	22,166,674	8,865,481	7,732,655
Other deposits:—			
Bankers' -	101,216,838	102,409,590	126,397,730
Other accounts	36,644,636	33,760,123	40,341,083
Reserve (notes and coin)	59,704,882	24,400,615	32,198,679
Ratio	37 per cent.	16 $\frac{1}{16}$ per cent.	18 $\frac{7}{16}$ per cent.
Government securities	88,036,692	102,371,824	95,340,906
Other securities:—			
Discounts and advances	16,756,681	18,509,400	27,290,602
Securities	13,394,847	17,738,428	37,612,864

MONEY AND DISCOUNT RATES.

1929	1930	1931	1932	1933
BANK RATE AVERAGE.				
£ 8. d. 5 10 0	£ \$. d. 3 8 4	£ s. d. 3 19 0	£ a. d. 3 0 4	£ s. d. 2 0 0
DISCOUNT RATE (THREE MONTHS BANK BILLS) AVERAGE				
5 5 2	2 12 6	3 11 9	1 17 3	0 13 8
BANKS' DEPOSIT RATE AVERAGE.				
3 10 0	1 8 4	2 0 10	1 5 4	0 10 0
TREASURY BILL (TENDER) RATE AVERAGE.				
5 5 17	2 10 10-31	3 10 208	1 13 2-9	0 16 9
SHORT LOAN RATE AVERAGE.				
4 12 0	2 9 0	3 1 9	1 17 3	0 11 937

LONDON BANKERS¹ CLEARING HOUSE RETURNS.

	1933.	1932.	Inc. or Dec.
Grand total	£ 32,137,626,000	£ 32,111,959,000	£ - 25,667,000 (007 per cent)
Town clearing •	27,714,480,000	27,833,633,000	- 119,153,000 (0'4 per cent.)
Metropolitan clearing	1,656,675,000	1,610,407,000	+ 46,268,000 (2 8 per cent.)
Country cheque clearing •	2,766,471,000	2,667,919,000	+ 98,662,000 (3*6 per cent.)

FINANCE AND COMMERCE.

PROVINCIAL CLEARING FIGURES.

Town.	Amount.	
	£	£ per cent.
Birmingham •	115,263,000	+ 2,294,000 or 2
Bradford	43,747,000	+ 3,639,000 or 9
Bristol -	56,696,000	- 3,559,000 or 5'9
Hull	36,079,000	+ 12,000 or 0'3
Leeds	43,843,000	+ 1,259,000 or 2'9
Leicester	32,084,000	- 413,000 or 1'2
Liverpool	303,001,000	+ 2,175,000 or 0'7
Manchester	478,090,000	- 9,804,000 or 2
Newcastle-on-Tyne	72,918,000	+ 7,062,000 or 10'7
Nottingham •	22,190,000	- 360,000 or 1'5
Sheffield -	39,166,000	+ 2,615,000 or 7'1

LONDON CLEARING BANKS' MONTHLY RETURNS.

	(000's omitted.)			
	Deposits.	Bills discounted.	Advances.	Investments.
1933	£	£	£	£
January -	1,982,778	431,151	764,380	472,448
February -	1,956,741	385,632	765,588	497,548
March	1,925,152	348,097	766,230	510,217
April	1,930,441	337,829	763,592	517,182
May -	1,944,023	346,142	774,843	530,375
June-	1,978,159	351,827	775,159	544,398
July-	1,973,362	362,194	767,551	554,014
August	1,965,594	359,047	758,154	563,385
September	1,957,857	354,982	749,737	563,170
October -	1,950,792	342,936	747,472	559,352
November	1,927,998	317,117	737,271	568,991
December	1,941,265	311,250	735,627	564,643

Floating Debt.	Dec. 31, 1933.	Dec. 31, 1932.
	£	£
Ways and Means Advances:—		
From the Bank of England •		9,250,000
From Public Depts. -	35,150,000	40,475,000
Treasury Bills	938,745,000	928,250,000
Total -	973,895,000	977,975,000

Foreign Exchanges.—The Exchange Equalisation Fund was a big factor in the exchange market, and it was used with care and success. Following America's abandonment of gold the New York Exchange moved wildly, sometimes by over 20 cents in a day. Early in the year the rate had been 3'32⁵/₈ dollars, but by July 19 it had risen to the old parity of 4'86⁵/₈ dollars. Later it rose to 5'53 dollars, its highest point. Considerable nervousness about the franc drove the Paris exchange up to 90f., but later it fell to

about 78f. It was freely asserted by anti-gold critics that France would be forced off gold, but in spite of grave Budget difficulties her gold position remained strong, and it was clearly the intention of the authorities to stick to gold. Argentina established an official rate of 35⁷/₈d. per peso though the unofficial rate was 25¹/₄d. The following table of the foreign exchanges is taken from *The Times Annual Financial Review* :—

Place.	Par of Exchange.	Dec. 30, 1933.	Dec. 31, 1932.	Highest, 1933.	Lowest, 1933.
New York	4.86 ¹ / ₂	5.12 ¹ / ₂	3.32 ¹ / ₂	5.53	3.32 ¹ / ₂
Montreal -	4.86 ¹ / ₂	5.11 ¹ / ₂	3.77	5.39	3.75 ¹ / ₂
Paris	124.21	83 ¹ / ₂	85 ¹ / ₂	90	77 ¹ / ₂
Brussels -	35.00	23.48	24.05 ¹ / ₂	26.37 ¹ / ₂	21.90
Milan	92.48	62	64 ¹ / ₂	69 ¹ / ₂	58 ¹ / ₂
Switzerland	25.22	16.88	17.30	18.37 ¹ / ₂	15.73
Athens	375	582 ¹ / ₂	625	650	530
Helsinki	193.23	226 ¹ / ₂	228	230	225
Madrid	25.22	30 ¹ / ₂	40 ¹ / ₂	42 ¹ / ₂	36 ¹ / ₂
Lisbon	110	109 ¹ / ₂	109 ¹ / ₂	110 ¹ / ₂	101
Amsterdam	12.11	8.12 ¹ / ₂	8.28	8.87 ¹ / ₂	7.56
Berlin	20.43	13.67	13.96 ¹ / ₂	15.62 ¹ / ₂	12.60
Vienna	34.69	29 ¹ / ₂	28 ¹ / ₂	35	27 ¹ / ₂
Budapest -	27.82	18 ¹ / ₂ *§	19	21.50	17.00
Prague	164.25	109 ¹ / ₂	112 ¹ / ₂	116	102 ¹ / ₂
Warsaw	43.38	29	29 ¹ / ₂	31 ¹ / ₂	27
Riga	25.22	17.00	17.00	19.00	15.00
Bucharest -	813.80	550	565	610	505
Constantinople •	110	675 §	690 §	720	635
Belgrade -	276.32	240	245	285	220
Kovno	48.66	32 ¹ / ₂	32 ¹ / ₂	38	30
Sofia	673.66	455	465	520	405
Reval	18.16	18.25	12.50	20.00	17.00
Oslo . . .	18.16	19.90	19.40	20.00	19.31 ¹ / ₂
Stockholm	18.16	19.39	18.31	19.56 ¹ / ₂	18.25
Copenhagen	18.16	22.40	19.29 ¹ / ₂	22.50	19.25
Alexandria	97 ¹ / ₂	97 ¹ / ₂	97 ¹ / ₂	97 ¹ / ₂	97 ¹ / ₂
Bombay -	18d.	1/6 ¹ / ₂	1/6 ¹ / ₂	1/6 ¹ / ₂	1/6 ¹ / ₂
Calcutta •	18d.	1/6 ¹ / ₂	1/6 ¹ / ₂	1/6 ¹ / ₂	1/6 ¹ / ₂
Madras	18d.	1/6 ¹ / ₂	1/6 ¹ / ₂	1/6 ¹ / ₂	1/6 ¹ / ₂
Hong-Kong	—	1/5 ¹ / ₂	1/3 ¹ / ₂	1/6	1/2 ¹ / ₂
Kobe	24.58d.	1/2 ¹ / ₂	1/3	1/3 ¹ / ₂	1/1 ¹ / ₂
Shanghai •	—	1/4	1/7 ¹ / ₂	1/4 ¹ / ₂	1/2
Singapore	2/4	2/4 ¹ / ₂	2/3 ¹ / ₂	2/4 ¹ / ₂	2/3 ¹ / ₂
Batavia -	12.11	8.12 ¹ / ₂	8.25	8.85	7.58
Rio de Janeiro -	5.90d.	4 ¹ / ₂ d. *§	5 ¹ / ₂ d. †	8 ¹ / ₂ d.	3 ¹ / ₂ d.
Buenos Aires	47.62d.	35 ¹ / ₂ d. *§	42 ¹ / ₂ d. †	45 ¹ / ₂ d.	35 ¹ / ₂ d. *§
Valparaiso †	40	†	†	†	†
Montevideo	51d.	35 ¹ / ₂ d. *§	30d. †	37 ¹ / ₂ d.	28d.
Lima †	17.38	22.60 †	18.70 †	23.80†	18.40†
Mexico	9.78	18.25	10.67 ¹ / ₂ †	19.75	10.45
Manila	24.66d.	1/11 ¹ / ₂	3/0 ¹ / ₂	3/0 ¹ / ₂	1/9 ¹ / ₂

Stock Exchange.—Business was very active throughout the year, being stimulated not only by cheap money but by the industrial recovery and the rise in gold which caused remarkable activity in gold shares. The December calculations made by the *Bankers' Magazine* showed that

* Official rate. † 90 days. ‡ Nominal. § Sellers,

¶ Prior to the change from the tael to the Chinese dollar, in April, the rate touched 1s. 9³/₈d. in March.

365 securities had risen in capital value by 452,876,000l. to 6,532,632,000l. The value of 87 fixed interest-bearing stocks rose 222,663,000l. or 51 per cent. to 4,576,327,000*., but the rise in British and Indian Funds was only 102,571,000l. or 2'9 per cent. Home railway stocks more than doubled in value, and the same remark applies to rubber shares. South African gold mining shares advanced over 30 per cent., tea shares over 50 per cent., and iron, coal, and steel shares over 27 per cent. Australia carried out numerous conversion operations in order to save money on the External debt service. At home numerous municipalities and industrial borrowers took advantage of cheap money to replace dearer debentures by cheaper debentures, and some even jumped the fence, i.e., anticipated power to repay debentures, a questionable proceeding—in order to take advantage of exceptionally cheap money to reduce loan charges. Defaults on foreign loans, owing to the breakdown of the gold standard, were still more numerous than in 1932. The sterling price of gold touched 134/8 on October 3, 1933, which was the highest figure on record down to the end of the year.

New Capital Issues.—Following the example set by the British Government in converting War Loan from a 5 to 3½ per cent. basis a large number of municipalities and industrial undertakings converted debts to a lower interest basis. Issues of new capital were on a small scale, owing to the ban on foreign and other issues, but the total was larger than in the previous year as will be seen from the following table :—

	1933.	1032.	1931.
United Kingdom	£ 95,059,000	£ 83,817,000	£ 42,588,000
India and Ceylon	5,018,000	6,390,000	22,469,000
Other British countries	24,796,000	22,483,000	14,363,000
Foreign countries	7,996,000	348,000	9,246,000
Total -	132,869,000	113,038,000	88,666,000

Gold and Silver.—The gold market had the most remarkable experience in its history. Each day sales of gold took place and the demand for it was so keen that a premium over the parity of gold currencies was often paid for it. The highest price touched was 134s. *Sd.* an ounce. Over 90,000,000/. was sold in the open market for spot cash, a record figure. The total imports into the United Kingdom were 251,646,839*. against 152,176,201/., while exports which were 134,318,565*. in 1932 dropped to 60,311,881/. About 100,000,000l. was bought for foreigners for storage in London for safe custody. The American Government bought a moderate amount of gold in London and France towards the close of the year. The World Economic Conference in July passed a resolution obliging the Indian Government not to sell more than 35,000,000 oz. of silver a year for four years, obliging China not to sell demonetised silver, obliging the producing countries to absorb between them 35,000,000 oz. each year from their own mines' new production. In pursuance of this resolution

the American Government agreed to purchase domestic silver at 64J cents an ounce compared with a world price of 43 cents. The average price of silver for the year was $18\frac{5}{32}d.$, a rise of $\frac{5}{16}d.$, the highest price touched during the year being $20\frac{1}{2}d.$

Industrial Profits.—The *Economist* calculations of industrial profits compiled from reports issued during 1933 show only the earliest beginnings of the recovery which will become more evident in the accounts to be published in 1934. Taking 1,945 companies their profits as reported in 1933 were 141,428,663/., an increase of 671,932/., or 0'5 per cent. Reports issued in the last quarter by 464 companies showed profits of 21,116,780/., an increase of 4,914,871/., equal to 30·3 per cent.

Commercial Failures.—The number of commercial failures in the United Kingdom was 7,306, a decrease of 1,334, and is the first decrease to be shown since 1929. Liabilities decreased by 2,338,111/., to 4,164,627/., while the assets of the debtors were only 1,287,829/., less at 1,803,452/.

Foreign Commerce.—Imports in 1933 decreased by 25,823,000/., to 675,847,365/., while British exports rose 2,399,901/., to 367,423,909/.; re-exports fell by 1,943,703/., to 49,077,553/., making total exports 416,501,462/., an increase of 456,198/.. Food imports were reduced by 32,342,000/., raw materials rose by 15,750,000/., and manufactured goods decreased by 6,710,000/.. The visible adverse balance of trade was 259,346,000/., against 285,625,000/., in 1932.

BALANCES OF CREDITS AND DEBITS IN THE TRANSACTIONS (OTHER THAN THE LENDING AND REPAYMENT OF CAPITAL) BETWEEN THE UNITED KINGDOM AND ALL OTHER COUNTRIES.

	In Million £s.		
	1931,	1932.	1933.
Excess of imports of merchandise and silver bullion and specie	408	287	204
Estimated excess of Government payments made overseas *.		24	1
Total	408	311	264
Estimated excess of Government receipts from overseas *.	14		1
Estimated net national shipping income †	80	70	65
Estimated net income from overseas investments - i	170	145	155
Estimated net receipts from short interest and commissions	30	25	30
Estimated net receipts from other sources	10	15	10
Total -	304	255	260
Estimated total credit or debit balance on items specified above	- 104	- 56	- 4

* Including some items on loan accounts.

† Including disbursements by foreign ships in British ports.

‡ No appreciable excess of payments or receipts.

Commodity Prices.—There was a rise in wholesale commodity prices in 1933. The *Times* index showed an advance on the year of 4·1 per cent., the total being 98·2 against 94·3 (1913 = 100). The biggest advance was in wool. Industrial materials rose 5·7 per cent. on the year; textiles other than cotton rose 21·5 per cent. on the year. In December, 1924, the total index number was 179·3, in December, 1928, it had fallen to 137·5, in December, 1930, to 103·2, in December, 1931, to 99·5, and in December, 1932, to 94·3. The Ministry of Labour's index figure of the cost of living was unchanged on the year at 143; in 1931 it was 147. The table on p. 81 is taken from *The Times Annual Financial Review*.

Iron and Steel.—The iron and steel industry made a noteworthy recovery. Pig-iron output was 4,123,600 tons against 3,574,000 tons in 1932, and the steel output rose from 5,261,400 tons to 7,002,800 tons.

Coal.—The production of coal was 206,600,000 tons against 208,700,000 tons in 1932, and 219,400,000 tons in 1913. Exports were 56,500,000 tons against 57,100,000 tons in 1932 and 61,600,000 tons in 1913. There were many complaints of the working of the quota system and at times it was difficult for users to obtain supplies. The profits of the industry as a whole for the year were estimated at 2,500,000*l.* against 1,500,000*l.* in 1932.

Shipping and Shipbuilding.—The plight of ordinary cargo shipping became so serious in 1933 owing to the cumulative effects of foreign shipping subsidies that a Tramp Shipping Committee, appointed by the Chamber of Shipping, approached the Government with a request for a subsidy of about 3,000,000*l.* yearly. The output of the shipbuilding yards was the lowest on record, the total in Great Britain being 131,400 against 187,800 in 1932, and 1,932,200 in 1913. World launching were 479,300 tons against 726,600 tons in 1932 and 3,332,900 tons in 1913.

Textiles.—The cotton trade checked the decline of previous years by getting back to the figures of 1931. Severe competition from Japan was experienced by Lancashire, this being due to low wages in Japan and the depreciation of the yen. Wool rose in price by about 70 per cent. and the woollen industry had a very busy and profitable year. Rayon industry was extremely busy, production reaching record figures.

Motor, Aircraft, and Film Industries.—The British film industry made good progress. The total footage of films made was 1,202,197 against 1,049,164 feet in 1932, and foreign imports dropped from 3,780,813 to 3,773,495. The motor industry had also a good year both at home and abroad. Exports of cars amounted to 33,852, or nearly double the figures of 1931, and about 7,000 more than in 1932. Motor cycles decreased in popularity. The aircraft manufacturing industry made further progress and enjoyed its most active and profitable year for some time.

Unemployment.—The percentage of insured persons unemployed at the close of 1933 was 17·6 against 21·7 at the end of 1932. The percentage of those wholly unemployed was 15·1 against 18·1. There was a decrease in the numbers unemployed on the year of 499,208, bringing the total down to 2,224,079, and an increase in the insured employed of 567,000, making the total 10,007,000.

Commodities.		Dec. 30, 1933.	Dec. 30, 1932.	Average, 1913.
FOOD.				
Wheat, Eng., Gaz. Av. -	- 112 lb.	4s. 6d.	5s. 4d.	7s. 6d.
" No. 2, N. Man. -	- 406 lb.	25s. 9d.	25s. 9d.	37s. 3d.
Flour, Ldn. Straights -	- 280 lb.	21s. 6d.	22s. 6d.	27s. 6d.
Barley, Eng., Gaz. Av. -	- 112 lb.	9s. 3d.	6s. 11d.	7s. 8d.
Oats, Eng., Gaz. Av. -	- 112 lb.	5s. 3d.	5s. 9d.	6s. 10d.
Maize, La Plata, ex-ship	- 480 lb.	18s. 9d.	18s.	24s. 3d.
Rice, No. 2, Burma	- cwt.	7s. 3d.	9s.	9s. 9d.
Beef, English sides	- 8 lb.	4s. 1d.	4s. 6d.	4s. 3d.
" S.A., chilled hqr. -	- 8 lb.	3s. 11d.	3s. 6d.	3s. 5d.
Mutton, N.Z. frozen	- 8 lb.	3s. 0d.	3s.	3s. 3d.
Bacon, Irish lean -	- cwt.	83s.	66s.	77s.
" Danish	- cwt.	78s.	68s.	77s.
Fish*	- stone	4s. 10d.	5s. 9d.	3s. 3d.
Eggs, English	- 120	16s.	16s.	12s.
Sugar, Eng., ref., cubes -	- cwt.	22s. 3d.	22s. 9d.	18s. 3d.
" W. Ind. cryst.	- cwt.	18s. 6d.	17s. 6d.	16s.
Tea, N. Ind., Auctn. Avg.	- lb.	1s. 11d.	7½d.	9½d.
Cocoa, f.f. Accra, f.o.b. -	- cwt.	16s.	22s. 9d.	55s.
Cheese, Eng., Cheddar -	- cwt.	78s.	80s.	73s. 9d.
Butter, Danish, fine	- cwt.	100s.	116s.	125s.
Lard, Amer., ref., boxes	- cwt.	29s. 6d.	47s.	66s. 3d.
Potatoes, English, good -	- ton	5d.	5d. 10s.	72s. 3d.
MATERIALS.				
Pig iron, Hemt., Mbro ⁴	- ton	62s. 6d.	59s.	72s. 8d.
" Cleveland, No. 3	- ton	62s. 6d.	58s. 6d.	58s. 2d.
Iron, marked bars, Staff.	- ton	12d.	12d.	9d. 12s. 6d.
" Com. bars	- ton	9d. 6s.	9d. 5s.	7d. 15s.
Steel, rails, heavy -	- ton	8d. 6s.	8d. 5s.	6d. 12s.
" boiler plates	- ton	8d. 10s.	6d. 7s. 6d.	8d. 16s. 3d.
" galvzd. sheets	- ton	11d. 5s.	10d. 10s.	11d. 7s.
" tin plates	- box	16s. 6d.	15s. 9d.	13s. 6d.
Copper, electrolytic	- ton	36d.	34d. 5s.	71d. 15s.
" strong sheets	- ton	62d.	61d.	85d.
Tin, stand., cash	- ton	227d. 16s.	149d.	200d. 2s. 6d.
Lead, English	- ton	12d. 10s.	12d. 10s.	19d. 2s. 6d.
Spelter, foreign	- ton	14d. 17s. 6d.	16d.	22d. 10s.
Coal, Lge. steam, Cardiff	- ton	19s. 6d.	19s. 6d.	20s. 6d.
" best gas, Durham -	- ton	14s. 6d.	14s. 6d.	15s. 3d.
" best hse., Yorks	- ton	22s.	23s.	17s. 6d.
Petlm., Amer., rfd., brl.	- gal.	6d.	9½d.	8½d.
Cotton, Am., rald.	- lb.	5-33d.	5-29d.	7-12d.
" Egypt, f.g.f. Sak.	- lb.	7-74d.	7-27d.	9-84d.
" yarn, 32's twist -	- lb.	8½d.	8½d.	10½d.
" 60's " Egp. -	- lb.	14½d.	13½d.	17½d.
" shirtings, 8¼ lb. -	- piece	8s. 6d.	8s. 9½d.	8s.
prnt., 17 X 17 32 in. yards	- 125			
Wool, gsy., merino, 60's	- piece	19s. 9d.	20s. 10½d.	19s.
" gsy., crossbd., 46's	- lb.	15d.	9½d.	10½d.
" tops, 64's warp	- lb.	8½d.	5½d.	11½d.
" tope, 40's prepd.	- lb.	39d.	23½d.	29d.
Flax, Iivonian, Z.K.	- lb.	12d.	8½d.	15½d.
Hemp, Grade K	- ton	42d.	55d.	38d.
Jute, first marks, shipmt.	- ton	14d.	16d. 7s. 6d.	29d.
Hides, Eng., Ox, first -	- ton	15d. 2s. 6d.	15d. 5s.	30d. 15s.
" Cape, dry -	- lb.	5½d.	7½d.	7½d.
Timber, gld. oak, 3 x 9 -	- lb.	6½d.	6½d.	11½d.
" W'cot oak, 1 in.	- stand	19d. 10s.	19d. 10s.	15d.
Cement, best Portland	- foot	1s. 3d.	1s. 3d.	10d.
Rubber, Plant, sheet	- ton	2d. 4s. 9d.	2d. 4s. 9d.	38s.
Linseed oil	- lb.	4½d.	2½d.	3s. 1d.
Soda crystals, bags	- ton	22d.	19d. 10s.	24d. 15s.
	- ton	5d. 5s.	5d. 5s.	2d. 2s. 6d.
Index number. Food	-	95.9	97.4	100
Index number. Materials	-	97.8	92.6	100
Total index number	-	96.2	94.3	100

* Average price of plaice, cod, and haddock.

LAW.

IN the legal world 1933 was one of sustained activity and not inconsiderable achievement, for the most part of a non-spectacular nature. In the domain of procedure and organisation of business there were important modifications of existing arrangements, and the year closed with the prospect of more drastic changes. The legislation of the year contained significant items, and case law provided rather more than the average number of useful decisions.

The Business of the Courts Committee, presided over by Lord Hanworth, Master of the Rolls, and including in its personnel a number of distinguished judges, issued in March a first interim report, covering only a small part of its terms of reference, but embodying highly practical suggestions calculated, without serious dislocation, to expedite business and simplify procedure. These recommendations were within a few months carried into effect by legislation, to wit, the Administration of Justice (Miscellaneous Provisions) Act, or, where that was possible, by Rules of Court. Among the changes in the legal system thus effected should be mentioned the abolition of that historic but anachronistic institution, the Grand Jury, a considerable curtailment of the citizen's right to claim a jury in civil actions, and a large extension of the principles of the " New Procedure " introduced in May, 1932, procedure under Order XIV. being extended and modifications made in the practice touching pleadings. Where libel or slander or a few other matters are in issue, or where a charge of fraud is made, an action must, on the application of any party, be ordered to be tried with a jury : in all other King's Bench actions " jury or no jury " is now a question in the discretion of the court. As a result of a recommendation that the Long Vacation be curtailed by two weeks, an Order was made fixing October 2 for the reassembling of the courts in 1933 only.

In the very last days of the year a second interim report was published, dealing with larger issues. Their terms of reference seeming to them to entail acceptance of the existing Supreme Court, those constituting the Committee refrained from devising " a completely new pattern of judicature " ; they nevertheless made suggestions for a number of important changes in organisation. They recommended the abolition of the Probate, Divorce, and Admiralty Division of the High Court of Justice as such, Probate work to go to the Chancery Division and Divorce and Admiralty to the King's Bench. Admiralty work should, it was recommended, be closely associated with Commercial work in King's Bench, a special Judge in Admiralty being nominated to supervise both. On the subject of

Divorce the Committee considered that, as causes were already tried by King's Bench judges in twenty-six towns on circuit, greater uniformity would be secured by its transfer to that Division, but, as in the case of Admiralty, they proposed to nominate a special Divorce Judge. On the subject of the diminution of appeals, the Report favoured abolishing the Divisional Court of King's Bench and sending appeals from County Courts, etc., direct to the Court of Appeal; to lessen the very heavy expenditure of time on circuit it sought to abolish the Assizes at certain towns, and, while maintaining the ancient principle of the local venue in crime, to group together certain others for the purposes only of civil work and divorce causes. After "careful consideration" it advocated no increase in County Court jurisdiction. Perhaps the most controversial recommendation of the report was the abolition of the status of Lord Justice and the manning of the Court of Appeal by puisne judges, the responsibility for whose selection would lie with the Chancellor. Two of the members of the Committee, Lord Wright and Mr. Justice Talbot, submitted memoranda dissenting from certain of the recommendations.

An indication that the spirit of reform extended beyond the promotion of efficiency in the despatch of business was the statement made on behalf of the Lord Chancellor in December, in answer to a question in the House of Commons, that he contemplated further steps for keeping under review those portions of the law which might appear unsuitable to modern conditions. This intimation was followed in the second week of the new year by the appointment of a Standing Committee of Inquiry for the purpose.

On several occasions the relations between the judges and the Crown were the subject of discussion in Parliament, apropos of the National Economy Act, 1931, and the manner in which the reduction in judicial salaries was then carried out. On July 27, 1933, a memorandum presented by the judges to the Government as far back as December, 1931, stating their collective attitude as to their position in the Constitution of the country was read for the first time by the Lord Chancellor in the Lords. On November 23, in answer to a motion in that House, Lord Sankey reviewed the history of the judges' salaries before the Act of Settlement and after, and asserted that any allegation that the Government action involved a breach of the Constitution was "absurd." At the same time, he hinted at the willingness of the Government to introduce a declaratory Act, should any doubt arise as to judicial independence or prestige. Later action in both Houses elicited in December the information that, owing to the very great difficulties in draftsmanship, the Government were not inclined to attempt a declaratory Bill, though the project could not be said to be definitely abandoned.

A matter which greatly exercised the mind of the general public, and was responsible for more than one item of attempted legislation in the Upper House, was how best to put an end to the toll of road accidents, and the working of the legislation of 1930 touching third party risks was the subject of frequent criticism in legal as well as lay quarters.

The anomalies of the law as to betting and lotteries were dealt with in the two reports of the Rowlatt Commission, who refrained from any

sweeping recommendations for logical regulation of betting as a whole, but expressed themselves as hostile to the "organised exploitation of the gambling propensity, often for private gain." Where on-the-course betting was concerned, they favoured arrangements under which the generality of courses, other than horse-race courses, would be able to obtain from the Local Authority a licence for bi-weekly meetings. As likely to minimise the open flouting of the law and the possible corruption of the police involved in street betting, they advocated facilities for cash betting by post. Other of their recommendations were the registration of bookmakers and the restriction of their advertisements. No legislative action was taken during the year, and the inconsistencies in practice continued to be the subject of frequent comment.

Another report on a less controversial subject was that on Appeals from Courts of Summary Jurisdiction. Legislation on the lines of this report was passed within the year. It disposed of the principal obstacles which in the past had often prevented persons of small means from questioning the decisions of the justices, and improved generally arrangements for such appeals. Regulations for legal assistance approximating to those under the Poor Prisoners' Defence Act were, under the Summary Jurisdiction (Appeals) Act, applied to appeals to Quarter Sessions, and the condition as to payment of costs was eliminated from appellants' recognisances. The powers of Quarter Sessions with regard to appeals were in the case of counties delegated to committees consisting of justices specially qualified for the task, a court to consist of not less than three members nor more than twelve : in Borough Quarter Sessions, Recorders were empowered to hear appeals sitting alone.

A committee appointed to investigate the enforcement of fines imposed by courts of summary jurisdiction and of wife maintenance and affiliation orders made by them, with the object of reducing, if possible, the number of imprisonments, had not reported at the close of the year.

Courts of summary jurisdiction were intimately affected also by the Children and Young Persons Act, which codifying Act fused into one with previous legislation for the better protection of juveniles, the 1932 Act with a similar title, which had remained practically inoperative pending its passage. The new legislation raised the age of criminal responsibility to 8, instead of 7, and the limit of jurisdiction of juvenile courts, for which special panels have in every case to be appointed, to 17. A second codifying Act of extraordinary bulk was the local Government Act, which brought into one a great number of Acts stretching over nearly 100 years.

Turning to important items of fresh legislation, these were so diverse as to prove difficult of classification. In the first place, Transport bulked largely. The London Passenger Transport Act, the fruit of many years' labour, placed under a single body all the traffic in or near London, and the Road and Rail Traffic Act regulated goods traffic on the road and co-ordinated road and rail transport. A very important feature of the later Act was the creation of a permanent Advisory Council to "give advice and assistance to the Minister of Transport. Another humbler item of legislation of considerable public interest was the Rent and Mortgage Interest

Restrictions (Amendment) Act, which substantially hastened decontrol of houses.

A long-standing difficulty of the commercial community in particular was sought to be remedied by the Foreign Judgments (Reciprocal Enforcement) Act which substituted for the existing procedure of suing on judgments obtained abroad a scheme of registration, which process confers on the judgment the same validity as if originally given in this country. The operation of the Act, as the title shows, is confined to judgments given in countries which give reciprocal treatment to British judgments. Of international as well as national importance, also, is the British Nationality and Status of Aliens Act, which did something to remedy another grievance by doing away in this country with the stateless married woman. The Slaughter of Animals, the Protection of Birds and the Blind Voters Acts were items of humane legislation, while the Agricultural Marketing Act sought still further to assist agriculture by extending the process begun in the Act of 1931.

Acts of more specifically legal interest included, in addition to the Administration of Justice and the Summary Jurisdiction (Appeals) Acts already referred to, the Service of Process Act, which provided for the service of summonses by registered post, and the Solicitors Act, which enjoined on solicitors the keeping of separate accounts for clients' money.

The decided cases included a number of general, apart from professional, interest. In the Gold Bond Case, as it has come to be called, the House of Lords, reversing the two courts below, held that, according to the true construction of a bond providing that principal and interest, when due, were repayable "in sterling in gold coin of the United Kingdom of or equal to the standard of fineness" existing at a certain date, the holder was entitled to receive, not banknotes to the value, but such a sum in sterling as represented the gold value of each respective payment ascertained in accordance with the standard stipulated. A second case of everyday importance in a very different category was *Newton v. Hardy*, an action for enticement, where it was made clear that if a woman can prove that her husband has been enticed to leave the marital *consortium* she is entitled in a King's Bench action to recover damages against the seductress. In the domain of landlord and tenant there was a decision of importance to flat dwellers in *Cruse v. Mount*, where it was held that there is no implied warranty on the part of the landlord of an unfurnished flat that it is fit for habitation, while *Killer v. United Dairies Ltd.* (Court of Appeal) established definitely that it was not possible for a limited company to be a statutory tenant enjoying the benefit of the Rent Restriction Acts. This is a logical extension of the principle laid down in all the more recent cases, including *Skinner v. Geary*, that the Acts were designed for the protection of individuals, and that tenancies to be protected must be domestic. A third Landlord and Tenant case deserving mention, though the point is a narrower one, was *Simpson v. Charrington* (Court of Appeal), where the point at issue was the position of licensed premises, as regards compensation, under the Landlord and Tenant Act, 1927.

As already stated, several decisions brought prominently to the notice

of all that insurers against third party risks under the Road Traffic Act of 1930 might escape any liability to the victim of an accident should the insured have committed a breach of even a relatively insignificant condition of the policy. Another instance of divergence between the popular conception regarding the effect of a statute and its strictly legal interpretation was exemplified in two Court of Appeal cases—*Ward v. Dorman Long & Co.* (Workmen's Compensation), and *Coventry Corporation v. Surrey County Council* (Poor Law: Settlement). As a result of these two appeals, pending possible further legislation, a man adopting a child under the Adoption of Children Act, 1926, is not, for all purposes and in relation to third parties, to be regarded as the "father."

In two House of Lords Workmen's Compensation cases—*Treloar v. Falmouth Docks* and *James v. Partridge*—in both of which the workman suffered from heart disease, the principles governing the difficult question of the eligibility for compensation of workmen dying from disease were reviewed, and decisions given which tipped the scale still further in favour of the employee in such circumstances. *Gilford Motor Company v. Home* (Court of Appeal) stated clearly the law on an important matter when it affirmed that the test to-day of the validity of an agreement in restraint of trade was whether it was reasonably necessary for the protection of the person with whom it was made. The same court, in *Performing Rights Society v. Hammond's Brewery*, was concerned with a fresh application of the law of copyright, namely, in relation to loud speakers. *Sun Life Assurance Co. of Canada v. Smith* made newsagents liable in damages for exposing on their bookstalls posters containing libels. *Re Caus* is interesting in that it decided a gift for the saying of masses for the dead, in addition to being valid, was a "charitable gift." Of more exclusively professional significance were *Re Penrose*, which set at rest any doubt that a donee of a power of appointment who is a member of the class of possible appointees can appoint to himself, and *Russ v. Brown*, where it was held that "lease" for "underlease" was such a fatal misdescription as to make the contract unenforceable against the purchaser.

In the department of Criminal Law the trial of the fire-raising gang at the Central Criminal Court in July disclosed a state of affairs happily rarely encountered, but from the legal point of view greater significance attaches to the question of competence of jurors. In *Rex v. Thomas*, the Court of Criminal Appeal took the view that an affidavit by a Welsh juror after the trial that he did not understand English sufficiently well to follow the proceedings was inadmissible, the court expressing the opinion that it needed little reflection to see how wide a door would be opened if the contrary doctrine were to prevail. Less than a month later the Privy Council took another view of the matter in *Ras Behari Lai v. the King Emperor*, setting aside convictions on the ground that one of the jurors had been shown to have insufficient knowledge of English to follow a substantial part of the trial, Lord Atkin, when delivering the considered judgment of the Council, making the comment: "Finality is a good thing, but justice is a better."

No review of the legal events of the year would be complete without

some reference to the blanks left by death and retirement. On April 26 Mr. Justice McCardie died in tragic circumstances [see under Obituaries], and Mr. Cyril Atkinson, K.C., was promoted to the Bench to fill the vacancy. The resignation of Lord Merrivale from the position of President of the Probate, Divorce, and Admiralty Division led to the appointment as President of Sir Frank Boyd Merriman, K.C., whose post as Solicitor-General went to Mr. D. B. Somervell, K.C. Among the Lords Justices, Lord Justice Lawrence retired at the Christmas Vacation. A very familiar figure in another sphere was lost to the courts by the retirement at the same time of Mr. Frederick Mead, who had been a Metropolitan Magistrate since 1889. Sir Henry Dickens, lately Common Serjeant, died a few days before Christmas, and Judge Bradley and Judge Chapman of the County Court Bench and Mr. Cairns of the Metropolitan Bench died during the year.

PUBLIC DOCUMENTS.

I*

STATUTE OF THE LITTLE ENTENTE.

(FEBRUARY 16, 1933.)

H.M. the King of Yugoslavia, H.M. the King of Rumania, H.E. the President of the Czechoslovak Republic being desirous of maintaining and organising peace, and firmly intent on strengthening economic relations with all countries without distinction and in particular with the States of Central Europe ; being anxious to see peace safeguarded in all circumstances, to assure the progress of Central Europe towards a condition of definite stability, and to secure proper regard for the common interests of their three countries : having resolved for this purpose to give to the relations of friendship and alliance already existing between their three States an organic and stable basis, and being convinced of the necessity of effecting this stability on the one hand by the complete unification of their general policy and on the other hand by creating a body which shall direct this policy common to the group of the three States, which will thus form a higher international unit open to other States under the conditions applicable to each particular case, have resolved to put into effect that which is contained in the following articles :—

Article 1.—A Permanent Council of the States of the Little Entente formed of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the respective countries and of delegates specially appointed for this purpose is hereby created as directing body of the common policy of the group of the three States. Decisions of the Permanent Council must be unanimous.

Article 2.—The Permanent Council, in addition to its regular intercourse through diplomatic channels, shall be under obligation to meet at least three times a year. One of the annual obligatory meetings shall take place in each of the three States in turn ; the other will be held at Geneva following the Assembly of the League of Nations.

Article 3.—The President of the Permanent Council shall be the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the State where the annual obligatory meeting is held. It will devolve upon him to take the first steps for fixing the date and designating the place of meeting, for drawing up an

agenda and preparing resolutions. He **will** remain President of the Permanent Council until the first obligatory meeting of the next year.

Article 4.—In all questions discussed as also in all decisions taken, whether concerning the relations of the States of the Little Entente to one another or their relations to others, the principle of absolute equality between the three States of the Little Entente must be rigorously respected.

Article 5.—The Permanent Council shall be at liberty to decide that in any given question the defence of the point of view of the States of the Little Entente shall be entrusted to a single delegate or to the delegation of a single State.

Article 6.—Every political treaty of each State of the Little Entente, every unilateral act changing the actual political situation of one of the States of the Little Entente in regard to an outside State, as also every economic agreement involving important political consequences, will require in advance the unanimous consent of the Council of the Little Entente. The existing political treaties of each State of the Little Entente with outside States shall be made progressively and as far as possible uniform.

Article 7.—An Economic Council of the States of the Little Entente for the progressive co-ordination of the economic interests of the three States, whether as regards one another or in their relations with outside States, shall be constituted.

Article 8.—The Permanent Council is empowered to appoint other stable temporary bodies, commissions or committees, whether for special questions or for groups of given questions with a view of studying them and providing the Permanent Council with material for their solution.

Article 9.—A secretariat of the Permanent Council shall be appointed. Its seat shall be in turn for one year in the capital of the acting President of the Permanent Council. One section of the secretariat shall be permanently located at the seat of the League of Nations at Geneva.

Article 10.—The common policy of the Permanent Council should be inspired by the general principles contained in all the great political pacts concluded since the war, as, for instance, the Covenant of the League of Nations, the Pact of Paris, the general Pact of Arbitration, disarmament pacts that may eventually be concluded, and the Pacts of Locarno. For the rest, nothing in the present Pact shall be held to be contrary to the principles and regulations of the Covenant of the League of Nations.

Article 11.—The treaties of alliance between Rumania and Czechoslovakia dated April 23, 1921, between Rumania and Yugoslavia of June 7, 1921, and between Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia of August 31, 1922, which were extended on May 21, 1929, and which are supplemented by the terms of the present Pact, as also the Act of Conciliation, Arbitration, and Judicial Regulation signed by the three States of the Little Entente at Belgrade on May 21, 1929, are renewed for an indefinite period.

Article 12.—The present Pact will be ratified and the exchange of ratifications shall take place at Prague at the latest on the occasion of the next obligatory meeting. It will come into force on the day of the exchange of ratifications.

In token of which the plenipotentiaries hereinunder named have signed the present Pact.

Done at Geneva February 16, 1933, in three identical copies.

JEVTITCH,
TITULESCO,
BENES.

II.

THE FOUR-POWER PACT.

(JUNE 7, 1933.)

AGREEMENT OF UNDERSTANDING AND CO-OPERATION.

Preamble.

The President of the German Reich, the President of the French Republic, his Majesty the King of Great Britain, Ireland, and the British Dominions beyond the Seas, Emperor of India, and his Majesty the King of Italy;

Conscious of the special responsibilities incumbent on them as possessing permanent representation on the Council of the League of Nations, where the League itself and its members are concerned, and of the responsibilities resulting from the common signature of the Locarno agreements :

Convinced that the state of disquiet which obtains throughout the world can only be dissipated by reinforcing their solidarity in such a way as to strengthen confidence in peace in Europe ;

Faithful to the obligations which they have assumed in virtue of the Covenant of the League of Nations, the Locarno Treaties, and the Briand-Kellogg Pact, and taking into account the declaration of the renunciation of force, the principle of which was proclaimed in the declaration signed at Geneva on December 11, 1932, by their delegates at the Disarmament Conference and adopted on March 2, 1933, by the Political Commission of that Conference;

Anxious to give full effect to all the provisions of the Covenant of the League of Nations, while conforming to the methods and procedure laid down therein, from which they have no intention of departing ;

Mindful of the rights of every State, which cannot be affected without the consent of the interested party;

Have resolved to conclude an agreement with these objects, and have appointed as their plenipotentiaries :—

Who, having exchanged their full powers, found in good and due form, have agreed as follows :—

Article 1.—The High Contracting Parties will consult together as regards all questions which appertain to them. They undertake to make every effort to pursue, within the framework of the League of Nations, a policy of effective co-operation between all Powers with a view to the maintenance of peace.

Article 2.—In respect of the Covenant of the League of Nations, and particularly Articles 10, 16, and 19, the High Contracting Parties decide to examine between themselves, and without prejudice to decisions which can only be taken by the regular organs of the League of Nations, all proposals relating to methods and procedure calculated to give due effect to these articles.

Article 3.—The High Contracting Parties undertake to make every effort to ensure the success of the Disarmament Conference, and, should questions which particularly concern them remain in suspense on the conclusion of that Conference, they reserve the right to re-examine these questions between themselves under the present agreement with a view to ensuring their solution through the appropriate channels.

Article 4.—The High Contracting Parties affirm their desire to consult together as regards all economic questions which have a common interest for Europe, and particularly for its economic restoration, with a view to seeking a settlement within the framework of the League of Nations.

Article 5.—The present agreement is concluded for a period of 10 years from the date of its entry into force.

If before the end of the eighth year none of the High Contracting Parties shall have notified to the others its intention to terminate the agreement, it shall be regarded as renewed and will remain in force indefinitely, each of the High Contracting Parties possessing in that event the right to terminate it by a declaration to that effect on giving two years' notice.

Article 6.—The present agreement, drawn up in English, French, German, and Italian, of which the French text prevails in case of divergence, shall be ratified and the ratifications shall be deposited at Borne as soon as possible. The Government of the Kingdom of Italy will deliver to each of the High Contracting Parties a certified copy of the *procès-verbaux* of deposit.

The present agreement will enter into force as soon as all the ratifications have been deposited.

It shall be registered at the League of Nations in conformity with the Covenant of the League.

Done at Rome, the ——— in a single copy, which will remain deposited in the archives of the Government of the Kingdom of Italy; certified copies will be delivered to each of the High Contracting Parties. In faith whereof the above-mentioned plenipotentiaries have signed the present agreement.

III.

THE SOVIET PACT.

(JULY 3, 1933.)

Being desirous of reinforcing the existing peace between their countries, and considering that the Briand-Kellogg Pact, to which they are signatories,

prohibits any aggression of any kind, and thinking it necessary, in the interests of general security, to define aggression in as precise a manner as possible, in order to preclude any pretext for justifying it.

And recognising that all States have an equal right to independence, security, the defence of their territories, and the free development of their institutions. And being animated by a desire, in the interests of general peace, to assure to all peoples the inviolability of the territory of their country. And considering it useful in the interests of general peace, to put into force between their countries precise regulations for the definition of aggression pending their universal adoption. Have decided, with the aforementioned objects, to conclude the present Convention.

The following are the articles of the Convention :—

Article 1.—Each of the High Contracting Parties undertakes to accept, in its mutual relations with each of the others, and from the day of the entry into force of the present Convention, the definition of aggression as it has been set forth in the Report of the Committee on questions of Security, dated May 24, 1933 (the Politis Report), at the Conference for the Reduction and Limitation of Armaments—a report made in consequence of a proposal by the Soviet Delegation.

Article 2.—In consequence of the foregoing there shall be recognised as the aggressor in an international conflict, subject to the agreements in force between the conflicting Parties, the State which shall be the first to have committed one of the following actions :—

1. Declaration of war on another State.
2. Invasion by armed forces of the territory of another State, even without declaration of war.
3. An attack by its land, sea, or air forces, even without declaration of war upon the territory, vessels or flying machines of another State.
4. A naval blockade of the coasts or ports of another State.
5. Support accorded to armed bands, which, organised on its territory, shall have invaded the territory of another State or refused, in spite of the demand of the invaded State, to take on its own territory all the steps in its power to deprive the bandits aforesaid of all aid or protection.

Article 3.—No consideration of a political, military, economic or any other character shall serve as an excuse, or a justification for aggression as provided under Article 2.

Article 4.—The instruments of ratification are to be deposited by each of the High Contracting Parties with the Government of the U.S.S.R.

ANNEX.

The High Contracting Parties' signatories of the Convention relating to the definition of aggression, desire—making express reserves against any restriction of the absolute nature of the rule laid down in Article 2

of the said Convention—to furnish indications for the determination of the aggressor, and hold that no act of aggression in the sense of the above Article can be justified by any of the following circumstances, among others :—

A. The internal situation of a State—e.g., its political structure, economic or social; the alleged defects of its Administration; disturbances arising out of strikes, revolutions, counter-revolutions, or civil war.

B. The international conduct of a State—e.g., the violation or the danger of violation of the moral or material rights or interests of a foreign State or its nationals ; the rupture of diplomatic or economic relations ; measures of economic or financial boycott; differences relating to economic, financial, or other engagements towards foreign countries ; frontier incidents which do not come under the head of the cases of aggression indicated in Article 1.

The High Contracting Parties, on the other hand, agree in recognising that the present Convention shall never serve to legalise violations of international law that may be involved in the circumstances included in the above enumeration.

(Signed on July 3, 1933, by Afghanistan, Estonia, Latvia, Persia, Poland, Rumania, Turkey, and the U.S.S.R. On July 5, 1933, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia likewise signed the pact.)

IV.

MONETARY AND ECONOMIC CONFERENCE.

DECLARATION BY DELEGATIONS OF THE BRITISH COMMONWEALTH.¹

(ISSUED ON JULY 27, 1933.)

1. Now that the World Economic and Monetary Conference has adjourned, the undersigned Delegations of the British Commonwealth consider it appropriate to put on record their views on some of the more important matters of financial and monetary policy which were raised but not decided at the Conference. During the course of the Conference, they have had the opportunity of consulting together and reviewing, in the light of present-day conditions, the conclusions arrived at at their meeting at Ottawa a year ago, in so far as they had reference to the issues before the Conference.

ECONOMIC POLICY.

2. The undersigned Delegations are satisfied that the Ottawa Agreements have already had beneficial effects on many branches of inter-Imperial trade and that this process is likely to continue as the purchasing

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power of the various countries concerned increases. While there has not yet been sufficient time to give full effect to the various agreements made, they are convinced that the general principles agreed upon are sound. The undersigned Delegations reaffirm their conviction that the lowering or removal of barriers between the countries of the Empire provided for in the Ottawa Agreements will not only facilitate the flow of goods between them, but will stimulate and increase the trade of the world.

3. The Delegations now desire to draw attention to the principles of monetary and financial policy which have emerged from the work of both the Ottawa and World Conferences, and which are of the utmost importance for the countries within the British Commonwealth. The following paragraphs embody their views as to the principles of policy which they consider desirable for their countries.

MONETARY AND FINANCIAL.

(1) *Price Levels.*

4. At the Ottawa Conference the Governments represented declared their view that a rise throughout the world in the general level of wholesale prices was in the highest degree desirable and stated that they were anxious to co-operate with other nations in any practicable measures for raising wholesale prices. They agreed that a rise in prices could not be effected by monetary action alone, since various other factors which combined to bring about the present depression must also be modified or removed before a remedy is assured.

It was indicated that international action would be needed to remove the various non-monetary factors which were depressing the level of prices.

In the monetary sphere the primary line of action towards a rise in prices was stated to be the creation and maintenance within the limits of sound finance of such conditions as would assist in the revival of enterprise and trade, including low rates of interest and an abundance of short-term money. The inflationary creation of additional means of payment to finance public expenditure was deprecated, and an orderly monetary policy was demanded with safeguards to limit the scope of violent speculative movements of commodities and securities.

5. Since then the policy of the British Commonwealth has been directed to raising prices. The undersigned Delegations note with satisfaction that this policy has been attended with an encouraging measure of success. For some months, indeed, it had to encounter obstacles arising from the continuance of a downward trend of gold prices, and during that period the results achieved were in the main limited to raising prices in Empire currencies relatively to gold prices. In the last few months the persistent adherence of the United Kingdom to the policy of cheap and plentiful money has been increasingly effective under the more favourable conditions that have been created for the time being by the

change of policy of the United States, and by the halt in the fall of gold prices.

Taking the whole period from the 29th June, 1932, just before the assembly of the Ottawa Conference, a rise in sterling wholesale prices has taken place of 12 per cent, according to the *Economist* index. The rise in the sterling prices of primary products during the same period has been much more substantial, being in the neighbourhood of 20 per cent.

6. The undersigned Delegations are of opinion that the views they expressed at Ottawa as to the necessity of a rise in the price level still hold good and that it is of the greatest importance that this rise which has begun should continue. As to the ultimate level to be aimed at they do not consider it practicable to state this in precise terms. Any price level would be satisfactory which restores the normal activity of industry and employment, which ensures an economic return to the producer of primary commodities, and which harmonises the burden of debts and fixed charges with economic capacity. It is important that the rise in prices should not be carried to such a pitch as to produce an inflated scale of profits and threaten a disturbance of equilibrium in the opposite direction. They therefore consider that the Governments of the British Commonwealth should persist by all means in their power, whether monetary or economic, within the limits of sound finance in the policy of furthering the rise in wholesale prices until there is evidence that equilibrium has been re-established and that thereupon they should take whatever measures are possible to stabilise the position thus attained.

7. With reference to the proposal which has been made from time to time for the expansion of Government programmes of capital outlay, the British Commonwealth Delegations consider that this is a matter which must be dealt with by each Government in the light of its own experience and of its own conditions.

(2) *International Standard.*

8. The Ottawa Conference declared that the ultimate aim of monetary policy must be the restoration of a satisfactory international monetary standard, having in mind, not merely stable exchange rates between all countries, but the deliberate management of the international standard in such a manner as to ensure the smooth and efficient working of international trade and finance. The principal conditions precedent to the re-establishment of any international monetary standard were stated, particularly a rise in the general level of commodity prices in the various countries to a height more in keeping with the level of costs, including the burden of debt and other fixed and semi-fixed charges, and the Conference expressed its sense of the importance of securing and maintaining international co-operation with a view to avoiding, so far as may be found practicable, wide fluctuations in the purchasing power of the standard of value.

9. The undersigned Delegations now reaffirm their view that the ultimate aim of monetary policy should be the restoration of a satisfactory international gold standard under which international co-operation would

be secured and maintained with a view to avoiding, so far as may be found practicable, undue fluctuations in the purchasing power of gold. The problem with which the world is faced is to reconcile the stability of exchange rates with a reasonable measure of stability, not merely in the price level of a particular country, but in world prices. Effective action in this matter must largely depend on international co-operation, and in any further sessions of the World Economic and Monetary Conference this subject must have special prominence.

10. In the meantime the undersigned Delegations recognise the importance of stability of exchange rates between the countries of the Empire in the interests of trade. This objective will be constantly kept in mind in determining their monetary policy and its achievement will be aided by the pursuit of a common policy of raising price levels. Inter-Imperial stability of exchange rates is facilitated by the fact that the United Kingdom Government has no commitments to other countries as regards the future management of sterling and retains complete freedom of action in this respect. The adherence of other countries to a policy on similar lines would make possible the attainment and maintenance of exchange stability over a still wider area.

11. Among the factors working for the economic recovery of the countries of the Commonwealth, special importance attaches to the decline in the rate of interest on long term loans. The undersigned Delegations note with satisfaction the progress which has been made in that direction as well as in the resumption of overseas lending by the London market. They agree that further advances on these lines will be beneficial as and when they can be made.

12. The undersigned Delegations have agreed that they will recommend their Governments to consult with one another from time to time on monetary and economic policy with a view to establishing their common purpose and to the framing of such measures as may conduce towards its achievement.

Signed on behalf of the respective Delegations.

NEVILLE CHAMBERLAIN,
United Kingdom of Great Britain and
Northern Ireland.

R. B. BENNETT,
Canada.

S. M. BRUCE,
Commonwealth of Australia.

GEO. W. FORBES,
New Zealand.

J. C. SMUTS,
Union of South Africa.

H. STRAKOSCH,
India.

V.

FINAL ACT OF THE WHEAT CONFERENCE.¹

(LONDON, AUGUST 25, 1933.)

The Governments of Germany, Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, France, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Greece, Hungary, Irish Free State, Italy, Poland, Rumania, Spain, Sweden, Czechoslovakia, Switzerland, the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, and Yugoslavia, having accepted the invitation extended to them by the Secretary-General of the Monetary and Economic Conference on behalf of the Governments of Argentina, Australia, Canada, and the United States of America to take part in a conference to consider the measures which might be taken in concert to adjust the supply of wheat to effective world demand and eliminate the abnormal surpluses which have been depressing the wheat market and to bring about a rise and stabilisation of prices at a level remunerative to the farmers and fair to the consumers of bread-stuffs, have agreed as follows :—

Article 1.—The Governments of Argentina, Australia, Canada, and the United States of America agree that the exports of wheat from their several countries during the crop year the 1st August, 1933, to the 31st July, 1934, shall be adjusted, taking into consideration the exports of other countries, by the acceptance of export maxima on the assumption that world import demand for wheat will amount during this period to 560 million bushels.

Article 2.—They further agree to limit their exports of wheat during the crop year the 1st August, 1934, to the 31st July, 1935, to maximum figures 15 per cent. less in the case of each country than the average outturn on the average acreage sown during the period 1931-33 inclusive after deducting normal domestic requirements. The difference between the effective world demand for wheat in the crop year 1934-35 and the quantity of new wheat from the 1934 crop available for export will be shared between Canada and the United States of America as a supplementary export allocation with a view to the proportionate reduction of their respective carry-overs.

Article 3.—The Governments of Bulgaria, Hungary, Rumania, and Yugoslavia agree that their combined exports of wheat during the crop year the 1st August, 1933, to the 31st July, 1934, will not exceed 50 million bushels. This undertaking is made on the understanding that the aggregate may be increased to a maximum of 54 million bushels if the Danubian countries find that such a supplementary quota is required for the movement of the exportable surplus of the 1933 crop.

Article 4.—They further agree that their combined exports of wheat during the crop year 1934-35 will not exceed a total of 50 million bushels

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and recognise that the acceptance of this export allocation will not allow of any extension of the acreage sown to wheat.

Article 5.—The Government of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, while unable to give any undertaking in regard to production of wheat, agree to limit their exports for the crop year 1933-34 to a figure which will be arrived at upon the completion of negotiations with the Governments of the overseas wheat-exporting countries. They also agree that the question of their export of wheat during the crop year of 1934-35 shall be the subject of further negotiations with the wheat-exporting countries represented on the Advisory Committee.

Article 6.—The Governments of the wheat-importing countries, in signing this instrument—

- (i) Agree henceforth not to encourage any extension of the area sown to wheat and not to take any governmental measures the effect of which would be to increase the domestic production of wheat.
- (ii) Agree to adopt every possible measure to increase the consumption of wheat and are prepared to bring about the progressive removal of measures which tend to lower the quality of bread-stuffs and thereby decrease the human consumption of wheat.
- (iii) Agree that a substantial improvement in the price of wheat should have as its consequence a lowering of customs tariffs, and are prepared to begin such adjustment of customs tariffs when the international price of wheat reaches and maintains for a specified period an average price to be fixed. It is understood that the rate of duty necessary to assure remunerative prices may vary for different countries, but will not be sufficiently high to encourage their farmers to expand wheat acreage.

Appendix A contains the agreed definitions relating to the technical points mentioned in this paragraph.

- (iv) Agree that, in order to restore more normal conditions in world trade in wheat, the reduction of customs tariffs would have to be accompanied by modification of the general regime of quantitative restriction of wheat imports and accept in principle the desirability of such a modification. The exporting countries, for their part, agree that it may not be possible to make substantial progress in these modifications in 1933-34, but the importing countries are prepared to make effective alterations in 1934-35 if world prices have taken a definitely upward turn from the average price of the first six months of the calendar year 1933. The objective of these relaxations of the various forms of quantitative restrictions will be to restore a more normal balance between total consumption and imports, and thereby to increase the volume of international trade in wheat. It is understood that this undertaking is consistent with maintaining the home market for domestic

wheat grown on an area no greater than at present. It is obvious that fluctuations in the quantity and quality of the wheat harvest resulting from weather conditions may bring about wide variations in the ratio of imports to total consumption from season to season.

The obligations of the importing countries under this agreement are to be interpreted in the light of the following declaration :—

It is recognised that measures affecting the area of wheat grown and the degree of protection adopted are primarily dependent upon domestic conditions within each country, and that any change in these measures must often require the sanction of the Legislature.

The intention of this agreement is, nevertheless, that the importing countries will not take advantage of a voluntary reduction of exports on the part of the exporting countries by developing their domestic policies in such a way as to frustrate the efforts which the exporting countries are making, in the common interest, to restore the price of wheat to a remunerative level.

Article 7.—The countries participating in the conference agree to set up a Wheat Advisory Committee to watch over the working and application of this agreement. The functions, organisation, and financial basis of this committee are set out in Appendix B.

Done at London, the twenty-fifth day of August, one thousand nine hundred and thirty-three, in a single copy, which shall be deposited in the archives of the Secretariat of the League of Nations, and of which authenticated copies shall be delivered to all members of the League of Nations and non-members States represented at the Conference of Wheat Exporting and Importing Countries.

APPENDIX A.

1. " International price of wheat," as mentioned in article 6, paragraph (iii), of the draft agreement, shall be understood to mean a duty-free gold price c.i.f. on a world market.

This price shall be calculated according to the method followed by the Food Research Institute of Stanford University, California (explained in vol. 4, No. 8, of *Wheat Studies*). It is the average price of all parcels of imported wheat of all grades sold during each week in all the ports of Great Britain.

2. The Secretariat of the Wheat Advisory Committee set up by the conference shall undertake the regular communication of indices of prices calculated as above to all Governments adhering to the agreement.

3. The minimum average gold price calculated as indicated above to be maintained for a period of sixteen weeks before it will be necessary for importing countries to adjust their tariffs shall be 12 gold francs per quintal (63'02 gold cents per bushel).

4. The period referred to in article 6, paragraph (iii), of the agreement, during which the average quotation for wheat is to be maintained before

it will be necessary for importing countries to adjust their tariffs, shall be sixteen weeks.

5. Each country will decide upon its tariff adjustment in accordance with the principles enunciated in article 6, paragraph (iii), of the draft agreement, and every considerable and lasting change in wheat prices shall be followed by an adjustment of tariffs proportionate to such change.

APPENDIX B.

Report of the Sub-Committee on the Constitution of a Wheat Advisory Committee.

A sub-committee, composed of representatives of Australia, Belgium, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Italy, Switzerland, the United Kingdom, and the United States, met on the 22nd August to consider whether any, and, if so, what organisation should be set up in connexion with the prospective Wheat Agreements. Mr. McDougall (Australia) was elected chairman.

The present report contains a summary of the views exchanged in the sub-committee and the recommendations submitted by it to the conference regarding the functions, composition, and financial basis of the suggested Wheat Advisory Committee.

It is clear that the proposed body can only be temporary in character, as the agreements under which it may be set up are intended to deal with the immediate difficulties of the situation. No question arises of establishing any permanent committee entrusted with the task of supervising the production of and trade in wheat; it is simply proposed to set up a committee to watch over the working and application of the agreements which may be arrived at. The committee would be primarily advisory in character and would provide an opportunity for the representatives of Governments, fortified by the best available information, to review the way in which the several agreements were functioning. It would only take decisions in cases defined in the agreements.

The committee's duties should be confined to the tasks outlined above, and should not extend to matters connected with the compilation of statistics, except as provided in Appendix A.

With the object of avoiding any overlapping the Advisory Committee should work in close co-operation with the Economic Organisation of the League and the International Institute of Agriculture.

As the work of the proposed committee would be concerned with business rather than policy it should be small. It was recognised that the chief exporting countries—viz., Argentina, Australia, Canada, and the United States—should be separately represented, and that the Danubian countries should be entitled to a representative, as would the U.S.S.R. It was regarded as essential that importing countries should be represented as well as exporting countries.

It was at first suggested that the importing countries might be represented by two or three members, to be named by the Economic Committee of the League of Nations. But it appeared from the discussion in the sub-committee that it would be preferable that the committee should contain an equal number of representatives of importing and exporting countries. Subject to this it was agreed that the committee should be given power to enlarge its membership if circumstances appeared to render such a course desirable.

Importing States to be represented might be selected according to one of two methods : either the importing countries participating in the conference might make their selection while the conference is still sitting, or the choice might be left to the Economic Committee of the League. It was felt that a decision on this matter should be left to the importing countries.

In any case, the members of the committee should be appointed as representatives of States, and not in their personal capacity.

The Advisory Committee would be authorised, if it considered that circumstances rendered such action necessary, to convene a general meeting of the States parties to the agreements.

Various suggestions were made regarding the chairmanship of the Advisory Committee. Some members thought that the League of Nations might be requested to ask some person of recognised standing and undoubted impartiality to accept the post of chairman. Others thought that, in view of the exceptional importance to the exporting countries of the wheat question, it might perhaps be desirable that the chairman should be chosen from among their representatives. It was finally agreed that the appointment of chairman should be left to the Advisory Committee itself, which might be empowered to elect a chairman from among its members or, if it appeared practicable and desirable, to select some other person of recognised standing.

The sub-committee was anxious to keep expenditure on the lowest possible basis. The staff employed should be small in number and might consist of a highly competent secretary with a technical assistant and a shorthand typist.

The cost of representation at meetings should be borne by the several Governments represented on the committee. The committee itself would only be responsible for cost of the staff, office expenses, and the travelling expenses of the staff in so far as that might prove necessary. It was considered that the annual appropriation for the committee need not exceed a total of 60,000 gold francs. The suggested basis of contribution was that each country accepting the wheat agreements should contribute 4 gold francs per 100,000 quintals of the average quantity of wheat produced during a given period, and that the wheat-exporting countries should contribute a further 8 gold francs per 100,000 quintals of wheat exported in an average year of the given base period. .

The suggested basis of contributions towards the maintenance of the Advisory Committee are set out in the annex to this report.

The seat of the office of the Advisory Committee would be at London, but the committee would be authorised to meet elsewhere if circumstances rendered it necessary.

ANNEX.

Basis of Contributions to Advisory Committee.

Country.	Production 100,000 Quintals. Average 1928-29.	Levy of 4 Gold Francs per 100,000 Quintals.	Net Exports, 100,000 Quintals.	Levy of 8 Gold Francs per 100,000 Quintals. Average 1928-29, 1931-32.	Gold Francs, Total Contribution.
Canada	1,098	4,392	716	5,728	10,120
United States of America -	2,379	9,516	350	2,700	12,316
Argentina -	655	2,620	432	3,456	6,076
Australia	469	1,876	321	2,568	4,444
Rumania	327	1,308	38	304	1,612
Hungary	225	900	61	488	1,388
Yugoslavia -	257	1,028	35	280	1,308
Bulgaria	138	552	12	96	648
Poland	197	788	5	40	828
U.S.S.R. =	2,025	8,100	127	1,016	9,116
Lithuania -	24	96	—	—	(96)
France	902	3,608	—	—	3,608
Italy	752	3,008	—	—	3,008
Spain =	501	2,004	—	—	2,004
Germany	500	2,000	—	—	2,000
Czechoslovakia	146	584	—	—	584
Great Britain	121	484	—	—	484
Greece	46	184	—	—	(184)
Portugal	49	196	—	—	(196)
Sweden	74	296	—	—	296
Austria	35	140	—	—	(140)
Belgium	43	172	—	—	(172)
Denmark	30	120	—	—	(120)
Baltic States	15	60	—	—	(60)
Netherlands	17	68	—	—	(68)
Switzerland	11	44	—	—	(44)
					60,920 ¹

¹ The importing countries have agreed that the minimum contribution shall be 200 gold francs.

OBITUARY

OF

EMINENT PERSONS DECEASED IN 1933.

JANUARY.

3. Dr. Wilhelm Cuno, head of the Hamburg-Amerika Line, and German Chancellor during the French occupation of the Ruhr, was born in Thuringia in 1876. In 1900 he entered the Civil Service, serving with distinction in the Imperial Treasury from 1907 to 1916; and in the latter year, during the British blockade, he was appointed Food Controller. He reorganised the distribution of supplies, and when this work was completed he accepted an invitation to become a director of the Hamburg-Amerika Line (1917). Upon the death of Herr Ballin, the Chairman, he succeeded him as Chairman and general manager. After the defeat of Germany, Cuno at once endeavoured to make the best terms possible with foreign shipping interests, and through the Harriman agreement he secured a future for his line by associating it with American shipping. Cuno, who was a member of the German People's Party, was called upon by President Ebert to form a Ministry in November, 1922. He accepted, and formed a Coalition of the People's Party and the Catholic Centre. At this time negotiations regarding reparations were reaching a deadlock, and in January, 1923, the French occupied the Ruhr. Cuno now found himself the leader of a united country, and pledged to passive resistance. But, with Germany threatened by economic disaster and political disintegration, he gradually lost the support of his followers, and in order to avoid defeat he resigned in July, 1923. He returned to Hamburg, taking no further part in politics, and became head of the Hamburg-Amerika Line in 1926. In 1929 he helped to found the Anglo-German Association; and in November, 1932, he was Chairman of the World Shipping Conference.

— The Rev. George Herbert Box, Emeritus Professor of Hebrew at King's College, London, and a well-known Old Testament scholar, was born in 1869 at Gravesend, and educated at the Merchant Taylors' School and St. John's College, Oxford. After a distinguished university career he was ordained in 1896, but preferring teaching to parochial work, he went to his old school as Hebrew Master, remaining there till 1904. From 1918 till 1926 he was Professor of Hebrew and Old Testament Exegesis at King's College, London, and Davidson Professor of Old Testament Studies in the University of London from 1926 to 1930. He was honorary canon of St. Albans, and an honorary D.D. of St. Andrews. He published many works dealing with Biblical questions including "The Religion and Worship of the Synagogue" and a work on the "Ezra-Apocalypse" in 1912. In 1913 he contributed studies to the late Archdeacon Charles's "Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha"; three years later came the "Virgin Birth of Jesus." "The Apocalypse of Abraham" followed in 1918, and, in collaboration with Dr. W. O. E. Oesterley, "A Short Survey of the Literature of Rabbinical and Medieval Judaism." Professor Box married Georgina, daughter of Mr. M. S. Horton, and had two sons.

5. **Calvin Coolidge**, thirtieth President of the United States (1923-28), was born at Plymouth, Vermont, on July 4, 1872. A lawyer by profession, he soon entered politics, and in 1908 was elected Republican member for Northampton in the Massachusetts State Legislature. After having been Mayor of Northampton for two years, he became President of the Massachusetts State Senate (1914). In due course he attained to the Governorship of Massachusetts, but only by a small majority. His strong action in restoring order during a strike of the Boston police force brought him into public notice, and he was re-elected Governor in 1920 with a good majority. He was put forward as a candidate for the Presidency by the Massachusetts delegation to the National Republican Convention, and was nominated Vice-President at the time of President Harding's election. Upon the death of President Harding in 1923 Coolidge was raised to the Presidency. He was essentially a business man who identified himself with a policy of high tariffs, restricted immigration, and rigid national economy; and he gained the support and confidence of the country, even when he made enemies among its political leaders. In foreign affairs Mr. Coolidge stood out for the reduction of armaments, although, after the failure of negotiations with Britain and Japan in 1927, he approved the naval programme for the United States. It was during his Presidency that the nations were brought to accept the Pact of Paris. In 1928 he declined to stand for re-election ("I do not choose to run for President in 1928"), and after his retirement he led a quiet life at his home in Northampton. He wrote a great deal for the newspapers, and became a director of the New York Life Insurance Company. Mr. Coolidge married, in 1905, Grace Anne Goodhue, of Vermont, and had two sons.

— The Right Hon. John Mackinnon Robertson, Shakespearian scholar, and Radical M.P., was born in 1856 in the Isle of Arran, and very largely educated himself. In 1878 he became a leader writer for the *Edinburgh Evening News*, and, coming to London in 1884, joined Bradlaugh's *National Reformer*, which he edited from 1891 to 1893. He entered the House of Commons in 1906 as the Liberal member for the Tyneside Division of Northumberland, which he represented until 1918. He was Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Trade from 1911 till 1915. In 1916 he became Chairman of the Liberal Publication Department. Strongly opposed to the South African War, Mr. Robertson went out as correspondent to report on conditions at the Cape and in Natal. He was severely critical of British policy in Egypt and an opponent of Tariff Reform. Of his many books, those dealing with Elizabethan literature are perhaps the best known. "The Shakespearian Canon" (1922-32) exhibited his methods of criticism, and other works of his included "The Problem of Hamlet" (1919), "Hamlet Once More" (1923), "The Problem of the Sonnets" (1927), "The Genuine in Shakespeare" (1930), "The State of Shakespearian Study" (1931), "Marlowe: A Conspectus" (1931), and several works on economics and modern humanists. He married, in 1893, Maud Mosher, an American lady, and had a son and a daughter.

9. **William Shackleton**, the figure, landscape, and portrait painter, was born at Bradford on January 14, 1872, the son of a paper merchant, and was educated at the Bradford Grammar School and the Technical College, coming to the Royal College of Art, South Kensington, in 1893. A Royal Exhibition and a British Institute Scholarship in 1896 enabled him to study abroad, and it was in Italy that he found the atmosphere best suited to his temperament. He exhibited for many years at the New English Art Club, and he held one-man shows at the Goupil Galleries in 1910, and the Leicester Galleries in 1922. In 1923 his picture "The Mackerel Nets" was presented to the Tate Gallery, and he is also represented in several of the provincial galleries. His picture "The Polar Star" is at Bradford, and other works of his include "Christ at Jerusalem" (Rochdale), "The Sailor's Funeral" (Manchester), and "The Island of Dreams." Shackleton married Miss Marian Furniss.

9. **Dr. Henry Russell Wakefield**, formerly Bishop of Birmingham, was born at Mansfield on December 1, 1854. He was educated at Tonbridge School, and then went abroad to prepare for the Diplomatic Corps, the training for which gave him a perfect fluency in French and German. But, deciding to take holy orders (1875), he occupied various livings until in 1884 Lord Rosebery nominated him vicar of St. Mary's, Bryanston Square. Soon Wakefield became prominent as a social and municipal worker in London, being twice Mayor of Marylebone and a member of the Royal Commission on the Poor Law set up in 1905. In 1909 he was made Dean of Norwich, and two years later Mr. Asquith recommended him to succeed Dr. Gore as Bishop of Birmingham. He held the See until 1924 when he resigned owing to ill-health. Wakefield was no great scholar or theologian; his main distinction was in the field of social service. During the Great War, he undertook an official mission to Canada and the United States where he spoke on the moral issues of the conflict, and the part that Britain was playing. For his war services he was created C.B.E. (1920). He was well known to the public from 1913 to 1922 as President of the National Council of Public Morals. Dr. Wakefield married, in 1878, Frances Dalloway, and had three sons and one daughter.

13. **John Leigh Smeathman Hatton**, the first Principal of East London College, was born at Street Aston on May 27, 1865. Educated at Hertford College, Oxford, he became a barrister, and it was not until 1892 that he found his life's work. In that year Hatton was invited by the Court of the Drapers' Company to organise the day and evening classes of the People's Palace, Mile End Road. He soon saw that his ideal of providing a University for East London could be realised; and it was his power of organisation and determination, backed by the generosity of the Drapers' Company, that made success possible. In 1907 East London College was admitted by the University of London as a School in the Faculties of Arts, Science, and Engineering. Mr. Hatton always desired to disentangle the College from the People's Palace, and he lived just long enough to see this end accomplished. Hatton was a zealous worker for the University of London; he was elected to the Senate in 1903, was Dean of the Faculty of Science from 1922 to 1926, Deputy Vice-Chancellor in 1930, and Vice-Chancellor in September, 1932. In the sphere of literature he was the author of several mathematical works. Mr. Hatton, married, in 1897, Pauline, daughter of Mr. R. J. Henderson of Colombo, and had two sons.

14. **Basil Harrington Soulsby**, librarian of the Natural History Museum, South Kensington, was born near Christchurch, New Zealand, on November 3, 1864, and educated at Corpus Christi College, Oxford. After a year in Germany, he taught for two years at St. Edward's School, Oxford. Soulsby then ceased to be a schoolmaster, and after a further year's study in Paris, he entered the British Museum in 1892 as assistant in the department of Printed Books. He remained there until 1909, being also at this time secretary to the Hakluyt Society. In 1909 his most important work began when he was transferred, first to the Director's Office in the Natural History Museum, and then, in 1921, to the General Library. Here he went on working long after his official retirement in 1930, cataloguing the Linnsean collection at South Kensington and Bloomsbury. He had himself spent a great deal of money in acquiring Linnfian rarities for the Museum; and the size of his catalogue testifies to his generosity as well as to his industry. Soulsby was unmarried.

— **Sir Robert Jones, Bart.**, world-famous as an orthopaedic surgeon, and a pioneer whose achievements in his own branch of medicine must be ranked with those of Lister and Manson, died at the age of 74. As the nephew of Hugh Owen Thomas, a medical practitioner, he succeeded to an established "bone-setting" practice; but it was during the war that his work achieved its widest recognition. He established a Military Orthopedic Hospital at Shepherd's

Bush, which formed the nucleus of a huge organisation throughout the country. Orthopaedic surgery was at last accepted at its true value, and the work of Jones was carried on by an army of enthusiastic pupils. At first his reputation had been greater in America than in this country, and it was with Osgood of Boston that he founded the British Orthopaedic Association, of which he was president from 1920 to 1925. During the war Jones was honoured with a knighthood and then a baronetcy. When peace enabled him to bring his knowledge to the help of the civilian population, he became the leader in the formation of the Central Committee for the Care of Cripples. A prolific writer, he was the author of many valued works on orthopaedic surgery. He was an honorary Fellow of the Royal College of Surgeons of England.

21. George Augustus Moore, famous as a novelist, was born in Co. Mayo on February 24, 1852. He was intended for the Army, but his own inclination being towards painting, after his father's death in 1870 he went to Paris to study art. He remained there for ten years, meeting many of the most famous Frenchmen of the day, both in Art and Literature. He was recalled to London as a result of the Land League agitation, having already decided that he was not a painter. He began to write; his first book, "A Modern Lover," appeared in 1883, while he was living in lodgings in impoverished circumstances. This book earned him the heated opposition of the libraries; his second novel, "A Mummer's Wife," repeated the offence, but its success enabled him to write as he chose. In 1894 "Esther Waters" established his reputation as master of the English naturalistic novel. The books which immediately followed ("Evelyn Innes" and "Sister Teresa") were of a lower standard, and it was not until he moved to Ireland that "The Lake" and "The Untilled Field" showed a return to his former self. He remained in Ireland for ten years, being High Sheriff of Co. Mayo in 1905. During this decade he published his autobiography, "Hail and Farewell." In "The Brook Kerith" (1916) Moore showed his passion for exploring new ground, and in 1918 a privately printed series of books, including "Avowals," "Heolise and Abelard," and "Conversations in Ebury Street" exhibited his professed contempt for the larger public. Of his plays, *The Passing of the Essenes* and *The Making of an Immortal* rank high. It was after his recovery from a severe illness that he finished his last novel, "Aphrodite in Aulis" (1931). Moore was entirely absorbed in his art, and in the craft of writing. He never married; his Irish home, which had stood empty for many years, was burned by the Republicans in 1923.

22. Sir Percy Sargent, the famous exponent of brain surgery in England, was born at Bristol in 1878, and educated at Clifton and St. John's College, Cambridge. He became senior surgeon on the staff of St. Thomas's Hospital, and following his appointment to the National Hospital in Bloomsbury, he specialised in surgery of the brain, until finally he established a world-wide reputation as the leading English surgeon in this branch of work. During the war he was consulting surgeon to the British Expeditionary Force in France, receiving the D.S.O. in 1917, and a knighthood in 1928. In 1923 he was elected a member of the Council of the Royal College of Surgeons, and Hunterian Professor of Surgery and Pathology in 1928. His wife, Mary Louise, daughter of Sir Herbert Ashman, Bart., died in 1932, leaving two sons and a daughter.

28. Professor George Saintsbury, distinguished critic and literary historian, was born at Southampton on October 23, 1845, and educated at King's College School and Merton College, Oxford. Starting as a schoolmaster in the provinces, he came to London in 1876 to take up journalism. He contributed to a great many newspapers and periodicals, but he was particularly identified with the *Saturday Review* of which he became assistant editor. His spare time was devoted to work of a more permanent character. He contributed articles on the prose writers of the nineteenth century to *Macmillan's Magazine*, subsequently

published under the title of "Essays in English Literature" (1890). "A Short History of French Literature" (1882) was the subject of an attack upon his methods, but nevertheless was very successful, and in 1887 he published a "History of Elizabethan Literature." In 1892 the *Saturday Review* changed owners and Saintsbury ceased to contribute. He was appointed to the Chair of Rhetoric and English Literature at Edinburgh University in 1885. "A Short History of English Literature" (1898), "A History of Criticism" in 3 volumes (1900-4), and a "History of English Prosody" also in 3 volumes (1906-10), were all published during his time at Edinburgh, and between 1907 and 1927 he contributed twenty-one chapters to the "Cambridge History of English Literature." He retired from the Chair at Edinburgh in 1915. His "History of the French Novel to the Close of the Nineteenth Century" was completed three years later. During his last years he published several "Scrap Books," and volumes of collected essays. He was honorary LL.D. of Edinburgh and Aberdeen, and D.Litt. of Oxford and Durham. In 1909 he was elected President of the English Association, and Fellow of the British Academy in 1911. In 1868 Saintsbury married Emily Fenn, daughter of Mr. H. W. King. She died in 1924 leaving one son.

31. John Galsworthy, O.M., well-known novelist and playwright, was born in 1867 at Coombe, in Surrey. Educated at Harrow and New College, Oxford, he was called to the Bar in 1890, but did not pursue his profession; instead he travelled in many parts of the world, including Australia, America, and the Cape. Galsworthy was writing for several years before he published anything, and when, between 1897 and 1901, his tales "Jocelyn," "Villa Rubein," "From the Four Winds," and "A Man of Devon" appeared, it was under the name of John Sin John. "The Island Pharisees" followed three years later under his own name. His first great novel, "The Man of Property" (1906), became the first instalment of the "Forsyte Saga." "The Country House" (1907) was followed by several very successful plays, including *The Silver Box* (1906), *Strife* (1909), and *Justice* (1910). Galsworthy was a pacifist, and possessed an almost prophetic passion for social justice. His principal work after the war was the completion of the "Forsyte Saga" with "The Indian Summer of a Forsyte," "In Chancery," and "To Let." It was prolonged by "The White Monkey," "The Silver Spoon," and "Swan Song." His last novel, "Flowering Wilderness," appeared in 1932. In his later group of plays, *Loyalties* and *Escape* were among the most successful, others being, *The Skin Game*, *The Forest and Windows*. In 1929 he received the Order of Merit, and he was awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1932. He was president of the P.E.N. Club, and held honorary degrees from many universities.

FEBRUARY.

1. Canon Robert Lawrence Ottley, D.D., Professor of Pastoral Theology, was born at Richmond, Yorks, on September 2, 1856. He was educated at King's School, Canterbury, and Pembroke College, Oxford, of which he became a scholar in 1873, and where he had an exceptionally brilliant career, obtaining, among other honours, the Hertford (1876), the Craven (1878), and the Derby Scholarships (1879). He was elected a student of Christ Church in 1879, becoming a tutor two years later. In 1886 he vacated his tutorship on his appointment as Vice-Principal of Cuddesdon, and while there he contributed an essay on Christian Ethics to "Lux Mundi" (1889). In 1890 he returned to Oxford as Fellow and Dean of Divinity at Magdalen College, only to leave again three years later to become Principal of Pusey House, a position he held until 1897. He was back in Oxford in 1903 as successor of Dr. Moberly in the Regius Professorship of Pastoral Theology, being made at the same time Canon of Christ Church. He wrote a number of books on pastoral subjects, including "Christian Ideas and Ideals" (1909), "The Rule of Faith and Hope" (1911), "The Rule of Life

and Love" (1913), "The Rule of Work and Worship" (1915), and "Studies in the Confessions of St. Augustine" (1919). In 1897 Ottley married May, daughter of Mr. F. Alexander of Hampstead, and left five daughters.

2. Major-General Sir Evan Eyare Carter, Director of Supplies to the British Armies in France during the Great War, was born on August 11, 1866, and educated at King's School, Canterbury, and Trinity College, Oxford. Entering the Army at the age of 22, he gained no little experience in connexion with the Army Service Corps in Belfast and the Cape. During the South African War he served on the staff of the Lines of Communication, and at Army Headquarters, being made a C.M.G., in 1900. In 1901 he came to the War Office as D.A.Q.M.G. For three years he served as chief instructor at the Army Service Corps Training Establishment at Aldershot, and soon after became Assistant Director of Supplies and Transport, London District, until he was promoted to be Colonel in charge of A.S.C. Records in 1913. Upon the outbreak of the Great War Carter went to France as A.Q.M.G. on the L. of C, and in 1915 he was appointed Director of Supplies to the British Expeditionary Force. Here he was faced with the task of providing the entire British Army with food for men and horses, and also with fuel and oil for mechanical transport. His enormous power of organisation was responsible for a system that will undoubtedly form the basis of Army Supplies in the future. For his war services he was promoted K.C.M.C., and was also awarded the American Distinguished Service Medal, and the Commandership of the Legion of Honour. He was promoted Major-General in 1918. Upon his return from France he became Director of Supplies and Transport at the War Office. He retired in 1921, and soon after was appointed one of the first Colonels Commandant of the Royal Army Service Corps. He married, in 1891, Ada, daughter of Colonel Sandford, R.E., and had one son and one daughter.

4. Dr. Archibald Henry Sayce, an eminent Assyriologist, was born at Shirehampton on September 25, 1845. From Grosvenor College, Bath, he proceeded to Queen's College, Oxford, of which he became a Fellow in 1869. From 1874 to 1884 he was a member of the Old Testament Revision Committee. and from 1876 to 1890, Deputy Professor of Comparative Philology at Oxford. In 1891 he was elected Professor of Assyriology, holding the Chair till 1919. He devoted much labour to Assyrian Script at a time when it was a new science, and by 1875 he brought out the first grammar and reading book. He published a decipherment of the Vannic cuneiform inscriptions in 1882, and he made persistent efforts to elucidate the Hittite hieroglyphics. A paper containing his interpretation of a series of astrological tablets was published in 1874 by the Society of Biblical Archaeology, of which he became President, until the society was merged with the Royal Asiatic in 1918. He edited the cuneiform texts of the History of Sennacherib which George Smith did not live to publish. His Hibbert (1887) and Gilford (1900-2) Lectures were both landmarks in Assyriology in England. Nor was he content to prosecute his learned studies; he was responsible for arousing popular interest in the archaeology of the Near East, particularly by means of "The Records of the Past," a series of books which he edited. He knew Egypt thoroughly, and travelled in Assyria while the British Museum Excavations were in progress. His interest in scholarship was by no means limited to Oriental languages. He was also a first-rate Greek scholar, being responsible for an edition of the first three books of Herodotus, and for co-operating with Mr. George Macmillan in founding the Hellenic Society. His honours were all academic, including honorary degrees from Oxford, Edinburgh, Aberdeen, Dublin, and Christiana; he was an Honorary Fellow of the British Academy, medallist of the Royal Asiatic Society in 1925."

6. Charles Wynand Malan, Minister of Railways and Harbours for the Union of South Africa, was born in Paarl, Cape Province, in 1884, into an old

Huguenot, family, and was educated at Victoria College, Stellenbosch. He became a solicitor, but it was in politics that he found his career. An extreme Nationalist, his decisive personality soon brought him to the fore among the opponents of General Botha's conservative regime. In the Nationalist-Labour Pact Government which took office in 1924, Malan was typical of the new enthusiasm which carried General Hertzog to victory; and under Malan many younger men were given a chance for which they might have waited a long time under a less sympathetic chief. He was a fine speaker, keen in debate, and fearless where it was a matter of putting his ideals into practice. In 1927 he visited Europe for the first time, returning the following year to negotiate a new Mozambique Convention concerning railways at Delagoa Bay. After the last General Election he was retained in office, and was at work to within a few days of his death. Mr. Malan married Christina, daughter of G. F. Rautenbach, M.L.A., and had five children.

7. George Sydenham Clarke, Lord Sydenham of Combe, was born in 1848, the son of a Lincolnshire vicar. Having passed through Woolwich, he entered the Royal Engineers in 1868. He served in the Egyptian Expedition of 1882, and the Eastern Sudan Expedition of 1885; from 1885 to 1892 he was secretary of the Colonial Defence Committee, and he was frequently employed on technical missions concerning the study of defences. In 1894 he was appointed Superintendent of the Royal Carriage Department at Woolwich Arsenal, concerned in the production of war material for the South African War. It was at this time that he became a member of the Committee appointed to prepare a scheme for the re-organisation of the War Office, and later he was recalled from his position as Governor of Victoria, which he had accepted in 1901, in order to serve on the famous War Office Reconstruction Committee. When the Imperial Defence Committee was created in 1904, he became secretary, but in spite of the position he enjoyed as a military expert, he was disappointed in his professional ambitions, and when he was offered the Governorship of Bombay in 1907, he accepted. In India his views underwent a severe change; from being a Radical he became, through disillusionment, a stern opponent of the Indian Nationalist Movement, and an exponent of extreme conservative views on the great questions of the day. Towards the end of his term of office he received a Peerage. He left Bombay in 1913, but continued to take an active part in public life. In 1915 he became Chairman of the Central Tribunal appointed to deal with appeals from local committees administering the National Service Act, and after the war he was president or chairman of many associations, including the British Empire League and the Indo-British Association. He was a prolific writer, and contributed hundreds of articles to newspapers and reviews, besides publishing two books: "Studies of an Imperialist" and "My Working Life." He married, in 1871, Caroline, daughter of General P. H. Fellows, and secondly, Phyllis, widow of Captain A. S. Reynolds, by whom he was survived. He left no children.

— Count Albert Apponyi, well-known Hungarian politician and patriot, was for many years a leading figure in European diplomacy, and a much-respected representative of the Magyar element in international assemblies. Born in 1846, he possessed many qualities which soon won him recognition as a leader of men. He was a scholar, with a knowledge of science and constitutional law, as well as a thorough command of many languages, and a gift for oratory. A moderate Liberal in outlook, he was all his life opposed to extremes, and he devoted much labour to the cause of international peace. He was President of the Party of Hungarian Independence; his fear of Slav domination in his own country led him to a whole-hearted support of Germany during the Great War. After the Armistice he withdrew from politics, but in 1919 he consented to become a non-party member of the National Assembly and headed the Hungarian Peace Delegation to Paris. Later he was the Hungarian representative at the Assemblies of the League of Nations. In 1928 he succeeded

in inducing the League to re-open the question of the Hungarian optants in Transylvania, and he was untiring in his efforts on behalf of his dispossessed countrymen. In 1931 he was offered a salary for life by the Hungarian Chamber of Deputies in order to enable him to collect his experiences during fifty years of political life, for the benefit of history. He married, in 1897, Countess Klothilde, daughter of Alexander, Prince Dietrichstein of Nicolsburg, and had a son and two daughters.

12. Field-Marshal Sir William Robertson was the only man to rise from being a trooper in a cavalry regiment to the highest rank in the Army. Born in Lincolnshire on January 29, 1860, of humble parentage, Robertson enlisted, in 1877, and served in the ranks for eleven years. In 1888 he was granted a commission, and drafted to India. He possessed practically no education, but made a reputation by acquiring Hindustani and other Indian languages, which stood him in good stead when he was appointed to the Intelligence Department at Simla, where he remained for three years. In 1895 he joined the Chitral Expedition, being awarded the D.S.O. for his services. He determined to enter the Staff College, a difficult task for an officer from the ranks, but he was successful, and in 1896 left India for Camberley. At the end of his college career he was posted as an "attached officer" to the Colonial Section of the Intelligence Branch, and at the outbreak of the South African War he went out with Lord Roberts as Staff Captain for Intelligence. He returned to the Intelligence Branch in London a year later. In 1902 he took charge of the new Foreign Section of the Intelligence Branch, and he became a full colonel in 1903. His work now necessitated a close study of the European situation, and Robertson became convinced that a rupture with Germany was inevitable. He acquired several foreign languages, and studied the constitution of foreign armies. In 1907 he went on half-pay, but soon after was appointed A.Q.M.G. at Aldershot, becoming brigadier-general, General Staff, a few months later, and in 1910 he received the post of Commandant of the Staff College. In 1913, now a major-general and K.C.V.O., he entered the War Office to become Director of Military Training. At the outbreak of war in 1914 he went to France as Quartermaster-General with the Expeditionary Force. Next year he became Chief of the General Staff, and at the close of 1915 he returned to London as Chief of the Imperial General Staff. The heavy casualties in the Somme offensive of 1916 and the continued deadlock of operations caused a breach between Mr. Lloyd George, then Prime Minister, and Robertson, and the latter strongly opposed the setting up of the Supreme War Council at Versailles. As a result of these disagreements Robertson resigned his post of C.I.G.S. Soon after the Armistice he went to Cologne in command of the Rhine Army. He was promoted Field-Marshal in 1920, leaving the Army in 1921. Robertson was largely responsible for the efficiency and keenness of the Staff College Graduates of 1914. His autobiography "From Private to Field-Marshal" gives the story of his life, and in "Soldiers and Statesmen" (1926) he set forth his views on the relations between the civil and military authorities in a national crisis. He was G.C.B., G.C.M.G., and G.C.V.O., and in 1919 he was created a baronet. He married, in 1894, Mildred, daughter of Lieutenant-General T. C. Palin, I.A., and left a son, who succeeded him, and two daughters.

— **Professor Sir John Arthur Thomson**, a well-known writer and lecturer on natural history and its relation to religion, was born on July 8, 1861, in East Lothian, and educated at local schools. From Edinburgh University he went to Jena and Berlin, making a special study of zoology and botany, and afterwards became Lecturer in Zoology and Biology at the Edinburgh School of Medicine. In addition to his college courses he lectured extensively to popular audiences in many cities in Scotland, and became well known as an entrancing lecturer. In 1899 he published, in collaboration with Sir Patrick Geddes, a work entitled "The Evolution of Sex" which received wide appreciation. In the same year

Thomson was appointed Professor of Natural History in the University of Aberdeen, holding the position until 1930 when he was knighted. He wrote many books and articles, both for the scholar and the general reader. His Gilford lectures delivered at St. Andrews in 1915 and 1916 were published under the title of "The System of Animate Nature." This work reveals him as a firm believer in the existence of a guiding purpose behind nature; and that science is not incompatible with religion was a theme to which he devoted many of his lectures and addresses. Professor Thomson was married, and had three sons and one daughter.

17. **Sir Robert Donald, G.B.E.**, famous as a journalist, died suddenly in London in his seventieth year. His earlier days were spent as a journalist in Edinburgh, Paris, New York, and London. In 1893 he founded the *Municipal Journal*, and in 1902 he became editor of the *Daily Chronicle*, and managing director of United Newspapers Ltd. During the Great War he was head of the Department of Information which had been set up by Mr. Lloyd George on his recommendation. In October, 1918, the *Daily Chronicle* was sold, and, although invited to remain as editor, Donald preferred to resign. He was proprietor of the *Referee* for about two years, and also acquired an interest in the *Yorkshire Observer*. Interested in all aspects of his profession, Donald was chosen President of the Institute of Journalists in 1913. He was honorary secretary of the British-American Peace Centenary Committee, and he took an active part in raising funds for purchasing Sulgrave Manor, afterwards becoming trustee of the Sulgrave Institution. He was Chairman of the Empire Press Union from 1916 to 1926. In 1909 he assisted in organising the first Imperial Press Conference, and he was vice-chairman of the second held in 1920. He took a keen interest in the British Empire Exhibition at Wembley, and became Chairman of the Publicity Committee. He was a member of the Local Government Committee, 1917-18, and of the Royal Commission on London Government in 1923. In 1930 he was appointed a member of the Royal Commission on Transport, and of the Committee of the British Industries Fair. He was Chairman of the Committee on Imperial Wireless Telegraphy in 1924, and was a keen supporter of Empire Broadcasting. He was created G.B.E. in 1924. As critic of the treaty settlements after the Great War, he published "The Tragedy of Trianon" and "The Polish Corridor and the Consequences." He married, in 1890, Mile Jeanne Garassut, and had one daughter.

27. **Arthur Roberts**, famous comedian, was born in Kentish Town on September 21, 1852, and owing to the early death of his father, was obliged to earn his own living from the age of twelve. For a few years he worked as a clerk in a city office; in 1878 he left the city and made his first big success at the Old Oxford Music Hall by singing "If I were only long enough a soldier I would be." He appeared as "Dr. Syntax" in the pantomime of *Mother Ooose* in 1880. Other successes of his were as "Weasel" in *Nell Gwynne* and "Captain Crosstree" in *Black-Eyed Susan* in 1884, and "Polydore Poupart" in *The Old Guard* in 1887. From that time on until 1903 he was acting continually. He possessed a great gift of the "gab," and a rich music hall wit which never failed him. He was a member of the Eccentric Club, and of the Pelican. He published "Adventures of Arthur Roberts" and "Fifty Years of Spoof," which record his reminiscences during a full and varied career.

MARCH.

9. **Dr. Gilbert Charles Bourne**, Emeritus Professor of Zoology and Comparative Anatomy at Oxford, and a famous rowing coach, was born in Herefordshire in 1861, and educated at Eton and New College, Oxford. In 1885 Bourne, who had in his early years developed a keen interest in natural history, went

to the island of Diego Garcia in the Indian Ocean to pursue his study of coral formation and marine fauna. Upon his return to Oxford, papers of his were published by the Royal Society, and his scientific reputation was soon established. In 1887 he was appointed Director of the Laboratory of the Marine Biological Association at Plymouth, and just over two years later he returned to Oxford and was made Tutor and Fellow of New College. He took the new degree of D.Sc., published essays on the Cell theory, and the theory of Epigenesis, and translated Pelseneer's monograph on Mollusca. The South African War interrupted his work, but in 1906 he was elected to the Linacre Chair, a position he held until 1921 when he resigned. He served on the Council of the Royal Society in 1917-18, having been elected Fellow in 1895. His career both as an oarsman at Eton and Oxford, and later as Oxford coach was remarkable. He obtained his "Blue" while still a Freshman, rowing in the winning Oxford team at Putney in 1882, and again in 1883. In 1886 he rowed bow of the Oxford Etonian eight at Henley, and in 1895 he made his last appearance rowing bow of the New College eight. Nevertheless his greatest fame was as a coach. He coached Oxford at various times during twenty-five years from 1885 to 1927, twelve of the crews being victorious. He was known familiarly to rowing men as "The Beja." Dr. Bourne married, in 1887, Constance, daughter of the late Sir John Croft, and had one son.

14. Sir Henry Worth Thornton, at one time President of the Canadian National Railways, was born at Logansport, Indiana, on November 6, 1871. Graduating from the University of Pennsylvania, in 1894, he entered the service of the Pennsylvanian Railway as draughtsman. After a succession of positions including topographer and division superintendent, he became, in 1911, general superintendent of the Long Island Railway. He came to England, in 1914, as manager of the Great Eastern Railway, and upon the outbreak of the Great War he was made a member of the executive committee of general managers controlling all the British lines. In 1916 he became deputy director of Inland Water Transport, and Colonel in the Royal Engineers. He went to Paris, in 1917, as assistant director-general of the railways, and represented the Army Council in negotiations relative to transport. He was made deputy director-general of transport, and brigadier-general in 1918. He became a British subject in 1919, and was gazetted K.B.E., for his war services. Sir Henry continued with the Great Eastern Railway until the new scheme of amalgamation in 1921, when, in the following year, he was invited to become President of the Canadian National Railways, then in a very chaotic and unsatisfactory condition. He held this position until his resignation in 1932, and his success both as organiser and propagandist secured an operating surplus where before there had been nothing but deficits. He took an important part in the public life of the Dominion, and his influence both in the Press and among politicians was considerable. Sir Henry was twice married; his second wife was Miss Matilda Watriss of New York, who survived him.

17. Professor William Cawthorne Unwin, distinguished engineer, had an important share in formulating the plans for that pioneer work of hydro-electric installation—the generation of power from Niagara Falls. Born at Coggeshall, Essex, on December 12, 1838, he went to the City of London School, and graduated at the University of London. After several years practical experience as manager of an engineering works, he became instructor at the Royal School of Naval Architecture and Marine Engineering, South Kensington (1868-72). From 1872 to 1885 he was Professor of Hydraulic Engineering, Cooper's Hill; and finally Professor of Engineering at the City and Guilds of London Technical Institute, South Kensington, from 1884 to 1904. A leading scientific engineer of his time, his fame rests on the impetus he gave to others to base their work upon a sure foundation. He contributed the articles on hydraulics and on bridges to the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. In 1869 he published a work on "Wrought Iron Bridges and Roofs." His Howard Lectures of 1893 were published as "The Development and Transmission of Power from Central Stations." He gave the

James Forrest Lecture on the development of the experimental study of the steam engine in 1896, and the Watt Lecture on the life of Hirn in the same year. Professor Unwin was President of the Engineering Section of the British Association in 1892, and President of the Institution of Civil Engineers in 1911. In 1915 and 1916 he served as President of the Institution of Mechanical Engineers. He was on the Council of the Royal Society in 1894, and in 1921 he was awarded the Kelvin Gold Medal. Unwin was unmarried.

19. E. Temple **Thurston**, novelist and dramatist, died at the age of 53. He began his literary career when he was sixteen, by publishing two books of poems, and he wrote the "Apple of Eden" two years later. His best-known novels included "Traffic," "The Realist," "Sally Bishop," and "The City of Beautiful Nonsense." His last book, "A Hank of Hair," appeared in 1932. He also published "Poems, 1918-23." He began his connexion with the stage at an early age. He produced, in 1905, *John Chilcot, M.P.*, a dramatic version of a novel by his first wife. *Sally Bishop* followed six years later, and among the group of plays which succeeded it, *The Wandering Jew* was the best known. *The Blue Peter* (1924), an avowed melodrama, had considerable success. The mixture of realism and romanticism which was characteristic of Thurston's novels, was also noticeable in his plays, and this sometimes, as in the case of *Emma Hamilton*, led him into excessive emotionalism. But he possessed a thorough understanding of the theatre, and sound dramatic construction. Other plays of his were *The Greatest Wish* (1912), *Driven* (1914), *The Cost* (1914), *A Roof and Four Walls* (1923), *Judas Iscariot* (1923), and *Charmeuse* (1930).

— **Admiral Sir Martyn Jerram**, who led the Second Battle Squadron of the Grand Fleet into action at Jutland, was born on September 6, 1858, and entered the Navy in 1871. After obtaining considerable experience in the service, he was promoted to Flag rank in 1908, and was made Chief of Staff in the Third and Fourth Division of the Home Fleet. From 1912 to 1914 he was second in command in the Mediterranean, afterwards receiving command of the China Station where he was serving at the outbreak of the Great War. He had been promoted Vice-Admiral in 1913, and was made K.C.B. in 1914. In China he organised measures against the German commerce raiders which helped towards the destruction of the *Emden*. He destroyed German wireless stations, and, in co-operation with Japan, reduced the fortified base at Tsingtau. In 1915 Jerram was appointed to command the Second Battle Squadron of the Grand Fleet which was based on Cromarty at the time of the battle of Jutland. He was gazetted K.C.M.G. for his services, and promoted G.C.M.G. in 1919. He was Commander of the Legion of Honour, and received other foreign distinctions. In 1916 Jerram was appointed for special service at the Admiralty, and the following year he retired with the rank of Admiral. He married, in 1892, Clara Isobel, daughter of Mr. Joseph Parsons, and had two sons.

— Prince Luigi Amedeo Guiseppe Ferdinando Francesco **of Savoy, Duke of the Abruzzi**, was born in Madrid on January 29, 1873, just before the abdication of his father, Amedeo, Duke of Aosta, from the throne of Spain to which he had been elected in 1870. In 1894 he went on a two years* voyage round the world, bringing back many observations of scientific interest. This voyage confirmed his leanings towards exploration and research. He commanded a squadron against Turkey during the war of 1911-12, and when Italy joined the Allies in the Great War, he was appointed Admiral in Command of the Italian Navy. Nevertheless, it is as an explorer that he will be remembered. His first expedition was the ascent of Mount St. Elias, in Alaska, in 1897. His next venture, the most hazardous of all, was an attempt to reach as high a northern latitude as possible. The expedition sailed in 1899, in the *Stella Polare*, and reached Franz Josef Land in June. Working northwards, the party established winter quarters at Teplitz Bay. The Duke had his fingers badly frostbitten so that the leadership

of the sledge party devolved upon his companion, Captain Cagni. On April 25, 1900, this party attained $86^{\circ} 33' 49''$ N. lat., about twenty nautical miles farther north than Nansen. This remained the record until Peary broke it. In 1901 the Duke was awarded the Founder's Medal of the Royal Geographical Society (London). Several years later he decided to ascend another mountain group, Ruwenzori in Central Africa. The expedition left in April, 1906, reaching Fort Portal on the lower slopes of Ruwenzori. The summit was attained on June 18, and named after Queen Margherita. Neighbouring peaks were also ascended and named, and a vast amount of scientific data collected. In April, 1909, the Duke led an expedition to explore the Baltoro and Godwin Austen Glaciers of the Karakorum Himalayas. During this venture the Duke reached a height of 24,600 feet, within 500 feet of the summit of Bride Peak. This was so far the record height attained by any climber. In 1919 he embarked on a final adventure, and explored the sources of the Webi Shebeli in Abyssinia, and Italian Somaliland. He headed the Italian Mission to the Abyssinian Court in 1927, and he explored and made surveys of large tracts of land in Abyssinia. The Duke was unmarried.

30. Sir John William Simpson, F.R.I.B.A., an architect of distinction, was best known to the public for his work in connexion with the Wembley Exhibition. Born in Brighton, on August 9, 1858, he received his architectural training at the Royal Academy Schools, and entered into partnership with Mr. Maxwell Ayrton in 1910. He was secretary-general of the Town Planning Conference, London, in 1910. He represented the Royal Institute of British Architects, of which he was president from 1919 to 1921, on the Council of the British School at Rome. He was made K.B.E. in 1924, and received the Legion of Honour among other distinctions. Simpson's principal works included the new buildings at Haileybury and Lancing Colleges, Roedean School, the Art Galleries at Glasgow, the Cartwright Memorial Hall at Bradford, the National Hospital for the Paralysed and Epileptic at Bloomsbury, and Grafton Street Hospital, Liverpool. He was also responsible for the restoration of the Old Hall, Lincoln's Inn. His publications included "Essays and Memorials" (1923), "Paris Rosemary," and "Some Account of the Old Hall, Lincoln's Inn."

APRIL.

1. Frederic John Napier Tresigar, Lord Chelmsford, formerly Viceroy of India, was an example of a man whose whole life was devoted to public services at home and overseas. Born on August 12, 1868, the eldest son of the second Baron, he was educated at Winchester and Magdalen College, Oxford. In 1892 he was elected Fellow of All Souls, and the following year was called to the Bar by the Inner Temple. In 1905 he succeeded to the title, and the same year he received his first public appointment, namely, Governor of Queensland; the Governorship of New South Wales followed in 1909, and continued until 1913. During his time in Australia Lord Chelmsford by his understanding and judgment won the confidence of the political leaders, and his departure was regretted by all. In 1916, at a time of great stress, he became Viceroy of India. As the result of the urgent need for reform in India, Mr. Edwin Montagu, Secretary of State, went out to consult with the Viceroy. The historic Montagu-Chelmsford Report was published in 1918, and a year and a half later the Great Reform Act of 1919 was passed. At this time Gandhi raised the banner of passive resistance, and the disturbances in the Punjab, as well as the action of General Dyer at Amritsar, combined with the Third Afghan War to make the last half of his Vice-royalty a period of great strain. His term came to an end in 1921. In 1924 Chelmsford was offered the post of First Lord of the Admiralty when Mr. MacDonald was forming the first Labour Cabinet. Although a Unionist, he accepted, and during his short term of office accomplished much useful work

for the Navy. Lord Chelmsford had always taken a keen interest in education' and on his return from India he again devoted himself largely to matters of educational progress. He was Honorary Fellow of University College, London, Chairman of the College Committee from 1920 until his appointment as Warden of All Souls College, Oxford, in 1932. He was Chairman of the Statutory Commission set up for Oxford under the Universities Act of 1923, and also, for ten years, Chairman of the Miners' Welfare Committee. Lord Chelmsford was created a Viscount in 1921. He was G.C.S.I. and G.C.I.E., G.C.M.G. and G.B.E., and Chancellor of the Order of St. Michael and St. George (1914-16). He was honorary D.C.L. of Oxford, and honorary LL.D. of Edinburgh, Birmingham, and Sheffield. He married, in 1894, the Hon. Frances Guest, G.B.E., C.I., sister of Lord Wimborne, and he leaves one son and four daughters.

2. **The Maharajah of Nawanagar (Ranjitsinghji)**, the world-famous cricketer, was also one of the most influential of the Ruling Princes in India. Lieutenant-Colonel His Highness Maharajah Jam Shri Ranjitsinghji was born on September 10, 1872, and from Rajkumar College, Rajkot, he came to Trinity College, Cambridge. His career as a cricketer was confined to the twelve years from 1893, when E. S. Jackson gave him his "Blue," till 1906 when he was appointed Maharajah of Nawanagar. In 1895 he commenced his association with Sussex which continued until 1904. He captained Sussex from 1899 to 1903, and he played in fourteen Test Matches, with an average of nearly 45. Although a fine slip fieldsman and a good bowler, it is upon his wonderful batting that "Ranji's" fame as a cricketer rests. During his cricketing days there was considerable doubt as to his succession at Nawanagar, as his uncle, the Jam Saheb Vibhaji, who had selected him as his successor, was induced by a concubine to adopt her son instead. The latter, however, died without issue in 1906, and Ranjitsinghji succeeded him. As a ruler his enterprise, tact, and patience transformed the State. He commenced irrigation works, improved communications, and built up a port at Bedi Bundar. He was a member of the Standing Committee of the Chamber of Princes, in the formation of which he had taken an active part; and he twice represented India, at the League of Nations Assembly. He was a delegate to the early session of the Round Table Conference, and in 1932 was elected to the Chancellorship of the Chamber of Princes. During the Great War he served in France, on the Staff of Sir John French, and he paid for the equipment and upkeep of several squadrons of lancers. He was an honorary lieutenant-colonel in the Army, and was made K.C.S.I. in 1917, G.B.E., in 1919, and G.C.S.I. in 1923.

4. **Walter Burton Harris**, for many years correspondent of *The Times* in Morocco, was born in London on August 29, 1866. Educated at Harrow, he began his travels at an early age. In 1887 he first went to Morocco with the Mission of Sir W. Kirby Green to Marrakesh. He spoke Moorish colloquial Arabic fluently, and his early exploits as a traveller in the primitive, fanatical Morocco of those days, aroused the keenest admiration. His command of the art of disguise was amazing, and his favourite impersonation that of a "Riff," complete with shaven head, was a perfect success. His early exploits such as his ride to Sheshouan, and his journey over the Atlas to Tafilet, endeared him to the Moors of all classes. He was a connoisseur of Moorish art. In 1887 Harris sent his first contributions to *The Times*, and these continued regularly during all those years in which Morocco was the storm centre of European politics. It was in 1894 that Harris undertook a dangerous mission by arrangement with the British Minister, to penetrate to the strongholds of the rival candidates for the throne lately vacated by the Sultan Mulai Hassan. Harris was attached to the special mission of Sir A. Nicholson to the new Sultan, and after the collapse of the old Moorish Government, he continued to report on affairs under the International regime. He was once captured by the celebrated chief, Raisuli, and his many adventures were recorded in "The Land of an African Sultan,"

" Tafilet," " Modern Morocco," and " Morocco That Was.*" Later, when he had travelled in the Near and Far East, he published "France, Spain, and the Riff," and " The East for Pleasure."

6. Robin Humphrey Legge, well known as a musical critic and journalist, was born on June 28, 1862, and after reading Law at Trinity Hall, Cambridge, went to Germany to study music. He joined *The Times* as an assistant music critic, in 1891, and continued in that capacity for fifteen years. In 1906 he succeeded Joseph Bennet as music critic of the *Daily Telegraph*, a position he held until 1931. An enthusiastic advocate of modern composers, he made his office a rendezvous of musicians, and his extreme socialability and love of club life made him a familiar figure among men of similar interests as himself. For many years he contributed the article on Music to THE ANNUAL REGISTER; was responsible for many biographies in the " Dictionary of National Biography " and also in " Grove "; translated Wallaschek's " Die Musik der Naturvolker," and Hofmann's " Instrumentationslehre." Legge left a widow and one daughter.

13. The Right Hon. Frederick George Kellaway, the " Father of British Broadcasting," was born on December 3, 1870, in Bristol, in humble circumstances. By constant study and perseverance, he eventually succeeded in obtaining a foothold in Fleet Street. For a time he edited several local newspapers at Lewisham, and his public work there began in 1898, when he was elected to the local Board of Guardians and the Borough Council. He entered the House of Commons, in 1910, as Liberal member for Bedford, a constituency he represented until 1922. In 1916, during the Great War, he was appointed Joint Parliamentary Secretary of the Ministry of Munitions; in 1918 he became Deputy Minister of Munitions, and in 1920 he was made Secretary to the Department of Overseas Trade and a Privy Councillor. In 1921 he became Postmaster-General, but on losing his seat in the General Election of 1922, he retired from politics, joining the Board of Marconi's Wireless Telegraph Company. While Postmaster-General, he had already commenced negotiations regarding broadcasting which led to the formation of the British Broadcasting Company. It was Kellaway who persuaded the various wireless companies to amalgamate, and the first agreements were reached under his guidance. He married, in 1903, Sarah Ellen, daughter of Mr. H. Robinson, J.P., of Greenwich, and she survived him with one son and two daughters.

17. Fred Terry, distinguished romantic actor, was born in London in 1864, the youngest brother of Ellen Terry. His name is chiefly associated with romantic pseudo-historical costume plays, and his excellence, both as a stage villain and in heroic and " character " parts, made it often seem a pity that the plays themselves were not of a higher standard. His first appearance was in 1880, when he played a small part in *Money* at the Hay market Theatre. After several provincial tours, he returned to London, appearing as " Sebastian " in *Twelfth Night* at the Lyceum. A tour in *Called Back*, and an American tour, were followed by the title part in *Dr. Bill*, the play produced in 1890 by Sir George Alexander; and later in the year he joined Tree at the Haymarket. It was while they were both acting in the *Dancing Oirl* that Fred Terry and Julia Neilson were married, and with his wife as his leading lady, he soon went into management on his own account. He commenced that series of plays, including *Sweet Nell of Old Drury*, *The Scarlet Pimpernel*, and *Henry of Navarre*, with which he drew large audiences both in London and the provinces for many years. He played " Don Pedro " and " Benedict " in *Much Ado About Nothing*, the latter being one of his most successful parts. He was survived by his widow and their daughter, Phyllis Neilson-Terry, the actress. His son, Dennis Neilson-Terry, actor and producer, died in 1932.

18. Professor Ernest William Hobson, Sc.D., F.R.S., at one time Sadleirian Professor of Pure Mathematics, died at Cambridge at the age of 76. He com-

menced his education at Derby School, and when about 15, he gained a Whitworth Scholarship at what is now the Royal College of Science. When barely 18 he obtained the first Mathematical Scholarship at Christ's College, where, after having been Senior Wrangler in 1878, he was elected to a Fellowship in 1879, and he settled down in Cambridge for the rest of his life. His work consisted largely of private coaching, and after holding various posts of a more or less casual nature, he was elected Sadleirian Professor of Pure Mathematics (1910). He was President of the London Mathematical Society, 1900-01; and was a member of the Council of the Royal Society. His principal work, "Theory of Functions of a Real Variable," appeared in 1906. This book of reference, which was the first volume of its kind, on a new branch of mathematics, was rewritten and brought out in a second edition (1922-25). In 1921-22 Hobson was Gifford Lecturer at the University of Aberdeen, taking as his subject "The Domain of Natural Science." Hobson always maintained a strong interest in philosophy, natural science, and the study of foreign languages. He married a Swiss lady in 1882; they had three sons.

20. Vice-Admiral Sir William Rooke Creswell, the organiser of the Royal Australian Navy, was born at Gibraltar on July 20, 1852, and entered the Navy in 1866. After a good deal of miscellaneous experience in the service, Creswell went to Australia joining the Naval Defence Force in 1885. He became Commandant of this Force in 1891, and was appointed Commandant of the Queensland Naval Defence Force in 1900. After the establishment of the Commonwealth he was made a Captain in the Australian Navy, and the first Director of the Naval Forces. Upon the foundation of the Royal Australian Navy, in 1911, he was promoted Rear-Admiral, and became the first Naval Member of the Australian Naval Board at Melbourne, directing the administration of the Australian Fleet throughout the Great War. He retired in 1919, being advanced to Vice-Admiral on the retired list in 1922. Vice-Admiral Creswell was created C.M.G., in 1897, K.C.M.G. in 1911, and K.B.E., in 1919 for his war services. He married in 1888, Adelaide, daughter of Mr. Justice Stow, Judge of the Supreme Court of South Australia.

22. Sir Frederick Henry Royce, Bart., designer of motor-cars and aeroplane engines, was born on March 27, 1863, the son of a flour miller. At 10 he sold newspapers; at 14 he went as apprentice to the Great Northern Railway works at Peterborough. He was next in a gun factory- at Leeds, leaving there to become tester for an electric lighting company in London, where he studied at the City and Guilds College. He made great progress, and in 1882 was appointed chief electrical engineer for the pioneer street lighting of Liverpool. At the age of 21 he founded the firm of Royce Limited, mechanical and electrical engineers, at Manchester, where the thoroughness and efficiency of his work achieved immediate success. About this time he turned his attention to the manufacture of cars, and when the Hon. C. S. Rolls, a famous motorist, saw one of the first Royce cars at a show, he undertook to sell all the cars Royce could build. This was the beginning of a memorable partnership, and, in 1907, the automobile department of Royce was combined with C. S. Rolls & Co. as Rolls-Royce Limited. In the war Royce designed and manufactured the aero engines Eagle, Falcon, Hawk, and Condor, and his triumphs included the engines with which Flight-Lieutenant Stainforth set up the world air speed record of 407 miles an hour, and engines enabling Sir Malcolm Campbell and Mr. Kaye Don to attain new records on land and water. Royce was created a baronet in 1930. He married, in 1893, Minnie Grace, daughter of Mr. Alfred Punt.

26. **Sir Henry Alfred McCardie**, Judge of the King's Bench Division, was born at Edgbaston on July 18, 1869, and was called to the Bar by the Middle Temple in 1894. He joined the Midland Circuit, and became a Bencher of his Inn in 1916. Before long he enjoyed a wide reputation, a great factor in his success

being his thoroughness, and his wide knowledge of law ; while his understanding of the character of the different Judges and Masters before whom he appeared enabled him to vary his methods accordingly. In October, 1916, he was appointed a Judge of the King's Bench Division, having achieved this promotion entirely without any of the assets of family connexion, or political activity. In 1924 he tried the libel action brought by Sir Michael O'Dwyer, formerly Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, against Sir Sankaran Nair, formerly a member of the Government of India. This case involved the question of the Amritsar disturbances in 1919, and McCardie incurred severe criticism in the House of Commons by asserting that he believed General Dyer to have been in the right in acting as he did at the time of the disturbances. Other famous cases of his were the murder trials of Henry Jacoby and Ronald True, and, in 1932, the *Place v. Searle* case which brought Mr. Justice McCardie into conflict with Lord Justice Scrutton. McCardie expressed his views at great length in court, on subjects ranging from birth-control to the liability of husbands for their wives' dress bills; besides being a Judge, McCardie was a student of social welfare problems, and his expressions of opinion often stirred controversy. He died under distressing circumstances ; the Coroner found that he met his death by a gunshot self-inflicted. Mr. Justice McCardie was unmarried.

27. **Sir Geoffrey Salmond**, Air Chief Marshal and Chief of the Air Staff, was born on August 19, 1878, the son of Major-General Sir William Salmond, R.E., and was educated at Wellington College and the Royal Military Academy. He received his first commission in the Royal Artillery in 1898, and he served in the Royal Regiment until 1913. During that time he graduated at the Staff College at Camberley, and fought in the South African War of 1899-1902. In 1913 he learnt to fly, and, on February 18, received the Royal Aero Club certificate. After a course at the Central Flying School at Upavon, he was placed on the R.F.C. reserve, joining the directorate of Military Aeronautics at the War Office on August 31, 1913. He was promoted major on the outbreak of war in 1914. Major Salmond went to France with the Royal Flying Corps, on the staff of Major-General Sir David Henderson. In January, 1915, he came home to raise a new squadron, returning to France with this unit in time to take part in the battle of Neuve Chapelle. In August, 1915, after being promoted temporary lieutenant-colonel, he was sent to command the 5th Wing R.F.C. in Egypt. In July, 1916, he was promoted temporary brigadier-general, and took command of the R.F.C. in the Middle East, which post he held, with brief intervals, until 1921. He provided air co-operation for General Smuts in East Africa, and for forces in Salonika, Mesopotamia, and Palestine. He was also responsible for the R.F.C. in India. He cleared a chain of aerodromes in Central Africa, laying out a Cape to Cairo airway, and it was his inspiration that conceived the trail to Cape Town that Imperial Airways followed. In 1922 he became Air Member of the Air Council for Supply and Research. He passed from this post to the command in India, where he controlled the evacuations from Kabul in 1928-29. He was promoted Air Marshal in 1929, and in 1931 succeeded Sir Edward Ellington as A.O. Commanding-in-Chief Air Defence of Great Britain. On January 1, 1933, he became Air Chief Marshal. He was awarded the D.S.O. in 1917 for action in Sinai in 1916, and he was made K.C.M.G. in 1919, and K.C.B. in 1926. He married, in 1910, Margaret Carr, of Ditchington Hall, Norfolk, and his widow survived him, with one son and three daughters.

MAY.

2. **Dr. Felix Adler**, religious leader and social pioneer in America, was born at Alzey, in Germany, in 1851. At the age of 6 he came with his family to America where his father became minister of the Liberal Jewish congregation of Temple Emanuel, New York. He studied at Columbia, Berlin, and Heidelberg. Some years later he severed his connexion with Judaism, and founded, in 1876,

the New York Society for Ethical Culture, an organisation which established Ethical Societies all over the world. His addresses attracted large audiences, and it was due to his eloquent pleading on behalf of housing that the Tenement House Commission of the State of New York was founded. All branches of social work—prison reform, education, and free nursing—received his advocacy and support. Before the foundation of the Ethical Society Dr. Adler had been teacher of Hebrew and Oriental Languages at Cornell (1874-76), and in 1902 he became Professor of Political and Social Ethics at Columbia. He was appointed an Exchange Professor at Berlin in 1908, and in 1923 he delivered a course of Hibbert Lectures at Oxford. He published works on the ethics of politics, and the moral instruction of children as well as other works of a social and philosophical nature, including "Creed and Deed" (1877), "The Moral Instruction of Children" (1894), "An Ethical Philosophy of Life" (1923).

3. Leonard Huxley, biographer and poet, the son of Professor Huxley, was born on December 11, 1860, and educated at University College School, St. Andrews University, and Balliol College, Oxford. He became assistant Professor of Greek at St. Andrews; in 1884 he was appointed a master at Charterhouse where he remained until 1901, when he became reader to Messrs. Smith, Elder & Co., and editor of the *Cornhill Magazine*. Huxley was interested in music and athletics, but his greatest achievement was his biography of his father, Professor Huxley. He also wrote biographies of Sir Joseph Hooker and others, and published verse. He edited Jane Welsh Carlyle's letters to her family; Elizabeth Barrett Browning's letters to her sister, and translated Part II. of Hausraht's "New Testament Times." He married, in 1885, Julia Frances, daughter of Mr. Thomas Arnold, and by her he had three sons and one daughter. One son, Noel, died at the age of 24. Julian is well known as a biologist, and Aldous as a novelist. He married secondly, in 1912, Rosalind, daughter of Mr. Wallace Bruce, and had two sons.

7. Dr. Joseph Armitage Robinson, an eminent Anglican Dean who was well known as a New Testament scholar and antiquary, was born in 1858, the son of the vicar of Keynsham, near Bristol. Scholar and Fellow of Christ's College, Cambridge, he entered the Church, becoming Dean of his college in 1885. Three years later he was appointed by Jesus College to the vicarage of All Saints, Jesus Lane, and made a reputation as a preacher, devoting much time to a study of post-Apostolic documents. He travelled widely, particularly in Germany where he received honorary doctorates from Halle and Gottingen. In 1893 he was elected to the Norrisian Professorship of Divinity at Cambridge. In 1899 Robinson was appointed a canon of Westminster, and shortly after, although a junior member of the Chapter, he was chosen to succeed Dr. Bradley as Dean. He was a born teacher and delivered addresses from the pulpit of the Abbey on subjects of current interest; his sense of the tradition which granted unique powers to the Deans of Westminster brought him into some conflict with his colleagues. As a result of this, although little was known publicly of the disagreements, the Dean was, at his own request, transferred in 1911 to the Deanery of Wells. He had during his time at the Abbey become a keen antiquarian, and he continued his studies in his new home. Dr. Robinson was Lord High Almoner and Chaplain-in-Ordinary to the King, K.C.V.O., Fellow of the British Academy, honorary Fellow of Christ's College, and honorary doctor of Dublin and Glasgow. He married, in 1914, Miss Amy Faithfull.

10. Mme. Selma Kurz, the famous Austrian soprano, was for twenty-eight years the star of the Vienna Imperial opera. Born in Bielitz, she made her debut at Frankfurt when, having completed her musical studies at Vienna, she appeared in *Carmen*, and as "Elizabeth" in *Tannhauser*. In 1910 Herr Gustav Mahler heard her sing at Frankfurt, and engaged her for the Vienna Imperial Opera, where she remained for twenty-eight years. She was idolised by the

public, and Richard Strauss composed for her the opera *Ariadne auf Naxos*. She retired in 1927. Mme. Kurz married the well-known gynaecologist, Dr. Josef Halban, who, with a son and a daughter, survived her.

17. Alfred Kallsch, well known as a music critic, was born in London on March 13, 1863, the son of Dr. Marcus Kalisch, a Jewish scholar in his generation, and educated at King's College School and Balliol College, Oxford. In 1887 he was called to the Bar by the Middle Temple. But he turned to journalism, beginning his career at the *Daily News*. When, in 1912, the *Morning Leader* was amalgamated with the *Daily News*, he became music critic, a position he continued to hold until 1932 with the *News-Chronicle* and the *Star*. Kalisch had a personal acquaintance with Richard Strauss, and he was critic for several newspapers during the period when the work of Strauss was the subject of general interest to the musical public. He knew German and translated the texts of Von Hofmannsthal; and in his capacity as secretary of the old Concert-Goers' Club, and Chairman of the Music Club, he was the means of introducing the new works to a wide public. He also rendered valuable assistance to the Royal Philharmonic Society, for whose concerts he wrote programme notes.

24. Admiral of the Fleet, Lord Wester Wemyss, was born on April 12, 1864, the third son of Mr. J. H. E. Wemyss, M.P. for Fife. Descended from the Fifth Earl of Wemyss, with a grandfather a rear-admiral, he entered the Navy in 1877. After serving in several ships he became, in 1893, lieutenant in the *Empress of India*. In 1901 when King George V. and Queen Mary, then Duke and Duchess of Cornwall and York, visited the colonies he was commander of the *Ophir*; his social qualities contributed to the success of the trip, and he was promoted captain and created M.V.O. in November of the same year. In 1911 he was created C.M.G., and appointed to command of the Second Battle Squadron in 1912. When the Great War broke out Wemyss commanded a cruiser squadron patrolling the Channel, and covering the passage of the Expeditionary Force to France; and he conveyed the first draft of the Canadian forces across the Atlantic. In 1915 he was sent to the Dardanelles with instructions to organise a base at Mudros. Wemyss was in charge of the landing operations as well as of the naval side of the evacuation from Suvla and Anzac. In 1916-17, as Commander-in-Chief on the East Indies Station, he was concerned in the defence of the Suez Canal, and with operations in Syria and Mesopotamia. In 1917 he was given command in the Mediterranean, but before he took up the appointment he was called to the Admiralty as Deputy First Sea Lord. In January, 1918, he succeeded Lord Jellicoe as First Sea Lord, but he decided to retire in November, 1919. He was created Baron Wester Wemyss, of Wemyss in Fife, and promoted Admiral of the Fleet for his war services. He had been created K.C.B. for his services at the Dardanelles, and G.C.B. in 1918. He married, in 1903, Victoria, only daughter of Sir Robert Morier, and had one daughter. His title became extinct.

28. Professor John George Robertson, Professor of German Language and Literature at the University of London since 1903, died at the age of 62. He was educated at the Universities of Glasgow and Leipzig, and was at one time lecturer in English at Strassburg University. He was the foremost German scholar in this country; a biography of Goethe was his principal work. While at Strassburg he obtained his material for a "History of German Literature" (1902). He helped to establish a School of German studies, and as editor of the *Modern Language Review* he did much to place the study of modern languages on a scientific basis. He was also Director of Scandinavian Studies at University College. His "Genesis of Romantic Theory" (1923) constituted his principal contribution to criticism, and he had practically completed a voluminous work on Leasing at the time of his death. In 1923 he revived the English Goethe Society at a time of strained relations between Germany and this country. His wife was the novelist, Henry Handel Richardson.

29. Dr. James Loeb, the founder of the Loeb Classical Library, died at Murnau, in Bavaria, at the age of 65. About twenty-five years ago, when he ceased to take an active part in the business of Kuhn, Loeb & Co., being a great student and lover of the classics himself, he conceived the idea of a library that would make classical literature more easily available to both students and laymen. At his expense the Loeb Classical Library was launched. The original scope of the Library was intended to cover everything of any importance in literature from the time of Homer to the fall of Constantinople; but the Great War intervened, and serious illness prevented Dr. Loeb from continuing his project himself. After the war he was able to resume his personal interest, and he continued to keep in touch with the editors, and to stimulate and encourage all those who were working for him, not merely financing the Library but also by his active personal interest in it. In 1925 he received the degree of LL.D. at Cambridge University. He was a well-known and much-respected archaeologist in Germany, where he received many honours; his generosity to Munich, and especially to the University, was greatly appreciated. He was a trustee of the American School of Archaeology at Athens, and a member of the Societies for the Promotion of Hellenic and of Roman Studies, of the Archaeological Institute of America, and of the Berlin Archaeological Institute. In 1905 he founded and endowed the Institute of Musical Art in New York. His translations included Paul Decharme's book on "Euripides," Maurice Croiset's on "Aristophanes," and Auguste Couat's "Alexandrian Poetry under the First Three Ptolemies."

— The Rev. Edward de Mountjoie Rudolf, founder of the Church of England Waifs and Strays Society, was born on April 11, 1852. He was educated privately, and at the age of 19 entered the Office of Works, afterwards becoming private secretary to Lord Rosebery when the latter was First Commissioner. Through his work in a Sunday School in South London, he made the discovery that there were no Church of England Homes for destitute children. In order to remedy this state of affairs he obtained the sanction of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and although himself a layman, was responsible for the foundation of the Church of England Waifs and Strays Society which began its work in 1881 in a small house in Dulwich. The Society grew until, in 1932, there were 109 homes caring for 4,567 children. During the first ten years Mr. Rudolf was honorary secretary; he then gave up his work as a Civil servant in order to devote himself entirely to the needs of the Society. It was not until 1898 that he was ordained deacon, and was thus able to appeal from the pulpit on behalf of his large family. In 1907 he was admitted to priest's orders, and in 1911 the Bishop of London appointed him to the prebend of Wedland in St. Paul's Cathedral. Another great social work of his was the foundation, in conjunction with the late Rev. Benjamin Waugh, of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, in 1884. He was keenly interested in emigration, and he was also one of the pioneers in the League of Nations movement. He was created C.B.E. in 1931. Prebendary Rudolf married, in 1881, Emma Bulmer, who predeceased him in 1929. He was survived by two sons and three daughters.

JUNE.

7. Cyrus Hermann Kotschmar Curtis, American newspaper owner, was born at Portland, Maine, on June 18, 1850. As a boy he sold newspapers, and before the age of 15 he and another youth founded a weekly called *Young America*. In 1869 he went to Boston and started the *People's Ledger* which he continued to publish until 1876, when he removed to Philadelphia. His next venture, the *Tribune and Farmer*, started in 1879, contained a supplement called the *Ladies' Home Journal*, edited by his wife, which was ultimately turned into a separate concern. During the editorship of Mrs. Curtis, and of her son-in-law, E. W. Bok, who succeeded her, the *Ladies' Home Journal* steadily increased

its reputation. The Curtis Publishing Company was formed in 1891, and in 1897 Curtis bought the *Saturday Evening Post*. In 1913 he added the *Public Ledger* of Philadelphia to his list of newspapers. The *Evening Ledger* which he started in 1914, and the *Philadelphia Press*, which he bought in 1920 and amalgamated with the *Ledger*, were his next ventures; and in 1923 he bought the *New York Evening Post*, a paper of very high standing in America. In 1925 the *Philadelphia North American* was added to the group, and merged in the *Public Ledger*. In the same year the Curtis-Martin Newspapers Inc. were formed, and in 1930 they acquired the *Philadelphia Inquirer*. Mr. Curtis's first wife, Miss Louise Knapp, of Boston, died in 1910, and he married again a second cousin, Mrs. Kate Pillsbury, of Milwaukee, who died in 1932. In 1931 Mr. Curtis made a gift of over 1,000,000 dollars to the University of Pennsylvania.

7. **Sir Walter Morley Fletcher, F.R.S.**, Secretary of the Medical Research Council, died after an operation at the age of 59. It was in 1914, when he was finishing his period of ten years as a tutor of Trinity College, Cambridge, that the Medical Research Council chose Fletcher as their first secretary. He had graduated in Medicine, but beyond his participation in the research on the biochemical basis of muscular contraction, he had little obvious contact with the medical world. During the war the building acquired for the National Institute became a hospital, and the new organisation was at once engaged in solving problems of research for the services and Government Departments. In 1916 Fletcher first suffered from the illness to which he at last fell victim, but his enthusiasm never flagged, and his interests, apart from medical research, were widespread. He was an antiquarian and possessed considerable architectural knowledge, as well as being a first-rate man of affairs. He was a C.B. and a K.B.E., honorary doctor of Oxford, and many other Universities in Great Britain and America. He was a member of the Royal Commission on Oxford and Cambridge (1919-22), a governor of the London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine, and Chairman of the Indian Government Committee on the organisation of Medical Research, and of the Scientific Advisory Committee of the Lady Tata Memorial Trust. Sir Walter married Miss Mary Frances Cropper, of Kendal, who, with a son and a daughter, survived him.

9. **Entile Joseph Dillon**, well known as a foreign correspondent, for many years connected with the *Daily Telegraph*, died at the age of 78. He was born in Ireland and educated at the College de France, Paris, and the Universities of Innsbruck, Leipzig, Tübingen, Petrograd, Louvain, and Kharkoff, of which last he was a doctor of comparative philology. He was also an accomplished linguist, and an authority on Oriental literature. From 1887 to 1914 he was Russian correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph*, and in 1888 he was foreign editor of the *Odessa Messenger*, and subsequently editor of the *Odessa News*. At the close of the Russo-Japanese war he went to the peace conference in New Hampshire as adviser to M. Witte. In 1894-95 he was special correspondent in Armenia, where he successfully assumed a variety of disguises. He was in Spain during the Spanish-American war, and in Crete during the Hellenic troubles. In 1899 he reported the second trial of Captain Dreyfus, and he was special correspondent in China during the Boxer Rising. He was in Portugal during the revolution in 1910. Dillon published many books and articles, including "The Peace Conference" (1919), at which he had been present, "The Future of Mexico" (1921), "Mexico's Mission" (1923), "Russia To-day and Yesterday" (1929), and "Leaves from Life" (1932). He was twice married, first in 1881 to a Russian lady, by whom he had three sons; and again in 1914, to Kathleen, daughter of Mr. J. Ireland of Belfast, who survived him.

14. **Sir Ernest Moir, Bart.**, an engineer who specialised in hydraulic work, was born on June 9, 1862, and educated at University College School, and University College London, of which he became Fellow in 1916. He was articled

as an engineer, first to Messrs. A. Chaplin & Co., Glasgow, and later to the Clyde shipbuilders, Messrs. R. Napier & Sons. As a member of the staff of Messrs. Tancred, Arrol & Co., he was employed in connexion with the Forth Bridge. Later he was called to New York to be engineer under Sir B. Baker on the Hudson River (North) tunnel. On his return to England, he was engaged on the construction of the tunnel under the Thames at Blackwall. Back in the United States again, he supervised the building of the four tubes under the East River from Manhattan to Long Island, built for the Pennsylvania Railroad in 1904-9. He was also concerned in engineering works at Seaham Harbour, extensions of the Surrey Commercial and the Royal Albert Docks, the Admiralty Harbour at Dover, harbour works at Valparaiso, the Great Northern and City Railway, and the reservoir in the Mourne Mountains for Belfast Corporation. During the war he had charge of the Machine-Gun Section of the Department of the Director-General of Munition Supplies. He was controller of the Munitions Inventions Department, and served on the Ministry of Munitions Council from 1916 to 1919. He went to New York in 1916 as chief of the Ministry of Munitions Branch in the United States, and acted on his return as Director-General of American Supplies. Later he was Chairman of the British Transport Liquidation Committee. He became a member of the Admiralty Engineering Committee in 1912, and in 1924-25 he was Chairman of the Government Committee on New Methods of House Building. Sir Ernest was made a baronet in 1916, and in 1920 he became a Director of Messrs. S. Pearson & Son, Ltd. In 1919 he was appointed an officer of the Legion of Honour. He married, in 1887, Margaret Bruce, daughter of Mr. T. Pennycook. Their elder son fell in the war, and Moir was succeeded by his younger son, Captain Arrol Moir.

16. Dr. Percy Stafford Allen, President of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, and a great Renaissance scholar, was born on July 7, 1869, and educated at Clifton College and Corpus Christi College, where he had a brilliant career, gaining, among other honours, the Chancellor's prize for a Latin essay. He became assistant master at Magdalen College School; and later, in 1897, he was appointed Professor of History at the Government College, Lahore, where he remained for four years. In 1901 he returned to Oxford, having already, while in India, commenced his great work on the "Letters of Erasmus," and in 1906 the "Opus Epistolarum Desiderii Erasmi Roterdami" began to appear from the Oxford University Press. In 1908 he was elected to a Research Fellowship at Merton College, holding that position until 1924, when he was appointed President of Corpus Christi College. He travelled much on the Continent in the course of his researches in connexion with his work on Erasmus, and he was familiar with most of the libraries in Europe, both great and small. During his Presidency at Corpus he was much concerned in building; the new facade is in great measure due to his efforts. Honours were showered upon him by universities and learned societies in many parts of the world. Dr. Allen married, in 1898, Helen Mary Allen, his cousin, who herself became an excellent scholar and assisted him in his work on Erasmus.

17. Frederick Margetson Rushmore, the first lay Master of St. Catherine's College, Cambridge, was born in Suffolk on March 13, 1869, and educated at King's College, London, and St. Catherine's College, Cambridge. In 1898 he was appointed assistant master at the Perse School, later becoming second master. He was elected to a Fellowship at St. Catherine's, in 1907, where he lectured in History, also filling the offices of assistant tutor and junior bursar. He became senior tutor and president in 1918, and in 1927 was elected master. Rushmore's work as tutor had raised the reputation of his college; when he became its head the college held a distinctive place in the University. Rushmore took a keen interest in Freemasonry, in which he held high rank; and did valuable work for the Cambridge O.T.C. He married, in 1910, Millicent, daughter of E. A. Beck, late Master of Trinity Hall, and left three sons and one daughter.

19. **Frau Clara Zetkin**, *nei* Clara Eissner, German Communist leader, was born in Saxony in 1857. Her interest in Socialism caused her to abandon her profession of teacher, and migrate to Paris where she married the Russian Socialist, Ossip Zetkin. After her husband's death she returned to Germany with her two sons, and engaged in work on behalf of the Social Democratic Party, becoming editor of the women's paper, *Die Gleichheit*, until 1916. Frau Zetkin came to hold a prominent place in the party, and from 1895 she belonged to the Control Committee. From 1916 to 1919 she edited the women's section of the Socialist *Leipziger Volkszeitung*. She was elected to the Wurtemberg Diet as an Independent Socialist after the revolution, but gravitating more to the Left, she joined the Communists. She was a Communist member of the Reichstag from 1920 onwards, and secretary of the Second and Third Internationals. She edited two Communist women's publications. After 1924 she lived mostly in Moscow where she was President of the International Workers' Relief. In 1930 she was again elected to the Reichstag. In August, 1932, she appeared on a public platform in Germany for the last time, having travelled to Berlin to preside as the oldest Deputy at the opening of the first Reichstag elected under the Papen regime. In 1899 Frau Zetkin married, as her second husband, an artist named Zundel.

27. Sir Charles Walter Starmer, the controller of a large group of provincial newspapers and an active force in provincial journalism, was born in Lincolnshire on July 12, 1870. As a young man he joined the staff of the *Northern Echo*, and about 1900 he was appointed manager. In 1903 this paper was acquired by the North of England Newspaper Company, of which he afterwards became managing director. He founded what was known as the "Starmer Group," and at the time of his death he controlled about thirty newspapers, including the *Northern Echo*, the *Birmingham Gazette*, the *Yorkshire Observer*, and the *Nottingham Journal*. Many evening and weekly papers in the North and Midlands, as well as Southern and Western publications, belonged to his group, and he was for a time connected with the *Westminster Gazette*. He was twice Mayor of Darlington, in 1907, and again at the time of his death, and he was a staunch Liberal. In 1923 he was elected to the House of Commons for the Cleveland Division of the North Riding, but in 1924 he failed to secure re-election. Sir Charles married first, Ada Cornforth, who died in 1919; and secondly, in 1929, Cicily Willink, daughter of the Very Rev. J. W. Willink, Dean of Norwich. A daughter by the first marriage survived him.

JULY.

3. Dr. Hipolito Irigoyen, twice President of Argentina, was born in Buenos Aires of Spanish-Basque stock, the son of a landowner; the year of his birth, not generally known, was given both as 1853 and 1857. From his maternal uncle, Leandro Alem, founder of the Radical Party, he imbibed his anti-Federalist and anti-Conservative principles. He was appointed a police captain in Buenos Aires in 1873; was elected to the Provincial Legislature in 1878, and to the National Chamber of Deputies in 1881. As lieutenant to his uncle in 1893 he took part in the unsuccessful attempt of the Radicals to overthrow the Provincial Government. At Alem's death he became the recognised leader of the Opposition. After various political vicissitudes Irigoyen was swept into power on the crest of the wave of Radical successes in the Congressional elections of 1916, and became President of the Republic. During the post-war slump, when bankruptcy, strikes and unemployment were general, he carried out a policy of "social pacification." He had kept his country strictly neutral during the war, a fact which enhanced his popularity when he retired from office in 1922. At the election which followed he sponsored the successful candidature of Senor Alvear. At the next Presidential election, in 1928, Dr. Irigoyen secured a sweeping victory,

polling two-thirds of the electorate, a result obtained mainly by his own personal prestige. During his second term of office his dislike of the United States turned him towards Britain, and he was solely responsible for the acceptance of the trade agreement negotiated with Lord D'Abernon's economic commission. Politically an idealist, he was a convinced pacifist, but nevertheless strongly opposed to the League of Nations. Though scrupulously honest himself, and heedless of money (he gave his official salary to charity), his second Government was marred by inefficiency and confusion in the ministries and by grave corruption. For eight years no Budget had been voted, and the machinery of government came virtually to a standstill. The President's arbitrariness increased, and for the last two years of his regime, finding the majority in the Senate opposed to him, he ruled practically without Congress; and he also superseded the Governments of four provinces. His autocracy culminated in the revolution of September, 1930, after which, and for the last three years of his life, he remained practically a political prisoner. For long a popular hero, the enthusiasm at his downfall was no less than at his rise to power. Neither learned, nor widely read, he led the Radical Party for thirty years, and was a friend to the poor and to the working classes. Dr. Irigoyen was unmarried.

6. William Acheson Traill, engineer, was born at Bushmills, Ulster, in 1844, the son of William Traill, and brother of Anthony Traill, Provost of Trinity College, Dublin. Educated at private schools, he took a degree in Engineering in 1873. From 1868 until 1881 he was with the Geological Survey of Ireland. His chief claim to fame, however, was his work in connexion with the Giant's Causeway Electric Tramway, the first hydro-electric railway in the world, opened in 1883, and held to be the greatest engineering achievement of the day. Although only 8 miles in length, the line required two special Acts of Parliament to allow of its construction; with the co-operation of Dr. (afterwards Sir William) Siemens and other scientists, a private company was formed with Anthony Traill as Chairman and William as managing director. In the face of difficulties, legal and political as well as hydraulic and electrical, the scheme was carried through. Traill was a member of the General Council of the British Association, and a Fellow of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland. In 1895 he was awarded the Silver Medal of the Royal Humane Society for rescuing a party of people from drowning; among them a young woman, Nora Woodhouse, who thirty years later became his third wife, and who survived him.

8. Sir Anthony Hope Hawkins, celebrated as novelist and playwright under the pen-name of "Anthony Hope," was born on February 9, 1863, the second son of the Rev. E. C. Hawkins, then headmaster of St. John's Foundation School for the Sons of Poor Clergy at Clapton. He was educated at his father's school after its removal to the Leatherhead district, at Marlborough, and at Balliol College, of which he was a Scholar. At Oxford he became an ardent Radical, and was President of the Union as well as one of the founders of the *Oxford Magazine*. Called to the Bar by the Middle Temple in 1887, he "devilled" for R. S. Wright, later a judge, and H. H. Asquith; and by 1893, when he forsook the law for letters, he had the beginnings of a healthy practice. In 1892 he contested South Bucks in the Liberal interest, but was defeated. After spending some years writing in London he lectured in the United States in 1897-98, and again in 1903, in which year he married Elizabeth Sheldon, of New York. Of his books (though he himself considered "The King's Mirror" (1899) to be the best), "The Prisoner of Zenda" (1893) and its sequel, "Rupert of Hentzau," stood highest in popular favour; Ruritania, the imaginary Balkan state of those novels, became a recognised term for the *terrain* and accessories of highly-coloured romantic fiction. The skilful neatness of his dialogue was to be seen in his society novels, which included "The Great Miss Driver" (1908), "Mrs. Maxton Protests" (1911), "A Young Man's Year" (1915), a gently ironical sketch of the world of law and fashion; "Beaumaroy Home from the Wars"

(1919), "Lucinda" (1920), and his last novel, "Little Tiger," issued in 1927. Several of his books were dramatised, and he also wrote a number of plays, including *The Adventure of Lady Ursula* and *Pilkertori's Peerage* (the two most successful), *English Nelly* in which Marie Tempest took the title rôle in 1900, and *Mrs. Thistleton's Princess*. "The Prisoner of Zenda" was filmed more than once. In 1927 he published an informal and discursive biography called "Memories and Notes." During his later years he devoted himself to the study of anthropology. Hawkins was knighted in 1918. He had two sons and a daughter.

12. Edward Tennyson Reed, well-known caricaturist and black-and-white artist, aged 73, was the son of Sir Edward Reed, F.R.S., naval architect and M.P. for Cardiff. After being educated at Harrow he travelled in India, China, and Japan. In 1890 he was appointed to the staff of *Punch* by Sir F. C. Burnand, and for many years drawings signed "E. T. R." became familiar to *Punch's* readers. In 1893 he began a series called "Prehistoric Peeps;" from 1894 to 1912 he was parliamentary caricaturist. His published collected drawings included "Mr. Punch's Prehistoric Peeps" (1896), "Mr. Punch's Animal Land" (1898), "Mr. Punch's Book of Arms" (1899), and "The Tablets of Azit-Tigleth-Miphansi the Scribe" (1900). He married Beatrice Bullen in 1889, and had one son and one daughter.

14. Concemore Thomas Cramp, general secretary of the National Union of Railwaymen, was born at Staplehurst, Kent, on March 19, 1876, and began work as a gardener's boy at the age of 12. He entered the railway service as a porter at Shipley, near Bradford, when he was 21 at a wage of 16s. a week. Becoming an active member of the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants, in 1907 he was chosen a delegate at the Birmingham conference of that year; four years later, when a guard on the Midland line, he became a member of the executive committee. In 1917, four years after the National Union of Railwaymen was formed, Mr. Cramp became its president, but was not chosen an officer of the union until 1920, when he was appointed industrial general secretary, sharing the leadership with J. H. Thomas, who then became the union's political general secretary. In matters of trade union policy he advocated moderate views, urging conciliation rather than strikes. He was President of the International Transport Workers' Federation in 1925, in which year he presided at the annual conference of the Labour Party, on the national executive of which he served from 1918 to 1928. In 1929 he became a member of the General Council of the Trades Union Congress. He was a member of numerous Government and public committees, including the Port and Transit Committee, the Committee on Adult Education, the Cinematograph Films Advisory Committee, and the Post Office Advisory Council. In 1932 he was appointed to the Royal Commission on Lotteries and Betting. He stood for Parliament at Middlesbrough in 1918. His wife, with a son and daughter, survived him.

16. Sir John Reeves Ellerman, Bart., shipowner and financier, was born on May 15, 1862, and trained as an accountant. In 1892 he joined the Board of Frederick Leyland & Co., Ltd., and soon afterwards became Chairman. Some ten years later he sold the North Atlantic part of the Leyland Line to J. P. Morgan, then forming a large American shipping consolidation, but retained the Leyland Mediterranean fleet and business, to augment which he soon acquired the Papayanni Line. His next purchases were the important City Line and most of the Hall Line, both serving eastern routes. The firm of Westcott & Laurance, which maintained sailings between London and the Levant, was added to his steamship interests, Captain John R. Westcott becoming one of his chief lieutenants. Other acquisitions were the Bucknall Steamship Lines, which then became known as the Ellerman and Bucknall Steamship Co., and in 1916 the Wilson Line, of Hull, whose name became Ellerman's Wilson Line. During the

war Ellerman's ships, as those of other owners, were requisitioned by the Government, and the efficiency and compactness of so large an organisation was of great value to the country. The various fleets controlled by him at the end of his life were estimated at about 1,500,000 tons gross, while the finance of his companies was regarded as remarkably sound. Apart from his own Ellerman Group, Sir John was a large stock and share holder in other leading shipping companies such as the Gunard and the P. and O. Right through his business life he was a firm supporter of the British shipbuilding industry, and he bought and sold vessels freely; he was, in fact, considered one of the greatest forces behind British shipping ever known. For some time Ellerman had a large financial interest in newspapers. He was for a number of years associated with Lord Northcliffe as a shareholder in *The Times* and in Associated Newspapers, Ltd. He also owned for a period the bulk of the shares in the group of illustrated weekly journals comprising the *Illustrated London News*, the *Sphere*, the *Taller*, the *Sketch*, *Eve*, and the *Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News*. He was said to be one of the largest shareholders in brewery companies, and he was concerned in huge real estate transactions in both the City and the West End of London. Sir John Ellerman was credited with being one of the wealthiest men in the country. He left estate valued at over seventeen millions sterling. He was created a baronet in 1905, and in 1921 a Companion of Honour. He married, in 1908, Miss Hannah Glover, by whom he had one son, who survived him.

20. Harry Lawson Webster Laws on, 1st Viscount, and 2nd Baron Burnham, for many years chief proprietor of the *Daily Telegraph*, was born in London on December 18, 1862, the son of Edward Levy-Lawson, and grandson of Joseph Moses Levy, originally a printer in Shoe Lane. The grandfather, a few months after its birth in June, 1855, took over as a bad debt the *Daily Telegraph and Courier*, which he printed, and produced it as the *Daily Telegraph*, the first penny newspaper to be published; the son became editor of the paper, and was raised to the peerage; the grandson maintained the high place of the paper in English journalism, and achieved distinction in home affairs and Imperial politics. Lawson was educated at Eton and Balliol College, Oxford. He was secretary of the Union and of the Palmerston Club, and while still an undergraduate married in 1884 Olive, second daughter of General Sir Henry de Bathe. In 1885, at the age of 22, he was returned to Parliament as a Liberal by West St. Pancras, being the youngest member of the House. He was called to the Bar by the Inner Temple in 1891. After various political vicissitudes, he became a Unionist, and in 1910 returned to the House of Commons as member for the Mile End division of the Tower Hamlets. In 1916 he succeeded to his father's peerage and entered the House of Lords. He had been a member of the first London County Council in 1899, and Mayor of Stepney in 1908 and 1909; member of the Royal Commission on Civil Establishments (1889-94), of the Bryce Committee on reform of the House of Lords; in the Speaker's Conference on Election Reform it was he who moved the resolution which included women for the first time in the Reform Bill of 1918. He had early in his career turned his attention to Imperial affairs, and was a member of the Empire Settlement Committee, the Emigrants Information Committee, and later of the Overseas Settlement Committee of the Colonial Office. In 1917 he was made one of the first members of the Companionship of Honour, and two years later was given a viscounty in recognition of war services. As Chairman of the Standing Joint Committees on the Salaries of Teachers he was instrumental in increasing the remuneration of school teachers, and the new basis of payment became known as the Burnham Scale. Burnham was President of the International Labour Conference in 1921, 1922, and 1926, and may be said to have built up the conference's standing orders. He did good work for the League of Nations in accepting the chairmanship of the first World's Press Conference held in Geneva in 1927, which was attended by representatives of journalism, transport and communication services from thirty-eight countries. He was Chairman of the Newspaper Proprietors' Association, President of the Institute of Journalists, 1909-10, of the Imperial Press

Conferences at Ottawa and Melbourne in 1920 and 1925, of the Empire Press Union from 1916 to 1929 ; he was deputy-chairman of the Empire Parliamentary Association, and president of the Public Health Congress at Bordeaux in 1924 and Ghent in 1927. In 1927 he went to India as a member of Sir John Simon's commission on Indian constitutional reform. In 1921 he gave to the City of London, in memory of his father, 65 acres of land adjoining Burnham Beeches. In 1928 he sold the *Daily Telegraph*. Lady Burnham, with their only daughter, survived him.

22. Sir Emery **Walker**, an expert on typography and antiquary, was born on April 2, 1851, the son of a coahbuilder originally from Norfolk. After a short schooling at Chelsea he began to earn his living at the age of 14, and followed various humble occupations. Then in 1873 he joined Alfred Dawson, who the year before had started the Typographic Etching Co., the oldest firm of process-engravers in the country, and remained with him till 1883. In 1886, in partnership with William Boutall, he founded the well-known firm in Clifford's Inn, with which under the successive names of Walker & Boutall, Walker & Cockerell, and finally Emery Walker Ltd., he was associated for the rest of his life. He was a friend of Samuel Butler and Henry Arthur Jones, and in 1883 met William Morris, and formed the beginning of a most fruitful association. In 1891 together they established the Kelmscott Press, which produced many famous hand-printed editions, with type and ornaments designed by Morris. In 1888 Walker and Morris joined Walter Crane and others in founding the Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society, from which many similar societies have sprung ; at about the same time Walker was elected to the committee of the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings, his interest in architecture having always been keen. As secretary of the Hammersmith branch of the then young and unpopular Socialist Party, it fell to him to organise Sunday evening lectures at which the speakers were men who afterwards rose to fame, e.g., J. Ramsay MacDonald, Bernard Shaw, and Lord Haldane. After the death of Morris, he joined T. J. Cobden-Sanderson in 1900 in founding the Doves Press, but parted from him in 1909. The Kelmscott and Doves Presses made typographical history ; but Walker's share in recent developments in the art of printing was not confined to them, for it has been said that his influence, direct or indirect, can be seen in nearly every page of well-designed type that now appears, and that to him more than any other was due the great improvement in ordinary book production during the past thirty years. In 1904 he was Master of the Art Workers' Guild ; he was a vice-president of the Society of Antiquaries, a trustee of the Wallace Collection, and a member of various committees and Royal Commissions concerned with the arts. He was appointed Sanders Reader in Bibliography at Cambridge in 1924, received a knighthood in 1930, and in 1933 was elected an honorary Fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge. Sir Emery married, in 1877, Miss Mary Grace Jones, who died in 1920 ; their only child, a daughter, survived him.

23. **Max von Schillings**, distinguished musician, was born at Dttren in the Rhineland sixty-five years ago, and was trained for the law, which he gave up for music. He scored his first success at the age of 26 with the opera *Ingwelde*, followed by the operas *Der Pfeifertag* and *Moloch*; and as the result of these works was appointed, in 1908, musical assistant to the intendant of the Stuttgart court theatre, conductor of the royal concerts and director of operatic performances; from 1911 to 1918 he was general musical director, and in 1912 he was ennobled by the King of Wurtemberg for his services. Much controversy arose over his opera *Mona Lisa*, produced in 1915. After the war he succeeded Richard Strauss as director of *Jie* Prussian State Opera in Berlin, a post he held until his dismissal in 1925, due to a dispute with the Ministry of Education. From then onwards his work as a conductor was unofficial, and it was not until April, 1929, that he again conducted at the State Opera. Known as an able organiser as well as a musician, he had been chairman of the General Association

of German Music since 1918, Vice-President of the International Congress of Composers in 1928, and Chairman of the Society of German Composers since 1930. In 1932 he was elected to succeed Max Liebermann as President of the Academy of Arts. His works, in addition to his operas, included the symphonic prologue "Oedipus," the first part of the music to Goethe's *Faust*, and popular melodrama *Das Hexenlied*, as well as over forty songs. From his early teacher, K. Joseph Brambach, he derived the traditions of Hummel and Beethoven, and from another instructor, O. F. von Königsloew, the methods of David, the violinist, and Moritz Hauptmann, the theorist.

28. Admiral Sir William Pakenham, expert on naval tactics, was born on July 10, 1861, and entered the Royal Navy as a cadet in 1874. After various junior appointments, in 1884 he became flag-lieutenant in the *Nelson* to Rear-Admiral Tryon, Commander-in-Chief in Australia, and after service in some other ships was promoted commander in 1896. In 1899 he was appointed to the Naval Intelligence Department at the Admiralty, and two years later received his first independent command, that of the sloop *Daphne* in China; he was promoted captain 1903. His next post (1904) of Senior Naval Attache at Tokio, brought him the then rare distinction of service in a modern fleet action; for he was present throughout the operations of the Russo-Japanese War, being on board Admiral Togo's flagship during the battle of Tsushima; for his coolness during the action and for his valuable reports he received a C.B., and from the Emperor of Japan, the Order of the Rising Sun, second class. He returned home to command the cruiser *Antrim* in the Atlantic Fleet, then in 1909 the battleship *Triumph* in the Mediterranean, and in 1910 the new battleship *Collingwood*. At the end of 1911 Mr. Winston Churchill made him Fourth Sea Lord, and he soon attained flag rank. In December, 1913, he left the Admiralty to take command of the Third Cruiser Squadron, with his flag on the *Antrim*. In March, 1915, he was chosen to command the Second Battle-Cruiser Squadron; in this capacity he went through the battle of Jutland, ably supporting Beatty during his first action with the German battle-cruisers, and later with their High Sea Fleet; for these services he was promoted to K.C.B. In November, 1916, he succeeded Beatty in his command of the Battle-Cruiser Force; he was given the rank of vice-admiral in 1918. After the war he was appointed President of the Royal Naval College at Greenwich, which he left after a year to become Commander-in-Chief in North America and the West Indies, where he served from October, 1920, to February, 1923. He retired in 1926. He was created K.C.V.O. in 1917, K.C.M.G. 1918, G.C.B. 1925, besides holding several high foreign decorations. From 1930 to 1933 he held the heraldic office of Bath King of Arms. Twice in his career he distinguished himself by life-saving at sea.

AUGUST.

2. Professor Henry George Greenish, formerly Professor of Pharmaceutics to the Pharmaceutical Society of Great Britain, and in the University of London, was born in London in 1855, and educated at the Philological School, where he gained the Basil Ward Scholarship. He served his apprenticeship with his father who was treasurer of the Pharmaceutical Society from 1878 to 1880, and subsequently president. In 1875 Greenish became a Bell Scholar, and gained many awards in the Pharmaceutical Society's School of which he afterwards became Dean. For a short time he was demonstrator in the School of Pharmacy controlled by the Pharmaceutical Society of Great Britain, and then for two years he was a post-graduate student at Dorpat. Later he went to the University at Vienna. He resumed his connexion with the Pharmaceutical Society's School in 1890, becoming lecturer, and three years later professor in "materia medica." This title was altered to Professor of Pharmaceutics. He was secretary of the

Pharmaceutical Society's Committee for the 1898 issue of the "British Pharmacopoeia," and was joint editor of the 1914 issue. He was also a member of the commission responsible for last year's edition. In 1917 he was awarded the Hanbury Medal, and he possessed many foreign distinctions, including that of docteur of the University of Paris. He was a Fellow of the Institute of Chemistry, and of the Linnean Society.

2. Sir **Graham** John Bower, Imperial Secretary in South Africa at the time of the Jameson Raid, was born in Ireland on June 15, 1848, and went to school at Brighton. He entered the Navy in 1861, and after six years in the Mediterranean and a spell as gunnery officer at Liverpool, he served three years on the East Coast of Africa in the suppression of the slave trade. He was appointed commander of H.M.S. *Conflict* in 1879. In 1880 he became private secretary to Sir Hercules Robinson, Governor of the Cape, and later High Commissioner in South Africa, and four years later he retired from the Navy. From 1884 to 1897 he was Imperial Secretary, and played an important part in the politics of those troubled years which saw the annexation of Bechuanaland and the Jameson Raid. His close connexion with the latter is manifest by the many references made to his activities in memoirs dealing with the subject, and he is openly supposed to have been in Rhodes' confidence. At any rate it is certain that on the night of December 29, 1895, Rhodes gave Bower the news that Jameson and his raiders were crossing into Transvaal, and Bower did not give the information to Sir H. Robinson until the following morning. He was present at the signing of the Convention of Pretoria, in 1881, which sealed the retrocession of the Transvaal to the Dutch. When President Kruger, by a process of encroachment on Bechuanaland, set himself in defiance of the London Convention of 1884, Bower was sent to Taungs to examine the situation, and later a proclamation annexing Bechuanaland was issued by the High Commissioner. Bower also took part in negotiations resulting in the Swaziland Convention of 1890. He was created K.C.M.C in 1892, and he was appointed Colonial Secretary of Mauritius in 1898. He retired in 1910, devoting himself largely to the study of International Law; he was on the Council of the International Law Association. He was also an ex-President of the Grotius Society. Sir Graham married, in 1882, Miss Maud Mitchell of Sydney, Australia, and had a son and daughter.

3. Dr. **Otto Stapf**, F.R.S.; was formerly keeper of the Herbarium and Library at the Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew. Born at Ischl, on March 23, 1857, he studied botany at Vienna, and after obtaining his degree, became assistant to Professor Kerner von Marilaun in 1882, and later himself lectured in the University. He travelled in Persia in 1885, and in 1891 became assistant for India at Kew. He was appointed principal assistant in 1899, and keeper of the Herbarium and Library in 1909. The great work of his life, however, was his revision of Pritzels' "Iconum Botanicarum Index." This work, which, since the 'sixties, had been the standard book of its kind, was in serious need of revision owing to the progress made in the recent discovery of new genera and species. In 1912 the Council of the Royal Horticultural Society allotted £250 as the nucleus of a fund for the undertaking of this work. After the war the scheme was again set in motion and Dr. Stapf became editor, having retired from his post at Kew in 1922. In 1929 the first volume of "Iconum Botanicarum Index Londinensis" was published, and in 1931 the sixth and last volume appeared, completing the revision down to 1920. Dr. Stapf also wrote on Oriental, Indian, Malayan, and African floras. He was Botanical Secretary of the Linnean Society from 1908 to 1916, and editor of the *Botanical Magazine*. He was the recipient of several important medals, and a corresponding member of the Vienna Academy of Sciences and the Deutsche Botanische Gesellschaft.

4. Dr. **Thomas Rice Edward Holmes**, the greatest English authority on Julius Caesar, was born in Co. Westmeath on May 24, 1855, and educated at the Merchant Taylors' School, and Christ Church, Oxford. After taking his degree,

he became assistant master at Lincoln Grammar School, and subsequently at Blackheath Grammar School from 1880 to 1885. In 1885 he joined the staff of St. Paul's School, where he remained for twenty-four years. While still in the twenties he published his "History of the Indian Mutiny"; "Four Famous Soldiers" appeared in 1889. It was while teaching at St. Paul's School that he conceived the idea of writing a straightforward English narrative of Caesar's Gallic Wars, and gradually he became more deeply immersed in his subject until he took his place in the forefront of classical scholars. "Caesar's Conquest of Gaul" (1899), and "Ancient Britain and the Invasions of Julius Caesar" (1907), appeared before his retirement from St. Paul's School, which took place in 1909. The "Roman Republic," in three volumes, and the "Architect of the Roman Empire," completed in 1931, bore witness to the renewed energy with which he turned to research after teaching ceased to make its claims upon his time. As a historian, he will endure, not only through his ability to unfold a narrative but also for the minute scholarly investigation which lies behind every conclusion at which he arrived. He received several academic honours, including that of Honorary D.Litt. of Oxford and Litt.D. of Dublin. He was a Fellow of the British Academy, a member of the Council of the Classical Association, a past Vice-President of the Roman Society, and honorary Vice-President of the Royal Historical Society. Dr. Holmes married, in 1888, Isabel Isaacs, of Mandville, Jamaica, but had no children.

7. Walter Sidney Sichel, well known as a biographer, was born in London on February 26, 1855. He went to Harrow in 1868, where he had a distinguished school career, winning early commendation as a school poet, and it was to poetry that he turned again later in life when he wrote "In Honour" to commemorate his two sons killed in the Great War. From Harrow he went to Balliol College, Oxford, and later he practised at the Bar for a short time. Law, however, was not his calling, and he soon turned again to literature, working at first as a free-lance journalist, and after advancing steadily to political writing and an editorship, he finally commenced that series of biographies for which he later became so well known. "Bolingbroke and his Times," "Emma, Lady Hamilton," "Sheridan," and "Disraeli" are all standard works on their respective subjects. In 1910 he published a selection from the diaries of Lord Glenbervie, and in 1923 he brought out a book of reminiscences. He was a brilliant and witty conversationalist, a strong antagonist and a devoted friend. He married, in 1887, Constance, daughter of Mr. J. Holms, M.P. for Hackney and a member of Gladstone's Government, and he is survived by four daughters. Mrs. Sichel died in 1924.

12. Dr. Walter Lock, for nearly sixty years connected with Keble College, Oxford, was born at Dorchester on July 14, 1846, and educated at Marlborough College and Corpus Christi College, Oxford, which he entered as a scholar in 1865. He gained many distinctions at Oxford, including the Hertford Scholarship in 1867, and the Craven in 1870. In 1869 he was elected a Fellow of Magdalen College, which position he held until he was married in 1892. A lover of English literature, he acted as assistant to the Professor of Humanity at St. Andrews University (1869-70), returning to become one of the first tutors of the "New Foundation of Keble College." He was Sub-Warden of the College from 1882 to 1897, when he became Warden, continuing in the service of the College until 1920. He was ordained deacon in 1872 and priest the following year. Dr. Lock contributed many works to ecclesiastical literature. His "Keble College Sermons," published in 1877 and 1889, were followed in 1902 by a "Life of John Keble"; "The Annotated Edition of the Christian Year" preceded a similar edition of "Lyra Innocentium" in 1899. "St. Paul the Master Builder" (1899) and the "Bible and Christian Life" (1905) were among his other works, which also included papers on the Bible in the "Oxford House Papers" and contributions to Hastings' "Dictionary of the Bible" (1901). In 1919 he was

elected to the Lady Margaret's Professorship of Divinity, the oldest chair in the University, having already been Dean of Ireland's Professor of the Exegesis of Holy Scripture (in 1895). He was elected honorary Fellow of Magdalen in 1897, and of Corpus in 1920, and honorary member of the Keble Council in 1922. His most important work was "A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Pastoral Epistles" (1924). He took a great interest in the cause of women's education; and he was also a strong supporter of the League of Nations Union. He married, in 1892, Jane Campion, of Westmaston, Sussex, and is survived by one son and four daughters.

17. **Abbe Henri Bremond**, a distinguished historian and critic, and a member of the French Academy, was born in 1862, and entered the Jesuit Order at the age of 20, coming to England for his novitiate. During the ten years spent in this country he developed a great interest in English literature which later received expression in a series of works on English writers. He became a contributor to *Les Etudes* in 1899, and later published an article on George Elliot in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*. "L'Inquietude Religieuse," his first philosophical work, was followed by "Le Charme d'Athenes," the manuscript of which he had brought back with him after a visit to Greece. Works on Thomas Moore and Cardinal Newman were followed by an "Apologie pour Fenelon" and several works on religious history. His last and greatest work, the "Histoire de Sentiment Religieux en France," he left unfinished. The eleventh volume appeared just before his death. He left the Jesuit Order later in life, but his relations with the Order continued to be friendly until his death. He took a keen interest in the Oxford Movement, and for Oxford itself he had the greatest attachment. He received the honorary degree of Doctor of Letters from the University in 1928.

SEPTEMBER.

2. **Georges Leygues**, French Minister of Marine, was born at Villeneuve-sur-Lot on November 28, 1858. After his education at Toulouse and the University of Bordeaux he went to Paris to practice law, but instead became more interested in literary pursuits. In 1885 he entered politics. It was unusual for a man of his type to be found in the political arena at the time, and in 1894 he became a member of the Cabinet, first as Minister of Public Instruction and Fine Arts under Charles Dupuy, and in the succeeding Government as Minister of the Interior. In 1898 he returned to the former office again under M. Dupuy, and continued to hold the post under Waldeck Rousseau. The first action against the Church in France which ultimately culminated in the separation of the Church and the State, took place under this Government, and Leygues, who was not in sympathy with extreme anti-clericism, was called upon to take a considerable part in the debates. He became Colonial Minister in the Sarrien Government in 1906, and when the Prime Minister retired the following October, largely owing to the power attained by his Minister of the Interior, Clemenceau, Leygues also retired. It was not until 1917 that he again held office, this time as Minister of Marine in the Government of M. Clemenceau. In 1920, when Millerand became President, Leygues succeeded him as Prime Minister. But he was not a great leader, and under him the Government had a very short life of four months. Later he was again Minister of Marine under Briand in 1925 and 1926, and under Tardieu in the winter of 1929-30. After a break of two years he returned to his old office under M. Herriot, and held the office until his death. He wrote several books, including "L'Ecole et la Vie" (1904), "La Pologne" (1928), and "Colbert et son œuvre" (1920).

6. **Charles Rowley**, known as "Rowley of Ancoats" from the district in Manchester to whose poor he devoted so much of his life, died in his ninety-fourth year. His father was a picture-frame maker, and Rowley, who was too delicate

to attend regular school, devoted himself to reading and also developed an interest in art through his father's business. He attended classes in the Bennett Street School, and was himself an example of the self-education that he did so much to encourage in later life. He became a teacher in the same school, and in 1875 entered the City Council. In 1881 he started his campaign for raising the standard of life among the poor. From then onwards he enlisted the services of many well-known people to give addresses in New Islington Hall, and organised music, flower shows, and art exhibitions. In 1885 the movement was expanded and a series of University Extension Lectures started. Four years later he founded the Ancoats Brotherhood, whose splendid social and educational work was known throughout the country.

7. Viscount Grey of Fallodon, who held the office of Foreign Secretary for a longer consecutive period than any other man in English History, and to whom fell the necessity of delivering the British Ultimatum to Germany in August, 1914, was born on April 25, 1862, of an old Northumbrian family with strong Liberal traditions. He was great-grand-nephew of "Lord Grey of the Reform Bill." His father died when he was 12, and Edward Grey was brought up by his grandfather, Sir George Grey. In 1876 he went to Winchester. He was all through life a keen sportsman and lover of nature, and it was while living at Winchester that he developed the passion for fly fishing which remained his principal relaxation from the strain of public life. In 1880 he proceeded to Balliol College, Oxford, then under Jowett, and while at Oxford, he became a champion tennis player. In 1882 his grandfather died, and he succeeded to the title as third Baronet. In the year in which he took his degree he entered politics (1884), first being private secretary to Sir Evelyn Baring during the conference in London on Egypt, and then private secretary to Mr. Childers, Chancellor of the Exchequer. In 1885 he was elected Liberal member for Berwick-upon-Tweed. He did not take a very prominent place in the House, and it was something of a surprise when he was selected Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs when Lord Rosebery became Foreign Secretary in 1892. When the Government went out and the South African War caused a definite split in the Liberal Party, Grey assisted Mr. Asquith and Lord Haldane to form the Liberal Imperial League. He was admitted to the Privy Council in 1902. In 1905 he made a speech in the City in which he stressed the fact that the Anglo-French Entente and the Japanese Alliance, formed under the Balfour Administration, would not in any way be imperilled by a change of Government, and when, a few weeks later he became Foreign Secretary in Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman's Government, he proceeded to act on the lines of this speech. In the Algeiras Conference on Morocco, held in 1906, the British delegates upheld their French colleagues, thus proving to Germany the strength and reality of the Entente. The following year an agreement was reached with Spain regarding the *status quo* of the waters adjacent to Southern Spain and North-West Africa. In 1907 Grey reached an agreement with Russia regarding the respective rights of Britain and Russia in Persia, and he also steadily advanced friendly relations between England and the United States. In 1908 Mr. Asquith became Prime Minister, and Sir Edward Grey, his great friend, continued at the Foreign Office. Affairs in the Near East, and later the internal politics of the nation, engaged public attention during the next few years, but the increasing ambition of the Central Powers was again manifest in 1911 when Germany sent a gunboat to Agadir ostensibly to guard German interests threatened by the spread of French influence. After this second blow at the Entente, Grey made it evident that Britain intended to maintain her position, and Germany came to a reasonable agreement with France. From 1912 to 1914 the Foreign Secretary was continually engaged in trying to ease the strain between Germany and England, and was still so engaged when the Austro-Serbian dispute became critical. When, after the declaration of war by Austria upon Serbia, urgent appeals were made by Russia and France for England to declare her intention of supporting them in arms as the only means of preserving peace,

Sir Edward Grey, although it was his own opinion that the step might succeed, was outweighed by force of public opinion in favour of British neutrality. But when, after Germany had declared war upon France on August 1, he made a final appeal in the House for Britain to stand by her obligations, he succeeded in obtaining the support he desired, with the result that Great Britain declared war upon Germany on August 4. The efforts of the Foreign Secretary were now turned towards maintaining relations with neutral Powers, and he was especially successful in his dealings with the United States, a very important factor in the Blockade of Germany. He remained at the Foreign Office when Mr. Asquith formed the first Coalition Government. In July, 1916, an affection of the eyes forced him to accept a peerage in order to minimise his work, but in December of the same year, when Mr. Lloyd George became Prime Minister, Lord Grey, after eleven years at the Foreign Office, decided to follow Mr. Asquith into retirement. At the fall of the Coalition he accepted the position of Leader of the Liberal Party in the House of Lords, resigning in 1924, to devote himself to literary pursuits. He published "Twenty-Five Years" (1925), "Fallodon Papers" (1926), "The Charm of Birds," and "Fly Fishing." In 1927 he became President of the Liberal Council. He lent his support to the Nationalist Government in 1931. The Order of the Garter was bestowed upon him in 1912, and in 1928 he became Chancellor of Oxford University. He married, firstly, in 1885, Dorothy Widdrington, of Alnwick, who was killed in an accident in 1906; and secondly, in 1922, Lady Glenconner, widow of the first Lord Glenconner. She died in 1928. Viscount Grey left no children.

8. King Feisal of Iraq, was born on May 20, 1883, the third son of Hussein ibn Ali, of the Hejaz. He was taken to Constantinople at the age of 6, and was educated by a "mollah" and a French tutor, later serving in the Ottoman Army. In 1908 his father became Emir of Mecca, and Feisal was sent into the desert to learn the hardy Beduin life of the tribes. In 1910 he headed a contingent from the Emir of Mecca to assist the Turks in reducing the tribes of inland Asir, and later he became Deputy for Jeddah in the Ottoman Parliament, and a leader in the Arab Home Rule Group. He was therefore ready, when the Great War broke out, to take whatever opportunity offered itself to bring about the overthrow of Ottoman rule, and after a series of adventurous campaigns, begun in 1916 and culminating in the entry of the Arab Expeditionary Force into Damascus in 1918, he accepted nomination by the British Commander-in-Chief as High Commissioner of "occupied Territory East" while, *de facto*, enjoying the honours of a King. He attended the Peace Conference at Paris as his father's representative, bringing all his diplomacy to bear on the question of the French claim to Syria. In the end he was obliged to try and persuade the Syrians to accept the French Mandate, but the Extremists, in the hope of forcing the British Government, proclaimed him King of Syria on March 8, 1920. The Powers refused recognition, and ultimately the French occupied Damascus and dismissed Feisal from his office. He then went to Italy. Later he was appointed as his father's representative in London where he spent the winter of 1920-21. At the suggestion of Whitehall he decided to visit Iraq. He landed at Basra on June 24, 1921, and with the support of the British High Commissioner he was acclaimed first Emir, and then, on August 23, King of Iraq. Immediately difficulties arose over the question of the British Mandate. King Feisal desired a Treaty of Alliance to replace the unpopular Mandatory relation, and matters came to a head on June 10, 1924, when the debates in the Iraqi Constituent Assembly became heated on the subject. The British Government announced its willingness to reconsider certain of the financial obligations of Iraq, and also its intention of bringing the whole matter before the League of Nations Assembly. Accordingly the treaty was passed by the Iraqi Constituent Assembly and accepted by the League. The Tripartite Treaty, concluded on June 5, 1926, between Iraq, Great Britain, and Turkey, restored good relations between Iraq and the Turkish Republic. In 1927 King Feisal visited London in order to try and obtain British support for the application of Iraq for entry into the League of Nations. Britain

did not consider the time was ripe, but in 1929 the British Government announced its intention of supporting the Iraqi candidature for admission into the League in 1932, and on October 3 of that year Iraq duly entered the League. Early in 1933 a dangerous crisis arose owing to the outbreak, and subsequent suppression, of a revolt among the Assyrian Christians in Iraq, and the affair was taken to the League. King Feisal, whose health was never robust, was under a great strain, and his sudden death in Switzerland, where he had gone for a cure when the affairs of his country had become less serious, was unexpected both in England and Iraq.

11. **Arthur Reed Ropes**, known professionally as Adrian Ross, the composer of the lyrics for many of the most famous Musical Comedies of the last forty years, was born on December 23, 1859, and educated at the City of London School and King's College, Cambridge, of which he was a scholar. During his undergraduate career he won many distinctions, including the Chancellor's Medal for English verse, and the Members' Prize for English essay. He read both Mathematics (1882) and History (1883), winning both the Lightfoot and the Whewell Scholarships. He became a Fellow of King's College in 1884, and until 1890 he lived the ordinary life of a college teacher. He published a volume of serious verse, and it was only by chance that he turned his attention to lighter poetry. To pass the time while recovering from a cold, he wrote a libretto on the Gilbertian model, and ultimately he and Dr. Osmond Carr wrote a comic opera which was produced. Mr. John L. Shine joined Ross in re-writing the piece, and when it was shown to the late George Edwardes, he commissioned the three of them to write a burlesque, entitled *Joan of Arc*, which was produced at the Opera Comique in 1891. From then on, "Adrian Ross" was associated as writer of lyrics in most of the outstanding successes of Musical Comedy. *Morocco Bound* (1893), *San Toy* (1899), *A Country Girl* (1902), *The Cingalee* (1904), *The Merry Widow* (1907), *The Dollar Princess* (1909), *The Quaker Girl* (1910), and *Gipsy Love* (1912) were the best known of these productions, and after the war *Monsieur Beaucaire* (1919), *Lilac Time* (1922), *The Beloved Vagabond* (1927), and the *Toy Maker of Nuremburg* (1930), upheld his former standard. He was also a serious author of note, publishing among other works, a "Short History of Europe" (1889), and "Lady Mary Wortley-Montagu's Letters (Selection and Life)" 1893. He married, in 1901, Ethel Wood, who, with two daughters and one son, survived him.

— **Alfred Sutro**, well-known as a dramatist, was born on August 7, 1863, into an old Jewish family originally settled in Spain. Sutro was educated at the City of London School and in Brussels. For fourteen years he was in business with his elder brother, and then he went abroad with the intention of making writing his profession. He became a friend of Maeterlinck, several of whose prose works, and notably "The Life of the Bee," he translated into English. On his return to England, he practised journalism and play-writing. His first appearance as dramatist was in collaboration with Arthur Bouchier, in *The Chili Widow*, an adaptation of a French play. But it was not until ten years later, in 1904, that he achieved fame with *The Walls of Jericho*, produced at the Garrick Theatre. *Mollentrave on Women* followed in 1905, at the St. James's Theatre, and *The Perfect Lover* was produced at the Imperial Theatre in the same year. Other plays of his include—*The Fascinating Mr. Vanderveldt* (1906), *John Glayde's Honour* (1907), *The Builder of Bridges* (1908), *The Perplexed Husband* (1911), *The Two Virtues* (1914), *The Clever Ones* (1914), *Uncle Anyhow* (1918), *The Choice* (1919), *The laughing Lady* (1922), *A Man with a Heart* (1925), and his last acted play, *Living Together*, produced at Wyndham's Theatre in 1929. Sutro married Esther Stella, daughter of Joseph M. Isaacs, and sister of the first Lord Reading.

18. **M. Stephen Plchon**, French Foreign Minister at the time of the Armistice, was born in Burgundy in 1857, and went to Paris to study medicine. But he

soon deserted medicine to become a journalist, championing the extreme Radicals. At a time when the Monarchist Party in France was at its strongest, Pichon was one of the foremost in defence of the Republic. He entered the Paris Municipal Council in 1883, and in 1885 he became Deputy for the Department of the Seine as an anti-Boulangist. Losing his seat in 1893, for the next twelve years he was almost continuously abroad. In 1894 he became French Minister at Port-au-Prince, going thence to Rio de Janeiro and Peking (1897). He was in China during the Boxer Rebellion, and his journal of the siege of the French Legation was afterwards published. Almost immediately on his return to France he was appointed Resident-General of the Republic in Tunis. He returned to Paris in 1906, being elected Senator for the Department of the Jura, and when soon after Clemenceau, who was an old friend, formed a Cabinet, Pichon became Minister for Foreign Affairs. He left this office in 1911, after nearly five years, but he was again Foreign Minister, twice before the war, and when Clemenceau again became President of the Council, in 1917, Pichon returned to his old office. He was one of the five representatives of France at the Peace Conference in 1919. Although he had at first been regarded by many as a mere shadow of Clemenceau, he soon established himself as an able statesman.

20. Mrs. Annie Besant, the President of the Theosophical Society, was born on October 1, 1847, of Irish parentage. In 1867 she married the Rev. Frank Besant, afterwards Vicar of Sibsey, Lincolnshire, and had two children. Losing her religious faith, she left Sibsey in 1873, and was legally separated from her husband. She met Charles Bradlaugh and became co-editor of the *National Reformer*, and Vice-President of the National Secular Society. In 1885 she joined the Fabian Society, and the Social Democratic Federation, becoming keenly active in the spread of Socialism. It was in 1889 that she announced her conversion to Theosophy, and on the death of Madame Blavatsky in 1891, Mrs. Besant became her successor. In 1893 Mrs. Besant visited India for the first time. There she devoted herself to the spread of Theosophy and to the education of the Hindus. She founded the Central Hindu College at Benares in 1898. After leaving Benares she spent her time at the Theosophical Institute at Adyar, near Madras. She was very popular, owing to her belief in the superiority of Hinduism over the civilisation of the West, and because she condemned British rule in India. Later she claimed that a young Indian, Krishnamurti, whom she had adopted, was the Messiah. Early during the war she formed a league for the promotion of "Home Rule for India," a policy preached in her daily paper, *New India*. Partly as a result of her activities the Government of Madras decided in 1917 to intern her. But in 1918, in order to create a more peaceful atmosphere for the Montagu-Chelmsford inquiry, Mr. Montagu as Secretary of State for India removed the limitation of her movements. But her power was beginning to wane, and soon after an outspoken criticism of her by Dr. T. M. Nair, leader of the non-Brahman party in Madras, her political and religious leadership diminished, and her last days were spent in retirement at Adyar.

24. Miss Dorothea Baird (Mrs. H. B. Irving), the actress, who was the original "Trilby," was born in Northumberland on May 20, 1873, and educated at a High School in Hampstead. She made her first appearance on the stage at Oxford in an O.U.D.S. production of *The Tempest* in 1894; later she joined Ben Greet's company and obtained a great deal of experience in Shakespearean plays. Du Maurier himself considered her the ideal "Trilby," and in October, 1895, she appeared in the part in Tree's first production of the play at the Haymarket Theatre, where she scored a great success. From the Haymarket she went on tour with Irving, now her father-in-law, to understudy Ellen Terry. She also appeared in several plays at the Lyceum. She was the original "Mrs. Darling" in *Peter Pan*; other plays in which she appeared included *Olivia* (Sophia), *The Wedding Quest* (Margaret), and *Nero* (Acte). On tour she played in *Paolo and Francesca* (Francesca) and *Charles I.* (Queen Henrietta-Maria). In 1910 she was

seen as "Portia" in *The Merchant of Venice*. She went with her husband, H. B. Irving, to Australia in 1911, but in 1912 she left the stage to devote herself to infant welfare work. She was elected a Poor Law Guardian for St. Pancras in 1913, and was Hon. Secretary of the National Baby Week Council. Her husband died in 1919. She left a son and daughter.

28. Sir Graeme Thomson, Governor of Ceylon since 1931, was born on August 9, 1875, and educated at Winchester and New College, Oxford. In 1898 he entered the Transport Department of the Admiralty as a clerk, and in September, 1914, he became Assistant Director of Transports, and Director in the following December. In 1917 this post was changed to Director of Transports and Shipping, when the Ministry of Shipping was set up. Much credit is due to him for the successful maintenance of food supplies during 1917. In July, 1919, he left the Admiralty to become Colonial Secretary of Ceylon, where he stayed for three years until appointed Governor of British Guiana in 1922. In 1925 he was promoted to the Governorship of Nigeria, one of the greatest positions in the Colonial service, but his successful administration was cut short at the end of 1927, when he fell seriously ill and had to come home for an operation. After his recovery, in December, 1930, he was appointed Governor of Ceylon. It was while returning to England to discuss with the Secretary of State matters concerning the Revision of the new Constitution that Sir Graeme was seized with his fatal illness. He was created C.B. in 1917, K.C.B. in 1919, and G.C.M.G. in 1928, besides which he had the Legion of Honour and many other foreign decorations. He married, in 1914, Beryl Marrion, daughter of Mr. T. Tomlin.

— Q. R. S. Mead, the founder of the Quest Society, whose death closely followed that of Mrs. Besant, with whom he was associated in the promotion of Theosophy, was educated at King's School, Rochester, and St. John's College, Cambridge. He later became private secretary to Madame Blavatsky, the co-founder of the Theosophical Society. Jointly with Mrs. Besant he edited *Lucifer*, later named the *Theosophical Review*, and finally became sole editor. In 1908, as a result of differences that arose with Mrs. Besant, he and certain others left the Theosophical Society and soon after founded the Quest Society. In 1909 he began the publication of *Quest* which, he edited until it ceased publication in 1930. The Society was dissolved at the same time. Mr. Mead was very much interested in the Society for Promoting the Study of Religions, and his work on Christian origins and comparative religion was widely used by students. Works of his included "Fragments of a Faith Forgotten," "Did Jesus Live 100 B.C.?" "Thrice Greatest Hermes," "Pistis Sophia," "Echoes of Gnosis" in eleven volumes, and "The Gnostic John the Baptizer." He married, in 1899, Laura Mary, daughter of Frederick Cooper, I.C.S., who predeceased him in 1924.

OCTOBER.

2. Professor John Edward Marr, Emeritus Professor of Geology at Cambridge, was born on June 14, 1857, at Poulton-le-Sands, Lancashire. He was educated at the Lancaster Grammar School, and St. John's College, Cambridge, where he held a foundation scholarship. His academic distinctions included a first class in the Natural Sciences Tripos (1878), a Fellowship of his College (1881), a University Lectureship (1886-1917), and finally the Woodwardian Professorship of Geology (1917-30). He published many works on Geology; "The Classification of the Cambrian and Silurian Rocks" obtained the Sedgwick prize at Cambridge in 1882. Marr also published papers on the older rocks of the Lake District, and North-West Yorkshire, and (in collaboration with Ms friend, Nicholson, of Aberdeen) on the geology of the Cross Fell area. Again in collaboration with Harker, Professor Marr published a work on the granite of Shap, Westmorland, which became a classic in the literature of petrology. In his later years

he made a study of the Pleistocene and recent deposits of Cambridge. He was elected Fellow of the Royal Society in 1891; served on the Council and received a Royal Medal in 1930. He was secretary of the Geological Society of London from 1888 to 1898; in 1900 he received the Lyell Medal, and was President from 1904 to 1906. In 1914 he received the Woilaston Medal. He took the Sc.D. degree at Cambridge in 1904, and was made honorary doctor of the University of Prague in 1908.

2. Lady Butler (*nee* Elizabeth Southerton Thompson), famous as a painter of Military pictures, was born at Lausanne on November 3, 1850, the daughter of Mr. T. J. Thompson, and sister of Mrs. Meynell, the poet. After a childhood spent largely in Italy, she went for two years to the South Kensington School of Art. In 1868 she moved to Florence to study, returning to South Kensington in 1872. It was at the Royal Academy Exhibition of 1874 that she showed her picture, "The Roll Call," which, after achieving instantaneous success, finally passed into the possession of Queen Victoria. With this picture she attained to fame, and it remained to the end of her life the high water-mark of her popular success. In 1879 her election to the Academy was defeated by only two votes. Among other well-known pictures of hers were "Quatre Bras" (1875), in the National Gallery at Melbourne; "Rorke's Drift" (1881), also purchased by Queen Victoria; "The Remnant of an Army" (1881), in the Tate Gallery; "Balaclava" (1876) and "The Return from Inkermann" (1877), both at Manchester; while Leeds Town Hall has "Scotland For Ever" (1881), and "Steady, the Drums and Fifes" (1896) is in the possession of the old 57th, now the Middlesex Regiment. In 1877 Miss Thompson married Colonel, later General, the Right Hon. Sir William Butler, and had six children.

11. Dr. Frederick William Hall, President of St. John's College, Oxford, was born at Stoke Newington on December 3, 1867. From St. Paul's School he was elected to a scholarship at Trinity College, Oxford. After a distinguished academic career, which included a first class in "Literæ Humaniores," and the Gaisford Prizes for Greek prose and Greek verse, he became a master at Westminster School (1893). His first published work, a school edition of the Fourth Verrine Oration of Cicero, appeared in 1897. In the same year he was elected an official Fellow and Lecturer in Classics of St. John's College. He was engaged during the following years on an edition of Aristophanes for the Oxford Classical Texts, a work he undertook in collaboration with W. M. Geldart. In 1913 appeared at the Clarendon Press a "Companion to Classical Texts," and he was also a contributor to the new edition of "Liddell and Scott." He was editor of the *Classical Quarterly* from 1911 to 1930, and he frequently contributed to the *Classical Review*. A classical tutor of the first rank, he was a man of profound and varied scholarship and was keenly interested in contemporary Art. Dr. Hall was elected President of St. John's in 1931. He was unmarried.

12. Sir Arthur William Mayo-Robson, a pioneer of surgery in England, was born on April 17, 1853. He received his medical education at Leeds. In 1874 he obtained the diploma of M.R.C.S. (Eng.) and was admitted F.R.C.S. in 1879. He became demonstrator, and in 1876, Lecturer in Anatomy at the Leeds School of Medicine, a post he held until 1888, when he became teacher of operative surgery. From 1890 to 1899 he was Professor of Surgery at the Yorkshire College, in the old Victoria University, becoming Emeritus Professor in 1899. He was also surgeon to the Leeds General Infirmary from 1884 to 1902. He lectured as Hunterian Professor at the Royal College of Surgeons of England on three occasions, and was elected a member of the Council in 1893. He served twice as vice-president, and delivered the Bradshaw Lecture in 1905. During the Great War he served in Gallipoli and Egypt as Colonel A.M.S., and on his return from Egypt he became a member of the Consultative Medical Council of the War Office, and consulting-surgeon to the Southern Command. He was made a C.B. (Military)

in 1916, and a K.B.E. in 1919, having been knighted in 1908. He was also Chevalier of the Legion of Honour. He was twice married, first, in 1883, to Florence Walker of Osmondthorpe Hall, near Leeds, who died in 1930, and by whom he had three daughters ; and secondly, in June, 1933, to Mrs. Ada Northen, of Upper Culham, Oxfordshire.

16. **Professor Anthony Ashley Be van**, formerly Lord Almoner's Professor of Arabic at Cambridge, and a distinguished Oriental scholar, was born on May 19, 1859. He began his study of Hebrew at Lausanne in 1897, and in 1881 he entered the University of Strasbourg, where he studied Syriac, Arabic, and Ethiopic under Noldeke. He went to Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1884, obtaining a first class in the Semitic Languages Tripos, a Tyrwhitt's Hebrew Scholarship, and the Mason Prize for Biblical Hebrew in 1888; and in 1890 he was elected to a Fellowship at Trinity College, afterwards becoming Lecturer in Oriental Languages. In 1893 he was appointed by the Bishop of Ely to be Lord Almoner's Professor of Arabic. Bevan was a gifted linguist, and in addition to the Semitic languages, he possessed a working knowledge of most European languages, and was a good scholar in Sanskrit and Persian. His published works included "A Short Commentary on the Book of Daniel" (1892); "The Hymn of the Soul," re-edited in the "Cambridge Texts and Studies" (1897); "The Naka'id of Jarir and al-Farazdak," Arabic text in three volumes (1905-12); "Essay on Historical Methods in the Old Testament" (1909); the article "Manichaeism" in the "Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics" (1915); and also a supplementary volume to Sir Charles Lyall's edition of the "Mufaddaliyat" (1924); and articles for the "Encyclopaedia Biblica." He was elected a Fellow of the British Academy in 1916. Professor Bevan was unmarried.

— **Dr. Inazo Nitobe**, a distinguished Japanese scholar and lawyer whose writings and personality fanned a link between Japan and the West, was a Samurai by birth, and a convert to Christianity. In 1895 he was appointed Adviser to the Governor-General of Formosa, and Director of the Bureau of Productive Industries. Later he became Professor of the Faculty of Law at Tokio University, and, in 1906, he was appointed Principal of the First High School. In this, and other educational capacities, he exercised enormous influence over the youth of his country. His earlier books included "Bushido," and "Japanese Traits and Foreign Influences," both written in English. He was appointed Under-Secretary of the League of Nations in 1921, holding the post until 1928. After his retirement he published "Japan" in the Modern World Series. Dr. Nitobe married Miss Elkinton, of Philadelphia.

22. **The Hon. Sir John Fortescue**, historian of the British Army, was born on December 28, 1859, the fifth son of the third Earl Fortescue, and educated at Harrow and Trinity College, Cambridge. Though his own desire was to enter the Army, he was destined for the law, but finding that he had no liking for law, he accepted an offer to become private secretary to Sir William Robinson in Barbados. Later he became A.D.C. to Sir William Jervoise, Governor of New Zealand. After his return to England he contributed some articles to *Macmillan's Magazine*. A history of the 17th Lancers followed, and proved such a success that Macmillans asked him to prepare a popular history of the British Army in one volume. Later the work was enlarged, in 1899 the first two volumes appeared, and in the end it comprised thirteen volumes, bringing the history down from the battle of Hastings to 1870. These volumes appeared at intervals, the last in 1930. In 1905 he became Librarian at Windsor Castle, a post he retained until 1926. He also published volumes on Wellington and Marlborough, and, outside of military history, "The Story of a Red Deer" (1897), and "My Native Devon" (1924). He was created M.V.O. in 1907, C.V.O. in 1917, and K.C.V.O. in 1926. His academic honours included honorary degrees from Edinburgh and Oxford ; and he was an honorary Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. He was

awarded the Cheaney Gold Medal of the Royal United Service Institute. In 1911 he delivered the Ford Lecture at Oxford; **the** Lees-Knowles Lecture in London in 1915; **and** the Romanes Lecture at Oxford in 1929. He married, in 1914, Winifred, daughter of the Rev. Howard Beech, but left no children.

22. **Adly Pasha Yeghen**, Egyptian statesman, was born in November, 1865, the grandson of Mohamed Ali, founder of the reigning house of Egypt. Educated in France, he became private secretary to Nubar Pasha, Premier and Foreign Minister in Lord Cromer's time. In 1888 Adly entered the provincial administration, and in 1902 became Governor of Cairo. He was universally esteemed, but for some time Palace objections retarded his promotion. In 1913, however, he accepted the Vice-Presidency of the Legislative Assembly. In 1914 he was appointed Minister for Foreign Affairs at a time when British relations with the Khedive were very strained. When in the Great War Turkey joined the Central Powers, he concurred in the measure taken by the British Government in deposing Khedive Abbas, and severing the ties which bound Egypt to Turkey. After the Armistice, when Zaghlul and his associates commenced a violent agitation for the complete independence of Egypt, Adly used his influence to mitigate the tension. In 1920, after the publication of the Milner Commission's Report, Adly formed a new Egyptian Cabinet. He came to London to open negotiations on the lines of the report, but difficulties arose, and considering himself unable to accept the terms of Lord Curzon's treaty, he resigned. Meanwhile the Sultan Hussein had been succeeded by King Fuad, with whom Adly was not on friendly terms, and from 1922 to 1926 he played little part in politics. When the first Parliament, in which the Wafdists were supreme, was about to meet, Adly succeeded Ziwari Pasha as the head of a Coalition Ministry, but his position with a Liberal-Wafdist Cabinet was impossible, and he resigned in April, 1927. Meanwhile the power of the King was growing, and, in 1928, Mohamed Pasha Mahmud became virtually dictator. Following his resignation in 1929, Adly formed a neutral Government to hold the elections, and when the Wafd succeeded, he made way for Nahas Pasha. Adly disliked both Wafdist Party dictatorship and the increasing power of the King, but was himself unable to form any middle party sufficiently powerful to hold the balance.

23. **Donald John Armour, F.R.C.S., M.R.C.P.**, famous brain surgeon, died suddenly at a council meeting of the Medical Society of London at the age of 64. He was born in Cobourg, Ontario, where his father was Chief Justice, and educated at Upper Canada College, the University of Toronto, and University College, London. He was soon recognised as a great authority on brain surgery, and having been a colleague of Sir Victor Horsley, he became an exponent of Horsley's work after his death. His publications included, "The Surgery of the Spinal Cord and its Membranes" and "Injuries to the Brain and Spinal Cord." In 1904-5 he was Arris and Gale Lecturer, Royal College of Surgeons, and Jacksonian Prize Essayist in 1906. In 1908 he became Hunterian Professor of Surgery and Pathology. He was Lettsomian Lecturer, Medical Society of London, in 1927, and he was elected President of the Society for 1929-30. He was President of the West London Medico-Chirurgical Society in 1927-28, and of the Neurological Section of the Royal Society of Medicine in 1928-29. From 1930 to 1932 he **was** President of the Association of British Neurological Surgeons. He became Lieut.-Colonel R.A.M.C. during the war, **and was** specialist to numerous military hospitals. At the time of his death he **was** Surgeon to the National Hospital for Nervous Diseases, and Consulting Surgeon to the West London Hospital. He was married, **and** his wife survived him, with one son and two daughters.

24. **Mrs. Annie Louisa Swynnerton, first woman Associate of the Royal Academy** since the foundation membership of Mary Moser and Angelica Kauffmann in 1768, was **born** at Kersal, near Manchester, in 1844, a daughter of Mr. Francis Robinson. After a short term at the Manchester School of Art, she studied in

Paris and Rome. She first exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1879, but it was not until 1922, when she was in her seventy-eighth year, that she was finally elected an Associate. She was greatly encouraged in her early years by John Sargent, who bought her pictures, including "The Oreads," which was exhibited at the Academy in 1907, and which Sargent presented to the nation. Mr. George Clausen bought her "New Risen Hope," exhibited in 1906, and gave it to the National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne. Her work always possessed a vital quality, and this was particularly the case in her pictures of children in the open. She also painted allegorical and symbolical subjects. Her "Mater Triumphalis" was bought by Rodin, for the Luxembourg Museum, and "A Dream of Italy" was purchased by the Metropolitan Museum, New York. Another version of her "New Risen Hope" was bought for the National Gallery out of the Academy of 1923 under the terms of the Chantrey Bequest. She continued painting up to within a few months of her death, in spite of age and failing eyesight. Mrs. Swynnerton met her husband, Mr. Joseph Swynnerton, a Manx sculptor, while in Rome; they were married in 1883.

29. Professor Leon Charles Albert Calmette, Assistant Director of the Pasteur Institute, was born at Nice on July 13, 1863. After his medical training he spent several years as ship's doctor and Colonial Medical Officer. Later he joined the staff of the Medical Faculty at Lille, where he made a particular study of bacteriology. He founded the Pasteur Institute for Tuberculosis Research at Lille, and carried out a long series of experiments. In 1899, when the plague broke out in Oporto, he was chosen by the Pasteur Institute to conduct an inquiry on the spot; and in 1919 he succeeded M. Metchnikoff at the Institute. He devoted his whole life to research in connection with Tuberculosis, and his discoveries of an anti-tubercular serum led to the use of the bacillus Calmette Guerin, which proved particularly successful in the treatment of tubercular children.

— Paul Painlevé, the French philosopher and statesman, twice Prime Minister of France, and a pioneer of French aviation, was born in Paris on December 5, 1863. After distinguishing himself at the Ecole Normale Supérieure, he became a professor at Lille University, and, five years later, at the Sorbonne in Paris. His studies combined pure mathematics with practical science, and, in 1904, became Professor of Mechanics and Engineering at the Ecole Polytechnique. In the early days of aviation he wrote a book on aeronautics, and he became Vice-President of the French Air League. In 1906 he entered Parliament as Deputy for Paris. His interest in national defence brought him to the fore in several Parliamentary Committees concerned with the forces. In 1915 he was appointed Minister of Public Instructions and Inventions in the Government of M. Briand. Owing to disagreement with his chief concerning the conduct of the war, he was not included in the reconstruction of the Cabinet in 1916; but he became Minister of War when Briand was succeeded by Ribot. It fell to Painlevé to make drastic changes in the Command of the Army when the offensive launched by tactical Nivelles failed, and it was he who appointed Petain Commander-in-Chief, with Foch as his Chief-of-Staff, to succeed Nivelles. In September, 1917, Ribot fell, and Painlevé became Prime Minister, holding office from September 7 to November 13, 1917, when he resigned owing to loss of Socialist support. He played no part in politics again until November, 1919, when he appeared as critic of the Bloc National, and of the Governments deriving their support from it. In the General Election of May, 1924, the Cartel des Gauches, formed by M. Herriot and himself, obtained a small majority, and M. Herriot became Prime Minister, while Painlevé was elected President of the Chamber of Deputies. He held this post until 1925 when M. Herriot resigned, and he thereupon became Prime Minister for the second time. He failed, however, in his task of saving the franc, and, following the serious disorders in Syria which further weakened his position, he resigned on November 21, and resumed his old post of War Minister under M. Briand. He was also Minister of War in Poincaré's Government from

July, 1926 to July, 1929, and he was Minister of Air in the Steeg Government (December, 1930). He again became Minister of Air on M. Herriot's accession to office in June, 1932, and he held this post until January, 1933. Twice in his career he was a candidate for the Presidency of the French Republic, first in 1924 when he was defeated by M. Doumergue, and secondly, in 1932, when he withdrew before the vote. His philosophical and scientific publications included " *Lecons sur reintegration des Equations de la Mecanique*," " *Lecons sur le Frottement*," " *Lecons sur la Theorie Analytique des Equations Differentielles*," and " *Ce que Disent les Choses*."

NOVEMBER.

2. Sir George Henry Makins, distinguished surgeon who served in the South African War and also in the Great War, was born at St. Albans on November 3, 1853, and educated at Gloucester Collegiate School and St. Thomas's Hospital. He was admitted M.R.C.S. in 1875, and F.R.C.S. in 1878. Continuing his studies at Halle and Vienna, he returned to England to become assistant surgeon at St. Thomas's, in 1886, and eventually surgeon, and on his retirement from the active staff in 1920, consulting surgeon. He was secretary of the International Medical Congress during its very successful meeting in 1881. In the South African War he served as consulting surgeon to the Field Force, being created C.B. for his services. In 1914 he was appointed senior consulting surgeon to the British Expeditionary Force. In 1917 Makins was elected President of the Royal College of Surgeons of England, and in April, 1929, he was awarded the honorary Gold Medal of the College. He was President of the Board of Examiners of the Naval Medical Service, and member of the Consultative Committee of the Queen Alexandra Military Hospital. In 1919 he published a work, founded on his experiences during the war, on gunshot injuries to the blood-vessels. He was on the Council of the British Red Cross Society; treasurer of the Imperial Cancer Research Fund, and consulting surgeon to the Evelina Hospital for Sick Children. He was created K.C.M.G. in 1915 and G.C.M.G. in 1918, and he held honorary degrees from Cambridge and Aberdeen Universities. He married, in 1885, Margaret, widow of Major General Fellowes. She died in 1931. They had no children.

3. Pierre Paul Emile Roux, Director of the Pasteur Institute from 1904 to 1918, was born at Confolens in 1853. After holding an appointment at the Faculty of Medicine from 1874 to 1875, he worked for ten years in Pasteur's laboratory. He was, together with Yersin, the first to isolate the bacillus of diphtheria. Later he and Behring were awarded the Nobel Prize for their work in connexion with anti-diphtheria serum. He also studied anthrax, and was partly responsible for the discovery of vaccines against it. He possessed the Grand Croix of the Legion of Honour, and was awarded the Copley Medal of the Royal Society in 1917. His life was entirely devoted to the service of science, and he spent the greater part of his salary on instruments for his laboratories.

6. Andrea Liapctcheff, Bulgarian statesman, was born at Resne near Monastir, in what was then European Turkey, on November 30, 1866. He was educated first in Bulgaria, and then specialised in finance and political economy at Zurich, Berlin, and Paris. Keenly interested in the co-operative movement he was one of its pioneers in Bulgaria; a talented journalist and a member of the Democratic Party, he was quickly one of the ablest assistants of M. Malinoff. He was appointed Minister of Finance in 1908 in the Malinoff Cabinet which proclaimed Bulgarian independence. In the Balkan War of 1912 he fought in the Macedonian Legion. At the outbreak of the Great War Liapctcheff did his utmost to prevent Bulgaria from joining the Central Powers, and himself favoured intervention on the side of the Entente. He again became Minister of Finance in 1918, and

Liaptcheff it was who at Salon ica arranged the terms of the Armistice with Bulgaria. After the abdication of King Ferdinand a National Government was formed under M. Malinoff, with Liaptcheff as the first civilian Minister of War. But quarrels with the Agrarians drove the Democrats out of the Coalition, and in 1922 when the Constitutional parties opposed the dictatorship of Stambuliski, Liaptcheff, who had been elected president of the executive committee, was sent to prison, where he remained for eight months until the fall of the Agrarians. He then became Leader of the new Democratic Party, and in 1926 succeeded M. Tzankoff as Prime Minister. His policy, which was one of moderation and prudence, did much to re-establish the prestige of Bulgaria. He emerged successfully from one General Election, but in 1930, after eight years of power, the Democratic Coalition suffered defeat, and he retired from office.

7. The Rt. Rev. Henry John Chapman, fourth Abbot of Downside, was born in 1865. He went to Christ Church, Oxford, in 1884, and was ordained deacon in the Church of England in 1889, going over to the Catholic Church in the following year. Ordained priest in 1895, he found his vocation in the Benedictine life, and he spent the next seventeen years at Erdington Abbey, of which he became Prior in 1906. In 1912 he was appointed Superior of the Benedictine community on Caldey Island. He served during the Great War as military chaplain, doing excellent work among the interned prisoners in Switzerland. Later he joined the community at Downside, becoming Prior in 1922, and Abbot in 1929. His administrative ability was notable, but it is as a Biblical and Patristic scholar of the first rank that he will be chiefly remembered. Much of his work was published in the *Revue Bénédictine*, the *Dublin Review*, and the *Journal of Theological Studies*. His "Notes on the Early History of the Vulgate Gospels" (1908) was followed by "John the Presbyter," a study of the authorship of the Fourth Gospel. Other works of his included "The First Eight General Councils and Infallibility," and "St. Benedict and the Sixth Century." He was appointed a member of the Commission for the Revision of the Vulgate, and he spent several years in Rome collating the MSS. for the definitive edition. A study of the Synoptic System, which he considered the most important of his works, was practically finished at the time of his death.

10. M. Louis Lepine, for eighteen years Prefect of the French Police, was born at Lyons on August 6, 1846. He studied law, spending two years at the Universities of Heidelberg and Berlin. After serving with distinction in the war of 1870-71, he entered the Civil Service (1877), being appointed Prefect of the Indre in 1885. The following year he became general secretary of the Paris Police, rising to the position of Prefect of Police in 1892. Four years later he was appointed Governor of Algeria, but he threw up the post as he obtained no support for his reforms. Returning to Paris, Lepine was made a Councillor of State, and in 1899 he became once more Prefect of Police. He was a staunch Republican, and did much to obtain appreciation for the Police among the masses. He entirely reorganised the force, and by his enormous energy and courage in times of civil disturbance he set an example not only to his subordinates but also to the public. He narrowly escaped death on two occasions, and he was wounded during the Boulangist disturbances, when, at the head of one hundred constables, he succeeded in dispersing 30,000 rioters. M. Lupine retired in 1913, and was made honorary Prefect of Police. He published his reminiscences in 1929. The latter years of his life were spent on his estate at Sauvins, but he continued to keep in touch with the Prefecture until the end.

12. John Tweed, sculptor, whose statues of men connected with the building of the Empire are to be seen in many places at home and overseas, was born in Glasgow, and educated at the Royal Academy Schools and the École des Beaux Arts in Paris. His relief of the landing of Van Riebeck at the Cape, shown in the Academy of 1894, was the first of a long series of works connected with South Africa. In

India he is represented by a statue of Queen Victoria and of Clive. There is a statue of his at Whitby of Captain Cook (1913), and one at Shorcliffe of Sir John Moore (1916), and it was to Tweed that the work of completing Stevens's monument to Wellington in St. Paul's was entrusted. For South Africa he executed memorials of Rhodes and of Beit, and also the memorial to Major Wilson and his men at Zimbabwe. An important work of his in London is the national memorial to Lord Kitchener on the Horse Guards Parade, and he also executed the Peers' memorial in the House of Lords. Other works of his were a recumbent effigy of Sir William Anson for All Souls College Chapel, Oxford, and portrait busts of many prominent men, including one of Joseph Chamberlain, executed for Westminster Abbey.

14. Sir David Murray, "The Grand Old Man of Art," was born in Glasgow on January 29, 1849. After nearly twelve years in a Glasgow office, he took up art professionally. He studied at the Glasgow School of Art, being elected A.R.S.A. in 1881. In the following year he came to London, where he had an immediate success. His "My Love Has Gone a-Sailing" in the Academy of 1884 and "In the Country of Constable" shown in 1903, were both bought for the Tate Gallery under the terms of the Chantrey Bequest. He was elected A.R.A. in 1891, and R.A. in 1905. In 1917 he became President of the Royal Institute of Painters in Water-Colours, being knighted in the following year. Essentially a realist by nature, his finest works were the Scottish and English landscapes, and the examples in the Tate Gallery are representative of his highest achievement. Murray was unmarried.

16. Sir Francis Drummond Percy Chaplin, distinguished for his services to South Africa, was born on August 10, 1866, educated at Harrow and University College, Oxford, and called to the Bar by Lincoln's Inn in 1891. In 1896 he left England for South Africa and took up his residence in Johannesburg. In 1900 he was appointed joint general manager in Johannesburg of the Consolidated Goldfields of South Africa Ltd. He became a staunch supporter of Lord Milner's policy, and in 1905 helped to found the Transvaal Progressive Association, later known as the Unionist Party. He took an important part in the campaign which followed the end of Crown Colony rule, and later, when complete autonomy was granted to the Transvaal, he was a member of the Executive Council of the Progressive Association and came to England with four others to press their views on the Colonial Secretary. In 1907 he was returned to the first Transvaal Parliament as member for Germiston West, and was again elected in 1910 to the first Union Parliament. In 1914 he resigned his seat to become Administrator of Southern Rhodesia, and in 1921 he was appointed also to be Administrator of Northern Rhodesia. His long and successful administration terminated in 1923 when self-government was inaugurated in Southern Rhodesia. Returning to the Cape he resumed his business and public activities. He joined the boards of many companies, including the British South Africa Company, and Rhodesia Railways; and he remained until the end of his life a much respected figure whose business activities made him well known throughout South Africa. At the General Election of 1924 he was returned to the Union Parliament as supporter of General Smuts. He was created K.C.M.G. in 1917 and G.B.E. in 1923. He married, in 1895, Margaret Seaton, daughter of the late Mr. W. Seaton Smith.

18. Sir Robert Forsyth Scott, Master of St. John's College, Cambridge, was born at Leith on July 28, 1849. After his early education at Edinburgh and Stuttgart, he entered King's College, London, and later St. John's College, Cambridge. In the Tripos of 1875 his name appeared as Fourth Wrangler, and in 1877 he was elected to a Fellowship of his College. After two years as assistant mathematical master at Christ's Hospital, he was called to the Bar by Lincoln's Inn in 1886, and was in practice for the next three years. In 1883 he abandoned his legal career to become Senior Bursar at St. John's College. He was Proctor in 1888, served on the Cambridge Town Council, and was for many years a member

of the Council of the Senate. He was appointed Master of St. John's in 1908, and from 1910 to 1912 he was Vice-Chancellor of the University. His successful administration of the College estates was followed by years of devotion to its interests as Master, and his popularity was universal. He took a keen interest in rowing, and he was Major in the University Corps. He published, in 1880, a book on the "Theory of Determinants," and after his return to Cambridge in 1883, he devoted his leisure to college history. He contributed papers entitled "Notes on the College Records" to the *Eagle*, the College magazine, and he completed Professor J. E. B. Mayor's "Register of College Admissions." He was an honorary L.L.D. of St. Andrews, and he received his knighthood in 1924. He married, in 1898, a daughter of Lieutenant-General T. E. Webster.

19. Vlttorlo Scialoja, Italian professor and politician, was born at Turin on April 24, 1855. At the age of 23 he was Professor of Roman Law at the University of Camerino. Later he was called to the University of Siena, and in 1884 to the University of Rome. He identified himself with the Institute of Roman Law, which he founded at Rome; and he was soon well known for his contributions to juridical science. He was made a Senator in 1904, and he became Minister of Justice in the second Cabinet formed by Sonnino. During the Great War he engaged in propaganda on behalf of the Allies. He was Minister without portfolio in the National Ministry of Boseili, and undertook many missions abroad, including one to Russia. In 1920 he became Minister of Foreign Affairs in the Nitti Cabinet. During his tenure of office he opened negotiations with the Yugoslavs on the Adriatic question, negotiations which were eventually brought to a conclusion by Count Sforza. After the march on Rome he supported Mussolini, who appointed him first Italian delegate to the League of Nations. He retained this position until 1929, when he was succeeded by Signor Grandi. He was President of the Superior Council of Public Education, and a member of the Academy of Lincei. Both at Geneva and elsewhere he was highly appreciated for his great juridical and scientific knowledge.

20. The Right Hon. Augustine Birrell, K.C., distinguished in literature, law, and politics, was born near Liverpool on January 19, 1850. He was educated at Amersham Hall School and Trinity Hall, Cambridge, of which he became an honorary Fellow in 1879. Called to the Bar in 1875, he took silk in 1893. But it was as a writer that he quickly won fame. He published a series of articles on literature entitled "Obiter Dicta" (1884) which had an enduring success, but, although he did not cease to write, politics became his chief interest. He was returned to Parliament for West Fifeshire in 1889, holding the seat until 1900. Defeated in 1900 at North-East Manchester, he returned to Parliament in 1906 as member for North Bristol. As President of the Board of Education, to which he had been appointed in 1905, he was responsible for the Liberal Education Bill, by which the "voluntary" and the "provided" schools were placed under a single authority, and his piloting of the Bill enhanced his reputation. In 1907 he became Chief Secretary for Ireland; his tenure of that office covered the whole period during which the Home Rule Bill was under discussion, and also the first twenty months of the Great War. After the landing of Roger Casement in Ireland on April 21, 1916, and the Sinn Feiners' rebellion in Dublin three days later, Birrell resigned his post, and this disaster brought his political career to an end. His failure in Ireland, which was that of a man unfitted by temperament for the political arena, was amply redeemed by his work as a man of letters. *' Res Judicata" (1892), "Men, Women, and Books" (1897), "Collected Essays" (1900), and "In the Name of the Bodleian" (1905), belonged to the same class as "Obiter Dicta." In the field of biography he published a "Life of Charlotte Brontë" (1885), and a study of Sir Frank Lockwood (1898). His collected essays appeared in three volumes in 1923, and "Et Cetera" in 1930. After his retirement from politics, he took little part in public life, but he was always interested in any movement for the benefit of Chelsea, where he had made his home for over

thirty-five years. Birrell married, first, in 1878, Miss Merrielee, who died the following year; and secondly, in 1888, Eleanor, daughter of Frederick Locker-Lampson, and widow of the Hon. Lionel Tennyson. Birrell left two sons.

20. General Ismael Montes, twice President of Bolivia, was born on October 5, 1860, and educated at the University of San Andres, La Paz. After serving in the Bolivian Army, he resigned his commission and entered the legal profession. He practised law for some years, being also interested in politics and journalism. He founded, in conjunction with Don Fernando Guachalia, *Ecos Liberales*, a paper opposing the Government in power. The then President, Dr. Aniceto Arce, who feared the growing strength of the Liberal element, arrested Dr. Montes together with fifty deputies, and deported them to Crevaux, a deadly region in the north-west of Bolivia. They were only liberated when a new President obtained control. In 1899, as Chief of the General Staff of the Revolutionary Army, Montes took part in the battle of Crucero de Paria against the Federal forces, and it was largely due to his military capacities that the Liberal element gained the supremacy. From 1901 to 1904 he was Minister for War under General Jose* Manuel Pando, and he was elected President of the Republic in 1904. When, in 1908, the President-elect died on the eve of assuming office, Montes continued another year until a successor could be found. He went to France as Bolivian Minister in 1910, and in 1913 he again became President, holding office until 1917. In 1929 President Siles, who had become Dictator, sought to arrest General Montes, but the latter took refuge in the Chilian Legation, and from there went under safeguard to Arica. Returning to La Paz in August, 1930, he was chosen as one of the candidates for the Presidency. Owing to pressure exercised by the military elements in the governing Junta, Montes withdrew from political life.

22. Admiral Sir Alexander Ludovic Duff, a division commander at the battle of Jutland, and subsequently organiser of the Anti-Submarine Division at the Admiralty, was born on February 20, 1862, the son of Colonel James Duff, of Knockleith, Aberdeenshire. He entered the Navy in 1875, obtained a good deal of experience afloat in the Mediterranean, China waters, and North America. After service in the torpedo depot-ship *Vulcan*, he was promoted commander in 1897, and captain in 1902. In due course he became Naval-Assistant to the Controller of the Navy, and eventually, in 1911, Director of Naval Mobilisation. He was promoted rear-admiral in 1913. In October, 1914 he joined the Fourth Battle Squadron of the Grand Fleet, being responsible, in collaboration with Rear-Admiral Leveson, for bringing to perfection the appliances for defending ships against mines. At Jutland he flew his flag in the *Superb* in the third division of the Fleet. In December, 1916, he became head of the Anti-Submarine Division which had been formed to deal with the enemy's under-water campaign, and as such helped to develop the many devices used for the protection of merchantmen, and the destruction of the U-boats. He was promoted vice-admiral in 1918. In 1919 he left the Admiralty to become Commander-in-Chief in China, and was promoted admiral in 1921. He retired in 1925. He was created K.C.B. in 1918, K.C.V.O. in 1922, C.B.E. in 1924, and G.C.B. in 1926. Sir Alexander was twice married, and left two daughters.

27. Robert Annlmg Bell, R.A., painter and craftsman in stained glass and mosaic, was born in London on April 14, 1863, and educated at University College School. After a short preliminary term in an architect's office, he turned to painting, and received his training at the Royal Academy Schools, the Westminster School of Art, and in Paris (under Morot). As a decorative artist he executed various works in mosaic, including the facade of the Horniman Museum, and decorations in Westminster Cathedral. He was a skilled craftsman in stained glass, and his designs included a memorial window for the new Manchester Reference Library. For many years Bell was a member of the Art Workers' Guild, eventually becoming Master in 1921; he was also a member of the Arts and Crafts

Society. He is represented abroad by pictures in the Luxembourg and the National Gallery of New South Wales ; while an oil painting, " Mary in the House of Elizabeth," bought under the terms of the Chantrey Bequest in 1918, and two water-colours, " The Listeners " and " Music by the Water " are in the Tate Gallery. He was Professor of Art at Liverpool University for seven years; Professor of Design at the Royal College of Art, South Kensington, and Professor of Decorative Art at the Glasgow School of Art. He was elected A.R.A. in 1914, and R.A. in 1922. He was a member of the Royal Water-Colour Society, and an honorary L.L.D. of Glasgow University. He married Laura Richard-Troncy, herself an artist of distinction.

30. General Sir Arthur Currie, Principal of McGill University, Montreal, and Commander of the Canadian Corps in France during the last months of the Great War, was born on December 5, 1875, at Napperton, in Middlesex County, Ontario. After being educated locally he left Ontario for the west in 1894. He became a teacher in the public schools of Victoria, B.C., and, in 1897, enlisted in the Militia. He rose to be lieutenant-colonel commanding from 1909 till 1913. He attended the Militia Staff course and qualified in March, 1914. At the outbreak of the Great War he came to England in command of the 2nd Infantry Brigade which crossed to England in October, 1914. After commanding the 1st Canadian Division, he became, in 1917, Commander of the Canadian Corps. He took part in the battle at Ypres when the Germans launched their first poison gas attack, and he was also prominent on the Somme and at Vimy Ridge. On his return to Canada he became Inspector-General of the Forces. In 1920 he was chosen Principal of McGill University, and he successfully turned to the service of the University the administrative ability and understanding of men which he had acquired in the Army. General Currie was created a C.B. after " second Ypres," 1915 ; K.C.M.G. after Vimy, 1917 ; K.C.B. in 1917, and G.C.M.G. at the end of the war. He was mentioned nine times in despatches, held honorary degrees from many British and American Universities ; and was awarded numerous foreign distinctions. He married, in 1901, Lucy Sophia, daughter of Mr. W. Chaworth Chaworth-Musters, of Nottingham, and had a son and a daughter.

DECEMBER.

4. Stefan George, German poet, was born on July 12, 1868, at Bingen. After his schooldays at Darmstadt, he travelled extensively in many parts of Europe, and during a long stay in Paris he came in touch with Mallarmé by whom he was much influenced. As opposed to the realism of the end of the century, Herr George and his disciples concentrated on symbolism and mysticism, with great emphasis on purity of form. George professed to despise the public, and much of his work was printed privately from a block type of his own. After the war, the success of his poem, " Der Kreis " (1917), caused a break in his isolation, and the National-Socialist movement in Germany turned to him as an exponent of the new ideals. " Der Siebente Ring " and " Die Stern des Bundes " appeared before the war ; " Das neue Reich," a collection of war and post-war poems, published in 1928, brought him much success. He received the Goethe Prize in 1928.

6. Stella Benson, the novelist, was born on January 6, 1892, the only surviving daughter of Mr. Ralph Beaumont Benson, of Lutwyche Hall, Shropshire. After being educated at home, she developed a passion for travel, and her keen interest in every aspect of life at one time caused her to open a shop in Hoxton. She travelled in Mexico and India, experienced an earthquake in the West Indies, and was under fire during the revolution in China. In 1918 she went to America, working as lady's maid and bill collector, and after two years in California, she returned to China. Her best-known book, "Tobit Transplanted,"

appeared in 1931, and gained for her the Femina Vie Heureuse Prize. Other books of hers included "I Pose," her first novel, "The Poor Man," "Good-bye, Stranger," "The Man who Missed the Bus," and "Pull Devil—Pull Baker" which appeared in 1933. Her work is characterised by wit and great insight into human nature, as well as poetic imagination. She also published two books of travel, "The Little World" and "Worlds Within Worlds." Miss Benson married, in 1921, Mr. James O'Gorman Anderson, of the Chinese Customs Service, and they made their home in China.

8. Admiral Count Gombel Yamamoto, twice Prime Minister of Japan, was born in Satsuma in 1852. He entered the Navy, being one of the first cadets trained at the Naval Academy. He visited England in 1885, and then went to Europe and America in the suite of the Vice Minister of the Navy. When war broke out with China, he became A.D.C. to the Minister of the Navy, and after rising to the position of Vice-Admiral, was appointed Minister of the Navy in the third Yamagata Cabinet (November, 1898). He continued to hold office in the Ito Cabinet (October, 1900), and in the Katsura Cabinet of June, 1901, which lasted four years. He was created Count for his services in the Russo-Japanese War, and full Admiral in 1904. He became Prime Minister in 1913, after the fall of the third Katsura Cabinet, but resigned eleven months later. For the next three years he took no part in politics, until, in August, 1913, he formed his second Cabinet, holding office until the end of 1923.

— Professor John Joly, Professor of Geology and Mineralogy in Dublin University since 1897, was distinguished for his discoveries in the radium treatment for cancer, and also for researches in the history of the earth-crust. Born at Hollywood, King's County, in 1857, he was educated at Rathmines School and Trinity College, Dublin. After graduating in engineering, he became successively demonstrator in civil engineering and experimental physics. The "Dublin Method" of extracting radium was perfected by him in 1914, and his work at the Royal Dublin Society's Radium Institute greatly affected radium therapy. He invented the steam calorimeter for determining the specific heats of materials and gases; also the meldometer for determining the point of fusion of minerals. Other scientific activities of his included a physical explanation for the so-called canals on Mars, improved methods of colour photography (in 1896), and a method of calculating the geological age of the earth by means of the sodium content of the ocean. His study of radium in rocks brought him to investigate radio-activity in geology, which resulted in his Halley Lecture at Oxford in 1924 on "Radio-activity and the Surface History of the Earth." He published "The Birthtime of the Earth and other Essays," a classic in scientific literature. Professor Joly was elected F.R.S., in 1892, and he received the Royal Medal (1910), the Boyle Medal of the Royal Dublin Society and the Murchison Medal of the Geological Society in 1911. He held honorary degrees from Cambridge, the National University of Ireland, and Michigan. He was a member of the British Educational Mission to the United States, and Warden of Alexandra College since 1901.

12. Antonín Svehla, a prominent Czechoslovak politician, was born at Hostiver, near Prague, in 1873. A farmer by birth, he was keenly interested in agriculture and the problems of local self-government. Together with Masaryk and Benesh, he helped to prepare his country, in the years preceding the war, for emancipation from Austria; and while his name and activities were little known abroad, his talent for secret organisation had long enabled him to guide the internal politics of the Czechs. In 1918, following the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian military effort, Svehla achieved the *coup d'état* on October 28. That not a single life was lost in the revolution was largely due to his skill and judgment, and in the capacity of Vice-President of the first National Council, he was one of those who took over the government of the new Czechoslovak State. Thereafter

he was in almost every Cabinet, and repeatedly became Prime Minister. The fairness of his attitude towards national minorities was a factor in his political success. M. Svehla was a typical Czech, and he possessed an extraordinary understanding of his countrymen, with whom he was exceedingly popular.

21. **Dr. Knud Rasmus sen**, Danish explorer, well known for his work in Greenland, was born there on June 7, 1879. There was a strain of Eskimo blood in him, and it was always his ambition to interpret the Eskimo peoples to the modern world. Educated at the University of Copenhagen, he soon showed his taste for exploration, and in 1902 he joined the "Danish Literary Expedition" to the west coast of Greenland, which lasted for two years. In 1908 he published "The People of the Polar North," a study of the Eskimo. In 1910 he founded Thule, a station north-west of Cape York, to be used as a base for work among the northern Eskimo. He crossed from Thule to the north-east corner of Greenland in 1912, in an attempt to succour Captain Einar Mikkelsen who had disappeared. They did not meet, but Rasmussen discovered that Peary Land was linked to Greenland by an isthmus, and for some years he devoted himself to the exploration of this isthmus and other unknown parts of Greenland. In 1921 an expedition westwards from Greenland through the Arctic Archipelago to Alaska, which he had been planning for some years, was begun; and he worked his way across to Point Bering, Alaska, collecting a vast amount of scientific data and information about the Eskimo. He intended continuing his survey in Siberia, but on crossing the Bering Straits he was arrested by the Soviet authorities and ordered to leave the country. He was awarded the Founders' Gold Medal of the Royal Geographical Society in 1922. In 1931 he undertook his sixth Thule expedition, making a survey of south-east Greenland, and he was in Greenland again in 1933.

24. **Guy le Strange**, a distinguished Oriental scholar, was born in 1854, and educated at Clifton and Cirencester Agricultural College. He went to Paris where he met Julius von Mohl, Professor of Persian at the College de France, and under his influence le Strange developed a passion for Persian and Arabic. Later he spent three years in Persia (1877-80). In 1882 he published an edition of the *Vazir of Lankurdn*. This was followed by a translation of another Persian play, *The Alchemist* (1886). But his chief contribution to learning were his works dealing with mediaeval Moslem geography, including Muckuddeai's "Description of Palestine," translated from the Arabic (1886); "Palestine under the Moslems" (1890); "Baghdad during the Abbasid Caliphate" (1900); and "The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate" (1905). For many years his eyesight was bad, and after 1912 he was practically blind. Nevertheless he took up Spanish and produced "A Book of Spanish Ballads" (1920); a "History of Don Juan of Persia" (1926), and an account of the "Embassy of Clavijo" (1928). After having spent most of his life abroad, he came to Cambridge following the death of his wife in 1907, attaching himself to Pembroke College, where he received an honorary degree of M.A. in 1913. There he remained, taking a keen interest in all branches of general knowledge, while his strength of will and determination enabled him to surmount the obstacle of his partial blindness. Le Strange married, in 1887, Wanda, daughter of W. L. Cartwright, of Aynho.

25. **Walter William Oules, R.A.**, distinguished portrait painter, was born at St. Helier, Jersey, on September 21, 1848. Trained at the Royal Academy Schools, he was elected A.R.A. in 1877, before he was thirty, and full R.A. in 1881. He executed portraits of many well-known men, and he rapidly established himself as dependable in rendering a likeness and for technical skill. His best-known works included "Charles Darwin" (1875); "Cardinal Newman" (1880), for the Oratory, Birmingham; "Sir Frederick Roberts" (1882), for the Mesa, Woolwich; and portraits of Sir William Bowman, Cardinal Manning, Bishop

King, and Sir Evelyn Wood. His portrait of Sir George Scharf hangs in the National Portrait Gallery of which Oulless was Director for a long time. He was a regular exhibitor at the Royal Academy, and an active member of the R.A. Council. He held Gold and Silver Medals from Berlin, Paris, Munich, and Vienna, and he was Chevalier of the Legion of Honour and a member of the Order of Leopold. He married, in 1878, the daughter of Dr. T. K. Chambers. She died in 1931 leaving three daughters.

25. **Colonel Francesc Macia y Llussa**, first President of the Catalan Generalitat, was born in 1859. He entered the Army, but threw up his military career to become candidate for "Solidaridad Catalana" in the elections of 1907. Soon after, however, he resigned his seat in the Cortes, and the rest of his life was dedicated to the Catalan National movement. In 1921 he secretly organised the "Estat Catala" in preparation for the political crisis in Spain which he believed to be imminent, and his armed bands were pledged to revolt as a final resort to obtain Home Rule. Macia was obliged to retire to France during Primo de Rivera's dictatorship; but as the result of an attempted revolt in Catalonia in October, 1926, organised from his headquarters near Paris, he was arrested by the French police and "moved on" to Brussels. In 1928 he toured South America. After being expelled from Spain by General Berenguer in 1930, Macia again returned to Spain in 1931 under a general amnesty. He at once became the leader of the Catalan Esquerra, or Left Party. On April 14, 1931, simultaneously with the proclamation of the Spanish Republic, he proclaimed "the Catalan Republic as an integral state within the Iberic Federation," which title was soon changed to Catalan Generalitat. In August, 1931, he went to Madrid with the draft of the Catalan Autonomy statute, and after a stormy fight in the Cortes it was finally adopted in September, 1932, in a much modified form. The Catalan Parliament met the following December, after more than 200 years of suspension, and Macia was elected first Constitutional President of Catalonia.

26. **Henry Watson Fowler**, a distinguished lexicographer, was born in 1857, the son of the Rev. Robert Fowler, of Tunbridge Wells, and educated at Rugby and Balliol College, Oxford. From 1882 to 1899 he was an assistant master at Sedbergh, after which he retired. In collaboration with his brother, the late F. G. Fowler, he brought out a translation of Lucian which was published by the Oxford University Press in 1905. In 1906 the brothers published "The King's English," which scored a great success. They were both engaged by the Oxford University Press to produce an abridgment of the Oxford Dictionary. This appeared as the "Concise Oxford Dictionary" in 1911. Henry Fowler served as a private in the B.E.F. in 1915-16. Having lost his brother in the war, he finished alone the "Pocket Oxford Dictionary," which they had begun together. In 1926 he published the "Dictionary of Modern Usage," his most original work, and one which was conceded to be a remarkable contribution to the art of expression in English. This was followed in 1929 by a new edition of the "Concise Dictionary." His many linguistic speculations appeared in the publications of the Society for Pure English, and he also published two works of a more personal nature, "If Wishes Were Horses" and "Some Comparative Values." He married, in 1908, Jessie Marion, daughter of Mr. R. S. Wills, but left no children.

— **Anatol Vassilievitch Lunacharsky**, for many years Commissar of Education in the Soviet Government, was born in the province of Kieff in 1875. A nobleman by birth, he was educated at Zurich where he studied natural science and philosophy. After his return to Russia he engaged in propaganda which caused him to be banished to Vologda. He escaped and joined the Bolshevik Wing of the Russian Social Democratic Labour Party. He took up journalism, and **later** was sent to Russia on party work, being imprisoned during the

revolution of 1905. In the reaction which followed he settled in Italy, where he worked in party schools at Capri and Bologna. After the outbreak of the Great War he joined Trotsky in conducting the newspaper *Nashe Slovo*. In Switzerland he met Lenin, where they began a campaign against the war, and he returned to Russia with Lenin after the March Revolution. He was appointed Commissar of Education in the Soviet Government, holding the post until 1929. In this capacity he exercised an enormous influence over the schools, the theatres, and the fine arts generally. In spite of his plays, *Vasilisa the Wise*, *Ivan in Paradise*, and *Magic*, he enforced the Communist doctrine of banishing religion and fantasy from the schools, but he protected many non-Communist writers, and helped to preserve Russian art treasures during the Civil War. His tenets, however, were not in keeping with the spirit of the Five-Year Plan, and after 1929 he was appointed Ambassador to Spain.

27. Sir Henry Fielding Dickens, K.C., for fifteen years Common Serjeant of the City of London, was born on January 16, 1849, the sixth child of Charles Dickens, the novelist, and died as the result of being knocked down by a motor-cycle near his home in Chelsea on December 16. Educated at Wimbledon School and Trinity Hall, Cambridge, he was called to the Bar by the Inner Temple in 1873. After practising on the old Home Circuit and at the Kent Sessions, he was appointed in 1883 Recorder of Deal, being subsequently transferred to Maidstone. In 1892 he took silk. His name came to be connected with cases of libel, slander, and breach of promise; his most important case was the litigation between the insurance companies and the insured arising out of the earthquake in Jamaica on January 14, 1907. In 1917 he succeeded Sir Albert Bosanquet as Common Serjeant of the City of London, was knighted in 1922, and retired on October, 1932. During the war he assisted the Red Cross by giving readings from his father's works, raising nearly 5,000/ for the wounded, and in this way he also assisted the Dickens Fellowship to found and endow the Charles Dickens Home for Blinded Soldiers and Sailors at St. Leonards-on-Sea. He was a life President of the Boz Club, and a familiar figure in London literary, theatrical, and artistic circles. Sir Henry married, in 1876, Marie Thérèse, eldest daughter of the late Antonin Roche. His wife survived him with three sons and three daughters.

— Professor John Alexander Stewart, Emeritus Professor of Moral Philosophy at Oxford, was born at Moffat on October 19, 1846. He was educated at Edinburgh University and Lincoln College, Oxford, where he won the Newdigate Prize for English verse, and, in 1870, after taking a degree in Classics, was elected Senior Student of Christ Church, a position he held until 1875, when he married. But he continued to teach at Christ Church, gradually making a name for himself as an authority on the ethics of Aristotle. "The English MSS. of the Nicomachean Ethics" appeared in 1882, and "Notes" on the same work in 1892. In 1897 he was elected to White's Chair of Moral Philosophy with a Fellowship of Corpus Christi College, holding the professorship until 1927. He contributed the article on "Ethics" to the 1902 edition of the "Encyclopaedia Britannica." But it was in the study of Plato that his real bent found expression. "Myths of Plato" appeared in 1905, and "Plato's Doctrine of Ideas" in 1909. Professor Stewart was an excellent classical scholar, and his approach to philosophy, especially to Plato, was characterised by poetical insight and a lofty criticism entirely removed from the plane of scholastic debate. He was honorary Student of Christ Church, honorary Fellow of Lincoln and Corpus Christi Colleges, and an honorary LL.D. of Edinburgh and Aberdeen Universities. He married, in 1875, Helen, daughter of Mr. John Macmillan, J.P. She died in 1925.

29. **Dr. Ion Duca**, Prime Minister of Rumania, who was assassinated at Sinaia railway station by a student member of the Fascist "Iron Guard," was born at Bucharest on December 20, 1879. After studying law in Rumania and

Paris he became a Judge, and then manager of a bank. He entered the Chamber of Deputies in 1907 as a Liberal. From 1914 to 1918 he was Minister of Education. He then became Minister of Domains and Agriculture; and from 1922 to 1928 he was Foreign Minister. In December, 1930, he succeeded the late Vintila Bratianu as Leader of the Liberal Party. He did much for the Rumanian peasantry by his work on the Expropriation Bill, a preliminary to the conversion of the tenant farmer into a small freeholder. As Foreign Minister he was a strong supporter of the Polish Alliance and the Little Entente, in the forming of which he was one of the Rumanian Delegates. After five years in Opposition, he returned to power at the head of the Liberals in November, 1933. The Liberals were victorious at the General Election of December 20, 1933, but ten days previously the Duca Government had dissolved the "Iron Guard," a violent Fascist organisation, and many of its members were temporarily imprisoned. As the result of this move on the part of the Government, it was feared that some act of violence might disturb the elections, and although these passed off quietly, the assassination of Dr. Duca was probably an act of revenge.

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