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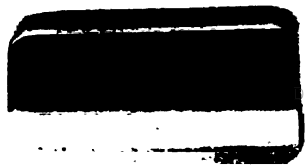
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**GENERAL
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THE Editor of the ANNUAL REGISTER thinks it necessary to state that in no case does he claim to offer original reports of speeches in Parliament or elsewhere. For the former he cordially acknowledges his great indebtedness to the summary and full reports, used by special permission of *The Times*, which have appeared in that journal, and he has also pleasure in expressing his sense of obligation to the Editors of "Ross's Parliamentary Record," *The Spectator*, and *The Guardian*, for the valuable assistance which, by their consent, he has derived from their summaries and reports, towards presenting a compact view of the course of Parliamentary proceedings. To the Editors of the two last-named papers he further desires to tender his best thanks for their permission to make use of the summaries of speeches delivered outside Parliament appearing in their columns.

In deference to suggestions which have been made on the subject, a Calendar has been added to facilitate reference to dates.

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ANNUAL REGISTER

FOR THE YEAR

1910.

PART I.

ENGLISH HISTORY.

CHAPTER I.

THE GENERAL ELECTION AND ITS OUTCOME.

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THE general election which absorbed public attention in the United Kingdom when the year opened seemed likely to rank as the most momentous in its history. The contest was carried on everywhere with unexampled vigour and variety of resource. The number of speeches was unparalleled; the facilities for rapid travel enabled the chief speakers on either side, whether Peers or commoners, to address three or four great audiences each week in widely separated districts, wherever their respective parties seemed to be most in need of help. Ministers and ex-Ministers, Peers and private members of Parliament, were alike in demand all over Great Britain, and about 250 meetings were addressed by Peers in the five weeks between the adjournment and the issue of the writs. The contending parties, moreover, were assisted by outside organisations, such as the Tariff Reform League, the Free Trade Union, and a multitude of others, whose lavish expenditure was outside that authorised for candidates by the law. On both sides shops were taken in various constituencies and their windows filled respectively with articles "made in Germany" and dumped in England, and with repulsive specimens of food alleged to be eaten by the "protected" German workmen, or of bread made according to an English recipe of the Corn-law period. Grotesque mistakes were made on both sides; some of the articles shown were spurious, and national differences in taste and standard of living were ignored; and some of the phases of the controversy must have given foreigners a low opinion of popular knowledge and logic. An unprecedented multi-

tude and variety of pictorial posters issued by both parties displayed an artistic merit that was far above their intellectual level and the quality of their humour. But in spite of all this activity practically nothing more was left to be said than what had been said already, and all that the speakers on either side could do was to repeat it in other words. There was no real development in the situation between the close of the session in December, 1909, and the decision of the electors in the last fortnight of January, 1910.

Something was done to remind the electors of their duty and to calm their passions by the New Year's letter of the Archbishop of Canterbury. He noted with satisfaction that each side appealed to the value of the heritage entrusted by the Almighty to the British people; the people's fibre, he said, was never more searchingly tested than at a general election; and he urged prayer for peace among the nations, for the rightful sharing of our burdens, for security of provision for religious ministrations, for the maintenance of the sanctity of home life, and the education of children in the fear of God. The Archbishop of York, while remarking that the main issues were constitutional and financial, urged that candidates should be asked whether they would refuse to vote for Disestablishment, or for any Education Bill which would greatly alter the existing situation. But, with the notable exception of Lord Hugh Cecil (especially at Cardiff, Jan. 2), few speakers paid much heed to these questions. The controversy centred round the future of the House of Lords, the merits of the Budget, and Tariff Reform. Allied with these two last issues, however, was the question of the social reforms which they were expected by their respective supporters to secure. Mr. Lloyd George (at Reading, Jan. 1) after citing Colonial opinion in favour of the Budget, said that "the root trouble of our social system was the precariousness of living," and foreshadowed insurance against unemployment. Mr. Asquith—speaking for Mr. Haldane, who was unwell—in Haddingtonshire (Jan. 3) vindicated the policy of the Government as having resulted in a carefully-thought-out and co-ordinated system of Imperial defence, and declared that "our naval position is now one of unassailable superiority." He sketched what the Government had done on the "outlying territory" of the unemployment problem by old-age pensions and labour exchanges, and recommended the Budget as affording a complete and effectual alternative to Tariff Reform. On the same evening at Hereford, Mr. Austen Chamberlain exalted the Unionist "constructive policy"—the union of the Empire, a strong Navy, and Tariff Reform;—assailed the Budget as the beginning of land nationalisation, and expressed his desire to see more small owners of land.

Mr. Asquith, speaking at Brighton on January 4, ridiculed the speeches of the Peers and defended the new taxes in connection with land, pointing out that the Budget actually relieved the landowners; the pinch was in the valuation, and a sound and

equitable valuation would facilitate the solution of other problems. The total sales registered at the Estate Exchange in 1908 had amounted to 5,620,000*l.*; in 1909, to 6,344,000*l.*; and the public applications for capital in 1909 had exceeded those of any year but 1908. No Budget had ever received such prolonged consideration. They were fighting for the first principles of representative government.

Mr. Balfour, speaking at Hanley on January 4, declared that never before had the ideals of the two great parties in the State been so widely divergent; the differences affected the present foundation and the whole future development of the British Empire. This, he intimated, held good of naval policy; the Unionists on quitting office had left an ample supply of battleships and naval stores; where did the Government stand now? Our Empire existed on sufferance unless our Navy was supreme. All such talk, it was said, set up needless irritation against a great and friendly Power. He was a great admirer of Germany, but he wished we would learn from her to face facts. He was not a pessimist about the naval future, if the country would rise to its responsibilities; but the statesmen and diplomatists of the lesser Powers unanimously held that a struggle sooner or later between Germany and Great Britain was inevitable. He did not agree with them, but they had concluded that the British people was not alive to a sense of its responsibilities, and must therefore be beaten. Germans of position even said, "Do you suppose we should ever allow Great Britain to adopt Tariff Reform?" That made his blood boil. He did not himself believe there would be war, but the only way to secure peace was to ensure victory if war took place. Moreover, we must organise for trade as well as for defence. Great Britain could not, as in the agreeable dream of our ancestors, be the sole manufacturer of the world. There must be rivalry; was it to be dealt with? They were told truly that the issue was between Tariff Reform and Socialism, and it was so, but in a deeper sense. The Socialists did not see that the basis of all effective national life, of all social reform, was the confidence which would keep capital and bring enterprise within the United Kingdom. A tariff had always been followed by increases both in the home and in the import trade; it made the country a greater productive instrument, and increased the total of the income there was to distribute. If this opportunity were neglected, the British people would have deserved their misfortune. But he looked also to the effect of a tariff on the Colonies; they had given us a lead; would we refuse to follow? Let the working men and all classes reflect well on the case he had stated, so that 1910 might open a new era.

This speech naturally excited unfavourable comment in Germany and Austria-Hungary, where the Press generally condemned Mr. Balfour's appeal to anti-German feeling, and made light of the

possible injury to Germany involved by British Tariff Reform. By less responsible speakers and writers the German scare was pushed to greater lengths, Sir Henry Brackenbury (in *The Times*, Jan. 12) declaring that the growth of the population of the German Empire would compel its rulers to seek territory for "expansion" either in North-western Europe or North America, and laying stress from personal recollection on the sufferings of the French people in 1870. But little was made of the scare by other Unionist leaders, though it probably influenced votes.

Mr. Balfour's Hanley speech was attacked three days later by Mr. Asquith at Bath and by Mr. Lloyd George at Peckham. The former said that the German scare and the naval scare had fallen flat, but the Opposition leader had tried to revive them. He had ingeniously advertised these fears and apprehensions without making himself responsible for them. No Power was shaping its policy on the assumption that an Anglo-German war was inevitable or probable. The Government had taken prompt and effective steps to meet the new naval situation. We were more completely secure regarding the defence of our shores than at any time within living memory. He defended the Budget, remarking that the taxation of necessaries would virtually reduce old-age pensions. Was the country going to maintain its fiscal system or surrender to an irresponsible body of avowed partisans the whole shape and scope of our law-making machinery?

Mr. Lloyd George at Peckham (Jan. 7) described Mr. Balfour's Hanley speech as the last resort of a desperate man who saw his cause was lost. "Tail-twisting," as it used to be called in America, was a dangerous game for the peace of Europe. The believers in inevitable wars were the men who made them. The Unionists, after destroying the Constitution, were prepared to destroy the fiscal system and to risk war with a European Power, and all just to escape valuation of their land.

The First Lord of the Admiralty, Mr. McKenna, replied also in a speech to his constituents at Pontnewydd on January 6. Mr. Balfour, he said, had charged the Government with living on battleships and stores provided by their predecessors; but the vote for stores in the current year was larger than under Mr. Balfour's Government, and the Ministry had ordered more powerful ships, and more of them, than any ordered by that Government. He repeated the Prime Minister's assurance that the Navy should be maintained in complete adequacy for the absolute security of our Empire and our trade. The difference between Mr. Balfour's programme as recorded in the Cawdor memorandum (ANNUAL REGISTER, 1906, p. 194) and what this Government had done amounted solely to this: While by that day Mr. Balfour would have built or ordered sixteen armoured ships, the Government had also built or ordered sixteen, which were far more powerful. At that moment Great Britain had seven *Dreadnoughts*

in commission, Germany two. When Germany had four in commission, Great Britain would have ten; when eleven, Great Britain would have fourteen; when thirteen, Great Britain would have twenty. That carried them to March 31, 1912; next year he did not doubt that the figures of the British programme would be equally satisfactory.

Meanwhile the Marquess of Lansdowne at Liverpool (Jan. 5) had defended the Lords; the Lord Chancellor himself (he said) had admitted their power to deal with money Bills, and the two Education Bills and the Irish Councils Bill had been scrapped by the Government. The Government desired to smash the constitutional machine, and to expose the country to a chance majority in the Commons and to the will of a Ministry controlling it. They might have a raw House of Commons, and a raw, inexperienced Cabinet. He admitted that the House of Lords was unwieldy, and he favoured an inner House, consisting of Peers qualified by their antecedents, elected by the general body of Peers, or created for life; but he did not desire much more extensive reforms, because a reformed House would claim co-ordinate power with the Commons. The Lords had opposed the Budget on its own account, and also because they did not want the country to be switched off *Tariff Reform*.

A day earlier Lord Curzon of Kedleston at Manchester had declared that to reduce the Lords to impotence was to make a revolution greater than any since the Civil War. A Ministry might not represent the House of Commons, still less the electorate. He advocated a stronger Second Chamber, and urged that in the cotton trade foreign nations were overtaking England; the remedy was *Tariff Reform*.

The somewhat vague promises of *Tariff Reformers* had been met by the Chancellor of the Exchequer at Reading with a statement of the Budget plan for dealing with unemployment, mainly by labour exchanges and insurance. The total annual provision for this plan under all headings had been given by Mr. Churchill at Dundee (Jan. 4) as follows: Unemployment insurance and labour exchanges, 1,500,000*l.*; expenditure on roads (all on labour), 600,000*l.*; development grants, 900,000*l.*; old-age pensions, nearly 9,000,000*l.*; removal of pauper disqualification, 2,000,000*l.*; invalidity, sickness, widows' and orphans' insurance, 4,000,000*l.* at first. Mr. Churchill also declared in favour of railway nationalisation.

Speaking at Salisbury on January 7, the Marquess of Lansdowne charged Liberal speakers with stirring up class hatred and prejudice, and said that under single-chamber government no institution or British interest would be safe. The new taxes might not be strictly land taxes, but the valuation proposals touched all land, and the regular taxes would hereafter be based on imaginary values. Land could now be bought easily; he

wanted to see more landowners, and was sure that Tariff Reform would not increase the price of bread. Much was to be done in social and Poor-Law reform, and if the Liberal Government were undertaking the reform of the Lords, Home Rule, and Dis-establishment, it would have no time for anything else.

On the same night at Brighton, Lord Curzon of Kedleston referred to the Peers' campaign against the Budget, then being closed by the issue of the writs. It had shown that they were prepared to defend their reference to the people, and that their defence had not been resented; still more, it had called the public attention to the issue of single-chamber government. Mr. Asquith, with Sir Edward Grey and Mr. Haldane, posed as moderate men; but the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Lord Advocate, and Mr. Churchill, showed the real scope and character of the Government policy. It was welcomed by British and Continental Socialists, and the Liberals and Socialists had agreed to avoid three-cornered contests. He contended at length that "un-earned increment" on land was generally due to the exertions of a few individuals, and that if it might be taxed when it arose on land, the taxation of other forms of it was justifiable also.

The attitude of the main body of Irish Nationalists was defined by Mr. Redmond at a Home Rule demonstration at Manchester on Sunday, January 9. He earnestly appealed to Irishmen in England, Scotland, and Wales, to vote for the abolition of the Lords' veto; it was the Lords who were responsible for the sufferings of Ireland, and the abolition of their veto would open the way for Home Rule. He ridiculed the idea that it would endanger England in war time; Ireland merely wanted such freedom as had been given to the Transvaal. As to education, this was a Home Rule election, and Irish voters in Great Britain must not be dictated to by English Catholics and the Duke of Norfolk. At an overflow meeting, Mr. Redmond went on to denounce the English Roman Catholics as worse foes of Ireland than the Orangemen of Liverpool.

Mr. Balfour, speaking at Aberdeen on January 10, declared that the Liberal policy ran counter to the best thought of the time. An increase was desirable in the number of small landowners, but the Government Land Bill for Scotland combined almost all the defects of existing land systems, and established dual ownership, which was being abolished in Ireland. Again, the whole course of modern development was towards consolidation, while Home Rule was disintegration. Mr. Redmond claimed it on racial grounds; his premises were wrong, but they led, not to self-government, but to independence, and both were impossible. As to Tariff Reform, people must be considered primarily as producers rather than as consumers; and it was better that capital should be invested at home than abroad. Allowance must be made for difference of taste and habit, but there was abundant evidence

that the German workman was improving in his condition, and that the German fiscal system did not strangle industry. Germany was finding employment for its workmen, the United States were absorbing immigrants; we had more unemployed than either, and we sent out a mass of capital for foreign employment. Carefully disclaiming Protectionism, he appealed to the great body of middle opinion; Liberalism had changed completely, so had the position of Great Britain; would the electors trust a Government which was experimenting against experience, and setting class against class? At an overflow meeting he made an earnest appeal for Colonial preference.

Sir Edward Grey, speaking at Edinburgh on January 10, strongly condemned Mr. Balfour's attempts to arouse fears of German aggression, and declared that, as regarded the relations of the British and German Governments, there had never been less reason to talk about war. In time there might be some perfectly voluntary naval agreement; but, when the German naval programme was completed, there would be an ascertained proportion between the navies of the two countries which might still their rivalry in naval expenditure. He declared himself in favour of a two-chamber system; but thought it fortunate that the grant of self-government to South Africa had not had to go before the House of Lords.

The Prime Minister's address to his constituents (Jan. 10) defended the Budget; in rejecting it, he said, the House of Lords had violated the Constitution in order to save from a mortal blow the cause of Tariff Reform. Free Trade and popular government were both at stake. The possession of an unlimited veto by a partisan Second Chamber was an insuperable obstacle to democratic legislation; its limitation was the condition precedent to the attainment of the great reforms the Liberal party had at heart.

Mr. Balfour, speaking next day at Glasgow, remarked that Liberal financial management had given us a deficit of 16,000,000*l.*, and a Budget that did not fill it up. The Prime Minister chiefly occupied himself with the demerits of the Second Chamber; he meant in fact to have none, for to abolish its veto amounted to this; but the veto was not against the people, but against the House of Commons. The only appeal the Prime Minister wanted was an appeal from the House of Commons to itself. The hereditary principle, when it arose, had been the only intelligible principle, and the Monarchy, which was based on it, was essential to the existence of the Empire. Let no one deride the hereditary principle so long as it could be turned to national account. An elective Second Chamber would claim co-equal authority with the First. He defended the action of the Lords, and advocated Tariff Reform in the interest of the commercial fortunes of Great Britain and the Imperial fortunes of the Empire.

Speaking at Ipswich on January 11, Mr. Asquith replied to Mr. Balfour's speech of the previous evening. Every great nation, he said, lived under its own social conditions; the question was not whether Free Trade suited other nations, but whether it suited us. In an insular country, with manufacturing supremacy, the banking and insurance centre of the world and commanding its carrying trade, it was vital to maintain an open market and avoid any tax which would disturb industry or interfere with the food of the people. We were better able to overleap tariff barriers than countries which adopted retaliation. The advance of Germany and the United States was due to other causes. Their tariffs, too, were avowedly Protective, and Mr. Balfour still shied at Protection. He cited particulars, showing that food duties fell on the consumer, and asked whether the tea and sugar duties would be remitted. Tariffs, too, would constantly rise, and there would be a demoralising competition of localities and industries, which was already foreshadowed in the speeches of Tariff Reform candidates. Socialism and unemployment were worse in Germany; and capital went abroad as goods or services. He dealt with the question of the Lords' veto, pointing out that the Duke of Wellington had said in 1846 that it was for the Commons to decide as to the repeal of the Corn Laws; and he referred to the treatment of the Education Bills by the Lords in 1902 and 1906 respectively.

The constitutional issue was dealt with historically by Sir William Robson, the Attorney-General, before his constituents at South Shields on January 11. He maintained that in fact the Lords were under a well-defined constitutional duty to pass Money Bills; under the early Kings of England grants had been made by each estate of the realm separately, but with the growth of the towns the grants of the Commons became much the most important, and the Lords came to adopt them for themselves. Thus they could not amend them so far as the Commons was concerned. Gradually the Commons asserted the right to have their grants of taxation made applicable to the Lords, and in 1407 Henry IV. said that both Houses must agree on the grants. It was said that the Lords then acquired the right to reject the grants altogether, but this right the Commons had always contested. The assent of the Lords, according to the elder Pitt, afterwards Lord Chatham, was necessary in order to give to the money grants of the House of Commons the form of law. To deny this form of law to the financial measures of the Commons would be to deny and defeat the most essential of the Commons' privileges. At any rate, the custom of centuries had destroyed the Lords' right of rejection. The Money Bills of which the rejection was alleged as a precedent were really Bills for the regulation of trade. If the Lords assumed the right of rejection, they would enjoy a power never yet achieved by King or Commons—the Royal prerogative of dissolution, together with final control of legislation, trade, and finance. If

Tariff Reform were set up, the Lords would block the return to Free Trade, and our trade would be fettered beyond release.

Mr. Asquith at Salisbury (Jan. 12) replied to Mr. Balfour's speech at Glasgow by an allusion to the vagueness of the Opposition leader's views on Tariff Reform, and, after defending the Finance Bill, insisted that under existing conditions the irresponsible Chamber practically installed the leader of the Opposition, repudiated at the polls, as the dictator of the legislation of the country. On the same night Mr. Balfour at York alluded to Home Rule, declared for parental rights in education as the ideal of equality, defended the veto power of the Lords, and advocated "broadening the basis of taxation" and a strong Navy.

Speaking at Bradford on January 13, Mr. Asquith dealt mainly with fiscal policy. The predictions that certain trades were dying had been falsified since 1903, and our fiscal system had enabled us to pay off debt while other countries were borrowing. He analysed Mr. Balfour's indications of taxation under Tariff Reform, challenged him to name the luxuries of the rich which he would tax, and dealt at length with the contention that a duty on imported food would not raise its cost. Would Mr. Balfour take off the duty on tea and sugar, and so fulfil his pledge that the cost of living should not be increased?

Meanwhile Mr. Austen Chamberlain, Mr. Bonar Law, and a host of Unionist speakers, were reiterating the case for Tariff Reform; and this, with denunciations of Socialism, the "little Navy policy," and Single-Chamber Government, made up the staple of the Opposition speeches. Other contributions to the controversy deserve a more extended notice. Mr. Joseph Chamberlain though laid aside by illness, took an active part by letters to candidates in advocating Tariff Reform and Imperial Preference. The Trade Union and Labour organisations issued a manifesto asking for amendments in the Trade Union Acts which would enable the trade unions to "continue the political activities in which they had been engaged since 1868"; the Licensed Victuallers' Organisation denounced the continuous attacks of the Government on their trade; the Irish Unionists protested against Home Rule. Lord Rosebery declared in a letter that on three of the four issues on which the election would be fought he was at variance with the Government; he was against the Socialism inherent in the Budget, in favour of a reformed and efficient Second Chamber, and opposed to anything in the nature of an independent Irish Parliament or anything that would directly lead up to it. Similar feelings actuated other Free-Trade Unionists, notably those represented by the *Spectator*; two eminent orthodox economists, Lord Avebury and Sir Robert Giffen, declared against the Government; the Earl of Portsmouth, Under-Secretary for War in the Campbell-Bannerman Ministry, spoke at a Unionist meeting; and many prominent commercial men seceded from the Liberal party, and declared for

Tariff Reform. On the other side Canon Barnett, the first Principal of Toynbee Hall, commended the Finance Bill; and the Bishop of Hereford, in a letter to a clergyman in his diocese, said that the main question was the Lords' veto in finance. As to Welsh Disestablishment, the Welsh had as good a claim as the Irish or Scotch to have their ecclesiastical affairs regulated according to their own national sentiments. Religious education was in no danger, because the main body of the people immediately concerned and their representatives desired to maintain the open Bible in the schools and were not afraid to trust the teachers. Wise clergymen would support them in this desire, and would gather the children into their Sunday schools. Tariff Reform had been from the first a political gamble. The land taxes and land valuation were fair and reasonable, and he did not see how any clergyman could with a good conscience support the brewers' claims.

It was felt that the result depended largely on London and Lancashire; and on January 10 the Colonial Office stated that the Government had arranged for the continuance and amplification of the contributions arranged for under its predecessor to the work of the British Cotton Growing Association, and that they would shortly give that body a grant for a term of years from Imperial funds. This announcement was elicited by a correspondent, and the arrangement was, doubtless, independent of the election; but it probably helped to hold Lancashire for the Government.

On the eve of the polls the Unionist leaders issued two messages to the electors. Mr. Balfour declared that the result of the election must, for good or evil, affect the employment of our people, the security of our shores, and the greatness of our Empire. He hoped that every citizen might act as knowing that on him in part depended the issue of this great controversy. And Mr. Balfour and Mr. Chamberlain both signed a declaration that Tariff Reform would not increase the cost of living of the working classes or their proportion of taxation, but would make it possible to reduce the existing taxation on articles of working-class consumption, would lessen unemployment, and would develop trade with the British Dominions overseas.

Mr. Balfour, speaking at Bradford on the first day of the polling, said that the number of questions before the electorate was bewildering, but all were inter-related. The Budget would not have been submitted to the people but for the House of Lords. The *Economist*, which was friendly to the Government, admitted that the financial year would end with a deficit. The existing fiscal machinery was inadequate. Old-age pensions were a national obligation, but there were two schools of thought in the Cabinet on naval defence, and he feared that the school that regarded naval expenditure as frittering away money would have its way in consequence of the deficit. He did not attack Germany,

but when a country with the greatest army in the world proposed to add to it the greatest navy, its neighbours must consider their position. The picture drawn by the Liberals of German social conditions was illogical and offensive. We were not making the best of our Empire. Our refusal to meet the Colonies would compel them to make preferential arrangements with other countries. Our boasted freedom of trade merely meant freedom of our rivals to manage our trade. He did not believe the Tariffs would encourage Trusts, but he preferred British to foreign Trusts. There were two alternative fiscal policies: one had been pushed to its extreme, and failed to yield an adequate revenue; the other would produce a far larger revenue than we could expect from any other source. The time for action had come.

Mr. Asquith, speaking at Crieff on January 15, pointed out that the general administrative policy of the Government was not attacked; no Tory would condemn its action in South Africa; the attempt to decry the condition of the Navy had completely broken down; one reason for the new taxes was that the Government had taken measures to make our naval power complete and unassailable, and it would supplement and develop them if it remained in office. In legislation, was there anything to be said against the Workmen's Compensation Act, the Children Act, the Labour Exchanges, Trade Boards, and Housing and Town Planning Bills? These, as Lord Lansdowne had said, the House of Lords had "allowed to pass," but why were they not passed years before? Because they had not behind them the initiative of a Liberal Government and the driving power of a Liberal majority in the Commons. Lord Lansdowne's assertion in a letter that any Government might modify the conditions of old-age pensions had perturbed the Tory wirepullers and elicited from Mr. Balfour what was called the prompt denial of a fabrication. Liberal policy was the removal of the pauper disqualification and resistance to any attempt to put old-age pensions on a contributory basis. After seven years' controversy, the world was strewn with the wreckage of Mr. Chamberlain's prophecies on Tariff Reform. Our oversea trade had expanded beyond expectation; the census of production had shown that we were more than holding our own, and that the influx of "dumped" goods was imaginary. There was much that was speculative about Tariff Reform, but it was certain that at York Mr. Balfour had agreed with Mr. Chamberlain that the first step in it must be taxation on the necessaries of life. He ridiculed the joint manifesto of Mr. Balfour and Mr. Chamberlain, pointing out that if the tea and sugar taxes were remitted under Tariff Reform there would be no increase in revenue, and he remarked that the claim of the Lords to interfere with finance had expanded—particularly in Lord Curzon's speeches—into all kinds of extravagant pretensions. He appealed to the electors to assert their own rights and those of their representatives to determine taxation and legislation.

On the same day Mr. Lloyd George, speaking during the polling at Grimsby, had asked if Great Britain was to remain a Democracy or to copy Prussia. He ridiculed the German invasion scare; Tariff Reform, he said, was a German invasion, and the aristocracy was full of German ideas. This speech, which was thought afterwards to have turned the Grimsby election, caused great resentment among the local Unionists, and on its conclusion Mr. Lloyd George had to evade a hostile crowd.

The general election of 1906 had returned a House of Commons composed as follows: Liberals, 379; Labour, 51; Nationalists, 83; Unionists, 157—the three former, therefore, having a majority over the Unionists of 356, or, omitting the Speaker, of 357. Since then, however, three Unionists and two Liberals had changed sides; an independent Socialist, Mr. Grayson, had replaced the Liberal in Colne Valley; and the Unionists had gained twelve seats at bye-elections. At the Dissolution, omitting the Speaker, the numbers were: Liberals, 373; Labour (with Mr. Grayson), 46; Nationalists, 83; Unionists, 167. Counting the half-dozen or so of doubtful Nationalists and Mr. Grayson among the Ministerial majority, the Coalition supporting the Ministry numbered 502, the Unionists 167. Thus, merely to get a majority the Unionists had to gain 168 seats, and to obtain a working majority, about 180. To equal the Liberal-Labour Coalition, leaving the balance in the hands of the Nationalists, they must gain 126 seats. The forecasts varied greatly. The *Observer* of January 9 published seven, made by good authorities, and ranging from a Unionist majority of 90 to a Coalition majority of 200. But most spectators expected large Unionist gains, in view of the abnormal "swing of the pendulum" in 1906.

The result of the first day's polls encouraged the Unionists' hopes. They gained eighteen seats, of which three were in London, three in Lancashire, and two in Wolverhampton; while at Birmingham the majorities were greatly increased in all the divisions. The Liberal vote generally showed a decided decline; the party, however, gained four seats, balancing a loss in Manchester by recovering the seat won by Mr. Joynson Hicks from Mr. Winston Churchill in 1908. During the next week the Unionist gains continued; they won several seats in London, two each at Sunderland, Preston, and Portsmouth, and a number in county divisions; the Liberals, however, amongst other successes, gained seats at Blackburn, Stockton, Bermondsey and Newcastle-on-Tyne, and the Labour party a seat at Wigan. By Saturday afternoon, January 22, the Unionists had won 98 seats, the Coalition 23: so that the net Unionist gain was 75—not half what was required to enable the party to take office. And it was clear that the Nationalists would hold the balance.

As a rule, the contests were conducted in an orderly manner and with a show of good temper, though in some places bitter

controversies and disturbances arose. The reports of intimidation in the rural constituencies set up a very sore feeling in the Liberal party, though the efforts to obtain definite evidence justifying prosecutions were usually unsuccessful; and there was unquestionably acute disappointment among the Tariff Reformers that their propaganda, conducted not only on the platform and in the Press, but by a host of obscure missionaries, aided by all sorts of ingenious devices and by lavish expenditure, had not proved more remunerative. By a large section of the public, however, the contest seemed to be regarded as a sporting event, and the results were received with singular good humour, considering the strain placed on public feeling by the campaign. In no previous general election had such efforts been made to acquaint the masses with the results. All over London and its suburbs, and in most of the great towns, the figures were displayed at newspaper offices and elsewhere by magic lantern to enthusiastic but peaceful crowds of sightseers; and even the cartoons and mottoes interspersed among these announcements failed to excite disturbance.

The women suffragists claimed to have influenced the elections adversely to the Ministry; but they had generally abandoned their policy of interference with Cabinet Ministers. An unsuccessful attempt was made to destroy Mr. Burns' election literature, and Suffragists were discovered and ejected at Mr. Asquith's meetings at Brighton (Jan. 4) and Bradford (Jan. 13), and at Mr. Lloyd George's meetings at Reading (Jan. 1) and at Louth (Jan. 15). In the last-named case they had concealed themselves between the perforated ceiling and the roof, and interrupted successfully for some time. They were summoned, but discharged with a caution; and it was announced at the close of the elections that militant tactics would be suspended for awhile.

Speaking in his own constituency of East Fife on January 19, the Prime Minister said that the Unionist gains had been chiefly in the smaller boroughs and cathedral cities; the great industrial centres had mainly declared for Free Trade, and in the face of that declaration Tariff Reform was a political impossibility. He could make no promises regarding legislation on education in England, land in Scotland, or self-government for Ireland, until the obstacle offered by the Lords' veto was out of the way. Next day, in answer to questions, he declined to give details of a Home Rule measure, but declared that it must reserve the complete supremacy of the Imperial Government; and declared himself in favour of manhood suffrage and against women's suffrage.

Speaking at Rathmines on January 21, Mr. Redmond said that for the Nationalists Home Rule was the sole issue. Mr. Asquith had not modified his pledge, but reiterated it; Ireland was not foolish enough to ask for Home Rule before the Lords' veto was out of the way. They were not asking for separation, but for the supremacy in purely Irish affairs of Irish public opinion,

and he repudiated any idea of religious ascendancy. On the other hand Mr. William O'Brien at Fermoy (Jan. 23) declared that Mr. Asquith and the Liberal Whips had repudiated the Home Rule pledge the moment they had secured the Irish vote in the North of England. If they were to wait for Home Rule till the House of Lords was abolished, they would have to wait indefinitely.

Mr. Balfour, speaking at Haddington, in Mr. Haldane's constituency, on January 24, said that Mr. Haldane had challenged him to say what was the primary question now before the electorate. It was the Budget, which the House of Lords had rightly referred to the people. That House was quite subordinate to the Commons in matters of finance, but the withdrawal from it of the power to refer the Budget to the people might enable the Commons to carry out a great injustice unchecked. Tariff Reform was the only practical alternative to the Budget. The statement that imports pay for exports was broadly true, but it was a "book-keeping statement"; in all countries that had adopted a tariff, both the imports and exports had increased. The explanation was that tariffs increased the productive power of the nation. He denounced the levity with which the Government had placed Home Rule before the electorate. The Government proposed to deprive the House of Lords of the power of referring it to the people. Mr. Asquith had indicated at the Albert Hall that as soon as this was done they would bring in a Home Rule Bill; but the two Government Whips, Mr. Pease and Mr. Fuller, had put different senses on his words (p. 17). Mr. Balfour added that a Unionist Government would insist on a great addition to our naval defences, in maintaining which the Ministry had gravely failed, and he deprecated the attacks made on special classes, expressing his belief in the ultimate triumph of British common sense.

Mr. Lloyd George, speaking at Alfreton on January 24, ridiculed the Unionist attacks on the "composite majority" of the Government, and said that, allowing for the plural voters, the Liberal majority of that moment was probably 400,000. There had been intimidation in his own constituency, though it had failed, but in other places it had succeeded; in some of the villages he was told that there was a perfect reign of terror, and the agricultural labourers were afraid to vote. The new Parliament had been elected with a mandate for a reform of the Constitution, the land laws, and the condition of the people, and meant to carry it out.

The later speeches of the election hardly call for notice. Incidentally, however, the German scare was effectively dealt with by the German Ambassador, Count Wolff-Metternich, at a banquet at the Hotel Cecil to celebrate the Kaiser's birthday on January 28. The Germans, he said, were a peace-loving people, and wars of aggression were far from their thoughts. With national unity accomplished, they had no thought of further war to attain

national aims. They had aspirations, not for more territory, for the development of their industry enabled them to employ their people at home; but Germany must depend largely on export trade, and must seek to acquire new markets peaceably, by intellectual industry, skill, and knowledge. This was the real meaning of *Weltpolitik*. Markets could not be got by force; to destroy a commercial rival was to destroy a possible buyer; were England involved in a European war, the resultant financial crisis would in a short time destroy values greater than could be replaced. The common interest of commercial rivals lay in aiding one another, and commerce, finance, and industry were now international. Germany was building a fleet to protect her interest in accordance with a known and fixed programme; it was not necessary for her to become the strongest Power at sea, and she had no intention of competing there for supremacy; was it reasonable, then, to suppose that she sought to be involved in a naval quarrel, knowing herself much stronger on land?

By the end of January the only contests still to be decided were those of the Scottish Universities, which as usual returned Unionists, and Orkney and Shetland, which preferred its former Liberal member to a Unionist working-man candidate sent from England by the *Standard's* fund. Geographically, Scotland and Wales were still overwhelmingly Liberal; Lancashire, Yorkshire, and the industrial districts generally, with the marked exception of the Birmingham area, were also but little shaken; but the Unionists had gained much ground in the dockyard boroughs, the "residential" towns like Bath and Cheltenham, the London suburban and residential districts, the agricultural constituencies and a number of small boroughs. Organised labour—outside the Birmingham area—was, on the whole, for Free Trade and against the Lords; unorganised and agricultural labour largely on the other side, to some extent under the influence of the upper class, which was generally strongly against the Budget and in favour of Tariff Reform. The Unionist organisers had kept Tariff Reform well to the front, and it was stated that in the industrial North they had found that one of their great difficulties was the hereditary character of the House of Lords; the Liberals had fought on Free Trade and the Constitutional issue. Six members of the Government had lost their seats—Colonel Seely, Mr. J. A. Pease, Mr. F. D. Acland, Mr. T. W. Russell, Mr. R. K. Causton, and Sir Henry Norman, the organiser of the Budget League, who had just been appointed Assistant Postmaster-General. The most conspicuous of the Free Food Unionists, Lord Robert Cecil and Mr. F. W. Lambton, had been defeated likewise; Mr. Harold Cox and Mr. Carlyon Bellairs had paid the penalty of their independence; and Mr. Crooks, Mr. Curran, Mr. Steadman, and Mr. Summerbell were lost to the Labour party in Parliament.

The final results were: Liberals, [373] 274; Unionists, [167]

272 (of whom 43 were Liberal Unionists) ; Labour party, [46] 41 ; Nationalists, [83] 71 ; Independent Nationalists, 11. (The figures in brackets indicate the numbers at the Dissolution. The Speaker is omitted as necessarily neutral.)

The outcome disappointed all parties, not least by its obscurity and indecisiveness. The Liberal party could have a working majority only by the aid of the Irish Nationalist and Labour parties ; but the Independent Nationalists were avowedly hostile to it because of the Budget ; Mr. Redmond's followers were only supporting the Budget in the hope that the Government would fulfil their pledge of abolishing the Lords' veto and so remove the great obstacle to Home Rule ; and the Labour party (at their Conference at Newport, Mon., on Feb. 8) demanded the abolition of the veto and opposed any reform of the House of Lords. On the other hand, while the fiscal needs of the country seemed to make the immediate passing of the Budget imperative, it was believed that many moderate Liberals objected to the mere abolition of the Lords' veto as leading virtually to Single-Chamber government, and would demand a reform of the House of Lords, though they would be ready to make it the subordinate Chamber. Under these circumstances, another general election seemed probable at an early date ; but the cost and inconvenience it would involve were a serious deterrent ; and suggestions were freely made after the first week of the election for some sort of compromise. The Free Food Unionists desired that the food-taxes should be dropped from the Tariff Reform programme, and the whole subject referred to a Royal Commission ; the *Observer* proposed a Conference and compromise on the reform of the House of Lords, and the *Westminster Gazette* was disposed to favour the plan. It was even suggested (by Mr. Sidney Low, in *The Times* of Jan. 25) that a moderate or neutral Cabinet might be formed with Lord Rosebery as Prime Minister, and comprising Lords Morley of Blackburn, Milner, and Curzon of Kedleston, the Earl of Crewe, the Earl of Cromer, Sir Edward Grey, Mr. Haldane, and Mr. John Burns ; and that the King might take the initiative. This Cabinet might carry on the Government till the definite settlement of the current controversies was reached. This found some favour on the Unionist side, *The Times*, however, preferring a Round Table Conference ; but Liberal speakers generally scouted all such ideas. A further sign of the Unionist readiness to compromise was found in plans for a reformed House of Lords put forward in the party Press—notably in *The Times* of February 4. On the other hand, great stress was laid on the weakness of the Government ; Sir A. Acland-Hood predicted that the Unionists “ would do what they liked with it ” ; most Unionists treated it as the tool of Mr. Redmond, and some of their organs offered to aid it in resisting his demands. In irresponsible Unionist quarters, however, it was suggested that the Nationalists might be won for Tariff Reform,

and eliminated from British politics by a Unionist offer of self-government for Ireland.

From replies to questions addressed to Mr. J. A. Pease (Jan. 17) and to the Prime Minister (Jan. 19, 20) and from a speech by Mr. Fuller, one of the Liberal Whips, the Unionists had inferred a divergence among the Liberal leaders on the subject of Home Rule. At the Albert Hall, it was argued, the Prime Minister had promised Home Rule (ANNUAL REGISTER, 1909, p. 266); but while Mr. Lloyd George seemed ready to give Colonial Home Rule, Mr. Pease said that there would be no independent Parliament, but self-government for purely Irish affairs, and Mr. Fuller said that there was no pledge to bring in Home Rule. Little came of these differences; but the Liberal hopes of a working majority were considerably shaken by Mr. Redmond at Dublin on February 10. He denounced the idea that the Budget should be taken before the Lords' veto; to do so would be to disgust every real democrat in Great Britain, and to break the pledge which had acquired the support of Ireland for the Government. And it soon became clear that this feeling was widely prevalent both in the Labour and in the Liberal ranks.

Meanwhile there were other difficulties threatening the Government. The Labour Conference at Newport (Mon.) on February 8, indicated that the party would maintain an attitude of independence; and the difficulties incident to rearranging the working in the coal mines under the Eight Hours Act of 1909 made it probable that there would be strikes or lock-outs both in Northumberland and in South Wales. In Northumberland a ballot resulted in a small and inadequate majority in favour of a strike.

On the other hand, a first instalment of the Ministerial programme for the relief of unemployment had begun with the opening of eighty Labour Exchanges in London and many large towns on February 1. The use made of them by both workers and employers seemed likely to be considerable. Mr. Winston Churchill, President of the Board of Trade, inspected the London exchanges on the opening day, and stated that he hoped they would not "sink into a mere part of the distress machinery," and that, when unemployment insurance was established, they would have all the work of finding employment in some of the greatest trades of the country. By June there would be 230 at work.

As the session approached, however, attention was concentrated on the probable developments of the political situation, especially after the unfavourable turn given to them by Mr. Redmond's speech of February 10. The Prime Minister visited the King at Brighton three days later; and on Tuesday, February 16, the third Parliament of King Edward VII. was opened by Royal Commission. Crowds assembled in Parliament Square, but there were no incidents, and little was seen of the new members by the expectant watchers. The women suffragists actively hawked their

literature and displayed advertisements of their meetings; but it was understood that they had decided to refrain from demonstrations until the Government had had an opportunity of declaring its policy.

In the House of Lords the proceedings were merely formal. The Commons were summoned by Black Rod to hear the Royal Commission read, and were then directed by the Lord Chancellor to retire to their own House and choose a Speaker, and to present the person chosen for His Majesty's approbation in the House of Lords at twelve on the day following. On their return to their own Chamber, accordingly, Sir Courtenay Ilbert, the Clerk of the House, silently motioned to Mr. Thomas Burt (L., *Morpeth*), who, as previously arranged, moved "that the Right Hon. James William Lowther take the Chair as Speaker." He described Mr. Lowther as possessing every qualification needed for the office, promptness and sureness of decision, experience, courage and firmness, and "the saving grace of humour." The motion was seconded by Mr. Chaplin (U., *Surrey, Wimbledon*), who said that Mr. Lowther had emerged from the strain of the preceding session with added credit to his reputation, and advocated his re-election under the exceptional responsibilities of the House at the time. Mr. Lowther felicitously acknowledged the tribute paid him, and was conducted to the Chair by the mover and seconder. Mr. Asquith, Mr. Balfour, and Mr. Henderson, the Labour leader, in the name of their respective parties, endorsed the choice of the House.

The rest of the week was devoted to the swearing-in of members. On Wednesday, February 17, Mr. Joseph Chamberlain was led by his son and Lord Morpeth to the Treasury Bench, and confirmed his son's signature of his name to the roll. His enfeebled condition excited general sympathy.

The day after Parliament met, Lord Rosebery presided at a dinner given to Mr. Harold Cox, the late Liberal member for Preston, by the British Constitutional Association, and took occasion to express his own views on the value of the House of Lords. Independence, he said, had been crushed out, especially since 1885, in the House of Commons; but there was still room for independence in the House of Lords. To the Moloch of party Mr. Lambton, Lord Robert Cecil, and Mr. Cox had been sacrificed—Mr. Cox because he had criticised the Budget unanswerably. The silent and independent voters should organise themselves in favour of a strong and efficient Second Chamber, and of the reference of Tariff Reform to a Royal Commission. Mr. Harold Cox, in reply, attacked the tyranny of the two-party system as tending to force unsatisfactory measures through, and urged the rescue of the country from the growing despotism of the State. The Earl of Cromer and Lord Robert Cecil also spoke; but it need hardly be said that the suggestions made were unfruitful.

As the delivery of the Royal Speech approached, the situation grew more menacing for the Government. Mr. Barnes, the newly elected Chairman of the Labour party, issued a statement on February 17, protesting on behalf of his followers against the reported intention of the Cabinet to hold office without having obtained assurances from the King as to the veto, and to deal with the Budget first. This meant, in his opinion, that the Ministry thought the general election insufficiently decisive in regard to the veto; but, if another general election were to take place, let it come as soon as possible. The Liberal party generally seemed to agree with him and to desire "veto first"; and negotiations were actively going on between Ministers and the Nationalist leaders.

The Ministry met Parliament somewhat altered. Mr. Winston Churchill succeeded Mr. (now Lord) Gladstone at the Home Office; Mr. Sydney Buxton took Mr. Churchill's place at the Board of Trade; Mr. J. A. Pease, for whom a new seat would have to be found, became Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster. Mr. Herbert Samuel succeeded Mr. Buxton as Postmaster-General; and the Master of Elibank took Mr. Pease's place as chief Liberal Whip. The Under-Secretaryship for India was filled by Mr. E. S. Montagu (L., *Camb., Chesterton*); and Mr. Wedgwood Benn (L., *St. George's in the East*), Mr. P. H. Illingworth (L., *Yorks, W.R., Shipley*) and Mr. E. Soares (*Devon, Barnstaple*) were appointed Junior Lords of the Treasury. Mr. C. P. Allen (*Glouc, Stroud*) replaced Mr. Soares as an unpaid Charity Commissioner. A little later, Captain Cecil Norton (*Newington, W.*) was appointed Assistant Postmaster-General, and Mr. C. Mallet (*Plymouth*) Financial Secretary to the War Office, Sir Henry Norman and Mr. F. D. Acland, who had been defeated at the polls, having respectively resigned those offices. Finally, on March 7, Sir Samuel Evans, Solicitor-General, was made head of the Probate, Divorce, and Admiralty Division, and Mr. Rufus Isaacs (*Reading*) was appointed Solicitor-General in his stead.

CHAPTER II.

FROM THE KING'S SPEECH TO THE CLOSE OF THE REIGN.

PARLIAMENT was formally opened by the King on Monday, Feb. 21. The State procession was favoured by fine weather, and there was the usual brilliant and impressive scene in the House of Lords. The King read his Speech, which was unusually brief. It referred to the approaching establishment of the Union of South Africa, to the impending visit of the Prince of Wales, preparatory to opening its new Parliament, and to the first meeting of the reformed and enlarged Legislative Councils of India. The Estimates had been framed with the utmost desire for economy, but a substantial

increase had been found necessary in the cost of the Navy. The rest of the Speech must be given in full.

You will also be asked to complete the provision which was made in the last session of Parliament for the year about to expire, but to which effect has not yet been given.

The expenditure authorised by the last Parliament is being duly incurred; but as the revenue required to meet it has not yet been provided by the imposition of taxation, recourse has been had, under Parliamentary sanction, to temporary borrowing. Arrangements must be made at the earliest possible moment to deal with the financial situation thus created.

My Lords and Gentlemen.—Recent experience has disclosed serious difficulties, due to recurring differences of strong opinion between the two branches of the Legislature.

Proposals will be laid before you, with all convenient speed, to define the relations between the Houses of Parliament, so as to secure the undivided authority of the House of Commons over Finance, and its predominance in Legislation. These measures, in the opinion of my advisers, should provide that this House should be so constituted and empowered as to exercise impartially, in regard to proposed legislation, the functions of initiation, revision, and, subject to proper safeguards, of delay.

I pray that the blessing of Almighty God may attend your labours.

(The obscurity of the Speech aroused some comment; so did the words “in the opinion of my advisers.” It eventually became clear that “this House” meant the House of Lords, in which the Speech was delivered.) In the House of Lords the Address was moved by Lord Farrer, and seconded by Lord Saye and Sele.

The Marquess of Lansdowne cordially welcomed the intimation of the Prince of Wales' visit to South Africa, and parenthetically remarked that the new South African Senate would have the right to reject Money Bills. He expressed astonishment at the absence of any reassuring words as to the condition of India. He commended Ministers for giving priority to the Budget. The Lords had only extended the delay by a few weeks; there had been no financial chaos, and the Government might have mitigated any existing inconvenience by accepting the Lords' offer to facilitate the collection of the non-contentious taxes (ANNUAL REGISTER, 1909, p. 266). There was no change of opinion in that House with regard to the Finance Bill, but if it returned there, he apprehended that the Peers would pass it into law. On other matters, such as Home Rule, they would not be so accommodating. It was astonishing that Ministers should make these proposals on the strength of the elections. He found the proposals as to the House of Lords obscure; they were the result of Ministerial second thoughts. Many of the Peers desired to co-operate in the reform of the House of Lords, though they did not want a sham House or a brand-new Senate. If their co-operation were refused, they would bring forward proposals of their own.

The Earl of Crewe replied. After a tribute to the memory of Boutros Pasha (*post*, Foreign History, Chapter VII., ii.) and references to South Africa, India, and the probability of further naval expenditure, he dealt with the “unprecedented situation” as to finance. Provision had to be made for the redemption of 21,000,000*l.* of War Loan on April 25, and 21,000,000*l.* had been

borrowed owing to the rejection of the Finance Bill; the whole available balance from the Sinking Fund would also be required, and Easter fell on March 27. As to Home Rule, Mr. Asquith at the Albert Hall had said that the Liberal "self-denying ordinance" of 1906 no longer held good. As to the Irish "alliance," the Unionists would welcome Irish co-operation if offered. As to the relations of the Houses, the position of Ministers was unchanged. Unless they could obtain statutory guarantees that the state of things obtaining during the previous four years would not be permanent, they could neither retain nor assume office; indeed, they retained office in order to obtain such guarantees. It was generally admitted that something must be done to reform the House of Lords; he could only say that the outline, at any rate, would be placed before the country as soon as possible, and he agreed that there should be full discussion of the plan in that House. But he could not foreshadow its contents.

The Earl of Rosebery thought that a reform affecting the House of Lords should properly be introduced in that House, and urged that the Peers should seize the opportunity of reforming themselves. The plan of the Government in 1907 was virtually a Single-Chamber system. He believed the country demanded a strong and efficient Second Chamber, but objected to the hereditary character of the House of Lords. The Address was then agreed to.

In the House of Commons the usual Sessional Order, declaring that no Peer should concern himself in Parliamentary elections, was met by an amendment moved by Mr. L. Hardy (U., *Kent, Ashford*) and seconded by Mr. Duke (U., *Exeter*) restricting it to Peers who were also Lords-Lieutenant of counties. The rule, it was argued, could not be enforced—as was shown by the case of the Duke of Norfolk (ANNUAL REGISTER, 1909, p. 169), least of all when Peers were on their defence. Mr. Duke caused some feeling by citing a declaration of Lord Ashton, a great benefactor of Lancaster and employer of labour in that town, against Tariff Reform the day before the election—which drew a spirited defence of that Peer from Mr. Healy. Mr. Asquith and Mr. Balfour thought the order useless, and the amendment was agreed to.

The Address was moved by Mr. Illingworth (L., *Yorks, W.R., Shipley*) and seconded by Mr. Price (L., *Edinburgh, Central*).

Mr. Balfour (U., *City of London*) after complimenting the mover and seconder, observed that, whatever else could be said of the King's Speech, there was very little in it. The only legislative project foreshadowed was that dealing with the relations of the two Houses, and on this subject the general election and the Speech were highly ambiguous. He welcomed the announcement of increased expenditure on the Navy, and asked for explanations of the annulment of the sentences of deportation on Indian agitators. He then turned to the question of the House of Lords. On the

Budget the country had pronounced—he was not sure what—and it would probably become law. But the majority of 230 for it was now reduced to 26. In Great Britain there was a narrow majority for it, but, if it could be isolated from other issues, it would be rejected. He called attention to the fact that after the Prime Minister's speech in the Albert Hall Ministers had said nothing of Home Rule; English, Scottish, and Ulster members wanted a change in the House of Lords in order to improve the Constitution; the Nationalists wanted it to be out of the Constitution. A Budget was to be passed of which the constituencies as a whole disapproved, because one set of these wanted a revolutionary change about which the others had not been consulted and as to which the majority of them had no knowledge. Such difficulties were inherent in representative assemblies, and became more prominent under a system of groups, which, he believed, had come to stay. The ambiguities of the Speech indicated that the Government scheme of reform was still in the making; but he asked moderate men whether such an assembly would be entrusted with the power of fundamentally reforming the Constitution. That a representative assembly was representative for all purposes was a mere superstition; let them take care that whatever changes were introduced into the Constitution, it was not by the support of a chance majority.

Mr. Asquith, after denying that deportation was "a sentence," stated that, in the opinion of the Viceroy and the Indian Secretary, there would be no justification for deferring the release of the persons deported from India; and then added that if Home Rule or any great change was to be obtained, the Lords' veto must first be abolished. That was the only contentious legislative question to be dealt with. The rejection of the Budget was not an isolated act, but the climax after many other occasions when the House of Lords had exercised co-ordinate, or, more properly, over-riding, authority over the acts and decisions of the popular Chamber. The appeal to the country was an appeal to end that state of things, to restore the complete and undisputed supremacy of the Commons over finance, and to remove the absolute veto of the Lords over legislation. Dealing with his statement at the Albert Hall, which was supposed to mean that the Liberal Ministry ought not to meet the House unless it had secured guarantees for a contingent exercise of the Royal prerogative, he disclaimed this interpretation. He had asked for and received no such guarantees; it was the duty of statesmen and responsible politicians to keep the Crown as far as possible outside party politics; but on occasion he would not hesitate to tender such advice to the Crown as the situation might demand. But no statesman could ask in advance for assurances regarding a measure not yet presented to the Commons, and no constitutional Sovereign could be expected to grant such a request. But there was an overwhelming majority in the House absolutely pledged to deal with the veto, and the Government

would ask the House of Commons to devote its opening session to this topic alone. To save time they proposed to proceed in the first instance by resolutions, which were to be embodied in a Bill to be passed during the session, and on these he hoped that the House might pronounce before its spring recess. The Budget had to be reaffirmed, and the redemption dealt with at once of the War Loan of 1900, of which 21,000,000*l.* was outstanding. The next step would be to obtain authority to renew, as they fell due, the Treasury Bills issued in consequence of the rejection of the Budget, which otherwise under the Appropriation Act must all be paid before March 31, and which, with an advance of 4,000,000*l.*, that had been made by the Bank of England, would amount to 21,200,000*l.* The Supplementary Estimates and certain votes in Supply must also be passed before the end of the financial year (March 31), and embodied in the Consolidated Fund Bill, which must also be passed before that date. The Government would propose an adjournment from the Thursday before till the Tuesday after Easter, and the House would then be asked to dispose of the Budget and the resolutions on the House of Lords. After this, by an extended vacation, the Easter and Whitsun holidays might be fixed, and the Lords Bill passed before the end of the Session. The Budget would have to undergo alteration in some immaterial points. Retrospective sanction would be given to what had been done, and the duties imposed by the last House re-imposed. To pass it, there must be some form of summary procedure. Before the Budget left the Commons the House must have had an opportunity to express its opinion on the House of Lords' resolutions. The Parliamentary situation was unexampled, and there were temptations to devise some easy way of escape, but the position made it the duty of the Ministry to use every effort to effect the proposed fundamental reform. They had only two objects in view—to carry on the King's Government with credit and efficiency as long as they were responsible for it, and to end a constitutional position which enabled a non-representative and irresponsible authority to thwart the purposes and mutilate the handiwork of the chosen exponents of the people's will.

Mr. John Redmond (N., *Waterford*) began by declaring that the Nationalists were in the House solely to advance Home Rule. At the last election they had supported the Government heart and soul, chiefly because of their pledge to abolish the Lords' veto, which was regarded as tantamount to a pledge to secure Home Rule. He had understood Mr. Asquith's words at the Albert Hall to mean that he would not assume responsibility for the government of the country, unless he had assurances that he could, if necessary, rely on the Royal prerogative to enable him to pass a Veto Bill within the year. It now appeared that the safeguard meant was an Act of Parliament. That was not consistent with the interpretation put by other Ministers on the

declaration. He agreed that the Crown could not give a blank guarantee for a scheme not yet produced, but that was an unanswerable argument for the immediate production of the veto scheme. If the Resolutions were sent to the Lords and rejected, the Government would then be able to ask the King for a guarantee. To pass the Budget without knowing whether a Veto Bill would be passed would be wasting the mandate of the people, and justifying, to a great extent, the action of the House of Lords. The Commons would be expected to settle down to the humdrum discussion of a Bill certain to be rejected by the Lords; when the enthusiasm was dead, there would be a general election, and the Government would be displaced by a wearied and disheartened electorate. The financial crisis was a great weapon, which the Irish would not throw away. Let Ministers give reasonable assurances that they could carry their Veto Bill this year, and the Nationalists would vote for the Budget. But they would not pay the price for nothing.

The House adjourned at 8.15, partly because the Labour party had arranged to meet and discuss the situation; and next day its new Chairman, Mr. Barnes (*Glasgow, Blackfriars*), set forth its views. He regretted the absence from the Speech of any reference to social, electoral, or Poor-Law reform, hoped that something would be done for the Unemployed Workmen Insurance Bill, and made deprecatory references to Tariff Reform, the effect of the South African Constitution on the coloured population, and naval expenditure. Home Rule had been kept actively before the electors in Scotland, and the election showed that the electorate no longer feared it. The election had been fought and won on the question of the House of Lords, and the majority of 124—representing 400,000 voters, and a much larger majority of votes—was more opposed to that House than Ministers were. The Labour party looked to Ministers, in view of their utterances, to do their duty. Their only interest in the proposals of the Government was as a step towards total abolition of the House of Lords. They thought that they might have the promised Bill at once, without the preliminary Resolutions, that the rejected Budget might be pushed through without discussion of details, and that a new Budget should come only after the Veto Bill.

Mr. F. E. Smith (*U., Liverpool, Walton*) scoffed at the divisions among the supporters of the Government. Ministers had expected a majority which would justify the demand for safeguards, but there was not a majority in the House for the Budget. The Ministerialists had been beaten on the issue of class hatred wickedly raised. That being so, what became of the case against the Lords? The Government were also beaten on education, and he suggested that they should drop the controversial parts of the Budget and take up social and Poor-Law reform.

Mr. Ellis Griffith (*L., Anglesey*) approved the course proposed

by Ministers; and then Mr. O'Brien (Ind. N., *Cork City*) complained that Mr. Redmond had not been sufficiently explicit. He feared that as the result of the negotiations with the Government, the latter had got their majority and their Budget, and Ireland only a sort of *post obit* for Home Rule on the death of the Lords. In Ireland there was universal opposition to the Budget, but Mr. Redmond, Mr. T. P. O'Connor, and the *Freeman's Journal*, did not condemn it. They were exercising the "balance of power" possessed by the Irish party in making straight the path of a Government that had stopped land purchase outside the congested districts and was preparing to impose a Coercion Budget on Ireland. The election had ended in a stalemate. The Budget would not only ruin any Irish National Government hereafter, but was a gross violation of the Act of Union. He did not believe Home Rule was impossible without the abolition of the Lords' veto; he looked to its coming by a reconciliation of all parties, and he and his supporters would go on in that direction.

Mr. Belloc (L., *Salford, S.*), who had given notice of an amendment regretting that there was no mention in the Speech of assurances that the proposals for limiting the Lords' veto would become law if passed in the Commons, declared that the absence of such assurances made the whole thing a party sham. The House of Lords, against which he disclaimed personal feeling, was by its Constitution a Committee for the protection of the "Anglo-Judaic plutocracy." The Government had thrown away an alternative weapon—the peculiarly English one of refusing Supply. He believed there was no real intention of destroying the power of the Upper House. Our great rivals were rapidly and peacefully changing their system of society, and the only way to do so was to tax the rich. The only barrier in this country would be a partially reformed House of Lords. When you had got your enemy, you must smash him.

Mr. Moore (U., *Armagh, N.*) laid stress on the Irish dislike to the Budget and the growing weakness of Mr. Redmond's followers; and then Mr. Winston Churchill (L., *Dundee*) urged that the refusal of Supply would bring about financial chaos and expose its authors to "a sweeping and blinding catastrophe." The Budget could not be used as a lever to carry the Veto Bill, because the Lords would gladly see it delayed, while the Liberals would regard its loss as a damaging and perhaps mortal blow. But the House had a right to know where it stood on the veto resolutions before the decisive division on the Budget was taken. If there was to be a crisis and deadlock, the Government thought it could not come too soon. To refuse to meet Parliament, though attractive, would not have been wise or courageous, and would have prevented them from setting forth their proposals. The other alternative was to place those proposals as early as possible before Parliament, and this course had been adopted. He insisted that

before the Crown could be asked for guarantees that the abolition of the veto should become law, the proposals for its abolition should be assented to by the House of Commons; they might not receive its assent. But there would be no compromise; and immediate steps, subject only to necessary financial business, would be taken to come to a decision. The Government would stake their whole existence on carrying their proposals into law.

Mr. Long (U., *Westminster, Strand*) said that the Government was trying to work a revolution while posing as a constitutional Ministry. He laid stress on the divisions among its supporters, and said that the Unionists would oppose the destruction or virtual destruction of the House of Lords, but would consider and help in any wise reform.

Subsequently a number of Liberal speakers—Sir H. Dalziel (*Kirkcaldy Burghs*), Sir H. Spicer (*Hackney, Central*), Mr. Wedgwood (*Newcastle-under-Lyne*) and others—complained that the Government had misled them, and strongly objected to the course it was taking; and Mr. Keir Hardie (Lab., *Merthyr Tydfil*) declared that Ministers were returned not to reconstitute, but to destroy, the House of Lords; the passing of the Budget should be made contingent on the abolition of the veto going through. In a crisis of this kind it was audacity that paid.

A Tariff Reform amendment followed next day (Feb. 23). It was moved by Mr. Austen Chamberlain (U., *East Worcestershire*), and expressed anxiety at the state of trade and employment, and regretted the absence from the Speech of proposals for enlarging the market for British and Irish produce and increasing the demand for labour by Fiscal Reform. He declared that there was not a majority in the House in favour of the existing fiscal system on its merits, and laid stress on the great progress of the Tariff Reform movement. The real test of a fiscal system was that it provided a comfortable subsistence for the great majority of the people; judged by that test the British system failed. The Labour party wished to redistribute wealth by taxation of capital; but capital, if hunted, would go elsewhere; Tariff Reform sought an increase in the national wealth, an increase in which all might share. The moderate duties proposed would not encourage the creation of monopolies and trusts. Tariff Reformers wished, not to diminish their oversea trade, but to change its character. Germany and America had done so, and had profited greatly. He replied to the arguments used at various times by the Prime Minister and the Chancellor of the Exchequer by citations from consular reports and other evidence, and insisted eloquently on the effect of Tariff Reform in strengthening the bonds of the Empire and improving the lot of the masses.

Mr. S. Buxton (*Poplar, Tower Hamlets*) remarked that the House was still in the dark as to how this earthly paradise was to be brought about. Since last year's debate Mr. Balfour

had agreed to a tax on corn, there had been a general election, and trade had improved. The percentage of unemployment had fallen from 9 to 6·6 per cent., and the two trades—ship-building and building—in which that percentage was highest were two which would benefit least by the predicted effects of Tariff Reform. A Board of Trade official report showed that hours and wages were worse in Germany than in England. Ministers appreciated the Colonies' offer of a rebate, but we were asked to meet them by altering our whole fiscal system and putting a tax on the food of the people. The German tax on corn increased the price of bread. Would Tariff Reform raise the cost to the consumer and the cost of production? What was raw material, and, if the foreigner paid the duty, why should not we tax it? And would they, for instance, tax foreign steel blooms and billets, the foundation of the tinplate trade? Foreign experience was adverse to the Tariff Reformers' expectations.

Mr. Kettle (N., *Tyrone, E.*), in an amusing speech, declared that the amendment was really aimed at Mr. Balfour; Mr. Austen Chamberlain was nailing, not his colours, but his captain, to the mast. The Tariff Reformers were going to put a tax on everything and to raise the price of nothing. A case so stated was intellectually disreputable, and for it the Irish people had nothing but contempt. A tariff which did not make a dear food market offered no real protection to Irish agriculture. Would Ireland be protected against English textiles? Let Tariff Reformers declare their Irish policy. Ireland was asked whether she chose to decay under English Protection or under English Free Trade. Let her have a voice in the shaping of her own economic destinies.

Mr. Thompson (U., *Belfast, N.*), a Belfast millowner, advocated the amendment, and then Mr. Ramsay Macdonald (Lab., *Leicester*), speaking for the Labour party, contended that unemployment was worse and food dearer in protected countries, suggested that the Tariff Reform League should publish a list of their subscribers, and denied that Colonial preference, as stated in this country, was accepted by any substantial body of opinion in the Colonies. With few exceptions, the industrial portion of the country was as firm for Free Trade as in 1906. No Labour party anywhere supported Tariff Reform as put forward by the Tariff Reform League. The remedies for unemployment were the Right to Work Bill, afforestation, insurance against unemployment, and labour colonies.

The subsequent debate proceeded on familiar lines. Two Tariff Reformers, well known outside, Mr. Steel-Maitland (U., *East Birmingham*) and Mr. Mackinder, (U., *Glasgow, Camlachie*), delivered able maiden speeches in support of the amendment, the latter laying stress on the emigration from Great Britain; and Mr. Mond (L., *Swansea*), whose speech was continued on February 24, gave very effective support to Free Trade. He inquired after the

Birmingham Daily Post tariff (ANNUAL REGISTER, 1909, p. 264), remarked that the only Tariff Reform candidate who had specified duties had lost his seat, gave various illustrations of the higher cost of food and clothing under tariff, and referred to the famous Import Duties Commission of 1840. Tariff Reform was disturbing business by its uncertainty, and would ruin some industries. No temporary Tariff Reform triumph would stop Free Traders, and ultimately Free Trade would win.

Mr. Storey (Ind. U., *Sunderland*), who had sat in previous Parliaments as an advanced Radical, agreed that the contest would not die, and contended that Tariff Reform was making progress in the industrial centres. Adam Smith had shown that home trade and production were more important than foreign trade; Trade Unionists had declared that unemployment was chronic, and the Liberal remedies were only palliatives. We were not using our natural advantages, especially the land; it could not be used fully without occupying ownership. Let us then return to the natural conditions of industry. We could not get universal Free Trade; but we could by Tariff Reform become as free to sell to Protectionist countries as they were to us. He insisted that he remained a Liberal.

Mr. Brace (Lab., *Glamorgan, S.*) in reply, again repudiated Tariff Reform in the name of the Labour party, and, after other speeches, Mr. Balfour rose. After noting Mr. Kettle's claim to fiscal autonomy for Ireland, he said that he did not believe either that all import duties were paid by the foreigner, or that duties always raised prices. Colonial Preference, by opening up better wheat lands, would counteract the economic law of diminishing returns. Taxation could be so adjusted that the contribution of the working classes should not be increased. He had never promised—no one could promise—that there should be no rise in the price of food; his pledge referred only to the field over which he and his party had power to see that their pledges were carried out. But he directed special attention to unemployment. He had never said Tariff Reform would do away with it, but it would mitigate it. Afforestation in the Highlands would only pay in a limited area, and people would not migrate there from the industrial centres. The Sweated Industries Bill would not be effective unless foreign sweated goods were kept out, the Labour Exchanges would not create employment, and insurance against unemployment would throw on the community the support of those who now emigrated. He supported Tariff Reform as increasing the productive power of the country; if it did that minor criticisms might be ignored. No country that had adopted tariffs desired to give them up. (Ministerial dissent.) It was hardly respectful to treat other civilised countries as idiotic. He insisted that we, with no perceptible immigration like that into America, and with a much lower birth-rate than Germany, could deal far less effectively

than those countries with unemployment. In the English towns of above 25,000 electors there was now a majority of Unionist members and a large majority of Unionist voters. Tariff Reform was making progress, and he expressed confidence in its ultimate adoption.

Mr. Runciman (L., *Dewsbury*) pointed out that there were three times as many persons of German birth in the United States as Englishmen, and that Mr. Balfour had overlooked both the efforts of the German Government to prevent emigration in the interests of military service, and the exodus over the land frontier. Our supremacy in merchant shipping and shipbuilding was never greater, and the latter depended on Free Trade. We exported a larger percentage of manufactured goods than Germany in spite of her tariff. In three of the four sweated industries scheduled there was no foreign competition, and in the industries where it was supposed to be hottest—*e.g.* textiles—unemployment was not worse. He insisted that the Tariff Reformers avowedly intended to raise the price of corn by taxing it. The latest Birmingham programme would put 1s. a quarter on Canadian corn; would that encourage its growth? Tariff Reformers had talked down British trade, and injured many industries. He earnestly warned the House of the corrupting influences of Tariff Reform on public life.

After other speeches, the Chancellor of the Exchequer rose in reply to Mr. Chamberlain's challenge. He said that he himself had declared that Great Britain possessed: (1) the largest international trade in the world; (2) the largest export of manufactured goods; (3) the largest international carrying trade, and as much shipping as the rest of the world put together; (4) higher wages; (5) lower prices of food and the necessaries of life. These were among his chief statements; they were not now denied; was it necessary to carry the matter further? He had been challenged as to his statements as to black bread and offal. In reply, he substantiated at some length his statement that the cost of living in Germany was higher than in England, and he denounced German black bread as likely to disgust tramps, and gave the figures of horse and dog flesh slaughtered for food at Chemnitz. Then, the 50,000 worn-out horses exported to the Continent went not for traction, but for sausage. The greatest commercial paper in Germany had recently said that Germany had never had a sadder Christmas since the foundation of the Empire. (The tone of the latter part of this speech gave great offence, and not only to Tariff Reformers.)

Mr. Bonar Law (U., *Dulwich, Camberwell*) wound up the debate. He significantly called Mr. Lloyd George's speech characteristic, and urged that in proportion to the total consumption of meat in Germany, the consumption of horseflesh was less than that in the East End. As to black bread, so-called, it was supplied in the best German restaurants. No member of the German Parliament

was now pledged to Free Trade, and Australia and Canada were confirmed in their opposition to it. Canada was now attracting Americans to enjoy the benefit of the greater natural resources developed by Tariff Reform. He then dealt with some of the main arguments against Tariff Reform, contending that the foreigner did sometimes pay the duty, that the German system increased revenue as well as protecting native industry, and that the question was as to the kind of imports and the kind of exports; the German tariff had increased the imports of raw material and diminished the imports of manufactured goods.

The amendment was rejected by 285 to 254. There were cries from the Opposition benches of "Where is your majority?" The two wings of the Nationalists, Mr. Belloc, Mr. Wedgwood, and Lord Hugh Cecil, did not vote.

The following day (Feb. 25) an amendment representing that the critical condition of the hop industry urgently demanded a remedy was moved and seconded by two Unionists, Mr. Courthope (*Rye, Sussex*) and Mr. Arkwright (*Hereford*). The former gave figures showing the diminution of acreage under hops, and commented on the loss of healthy employment to the villagers and slum-dwellers; he advocated a duty of 40s. per cwt. on foreign hops, but said that this Government might at any rate enforce the marking of imported hops and prohibit the use of substitutes and preservatives. Sir E. Strachey (Parliamentary Secretary of the Board of Agriculture) replied with sympathy, but said that hop-fields had been turned into fruit gardens, and employed as much labour as before, that a 40s. duty would not exclude foreign hops, and that a duty on them was a duty on raw material. Marking foreign hops might give them a spurious reputation. Mr. Long contended that a duty on raw material might be permissible, especially when none of the interests objected—later Mr. Gretton (U., *Rutland*), a brewer, advocated it—and Sir W. Collins (L., *West St. Pancras*, Chairman of the Select Committee of 1909) thought that a duty would be of little use, but recommended the prohibition of substitutes and the marking of foreign hops. After other speeches, the amendment was rejected by 228 to 185, and the Address was agreed to.

Meanwhile a significant counter-move had been made in the conflict as to the House of Lords. On Thursday, February 24, the Earl of Rosebery had come forward from the cross-benches to give notice that on March 14 he would move that the House resolve itself into Committee to consider the best means for so reforming its organisation as to constitute it a strong and efficient Second Chamber. Lord Rosebery had long been associated with the cause of such a reform (ANNUAL REGISTER, 1888, p. 58) and had been Chairman of the Select Committee of 1907 (ANNUAL REGISTER, 1908, p. 240). The rest of the sitting was taken up by a statement from the Indian Secretary of the movements of the Dalai Lama (*post*, Foreign History, Chapter V.).

Earlier in the week (Feb. 23) Mr. Balfour, presiding at a luncheon at the Constitutional Club to the Unionist members who had won seats at the general election, had declared that the Unionists would assist Ministers in carrying on the King's Government, but on the Budget and the House of Lords there could be no compromise with a frankly revolutionary Government which desired not to reform, but to destroy. The Unionists had to carry out a great constructive policy, and to show the country that the path of national advance was along the old lines of progress. But, as far as he could see, there need be no fundamental difference between the Opposition and the Government on other questions during the session. Mr. Samuel Storey (p. 28) was among the speakers.

The Government was thus safe from Unionist opposition in the ordinary business of the session, but its danger came from the Nationalists and from its own Radical supporters, both of whom had shown impatience in the Address debate (p. 26). It had been inferred from the words "constituted and empowered" in the Royal Speech that the reconstruction of the Upper House was contemplated as well as the revision of its relation to the Commons; and (on Feb. 21 and 23 respectively) Mr. Pease, for whom a seat was to be found at Rotherham, and Colonel Seely, for whom Sir Walter Foster had made way at Ilkeston, confirmed this idea. Mr. Pease made no reference to the Veto, and stated that the Government "would proceed with the great Bill of the session, the reconstitution of the House of Lords"; Colonel Seely suggested a small Second Chamber, to which any elector might be a candidate, and which would be elected by the same constituencies as the Commons; in cases of disagreement the two Chambers might sit and vote together. Hereupon a group of about thirty advanced Liberals, headed by Sir Charles Dilke, met and sent a deputation to the Prime Minister, demanding concentration on the Veto (Feb. 23), and Sir Henry Dalziel (*Kirkcaldy Burghs*), the director of *Reynolds' Newspaper* and President of the National Liberal Federation, gave notice of an amendment to Mr. Asquith's motion for taking the whole time of the House, declaring that as no mandate had been received from the electorate for any reform or reconstruction of the House of Lords, the House declined to grant facilities for the discussion of resolutions for that end. On February 24 meetings of Liberal members for Northern constituencies and for Scotland showed an overwhelming majority for the abolition of the Veto as against a reconstruction of the Upper House. With this view the main body of the Nationalists agreed, and Mr. Redmond, speaking at Manchester (Sunday, Jan. 27), urged the Government to stick to their pledges on the Veto; while Mr. William O'Brien, on the same day at Mitchelstown, urged that the Irish members should in any case reject the Budget. On the previous day it had been rumoured in London that the Government would escape from their difficulties by resignation.

However, it appeared that on Friday, February 25, the Cabinet had decided to propose both the limitation of the Lords' Veto and reform of that House, though not necessarily at the same time, and to proceed in the first instance by resolution. This was intimated by *The Times* on February 26 and confirmed two days later, both by that paper and by the Prime Minister himself in the Commons. In a crowded and profoundly attentive House, he rose to make his motion, as announced, giving Government business precedence at every sitting up to March 24. Before that date, he said, it was absolutely necessary to pass Bills for temporary borrowing and to meet the War Loan of 1901, to deal with the Supplementary Estimates, the Army and Navy Estimates, and the Consolidated Fund Bill. The House would adjourn on the Thursday before Easter, March 24, and would reassemble on Easter Tuesday, March 29, when the Government would present their proposals on the relations between the two Houses. These would be embodied, in the first instance, in resolutions, affirming the necessity of totally excluding the Lords from finance, and of so restricting their Veto on legislation as to secure the predominance of the deliberate and considered will of the Commons within the lifetime of a single Parliament. It would be made plain that these changes contemplated in a subsequent year a Bill substituting a democratic for a hereditary Second Chamber. These resolutions, when passed, would be submitted to the House of Lords; but, whether agreed to by that House or not, the Government regarded the legal limitation of the Lords' Veto not only as the first condition of the legislative dignity and utility of the Commons, but as their own primary and paramount duty. In the prosecution of that task they would adopt all such measures within the limits of the Constitution as seemed to them appropriate and adequate, and on its successful accomplishment they would stake not only their fortunes, but their existence as a Government.

Mr. Balfour commented sarcastically on the neglect of the Government to hasten to pass a Budget which the Lords had been denounced for not passing, and remarked that it would be difficult to deal with "tacking" in a resolution, and there must be some judge of what constituted it—not, he hoped, the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Notoriously, he added, there had been divisions in the Cabinet, one section desiring a representative Second Chamber, the other the abolition of the Veto, and the Prime Minister had made a clumsy attempt to combine these two incompatible things. The Government showed lack of statesmanship, and were merely aiming at keeping the Cabinet together.

Mr. John Redmond (N.) declared that on the main question on which that House had been elected, he and his party were in complete agreement with the majority on the Liberal side. He was speaking, not of the Budget, but of the abolition of part of the Lords' Veto and the limitation of the rest. On that question the

Government had a majority of 124, and he urged them not to dissipate their great mandate by receding from the bold and statesmanlike policy of the Albert Hall speech. The Nationalists would gladly vote the Budget, and support the Government in every way, provided it carried out what they believed to be its policy and pledge. If the Veto plan was rejected or held up by the Lords, would the Prime Minister say frankly if he would ask the Crown for guarantees as to the exercise of the Royal prerogative; and, if refused, would he continue responsible for the Government of the country? If he would say that if the resolutions were rejected he would ask for guarantees, and meanwhile would suspend the consideration of the Budget, the Nationalists would be quite satisfied. The Unionist leader was "afraid for his life of a dissolution," and so was helping the Government, "for the sake of the Empire." The Government had a mandate on the Veto, but not on reform of the Lords. He himself disapproved entirely of a Referendum. It would require an Act, which the Lords would reject, and the curtailment of their power would be postponed for one or two Parliaments. The Budget could be delayed a little longer; the Government must not break the bonds between the British and the Irish democracy. Unless the Prime Minister carried out the letter and spirit of his pledges, there was nothing but disaster ahead for the English democracy.

Lord Hugh Cecil (*U., Oxford University*) declared that the proposed advice to the Crown would be a scandalous outrage on the Constitution. There were two precedents for it: Harley's advice to Queen Anne to create twelve Peers, for which he was impeached on the accession of George I.; and the precedent of 1832, when Lord Althorp, the leader of the Commons, favoured it only as an alternative to revolution. The Prime Minister was now recommended to ask the Crown to create not twelve or sixty peers, but 500; otherwise, it was thought he would not get the necessary support at the next election. This was asking the Sovereign to make hay of the Constitution while the setting sun of Radicalism still shone. The Government were trying to carry out a great Constitutional revolution by a series of log-rolling manoeuvres. He believed the reform of the Second Chamber was the best solution, and this should precede any readjustment of its powers. To invert the order was absurd.

Sir H. Dalziel (p. 31) said that the Prime Minister's speech had materially improved the situation. It was not satisfactory; he would prefer a Bill to resolutions on the Veto; and as to guarantees, other members beside the Prime Minister had given them. He condemned the policy of reforming the Lords, and urged Ministers to go boldly forward with the limitation of the Veto.

Mr. T. Healy (*Ind. N., Louth, N.*) denounced the Opposition for refraining from actively opposing the Budget and the Government.

They had given the latter a reprieve till Easter. The House, he feared, was engaged in a game of make-believe. The Government and the Opposition were manœuvring to avert another dissolution.

Mr. Austen Chamberlain replied that the Opposition were most anxious to come to close quarters on the questions of the Lords and the Budget, but they did not wish to interfere with the financial business which was necessary unless the Services and the old-age pensioners were to go unpaid; and he pressed the Government for further information on their plans, strongly condemning their delay in collecting income tax.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer replied that to seek powers to collect the taxes not disapproved of by the House of Lords would be a betrayal of the privileges of the Commons. Ministers had no desire to shirk their pledges, but could not ask for guarantees on a proposal not sanctioned by the Commons. Procedure by resolution was adopted in order to get the opinion of the Commons on the plan at the earliest possible moment, and to know the attitude of the House of Lords. Ministers had no intention of ploughing the sands; they would not continue in office if they found that their proposals would not pass into law. Reform, as Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman had said in his speech of June 24, 1907, was a question independent of veto. The Government were fighting against a powerful combination of interests, and could not win without unity, and he urged the supporters of democracy to work together.

Later Mr. Barnes, for the Labour party, welcomed the announcement that reform of the House of Lords was not to be an immediate issue; he would have preferred a Bill to resolutions, but expressed his satisfaction that, if the Lords rejected the resolutions, the Government would not continue in office. Among the Liberals who followed there was still some divergence of opinion, but ultimately the Prime Minister's motion was carried without a division before the Nationalists had concluded a meeting held to consider their attitude towards it, and just before they had unanimously decided, after hearing Mr. Lloyd George's declarations, to abstain from voting on it. Its passing disconcerted the extreme Unionists, who denounced the decision of the Opposition leaders to assist Ministers in carrying on the Government (*Morning Post*, March 2 and 4). Mr. Balfour, it was stated, had intimated this decision in a note to the Prime Minister "tossed across the table" at the commencement of the latter's speech. The postponement of the Budget, it was held, gave the Government another chance of conciliating the Irish Nationalists; had they voted against it and turned out the Government the Unionists might have come in and conciliated them by a revised Budget, including Tariff Reform. But, had the Unionists come in, they would have got no supplies from the existing House, and no one wanted a second general election, though it was expected soon to become inevitable.

Mr. Asquith made the position clearer on March 3. In reply to questions from Mr. J. G. Butcher (U., York), he stated that the House would be asked to dispose of the Budget as soon as the resolutions relative to the Lords had been passed through the Commons, that the Government would try to get their proposals as to the Lords placed on the Statute Book at the earliest possible moment, and that they would not remain in office unless they felt in a position to pass the Veto Bill into law. This was held to indicate that the conflict would come in May, that the King would be asked for guarantees if the Lords refused to accept the resolutions, and that, should he refuse, there would be an appeal to the country.

It may be added that the bye-elections of which particulars will be found later (Chronicle, pp. 6, 8) did not weaken the position of the Government. Moreover, the London County Council elections on Saturday, March 5, showed a Progressive gain of twenty seats; and in national politics London Progressives were almost always Liberals. One seat (Central Finsbury) was only assigned to the Moderates after two recounts. The numbers were—Moderates fifty-nine seats, Progressives fifty-eight. Later, however, the Moderates elected their own nominees to the vacant aldermanic posts, and so retained a working majority on the Council.

Moreover, the debate on the Supplementary Naval Estimate (March 2) necessitated by the decision of July, 1909, to build the four contingent *Dreadnoughts*, seemed to show that the naval scare had been allayed. Mr. McKenna announced that 457,000*l.* (of the total of 689,100*l.*) was to be spent on them, and that they would be ready for commission in March, 1912, as promised. The destroyers of the 1909 programme would also be accelerated by two months, and would be ready in March or April, 1911. Two destroyers had also been purchased for 100,000*l.* Mr. Lee criticised the purchase, Lord Charles Beresford again denounced the "insane advertisement of the *Dreadnought*," and some Liberals deplored the excessive naval expenditure. Again, the sedative against the German scare administered by the German Ambassador (p. 14) had been followed on February 23 by a speech from Prince Henry of Prussia, who was in England on a private visit to the King and Queen. In replying to an address of welcome from the Anglo-German Friendship Committee, he had concurred heartily in their sentiments and expressed a hope that English confidence in the German Government and the Emperor might be equal to the confidence reposed by Germany in "the dearly beloved and much respected" Sovereign of Great Britain and in its Government.

Mr. Balfour recovered his hold on his followers by a speech at a dinner given to the members for the City at Merchant Taylors' Hall a few days later (Friday, March 4). The first fortnight of the session, he said, had been a fortnight of surprises; the Govern-

ment, accused of every kind of tergiversation by their own followers, had abandoned the pledges given on the first day of the session after five days' Parliamentary debate. They had yielded to the Nationalists, having discovered that they could not pass the People's Budget. He could not imagine a greater triumph for those members of the Upper House who had thought that the Budget should be referred to the country. What justification, then, was there for those who, like himself, thought that there should be some change in the constitution of that House? It lacked, not efficiency, but strength, and it could only obtain strength from closer connection with public opinion. It must not be a second House of Commons, nor must it, like the French and American Senates, drain the other House of its power. It should have some place for independent members, and should represent the permanent wishes of the nation. And it should be a national development of the constitutional and historic past. The Unionist party desired Tariff Reform—which would be anything but easy to accomplish,—a large increase in the number of freeholders, and Poor Law Reform, and these exceptionally difficult and complicated problems could not be solved in the intervals of political revolution. To abolish the Veto would mean a single-chamber system, which would breed a counter-revolution; it would mean Home Rule, and Irish fiscal independence. He laid stress on the danger to the Empire of British fiscal isolation, and believed that the country would see that its interest lay in a policy of cautious, enlightened political progress, of social reform and Imperial reform. The Marquess of Lansdowne and Lord Curzon of Kedleston spoke also, the latter indicating that the House of Lords would be ready to consider its own reform.

(Shortly after this speech Mr. Balfour was compelled by the state of his health to leave for the French Riviera, and the Unionists were deprived of his leadership till after Easter.)

It had now become necessary to provide for the financial difficulty set up by the rejection of the Finance Bill. The income tax was being collected only on dividends and interest on bonds (Schedule C); the death duties on the new scale were not being collected, nor were the land, licence, and stamp taxes authorised under the Bill. Time could clearly not be found to pass the Bill before Easter, in view of the necessity of passing the Supplementary Estimates, the Army and Navy Estimates, and the Army (Annual) Bill. The Government met the difficulty by introducing a Bill authorising the Government to borrow to meet current expenditure (under the Consolidated Fund Act, No. 2 of 1909) and further to suspend the Sinking Fund. Moreover, the War Loan of 1901 was due for payment on April 5; but this obligation was to be met by the issue of five-year Exchequer Bonds. The Government plan for meeting the deficit was severely criticised in debate. Mr. Austen Chamberlain declared (March 2) that they might have

hastened the election, summoned Parliament sooner, and passed resolutions legalising the collection of the income tax and non-contentious taxes; and Sir Frederick Banbury condemned the suspension of the Sinking Fund, urging that it would be preferable, like Pitt, to borrow for current expenses while paying off debt. Mr. Asquith pointed out that this part of Pitt's finance had been condemned universally, and that the course suggested would have been a concession to the House of Lords. After further Opposition attacks, the "Treasury (Temporary Borrowing) Bill" was read a second time on March 2; but the attack was renewed both on the motion for the adjournment at an early hour on March 3—when Mr. J. F. Hope (U., *Sheffield, Central*) attempted to move a resolution (which the Speaker ruled out of order) declaring that the Government were not justified in further delaying to introduce an income-tax resolution—and on the third reading of the Bill on Friday, March 4. Mr. Asquith replied that Supply was taking less time than usual,—the stream of criticism had mysteriously run dry,—but that the Government could not press an income-tax resolution at odd moments; they must continue to regard the Budget as a whole. Nothing could be done before the end of the financial year to mitigate the result of the Lords' action. The attacks of the Opposition continued; Mr. Dillon charged the Unionists with entering into a conspiracy of silence on Supply to show that time was available for passing the Budget resolutions, and declared that the Unionist rank and file had been stirred to activity by dissatisfaction with their leaders. The Chancellor of the Exchequer said that taxing resolutions could only be justified by a Finance Bill; would the Opposition support one? The legalisation of the Income tax alone would surrender the right of incorporating the taxes in one Bill asserted by Mr. Gladstone in 1861. The Opposition were playing a purely party game.—The Bill was passed; but the attack was renewed in the House of Lords on Monday, March 7. The Marquess of Lansdowne then called attention to the delay of the Government in laying the Budget proposals before Parliament, and asked when these would be made known. Both the temporary borrowing and the diversion of 6,300,000*l.* from the repayment of debt were undesirable and in conflict with the declared financial principles of the Government. When, as was probable, the arrears of taxation were recovered, would the sums diverted be restored to the Sinking Fund? Had the offers made by that House in December been accepted, the existing difficulties would have been diminished, if not removed. The Bill was inconsistent with the Government policy of dealing with the Budget as a whole; and it authorised an utterly thriftless transaction; the country was to pay 10,000*l.* a week for interest on its borrowings, and was refusing to take the money needed from the public. The banks were deducting income tax from civil servants' salaries and from dividends, and in some

places income-tax demand notes were being issued. Would the Government block these payments or facilitate them? The declared intention had been to press the Budget forward; the intention had apparently been intimated in the King's Speech; and the Veto question obviously was secondary. The House of Lords had held it up to enable the people to express its opinion; the Government were holding it up to prevent the representatives of the people from doing so. Would it be the same, or would there be an expurgated Irish edition? Would it be telescoped into next year's Budget, or confused with the issue of the Veto? That would be very unfair to the House of Lords.

The Earl of Crewe replied that the interest shown by the Marquess of Lansdowne in the Budget was greater than that of the Opposition leaders in the Commons. But his criticism as to the Sinking Fund showed how serious was the position created by the House of Lords. No doubt the Chancellor of the Exchequer would endeavour to resume payment of debt, though it was impossible to say how far that might be interfered with by the inevitable leakage before collection of arrears. As to the offer of December, 1909, it was of the kind described by Cardinal Newman as "an olive branch shot out of a catapult," and when Parliament met, the first business necessarily was Supplementary Estimates. No doubt the postponement of the collection of taxes involved loss, but a week or two more would not make much difference as to irrecoverable arrears. The Treasury had not declined to receive taxes, but it was not thought right to make an official demand for taxes not legally recoverable. Some local commissioners had, however, issued demand notes. The Government's refusal to bring in an income-tax resolution and Bill was not dictated by *amour propre*; the present House of Commons could not be induced even by a new Unionist Ministry to split up the Finance Bill.

Lord Revelstoke (U.) urged that the Government should pass a Bill authorising the banks to pay over the sums they had deducted from dividends on account of income tax in conformity with the suggestion in December of the Inland Revenue Board. Lord Welby (L.) quoted precedents, which he admitted were bad ones, for not proceeding in due course with the Budget, notably those of 1784 and 1841.

Lord Faber (U.) complained that the cheapness of money due to the non-collection of taxes was leading to an outflow of gold and a reaction, and that the non-collection of taxes was unfair as between different classes of taxpayers. Lord St. Davids (L.) pointed out that the House of Lords had itself destroyed the authority of the Commons' resolutions for the collection of taxes, and contrasted their views as to "financial chaos" in December, 1909, and March, 1910.

Viscount St. Aldwyn remarked that when the Prime Minister

said on December 2 that the first act of the new Parliament would be to pass the Budget, he expected to be able to get the new House of Commons to pass it by a single resolution. The Government were doing their best by legitimate negotiation with the Nationalists to secure the necessary support for the Budget, but it was very doubtful if the Lords would pass it; but, as regards the smaller issue, the Budget resolutions were not necessarily or invariably taken together; they ought all to be embodied in one Finance Bill, not only for the reason which actuated Mr. Gladstone, but because no Chancellor of the Exchequer could allow the waste of time incident to the separation of the Budget proposals into several Bills; but the income-tax resolution might be passed. In 1885 taxes had been collected under a resolution and had to be paid back on the rejection of the Budget. The present Bill involved a proceeding far more offensive to the dignity of the Commons in asking the Peers' assent than any income-tax Bill. An income-tax resolution would not be opposed by any party in the Commons.

The Earl of Cromer thought that the constitutional question need not be brought in, and estimated the loss involved to the country by the non-collection of income tax at 1,200*l.* a day on 17,000,000*l.* outstanding.

The Lord Chancellor said that the sole cause of the difficulty was the rejection of the Finance Bill by that House, which had disregarded constitutional usage and custom. The House of Commons would regard the suggested income-tax resolution as a step towards splitting up the Budget, and was naturally not prepared to put itself in jeopardy by bringing forward resolutions which had not the force of law and collecting money on them, since this course might facilitate further encroachments on its rights.

After a few words from the Marquess of Salisbury and the Marquess of Lansdowne, the Bill was read a second and a third time and passed.

Another Ministerial proposal had received severe criticism in the Commons. The War Loan Redemption Bill provided for the issue of 21,000,000*l.* of Exchequer Bonds (redeemable in five years) to redeem the War Loan of 1900, and holders of the loan who should not have claimed their cash by May 31 were to have it invested for them in 2½ per cent. Consols. This was attacked on the second reading as a breach of faith by Sir F. Banbury and Mr. Austen Chamberlain, and the attack was renewed by the former in Committee (March 2) and supported by other Opposition members. Mr. Bowles, however, pointed out that, unless Consols fell heavily, holders would gain by the proposal, and a precedent was pleaded by Mr. Hobhouse, Financial Secretary to the Treasury, in the case of Mr. Goschen's redemption of 3 per cent. Consols in 1889. Incidentally, Sir F. Banbury read a letter from a banker

declaring that his firm no longer received orders to buy Consols or "anything English," and drew from the Chancellor of the Exchequer a severe attack on the Opposition's practice of decrying British credit and commerce. Sir F. Banbury's amendment to omit the provision was rejected by 211 to 147, and the Bill passed both Houses without further difficulty.

The crisis was thus so far postponed that there could be no obstacle to the contemplated visit of the King to Biarritz. His Majesty left England on March 7. Subsequent events gave special interest to his replies to the addresses from the two Convocations of Canterbury and York presented to him on March 1. To the former he said:—

Your recognition of my efforts to maintain the peace of the world gives me special pleasure. I feel convinced that, as civilisation advances, the influence of Christian teaching on the minds of men will tend increasingly to inculcate a love of peace. Upon peace the health, the happiness, and the material progress of all nations depend, and it is my constant prayer that our country may be spared the perils and miseries of war, which, in this modern age, must involve the ruin of millions.

The strength of the Church is a bulwark to all that we hold dear in family life. The standard of morals which it enjoins exerts an elevating and vivifying influence on all classes, and the teaching which it imparts to the young is of inestimable value in the formation of character.

Your successful and growing work among the poor and friendless, especially in our great cities, is well known to me. I trust that before long steps may be taken to carry out some, at least, of the recommendations of the Royal Commission to which you refer [that on the Poor Law]. The members of the Commission devoted high abilities and exemplary diligence to the study of one of the gravest problems of our time, and I am well assured that my advisers and my Parliament are earnest in their sympathy with the objects of this inquiry and in their desire to profit from its results.

The design of the Church is, as you declare, bounded only by the limits of the world. I watched with sincere interest the deliberations of the Pan-Anglican Congress and the Lambeth Conference, to which so many distinguished sons of the Church were called from all quarters of the Empire. Such gatherings foster and unify the zeal of Churchmen throughout the world.

To the Convocation of York His Majesty replied in somewhat similar terms. "The concord of Christendom," he said, "is unbroken; and rarely in history has the idea of war seemed more repulsive, or the desire for peace been more widely cherished throughout my Empire." He referred also to the Union of South Africa, the Lambeth Conference, and the growing activity of the Church in almost every sphere of life at home and beyond the sea. He rejoiced in its ministrations of help and comfort, in its devoted care for the weak and poor, and in its increasing efforts to limit and repair the many evils of civilisation; and he earnestly desired that its power to aid his people might be strengthened "as the years unfold."

The crisis being postponed, there was time to debate as usual the Army Estimates for 1910-11, which had been issued on March 3. The total amount was 27,760,000*l.*, an increase of 325,000*l.* as compared with 1909-10. The accompanying memorandum by the Secretary of State explained this increase as due to the efforts of the County Associations to fill up the Territorial ranks. There were other increases, but these were balanced by savings. An increase

of 1,000 men in the total establishment was needed, partly to reduce the difference between the peace and the war strength of the cavalry regiments and so reduce the strain on them incident to mobilisation; partly to raise the second three divisional telegraph companies of the Royal Engineers to the same strength as the first three; partly for an addition to the Infantry for special training, to form, with the telegraph companies, the necessary communication units on mobilisation; while 500 of the 1,000 were needed to admit of the admission of recruits to the battalions which were temporarily cumbered with men brought home from India during the trooping season and awaiting for a few months their transfer to the Reserve. Recruits had been superabundant. The whole *personnel* required for the Artillery was for the first time trained and available, as was the whole of the fully trained medical *personnel* and a large proportion of the partly trained; there was still a deficiency—which would almost disappear during the year—in one division of the Army Service Corps. The Territorial Force, thanks to the County Associations and a sound military organisation, had reached on January 1 a strength of 9,701 officers and 262,036 non-commissioned officers and men out of an establishment of 11,218 and 301,272 respectively. All but three of the 892 territorial units had reached the minimum strength (30 per cent. of the establishment) entitling to official recognition. Eight thousand one hundred and eighty-one officers and 240,056 non-commissioned officers and men had attended camp—6,806 and 163,045 respectively for fifteen days or over. The reports on the training indicated a great improvement in efficiency. The whole of the Horse and Field Artillery, except the Howitzer Brigades, had been equipped with the converted 15-pounder gun; for the Horse Artillery this was to be replaced by the Ehrhardt 15-pounder quick-firing gun. Provisionally, until the Regulars had been armed with the new pattern howitzers, a certain number of howitzers had been issued to every Territorial Howitzer Brigade. The armament of the Infantry with the new charger-loading rifle would be completed during the financial year. Good progress was being made with the technical and medical equipment of the force. Efforts were being made to provide additional rifle ranges and a new artillery range on Salisbury Plain, and the views of County Associations were being taken on schemes for the formation of a Territorial, a Technical, and a Veterans' Reserve, and for the organisation of voluntary aid detachments to complete the medical organisation for home defence. The auditors' reports showed that the Associations' expenditure had been well and regularly conducted, and they closed the year with a combined net credit of 200,000*l.* The Officers' Training Corps had made great progress, numbering some 3,500 senior (University) cadets in sixteen detachments and nearly 16,000 junior (Public School) cadets in 139 contingents; during the year the numbers would be brought up to 21,000. Much valu-

able training had been accomplished, and the officers [school-masters] of the junior division, who had been very keen, would be given greater facilities for acquiring military knowledge. Particulars, amplified in Mr. Haldane's speech below, were given of the proposed horse census, aeronautics, and other matters, and changes made in the Army Pay Department would reduce its normal annual cost to 38,000*l.*

The following table summarises the figures of the net Estimates for 1910-11 and the increase or decrease of the sums asked for as compared with the previous financial year:—

Notes.		Net Estimates. 1910-11.	Increase on Net Estimates.	Decrease on Net Estimates.
	I.—Numbers.	Numbers.	Numbers.	Numbers.
A	Number of men on the Home and Colonial Establishments of the Army, exclusive of those serving in India - - - -	184,200	1,000	—
	II.—Effective Services.	£	£	£
1	Pay, etc., of the Army - - - -	8,733,000	208,000	—
2	Medical Establishment: Pay, etc. - - - -	452,000	12,000	—
3	Special Reserves - - - -	833,000	—	64,000
4	Territorial Forces - - - -	2,660,000	353,000	—
5	Establishments for Military Education - - - -	147,000	1,000	—
6	Quartering, Transport and Remounts - - - -	1,589,000	—	76,000
7	Supplies and Clothing - - - -	4,397,000	122,000	—
8	Ordnance Department Establishments and General Stores - - - -	533,000	—	2,000
9	Armaments and Engineer Stores - - - -	1,482,000	—	162,000
10	Works and Buildings - - - -	2,598,000	47,000	—
11	Miscellaneous Effective Services - - - -	74,000	7,000	—
12	War Office and Army Accounts Department - - - -	429,000	—	164,000
	III.—Non-Effective Services.			
13	Non-effective charges for Officers, etc. - - - -	1,789,000	27,000	—
14	Non-effective Charges for Men, etc. - - - -	1,890,000	22,000	—
15	Civil Superannuation, Compensation, and Compassionate Allowances and Gratuities - - - -	154,000	—	4,000
	Net Increase - - - -		£325,000	

Mr. Haldane made his statement on the Army Estimates on Monday, March 7. Dealing first with the Territorial Force, the cause of the increase, he spoke gratefully of the splendid help he had received in recruiting from the *Daily Mail*, the *Westminster Gazette*, and other papers, and mentioned that 40,000 more recruits than had been provided for in the Estimates of 1909 had joined, and in February the numbers had risen to over 276,000. The force was within 10 per cent. of its utmost probable strength; and no part of it was not above 80 per cent. of its establishment. Recruiting for the Regular Army was very satisfactory in every branch of the service. He then called attention to the importance of divisional organisation for the Territorial Force, and gave particulars as to the training. The manœuvres would be on a larger scale than usual, costing 100,000*l.* more. Besides the ordinary

training manœuvres, one division would be mobilised, and certain territorial units would take part in the special manœuvres; the Regulars would be tested in co-operation with the Navy, and a Canadian regiment would take part in the Aldershot training manœuvres. Preparations had been made for creating a new Reserve of Territorials, and two other Reserves were contemplated—a Reserve of Veterans and a Technical Reserve of electricians, railway men, and engineers. Considerable latitude would be given to the Territorial Associations in the matter of cadets, and some latitude as to expenditure. The Associations had done splendid work; every class had assisted, and the Red Cross movement had been brought into connection with them. As to the Regular Expeditionary Force, the equipment for mobilisation was perfect; and though there was some difficulty as to officers and horses, five of the six divisions and a cavalry division could be completely mobilised. The difficulty was with the auxiliary services. The deficiency of horses in the cavalry divisions was being made good, and six new depots were being created. The establishment of a cavalry regiment was to be brought up to 696 men and 523 horses, and six new signal and communication companies were to be created, one for each division. A strong committee had been appointed to devise improvements in the Special Reserve. The quality of the Reservists was satisfactory, and the training far more thorough than in the old Militia days. The deficiency of horses for mobilisation approached 120,000. The police census showed that there were probably some 2,000,000 horses over four years old in the country, including brood mares and stallions; the army wanted 153,000 for mobilisation altogether, and there were 20,000 registered and 16,000 on the peace establishment of the Regulars. Classification was essential, and he proposed to ask the County Associations to co-operate in the preparation of suitable lists. A plan had been worked out for encouraging the breeding of army horses. The deficiency in the supply of officers had been exaggerated, and the General Staff held that there was no cause for alarm. After dealing at length with this and other subjects, including automatic rifles and a new bullet, he touched on aviation, mentioning that a regular aeronautical corps was to be created, as in Germany. There was one small dirigible at Aldershot, and two more were coming from France, the Clément-Bayard, which, if satisfactory, might be purchased, and the Lebaudy, offered through the patriotism of the *Morning Post*. As in the motor industry, we should catch up other nations. He gave particulars as to the buildings projected or in progress, and concluded with a retrospect of the changes during his five years' tenure of office. Finally he declared that the great military problem of the day was to bring the Army into close relation with the people. In the voluntary system lay its best chance of solution.

Mr. Wyndham (*Dover*) drew a comparison between the state

of the Army at the time of the South African War and in 1910 which was not unfavourable to the earlier period, and pointed out that we had had to reconsider the official assumption of 1905 as to the maintenance of the two-Power standard and the numbers of a possible raiding foreign force. We had to maintain an oversea army, to organise an expeditionary force, and to provide for defence after it had gone abroad, and he urged that the infantry battalions at home ought to be larger, and the Special Reserve battalions also. The risk of invasion was officially admitted to be nearer and greater than was thought five years ago, and the territorial establishment of 315,000 was not adequate. Its training should be longer and simultaneous. He questioned whether the provision for the classification and supply of horses was adequate, and thought that arrangements ought to be made for billeting the troops. Sir Charles Dilke criticised Mr. Wyndham's views, declaring that the majority of the nation did not believe that the country was open to invasion, or that the power of the Fleet to cope with an enemy had diminished. The main objects of expenditure must be the expeditionary force and the fleet. He suggested a reduction in the number of troops in South Africa. After other speeches, chiefly by officers, Mr. Ramsay Macdonald (Lab., *Leicester*) moved a resolution that the conditions of service of Government employees should be at least equal to those observed by the best private employers, and that in assigning contracts responsible officers should take care that the spirit of the fair wages clause was carried out. Cases where this was not done were cited by him and by Mr. C. Duncan (Lab., *Barrow-in-Furness*). Mr. Mallet (*Plymouth*), the new Financial Secretary of the War Office, gave a conciliatory reply, but other Labour members and some Unionists were still dissatisfied. The resolution was rejected next day after two hours' further debate by 215 to 152. The Government, however, undertook to make the fair wages resolution applicable to their own workpeople as well as to contractors, and to refer any case of dispute over its application to the same tribunal—the Advisory Committee of the Board of Trade.

The general debate was then (March 8) resumed by Mr. Lee (U., *Fareham, Hants*), who recognised Mr. Haldane's great services to the Army, but severely criticised his policy of reductions. Since he took office the Regulars had decreased from 221,000 men to 184,000, and a Militia of 98,000 had been displaced by a Special Reserve of 67,000. Imperfectly trained Territorials would never stand against a picked invading force, and last July an official return showed that 120,000 Territorials had no knowledge of the use of the rifle. The Territorial Artillery was admittedly unfit for war and could not be highly trained. The supply of officers was falling off because the demands on them increased, but there were no corresponding additional emoluments, and there were many discouragements. The Territorial Army could only be filled

by compulsory service; Mr. Haldane left the responsibility of introducing this to his successors.

Several new members spoke in the interesting debate which followed, and which was largely concerned with details. Incidentally, Mr. Haldane mentioned that British troops would be kept in South Africa till the Colony had organised its own force.

The debate was resumed next day (March 9) by Mr. Winston Churchill with a general review of the military situation. The divisional organisation established by Mr. Haldane, he affirmed, was far more practical than Mr. Brodrick's Army Corps system of 1902; the last four years the General Staff had been developed, machinery had been set up to make good the wastage of war, and an advance made towards simplifying administration. The Brodrick scheme would have cost some 33,000,000*l.* annually instead of the 28,000,000*l.* of the existing scheme. The social position, moral character, and health of the Army had improved, and there was a marked diminution of desertion. As to invasion, no foreign force large enough to be effective or decisive could put to sea without discovery and destruction, and small invasions could be dealt with by our Regulars at home and the Territorial Force. The whole Regular Army could not leave the country unless our command of the sea was beyond dispute and the Territorial Force had had some training for war.

Mr. Wyndham declared that both sides were in accord on the main principles of military policy; a belief that the proportions of the Army might fluctuate with political changes would endanger the peace of the world. He hoped Mr. Haldane's scheme would be fully realised. The other speeches mostly dealt with details; but Mr. Byles (L., *Salford, N.*) objected to the size of the Army and the existence of a striking force. In reply, Mr. Haldane reminded the House that the proportionate increase of expenditure on the Army in recent years was less than in the Civil Service Estimates.

A further debate at the report stage of some of the Votes on March 11 also dealt mainly with details. Incidentally, the suggestion of compulsory military training roused Labour protests, and Mr. Haldane declared that the Territorial Artillery was quite fit to take part in manœuvres.

Further particulars of the Territorial Force had been given by Lord Lucas of Crudwell in reply to the Earl of Portsmouth in the House of Lords on March 9. Excluding the officers of the Training Corps, the establishment was 11,218 officers, 36,140 non-commissioned officers, and 265,132 men. The strength was 9,701 officers, and 262,036 non-commissioned officers and men. In 1909, 8,181 officers and 240,056 of other ranks attended camp, 6,866 and 163,045 respectively for fifteen days or over. Owing to deficient range accommodation, seven battalions of infantry had not fired at an open range, and in ten others only half had been

tested in musketry at one. They were, nevertheless, returned as efficient. New ranges were being provided. These admissions were regarded as qualifying Mr. Haldane's optimism.

The Navy Estimates, which were issued on March 9, amounted to 40,603,700*l.* as compared with 35,142,700*l.* for 1909-10. The accompanying memorandum stated that the number of men required had increased by 3,000, partly owing to a revision of the scheme of complement of warships, partly to the requirements of new ships either being commissioned or in construction; hence the increases in the Votes for pay, victualling and clothing. The shipbuilding and armament Votes together showed an increase of 5,000,000*l.*, due almost entirely to the increased shipbuilding programme approved by Parliament in 1909. On the Ordnance Vote there was a fresh charge due to the beginning of torpedo manufacture at the new factory at Greenock. No very large new works were proposed, but provision was made for a graving dock at Portsmouth, and for the dredging of a berth for the new floating dock there. The last of the funds provided by Works Loans had been expended in 1908-9. The annuity in repayment of them had fallen by 7,600*l.* New construction for the year would cost 13,279,830*l.* as against 8,885,194*l.* for 1909-10. Of this 11,850,790*l.* would be spent in continuing work on ships already under construction, and 1,429,040*l.* for beginning work on ships of the new programme, consisting of five large armoured ships, five protected cruisers, twenty destroyers, and submarines to cost in all 750,000*l.* In the expiring financial year there would have been completed five new battleships, two unarmoured cruisers, nine destroyers, six first-class torpedo boats of the coastal destroyer type, and sixteen submarines; in the coming financial year there would be completed one battleship, one armoured and one unarmoured cruiser, five protected cruisers, twenty destroyers, and four submarines. The new aeronautical branch had carried out important experiments, officers and men were being trained in aeronautics, and an experimental airship would be ready for trial in the summer. Two large floating docks, respectively for Portsmouth and the Medway, would be completed during 1911. The Naval Intelligence Department had been reorganised, a mobilisation department having been formed and a permanent Naval War Council established. Reforms in the Naval Medical Service were under consideration. The memorandum noticed a number of other reforms, accomplished or impending, among them facilities for the retirement of senior commanders and lieutenants (subject to recall to active service if required), arrangements for the civil employment of Fleet reservists, and the substitution of "detention" for imprisonment for certain offences against discipline. Mention was made of the training of Australian and New Zealand Reservists, of the Coastguard, of the Maritime and Imperial Conferences (ANNUAL REGISTER, 1909, pp. 59, 198), of the new distribution of the Fleet (*ibid.*, p. 49), of the British

naval participation in the Hudson-Fulton centenary, and of the Naval Review of 1909; and a tribute was paid to the late First Sea Lord, now Lord Fisher of Kilverstone, whose measures, adopted by several successive Governments, were declared likely to be "of far-reaching and lasting benefit to the Naval Service and to the country."

"These Estimates," said *The Times*, "and this programme may fairly be pronounced to be satisfactory and sufficient without being in any way extravagant," but it added that the maximum had not yet been reached. A decreasing number of Liberals deplored and deprecated the increase.

The following is an abstract of the Navy Estimates:—

Votes.		Net Estimates.		Differences on Net Estimates.	
		1910-11.	1909-10.	Increase.	Decrease.
		Total Numbers.	Total Numbers.	Numbers.	Numbers.
A	I.—Numbers.				
	Total Number of Officers, Seamen, Boys, Coastguard, and Royal Marines - - - - -	131,000	128,000	3,000	—
	II.—Effective Services.	£	£	£	£
1	Wages, etc., of Officers, Seamen and Boys, Coastguard, and Royal Marines - - - - -	7,889,400	7,280,200	109,200	—
2	Victualling and Clothing for the Navy - - - - -	2,500,300	2,416,800	83,500	—
3	Medical Establishments and Services - - - - -	263,900	258,700	5,200	—
4	Martial Law - - - - -	10,900	12,700	—	1,800
5	Educational Services - - - - -	157,400	159,300	—	1,900
6	Scientific Services - - - - -	69,200	67,300	1,900	—
7	Royal Naval Reserves - - - - -	372,500	367,000	5,500	—
8	Shipbuilding, Repairs, Maintenance, etc.: I.—Personnel	3,444,100	3,148,200	295,900	—
	II.—Matériel - - - - -	4,614,100	4,392,100	222,000	—
	III.—Contract Work - - - - -	12,395,400	8,278,300	4,117,100	—
9	Naval Armaments - - - - -	2,781,000	2,381,000	400,000	—
10	Works, Buildings, and Repairs at home and abroad - - - - -	2,995,300	2,916,300	79,000	—
11	Miscellaneous Effective Services - - - - -	459,000	438,800	20,200	—
12	Admiralty Office - - - - -	388,300	378,200	10,600	—
	Total Effective Services - - - - -	37,841,300	32,494,900	5,356,100	3,700
	III.—Non-Effective Services.				
13	Half-pay and Retired Pay - - - - -	924,500	890,200	34,300	—
14	Naval and Marine Pensions, Gratuities, and Compassionate Allowances - - - - -	1,480,400	1,387,800	42,600	—
15	Civil Superannuation, Compensation Allowances, and Gratuities - - - - -	407,500	369,800	37,700	—
	Total Non-Effective Services - - - - -	2,762,400	2,647,800	114,600	—
	Grand Total - - - - -	40,603,700	35,142,700	5,464,700	3,700
		Net Increase - - - - -		£5,461,000	

Note.—Provision to the extent of £363,523 is included in the Estimates for 1910-11 under Votes 8, 10, and 12, for the continuation of services originally provided for out of funds raised under the authority of the Naval Works Acts, 1895 to 1905.

In addition to the cash expenditure, stocks of Stores purchased in previous years will be drawn upon without replacement to the extent of £20,800 (estimated).

Prefixed to the Estimates was the following table of ten years' naval expenditure :—

Year.	Total Expenditure from Navy Votes (Net).	Annuity in Repayment of Loans under the Naval Works Acts.	Total Expenditure exclusive of Annuity [Column (2) deducted from Column (1)].	Expenditure from Loans under Naval Works Acts.	Total of Columns (3) and (4).	Expenditure on New Construction (Vote 3).
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	£	£	£	£	£	£
1901-2 - -	30,981,315	122,255	30,859,060	2,745,176	33,604,236	8,865,080
1902-3 - -	31,003,977	297,895	30,706,082	3,198,017	33,904,099	8,534,917
1903-4 - -	35,709,477	502,010	35,207,467	3,261,083	38,468,550	11,115,733
1904-5 - -	36,859,681	634,238	36,225,443	3,402,575	39,628,018	11,263,019
1905-6 - -	33,151,841	1,015,812	32,136,029	3,313,604	35,449,633	9,688,044
1906-7 - -	31,472,087	1,094,309	30,377,778	2,431,201	32,808,979	8,861,897
1907-8 - -	31,251,156	1,214,403	30,036,753	1,083,663	31,120,416	7,832,589
1908-9 - -	32,181,309	1,264,033	30,917,276	948,262	31,865,538	7,406,930
1909-10 (est.) -	35,142,700	1,330,356	33,812,344	—	33,812,344	8,885,194
1910-11 (est.) -	40,603,700	1,322,752	39,280,948	—	39,280,948	13,279,830

It had been intended to take the Navy Estimates on March 10 ; but they were postponed owing to a fresh tactical move on the part of the Government. It had been usual at this period of the session to take a Vote on Account for the Civil Service and Revenue Departments for four or five months in advance ; but the document containing the particulars was not issued till the morning of March 10, and demanded only 8,000,000*l.*, or about enough for six weeks. Thus, should a crisis arise through the rejection by the House of the deferred Finance Bill or the Veto resolutions, there would be no money to carry on business or pay old-age pensions until after another general election, and a Unionist Government, if it took office, would be forced to dissolve at once. To make room for a debate, the Navy Vote for wages, entailing the First Lord's statement, was postponed. In reply to Mr. Austen Chamberlain, the Chancellor of the Exchequer explained that the Government were reverting to the practice prior to 1896, which enabled the Commons to retain control over the executive. The financial position was unusual, and the executive should not be entrusted with funds rendering it independent for a longer time than this "very crucial period in its history." Mr. Austen Chamberlain thereupon denounced "this shabby game"; the Government held their official life by a thread which might be snapped at any moment, and so proposed to provide enough to go on with till the middle of May, and leave a financial morass behind them for their successors. Mr. Gibson Bowles defended the Government; the morass, he said, had been created by the Lords on advice from Birmingham. Mr. F. E. Smith (U., *Walton, Liverpool*) and Lord Hugh Cecil (U., *Oxford University*) denounced the Government, the latter saying that they contemplated a refusal to grant Supply later in the session, a course not taken since the reign of

Charles I. The Chancellor of the Exchequer replied that supply was the only weapon of the House for controlling the Executive; the Government aimed at giving power to the Opposition in two months' time to take the opinion of the House on the conduct of the Government, and yet they were accused of playing an unfair game. The Unionists wanted to get on with the financial control of the House of Commons. The Government wanted to get on without that of the House of Lords. The Government thought it desirable to revert to the better practice. It would be well, however, if the Opposition had an opportunity of clearing up the difficulty they had created. Mr. Austen Chamberlain, in reply, expressed his agreement with the view that the Government were contemplating resignation, and that their aim was to make it impossible for their successors to appeal without delay to the country. After further controversy, in the course of which the Chancellor of the Exchequer denied that there had been negotiations leading to a change of arrangement, a motion to report progress, moved as a protest, was rejected by 225 to 154.

The subsequent debate on the Vote on Account gave occasion for the revival of two familiar subjects. Mr. F. E. Smith (U., *Liverpool, Walton*) called attention to the regulations of the Board of Education affecting denominational training colleges (*ANNUAL REGISTER*, 1909, p. 187) and asked that the conditions as to State aid should be revoked. After a debate, Mr. Runciman, President of the Board of Education, replied that no preference had been shown to the undenominational colleges, and no injury done to the denominational, which, he pointed out, received seven-ninths of their support from public funds. He deprecated any attempt to revive the old controversies. The compromise had worked well; it was a temporary expedient, and the whole question must be reviewed in the future. The reduction of the Vote, moved as a protest, was rejected by 145 to 101.

The question of the Congo was then raised by Sir George White (L., *Norfolk, N.W.*), who complained of the delay in the execution of reforms, and of the signs in the attitude of the Belgian Colonial Secretary and in the new Budget that the condition of the natives was not likely to improve. He urged the Foreign Secretary to take the responsibility of separate action. He was supported by Sir G. Parker (U., *Gravesend*), Mr. Silvester Horne (L., *Ipswich*), Mr. J. Lyttelton (U., *Worc, Droitwich*, nephew of the ex-Colonial Secretary) and Sir W. Crossley (L., *Cheshire, Altrincham*). Sir Edward Grey, who spoke with exceptional deliberation, said that our treaty responsibility for the good government of the Congo region under the Berlin Act was no greater than that of the other Powers, and that Act contained or implied limitations on the separate action of any one Power; we had, indeed, a separate treaty in regard to the Congo State. We could not have taken it over ourselves, and only Belgium had the prior right to do so, and it was

a favourable change that the government should have passed into the hands of a free people and a Ministry responsible to a free Parliament. He denied that the annexation weakened our position. As long as it was not recognised, this or another British Ministry could take any steps thought necessary. As far as the Congo programme went, Belgium had made great progress; he gave the programme (ANNUAL REGISTER, 1909, p. 350), remarking that it was not entirely satisfactory, but that to arbitrate on the delay in opening the country to trade would take as long as the delay itself, and that, if completely carried out within two years, it would go far towards satisfying treaty rights. He believed the Belgian Government intended to send out officials who would not be under the influence of the old system. The programme did not apply to the concession areas, but here he specified hopeful signs. A real change of system would involve a reduction of revenues and this was contemplated by the Belgian Government. The Belgian Parliament was alive to the question of reform, and the reformers there wished our attitude to be one of suspense. They would regard our separate action as disastrous. We had kept up diplomatic pressure and had done more than other nations. But the British Government could not ask the House to recognise the annexation until they obtained definite guarantees that the new system amounted to a substantial change, and received from British Consuls reports showing that the change had taken place, and that, both as regards the condition of the natives and British treaty rights, matters had been placed on a satisfactory footing.

The postponed statement on the Navy Estimates was made by the First Lord of the Admiralty, Mr. McKenna, on Monday, March 14. Nothing, he said, but the imperative need of safeguarding the country could justify a total of 40,600,000*l.*; and he expected criticism both from those who thought all expenditure on armaments superfluous and from those who thought no amount sufficient. But Sir John Hawkins, Treasurer of the Navy under Queen Elizabeth, had had to meet similar criticism in 1587. Probably the charges made on the platform would not be repeated there; but, since the Estimates were signed by every member of the Board of Admiralty and the naval members did not change with the rest of the Government, the reckless abuse uttered outside could have no foundation in fact. The increase this year was mainly due to new construction. A comparatively small sum was taken for each of the new large ships, because payment had to be made, or the sum surrendered by March 31, 1911; two were to be built by contract, and it was not easy to determine in advance when an instalment on a contract ship would become due. The three dockyard ships would be laid down in January, the contract ships ordered in that month. The two ships given by the Australian and New Zealand Governments—a welcome proof of Imperial unity—would be completed about the summer of 1912. In March,

1912, we should have twenty *Dreadnought* battleships and cruisers, and by the time the two ships in question left British waters, the five new ships of the present programme would be approaching completion. Behind this we should have an incomparable fleet of ships of earlier types. In every way the two-Power standard, as defined by the Prime Minister, was maintained. He gave figures showing that in forty years the cost of new construction had been multiplied sixfold, the *personnel* doubled, and the pay a little more than doubled. He saw no prospect of a future reduction. The Admiralty was charged with having set the pace by the introduction [Lord Charles Beresford interjected "The advertisement"] of the *Dreadnought*; but Japan had laid down the *Satsuma* five months earlier, as the result of the teaching of the Russo-Japanese war; the British Admiralty had built a different kind of ship as the result of those lessons, but had not led the way in expense. Turning to the smaller vessels, the five unarmoured vessels of the *Bristol* and *Boadicea* types would be supplemented by three *Bristols* building in Australia, and four *Bristols* and two *Boadiceas* would be ready in 1911-12. Twenty destroyers for home service would be laid down during the year, and finished by the end of 1911; three others would be sent to the Pacific under an arrangement with New Zealand. Of the two classes of destroyers ("River" and "Tribal") suitable for service in the North Sea under all conditions there would be 102 by the end of 1911, with sixty-four 30-knotters and thirty 27-knotters behind them, besides thirty-six "coastal destroyers." A comparison with foreign navies would show that this was adequate. Not including the old "Holland" submarines there would be fifty-five submarines in commission. He could not enlarge in detail on foreign programmes as compared with ours, because his remarks in 1909 were seized on as the foundation of a new naval scare. He must ask the House to accept as sufficient his statement that there had been no decrease in these programmes. In reply to a question, he said that in Germany thirteen *Dreadnoughts* were under construction, and four more in the 1910-11 programme might be laid down on April 1, 1910, and commissioned in June, 1913. The Admiralty were providing for all contingencies, but he hoped this would not cause a fear that a friendly nation was accelerating its programme through hostility to us. He defended the Government against Mr. Balfour's charges at Hanley (p. 3), and after reference to other points, paid a tribute to Lord Fisher's great services to the nation.

Mr. Lee (U., *Fareham, Hants*) said that the First Lord had no right to shelter himself behind professional advisers, unless he could say that they had been given everything that they had demanded. The Estimates were better than the Opposition had expected, but not satisfactory; the programme was unreal, as the various items had not been adequately provided for. Ministers had at last yielded to the representations of the Opposition. He advocated a pro-

gramme based by law, so as to avoid party recrimination and comparisons with foreign nations. The two-Power standard was not being maintained; the Estimates of Germany and the United States together were 50,000,000*l.*, but the German Navy Bill was elastic, and German programmes might be anticipated. The Government were starving the shipbuilding Vote and delaying new construction. He was dissatisfied also with the destroyer programme, and hoped that further Estimates would be introduced later.

Mr. Barnes (Lab., *Blackfriars, Glasgow*) speaking for his party, dissented strongly from the Estimates, declared that the country was in the hands of panicmongers, and pointed out that the alarms of 1909 had proved fables. Only one Italian *Dreadnought* had been laid down, and no Austrian. The influence of international finance made war almost impossible. The Labour party knew that social reforms were impossible as long as this expenditure lasted, and fully agreed with the Democratic party in Germany in refusing to support this policy.

Lord Charles Beresford (U., *Portsmouth*) asked, Where would be the hope of social reforms if our defences were inadequate? He contested the value of the Sea Lords' signatures to the Estimates, maintained that the advertisement of the *Dreadnought* by the Liberals had started increased shipbuilding abroad, insisted that Great Britain was falling behind in naval construction, that we had only eighty destroyers suitable for the North Sea against the German ninety, and that we were short of stores, docks, and men. The Fleet was not strong enough, either in units or organisation, and, if we fell behind, the Estimates would be appalling. He wanted continuity of programme; we must let every nation know that we were going to hold the sea. Naval supremacy was vital to us, and our weak point was the defence of the trade routes, especially on the east coast of America and at the Cape. His programme involved a loan of 68,000,000*l.* spread over twenty or thirty years, which would enable us to add 128 ships to the Navy by 1914, and would, with the assistance of the Dominions, restore the two-Power standard. He blamed the First Lord (who had frequently risen to question the statements in his speech) for evasive and ambiguous replies.

Mr. Gibson Bowles (L., *King's Lynn*) expressed disappointment with the preceding speech, deprecated any attempt to force a new code of maritime law on the country without the consent of Parliament, and strongly condemned Mr. Balfour's Hanley speech, the building of *Dreadnoughts*, the new training of officers, and the reconstruction of the Board of Admiralty. After other speeches Dr. Macnamara, Secretary of the Admiralty, replied to Lord Charles Beresford, and the House went into Committee.

The discussion was continued on the three succeeding days, but though the Unionist members still complained of the breach

of continuity introduced by the Government into shipbuilding policy, and of the insufficiency of the destroyer programme, the Liberal opponents of increased expenditure made their own views more conspicuous. Mr. Pretyman (U., *Chelmsford, Essex*) laid stress on both these Unionist complaints and Mr. Eyres-Monsell (U., *Worc, Evesham*), a new member and a naval officer, on the second, declaring that in destroyers our standard of strength ought to exceed two to one. Mr. Lough (L., *Islington, W.*) moved a reduction of the Vote by 3,000 men, explaining that the Liberal Reduction of Armaments Committee had decided not to embarrass the Government by taking this course during the present Constitutional crisis. He contended that we could have an adequate fleet without additional expenditure. He was supported, in the interest of social reform, by Mr. Twist (Lab., *Wigan*). Mr. McKenna declared that the Government aimed at such a naval strength as would secure our safety in the event of attack from any probable combination of navies, and did not exceed the two-Power standard as defined by the Prime Minister. The three Powers nearest to us in strength were so equal that it did not matter which two were taken into consideration. He defended the shipbuilding programme against both sets of critics, and asked members to trust the Board of Admiralty, as there were many details which could not be made public. Mr. Long complained that Mr. McKenna had left the two-Power standard ambiguous; and several Liberal members condemned the increased expenditure. Their protest was supported vigorously by Mr. Snowden (Lab., *Blackburn*) who declared that the Ministry had been captured by the Liberal Imperialists; no Tory Government would have dared to propose Estimates of 40,000,000*l.* The Navy scare had no effect except in Navy towns. Our own foreign policy had given Germany the impression that we wished to isolate her. If the Government believed Prince Henry of Prussia (p. 35), the late and present German Chancellors, and the German Ambassador, there was no justification for these Estimates. The hope of peace was in the growing kindness between the democracies of all nations. The strongest safeguard for peace was the fact that 13,000,000 men throughout Europe were enrolled under the red flag of Socialism. The Great Powers dare not trust their armies, in view of the growth of Socialism and internationalism among the rank and file.

Dr. Macnamara, Secretary of the Admiralty, replied to the Liberal dissentients, stating that he shared in the dismay at the Estimates, but they were inevitable. He laid stress on the danger of the stoppage of our food supply. His speech roused murmurs of dissent, but the reduction was negatived by 225 to 34 and the Vote was agreed to.

Next day, however (March 16), on the Wages Vote, after other speeches had been delivered, the Liberal protest was renewed by

Mr. Murray Macdonald (L., *Falkirk Burghs*) who contended that the two-Power standard was originally adopted in view of the Franco-Russian alliance, and our differences with France had been settled. It was now a mere abstraction. The threatening international situation was due to suspicion, which would be removed if armaments were reduced. His views were endorsed by Mr. J. A. Baker (L., *Finsbury, E.*) who complained of the lack of moral courage in the Government, and suggested that we might make the Hague Conference an effective tribunal by abandoning the right to capture private property at sea. Mr. Lee urged that it was not possible to make invidious distinctions between Powers in regard to the two-Power standard. Great Britain alone had attempted reduction of armaments, and had failed to win the Powers. Reduction would change the map of the British Empire. Mr. Lambert (L., *Devon, S.*), Civil Lord of the Admiralty, defended the Government against the Unionist charges of neglect, and thought the tax collector might in the long run prove an effective teacher of reduction. Later, Mr. Duke (U., *Devonport*) called attention at considerable length to the case of Mr. Mulliner (ANNUAL REGISTER, 1909, p. 269), and, after further speeches, Mr. McKenna asked if Mr. Duke accepted responsibility for Mr. Mulliner's statements. Mr. Duke did not definitely do so, and Mr. McKenna, after an angry scene, declined to take further notice of Mr. Mulliner's "absolutely baseless charge." He then pointed out that if, under an international agreement, we were to abandon the right to capture an enemy's goods at sea, we should deprive ourselves of our power of offence in war, yet should still have to maintain a supreme Navy to protect our shores against invasion. If, however, assurances were given that if we abandoned the right other nations would agree to reduce their navies on the understanding that ours was to remain supreme, the Government would be willing to consider the proposals that might be made. The Estimates were sufficient and not more than sufficient. Eventually the Vote was agreed to.

Next day (March 17), on the Report of the Resolution on Vote A (men), Mr. Long (U., *Westminster, Strand*) approved the increase in the *personnel* as the earnest of a new policy, but deprecated the decision not to lay down ships before it was absolutely necessary, inasmuch as the Government's information might be inaccurate, as was shown in 1909. Lord Charles Beresford, in a speech described on the other side as "a return to his earlier manner," urged that a strong Navy was the best economy, and advised the reduction in number of the short-service men, laying great stress on the importance of training, drill, and comradeship in the terrible naval actions of the future. So far as the *personnel* was concerned the Fleet had never, in his experience, been better served. Sir Charles Dilke, on the other hand, pointed out that Germany had a very efficient fleet manned largely on the short-service system; was it

really our long-service men who gave us our superiority? Mr. McKenna explained that the short-service men were introduced to build up the Fleet Reserve, on which the Admiralty relied to make up the complement of the Fourth Division of the Home Fleet, the German Fleet had only 25 per cent. of long-service men, and the best of their Reserve had only three years' service. Our additional expenditure on the Navy had not stopped competition; it had only raised the standard. The New Zealand cruiser would be manned from our Navy, the Australian ship by Australians, as far as possible. The Marines were being reduced to the level of war requirements. Later, Dr. Macnamara gratefully acknowledged the many valuable suggestions made during the debates, and mentioned that the Coastguard was being reduced, because many of the stations were no longer required to prevent smuggling, and that the number would be brought down to a yearly average of 3,100 by lessening the complements of men at stations. The Vote was agreed to, and later a discussion arose (on the Report of the Wages Vote) on the status of engine-room officers, in which Lord Charles Beresford insisted on the danger of losing the democratic element in the service under the new scheme.

The House of Commons was thus disposing of the necessary business of the session in preparation for the great political conflict over the House of Lords. That House meanwhile was preparing to forestall it by an alternative scheme of reform. Lord Rosebery had given notice on March 9 that in the event of his first resolution (p. 30) being carried, he would move further:—

“(1) That a strong and efficient Second Chamber is not merely an integral part of the British Constitution, but is necessary to the well-being of the State, and to the balance of Parliament. (2) That such a Chamber can best be obtained by the reform and reconstitution of the House of Lords. (3) That a necessary preliminary of such reform and reconstitution is the acceptance of the principle that the possession of a peerage should no longer of itself give the right to sit and vote in the House of Lords.”

The debate was appropriately prefaced by the issue on March 12 of a return moved for by the Earl of Onslow of the numbers and services of temporal Peers. Eighteen had held high judicial office; forty-three had been Cabinet Ministers or Parliamentary heads of Government departments, or Speakers of the Commons; twenty had been Lords-Lieutenant of Ireland, Viceroy of India, or Governors-General of Canada, Australia, or the South African Union; twenty-four had been Governors of Dominions, Colonies, Indian Presidencies or Provinces, or High Commissioners of South Africa; fifty-one had held minor Ministerial offices; two had been Ministers or Ambassadors to foreign Powers; 148 had sat in the Commons, and seven had attained the rank of Vice-Admiral or Lieutenant-General. The number of Peers on the roll at the beginning of the session in 1765 was 202; in 1835, 423; in

1865, 454; in 1885, 524; in 1900, 593; in 1906, 613; and at the time of issuing the return it was 622, of whom four were Royal, twenty-six Episcopal, and five life Peers. In 1909 eighty-one out of a total of 589 temporal Peers (including minors and Peers kept away by their official duties or by ill-health) did not attend, and 168 attended less than ten times.

The debate on Lord Rosebery's resolutions began on Monday, March 14. On the same evening Sir Edward Grey, at a dinner given to Sir Hugh Bell, the defeated Liberal candidate for the City, at the Hotel Cecil, expressed the view of moderate Liberal reformers. No limitation of the powers of the House of Lords, he said, could be too stringent for the needs of Liberal policy, but however much the veto was limited, the House would use its powers for what Liberals regarded as mischief. The country would not tolerate Single-Chamber Government, and to leave reform to the other side would mean, for the Liberals, "disaster, death, and damnation." Mr. Balfour, owing to party exigencies, was in favour of reform both of the fiscal system and the House of Lords, but would endeavour to make both as small as possible. He himself expected that the country would demand an elective Second Chamber on a democratic basis, and he indicated that there might be provisions, such as existed in the Colonies, for the solution of deadlocks between the Houses.

The Earl of Rosebery moved before a crowded audience that the House go into committee on his resolutions on the reform of the House of Lords (p. 55). Referring to his proposals of 1888 (ANNUAL REGISTER, 1888, p. 58) he said that he had since expected reform to come from outside; but it was now thought better that it should be proposed from some neutral source within the House, in which there had long been a consciousness of its imperfections—its excessive numbers, its too exclusive representation of a class, and its basis in heredity. It had splendid traditions and, according to Freeman, was the lineal descendant of the Witenagemot: even Mr. Redmond had eulogised it in 1894. Of the various efforts at reform from within, Lord Newton's Committee alone had reached a definite conclusion (ANNUAL REGISTER, 1908, p. 240); and the general election had returned a hostile majority of 125. The Irish and Labour parties respectively were hostile for the sake of Home Rule and of nationalisation schemes, but Scotland and the North of England had an insuperable objection to the hereditary principle. The Government plan would first disable the House and then reconstitute it, but the reconstitution would never be agreed to by the more advanced elements; the plan was like hamstringing a horse and then starting him for the Derby. After citing Cromwell's famous condemnation of Single-Chamber Government, he asked what self-respecting person would care to sit in the House which the Government some day proposed to re-establish? There would be a violent reaction, and

a demand for a House of Lords stronger than the present one ; but meanwhile a Home Rule Bill might be passed, and the country might be at the mercy of a momentary ebullition of feeling. The Second Chamber would secure that the voice of the people should be deliberate. Revolutions in history had been carried by small and determined minorities. The Greater Britains, who had been provided with strong Second Chambers, would lose faith in us if we established Single-Chamber Government ; strong Senates had been deliberately established in France and the United States ; the only two Single-Chamber States were Greece and Costa Rica. It was felt better to proceed by resolutions, as a basis for a Bill to be framed by some future Government. These might be passed before Easter. The Select Committee had recommended the abolition of the hereditary principle ; this principle had not always prevailed, nor were all the Peerages inherited ; and he advocated election by corporations and County Councils, Peers being eligible. The Peers might now do the country a service greater than any since that of the Barons at Runnymede, or they might cling to obsolete privileges and await in decrepitude their doom. But he had confidence in their action.

Lord Morley of Blackburn distrusted historical and colonial analogies ; in Canada and Australia the Second Chamber was nominated. Lord Rosebery had not come even to the fringe of the existing emergency. It would have been better to await the proposals of the Government. In November, 1909, the Lords rejected the Budget, and were held up as a model of political virtue ; now, having killed the Budget, they were committing suicide by declaring their unfitness. The Government thought it inexpedient to discuss proposals for reform until an effective method had been provided for settling disputes between the Houses ; but their own proposals would be before the Commons on Easter Tuesday. The supporters of those proposals were by no means generally Single-Chamber men, and, for all effective purposes of government, apart from legislation, there was already Single-Chamber Government. The question had been raised by a practical emergency ; the gulf between the Houses had widened and deepened since 1894, and great changes had become inevitable. To make a "strong and efficient" Second Chamber would be to take back part of the electoral power established by the Liberals, and to intensify friction ; reform would not remove the grievance that that House did not receive Bills in time to debate them ; the changes proposed would not free the House from the imputation of class prejudice, and there was no provision for removing or diminishing deadlocks. He applied to Lord Rosebery his own description of "the riddle that perplexed Cromwell"—"Like smaller reformers since, he had never decided, to begin with, whether to make his Lords strong or weak ; strong enough to curb the Commons, and yet weak enough for the Commons to curb them."

The Earl of Onslow, speaking next, desired a Second Chamber based on the House of Lords, with some representation of the Dominions overseas;—this latter proposal was unfavourably criticised by Lord Northcote. Of subsequent speakers some favoured reform; among them, Earl Cawdor, who desired the retention of a large hereditary element, and maintained that on Home Rule, the Education Bill, the Licensing Bill, and the Budget, the Lords represented the mind of the people better than the Commons. Earl Carrington laid stress on the deadlock between the Houses, which Lord Rosebery's plan did nothing to diminish. On this question he declared that the Government were ready to lead the whole progressive party, and on its decision to stand or fall. Lord Oranmore and Browne deprecated any effort at reform at present; Lord Killanin suggested a scheme of a partly hereditary, partly elective, and partly nominated House.

The debate was resumed next day by the Archbishop of Canterbury, whose title to sit in that House, as he reminded it, was six centuries older than that of any existing hereditary Peer. The Government, he said, was about to invite the House to cripple by statute the power of one House of Parliament. Except under the Commonwealth, this proposal had no parallel. Changes in the working of either House, with trifling exceptions, had always been made from within. The Government proposed to bring a foreign element into the unwritten Constitution, which might throw the whole mechanism out of balance. He admitted that there had recently been overstrain, though there was a difference of opinion as to the responsibility for it. But there had been great exaggeration on both sides; the difficulty was capable of reasonable adjustment, and he thought that Lord Rosebery's proposals should be got into shape and would produce the adjustment needed. The Government alternative was virtually Single-Chamber government. It must take time to adjust the details of reform; the Bishops were ready to take their part.

The Marquess of Salisbury, as a former member of the House of Commons, thought that its character and reputation had decayed, and also the independence of its members. In the House of Lords, however, there was perfect independence. The hereditary principle relied on trusting a man because of his sense of public duty and his determination to do right; it meant that a man revered the example of his fathers and avoided prejudicing his son's prospects. Still, he thought that a change was called for, but they must resist a Single-Chamber policy and profit by what they had seen happen in the Commons. He suggested the selection of representative Peers from the whole body, and the appointment of some members of the reformed House by the Crown.

Lord Sheffield favoured a Second Chamber, with the House of Commons predominant; Lord Newton declared that the policy of the Government was to prevent any improvement in the House

of Lords, approved the report of Lord Rosebery's Committee of 1908, and agreed with Lord Rosebery; and the Duke of Northumberland said that the House of Commons had lost much of its powers to the profit of the Ministry, and that the present Ministry was under the influence of an irresponsible person—Mr. Redmond—so that the constitution of Parliament demanded change.

The debate on the third day (March 16) was opened by Lord Curzon of Kedleston. He regarded the moment as being favourable for reform, which indeed many Unionists had long advocated, and which, he thought, was desired by the country and might be carried out by agreement. He thought the country did not resent the reference of the Budget to the people, and had shown itself resolved to have a strong Second Chamber, strong enough not to overawe the House of Commons, but to be courageous and independent. Certain blemishes in the House it desired to remove, but he thought Lord Rosebery had overstated the case against the hereditary principle. The Dominions and India were concerned in the maintenance of a Second Chamber with character, authority, and experience, and in India the House of Lords was regarded with enormous veneration and respect, largely because its composition rested on a basis familiar throughout Indian society. He desired the retention of a hereditary element, with an element nominated by the Prime Minister. They had not yet come to details, but he desired to see the House more deeply rooted in the democracy, and the Peers would have some compensation for their sacrifice in the removal of their existing disabilities.

The debate was continued by Lord Burghclere, who supported both reform and the limitation of the veto, and by the Earl of Cromer, who declared that the "silent voters" were generally afraid of Single-Chamber government. He deprecated any diminution of the powers of the Lords over finance and favoured Lord Rosebery's proposals. The Earl of Halsbury believed all the resolutions were mischievous, and the third the most so; it was impossible to make an institution more practically useful for its purposes than the present House. He disagreed with the proposals of Lord Rosebery's Committee, and was ready to go into Committee on reform, but did not expect to see any workable scheme. Among other speakers, Lord Willoughby de Broke, asking the House to "listen to the swan-song of a backwoodsman," was also distrustful of reform. Lord Courtney of Penwith resumed the debate on March 17. The difficulty arose, he said, when they got to practical details. It was rooted in the divergence between the two Houses, which arose from natural development. Coming into the Lords was like coming into a landlocked pool hardly affected by the ordinary tides of life. Whole classes of the population were leading lives outside the experience of any member of the House. The Liberal party naturally wished to cure its inac-

cessibility. The Campbell-Bannerman resolution, the idea of which was due to John Bright (p. 69), was rather rough and could hardly stand alone, and the alarm expressed about it was overstrained. The conclusions of the House of Commons itself were inconclusive; a transfer of 8,000 Liberal votes to the Unionists would wipe out the existing Liberal majority, a transfer of 8,000 Unionist votes to the Liberals would double it. The authority of the House of Lords had increased of recent years, though not its power; and he favoured reform along the lines of the Select Committee, but going farther. He sketched a scheme of a House of about 250, to which the hereditary Peers might contribute eighty and the balance might consist partly of life Peers, possibly nominated, as Lord St. Aldwyn had suggested to the Select Committee, by the Crown on the suggestion of the Prime Minister and representing all parts of the country and Labour as well as Capital; and partly of fifty members elected by the House of Commons for two Parliaments, under proportional representation, so as to represent every party. He deprecated election by County Councils; their purpose was different, and their composition might be affected if the new duty were given them. If the House were recast and reduced, the two Houses might be brought together in cases of divergence.

The Marquess of Lansdowne believed that there was a general agreement as to going into Committee. The Government had contemplated reform at the beginning of the session, they now contemplated Single-Chamber government. The Lords were therefore entitled to discuss in full liberty any suggestions as to reform. The proposal to reduce the numbers of the House was very serious; it deprived Peers, through no fault of their own, of privileges to which they attached great value; many Peers were absent merely because they could do more elsewhere, and those affected ought to have the fullest opportunity of expressing their opinion. A reform ought to keep up the historic continuity of the House; he was not prepared to change its name, to renounce the hereditary principle, or greatly to reduce the number of hereditary Peers. The scheme should be simple; he objected to any arrangement for bringing in persons prominent in public bodies, or in the arts and sciences, or in different religious denominations, for there was a wide difference between the work of the expert and that of the legislator; nor did he favour the introduction of Colonial representatives, for the Colonies would not send their best men. There must be a considerable reduction in numbers. Since he entered the House about 140 Peers had been added to it, probably without thought of the effect of increasing its size. In a reformed House a considerable portion should be elected by the Peers themselves, as a compensation to them for their sacrifice and as the only means of getting many Peers who were prominent and useful in local affairs, but not widely known in public life. The qualifications for

membership as of right should not be too numerous; he deprecated election, either by the County Councils or on Lord Courtney's plan, and thought that the non-hereditary element might be nominated on the advice of the Ministry on such a tenure as would cure independence. Life Peerages he also advocated, to represent the great interests or great municipalities. He condemned the course taken by the Government on reform.

The Earl of Crewe declared that the Government were in favour of a bi-cameral system, and believed the great majority of the electorate were so likewise. The House of Lords was at present both strong and efficient, as the last four years had shown; the hereditary principle was not unpopular, but the uncontrolled exercise of hereditary power was so. The charge that Liberal Peers or their sons tended to pass away from Liberalism reflected on the House rather than on such Peers. He contested Lord Curzon's contentions as to the Dominions and India. What was really at the back of these plans of reform? Lord Rosebery, no doubt, wished to get rid of party government; but this was impossible, and outside the aim of the proposals. There was not much cross-voting in the House, and a representative Peer from Scotland [Lord Torphichen] who had voted for the Budget had lost his seat. In the Commons, on Home Rule, the South African War, and Tariff Reform, many members had spoken their minds with the utmost freedom. The Liberals in the House and the country would believe that the object of the reforming Peers was to consolidate the power of the Unionist party and to increase it by limiting the prerogative of the Crown. The real point at issue was the deadlock between the two Houses, and any considerable reform must destroy or weaken the unwritten understanding between them. The House of Commons would claim to have its say in the reform of the House of Lords, as the latter had in the reform of the Commons in 1832 and 1884. The Government must take its own line and leave the outcome to the judgment of the country.

The motion to go into Committee was then agreed to. Meanwhile some light on the political situation had been afforded by the speeches of various leaders on each side. At the Junior Constitutional Club on March 17, Lord Curzon of Kedleston had claimed that the general election had inclined in favour of the Unionists, and that the Government had since been merely manœuvring to escape defeat; the Unionists should go to the country with a broad and generous scheme for reforming the House of Lords. The Prime Minister, speaking next day at a large meeting at the Town Hall, Oxford, said that the lessons of the general election were three. It was necessary to organise beforehand to diffuse accurate information, to strengthen the statutory protection of the voter against intimidation, and to get rid of the plural vote. At any rate the election had safeguarded Free Trade for the present Parliament, but the Ministry had hesitated whether they ought to

go on. They resolved, however, not to run away from their tasks—the passing of the Budget, and the abolition of the financial, and limitation of the legislative, Veto of the Lords. He defended the course taken on the Budget, and declared that the conflict was not between the supporters of two Chambers and those of Single-Chamber government. The Government believed in the necessity of a properly constituted Second Chamber, but with the House of Lords as it was we had only the drawbacks of a Second Chamber. The debate in the Lords showed only that it was to be disguised with democratic whitewash. The Liberal party held that it must be rebuilt on a democratic basis. The absolute Veto on legislation must go (this the audience cheered loudly), and the issue would again become clear shortly, when it was submitted to the judgment of the Commons. The Government would subordinate everything to the attainment of its ends. With the removal of the Lords' Veto were bound up the future of popular government and democratic reform. Next day Mr. Churchill spoke at Manchester. A stronger Second Chamber, he argued, meant a weaker House of Commons. Lord Rosebery's plan made no provision against a deadlock between the Houses; indeed, it destroyed the possibility of removing it by the creation of Peers by the Crown. The Government stood for the supremacy of the House of Commons, which could only be secured by the abolition of the Lords' Veto. But reform of the House of Lords was necessary; if they stopped short at the abolition of the Veto, the Conservatives would restore it, and strengthen the House of Lords. But a Second Chamber must be democratic, politically fair, and subordinate to the Commons. Usage had broken down, both in the Peers' rejection of the Budget and in the London County Council (p. 35), and so the limitation of the Veto must be by statute. The Budget was an essential part of the Government's quarrel with the Lords. The cry of "No Veto, no Budget," had no terrors for the Peers; they loathed both. The Budget was the foundation of the Government's social policy, and on its triumphant affirmation by the Commons depended all hopes for the next ten years of either the British or Irish democracies securing their proper share in the government of their own islands. They would therefore go forward with it as soon as the Veto resolutions were passed. On the same evening Mr. Haldane, who was popularly regarded as standing, with Sir Edward Grey, for reform of the House of Lords as well as abolition of the Veto, took much the same line in addressing the annual general meeting of the Eighty Club. He laid stress on the necessity of maintaining the reserve powers in the Constitution, and of abolishing the hereditary principle, and suggested an elective scheme with very wide constituencies, and restricted election expenditure, so that only men of mark in public life could be elected. He did not believe in proceeding by detached steps. On the other hand, Mr. Redmond at Liverpool (March 20) and Mr. Keir Hardie at Merthyr Tydfil

and Mr. Barnes at Torquay (March 19) attacked the Government for temporising over the Veto.

Amid the discussion of these primary political issues, preparations were going on for the conflict which was reserved for future Parliaments between the rival sets of Poor Law Reformers. The advocates of the Minority Report of 1909 had agitated industriously ever since its publication in favour of their scheme, and had founded a "National Association for the break-up of the Poor Law," which had obtained distinguished support in various quarters. A counter-move was made by the upholders of the Majority Report at a meeting at Queen's Hall on March 15, when a National Poor Law Reform Association was founded. Lord George Hamilton, the Chairman of the late Poor Law Commission, presided, and, while deprecating opposition to the scheme of the minority merely because it was socialistic, described its underlying idea as the establishment of a ubiquitous bureaucracy permanently watching over a large part of the population—an idea wholly alien to the English spirit and to the spirit of past legislation. The scheme would treble the existing Poor Law expenditure in England of 15,000,000*l.* a year, and the crusade in its favour would eradicate, not destitution but self-reliance, providence, mutual help and co-operation. The new Association would aim primarily at developing these activities, and would associate with this development a humane and restorative system of relief adapted to the various troubles and wants of applicants.

The Prime Minister's resolutions on the relation between the two Houses were put on the paper of the House of Commons on Monday, March 21. The first declared it expedient that the House of Lords should be disabled by law from rejecting or amending a Money Bill, *i.e.* a Bill which in the opinion of the Speaker contained only provisions dealing with the imposition, repeal, remission, alteration, or regulation of taxation, charges on the Consolidated Fund or the provision of money by Parliament, the appropriation, control, or regulation of public money, the raising or guarantee of any loan or its repayment, or matters incidental to any of these subjects. The second declared it expedient to limit the power of the House of Lords by law respecting other Bills, so that any such Bill which had passed the Commons in three successive sessions and had thrice been rejected by the Lords should "become law without the consent of the House of Lords on the Royal assent being declared." But two years must have elapsed between the first introduction and the final passing of the Bill in the Commons, and amendments by the Lords not agreed on by the Commons were to be equivalent to rejection. The third resolution declared it to be expedient that the duration of Parliament should be limited to five years. These resolutions did away with the machinery of conferences between the Houses provided by the Campbell-Bannerman plan, and revived the idea of carrying

on Bills from one Parliament to another, thus getting rid of the objection that that plan might leave the last two years of a Liberal Parliament barren.

Lord Rosebery's first two resolutions (p. 55) were passed unanimously on Monday and Tuesday, March 21. On the first there was some discussion, the Earl of Crewe and the Lord Chancellor pointing out that it was capable of a variety of implications, and the latter insisting on the difficulty of discussing it without knowing Lord Rosebery's plan of reform. The third resolution, affecting the hereditary principle, was the subject of a lively discussion on that day and the next. An amendment preserving the rights of existing Peers was proposed by Lord Killanin, but withdrawn, and the abolition or limitation of the hereditary principle was strongly opposed by the Earl of Halsbury, who insisted that they should know what was to be substituted for the House before they got rid of it. Lord Rosebery's speech at Bradford on October 27, 1894, left nothing to be desired by those who wished to destroy the House. Recently he had described it in terms befitting a model Chamber (p. 18); if so, why abolish it? This was an electioneering debate. What had the House done that its constitution should be altered? How would they select hereditary Peers?—by an entrance examination? They were entitled to know before passing the resolution what the system was to be. Earl Bathurst also opposed the resolution, and the Earl of Cranbrook held that a prior question was the adjustment of differences with the Commons. A number of Peers, however, maintained that the resolution in no way sacrificed the hereditary principle, and that some reform was desirable; the Duke of Norfolk deprecated a division on a resolution purely preliminary in character, and the Marquess of Lansdowne described the resolution as the gate of any of the roads which led to reform, and not as in any sense a crusade against the House. The Earl of Crewe accepted the resolution; the Earl of Rosebery emphatically denied that the proposals were a piece of electioneering, and mentioned that he would bring in further resolutions after Easter, which, however, would not indicate the exact framework for a new Second Chamber. The Lord Chancellor asked what the Earl of Rosebery really wanted, but agreed that at present a fictitious importance should not be attached to the resolutions, and the third was carried by 176 to 15. The Ministers present and the Bishops supported it; the "Not Contents" included the Marquesses of Ailesbury and Hertford, Earl Bathurst, Earl Cathcart, the Earls of Halsbury and Lovelace, Lords Byron, Muncaster, and North, and the Earl of Wemyss as teller.

The rest of the period before the brief adjournment for Easter was occupied partly by supplementary debates on familiar subjects of current interest, and partly by renewed Opposition attacks on the Ministerial management of finance.

The Report of the Vote on Account of 8,000,000*l.* for the Civil Service and Revenue Departments on March 18 (p. 48) gave opportunity for Nationalist complaints as to the refusal of old-age pensions to Irish claimants, which was ascribed to the influence of those who maintained that Ireland was receiving an excessive share of the available funds. Mr. Birrell made an effective defence, pointing out the great difficulty of estimating the income (stated in kind) of claimants, and remarking that a very wide range of evidence as to age had been accepted. Later, Mr. Buxton, President of the Board of Trade, in reply to some points raised by Mr. Clynes (Lab., *Manchester, N.E.*) as to Labour Exchanges, mentioned that the Government Bill for unemployment insurance was prepared, and that their programme included insurance against invalidity or death, and drastic Poor-Law reform. There were at that moment about 100 Labour Exchanges, 270,000 persons had registered, and 104,000 were still on the "live" register. Of 32,500 vacancies notified, 19,907 had been filled, the managers being very anxious not to send unsuitable men. On all hands there had been a desire to give the experiment a fair trial.

Two attacks were made on the Government for non-collection of income tax, on the second and third readings respectively of the Consolidated Fund (No. 1) Bill (March 21 and 23). Mr. Steel-Maitland (U., *Birmingham, E.*), Mr. Bonar Law, Mr. Austen Chamberlain, Lord Hugh Cecil and Mr. J. G. Butcher (U., *York*) were prominent in the assault, and the Government was defended by Mr. McKenna (on the first occasion) and by the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Substantially their defence was that they could not collect it on the mere authority of a resolution, that they could not break up the Budget proposals, that the inhabited house duty was dependent on a clause in the rejected Finance Bill, and that the land tax was not worth while collecting alone. (The financial effect of the action of the Government will be seen from the Revenue returns; see *post*, Chronicle, March 31.)

Next, the subject of the Congo was again revived by Sir Charles Dilke, who complained that Great Britain had received from the Belgian Colonial Minister treatment unparalleled, at any rate in recent years, from any great Power, and that he had nearly been beaten in the Chamber, so that reformers in Belgium still desired our support. (He referred to M. Renkin's speech of February 24; *post*, Foreign History, Chapter IV.) British pressure on the Belgian Government must continue. Sir E. Grey said that though existing conditions left much to be desired, the attitude of the Belgian Government was very different from that usual under the old *regime*. It had not denied our rights, but had given assurances that changes would be made bringing the state of things into accord with them. The pressure exercised by the reformers in Belgium showed that the situation was not hopeless. If diplomacy failed, however, we could resume jurisdiction over our own subjects, and

should then have to be prepared to take whatever steps we might think necessary to assure that they were not interfered with. We should not admit the right of any other Power to interfere with us; but we did not for a moment suppose that other Powers would interfere. The annexation of the Congo would not be definitely recognised till assurances had been received from our Consuls that the state of things had greatly improved.

A variant of the German spy scare was produced on March 22 and 23. The Thames Ironworks Company, to which the construction of one of the new *Dreadnoughts* had been entrusted, had ordered a floating crane in Germany, and Mr. Bottomley (L., *Hackney, S.*) complained that the German workmen, during the nine months of its erection, would find out secrets about the new ship. He was unsuccessful in obtaining the leave of the Speaker to move the adjournment as "a matter of urgent public importance" on March 22; and he raised it on the motion for adjournment over Easter on the day following, mentioning that the ship was known in the city as "H.M.S. Polling Day." A British firm, he said, had tendered for the crane. His views were endorsed by Sir Fortescue Flannery (U., *Essex, Maldon*) and by Lord Charles Beresford (U., *Portsmouth*), and ridiculed by Mr. Barnes (Lab., *Glasgow, Blackfriars*), who said that it was most difficult to make out the design of a ship in construction. Mr. McKenna replied that the tender for the ship had been accepted as the lowest tender, that the German crane had been accepted on the merits of its design, and that the only German employed would be one supervisor, greatly occupied with his own business. The crane, moreover, would be erected at some distance from the ship, a better view of which could be got from the river. Subsequently, Mr. Thorne (Lab., *West Ham, S.*) alleged that the Thames Ironworks Company was the victim of trade jealousy because its men got an eight hours' day.

Meanwhile the opposition to Tariff Reform within the Unionist party had been diminished by the dissolution on March 22 of the Unionist Free Trade Club, owing to differences of opinion among the members as to the relative importance of Free Trade and other great political issues. One section of the members, under the Earl of Cromer, formed a Constitutional Free Trade Association for Free-Traders who would support the Unionist party as the best way of resisting dangers to the Second Chamber and the Union and of averting State Socialism; another section, including Lord James of Hereford, Mr. Arthur Elliot (late M.P. for Durham) and Sir Frederick Pollock, joined the Free Trade Union. Lord James of Hereford took the chair at a meeting of this Union on the same evening at Queen's Hall, at which Sir Edward Grey was the chief speaker. The Free Trade cause, he said, was holding its own; in those elections where argument decided—in the great industrial constituencies—Free Trade had

won; where prejudice decided, Tariff Reform. The latter had been supported by contradictory statements in different constituencies. We were still supporting a larger population to the square mile, and doing a larger trade per head than the great Protectionist countries, because of our great staple industries, built up under Free Trade, and liable to be injured by Tariff Reform. We should jeopardise forty-five shillings' worth of exports of finished manufactured goods for every twenty shillings we should keep out by Tariff Reform. After dealing with some of the customary arguments, he laid stress on the dangers involved in taxing Colonial imports and in bargaining at the Colonial Conferences. The Tariff Reformers' demand for new taxes had removed one of the customary checks on public extravagance; their success would stimulate the growth of Socialism, and would lead to a competition between constituencies and candidates for an increase of duties. Tariff Reform would make our politics profligate and corrupt at home, would undermine the foundations of our industry, and would introduce the seeds of disunion and disruption in the Empire.

The allegations of intimidation during the general election had led to the foundation of a new Liberal league, the Gladstone League, to combat the practice. The inaugural meeting was held at the Queen's Hall, London, on March 24. Mr. A. G. Gardiner, Editor of the *Daily News*, presided, and read a sympathetic letter from the Prime Minister. The Chancellor of the Exchequer said that "feudalism" was the enemy, and, after parenthetically reproving the critics of the Government for their impatience, cited a number of cases of intimidation at the late general election, and declared that they must secure the economic independence of the workman and security of tenure for the agriculturist. There should be some measure for transferring the ownership of the soil from great landowners to cultivating peasants; 2,500 landowners owned two-thirds of the soil. (One of the audience here interjected: "Tax them out of existence"; Mr. Lloyd George replied: "Well, I made a start.") The Tories had a plan, but its worth depended on their principles of valuation. The Tory land purchase scheme for Ireland had been over-favourable to the landlord. There was none of that in the Liberal ideas of land purchase; that was why the Budget made valuation the first step in land reform. The advantage of such reform was not merely economic; it lay in protecting the independence of the worker. Labour should ever be the road to freedom.

In reply to a woman suffragist, Mr. Lloyd George expressed himself in favour of women's suffrage, but said that no Parliament liked to be henpecked. If women would pursue their present rational course, they would see the triumph of their cause.

Mr. Lloyd George's contemptuous reference to the Tory land purchase scheme had important results later; but, for the moment,

a truce in politics was brought about by the brief Easter holiday, lasting only from Maundy Thursday to Easter Tuesday. The two Houses held a formal sitting on the first-named day, that the Consolidated Fund Bill and other measures might receive the Royal Assent; and the calm of the recess was broken only by the usual conferences of the Labour party and the National Union of teachers on Easter Monday, and by speeches from Mr. Haldane in his Haddington constituency, there being no Easter holiday north of the Tweed. Speaking at North Berwick on March 25, he declared that a general election could not be far distant, and the prospects of the Budget were uncertain; the Unionists might vote for an income-tax resolution, but would they vote for the Budget afterwards? The Government could not take a bold and decided course, so the best thing was to stake their lives on the passing of the whole Budget. A statutory limit to the creation of Peers would be deadly to constitutional liberty, and unless the House of Lords were reformed, the Veto resolutions might be repealed by a Conservative Government. In succeeding speeches he attacked Tariff Reform and reasserted his attachment to Home Rule.

The Easter holiday closed with the passing of a great danger to trade. A coal strike, arising out of the Eight Hours Act, in South Wales had been threatened for some weeks; but it was happily averted on March 30 by a conference of the Miners' Federation, though the ballot of which the result confirmed their action was not taken till the following week.

On Easter Tuesday the Parliamentary struggle was resumed; and two days later the Mid-Glamorganshire election, for the seat vacated by the elevation to the Bench of Sir Samuel Evans, resulted in a substantial victory for Liberalism over Labour (*post*, Chronicle, March 31).

The motion to go into Committee on the Government's Veto resolutions was made by the Prime Minister on Easter Tuesday, March 29, amid signs of acute interest and in a crowded House. He began by noting the advance of the question since June 24, 1907, as marked by the rejection of the Finance Bill, the general election, at which the relations of the two Houses constituted at least a leading issue, and the spontaneous movement of the House of Lords towards its own reform. His motion assumed that two Chambers were necessary; but we had not a bi-cameral system. The Commons must predominate; but a Second Chamber might usefully discharge the functions of consultation, of revision, and, subject to proper safeguards, of delay. Such a Chamber should be relatively small; its basis should be democratic, not hereditary; it must not be "governed by partisanship tempered by panic," and should be representative of and dependent on the will of the nation. The Government resolutions, therefore, were not put forward as a final or adequate solution. The recent action of the

House of Lords was ambiguous, and taken in a thin House. "The backwoodsmen" might still be able to rout a half-hearted and divided attack. Meantime they had to deal with the House of Lords as it was. The resolutions to be moved in Committee were not to be treated as clauses in a Bill, but as a basis for a Bill. The first he justified by citations from Pitt, Lord Rosebery, Lord Salisbury, and Mr. Balfour, and explained that tacking, a purely speculative possibility, was guarded against by entrusting to the Speaker the decision as to what was or was not a Money Bill. He should strongly deprecate leaving the decision to the Law Courts. The second and third resolutions must be taken together. The second provided a new remedy for a deadlock between the two Houses. But for the right of the Crown to create new Peers—which he defended, amid some Opposition protests, by citations from Erskine May, Dicey, and Bagehot—there was now no way out of such a deadlock; and the resolution passed in the Lords that a Peer should not necessarily have the right to sit and vote in the Upper House would deal a fatal blow at the Royal prerogative. Apart from this power, which should be exercised only in extreme cases, but then without fear, there were only two possible checks on the Upper House: (1) The Referendum, which he had formerly been inclined to favour, would be unsuited for cases where the two Houses agreed unless it were accompanied by some power of initiative; it would tend to undermine the responsibility and independence of the Commons; and would not really be confined to a single issue. (2) A joint sitting of the two Houses would not be applicable with the existing House of Lords. The Government proposal as to the Lords' Veto was recommended in a more drastic form by John Bright in a speech at Birmingham on August 4, 1884. Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman had modified it; the Government had carried the modification farther, and coupled it with the limitation of the term of Parliament to five years. After replying at length to the argument that its adoption would mean single-chamber government, Mr. Asquith eloquently described how the forms of the Constitution had been adapted to modern needs. Queen Elizabeth in one session vetoed forty-eight Bills out of ninety-one; but the Veto of the Sovereign was dead, yet the Monarchy was far more secure than under the Tudors. But one sterilising factor in the Constitution still remained: the absolute Veto of the House of Lords; it must go, as the Veto of the Crown had gone.

Mr. Balfour, who was loudly cheered on his return to the Parliamentary arena (p. 36), bantered the Government on the divergence of views among their supporters. The Prime Minister had settled down to a moderate approval of the functions of a Second Chamber, provided it had no real power; Sir Edward Grey and the Home Secretary (pp. 56, 62) each took a different view; some Ministerialists desired to abolish it altogether; and, probably

owing to this divergence, the Government had brought forward proposals which would neither mend the evils of the Second Chamber nor end them. If the House of Lords were unfit for its functions, reform it; but the Government could not agree on a reform. That it delayed the legislation of a revolutionary Government was not surprising, but there was no deadlock. Since Mr. Bright's speech of 1884 it had been shown that the House of Lords alone stood between the country and great constitutional changes of which the country profoundly disapproved. Alone among the great countries of the world, we had no written Constitution and no safeguards against violent changes. It was absurd to put dissolution and the creation of Peers on a par. The proposal was an absurd experiment in Constitution making; the House of Lords had, and ought to have, the power to reject Money Bills. To make the Speaker the judge of tacking would make him in a sense the author of legislation, and there was a kind of virtual tacking, by bringing in Money Bills for other than money objects, on which his opinion would not be asked. In all great free self-governing communities there were safeguards, ensuring that measures could be referred to the electors. Moreover, if the Finance Bill were at present voted on, simply upon its merits, every one knew that it would be rejected. It was, therefore, absurd to say that the House of Lords had misused its admittedly very delicate function as to Money Bills. The Government scheme under the second resolution would divide the life of a Parliament into a single-Chamber period—"like Costa Rica"—and a two-Chamber period. It would be a piebald, harlequin Constitution; it was really the coming election—not the past one—that influenced a House of Commons. The Government under this scheme would bring in all their great measures early and would never be able to improve them. The scheme could not survive, and would initiate a Constitutional controversy which would be fatal to all plans of social reform.

Mr. John Redmond (N., *Waterford*) described Mr. Balfour's speech as amusing, but not serious. He enumerated a number of Irish Bills, from Catholic emancipation onwards, which the House of Lords had treated in a way prejudicial to Ireland, and assured the Government of his hearty support of the resolutions. He could not support a reform of the House of Lords, as it would tend to strengthen it. A settlement of a deadlock by a Referendum would cause further delay; the Lords would reject the Referendum Bill, and they would come back to the Royal prerogative. After commenting on Lord Rosebery's denunciation of the action of the House of Lords and of the idea of reforming it in 1894, he expressed regret that the resolutions had not been before the country at the election and urged the Government to press on with them. If the Lords rejected them, let the Prime Minister ask for an assurance from the Crown that Peers would be created, and, if the request were refused, let him go to the country at once.

Mr. Munro Ferguson (L., *Leith Burghs*) supported the resolutions on the understanding that reform of the Lords would follow, but he would have preferred it first. Mr. Barnes (Lab., *Glasgow, Blackfriars*) regarded them as inadequate. A revising Chamber might possibly be necessary for legal or technical purposes, but the Labour party were against a second legislative Chamber. As to safeguards, the danger lay not so much in haste as in stagnation.

Among the other speakers were Mr. Cave (U., *Surrey, Kingston*), who declared that there were no limits to what might be done by a purely Money Bill, and sketched a Finance Bill of four clauses which nationalised the land, the liquor trade, and the railways, and disendowed the Church; and Sir Rufus Isaacs (L., *Reading*), the new Solicitor-General.

The debate was resumed next day (March 30) by Mr. F. E. Smith (U., *Liverpool, Walton*), who dwelt on the disagreement among Ministers and their supporters, and declared that the reformers of the Lords among them were in a negligible minority. The resolution meant that with the House of Commons, as with Lewis Carroll's Snark, "What I say three times is right." The real object of the Government was to give effect to the will of the Radical caucus. Under the new rule the Home Rule Bill could have become law. The Liberals had complained of the Unionist Licensing and Education Acts, yet were stereotyping a system under which Bills equally objectionable could be passed. The Government could not have passed their own Education and Licensing Bills in this Parliament, but they could under this scheme. The Government were proposing to destroy the Second Chamber for delaying a Finance Bill which they dared not re-introduce in the new House of Commons. Were Liberals well advised in committing the House to a policy which would involve two further general elections in the next twelve months? What kind of treatment under these conditions were great social problems likely to receive?

Mr. Simon (L., *Walthamstow*) urged that restriction of the Veto would give time for discussion and reflection. In many of the great controversies of the last half-century—the removal of University tests, the abolition of purchase in the army, the ballot, and contracting out—the action of the House of Lords had been opposed to the popular will. Home Rule was not a fair instance, for it was still the subject of active controversy.

Lord Hugh Cecil said that there was a contrast between the unreality of the debate and the gravity of the issues involved. He contested Mr. Simon's history, and contended that the scheme would overload the first session of a Parliament with legislation, and that a party which had carried its Bills in the first session would never alter them in the second. There was no greater hypocrisy than that of representing the Commons as a free deliberative assembly. Let them look at the fate of Mr. Harold Cox

(p. 15). Up to last December there had been no entry in the Journals of the House—the only constitutional authority—suggesting that the Lords had no right to reject a Money Bill, and its right was borne out by the Colonial Constitutions. The House of Lords did sometimes check a Conservative Government; he would like the check to be stronger. He was surprised that Sir Edward Grey should remain in the Cabinet. He disapproved of an elective system for the First Chamber, and suggested that all the Lords of Parliament should be nominated for life by the King on the advice of the Ministers, and that they should number 400, of whom 350 should be chosen from the hereditary Peers. This would preserve the valuable connection of social rank and public service. The other fifty might include Colonial Ministers, Nonconformist pastors, and other distinguished persons. Such a body would change in character rapidly, and there might in addition be some kind of popular vote. In an eloquent peroration he advocated judicious restoration of the ancient building in conformity with the traditions of the past.

Mr. Birrell, in an amusing speech, said that as a thorough reform of the House of Lords was not yet practicable, the Government were right in dealing with the subject in the way proposed. The Lords had thrown out the Budget to force an election on Tariff Reform, and had now tampered with the hereditary principle because they were told it stood in the way of Tariff Reform in the North. By defining the powers of the Lords they would strengthen them. He knew from experience that the Minister in charge of a Bill had to consider arguments from all quarters of the House; he could not vote them down. The Government proposals would extend, not limit debate. The objection of the hereditary principle was not the strongest. If they dealt with qualifications, there were great difficulties. He was followed by Mr. Wyndham, who urged that the resolution would give Great Britain a Second Chamber unlike that of any other country, would increase the tyrannical power of a Prime Minister, and would make a weak Prime Minister a puppet in the hands of Parliamentary groups. Mr. Ramsay Macdonald (Lab., *Leicester*) denounced the Lords as representing only their own class, and declared himself a Single-Chamber man, remarking that in no British colony did the Second Chamber work, and that as long as there was a bulwark for class interests in the House of Lords only sham social reforms could be passed.

After other speeches the debate was resumed next day, March 31, by Sir R. Finlay (U., *Edinburgh and St. Andrews Universities*), who spoke for more than two hours. He moved an amendment, to the effect that the House was willing to consider proposals for the reform of the existing Second Chamber, but declined to proceed with proposals which would destroy the usefulness of any Second Chamber, and would remove the safeguard against changes

by a Government without the consent, and against the wishes of, the electorate. After strongly attacking Ministerial finance, he declared that there had never been a deadlock between the House of Lords and the country. The Veto resolutions would reduce the House of Lords to legislative impotence. The Government clearly intended that the fetters they were forging should endure for ever. The resolutions marked the triumph of the extreme section of the Cabinet. That the rejection of the Finance Bill by the Lords was legal was admitted; the assertion that it was unconstitutional was unfounded. There was no parallel between the Veto of the Lords and that of the Crown, because the latter would now be exercised through the Ministry. The Lords had referred the Budget to the people, and the result was a clear majority against the Government on the merits of the Finance Bill. The Liberal majority, like Louis XIV., identified itself with the State. He reviewed the precedents, remarking that the earlier ones directly conflicted with the contention that the Lords had no right to reject the Bill, and contended, with many citations from authorities, that the precedents generally established that conclusion. It was said that the right of rejection had lapsed by disuse, but had they ever had such a Budget or such a Chancellor of the Exchequer? He insisted that the Finance Bill involved tacking, and declared in conclusion that an efficient Second Chamber was indispensable.

The Attorney-General (Sir W. Robson) replied that there was no statute preventing the House of Lords from initiating or amending a Money Bill. If they were estopped there by the Constitution, why were they not also estopped by it from rejecting a Finance Bill? The Committee of 1860 had reported that the Lords had never rejected a Bill dealing with finance as distinct from one dealing with the encouragement of trade. Contesting Sir Robert Finlay's interpretation of precedents, he laid great stress on the resolution of 1628, excluding the Lords' assent from the preamble of the Subsidy Bill. The Lords had pleaded custom against the creation of Life Peers. As to tacking, Mr. Balfour had declared that taxes must be imposed for other than financial objects, and Lord St. Aldwyn had declared that there was no tacking in the Finance Bill, and the allegation had not been pressed in the Commons. The resolutions were defensive, not aggressive. If the Lords controlled finance, they could control the Administration and force dissolutions. They would have unlimited power without responsibility. The fortunes of the country would then be entrusted to a Chamber representing one financial interest. Tariff Reform, once imposed, could never be repealed if the Lords could stand in the way. The Opposition might win the next election, but the Lords' Veto would at last have to go.

Mr. Arnold Ward (U., *Watford, Herts*) and Mr. S. L. Hughes (L., *Stockport*)—both new members of whom much was expected—were among the subsequent speakers; and later Mr. Winston

Churchill, Home Secretary, defended the Government scheme. For the first two years after an election, he said, the great controverted questions discussed at it would be prominent. The House of Lords would then have the power of delay; for the next two years they would have a tremendous power of correction and discrimination. For that reason he would like to see that House more fairly constituted as between the two parties; but the Unionist plans would entrench in it a large permanent Tory majority. The Budget would be pressed forward immediately after the Veto resolutions, and he believed both would be carried to the steps of the throne. The Irish members supported the Finance Bill except on certain details irrelevant to the present conflict. He was in favour of two Chambers, but the House of Commons was still dominant. The attempt to extend the Lords' power over finance was dictated by a desire to reverse the great extensions of the franchise of 1867 and 1884, and lessen the share of the wage-earning classes in the Government. He dwelt on the injustice and humiliation inflicted on the majority in the late Parliament, and ascribed to Mr. Balfour (speaking at Nottingham in 1906) and to Sir A. Acland Hood (in a speech at Taunton, Jan. 27) the expression of an intention to rule by means of a permanent majority in the Lords. (Mr. Balfour disclaimed this interpretation, and there was an excited scene in the House.) At any rate it was the truth. Conservatives denied to Scotsmen, Irishmen, Welshmen, and their Liberal fellow-subjects the political rights and responsibilities they claimed for themselves. Against such usurpation the Government had no other policy but war. He ridiculed the independence ascribed to the "backwoodsmen," defended the party system as securing the stability of the State, and pointed out that if the Liberals were permanently kept down, like the Social Democrats in Germany, the ideal of national unity would pass away. The Crown and the Commons acting together must restore the balance of the Constitution.

The debate stood over till Monday, April 4; and meanwhile the political outlook had become more uncertain. Mr. O'Brien claimed that he and Mr. Healy, at an interview with the Chancellor of the Exchequer on March 24, had obtained the promise of important concessions in the reintroduced Finance Bill if the Nationalists would collectively ask for them, but Mr. Redmond had refused to join in doing so. It was thought, however, that the main body of Nationalists might be forced by pressure from their constituents to oppose the Finance Bill after all, in which case, of course, the Government would have to dissolve. Or, if they insisted on and obtained the concessions, the Bill might be delayed; possibly there might even be a Liberal revolt. Again, the Bill would probably be under discussion in the Commons while the Commons' Veto resolutions were before the Lords. The Lords were not bound by precedent to discuss resolutions of

the other House at all, and if they did discuss these, they would almost certainly reject them. In either case, the question would arise, before the Finance Bill had passed the Commons, whether the Government would ask the Crown to promise that the passage of a Veto Bill would be secured by the creation of enough new Peers to force it through. Unless the promise were asked for and granted, the Irish party would oppose and defeat the Finance Bill, and there would be a general election, probably in May.

Under these circumstances special interest attached to the speeches made by the rival Nationalist leaders on Sunday, April 3. It had been announced that Mr. Redmond and Mr. Dillon would "make identical pronouncements"; this had been denied, apparently with authority; but they proved to be in agreement after all. Mr. Redmond, speaking at Tipperary, said that in this, the greatest constitutional crisis for 200 years, everything was trivial compared with success against the House of Lords, the great obstacle to Home Rule. Hence the Irish party had insisted on "Veto first" (p. 24); happily their wish had been carried out, and they were entirely in agreement with the Veto resolutions. They thought, however, that the Finance Bill should not be allowed to pass the Commons till it was known what the Lords proposed to do about the Veto. The Government as a whole were sound, but an influential section were half-hearted. The Lords would reject the Veto resolutions, and there was as yet no explicit declaration that the Prime Minister would ask for guarantees that the Royal prerogative would be at his disposal to overbear the rejection, or that, if the guarantees were refused, the Government would resign. If the Finance Bill were passed before this question were cleared up, the Irish party would have abandoned the one great weapon by which they could force the Ministry to stand to their speeches. An amicable arrangement could be reached as to concessions on the Budget. Mr. Dillon, at Athlone, on the same day, declared that he was in full harmony with Mr. Redmond, and both speakers denounced Mr. O'Brien's allegations. He, on the other hand, was meanwhile denouncing their attitude (at Millstreet, co. Cork) and declaring that Ireland would not have the Irish part of the Budget, and that Mr. Redmond's refusal to join him in pressing for concessions had lost her 1,000,000*l.* a year.

The uncertainty was emphasised by the Prime Minister's answers to questions on Monday, April 4. Pressed by various Unionists as to the probability of changes in the Budget, he replied: "The hon. member had better wait and see." He gave the same answer to questions as to the date of the third reading and the scheme of reform of the other House; and the Ministry was thereupon nicknamed "The Wait and See Government."

It was in these conditions that Mr. Lyttelton (U., *St. George's, Hanover Square*) resumed the debate. He began by severely criticising Mr. Churchill's closing sentences (p. 74), declaring

that his references to the Throne had amazed the House. He laid stress on Mr. Redmond's speech at Tipperary the day before, and declared that it was alike ungenerous and unseemly to impute to His Majesty a policy which he could not disclaim, or to suggest an alliance between the Radicals and the Crown. The Lords merely claimed to act as an "emergency regulator" in finance, and he again defended these rights. Ministers were now called on so often for platform speeches that they were "half-timers" in their own offices. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had had no time to learn his business. Under such circumstances a Second Chamber was more needed than ever. If the Government passed the Veto resolutions and the Budget, did they mean to propose a reform of the Lords as promised in the King's Speech? Timid Liberals had sheltered themselves behind that promise. Let the Foreign Secretary and his friends abide by their policy of reform. After the next election it might be too late.

After other speeches Mr. Gibson Bowles (L., *King's Lynn*) severely criticised the first two resolutions. The Lords might, he thought, have amended the Finance Bill, but in rejecting it they exercised their right abusively. The first resolution greatly extended all previous claims of the Commons. "Money Bill" was a vague term, and there were great difficulties in leaving the decision to the Speaker. If the House of Lords might neither reject nor amend it, why send it there? He saw greater objections to the second resolution; Bills were always changed on reintroduction; the resolution set aside the electorate, with whom the House of Commons might be out of sympathy, and there would be two-House Acts and one-House Acts; would the courts enforce both equally? There was a danger, too, of embroiling the Crown with the Commons. Once practically destroyed, the Lords could not be restored. He did not want the Courts to construe the Constitution. The third resolution, coupled with such a declaration of the rights of the Commons such as that of 1860, would solve the difficulty. He pleaded for compromise and reform.

After further speeches, Mr. Bonar Law wound up the debate for the Opposition. He ridiculed the charge that during the previous four years the Lords had blocked all Liberal legislation. It was disproved by the speeches of Ministers themselves. He contested earlier instances cited of such blocking, and justifying the Lords' rejection of the Budget, said that Ministers had avowed that it was intended to use the powers of finance in a way unknown before. There was not a majority in the House for the Budget; he believed the Government had bought the support of the Nationalists; he was curious to know the price. If, on another appeal to the country, the majority of electors should again condemn the Budget, would the Chancellor of the Exchequer still say that the Lords were not justified in rejecting it? The power now sought would enable a temporary majority to confiscate the pro-

perty of any class obnoxious to it. Under the second resolution a Single-Chamber Government could easily be set up. The majority for the motion should be analysed as well as counted. The Nationalists were supporting it simply as a means to Home Rule. It was an outrage to represent votes so given as the result of a mandate for the destruction of the Constitution. Had Mr. Churchill (p. 74) meant that if the Veto resolutions were rejected by the House of Lords it would be the Prime Minister's duty to ask the Sovereign for guarantees? This was in conflict with the Prime Minister's statement at the opening of the session, and the position had not changed. But was that the price paid for Irish support?

The Chancellor of the Exchequer replied amid manifestations of intense interest. Mr. Bonar Law, he said, had evaded every real issue raised by the resolutions. As long as the Irish vote supported the Unionists, it represented the will of the people; it was only when transferred to the Liberals that it required analysis. The Ministry would stand or fall by the Budget. The Nationalists did not oppose the Budget as a whole and supported the land clauses which caused the Lords to reject it. The fact that they subordinated their approval of it to Home Rule was not a reason for rejecting their votes. The real issue was the existence of a permanent anti-Liberal majority in the House of Lords. He dealt at length with its action since 1900; it accepted contentious Unionist Bills for which there was no mandate, but rejected in the Parliament of 1906 five contentious measures out of six. The Liberal party, representing more than half the electorate, were bound to bring the matter to an immediate issue. Better that they should be out for ten years than to go on with the existing state of things. He ridiculed the fears entertained of Socialism. If the people really wished for revolutionary measures, of what use would be the Lords' Veto? Of what use was the King's Veto in the French Revolution? The Peers were just ordinary party men, and could not be an impartial jury. What sort of reform of the Lords would they get from the Lords unless they had the real power in their hands to carry it through? All our rights of self-government were due to the popular Chamber, the greatest tribunal of justice in the world. Because the power of the House of Lords stood between the people and free institutions he commended the resolution as the first step towards removing the Lords' Veto.

The debate was then closed by 359 to 252 and Sir R. Finlay's amendment rejected by 357 to 250—majority, 107. The resolution was then agreed to. The majority was composed of 256 Liberals, 34 Labour members, and 67 Nationalists, the latter including Mr. T. M. Healy and one other Independent Nationalist. None but Unionists were in the minority. It was generally held that the Ministry had now completely agreed to the demand of the Nationalists that the Crown should be asked for guarantees.

But another phase of uncertainty arose next day. Mr. Asquith, in reply to questions, said that the Budget statement would not be made till after the pending allocation of time to the Veto resolutions had been settled; and, when Mr. Peel (U., *Taunton*) asked if the Finance Bill would be taken from day to day, he again answered, "Wait and see." He then, in moving the "guillotine" resolution for the allocation of time, reminded the House that the Lords had given to the debate on their own resolutions about half the time he proposed to allow, and that the Veto resolutions were not clauses in a Bill, but merely laid down bases for a future Bill, which had already been discussed comprehensively in principle. The time allotted was—to the first resolution, a day and a half; to the second, three days; to the third, half a day. On the Report stage there was to be no discussion. Mr. Balfour replied that in the House of Lords discussion was usually left to the leaders in a degree impossible in the Commons; and that the Government seemed to fail to appreciate the magnitude of the problem. Would the Bill itself be fairly discussed in the Commons? He obtained from Mr. Asquith an assurance that its introduction would not be unreasonably delayed after the Veto resolutions were passed. But if the Constitution were to be destroyed, he said, let the Government at least give it decent burial. Later, in debate, the Ministers were asked whether the Veto Bill would be pressed forward in the Commons after the spring recess. The replies given by the Home Secretary and the Prime Minister were taken to mean that it might be withdrawn if the House of Lords were clearly going to reject it, and the Crown might be asked for guarantees on the basis of the resolutions alone. Their object, Lord Hugh Cecil said, was to precipitate a crisis with the House of Lords. The Attorney-General replied that it would be absurd to continue discussing the Bill in the Commons after they knew it would be rejected by the Lords. The dignity of the House of Commons was at last going to be considered. The Prime Minister, however, stated that the Veto resolutions would be submitted in due course to the House of Lords; and the House settled down to the discussion of amendments extending the time allotted to the various resolutions, but the allocation proposed was maintained unaltered by majorities of over 100 in a House of 400 to 500.

The first resolution (p. 63) was introduced next day (April 6) by Mr. Haldane, who argued that it only gave legal form and sanction to a usage not only well defined, but highly binding. With a Budget the Lords had not and never had had power to interfere. Constitutional literature was obscure on this and other points, but the right to deal with aids and supplies was declared to be a fundamental right by the Commons in 1700. The Commons governed, but did not reign. That was not so in other countries, but with us the essence of the Constitution was Parlia-

mentary control of the administration by the Commons, and therefore control by the Commons of the finance that made that administration effective. Colonial precedents were inconclusive, but with us Ministers were controlled by the Commons, and no agent could look to two Boards of Directors. He went through precedents from 1407, mentioning that no taxation-Bill had been rejected by the Lords before the time of Queen Anne. Subsequently Money Bills were rejected, but only where the financial question was trifling and overridden by some principle. Until 1860 it was established that the Commons had the sole control of raising revenue, and a minority report in that year—when the majority did not pronounce on the point—was signed by Lord John Russell, Mr. Gladstone, and Mr. Bright. He cited Lord Chatham, the Duke of Wellington, Lord Salisbury, and Mr. Balfour, in favour of the principle. The resolution was declaratory of a principle essential to the Constitution. The Speaker was to declare whether a Bill was a Money Bill, and such Bills should go to the Lords for consideration only. He was for two Chambers for general legislation, but the second must revise sympathetically rather than initiate, and should have authority to do so as being the mirror of the mind of the nation. The Veto resolutions and a reconstituted Second Chamber were parts of one organic policy. If the Liberal case were to go by default, the hereditary principle would be entrenched behind a so-called reform of the Lords, and the Unionist party, when in power, would strive to repeal the limitation of the Veto and limit the Royal prerogative to create Peers which was the sole corrective of the Veto. To split up the sovereign authority over finance would paralyse the Executive. He had no fear of revolution or confiscatory finance; the nation was wiser in the long run than any Ministry or any Parliament.

Mr. Austen Chamberlain, in an effective reply, declared that the destructive part of the Government scheme was to be carried, the constructive part only talked about, to salve the consciences of the Secretaries for Foreign Affairs and for War. He contended that Mr. Haldane had twisted the precedents, and asked when the Prime Minister had decided not to proceed with the Bill founded on the Veto resolutions unless they were agreed to by the Lords? Mr. Haldane had laid stress on the sovereignty of the House of Commons; at present, if the representatives of the people expressed plainly their settled will, their decisions must prevail; but the Government wanted to be able to carry on when the will of the country was not clear. He contended for the right of the Lords to reject the Budget, and declared that the resolution went far beyond any previous claims. Did not a non-financial principle override the financial element in the Finance Bill? and if the right to reject, admitted in 1860, had lapsed in 1910, had not the right of the Crown to create Peers to make a majority lapsed after nearly 200 years' disuse? The Government multiplied sham on sham.

Money Bills, as defined in the resolution, covered fourteen subjects and nine-tenths of probable legislation. The Government were seeking to change the Constitution in order to make fundamental changes under cover of Finance Bills.

Later, Sir A. Cripps (U., *Bucks, Wycombe*) argued that the resolution destroyed the taxpayers' security against unjust taxation consisting in the assent of "the Three Estates of the Realm"; Sir William Anson (U., *Oxford University*), after criticising the Attorney-General's speech (p. 72), cited Mr. Lloyd George's article in the *Nation* (ANNUAL REGISTER, 1909, p. 231) in justification of the rejection of the Finance Bill, and argued that the resolution would deprive the public of control over financial policy, and that the duties to be imposed on the Speaker must derogate from his impartiality. The Attorney-General, in reply, went again into the precedents, and contended that the rejection was legal, but not constitutional. Later the debate was suspended for a Tariff Reform debate (p. 82). It was resumed next day, April 7, when Mr. Ramsay Macdonald (Lab., *Leicester*) insisted on the practical, as against the constitutional, arguments for the change. Lord Hugh Cecil said that the power of the House of Commons had passed from the Chamber to the Lobby. The Lords did not grant supplies, but consented to the grant of them by the Commons, and on rare occasions the power of refusal was desirable. He dwelt on the danger of tacking, and argued that all other Second Chambers had some power over finance. Steps might be taken to prevent the Executive from falling under the control of the House of Lords. He deplored the action of the War and Foreign Secretaries in consenting to the division of the "organic whole" which was the Government's plan. After other speeches, Mr. Asquith replied to the challenges thrown out to him. To Mr. Chamberlain he said that the Government's change of plans took place in the first few days of the session. On February 21, he had said that the Government did not intend to submit the resolutions to the Lords, so that a Bill would have been necessary; on February 28, he had said that, to bring the main issue to a conclusion as early as possible, the resolution when assented to by the Commons would be submitted to the Lords. The natural inference was that if the Lords rejected them, it would be useless to ask the House to discuss the Bill. Replying to Sir R. Finlay, he said that the precedents were steps on the road to the affirmation by the Commons of their independence. In 1628 it was established that the Lords had no voice in the grant of taxations; the next step was to deny them any share in the application of such grants, the third was the disappearance of the power of rejection, which had not been exercised on a purely Financial Bill from the Revolution till 1860. If that power existed, why had the Lords ever objected to tacking, and why was there the turmoil of 1860? He cited *inter alia* a speech at Edinburgh on September 27, 1893, by

Mr. Gladstone, and Mr. Balfour's speech in 1907 on the Campbell-Bannerman resolutions, as showing that the power was obsolete (ANNUAL REGISTER, 1893, p. 237; 1907, p. 167). There could not be two masters in finance without destroying the responsibility of the Executive.

Mr. Balfour regarded the Prime Minister's review of precedents as more accurate than those of Mr. Haldane and the Attorney-General, as he only began to falsify history from 1860 onwards. All the statesmen of that time said that the Lords had a clear, living right to reject Money Bills, and it had been reasserted by Earl Spencer and the Marquess of Ripon in 1894, and by the Lord Chancellor and Lord Morley of Blackburn in 1909. He himself in the passage cited had said that the House of Lords was subordinate to the Commons, especially in matters of finance. It ought to remain so; and it had not interfered with the Ministry, but referred the Budget to the people. The House would be most unwise to alter by statute our ancient Constitution.

Mr. Cave (U., *Kingston, Surrey*) then moved an amendment providing that any difference between the two Houses on Money Bills should be determined by a joint session of the members of both Houses. He desired the right of rejection of Finance Bills by the Lords to remain intact, he did not like the referendum, and he thought the reform of the Lords and the relations of the Houses must be dealt with together. The Chancellor of the Exchequer described the proposal as crude and ill-considered, in view of the present numbers of the House of Lords. Mr. Cave had suggested (p. 71) that Budgets might be confiscatory, but, if confiscation ever took place, it would be done more directly. Mr. Gibson Bowles preferred free conferences between the Chambers; Mr. Balfour explained that the members taking part in the joint sessions would be selected by the two Houses respectively; and the amendment was discussed quietly until, when the Solicitor-General was winding up for the Government, Mr. Austen Chamberlain interposed with a point of order, and the proceedings were cut short, after some disorder, by the guillotine. The amendment was rejected by 340 to 239, and the resolution was carried by 339 to 237. Sixty-three Nationalists voted with the Government.

Between Easter and the spring recess, it may here be noted, there were a few parenthetic debates of more or less significance on private members' resolutions. On March 30, Mr. A. Williams (L., *Plymouth*) moved a resolution declaring it expedient to test the principle of proportional representation by allowing municipal boroughs to apply it in the election of their Councils. The principle found general favour on both sides, though Mr. John Burns, speaking for the Government, was not altogether cordial, especially as to the local option contemplated; but he stated that the Government would leave the motion to the House, and it was carried without a division.

Fiscal reform was again discussed on April 6, when Mr. Hamilton Benn (U., *Greenwich*) moved a resolution declaring that foreign tariffs had tended to hinder the development of the trade and industry of the United Kingdom, to aggravate unemployment, and to injure inter-Imperial relations, and that our fiscal system needed alteration to facilitate exports to Protected countries, diminish unemployment, and establish reciprocal Preference within the Empire. He laid stress on the slackness of the British Government in helping traders abroad, on the injury done by hostile tariffs and dumping, and on the value of Colonial preference. Mr. Storey (I.U., *Sunderland*) seconded the resolution and, in an earnest speech, appealed to the Labour party to support Tariff Reform. Sir George Kemp (L., *Manchester, N. W.*) moved an amendment to the effect that hostile tariffs should be fought by free imports, and that any abandonment of the principle of taxation for revenue only and the impositions of taxes on corn, meat, dairy produce and raw materials must increase unemployment and be disastrous. Speaking for the cotton trade, which, he said, employed 600,000 persons directly and 3,000,000 in subsidiary trades, he gave figures showing the enormous advance of England over her competitors, and declared that tariffs would ruin it. Mr. Simon (L., *Walthamstow*), seconding the amendment, commented scathingly on the inconsistencies of Tariff Reformers' arguments, and the amendment was carried, amid some excitement, by 235 to 202—a majority of only 33.

An interesting anticipation of future controversies was afforded by the debate on the second reading of the Prevention of Destitution Bill (Friday, April 8) of ninety-five clauses, embodying the recommendations of the Minority Report of the Poor Law Commission (ANNUAL REGISTER, 1909, p. 11). It provided for the establishment of a Ministry of Labour, for the abolition of Boards of Guardians, and the transfer of provision of public assistance of children, the infirm, aged, and mentally defective, to the County and Borough Councils. Matters affecting unemployment and the regulations of the hours and conditions of labour would be transferred to the Ministry of Labour, who could establish residential and training colonies for the able-bodied unemployed, and detention colonies for the able-bodied who refused to work. Sir R. Price (L., *Norfolk, E.*) moved the second reading, Mr. J. W. Hills (U., *Durham*) seconded it; the rejection was moved by Mr. Ormsby Gore (U., *Denbigh Dis.*), and Mr. Roberts (Lab., *Norwich*) and Mr. Silvester Horne (L., *Ipswich*) supported the Bill. The Nationalists as a body stood aside.

Mr. Balfour deprecated wholesale condemnation of the results of Poor Law administration and feared that County and Borough Councils would be overweighted with new duties. Members should not contrast the two reports, but attend to the vast area of agreement between them. He did not regard the Minority

Report as Socialism, though no doubt it contained much to criticise. He deprecated deferring assistance until the point at which destitution came under the Poor Law, and, touching on the question of cost, he suggested that an authentic document was desirable, showing how much was spent by the community on Poor Law relief, free education, and other matters concerning the working class. The expenditure must largely increase, but on all social experiments we were groping in the dark. He would like to see local varieties in experimentation, which would greatly assist the Government in carrying out the greatest task ever thrown on it, that of remodelling the existing system according to modern ideas. That could not be performed in one Parliament, nor unless the Ministry had the goodwill of the community.

Mr. Asquith declared himself in agreement with Mr. Balfour. He deprecated excessive optimism, but matters had greatly improved in fifty years, and the increased expenditure was due to more humane methods. He agreed that the two Reports should not be set up as rival schemes, but it might be impracticable to carry out all the recommendations on which they agreed; Boards of Guardians would die hard, and he inclined to prefer them to a central authority. The cost of the changes would be 3,000,000*l.*, perhaps 4,000,000*l.* Since the issue of the Reports, old-age pensions, the promise of unemployment and invalidity insurance, labour exchanges, and trade boards, had carried them in the desired direction; so had the circulars to local authorities issued by Mr. Burns, whose administration he highly commended. Vast changes must still be made to ensure that unmerited suffering or misfortune should not entail humiliation reflecting discredit on the State. So far as this was the object of the Bill, it had the sympathy of the Government, but they could not say it ought to pass the House.

Mr. Burns (L., *Battersea*) condemned the scheme of the Minority Report and defended the Guardians; the Poor Law was now administered in a new atmosphere. He laid stress on drink as a cause of pauperism; thought that penal labour colonies were unsuccessful, and regretted that Poor Law children could not be emigrated more freely. The Bill would cost 10,000,000*l.* or 12,000,000*l.*, perhaps 18,000,000*l.* He had tried to take the practical parts of both Reports and apply them at once.

The Bill was talked out.

On the following day, April 9, a new development was revealed in the negotiations between the rival Irish leaders and the Government. Speaking at a meeting of the All for Ireland League at Cork, Mr. William O'Brien referred to the refusal of Mr. Redmond and Mr. Dillon to meet Mr. Healy and himself in conference regarding modifications of the Budget (p. 75), and to Mr. Redmond's denial that any proposal for land purchase had been mooted at his own and Mr. Healy's interview with the Chancellor

of the Exchequer (p. 92), and read a letter from himself to the latter summarising the results of their conversation. These were that, in view of the provisions of the Act of Union, Mr. Lloyd George saw no insurmountable difficulty in relieving Ireland from the increased spirit, licence, stamp, and succession duties, and land taxes as affecting Irish tenant purchasers, and from the land valuation, and was disposed, in view of the unexpected results of the finance clauses of the Land Act of 1909, to make new provisions enabling Land Purchase to proceed as rapidly and successfully as under the Act of 1903; the only condition of these concessions was the consent of the Irish members. After the refusal of Messrs. Redmond and Dillon to meet them, the Chancellor made no positive promises, but said he would have to consult the Cabinet. The loss of these concessions and the block in land purchase were thus the fault of Messrs. Redmond and Dillon. Mr. Lloyd George at once stated to a Press representative that he had never received the letter nor was it read to him, that the statements in it were untrue and that the whole affair was a disgraceful breach of confidence.

The second Veto resolution (p. 63 : Bills other than Money Bills) was discussed in the following week (April 11-14). Mr. Asquith explained that it was devised to prevent the almost chronic evil of deadlocks under a Liberal Government. The Veto would remain untouched, except where the presumption was overwhelming that the Commons' decision represented the will of the people. The effective life of a Parliament would be four years; the Bill must pass the Commons in three sessions. In the first two years the Commons presumably represented the will of the electorate. As to the next two, the third of the three sessions would be preceded by a general election. To become law, the Bill must be the same as that originally passed by the Commons; but if amendments were made by the Lords and accepted by the Commons on its second introduction, it would be regarded as the same Bill, and he thought that if, as the result of conferences between the Houses under their rules or standing orders, it was agreed that the Bill should be introduced in the same form, it might still be considered the same Bill. Mr. Balfour had said that the provisions as to identity might discourage a Government from amending a Bill, but in the first instance it would be the interest of a Government to mould its Bill very carefully, and if a Bill was found to require substantial amendment, he thought it would feel bound to reintroduce it, amended, as a new Bill. They would still be able to pass it in the third session. As to the suggestion of joint sessions he did not wish to prejudge that solution, if and when there was a different Second Chamber. But the House of Lords on its present basis was an anachronism, it could not be got rid of by a single step, and these resolutions were the first and most necessary step to emancipation of the Commons

from thralldom. The Bill would not travel beyond the resolutions, though its preamble would set forth the necessity of a change in the constitution of the House of Lords.

Mr. Long (U., *Strand*) laid stress on the character of the composite majority supporting the Government. The Prime Minister's announcement as to the identity of Bills under the proposed scheme he thought might prove useless or unworkable, and he complained that, while public opinion favoured the introduction of the elective principle for the House of Lords, the resolutions merely deprived that House of all useful power. The time was utterly inopportune, for the Bills rejected by the Lords were not approved of by the country. In 1893-95 the Home Rule Bill would have been passed, and contracting-out of the Workmen's Compensation Act negatived, under this scheme, and yet, as subsequent events had shown, both decisions would have run counter to the popular will. A Government would feel constrained to introduce its Bills in the first session of a Parliament and therefore without due consideration. A Government with a weakened majority would be tempted to log-rolling, and the life of a Parliament would be unduly prolonged. On practical grounds, and for the sake of the Constitution, he opposed the reform.

Several Liberal and Labour speakers on that day and the next supported the Veto only as a preliminary to the abolition, or a drastic reform of the House of Lords; and Mr. Herbert Samuel, Postmaster-General, retaliated on the Unionists for their references to Costa Rica by saying that, as in each of the last four years the Lords had thrown out a first-class measure, the suggestion of appeal to the country meant annual Parliaments, as in the Republic of Salvador.

On the following day, April 12, Mr. Balfour spoke. He began by expressing a hope that words would be introduced into the resolution embodying the Prime Minister's suggestion (p. 84) of conferences, which would make it "less hopelessly irrational" than other parts of the Ministerial scheme. He hinted that it was not more humiliating to the Liberal Government to be dominated by the other House than to be controlled by the Irish Nationalists, and pointed out that with a reformed Second Chamber, as Mr. Birrell had admitted (p. 72), conflicts would be multiplied. Moreover, the resolution would destroy the power of the House of Lords as a guardian of the Constitution. We were putting the Constitution into writing, but no nation with a written Constitution left it without safeguards against sudden changes by a temporary majority. We had got on without legislative safeguards against such changes, because we had two Chambers, one of which had power to cause the people to be consulted. This power the Government proposed to destroy without putting anything in its place. The resolution strengthened the House of Lords for what Liberals did not want it to do, and weakened it for what they did want it to do.

Mr. Winston Churchill, Home Secretary, replied to Mr. Balfour that in 1867 the Conservative Government had made a great constitutional change without any check from the House of Lords. Mr. Balfour's statement that the power of that House would be increased was incompatible with the assertion of the Unionist party managers that the resolutions meant single-chamber government. The bargaining power of the Lords would be greatly augmented, and machinery for conferences would be provided either in the Bill or in the policy arising out of the Bill. Such augmented powers could only be entrusted to a reformed Upper House. The Unionists made much of Liberal suggestions of such a House, but the Liberals meant a Second Chamber subordinate to the House, and thoroughly democratic in its foundation. Some supporters of the Ministry wished to see the House of Lords in its existing form swept away, others would stop at the limitation of the Veto, but this difference would not help the party opposite. The Veto proposals were a trifle compared with the existing control of the country by a Cabinet based on one House. Checks on democratic legislation, he argued at length, were found in the multiplicity of interests in the country, and the powerful interests which restrained Liberal efforts were on the side of reactionary change in the fiscal system and the constitution of the House of Lords. The Liberal grievance was that their labours should be nullified by intrigues at Lansdowne House. If the resolutions were passed there would be no violent results; the Veto of the Lords would pass away as painlessly as that of the Crown. The danger would come if they were rejected; the Unionists would be committed to a policy of repeated dissolution, in order to break financially the organisation of their opponents. They would eventually be driven to raise money without the consent of Parliament, and to administrative action without the sanction of the law. If they lost, these moderate proposals would not necessarily be at their disposal; if they won, they would have driven half the nation outside the pale of the Constitution.

Later, Mr. J. F. Hope (U., *Sheffield, Central*) moved an amendment excluding from the operation of the resolution Bills affecting the Constitution and powers of the Lords; Mr. J. A. Pease (Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster) opposed it, and Mr. Austen Chamberlain declared that the Government desired to prevent the House of Lords from appealing to the country, and making the Commons omnipotent. Mr. Churchill replied that if the resolutions were carried the Government would feel free to use them to get a better Second Chamber. Sir H. Dalziel asked if the Veto resolutions would apply to a reformed Second Chamber, and, no Minister replying, Lord Hugh Cecil compared the Government to thimble-riggers, and declared that their policy of reform was a sham and a fraud. The amendment was rejected by 302 to 193.

The next two days were occupied with other amendments, but

all were rejected. The debates hardly need detailed notice. An amendment, moved on April 13 by Earl Winterton, excluding Bills affecting the duration of Parliament, was supported on the ground that a Parliament might easily repeal the Septennial Act, and make either itself, or the control of the party predominant in it, perpetual. The amendment was rejected by 317 to 188. The Marquess of Tullibardine (U., *Perthshire, W.*) then moved to exclude Bills affecting the Parliamentary franchise. This, like the previous amendment, was met by Mr. Churchill with the argument that a majority which controlled the existing House of Lords could, under existing conditions, do what the amendment was intended to preclude, and was rejected after an hour's debate by 273 to 138. Mr. J. F. Hope moved the exclusion of Bills affecting the Royal prerogative, and the discussion, interrupted for that on the Osborne judgment (p. 90), was resumed on April 15. The Opposition feared that the Royal prerogative might be at the mercy of "single-chamber government" if, for example, the Crown should be thought likely to dismiss a dominant Ministry possibly out of touch with the country. Mr. Churchill said that the Government would accept no amendments narrowing their scheme; the Royal prerogative was exercised on the advice of Ministers responsible to the Commons, and the interests of the Crown rested on the sure foundation of the suffrages of the nation. Mr. Balfour again insisted on the danger of admitting the supremacy of a Government over the whole constitutional machinery, and eventually the amendment was rejected by 328 to 217.

On the next amendment there were stormy scenes. Mr. Chambers (U., *Belfast, S.*) moved to exclude Bills for the delegation of administrative or legislative powers to subordinate Parliaments within the United Kingdom. Mr. Churchill replied that a Home Rule Bill passed under the safeguards proposed in the resolutions would embody the settled will and convictions of the majority of the electorate, and that the Unionists could pass one under the existing system. Compared with the grant of a Constitution to South Africa, with which, fortunately, the Opposition had had no power to interfere, a Home Rule Bill was less important and less grave. Great changes had taken place in Ireland since 1886, and the new generation would not be scared by the nightmares and bugbears of a vanished past. Home Rule, in the opinion of the Government, would conduce enormously to the strength, unity, and prosperity of the Empire.

Sir E. Carson (U., *Dublin University*) declared that if the Unionists were as corrupt as Mr. Churchill seemed to think, they could defeat the resolutions and the Budget by a mere promise of a Home Rule Bill. The Ministerial dealings with the Nationalists showed the danger of party bargaining if the Lords' Veto were abolished. The Government would not dare to put Home Rule before the country as the only issue, but under their bargain

with the Nationalists they wanted to sneak through a Home Rule Bill without the people having an opportunity to express its opinion. The term Home Rule covered all sorts of alternatives and unsolved difficulties, and he ridiculed the idea that it was a small thing in comparison to the grant of a Constitution to South Africa. The Irish Unionists asked that such a Bill should not be smuggled through by a procedure under which the people could not express their deliberate opinion.

Mr. Asquith rose to explain the intentions of the Government in the event of a defeat of the Veto resolutions in the House of Lords, but the Chairman, on an appeal from Mr. Balfour, ruled that it could not be made except by general consent, and Mr. Balfour refused his consent to the making of a controversial statement when it could not be debated. There were noisy demonstrations from both sides. The guillotine now descended; the amendment was rejected by 351 to 245, and the resolution carried by 351 to 246. The third resolution, tending to limit the duration of Parliament to five years, was moved by Mr. Runciman, who mentioned that the term was a compromise between the triennial and septennial periods; the five years would practically be four. Sir William Anson and other members criticised the proposal, which was carried after a debate of two and a half hours under closure by 334 to 236. On Report, as previously arranged, there was no debate, and the resolutions were affirmed respectively by 340 to 242, 346 to 243, and 347 to 244.

The Bill founded on the resolutions was then introduced by Mr. Asquith, amid enthusiastic Liberal cheering. Afterwards, on the adjournment, he made the statement, cut short earlier by Mr. Balfour, of the intentions of the Government. After again contending that the resolutions were backed by the majority of the nation and were the condition of the effective existence of the Government, he announced that if the Lords rejected or declined to consider the Government policy, Ministers would at once feel bound to advise the Crown as to the steps necessary if that policy was to receive statutory effect in this Parliament. It would not be right to state at that moment the precise terms of that advice; but, if the Government were not in a position to ensure that statutory effect should be given to that policy in the existing Parliament, they would either resign or recommend a dissolution, and would not recommend a dissolution except under such conditions as to ensure that in the new Parliament the judgment of the people as expressed at the election would be carried into law. Mr. Balfour characterised this statement as the culmination of the long negotiation between the Nationalists and the Government. He denounced the anticipation by months of the prospective advice to the Crown—which was nothing short of suggesting the destruction of the Constitution—as going beyond the idea of duty of any previous Prime Minister: “He has bought the Irish vote for his

Budget, but the price paid is the dignity of his office." During both these speeches there was great excitement, and on the adjournment a Nationalist and a Unionist member almost came to blows.

The Unionist Press echoed Mr. Balfour's denunciation, though on the Liberal side it was pointed out that the "surrender" was really due to the pressure of the Liberal rank and file; and Mr. Asquith, in a letter to *The Times* of April 18, contradicted its statement that he had had a private interview with Mr. Redmond before his declaration in the debate of April 14. Lord Rosebery (April 16) in a letter to *The Times* urged Unionists to drop Tariff Reform for the approaching general election and concentrate against Single-Chamber Government. His appeal was endorsed by the Marquess of Salisbury, Professor Dicey, Viscount Halifax, and other Unionists, but rejected by others, including Lord Ridley, as President of the Tariff Reform League.

The publication of Lord Rosebery's appeal, it may be noted, coincided with another shock to the Tariff Reformers, given by Mr. Balfour's declaration in a published letter (to Mr. Courthope, M.P.) in favour of the free importation of wheat grown within the Empire—a step unfavourably received by the *Morning Post*.

In a speech at a luncheon given by the United Club at De Keyser's Hotel on April 13, Mr. Balfour, after a vigorous attack on the Veto policy of the Government, had again urged that a reformed House of Lords should contain an element elected from outside, but should not be made purely elective, or it would strive for supremacy over the Commons.

The further resolutions put down by Lord Rosebery on the same day did not necessarily imply even partial election from outside. They were: "I. That in future the House of Lords shall consist of Lords of Parliament: (a) chosen by the whole body of hereditary Peers from among themselves, and by nomination by the Crown; (b) sitting by virtue of offices and qualifications held by them; (c) chosen from outside. II. That the term of tenure of all Lords of Parliament shall be the same, except in the case of those who sit *ex officio*, who would sit so long as they hold the office for which they sit." The resolutions were not debated till November 17 (*post*, p. 131, and Chapter V.).

Nearly a fortnight later, on April 25, a further and independent attempt towards the reform of the House of Lords was made by the veteran Earl of Wemyss, who moved a resolution declaring it desirable that "important trading and other representative societies" should each name three members of the existing Peerage in each Parliament to speak and act on their behalf on questions in which they were interested. A list of twenty-one very various societies approving the proposal included the Royal Academy, the Royal College of Physicians, the Manchester Oddfellows' Friendly Society, the Shipping Federation, the Surveyors' Institute, and

the London Chamber of Commerce. Viscount Morley of Blackburn described the proposal as a pill against an earthquake; and the Marquess of Lansdowne, while treating it as right in principle, thought it impracticable and unnecessary. It was dropped; but it was a sample of the proposals ventilated in the Press.

In an interval of the Veto debate, the political disabilities imposed on trade unions by the judgment in the case of "*Osborne v. the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants*" (ANNUAL REGISTER, 1908, p. 235) were brought before the Commons on April 13, when Mr. J. W. Taylor (Lab., *Durham, Chester-le-Street*) moved, and Mr. W. E. Harvey (Lab., *Derbysh., N.E.*) seconded, a resolution declaring that the right of trade unions to send representatives to Parliament and administrative bodies, and to provide for their election and maintenance, enjoyed for over forty years and taken from them by the decision, should be restored. Sectional and trade interests of other kinds, the mover argued, were represented in Parliament, and at present trade union representation could be paralysed by a minority of one-eighth. Mr. Pringle (L., *Lanark, N.W.*) had put down an amendment in favour of payment of members and election expenses out of public funds, and advocated this course, declaring that the Osborne case had been brought about by the Labour attacks on Mr. Bell, M.P. (ANNUAL REGISTER, 1909, p. 217). Were the resolution passed, a Trade Unionist dissentient might lose benefits for which he had paid, or even be driven from employment. Other corporations, such as railways, would subsidise members if Trade Unions could do so. Mr. Vivian (L., *Birkenhead*) proposed to add a proviso retaining trade-union benefits for those who refused the contributions in question, and argued that a Tariff Reform or Roman Catholic Trade Unionist had a right to object to subscribing to the Labour party, which supported Free Trade and secular education. Mr. Sherwell (L., *Huddersfield*) seconded. The Attorney-General, after remarking that the Government must devote this session to constitutional questions, dealt with various aspects of this question, remarking that the judgments of the House of Lords had gone far beyond the arguments, and might possibly require legislative restriction; he favoured Mr. Vivian's view and suggested payment of members as a solution. Mr. Shackleton earnestly appealed to the House to pass the resolution without the amendment, and declared that Labour members were free to vote independently where Labour interests were not involved. A closure motion was refused, and the resolution was talked out.

The Temperance (Scotland) Bill passed its second reading on April 15 by 165 to 52. It had been amended in a Grand Committee in 1909, but abandoned (ANNUAL REGISTER, 1909, pp. 30, 223). Substantially, it proposed that, after five years from its passing, local option should be applied in Scotland to the exist-

ence or limitation of the numbers of public houses, that from May 28, 1910, the hour of opening should be 10 A.M., and that certain restrictions should be imposed on the situation, management, and membership of clubs. The debate added nothing to that of 1909. The Government viewed the Bill favourably, and it passed a Standing Committee, but the subsequent political developments deferred it once more.

A brief notice must also be given to several debates of general interest in the House of Lords at this time. A suggestion on March 31 by Lord Brassey that ships removed from the effective list of the Navy, but still serviceable, might be put in reserve for port defence and gunnery training in colonial harbours was met unfavourably both by Earl Cawdor and, on the part of the Government, by the Earl of Granard; and an attack by Lord Rosebery (April 5) on the Government for non-collection of income tax covered the same ground and was met in the same way as in the Commons. A more interesting debate took place on April 5, when the Earl of Denbigh asked the Government not to charge the countervailing excise duty on home-grown beet sugar, which was believed, though doubtfully, to be requisite under the Sugar Convention Act. Sugar beet, he pointed out, was actually being grown in England for shipment to Dutch factories; were the duty not charged, a new industry would be started, and the loss to the revenue, 750,000*l.* annually, would largely come back in income tax and through the prevention of unemployment. Lord Denman replied for the Government that a subsidy would be preferable to the remission of duty, and that assistance might be given from the Development Grant. The Marquess of Lansdowne suggested that an allowance should be made, as in the case of Irish tobacco; and Earl Carrington intimated that industries would be assisted otherwise than through the manipulation of duties.

On the aeronautical side of national defence an important statement was elicited from the Government by Lord Montagu of Beaulieu on April 13. He pointed out that the latest Zeppelin dirigible could carry thirty-four men, of whom four sufficed to work it; the weight of the remainder could be replaced by explosives, to be used in a newly designed pneumatic gun which could hit buildings with considerable accuracy from above. We had only a "baby" machine. The length of dirigibles had increased to 450 ft., their carrying capacity to forty men, their speed to forty miles an hour, their cost in Germany to 24,000*l.* Aeroplanes had reached a height of 984 feet and a speed of forty-eight miles an hour, and had traversed a distance of 145 miles; the time they could remain aloft had risen to 4 hours 17 minutes. In 1911 we should have only five dirigibles, less than any first-class European Power except Spain; we were waiting to see what other nations were doing. In this department like must be met with like.

In reply, Lord Lucas of Crudwell stated that, while the Government was not then experimenting with aeroplanes, one large rigid dirigible was being constructed for the Navy, and a second might be available in twelve months. For Army purposes one large non-rigid dirigible existed, another was in construction. Two foreign airships were coming over (*post*, Chronicle, Oct. 26), and, if satisfactory, would be purchased by the War Office. The Admiralty were carefully watching all experiments and spending 35,000*l.*, the War Office 71,000*l.* The Government would develop their policy considerably when it was established that aviation was of real practical use in war.

The Liberal party and its allies having now been pacified and reunited, Mr. Asquith on Monday, April 18, moved a guillotine resolution allotting time to the various stages of the reintroduced Finance Bill of 1909. A day and a half were allowed for the preliminary resolutions, two for the second reading debate, and one for that on the third reading, which was fixed for the Wednesday in the following week. The Prime Minister admitted that the allotment of time to a Finance Bill was unprecedented, but that of 1909 had had the fullest discussion on record, and the proposals now made were essentially the same. Some of the textual alterations (*post*, p. 97) were the results of communications with Irish members—of which he was not in the least ashamed—in order to secure effective drafting. The Government had adhered strictly to his assurances of February 21 (p. 23). The time-table would enable the House to approve or disapprove the Budget as a whole and to amend the alterations. The fortunes of the Government, and possibly of the Liberal party, were bound up with the Budget, and the House had to decide whether by this resolution it would give them the power to carry out their declared purpose.

Mr. O'Brien (Ind. Nat., *Cork City*) gave his account of the negotiations between himself and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who had charged him with a breach of confidence (p. 84). After a bitter reference to the alleged Ministerial bargain with Mr. Redmond, he said that on February 22 a high Government official had asked him to develop the views he had expressed in the debate. Subsequently (apparently about March 12) he and Mr. Healy had met Mr. Lloyd George by invitation in the house of an eminent Liberal, and Mr. Lloyd George had stated that they were agreed both on the Budget and on the steps to be taken for stimulating Irish land purchase. The Chancellor had promised to interview other Irish members, and Mr. Redmond had disclosed the results and attacked him. In a second interview with Mr. Lloyd George (March 24), after the leaders of the main Nationalist body had made it plain that they would not meet the dissentients, he had read to the Chancellor a letter drafted for publication setting forth the facts. The Chancellor denied that the letter was read, so the

issue of truthfulness was raised. If the Chancellor had decided that the Irish votes should be bargained for at the expense of the King rather than the Treasury, that was his affair. The eminent Liberal in question had also heard the letter, without questioning the account of the interview or the proposal to publish. At the second interview the proposals in regard to land purchase were discussed, and their submission to financial experts contemplated, and yet a few hours later at the Gladstone League (p. 67) the Chancellor had violently attacked the Land Purchase Act of 1903. Mr. O'Brien went at length into the Chancellor's imputations on his accuracy, and said that if he, and not Mr. Redmond and his friends, were charged with breach of confidence, it was only because he was not the master of seventy votes.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer said that Ministers had always had to meet members of all parties informally, and such interviews were always treated as confidential. He had carried the practice further than his predecessors, with both members and non-members of the House, and had never before been given away. He gave his own version of the interview, declaring that he had always opposed the Land Purchase Act of 1903, and had stopped Mr. O'Brien in his reading, saying that he could make no promises. He had no recollection of the reading of a letter. He had been influenced in his intercourse with Irish members not only by natural concern for the Budget, but because he viewed with horror the prospect of a quarrel between the Irish and the English democracy. Amid sympathetic Liberal cheers, he asked the House to declare that his part in the transaction, an honourable transaction, had been perfectly truthful.

Mr. John Redmond followed. After defending himself against the charge of breach of confidence, he said, amid cheers and counter-cheers, that he would support the motion. He could make allowances for the chagrin of "the friends of the House of Lords and the enemies of Ireland" at finding that their hopes of a division of the democratic forces were disappointed. The Irish members believed that all Budgets since the Union, and especially since 1853, were unjust to Ireland, but the only remedy was Home Rule. This Budget the Irish party had not opposed as a whole, and they had obtained valuable concessions. The Budget of 1910-11 had yet to be produced, and he hoped, while not asking for a bargain, that the Chancellor would take into account any proposals made for reducing the taxation of Ireland. The Nationalists regarded the merits or demerits of the Budget as trivial compared with the abolition of the Lords' Veto, and, after the Prime Minister's statement of April 14 (p. 88), he felt that to postpone the Budget would be to use it as a weapon against the abolition of that Veto. Once that Veto was out of the way, the Nationalists and the Government held that there would be Home Rule for Ireland, and a National party meeting of sixty-five members that day had

unanimously decided actively and enthusiastically to support the Government. The party had given no guarantee to the Government and there was absolutely no bargain. He welcomed the union of the democracies in support of the greatest reform for two centuries.

Mr. Balfour, dismissing the personal controversy with a declaration that private interviews with Ministers were both necessary and confidential, denied that there was any special sacredness about Money Bills. But the House consisted largely of new members, returned to object to this Budget. "Ramming the Budget through" had come to mean "a slow and tedious process of dexterous diplomacy." It was comic to see the "People's Budget" amid such difficulties; but, with a willing buyer and a willing seller, it was probable there would be a bargain. Mr. Redmond and Mr. Asquith disclaimed the word "bargain"; at any rate, two people who had an interest in working together were going to do something they severally disliked in order to work together. It was very like a bargain. He denounced the Government for giving up great Constitutional traditions and maxims and dragging in the Sovereign's name.

Mr. Asquith, replying by leave of the House, denied absolutely that there was any bargain or *quasi* bargain. There was no inconsistency in his statement regarding the relations between the Crown and the Ministry on the first night of the session and on April 14, and he declared that his language on the latter occasion had been settled without consultation with Mr. Redmond. It represented the considered and deliberate judgment of the Government.

Mr. T. Healy (Ind. N., *Louth, N.*) said that the Irish party were out for bargains; his complaint was that the Prime Minister had "sized up" Mr. Redmond as a man without political backbone, and that the latter had not made a bargain. He ridiculed Mr. Redmond's tactics, and said that his own crime and Mr. O'Brien's was that they had tried to strike a bargain, and failing it, would vote against the Government.

Later, Mr. Pretyman (U., *Chelmsford, Essex*) traversed the statement that the new and the old Finance Bill were identical, and Mr. F. E. Smith caused a scene by charging the Prime Minister with being false to his word, and also denounced the Home Secretary for bringing the name of the Crown into politics. Ultimately the resolution, slightly amended, was passed by 345 to 252.

Accordingly, the Budget statement for 1909-10 was made next day, April 19, in Committee of Ways and Means. On the resolution imposing the Land Value duties, Mr. Lloyd George reviewed the financial situation. In Customs and Excise, he said, there was a deficiency of 5,500,000*l.*, due partly to the non-collection of the proposed additional duties on liquor licences and motor cars, but the receipts from spirit duties had declined by 2,800,000*l.* and those from tea by 131,000*l.* The latter decline was entirely due to forestall-

ments, the former partly to these and partly to trading with low revenues of stock, but also to a striking diminution in consumption, which he estimated at 22 per cent. Of the death duties the actual yield had been 21,766,000*l.* against an estimate of 21,450,000*l.*, and there were arrears of 1,380,000*l.* On Stamps the rejection of the Budget accounted for a loss of 600,000*l.*; had the additional duties been collected, there would have been a surplus of 450,000*l.* The estimate of the yield from land taxes and inhabited house duty would be realised; the loss on income tax due to the rejection of the Budget might be 350,000*l.* The actual receipts were 13,295,000*l.*; it was hoped to collect another 23,455,000*l.* Of the land value duties he hoped to receive 490,000*l.* in respect of the past year. The Post Office receipts were 23,030,000*l.* against his estimate of 22,400,000*l.*; the Suez Canal receipts 1,269,000*l.* against 1,166,000*l.*, and the miscellaneous receipts 1,687,000*l.* against 1,394,000*l.* The yield from tobacco had substantially come up to the estimate. For the past year the expenditure was 157,945,000*l.*, the revenue 131,697,000*l.*, but the realised deficit (26,248,000*l.*) would be more than made up out of the arrears of the revenue which would have been collected in 1909 had the Budget passed, and which he confidently hoped would be collected before the borrowings became due. The arrears he hoped to collect were: Spirits, 304,000*l.*; tea, 1,000*l.*; tobacco, 106,000*l.*; liquor licences, 2,100,000*l.*; motor car licences, 260,000*l.*; death duties, 1,380,000*l.*; land taxes and inhabited house duty, 1,940,000*l.*; income tax, including supertax, 23,455,000*l.*; land value duties, 490,000*l.*,—total, 30,036,000*l.* After deducting payments to local authorities and the Road Board the balance would be 29,211,000*l.*, and, deducting the realised deficit, a balance would be left of 2,962,000*l.*—Had the Budget passed, this would have been 1,300,000*l.* more—a total of 4,200,000*l.* For four months the finances of the country had been thrown into confusion, 1,300,000*l.* had been lost through delay, there had been trade depression, and yet debt had been reduced by over 3,000,000*l.* and they were left with a balance of 2,900,000*l.* No other fiscal system could have borne so triumphantly so severe a strain.

Mr. Austen Chamberlain commended the co-operation of the traders, the Opposition and the Government to minimise inconvenience, and thought an income-tax resolution would have been met by the public with similar co-operation. The realisation of the Chancellor's estimates as a whole was remarkable, but the yield of the death duties had been underestimated. When they were high the country was living on capital, and there was increased evasion and avoidance. As to whisky, the Chancellor's expectations had been woefully disappointed, and the trade and subsidiary industries had been greatly injured. He had better have adhered to the old duty. The proposed concession, giving further protection to agricultural land, was a fraud and a sham.

In the subsequent discussion Mr. Gibson Bowles (L.) advocated a direct land tax, and thought that the death duties and income tax were too steeply graduated; there was considerable discussion of the land duties, which Mr. Steel-Maitland (U.) maintained would lead to overcrowding and interfere with the operation of the Housing and Town Planning Act, and Mr. Maurice Healy, as a Dissident Nationalist, declared that almost every provision in the Budget had been framed with malignant ingenuity to hit Ireland hard. Mr. Hobhouse, Financial Secretary to the Treasury, in a general reply, denied that the death duties were reducing the national capital; the income of the country was increasing, and the amount of capital which had come under review for death duties had risen from 202,000,000*l.* to 230,000,000*l.* He reprobated depreciation of the national credit, pointing out that within the past four or five months 41,000,000*l.* had been raised on Treasury Bills at an average rate of interest of $3\frac{1}{2}$ to $3\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. What other country could have done this, and what country, except Japan, was paying off its debt? Most countries were balancing their Budgets by borrowing. It was a fallacy to suppose that the export of capital decreased national wealth.

Resuming the debate next day Mr. Dillon said that the Opposition and the Dissident Nationalists were angry because his own followers and the Liberal party were co-operating for the advancement of the liberties of the democracy in Great Britain and Ireland. There was no bargain, but no party need be ashamed of a bargain, especially the Nationalists, who were there to bargain, and had no desire or hope of office. He regretted that there was no bargain; in 1886-92 there had been constant bargains between the Government and the Unionist leaders. The *Morning Post* had recently offered Ireland the equivalent of 4,000,000*l.* in remission of taxation; if they offered to buy up the Home Rule movement at this price, the Nationalist leaders would be bound to consider it; but even for that sum he would not sell Home Rule. The Nationalists had abstained from voting on the third reading of the Finance Bill in 1909, first, because most of their grievances had been removed during the debates; next, because they were not going to help the Lords in a conflict which might lead to Home Rule. The concessions they wanted would be got in the next year, whatever party was in power, and the Budget would impose on Ireland an additional charge, not of 2,000,000*l.* as the Dissident Nationalists declared, but of 480,000*l.* [Mr. Lloyd George said 435,000*l.*]

Mr. Campbell (U., *Dublin University*) urged with some force that, in spite of the Government amendment, all the value of agricultural land above the mere agricultural value would be subject to the duty; Mr. McKenna replied that the tax would be payable only on the building value in so far as this exceeded the agricultural value. The Irish would pay a smaller percentage of the Budget than ever before—435,000*l.* in the past year—and would

receive in old-age pensions and other grants 2,860,000*l.* Sir F. Banbury had ascribed the fall in Consols [from 85 to about 81] to the Budget, but he had forgotten the rumour of Tariff Reform. Mr. McKenna went on to ridicule the contention that the undeveloped land duty would increase overcrowding; when the country understood the Budget policy it would endorse the action of the Government.

Mr. Balfour contested at some length the contention that the Bill did not tax agricultural land. If a holding with agricultural value 50*l.* was raised to 80*l.* value by intensive cultivation and then to 100*l.* by the demand for building land, the tax would be levied on the whole increase. Viscount Helmsley then moved an amendment, taxing only land "other than land used for agriculture"; the Chancellor of the Exchequer replied that the amendment would enable land near towns to escape duty altogether, and so would multiply the proposed land taxes, and, after a reply from Mr. Balfour, the amendment was rejected by 334 to 248. Certain of the resolutions, as previously provided, were put in groups. The land values group was passed by 335 to 249, the liquor licence group by 333 to 248, the death duties group by 331 to 248, the income-tax resolution without a division, the stamp duties resolution by 328 to 244, the group relating to the customs and excise duty on alcoholic liquors by 321 to 235, the tea and tobacco group by 315 to 83, and the rest without a division.

The Finance Bill was then introduced. The changes in it were relatively trifling, and were mainly due to the consequences of its rejection by the Lords. An additional attempt (*post*, p. 103) was made to ensure the exemption of purely agricultural value from the new land taxes; tenancies under the Irish Land Acts were expressly exempted from these taxes, and there were certain changes in date; in particular, excise liquor licences which should have expired on December 31, 1909, were continued till June 30, 1910, and the duty on certain licences was made retrospective for 1910. The clause reducing the debt charge to 24,500,000*l.* annually was deleted, and collections of duty on the scale of the Act before its passage were legalised.

Memories of another Irish grievance were aroused a little later by an echo of the old and bitter controversy on "Parnellism and Crime." Sir Robert Anderson, who had been connected with the secret service work of the Home Office in 1887 and had been made Director of Criminal Investigation in 1888, had mentioned casually, in some reminiscences of his official life published in *Blackwood's Magazine* for April, that he was the author of three of the articles published under that title by *The Times* in 1887. The matter was brought before the House of Commons by two Nationalists, Mr. MacVeagh (*Down*, S.) and Mr. John Redmond, on April 11, the latter asking whether Sir Robert Anderson had assisted *The Times* in 1888 and 1889, whether the then Government was a

party to such action, and whether an inquiry would be made. Mr. Asquith replied that in 1889 Sir Robert Anderson had placed certain documents at Le Caron's disposal, but without the previous knowledge or consent of the Home Secretary (Mr. Matthews, afterwards Lord Llandaff), who did not know of his authorship of the articles; that such authorship was contrary to the rules of the Civil Service, and under existing conditions inconceivable; he strongly condemned it, but thought an inquiry useless. The matter was discussed on the Vote on Account on April 21. Sir Robert Anderson had meanwhile explained (in *The Times*) that his three articles were intended to avert a dynamite outrage in Westminster Abbey at the Queen's Jubilee in 1887, and that the documents referred to were not Home Office papers; he had also appealed in vain to Mr. Asquith, through *The Times*, for relief from the obligation to reticence regarding his secret service work, so as to facilitate his defence. Mr. T. P. O'Connor (N., *Scotland, Liverpool*) moved to reduce the vote by 900*l.*, the amount of Sir R. Anderson's pension, in view of that gentleman's violation of Civil Service traditions. He sketched his career unfavourably, and suggested that though he only wrote three articles, he inspired the others, which were followed up by the forged letters, the whole being intended to associate Mr. Parnell and the Nationalist members with Irish crime. Had Sir R. Anderson's share in the articles been known at the time of the Parnell Commission a very different complexion would have been put on the case. The documents in question had been entrusted to Houston and Le Caron, the purchaser of the forgeries and the *agent provocateur*. He closed by saying that the two policies were that of the Coercion Act of 1887, founded on the revelations—the policy of the spy, the informer, and the forger; and the policy of giving equal rights to Ireland.

Mr. Winston Churchill severely censured the policy which had led up to the Special Commission, which, he declared, was resorted to by the Government of the day as a means of striking at their political opponents. But, leaving these larger questions, the first charge against Sir Robert Anderson was that he wrote the articles in question; had this been known at the time, he ought to have been dismissed at once, as he had not obtained the sanction of his official superiors; the second, which he had always denied, was that he had assisted *The Times* in preparing its case; the third was that in his articles in *Blackwood* he had dealt with confidential matters relating to the Metropolitan Police; but these revelations, apart from that of the authorship of the articles and various spiteful personalities, were trivial. Two of the charges lay in the remote past, and the authorship was only disclosed by "the garrulous indiscretion of advancing years." As to the third, the articles were written in the style of "How Bill Adams won the Battle of Waterloo." Sir Robert Anderson had been called on, and had promised to restore documents which were public property, and

he himself had decided that it would be attaching too much importance to the articles to revoke the pension.

Mr. Balfour described Mr. O'Connor's speech as an attempt to reopen the controversy on "Parnellism and Crime." On his own head, as the sole survivor in the Commons of the Government at that time, all the responsibility had accumulated. But he defended the appointment of the Commission. Mr. Parnell was dissuaded from bringing an action against *The Times* for libel, and a Special Commission was a much better tribunal than a Committee of the Commons. But for the Commission nothing would have ever been known about the forged letters, and there would have been no means of obtaining findings on the other points arising out of a movement which at one end used the most atrocious methods. As to the special case of Sir Robert Anderson, he agreed both with the decision of the Government and with the general principle that there should be no disclosures by Civil Servants, a principle which, he thought, might be made the condition of a pension.

Mr. Asquith, who had been one of Mr. Parnell's counsel before the Commission, said that the real grievance in the case was that the letters were not taken first. He did not believe that the then Home Secretary or the Chief Secretary for Ireland could have sanctioned the visits of agents of *The Times* to convicts in their cells. He strongly condemned Sir R. Anderson's action, and thought it time to reconsider the conditions of pensions.

After other speeches, Mr. J. Redmond asked the Government to leave the decision to the House. He insisted, in contradiction to Mr. Asquith, that the police and others who went to get revelations from convicts in prison for *The Times* must have done so with the authority of the Government. He made no appeal to the Commons to expunge the record of the transaction in connection with the Commission from their journals; but the Nationalist party would take the opportunity of condemning a foul conspiracy against the liberties and lives of the representatives of a nation.

Up to this point the debate had been comparatively calm, but Mr. Campbell (U., *Dublin University*), in directing attention to the sources of the evidence before the Parnell Commission, was understood to say, "Apart from the question of the privacy of Mr. Parnell to the terrible murders in the Phoenix Park." This set up a furious Nationalist demonstration and a prolonged scene, Mr. Campbell refusing to withdraw. At last the Chairman sanctioned the closure; it was carried by 232 to 111, and the amendment was rejected by 164 to 94 and the Vote agreed to.

The resumed debate next day, April 22, on the Vote on Account dealt with the usual variety of subjects calmly enough. Attention was called to the difficulties of education authorities owing to the decline in the revenue from spirits, whence came the grants for secondary education; and the Chancellor of the Exchequer

stated that as a temporary expedient half the product of the retrospective land taxes, or 245,000*l.*, would be devoted to making up their loss. Complaint was made by Lord E. Talbot (U., *Chichester, Sussex*) and Sir William Anson on the insistence of the Board of Education on the allowance of ten square feet per child in elementary school buildings, which it was said would act unfairly to denominational schools, and turn out 5,000 children from such schools in Liverpool. Sir W. Anson also alluded to the decision in the Swansea School case (*post*, Chronicle, April 21) as a lesson to the Board to treat voluntary schools fairly. Other educational subjects were also touched on, and Mr. Runciman, in a long and detailed reply, pointed out that the ten square feet standard had been recommended by a Royal Commission in 1888; the net deficiency caused by it of school places in Liverpool would be 960. His sole desire had been to obtain good and well-equipped schools, small classes, and highly trained teachers. Religious peace must not be asked for at the price of the children's health, and must be founded on religious equality. After further discussion the vote was agreed to.

Earlier in the week (April 20) a somewhat academic discussion on the mitigation of unemployment by improved education had been initiated by a resolution on the subject moved by Mr. Whitehouse (L., *Mid-Lanark*). Stress was laid by the mover on the evils of boy-labour in unskilled "blind alley occupations" which left the boys unemployable at manhood. Manual and physical training and compulsory attendance at continuation schools were among the remedies suggested, and there was general agreement both as to the evil and the cure. Mr. Trevelyan, Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Education, approved the resolution, mentioning that his Department favoured drastic dealing with street trading by children, the abolition of the half-time system, and some educational supervision of young persons above the age of fourteen. Much was being done in this direction by some local authorities and some employers. He hoped for Committees to watch over children's careers in co-operation with the heads of the Labour Exchanges. Public opinion was coming round to compulsory attendance at continuation schools, and the Treasury would not stand in the way.

Another debate on an educational subject on the same evening was concerned with the rules of the Irish Intermediate Education Board, which, according to certain Irish members, gave an undue preference to German over the Irish language; but a motion refusing Parliamentary sanction to the rules was defeated by 75 to 46.

The following week saw the last of the amended Finance Bill of 1909. The debate on the second reading (Monday, April 25) naturally traversed very familiar ground. Mr. Austen Chamberlain opposed the measure as unfair to the whole United Kingdom.

The surplus, he said, was obtained by the suspension of the Sinking Fund. The fall in Consols during the last year had coincided with a recovery in London County Council stock and foreign securities, and he ascribed it to recent legislation, still more to the speeches in support of that legislation, which portended a raid on invested property. He referred to the closing of the list of applications for Exchequer Bonds (on March 21, two days before the extreme limit) which he attributed to a fear of withdrawals, and he complained that in dealing with the licensing clauses the House had to submit to the indignity of being unable to consider anything beyond changes in the original Bill. He laid stress, with an illustration, on the damage done to the breweries and to the publicans, declaring that the Chancellor contemplated not taxation but confiscation, and that the licensing clauses would have been defeated if presented as a separate Bill. He was followed by Mr. Clancy (N., *Dublin Co.*), who explained that his party meant to vote for the Bill, not on financial grounds, though the injury done by it to Ireland was exaggerated, but as a step towards the abolition of the Veto and the obtaining of Home Rule. Mr. Perkins (U., *New Forest, Hants*) laid stress on the hostility of the small holders in his constituency to the Land Clauses. Then Mr. O'Brien (Ind. Nat., *Cork City*) moved the rejection of the Bill, his amendment reciting that the announcement of the Bill had already done cruel injury to more than one great Irish industry, and shaken the confidence of the occupying owners as to their future, and would add unjustly to the already excessive taxation of Ireland. He bitterly denounced the "shameful surrender" by the main body of Irish members of Ireland's claim to relief from the excessive taxation admitted by the report of the Financial Relations Commission of 1895. The Old Age Pension Act was cited as a reason for Irish acceptance of the Budget, but it was an insuperable difficulty for any Irish Parliament. His Nationalist opponents were setting up a far worse obstruction to Home Rule than the Lords' Veto, the veto of bankruptcy. The Chancellor of the Exchequer was unwittingly playing the game of the purchase-blockers and preparing endless future troubles by his new imposts and ideas on land nationalisation. He based his opposition to the Bill on the fact that exceptional treatment was promised to Ireland by the Act of Union, and the promise was endorsed by the Financial Relations Commission. The only question between England and Ireland was now one of money. A proper adjustment of Irish taxation "would not help to pay for *Dreadnoughts*, but might help to man them."

Mr. Herbert Samuel replied that Ireland was profiting by the Budget (p. 97). He replied to Mr. Chamberlain's attack on the licence duties, arguing that the burden would be shifted on to the consumer. Some public-houses already doing badly would be closed, but the fact that the trade had too many outlets for the sale of its

commodity did not justify the State in forgoing revenue. The Budget for 1910-11 would spread the payment of licence duty over the year. Thus the trade would not have to pay twice within a few months,—the first payment having been delayed by the rejection of the Bill.

Among subsequent speakers Mr. Cave (U.) laid stress on the hardships inflicted on publicans by the Bill, especially by making the licence duty retrospective; Sir T. Whittaker (L.) defended the Budget throughout, declaring that the total charge for the licence duties only meant about $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on the annual turnover of the trade, and Mr. Grenfell (L.), a stockbroker, gave figures to show the strong position of British finance.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer ridiculed the wild statements as to the Budget made by the Unionists in the country, which they had not dared to repeat in the House. The contention that Ireland would pay 2,000,000*l.* extra was a figment unsupported by figures. The demand on Ireland was most moderate, and 2,850,000*l.* had been given her. By the licence duties, the Government was only asking a fair return for a valuable monopoly granted by the State in 1904. Had the Lords passed the Budget in 1909, there would have been a surplus of 2,500,000*l.* after paying the 2,700,000*l.* for the Sinking Fund. Consols were down because the Government had had to borrow, and had not the money to sustain the Consols market, owing to the suspension of the Sinking Fund. For this the Unionists were responsible. Germany borrowed at 4 per cent., Great Britain at 3.995 per cent., and Germany had a deficit of 8,000,000*l.* and was still borrowing, while we had paid off debt and would pay our way next year. Since the Budget was introduced, trade had improved, unemployment declined, the Stock Exchange had had the greatest time in its life [*i.e.* the "rubber boom"], and we were on the way to one of the greatest trade booms on record, and credit and confidence were daily improving.

Mr. Balfour declared that the guillotine had prevented discussion of the licence duties and the land duties, and yet the Government taunted the Unionists with not having covered more ground. To say that Ireland had received old-age pensions a year before did not justify imposing unjust burdens on her. The fundamental unanswerable objections to the Bill were that it raised funds for public purposes unequally between different forms of property, and dealt arbitrarily with persons of equal wealth. On many publicans undeserved ruin would be inflicted, and the imposition of unequal burdens on special classes was a new and sinister departure.

Mr. O'Brien's amendment was rejected by 328 to 242, and the second reading carried by the same numbers.

The Committee Stage followed on April 26. The only amendments admissible under the special closure resolution were those

affecting the changes made in the text of the Bill as compared with that of the Bill of 1909 (p. 97), and the only ones discussed were such as (a) further secured purely agricultural land from taxation, and (b) deferred the payment of the new licence duties for six months. On the first subject a number of Opposition amendments had been put down, ensuring that when land became building land, and the increment value was assessed, any increase due to the efforts of the cultivator should not count, but these were ruled out of order. An amendment moved by Mr. Clancy (N., *Dublin Co.*) led to a long discussion. The Government proposed further to secure agricultural land from taxation by making Clause 7 of the Bill read: "Increment value duty shall not be charged in respect of agricultural land, while that land has no higher value than its value for agricultural purposes only, *if sold at the time in the open market,*" the italicised words being an addition to the text of the Bill of 1909. Mr. Clancy proposed to read "no higher value than its market value at the time for agricultural purposes," in order to safeguard from taxation the competition or "land-hunger" value, which arose, *e.g.*, where a man bought a farm above its agricultural value for sentimental reasons rather than for gain. His amendment was accepted by the Government, though the Unionists doubted if it would protect agricultural land, and Mr. Austen Chamberlain said that "land-hunger value" gave a clear case of unearned increment. The Chancellor of the Exchequer explained that the range of amendments had been restricted in order to send back practically the same Bill to the Lords. Two kinds of agricultural value were artificial; that of agricultural land bought above its agricultural value for residential purposes, and that of accommodation land. Both these, he contended, were amply protected. The value of the protection, however, was still questioned by Opposition speakers. The Chancellor of the Exchequer stated (in reply to Mr. T. Healy) that Somerset House valuers would not be sent to Ireland, as the Government already had the results of three valuations. The amendment was agreed to.

The first of several amendments extending the time for the payment for the new liquor licences from June 30 to December 31, 1910, moved by Mr. J. F. Hope (U., *Sheffield, Central*), was then debated, but it was contended on the Ministerial side that there was no hardship in calling for duties on June 30, 1910, which, but for the rejection of the Bill, would have been payable in 1909, and that the duties for 1910-11 would be payable by instalments. Postponement would cause the loss of much revenue. The amendment was rejected by 296 to 197, and the Bill passed through Committee.

Defeated in the House, Mr. Balfour reviewed the situation at the annual meeting of the Primrose League in the Albert Hall on April 26. He said he had never spoken on a graver occasion,

particularly as regarded the Constitution. We were threatened with a revolution. He referred to the "strange manœuvres and sinister combinations," not to carry on the business of the country, but to force the revolution. The Government and the parties supporting it desired that the temporary majority in the Commons should be absolute master of the whole Constitution, from the Sovereign downward. This revolution carried within it the seeds of others. If unrestricted power were given to the House of Commons, they bound over to the House the great interests which it was the business of that League to protect. The two-chamber members of the Cabinet had been placated with a preamble. He was quite ready to believe there was no bargain between the Nationalists and the Government; the transaction could be carried out without one. The guarantees given consisted in a promise by the Prime Minister that he would use all his power, legitimate or illegitimate, to induce the Sovereign to make a revolutionary use of his prerogative. The proposed creation of Peers was a revolution, and the proposers knew it. The Government depended on exterior parties who would compel them to drag in the Sovereign. If the League would show how the rights of the electors were threatened, this utterly undemocratic revolution would fail.

The third reading followed on April 27. The rejection was moved by Mr. Bonar Law (U., *Camberwell, Dulwich*), who sarcastically referred to the intrigues of the Government to secure the Nationalists, and said that the hostility of the House of Lords to the Bill was shared by the whole business community. With only two dissentients, the Glasgow Chamber of Commerce had condemned it. It was not a Finance Bill, but a penal code. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had lost money by the liquor duties, but had wreaked his vengeance on the trade. Many men who had carried on a legitimate trade legitimately were being driven out of employment, and the trade was being diverted into clubs. The Government had seriously injured national credit and commerce. The speeches of Mr. Lloyd George and the Home Secretary meant that in future the title to property would depend not on the Law Courts but on the will of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. While Consols had fallen, the national securities of all other great countries had risen, and of British securities 90 per cent. had fallen between the announcement and the rejection of the Budget of 1909. The public would invest in anything promising high profits or security if it were out of the Chancellor of the Exchequer's reach. Trade was reviving all over the world, and if the Ministry were going out every branch of it would revive in the United Kingdom.

Mr. Gibson Bowles admitted that the Budget had defects, but preferred the severest Free Trade Budget to the mildest one that taxed food. After other speeches, Mr. O'Brien (N.) declared that

the main body of Nationalists had bartered away Ireland's whole case as to over-taxation, postponed the abolition of landlordism for another general election, and made Home Rule impossible. In return they had only a general election in circumstances disastrous both to the Government and Home Rule. Mr. Devlin (N., *Bel-fast, W.*), on the other hand, gave the Budget his unqualified support, declaring that he had fought and won his election on it. The Independent Nationalists seemed to think there was nobody in Ireland but landlords and distillers. Mr. O'Brien had substituted the "All for Ireland League" by the aid of a newspaper financed by landlords and Tariff Reformers; he challenged Mr. O'Brien to deny that the Earl of Dunraven had subscribed 500*l.* to the paper, which was to fight the Budget and the Nationalists. (Mr. O'Brien replied that the Earl was as good an Irish Nationalist as Mr. Devlin.) The Budget was a great democratic instrument, and he intimated that the Irish democracy preferred to side with that of England against the House of Lords.

Mr. Pretyman (U.) analysed the new taxation, arguing that the increased spirit duties, the land duties, and the additional licence duties contravened every accepted canon of taxation. He was apprehensive as to the use that might be made of the valuation scheme. There were indications that the valuation might not be immediate, genuine and impartial; at any rate, such power should not be given to any Chancellor of the Exchequer. The land taxes were charged on hypothetical deductions from an imaginary valuation. At Burnley, where the land was leased for 999 years, these taxes must fall on the smaller owners. The discussion would soon be on concrete cases, and the Government would then get the condemnation they deserved.

Mr. Asquith, after a brief reference to the history of the Budget, stated that its rejection had cost the country directly 1,300,000*l.*, indirectly much more. Its moral and political results the future would disclose. It was devised to provide funds for old-age pensions, and to meet the exceptional calls of national and Imperial defence. The need was met partly by suspension of the Sinking Fund, which was justified by the unprecedented reduction of debt in the previous three years. Actually in the financial year 1909-10, 12,687,000*l.* had been redeemed, of which nearly 6,000,000*l.* was derived from the revenue of that year—Terminable Annuities, 2,233,000*l.*; the Unfunded Debt, 1,339,000*l.*; capital liabilities under the Works Acts paid over from the Army and Navy Estimates, 2,215,000*l.* Partly the need was met by new taxation, in which many members could see no principle but a selection of obnoxious classes and interests. The Government had made an honest and, he believed, a successful effort to distribute the burdens equitably. No class had escaped scot-free, and both in the land and licence duties nothing was taxed by this Budget except the added value given by the action of the State or the community. Defending

the licence duties, he said that what had been the law for all public-houses of 50*l.* and less in annual value was now to be applied to those over that value, and most expensive concessions had been made. Passing to the national credit, Mr. Asquith pointed out that, allowing for the difference of interest between Consols and German Three per Cents., the former were eleven points higher. The fall in Consols in recent years had been due to various specific causes—the extended range of trustee securities, the South African War loans, the issue of Irish Land Stock, and the competition of municipal stocks. In France the last financial year ended with a deficit of 8,000,000*l.* sterling, in Germany it was 10,000,000*l.*, in Russia 9,000,000*l.*, in the United States 11,750,000*l.* In Great Britain there was a large surplus, after paying out of revenue 6,000,000*l.* to the National Debt. As to the composition of the majority, there was a large majority for the Budget in the House among the representatives of Great Britain; he himself was too good a Unionist to distinguish between different parts of the country, but he did not believe there was any real preponderance of opinion against the Budget in Ireland. Apparently a bargain was not a bargain only when the Nationalists joined forces with the Opposition. In an impressive peroration, he expressed his satisfaction, first, that it had fallen to his lot to introduce old-age pensions; next, that he had been associated with the Chancellor of the Exchequer—to whom he paid a glowing tribute—in carrying a Budget which, without trenching on the principles of that fiscal system which had made our country prosperous and commercially supreme, would provide ample resources to meet the needs of national defence and social reform.

The motion for rejection was defeated by 324 to 231, and the Bill read a third time amid cheers. It passed the House of Lords next day, after three hours' debate. In moving the second reading, the Earl of Crewe sketched the changes made in the text, which he said were not very material; five-sixths of the legislation passed was the result of bargains, but here there was no bargain. On Viscount St. Aldwyn's authority, there was no tacking (ANNUAL REGISTER, 1909, p. 271), and he assumed that, as the Marquess of Lansdowne had intimated, the Bill would pass.

The Marquess of Lansdowne, after expressing a doubt whether agricultural land was really protected from the new taxes, said that the Opposition were bound to pass the Bill. They had a right, however, to note the delay in bringing it forward, the composition of the majority, and the methods by which that majority had been secured. Without considering these points their action could not be vindicated. The Bill was admittedly unprecedented, not only in involving heavy burdens, but in distributing them according to the origin of the possessions taxed. It was admittedly not purely financial, though perhaps not technically a case of tacking, and it was expected to set up a sense of insecurity and affect the

national credit. This was verified by the fall in Consols and the early closing of the list of applications for Exchequer Bonds (p. 101). The House would have been unworthy of its position had it not referred the Bill to the country. They had a moral right to do so, and their legal right had been admitted by Lord Morley of Blackburn (*ANNUAL REGISTER*, 1909, p. 251). The result of the election justified their action. Ministers had admittedly hesitated, the Nationalists were unfriendly, and for two months the Government had not dared to bring in the Budget. Financial chaos had been averted, partly by the good sense of the traders, and partly by the reasonable conduct of the Opposition. In the course of some sarcastic comments on the negotiations with the Nationalists, he said he should be curious to see the next Budget. Reviewing the action of the Government from the Albert Hall meeting of December, 1909, till April 14, he said that the Government had capitulated to the Irish members, and had intimated that they were ready to overturn the Constitution by unconstitutional means. His party, at any rate, had passed through the events of the last three weeks with a clear conscience and clean hands.

Earl Russell complained of the new taxes on motor cars, which had hardly been discussed; the Earl of Cromer hoped that there would be no more tampering with the Sinking Fund, and that about 6,500,000*l.* annually would be devoted to reducing debt, as the death duties and income tax could not now be regarded as a safe fiscal reserve; and he ascribed the fall of Consols partly to the shock given to confidence by the Government. The Marquess of Londonderry contended that Ireland was against the Budget, and the price paid for the Nationalists' consent was the promise of the destruction of the Constitution.

The Lord Chancellor wound up the debate. The tempest, he remarked, had dwindled into a calm, and the Constitutional question had become a practical thing, to be decided by law. The distinction between what was legal and what was constitutional, as had been admitted by all statesmen, lay at the very root of government in Great Britain. Lord Lansdowne's main reason for advising the rejection of the Budget was that it would interfere with Tariff Reform. That advice illustrated the way in which the House of Lords lay in wait to trip up Liberal Governments. He himself hoped that the Budget would defeat and ruin Tariff Reform, which he described as a millstone round the Unionists' necks. As to the alleged bargaining, all Governments had, under a party system, to ascertain the opinions of all sections of the Commons on great public Bills and other questions; Mr. Balfour himself had said so; and on the occasion in question (p. 92) Mr. Lloyd George had endeavoured to obtain the opinion, not only of Nationalists, but of Ministerialists, and, he believed, of members of the Opposition. He had no authority to make an agreement. The Cabinet had been

unable to assent to the views put forward, beyond the unimportant alteration made in the Bill, and there was no understanding of any sort as regarded the next Budget. Perhaps the Budget had succeeded on its own merits. The Prime Minister's declaration about the Veto was deliberated on and agreed to in the Cabinet, and was not extorted by pressure of any kind. The Government would not continue as a Government in chains.

The Bill was then read a second time and passed through all its stages at once, without further debate or division. It received the Royal Assent on April 29, the day of the adjournment for the spring recess. With its passage, the function of the Budget League of 1909 was at an end, and that body was formally dissolved on the same day. But a "Land Union," to resist further extension of the new land taxes, was formed under the auspices of Mr. Pretyman, and held its inaugural meeting on April 28.

The Development Fund was a notable offshoot of the Budget; and the Development and Road Improvements Fund Act Amendment Bill, which was read a second time on April 25, increased the number of Commissioners under the Act of 1909 (ANNUAL REGISTER, 1909, p. 202) from five to ten, though only one or two of the whole body were to be paid, and put the staff on the same footing as other Civil Servants. The increase, the Chancellor of the Exchequer explained, was necessary to give representation to all the various agricultural interests, and without the Bill the Commission could not be appointed. Opposed by Sir F. Banbury, Lord Morpeth, and other members, it passed the second reading, after the rejection, by 172 to 94, of a motion for adjournment, and went through the Committee and Report stages, after the reduction of the number of Commissioners to eight, on April 28. Unopposed in the House of Lords, it became law on April 29. The Commissioners appointed were: Lord Richard Cavendish, Chairman; Sir Francis Hopwood, an eminent Civil Servant, (paid) Vice-Chairman; Mr. S. Eardley-Wilmot, sometime Inspector-General of Forests to the Indian Government; Mr. W. S. Haldane, brother of the War Secretary, an eminent Scottish lawyer and land agent; Mr. A. D. Hall, Director of the Rothamsted Agricultural station; Mr. Sidney Webb, an ex-Civil Servant and a well-known authority on the Poor-Law and on Local Government; Mr. M. A. Ennis of Dublin, and Mr. H. Jones Davies of Carmarthen, both experienced farmers and Chairmen of their respective County Councils. Special care had been taken to avoid appointing men who had taken any active part in politics. Mr. Webb, however, though not an active politician, was a well-known Socialist writer.

The policy embodied in the new land taxes was again indirectly affirmed by the Commons on April 27, immediately after the third reading of the Finance Bill, when Mr. Verney (L., *Bucks, N.*) moved a resolution to the effect that the existing system of land taxation, rating and tenure, tended to restrict the best use of land;

hinder the production of wealth, and cause unemployment. He urged the expediting of procedure under the Small Holdings Act, assistance from the Development Fund to co-operative societies, and better rural education. The seconder, however, Mr. Walsh (Lab., *Ince, Lancs*), held that it was much more important to increase the burdens on land in urban areas than to establish small holdings. Sir J. Randles (U., *Cockermouth, Cumberland*) moved a Tariff Reform amendment, and Mr. Carlile (U.), who followed, advocated small proprietorship rather than small holdings, while Mr. Raffan (L., *Leigh, Lancs*) advocated the re-colonisation of the Highland deer forests. The Attorney-General, in accepting the resolution on behalf of the Government, laid stress on the Agricultural Holdings and Small Holdings Act, which respectively removed restrictions on cultivation and afforded a palliative for rural unemployment. He reminded Tariff Reformers that land in all other European countries had heavier burdens on it than in Great Britain. The amendment was negatived by 179 to 136, and the resolution carried.

Meanwhile the House of Lords had given a second reading on April 26 to a Thrift and Credit Banks Bill, to establish co-operative credit societies like those existing in Ireland and on the Continent, and recently set up in India, for the assistance of small landholders. The Bill was introduced by the Earl of Shaftesbury, supported by Lord Macdonnell, and adversely criticised by Lord Faber, who, however, did not oppose it; and it was referred to a Select Committee which reported on July 11. Later in the evening, on the motion of the Bishop of St. Asaph, the House rejected by 61 to 20 a scheme to convert Howell's School at Denbigh, a Church of England endowed High School, into a Secondary County School, as proposed by the Denbighshire County Council and the Welsh Education Department.

Next day (April 27) an interesting discussion on the necessity of supplementing elementary instruction by continuation schools was initiated by Lord Sheffield (known earlier as Lord Stanley of Alderley and Mr. Lyulph Stanley). He condemned the half-time system, and desired the obligatory provision by local authorities of continuation schools, with substantial aid from Parliamentary funds. For compulsory attendance at such schools, he said, the time was not ripe; Scottish local authorities could legally enforce it, but only Ecclefechan, Carlyle's birthplace, had done so. But much could be done without compulsion, and he made suggestions as to the institution of such schools, possibly free, and with a large recreative element. His proposals were cordially endorsed by the Bishops of Southwark and Hereford, the former speaking also for the Primate, and the Earl of Crewe replied sympathetically on behalf of the Government.

The adjournment of the House of Commons for the spring recess on April 28 led to the usual desultory debate. The first



subject touched on was the action taken by the Government against disorder in India, particularly the issue of a warrant against Mr. Arabindo Ghose for publishing in his paper an article alleged to be seditious, and Mr. Ramsay Macdonald and Mr. Keir Hardie criticised the course adopted, the latter especially assailing the Indian police. In reply, Mr. Montagu pointed out that the case was now *sub judice* and that great improvements had been made in the Indian police since the report of 1902. The debate was substantially an anticipation, in its general aspects, of that on the Indian Budget. Among other subjects touched on were the administration of the Old-Age Pensions Act in Ireland, the necessitous schools grant, and the desirability of effecting improvements in the Public Record Office. Perhaps the main subject of interest, however, was the new policy in Somaliland. The Government policy of concentration on the coast of that country (Foreign History, Chapter VII., iii.) had been adversely criticised in both Houses. The day after the issue of the Blue Book it was condemned on the motion for adjournment over Easter by Mr. Baird (U., *Rugby*), who had had some official experience in the country, and defended by Colonel Seely, Colonial Under-Secretary; but a more important debate was initiated in the House of Lords by Lord Curzon of Kedleston on April 6. He complained that the friendly tribes were left to the mercy of their enemies, that British prestige had been greatly injured, and the difficulties of the Italians probably increased, and he thought that the evacuation seemed to have been carried out precipitately and against expert advice. After Lord Harris had deprecated spending any money on the country, the Earl of Crewe defended the decision at length, laying stress on the excommunication of the Mullah as diminishing his prestige, and pointing out that the only alternative policy was to send out a large expeditionary force. The Marquess of Lansdowne said that we had gone to Somaliland because we could not afford to allow any other Power to take the coast opposite Aden, and we had necessarily been led on from the coast to the interior. The appearance of the Mullah forced us to do more, and the tribes were armed and organised to enable them to protect themselves eventually. He contended that the evacuation had been premature and ill-timed; and Lord Curzon of Kedleston, winding up the debate, declared that his adverse views had been confirmed. On the actual adjournment for the spring recess on April 28, the question was again raised by Mr. Rees (L., *Montgomery Dis.*), Mr. Baird, and other members. In reply, Colonel Seely insisted that the only alternative to the course adopted was a great military expedition, which the House would not support, and which would be costly and ineffective; our prestige was safer now than when we had had small posts far in the interior. Lord Curzon's speech had partly been founded on an incorrect telegram reporting the defeat of the friendlies, with whom there was, more-

over, no breach of obligation. In the Empire were many danger spots, but he did not believe Somaliland was one of them.

The text of the Veto Bill, issued the day after the adjournment, did not go beyond the Resolutions in its provisions. Its preamble stated that it was intended to substitute for the existing House of Lords a Second Chamber constituted on a popular instead of a hereditary basis, "but such substitution cannot immediately be brought into operation," and that provision would hereafter be required in a measure effecting such substitution for defining and limiting the powers of the Second Chamber, but it was expedient "to make such provision as in this Act appears for restricting the existing powers of the House of Lords." "The preamble," said the *Nation*, "is clearly the work of the Reformers in the Cabinet; the substance of the Bill that of the Anti-Vetoists." The provisions of the Bill may be summarised as follows: 1. Should the Peers withhold their assent to a Money Bill for more than one month after it had been sent them by the Commons, such Bill might be presented for the Royal Assent, and would then become law without the consent of the Peers. A Money Bill was defined as in the Resolutions (p. 63). 2. Whether or not a Bill was a Money Bill would be decided by the Speaker. 3. If a Bill other than a Money Bill were passed by the Commons in three successive Sessions (whether of the same Parliament or not) it must, on a third rejection by the House of Lords, be presented to His Majesty for the Royal Assent, and become law with such Assent. Two years must elapse between the first introduction of such a Bill and the date on which it passed the Commons for the third time. 4. Five years would be substituted for seven as the maximum duration of Parliaments.

The adjournment left the Government in a stronger position than it had been since the general election. The by-elections in South Edinburgh and the Crewe division of Cheshire (*post*, *Chronicle*, April 29, 30) showed that the Liberal party was substantially unshaken in two of its strongholds. Unionist leaders, like Mr. Bonar Law at Dulwich (April 29), continued to denounce the Liberal surrender to the Nationalists; but the sense of defeat in the Unionist party was shown by the renewed proposal of the Marquess of Salisbury and others to drop the contemplated food taxes (*cf.* p. 89), a step denounced by the extreme Tariff Reformers represented by the *Morning Post*—and by numerous suggestions of compromise. Reviewing the Veto dispute from an Imperialist standpoint at the Compatriots' Club on April 29, Viscount Milner complained that no notice was taken of the effect of the proposed restriction of the Lords' Veto on the central, though very imperfect, organ of the Imperial system. A regular federation of the Empire would mean a new representative body; but the present body would not be more perfect if it consisted only of the Commons. He dwelt on the weight and authority possessed by the House of Lords in

discussing Imperial questions, but admitted defects in it, and declared that the elements of a settlement by agreement were present, but that the action of the Irish Nationalists blocked the way. But he scouted the idea of shelving Tariff Reform, or even taxes on food. A similar line was taken by Lord Curzon of Kedleston, at Reading, on May 5. He dismissed the idea of the use of the Royal Prerogative to create Peers as "a fantastic dream," and held that the referendum (which the *Spectator* favoured) was not practicable, unless there were a clear issue and some provision as to the number and nature of the majority which was to be effective; but he contemplated a reform of the Second Chamber which should at least partly abandon the hereditary principle, make the House less one-sided, and provide some means of ending deadlocks. He suggested a Conference of five members from each side with the Speaker as President, to draw up terms of settlement. The *Spectator* also (April 23), besides advocating a referendum for Bills thrown out by the Peers, had suggested that the Lords' Veto should be restricted to a single Parliament, and should not apply to Bills passed by a two-thirds' majority of the Commons. Another suggestion, attributed to independent Peers, was that the Lords should pass the Veto resolutions, provided they were not to be backed by a Bill. This would give them the force of custom and avoid a "statutory Constitution," and Lord Rosebery's scheme of reform might then be dropped.

On May 5 Sir Edward Grey had reviewed the situation at a dinner of the Eighty Club at Oxford. After pointing out that there was a British majority for the Budget, he claimed that the Prime Minister's attitude as to giving advice to the Crown had been perfectly consistent throughout; but it was impossible to say what the advice would be until the situation arose. Ministers must not ask the Sovereign; they must give him advice, for which they would be held responsible. If he did not accept it, they could either tender other advice or resign. Under no circumstances would they attempt to put the Sovereign in a position of responsibility which it was not his constitutionally to occupy. He himself favoured a Two-Chamber system in which the House of Commons should be the superior authority.

Two days later, however, the whole situation was transformed by the unexpected and fatal illness of the King. He had spent the best part of March and April at Biarritz, in order, as was stated after his death, to avoid the danger of bronchitis from the March winds in England. In Paris he had caught cold while witnessing M. Rostand's *Chantecler*, and had been more seriously ill for a week at Biarritz than the public had suspected; but he seemed to have recovered, and returned to Buckingham Palace on April 27. A day or two later he visited the Royal Academy Exhibition, looking tired and pale. On Sunday, May 1, he was at Sandringham; on Tuesday, May 2, he was confined to his rooms, but transacted busi-

ness as usual, giving an audience on May 5 to Lord Islington (*post*, *Chronicle*, April 11), and discussing the details of the reception to be given to Prince Fushimi of Japan. On that afternoon, however, a bulletin was issued stating that he was suffering from bronchitis, and that his condition "causes some anxiety." That evening the Queen arrived from Corfu, *via* Calais and Dover, after a very bad crossing, and hastened to Buckingham Palace. Next morning the symptoms had not improved, his condition "gave rise to grave anxiety," and an eminent throat specialist had been summoned. At 6 P.M. it was announced that the symptoms had become worse, and that His Majesty's condition was critical. Nevertheless on that morning he got up and transacted business, though suffering from painful fits of coughing and attacks of heart failure, to relieve which oxygen was administered. At 1 P.M. he said: "I shall not give in; I shall go on; I shall work to the end." Shortly afterwards, however, he passed into a state of coma, though occasionally reviving; and in the afternoon he left his arm-chair for his bed. At half-past nine o'clock it became known that the Prince and Princess of Wales, the Princess Royal, and Princess Louise were to stay the night at the Palace and that the Primate had been sent for. Shortly after eleven the Primate conducted a short service in the sick-room, and at 11.45 King Edward the Peacemaker passed away without pain. The announcement, "The King is dead," was made to a waiting and anxious crowd at the Palace gates. It was received in silence, followed by manifold and heartfelt expressions of grief.

CHAPTER III.

THE NEW REIGN AND THE NEW DEPARTURE.

THE unexpected death of King Edward VII. was felt throughout the Empire and even in the United States almost as a personal bereavement, and was received all over the world with profound manifestations of sympathy and regret. Even at the death of Queen Victoria the sorrow had not been so widespread or so fully manifested, at any rate outside the British Empire. Messages of condolence poured in from the Governments of the Dominions, from India, from foreign States and Sovereigns. Throughout the United Kingdom and in all countries under the British flag places of entertainment were closed, social events and gaieties in contemplation were cancelled in many places; funeral peals were tolled, and there was a spontaneous and instant public mourning. Everywhere on Sunday, May 8, pulpit tributes were paid to the King's memory, and special stress was laid on his tact, his promotion of the welfare of his people, and his efforts for the peace of the world. In foreign countries and in the Far East the

manifestations of sympathy were no less striking. One of the earliest messages of condolence was in the name of the Emperor of China; the city of Tokio was draped in black; the native Indian Press joined with the Anglo-Indian in its expressions of sorrow and in praise of the dead Monarch. The American House of Representatives passed a resolution of sympathy; so did the Russian Duma; there were signs of public mourning in France and Italy, and many municipal and departmental councils in France voted resolutions of condolence. The German Press, in spite of the prevalent theory that the King had striven to isolate Germany, was in no way behind in its appreciations; and public opinion all over Europe realised the magnitude of the loss. Some of the warmest expressions of sympathy came from Irish Nationalists, from Indian reformers, and from the South African Dutch.

At home and within the Empire, King Edward VII. was revered and mourned as a Sovereign who, without exceeding the limits prescribed by constitutional tradition, had promoted the social welfare of his people and the friendly relations of Great Britain and other Powers; abroad, except in some quarters in Germany and Austria, he was regarded as the peacemaker of Europe. It was stated, apparently on good authority, by the *Paris Temps*, that his visit to Paris in May, 1903, had paved the way for the Anglo-French understanding of 1904, and had been undertaken on his own initiative and against the advice of the Unionist Cabinet then in office; and stress was laid on his work in promoting the understanding with Russia, and also in moderating the recent friction with Germany, especially by his visit to Berlin in 1909. His reign, it was pointed out, had seen a transformation in the foreign relations of his country. At his accession Great Britain stood estranged from France by the memories of Fashoda, and from other countries by the Boer War; at his death we were on the friendliest terms with all Powers except Germany, and there the friction was between sections of the politicians in the respective countries rather than the Governments. Of his work in domestic politics little could yet be definitely said, though there was good reason to believe that he had done his best to avert the Budget crisis of 1909, and it was felt that he might, had he lived, have succeeded in composing that which was impending at his death. But the notion that this latter crisis had hastened his end, though held in some quarters, was unsupported by evidence and was soon put aside.

King George V. held his first Council at St. James's Palace, on Saturday, May 7, at 4 P.M. The procedure followed was that observed at the accession of King Edward VII. The King was conducted to an apartment adjacent to the Council Chamber; in the latter were a large number of Privy Councillors, and the Lord Mayor and representatives of the City of London. The Earl of Crewe, who presided in the unavoidable absence of Lord Wolver-

hampton, Lord President of the Council, announced to the assembly the death of the late King and the accession of his successor. Prince Christian of Schleswig-Holstein, the Earl of Crewe, the Primate, and the Lord Chancellor, then went to the King, and he entered the Council Chamber, and in a voice broken by emotion, spoke as follows:—

MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,

My heart is too full for me to address you to-day in more than a few words. It is my sorrowful duty to announce to you the death of my dearly loved Father the King. In this irreparable loss which has so suddenly fallen upon me and upon the whole Empire, I am comforted by the feeling that I have the sympathy of my future subjects, who will mourn with me for their beloved Sovereign, whose own happiness was found in sharing and promoting theirs. I have lost not only a Father's love, but the affectionate and intimate relations of a dear friend and adviser. No less confident am I in the universal loving sympathy which is assured to my dearest Mother in her overwhelming grief.

Standing here a little more than nine years ago, our beloved King declared that as long as there was breath in his body he would work for the good and amelioration of his people. I am sure that the opinion of the whole nation will be that this declaration has been fully carried out.

To endeavour to follow in his footsteps, and at the same time to uphold the constitutional government of these Realms, will be the earnest object of my life. I am deeply sensible of the very heavy responsibilities which have fallen upon me. I know that I can rely upon Parliament and upon the people of these Islands and of my Dominions beyond the Seas for their help in the discharge of these arduous duties, and for their prayers that God will grant me strength and guidance. I am encouraged by the knowledge that I have in my dear wife one who will be a constant helpmate in every endeavour for our people's good.

The Accession proclamation was then signed by the Privy Councillors and representatives of the City, and the King took the usual oath for the security of the Church of Scotland; the Councillors were resworn and presented to the King, and kissed hands, and the ceremony was over.

Profound and general sympathy was felt with the Royal Family, especially with Queen Alexandra. Reverent crowds thronged the neighbourhood of Buckingham Palace and Marlborough House, while a stream of callers from the higher circles of society attended to register their names. Minute guns, one for each year of the late King's life, were fired on the Saturday afternoon in St. James's Park. A little later, as the result of a request gratefully accorded by Queen Alexandra, a Salvation Army band marched to the courtyard of Buckingham Palace and played hymn tunes as an expression of the grief of that body at the death of the King, who had long sympathised with and aided their social work.

Queen Alexandra acknowledged the public sympathy a few days later by the following letter to the nation.

BUCKINGHAM PALACE, *May 10.*

From the depth of my poor broken heart I wish to express to the whole nation and our kind people we love so well my deep-felt thanks for all their touching sympathy in my overwhelming sorrow and unspeakable anguish.

Not alone have I lost everything in him, my beloved husband, but the nation,

too, has suffered an irreparable loss by their best friend, Father, and Sovereign thus suddenly called away.

May God give us all His Divine help to bear this heaviest of crosses which He has seen fit to lay upon us—"His Will be done." Give me a thought in your prayers which will comfort and sustain me in all I still have to go through.

Let me take this opportunity of expressing my heartfelt thanks for all the touching letters and tokens of sympathy I have received from all classes, high and low, rich and poor, which are so numerous that I fear it will be impossible for me ever to thank everybody individually.

I confide my dear Son into your care, who I know will follow in his dear Father's footsteps, begging you to show him the same loyalty and devotion you showed his dear Father.

I know that both my dear Son and Daughter-in-law will do their utmost to merit and keep it.

ALEXANDRA.

King George V. was proclaimed with the customary picturesque ceremonial on Monday morning, May 9. In London the first ceremony began at St. James's Palace. The Duke of Norfolk, Earl Marshal, the Kings-at-Arms of the Heralds' College, and the four Pursuivants appeared at 9 A.M. on a balcony in their official robes, with the state trumpeters. Four of the King's children watched the ceremony from a window of Marlborough House; the King and Queen were at another window, unseen by the crowd outside. A guard of honour of the First Life Guards rode into the Palace quadrangle, followed by the band of the Coldstream Guards with draped drums, and by members of the Army Headquarters' Staff in full uniform. Garter King at Arms then read the proclamation, the young Princes and the troops standing at the salute, and the men in the crowd baring their heads:—

Whereas it has pleased Almighty God to call to His Mercy our late Sovereign Lord King Edward the Seventh, of Blessed and Glorious Memory, by whose Decease the Imperial Crown of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland is solely and rightfully come to the High and Mighty Prince George Frederick Ernest Albert:

We, therefore, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal of this Realm, being here assisted with these of His late Majesty's Privy Council, with numbers of other principal gentlemen of quality, with the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and citizens of London, do now hereby, with one voice and consent of tongue and heart, publish and proclaim,

That the High and Mighty Prince George Frederick Ernest Albert is now, by the death of our late Sovereign of happy memory, become our only lawful and rightful Liege Lord George the Fifth by the Grace of God, King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and of the British Dominions beyond the Seas, Defender of the Faith, Emperor of India; to whom we do acknowledge all faith and constant obedience, with all hearty and humble affection; beseeching God, by whom Kings and Queens do reign, to bless the Royal Prince George the Fifth with long and happy years to reign over us.

At the close the reader and the Earl Marshal led the cry of "God Save the King," and the spectators sang the National Anthem.

The Proclamation was followed by a Royal Salute of forty-one guns. The procession of the College of Arms, with the guard of honour, then proceeded in carriages to Charing Cross, where the Proclamation was made by Windsor Herald; and to the City. At Temple Bar, as customary, a silken cord was stretched across the Strand; Bluemantle Pursuivant was met by the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Sheriffs, in their scarlet gowns, and was formally

admitted into the City with the Proclamation, which was read by the Lord Mayor. The Proclamation was then made amid large crowds at Temple Bar, and afterwards at the Royal Exchange. In the Scottish and Irish capitals, and in the various cities and towns throughout the country, the Proclamation was read with due ceremony before large gatherings by the Mayors or other civic dignitaries. In some cases the school-children were in attendance *en masse*. A fanfare of trumpets preceded and followed it, and the proceedings closed with the National Anthem and cheers for the King.

The judges were sworn in on May 9. After the ceremony, the Lord Chief Justice made a brief speech, recalling the declaration of King Edward VII. on January 23, 1901, already quoted by King George in his first speech as reigning Sovereign (p. 115). That promise, he said, had been amply fulfilled, and he laid stress on the late King's labours in the cause of peace. He closed with a prayer that King George might be given strength to bear his burden, and that the judges might by their loyalty and their observance of the laws do their utmost to protect and advance the best interests of the people. The Attorney-General made a suitable reply, echoing and endorsing the hope of the Lord Chief Justice and laying stress on the late King's beneficent labours as a constitutional Monarch.

A public general mourning was proclaimed to take effect on Thursday, May 14; but it had been practically anticipated, even in the poorest districts, the moment the King's death was known. The theatres, of course, were closed; but on Monday, May 9, the King sent a message through the Lord Chamberlain, desiring that, in view of the numbers who would be deprived of employment, they should reopen except on the day of the funeral, and they generally reopened on May 11. Another message expressed a hope that the general mourning would not prevent the people from taking the usual opportunities for "rest, relaxation and amusement" in the Whitsun holidays in the following week.

Next day the King issued the following messages to the Navy, the Army, and the Princes and People of India respectively.

It is my earnest wish, on succeeding to the Throne, to make known to the Navy how deeply grateful I am for its faithful and distinguished services rendered to the late King my beloved Father, who ever showed the greatest solicitude in its welfare and efficiency.

Educated and trained in that Profession which I love so dearly, retirement from active duty has in no sense diminished my feelings of affection for it. For thirty-three years I have had the honour of serving in the Navy, and such intimate participation in its life and work enables me to know how thoroughly I can depend upon that spirit of loyalty and zealous devotion to duty of which the glorious history of our Navy is the outcome.

That you will ever continue to be, as in the past, the foremost defender of your Country's honour, I know full well, and your fortunes will always be followed by me with deep feelings of pride and affectionate interest.

My beloved Father was always closely associated with the Army by ties of strong personal attachment, and from the first day that he entered the Service he identified himself with everything conducive to its welfare.

On my Accession to the Throne I take this the earliest opportunity of expressing to all ranks my gratitude for their gallant and devoted services to him.

Although I have always been interested in the Army, recent years have afforded me special opportunities of becoming more intimately acquainted with our Forces both at home and in India, as well as in other parts of the Empire.

I shall watch over your interests and efficiency with continuous and keen solicitude, and shall rely on that spirit of efficiency and devotion which has in all times animated and been the proud tradition of the British Army.

The message to India, in response to a telegram of sympathy from the Viceroy, ran as follows:—

I have received with profound appreciation the expression of sympathy and loyalty conveyed in your Excellency's message from the Princes and People of all races and creeds in my Indian Empire on the occasion of the death of my dearly loved father, the King-Emperor.

I am deeply touched by this expression of their universal sorrow for his death. He always remembered with affection his visit to India, and its welfare was ever in his thoughts.

From my own experience I know the profound loyalty felt for my Throne by the Princes and People of India, to whom I desire that my acknowledgments of the homage they have tendered to me on my Accession may be made known.

The prosperity and happiness of my Indian Empire will always be to me of the highest interest and concern, as they were to the late King-Emperor and the Queen-Empress before him.

The death of the King found both Houses scattered far and wide. Both met, however—in accordance with custom, at the earliest possible moment—on Saturday, May 7. In the House of Lords about forty Peers took the oath of allegiance. The Commons had only a formal sitting, the Speaker and Deputy Speaker being absent, and, on the motion of Mr. Winston Churchill, adjourned till Monday, May 9. On that day members of both Houses were sworn in—in the Commons in groups of five, according to custom—and the process was continued on the two following days. The Prime Minister had accompanied the First Lord of the Admiralty on the Admiralty yacht *Enchantress* to inspect Gibraltar; but the news of the King's death, received when off that fortress, caused them to return with all speed, and Plymouth was reached on the Monday morning. On Wednesday, May 11, Messages from the King were received in both Houses, and Addresses of Condolence moved in reply. The Messages were practically identical; that to the Lords ran as follows:—

GEORGE REX. The King knows that the House of Lords shares in the profound and sudden sorrow which has fallen upon His Majesty by the death of His Majesty's father, the late King, and that the House entertains a true sense of the loss which His Majesty and the nation have sustained from this mournful event. King Edward's care for the welfare of his country and his people, his skilled and prudent guidance of affairs, his unwearied devotion to public duty during his illustrious reign, his simple courage in pain and danger, will long be held in honour by his subjects at home and beyond the seas.

The Message was read by the Lord Chancellor, the Peers rising uncovered.

The Earl of Crewe moved an humble address in reply to the Message to His Majesty, assuring him of the heartfelt sympathy of the House. He had further to move an Address offering to his

Majesty their loyal congratulations on his auspicious succession and their devotion, and an address of condolence to the Queen Mother. They assembled, he said, under the shadow of a great calamity, all the more severe from its suddenness, having regard to the late King's robust constitution. They looked back at these last nine years with feelings of thankfulness and pride. They knew of his successful discharge of duties at home and his potent influence in international politics. No Sovereign had been the personal friend of his people in the sense in which King Edward was, and this was the origin and outcome of his influence. He spoke eloquently of the reverence and affection felt for the Queen Mother, and closed with a eulogistic reference to the new Queen and an expression of hope for the length and prosperity of the new reign.

The Marquess of Lansdowne, seconding, tendered his thanks to the Earl of Crewe for the manner in which he had expressed the many feelings which rushed through their minds on that melancholy occasion. They had suffered an Imperial and international loss. The late King pledged himself to walk in the footsteps of his mother, and that as long as breath remained in his body he should work for the good of his people. How nobly had that pledge been fulfilled! They could not forget the great private sorrow which had fallen on the Royal Family, and most of all, surely, their thoughts went out to that illustrious lady who from the day they first welcomed her had ever stood in the eyes of the people as the embodiment of all that was most graceful, tender and sympathetic in woman. Already they recognised in the son the presence of many of the qualities of the father, and the reign which was now opening would, he believed, furnish a not less creditable chapter in British history and a not less creditable addition to the traditions of the Royal House.

The House of Commons was full, and every member wore mourning. After the reading of a message of sympathy from the Russian Duma, the Prime Minister fetched the King's Message from the Bar. It was read by the Deputy Speaker, who was presiding, and Mr. Asquith again rose to move the resolutions of condolence, which were identical in terms with those proposed in the Upper House. Speaking under strong and evident emotion, he delivered an impressive tribute to the great qualities of the late King. The years of Edward VII.'s reign had been years of growing friendships, new understandings, and surer safeguards for peace; within the Empire the ever-tightening bonds of corporate unity had been developed and vivified as never before, and grave controversial issues, social, economic, and political, had developed into a rapid maturity. In all these history would assign a part of singular dignity and authority to the great ruler just lost. "In external affairs his powerful personal influence was steadily and zealously directed to the avoidance, not only of war, but of the causes and pretexts for war." He well earned the title by which

he would always be remembered, that of peacemaker of the world. . . . At home he was universally recognised as "an arbiter ripe in experience, judicial in temper, at once a reverent worshipper of our traditions and a watchful guardian of our constitutional liberties. . . . His duty to the State always came first. . . ." "In this great business community there was no better man of business. . . ." Wherever he was or whatever may have been his apparent preoccupations, in the transaction of State business there were never arrears, never any trace of confusion or moment of avoidable delay. . . . He recognised to the fullest degree both the powers and the limitations of constitutional monarchy. . . . He was, as every one knew, a keen social reformer. "His magnificent services, before and after his accession, to our hospitals will never be forgotten. He loved his people at home and over the seas. Their interests were his interests, their fame was his fame. He had no self apart from them." After touching on the affection he inspired among his friends and his loyalty and kindness to his advisers and servants, Mr. Asquith proceeded: "He has left to his people a memory and an example which they will never forget—a memory of great opportunities greatly employed, an example which the humblest of his subjects may treasure and strive to follow, of simplicity, courage, self-denial, tenacious devotion, up to the last moment of conscious life, to work, to duty, and to service." He closed with references to the Queen Mother and to King George's long apprenticeship to his new task, and expressed the solemn prayer and confident belief of his people that he would show himself the worthy son and successor of the late great King.

Mr. Balfour, who seconded the resolutions, was, like the Prime Minister, greatly moved. Nothing, he thought, could exceed in pathos the sudden grief which had befallen the whole community within these islands, and the whole of the Empire of which these islands were the centre, and which had an echo in every civilised nation of the world. All of us, said the right hon. gentleman, felt that we had lost one who loved us and who only desired to serve the people whom we represent. King Edward was enabled by the perfect simplicity of his personality to make all men understand and love him, and surely this power of bringing all mankind into sympathy with him was the most king-like of all qualities. Having spoken of the King's position as the embodiment of Imperial unity, Mr. Balfour referred to those who supposed that in foreign affairs the King took upon himself duties which were commonly left to the Monarch's servants, and that when the secrets of diplomacy were revealed it would be found that he took a part, not known, but half suspected, in the transactions of his reign. "That," he said with emphasis, "was to belittle the King." They ought not to think of him as a dexterous diplomatist. It was because he was able naturally and simply, through the incalculable gift of personality, to embody in the eyes of all men the

friendly policy of this country that he was able to do a work in bringing the nations together which it had fallen to the lot of few men, whether kings or subjects, to accomplish. He had gone in the plenitude of his powers, in the noontide of his popularity, but he would never be absent from the memory and affections of his subjects. His successor approached his heavy task as Constitutional Monarch with deep-rooted patriotism, love of the Empire, and an earnest desire to do his duty. These were qualities which neither the country nor the House would be slow to appreciate. The Queen Mother had been adored by the people ever since she came among them in the heyday of youth, and, while her bereavement was almost too sacred a matter for public discussion, it was fitting that the House should not withhold the formal expression of its deep sympathy.

Both speeches were heard in silence, but greeted at the close with murmurs of approval.

Mr. Enoch Edwards (Lab., *Hanley*) added a few impressive and sincere words on behalf of his party. The late King had toiled for the good of the poor, and in him the people had felt that they had a warm friend. In the cottage homes throughout the Empire the sorrow would be true and deep.

The resolutions having been carried *nemine contradicente*, arrangements were made for their presentation.

The changes in the Prayer Book were announced on May 11. In Morning and Evening Prayer and the Litany, the alteration of the designation of the Royal Family ran as follows: "our gracious Queen Mary, Alexandra the Queen Mother, Edward Duke of Cornwall, and all the Royal Family." (The Duke of Cornwall was created Prince of Wales on his birthday, June 3.) The substitution of "Queen Mother" for "Queen Dowager" was generally welcomed. It had been used of "Mary" (Henrietta Maria), the widow of Charles I., but "Adelaide the Queen Dowager," widow of William IV., and the last "Queen Dowager" publicly prayed for, had not been the mother of the reigning Sovereign.

The body of King Edward VII., after being seen by many old friends and distinguished visitors, was placed in a shell on the evening of Thursday, May 12. The closed coffin was removed two days later to the Throne Room, where there was a private lying-in-state for two days more. The scene was very impressive. The coffin was hidden by a cream-coloured pall worked for Queen Victoria's funeral; over its foot was the Royal Standard; the ancient Crown from the Tower, and the King's Diamond Garter, lay on a purple velvet cushion near its head, the Sceptre and Orb on another near its foot. On the floor at the foot were the King's Company colours of the Grenadier Regiment, used only when the King was on parade. The Throne was replaced by an altar, on which there were two lighted candles and two vases with white flowers. A tall candle burnt at each corner of the catafalque. At

the head was a *prie-dieu* used by the widowed Queen, with others for other members of the Royal Family; and the coffin was watched by four Grenadier Guards, with a non-commissioned officer and an officer, in absolute immobility and silence.

The remains were removed in State to Westminster Hall on Tuesday, May 16. At half-past eleven A.M., in the presence of crowds that had begun to collect at dawn, the coffin was carried by Grenadiers to a gun-carriage drawn by black horses; the Crown was placed at the head, the Sceptre and Orb near the foot, and the insignia of the Garter between, while the foot was draped with the Royal Standard. The procession then moved off by the Mall and the Horse Guards to Westminster Abbey to the strains of Beethoven's funeral march. High officers and officials of the Army and Navy preceded it, with the Indian orderly officers (Ghurkas) and two detachments of Life Guards; these followed massed bands of the Guards, immediately in front of the gun-carriage. Behind it walked the King in an Admiral's uniform; just following him were his two elder sons, then the Duke of Connaught and the Kings of Denmark and Norway, followed by various Royal visitors and near relatives, and the Royal households and suites of the Kings of Norway and Denmark; and, finally, a procession of State carriages containing the Royal ladies and the suites of the Queen Mother and Queen; a mounted escort closed the procession. As it passed, sixty-eight minute-guns were fired by the Royal Horse Artillery in Hyde Park, and also at the Tower, one for each year of the late King's life. The stately and magnificent procession was watched by reverent crowds, inspired by evident sympathy and sincere grief. Meanwhile both Houses of Parliament met and proceeded to Westminster Hall. When the cortege arrived the coffin was carried by Grenadiers in procession to the catafalque, preceded by Norroy King of Arms; he was followed by Garter King of Arms, the First Commissioner of Works, and Black Rod, abreast; then the Earl Marshal, the Dean of Westminster, and the Lord Great Chamberlain, and then the Primate. Following the coffin and the pall, were the King, Queen Alexandra, and the Empress Marie; next Queen Mary, with two of the younger Princes, and then the other Royal visitors and relatives. A short service was then conducted by the Archbishop, who delivered a brief and eloquent address, and a special prayer of thanksgiving was offered for the life and work of King Edward VII.

As soon as the coffin had entered the hall, crowds began to collect for the public lying-in-state. They were admitted from four to ten that evening, and from six A.M. to ten P.M. during the succeeding days. The scene inside was very impressive. The coffin was guarded by four Gentlemen-at-Arms, at the head, two officers of the Grenadier Guards on either side, a Yeoman of the Guard at each of the four corners, and a Ghurka officer at the

foot. Beautiful wreaths, one of them sent by the German Emperor and Empress, were at the foot of the catafalque. At times, the waiting train of spectators was nearly five miles long, and it usually took two hours or more to obtain admission. It was estimated on the first day that about 10,000 persons hourly passed the catafalque, so that the whole number must have considerably exceeded 350,000. For two brief intervals the stream was checked: to admit a body of hospital nurses, and to permit a visit from the German Emperor.

The funeral took place on Friday, May 20. In the small hours of the morning crowds were already assembled along the route of the procession, and their numbers were reinforced from six o'clock onwards by visitors who thronged in from the suburbs, and also from the country by the night trains. Soon after seven o'clock every available place on the route was occupied. Even a thunderstorm in the early morning had not dislodged the spectators, and during the fine and warm day which followed there was some suffering from the heat.

At a quarter past nine A.M. the Sovereigns' procession left Buckingham Palace for Westminster Hall. First came the King in a general's uniform and wearing the Order of the Garter, the German Emperor and the Duke of Connaught riding on either side. They were followed by a procession (riding three abreast) of forty-eight Sovereigns and Royal personages such as probably had never been brought together in history. The Kings of Norway, Greece, Spain, Bulgaria, Denmark, Portugal, and the Belgians; the Archduke Francis Ferdinand of Austria; the Crown Prince of Turkey; the Grand Duke Michael of Russia, the Duke of Aosta, the Crown Princes of Roumania, Servia and Montenegro, the Prince Consort of the Netherlands, and representatives of the Royal families of Sweden, Bavaria and other German States, Japan, Siam, and the Orleans family; all these had gathered to pay the last tribute to the dead King. The suites followed, and then a procession of nine State carriages, the first containing the Queen Mother and the Empress Marie of Russia, with the Princess Royal and Princess Victoria, the second the Queen with two of her sons, and the others Royal ladies and distinguished representatives of foreign Republican States, among whom Mr. Theodore Roosevelt and M. Pichon were the most notable. This procession went by way of Birdcage Walk to Westminster Hall, where the riders and carriages formed two concentric semicircles in New Palace Yard, and awaited the coffin. The five Royal mourners—the King, the Duke of Connaught, the German Emperor, and the Kings of Norway and Denmark—then entered the Hall, where the Primate conducted a brief religious ceremony. He then, with his chaplain bearing a gold cross, came out, preceding the coffin, which was carried forth wrapped in the Royal Standard, and reverently placed on the gun-carriage in which it had been brought three days earlier

from the Palace, and which had served a like purpose at Queen Victoria's funeral.

The funeral procession then moved off to Paddington Station. It was headed by an officer of the Headquarters Staff and bands of the Household Cavalry; then followed a great body of troops representing all branches of both the Services, and then deputations of officers from foreign armies and navies, and high officers of the British Army and Navy, among them Earl Roberts, Lord Kitchener, and Lord Fisher of Kilverstone. Then came the late King's personal servants and equerries, with the King's Company of the Grenadier Guards, and a detachment of the Royal Horse Artillery, immediately preceding the gun-carriage bearing the coffin. This latter was followed by the Royal Standard, and by the late King's charger and his favourite white terrier, Cæsar. Then came the Royal Procession previously described, and the State carriages with the Royal ladies and representatives of various foreign States, including China, and of the Dominions. As the procession traversed the appointed route—which was lined with troops—by Whitehall, the Mall, St. James's Street, Piccadilly, Hyde Park, Edgware Road, and Oxford and Cambridge Terraces, to Paddington Station, minute-guns were fired, and the vast crowds uncovered and observed a reverent silence. Their order and demeanour were admirable.

The arrival of the funeral train at Windsor was greeted by the tolling of the great bells of the Castle, and the procession proceeded to the sound of minute-guns to St. George's Chapel. A military guard of honour went before it; bluejackets drew the gun-carriage; and the Royal personages and other representatives of foreign States, followed on foot. Only one carriage was in the procession, that containing the Queen Mother and the Empress Marie of Russia. The other ladies drove to the Chapel by another way.

The scene in St. George's Chapel was extraordinarily brilliant and profoundly impressive. Prominent men in all walks of life were there, Ministers, Bishops, Judges, officers in uniform, Ambassadors of Foreign States, almost every civilian being in Court dress or official robes, the brightness of their costumes being heightened by the deep mourning of the ladies present. The two Archbishops, each preceded by his cross, and followed by the Prelate of the Order of the Garter, came to meet the procession and led the way up the chapel. The gorgeously robed officials of the Herald's College followed, then the coffin; after it came, first the Queen Mother and the King, then the German Emperor and the Empress Marie, and next the representatives of Royal families and foreign States. The funeral service was held; during Handel's Funeral Anthem the remains were lowered by unseen agency into the vault below; and towards the close of the ceremony a solemn proclamation was recited by Garter King of Arms, invoking the blessing of Heaven on the new King. After the Benediction the congregation broke up without further ceremony.

In accordance with the Royal Proclamation, the day was observed as a day of general mourning throughout the United Kingdom. Business was as far as possible suspended; on some railway and tramway systems all traffic was stopped for a few minutes at the hour of the interment; and memorial services and military and other demonstrations of mourning were held all over the country, in the Dominions and Colonies, and in many foreign cities. Special and very impressive forms of service had been prepared for use in the Church of England. In several foreign capitals the chiefs of the State or their representatives attended the services at the English churches; in some of the Balkan States Requiem Masses were chanted; and in non-Christian lands several specially striking tributes were paid to the late King. In Calcutta a Hindu demonstration and procession was attended by 300,000 natives; there was also an impressive ceremony conducted by the Mohammedans; there were special commemorations in the Native States, and near Tokio a Buddhist memorial service. Upwards of 4,000 floral devices, many of them of great beauty and cost, had been sent to Windsor by official and public bodies and by private persons of all ranks, and epistolary condolences came from every class of society and all parts of the world. As illustrating the increasing tendency to lavish expenditure, it may be recorded that seats on the route of the funeral procession were offered at prices rising from two or three guineas to ten or more, and windows in the best positions at 500 guineas. These prices, however, proved too high, and were considerably reduced before the day.

It was remarked with some force in Liberal circles that the aspect of the funeral was too exclusively that of a military and Court ceremonial, and that neither the Ministry nor the Houses of Parliament had, as such, any part in the procession. In this as in other cases, Court tradition and etiquette was too archaic. And, as the *Nation* observed, the military aspect was unfortunate, seeing that popular judgment had fixed King Edward's historic title as "the Peacemaker." (The complaint was repeated by Mr. Lees Smith (L., *Northampton*) and others in Committee of Supply on July 15, when Mr. Harcourt, Commissioner of Works, defended the arrangements, pointing out that special recognition had been given to both Houses unprecedented on previous Royal funerals. There was no division, but the objectors were not satisfied.)

On Monday, May 23, a letter was published from King George to his people, declaring that he and his family were profoundly touched by the voice of affection and of loving devotion from every part of the Empire, and the general demonstrations of public grief. A sorrow so sudden and unlooked-for might well have been overwhelming; but the sentiments evoked had made him realise that the loss was common to him and his people. "With such thoughts I take courage, and hopefully look into the future; strong in my

faith in God, trusting my people, and cherishing the Laws and Constitution of my beloved country."

Partial remissions of sentences were granted to military, naval, and civil prisoners, in view of the new reign. A Royal Message was also communicated to all officers administering the Governments of British oversea Dominions, British Colonies, and Protectorates, acknowledging the innumerable messages of kindness and sympathy from the King's loyal subjects beyond the seas. "The happiness of all his people throughout his dominions was dear to the heart of my beloved Father. For them he lived and worked, in their service he died, and I cannot doubt that they will hold his name in grateful remembrance. I am now called to follow in his footsteps and to carry on the work which prospered in his hands." After reference to his own travels in the Empire, the King closed by saying that it would be his earnest desire to uphold Constitutional Government and to safeguard the liberties enjoyed throughout the Dominions; and under the good guidance of the Ruler of all men he would maintain on the foundation of freedom, justice and peace the great heritage of the United British Empire.

The King also addressed a letter to the Princes and peoples of India of greeting and thanks for their touching and abundant manifestations of loyalty, and promised to abide faithfully by the addresses of Queen Victoria in 1858 and King Edward in 1908, "the charters of the noble and benignant spirit of Imperial rule." He referred appreciatively to the experiences of his Indian journey in 1905, and counted on the ready response of the Princes and peoples to the earnest sympathy with their well-being which must ever be the inspiration of his rule.

King George had seen a good deal of service in the Navy, and was known as an excellent officer, a great traveller, and an energetic worker in all he undertook. No previous Sovereign, of course, had seen so much of the British Empire. He had been round the world as a midshipman with his elder brother, Prince Albert Victor, in H.M.S. *Bacchante* in 1880-1881: had opened the first Parliament of the Commonwealth of Australia in 1902, returning by way of South Africa, Canada and Newfoundland: had visited India in 1905-1906, and had attended the tercentenary celebration at Quebec in 1908. He was a keen sportsman, and had the reputation of being one of the best game shots in England.

The opening of a new reign raised two questions; that of the Royal declaration on accession to the throne and that of a settlement of the difficulty between the two Houses by some permanent compromise. The first question, which had been mooted along with other Roman Catholic grievances in 1908 and 1909 (ANNUAL REGISTER, 1908, p. 231; 1909, p. 114), was raised by a letter of Mr. Redmond to the Prime Minister (May 9) asking him to take the necessary steps to relieve the King from

his obligation to repeat words offensive to his Roman Catholic subjects, a request which evoked protests from Protestant societies and individual champions of Protestantism, but was strongly endorsed by the Bishop of Carlisle (an Evangelical) in *The Times* of May 25, on the ground that the Declaration, by insulting Roman Catholicism, really created factitious sympathy for it; and the question was dealt with by Parliament later.

The programme of the session was necessarily modified by the inevitable provision for the new King's Civil List and the remote contingency of a Regency; but besides this the whole aspect of the controversy between the Houses had been changed by the new reign. Though there was no sufficient evidence that King Edward's death had been hastened by the constitutional crisis, it was felt that it would be unfair to lay the burden of deciding whether or not to override the resistance of the Peers on the new King at the outset of his reign, and that in any case the controversy, though it could not be dropped, would have to be approached with an increased readiness for a settlement. Two days after the King's death the *Observer* urged that the leaders on each side should effect a compromise, and the *Morning Post* next day predicted an armistice; and the Unionist Press strongly advocated this course, though the Liberals were naturally disinclined to make substantial concessions, and their organs insisted that the Liberal policy of modifying the Lords' Veto remained unchanged. A very general view was effectively expressed by the Earl of Rosebery, speaking, as Lord-Lieutenant of Midlothian, at a meeting of the County authorities on May 25 at Edinburgh. The meeting (he said) of the German Emperor and King George in Westminster Hall had struck the imagination of the world. Was it too much to hope that King Edward, the promoter of peace during his life, might have bequeathed the great legacy of peace at his death? Might they not hope that by his death and the solemn communion of parties that took place in Westminster Hall he had left peace even in the politics of this country? After expressing a similar hope in regard to Great Britain and Germany, and referring to King Edward's influence in bringing about the Anglo-French and Anglo-Russian understandings, Lord Rosebery added that King George's exemplary life and high-minded desire to fulfil his sublime position gave hope that he would step worthily in the path of his great grandmother and his great father.

The hopes of a compromise, however, had to await furtherance till after the reassembling of Parliament, which had been fixed for June 8; and during the political truce caused by King Edward's death and burial scant attention was given to any of the topics of current political controversy. Three, however, were brought into notice by the publication of reports which had long been in preparation, and these must be mentioned here.

The Report of the Royal Commission on Electoral Reform was

published three days after the King's death. Political considerations, the Commissioners stated, entered so largely into such questions as redistribution of seats, elections all on one day, and payment of candidates' expenses from public funds, that they had interpreted their terms of reference as excluding these questions from consideration and had confined themselves to systems of election. Where more than two candidates stood for one seat, they recommended the adoption of the Alternative Vote in single-member constituencies; double-member constituencies were anomalous and their existence should be reconsidered. Of proportional representation schemes—a subject the Report discussed at considerable length—they thought the transferable vote would have the best chance of ultimate acceptance, but could not recommend it under existing circumstances for elections to the House of Commons.

Some light was thrown on Imperial development with reference to the rights of the Dominions as States by the publication of correspondence on their constitutional position in the negotiation of treaties with foreign Powers, appropriately issued on Empire Day, May 24. In 1895 the Marquess of Ripon, Colonial Secretary, had insisted in a despatch that foreign Powers should apply only to the Imperial Government to make treaties, and that the negotiations, by whatever agents of any Colonial Government they might be conducted, should be in the name of the Imperial Government and subject to its final sanction. In 1907, however, Sir Edward Grey had left the negotiations of the Franco-Canadian Commercial Convention to the Canadian Premier and Finance Minister, and had instructed the British Ambassador at Paris to sign the treaty and approve verbal modifications without reference to the British Foreign Office. A slight growth in the independence of the Dominions was thus noticeable, but it seemed probable that the next few years would be marked by further changes in Imperial relations. (Cf. ANNUAL REGISTER, 1907, p. 458; 1908, p. 447.)

(In this connection it may be mentioned that the Liberal League, founded amid the divisions set up by the Boer War to promote "Imperialism" among the Liberal party, was dissolved on May 31, the need for its existence having passed away.)

The results of the deliberations of the Committee formed in 1908 to promote a settlement of the Education controversy (ANNUAL REGISTER, 1908, pp. 227, 239) were published on May 30 by Messrs. Longmans & Co. in a volume entitled "Towards Educational Peace," and summarised by Professor Sadler in *The Times* of that date. The leading features of their proposals were: (1) A public elementary or "Council" school was to be within the reach of every child; (2) religious teaching was to be an integral part of the school work; (3) variety of effort was to be encouraged by the recognition of alternative schools (provided by the Churches); (4) the administrative arrangements were to be favourable to reality in the religious teaching, and to respect for various forms

of conscientious belief among parents and teachers alike. As a first step, it was suggested that the Board of Education should ask local authorities to provide a scheme, with map, showing where new Council schools would be necessary to comply with the first condition. The alternative schools would be kept up at the public cost, like Council schools, the structural maintenance, however, being paid for by their supporters, who would also elect a majority of the managers; the latter would either appoint, or sanction the appointment of, the teachers. A new alternative school would be recognised if the parents of at least 150 children desired it, the premises being provided by voluntary effort, and recognition might be withdrawn from any alternative school by the local authority, subject to twelve months' notice and an appeal to the Board of Education, on the ground of impaired efficiency or decline in attendance; but the displaced children would have to be provided for according to their parents' convictions, and the displaced teachers protected from financial loss. Religious teaching should be provided by the local authority with the aid of a Religious Instruction Committee whose members might be selected from outside, and if the local authority declined to provide it, it would have to make arrangements for its being given by representatives of denominational associations, within compulsory school hours and as far as possible within the school buildings, but not at the expense of the rates. Teachers in Council schools would not be required to give religious instruction, but the local authority might make inquiry as to their character.

Admittedly the scheme would not satisfy the "passive resisters," who objected to any payment out of public money for denominational schools; the Roman Catholics had taken no part in the deliberations of the Committee, and the extremists on both sides were unfavourable to the plan. But other matters prevented the discussion of the subject during the year.

The only other noteworthy political event prior to the resumption of Parliamentary activity was the speech delivered by Mr. Theodore Roosevelt at the Guildhall on the presentation to him of the honorary freedom of the City of London on May 31. What he would say had been the subject of much interest and some apprehension in view of his speech at Cairo (*post*, p. 132). The reception was necessarily shorn of some of the usual decorative splendours by the public mourning, but a distinguished company was present. In acknowledging the presentation, Mr. Roosevelt, after an appropriate reference to the Royal funeral and an acknowledgment of the honour conferred upon him, gave the results of his observations on British government in Africa. He heartily commended the work of British settlers and officials, civil and military, and urged the desirability of harmony between the various European nations working in Africa. The East African highlands could be made a true white man's country, for settlers rather than

capitalists ; no alien race should be permitted to compete with the settlers there. Uganda could not be made a white man's country, and he cordially approved the policy of developing the natives along their own lines. As to the Soudan, he did not believe any other country had made such astonishing progress as it had under British rule. He illustrated the progress made in various ways, and declared that it would be a crime not to go on with the work. As to Egypt, speaking as an American and a Radical, he said that Great Britain had given Egypt the best Government it had had for 2,000 years, but recent events had shown that errors had been made, proceeding, indeed, from the desire to do too much in the interest of the Egyptians ; but in such a situation weakness, timidity, and sentimentality might cause more harm than violence or injustice. After alluding to the murder of Boutros Pasha and attacking the Egyptian Nationalists, he said that if England did not wish to establish and keep order in Egypt, then let her by all means get out ; when a people treated assassination as the corner-stone of self-government it forfeited all right to be treated as worthy of self-government ; but some nation must govern Egypt, and he hoped and believed that Great Britain would decide it was her duty to be that nation. This speech gave great offence in advanced Liberal quarters, as tending to weaken the efforts of Sir Eldon Gorst and to stimulate the attacks on him of part of the British Press ; but Sir Edward Grey subsequently gave it his hearty approval (*post*, p. 133). Mr. Roosevelt afterwards visited Oxford to deliver the Romanes lecture (*Chronicle*, June 7) and receive the honorary degree of D.C.L. ; and, speaking at the American Club in the University, he said that the relations between the American and British peoples were now so cordial as to permit frankness of speech, and that what he had said at the Guildhall could only have been said by a sincere friend, admirer, and well-wisher.

Parliament met on June 8 with an altered programme and outlook. Besides the necessary business of the Budget and Supply, the accession of a new Monarch made it necessary to pass another Consolidated Fund Bill and a Regency Bill, and to settle the Civil List for the new reign. The reform of the Royal Declaration on accession had become inevitable, and, with all this new business, it was clear that the Government could not dissolve in the event of a crisis arising on the Budget in June or July. Moreover, the situation, as had been said, had been altered in another way by the death of King Edward VII. The view that efforts should be made towards a settlement by compromise (p. 111) was accepted by the Government, and on the morning of the day fixed for the reassembling of Parliament, *The Times* announced that Ministers were ready to propose a small private conference between Ministers and the Unionist leaders. Though not favourably received by the extremists on either side, the proposal was welcomed by Mr. Walter Long in a speech on the same day, and there was reason to believe that it had been made at the instance of the King.

CHAPTER IV.

THE SESSION RESUMED.

IT was thus under totally transformed conditions that the two Houses of Parliament resumed their work on June 8. In the House of Lords, in the course of a short conversation on the order of business, the Earl of Rosebery explained that he had been advised to postpone his resolutions (p. 89), partly because some form of pacification might be formulated with reference to this great constitutional issue, and partly because it was felt to be undesirable to embarrass the new reign and the personality of a new King. This in his opinion did not apply to his Resolutions, which at this stage were solely a matter for the House of Lords, and their discussion was irrespective of any discussion of those contemplated by the Government.

The House of Commons employed itself on June 8 and 9 in discussing questions raised by the Navy Votes. On Friday, June 10, the Ecclesiastical Disorders Bill stood for second reading, but debate on the Report stage of two Bills preceding it—the Police Superannuation (Scotland) Bill and the Norwich Charities Bill—which had been before a Standing Committee, was purposely prolonged so that only a few minutes were left, and the Bill was at once talked out.

More interesting debates marked the opening of the following week. The announcement on June 11 of the selection of Sir Charles Hardinge to succeed the Earl of Minto as Viceroy of India had disposed of the suggestions of Lord Kitchener's appointment, though it had been clear that such a choice would, apart from all other considerations, make far too much of the Indian unrest; and it seemed likely that Lord Kitchener's services would, for a time, be lost to the Empire. For on Monday, June 13, *The Times* announced that Lord Kitchener would not take up the Mediterranean command in succession to the Duke of Connaught, as had been announced in August, 1909 (ANNUAL REGISTER, 1909, Chronicle, p. 28), and the statement was confirmed that afternoon in the House of Commons. In the House of Lords on the same day, at the first important sitting since the adjournment, Viscount Midleton and the Earl of Cromer condemned the whole policy of maintaining the office, holding that the duties of its holder were incompatible with each other and his powers might clash with those of other authorities. Lord Lucas of Crudwell explained that the duties of the post would now include the inspection of all the oversea military forces outside India, and, possibly, after the next Colonial Conference, periodical visits of advice to the Dominions. Later speakers pressed for the reasons of the Duke of Connaught's resignation and Lord Kitchener's refusal of the

post, which the Earl of Crewe felt unable to promise. In a further debate in the House of Lords a week later, it was made clear that the holder of the post would inspect the forces of the self-governing Dominions only at the request of their Governments. On June 21 it was announced that General Sir Ian Hamilton had been appointed, and that the Inspector-General of the Forces (Sir John French) would henceforth inspect the Home Forces only. A month later (July 21) Lord Charles Beresford raised the question on the Appropriation Bill, criticising the memorandum on the Mediterranean command, and urging the employment of Lord Kitchener on the Defence Committee. Mr. Haldane explained that the duty of the holder of the office would be to think out strategical questions connected with the Suez Canal and the route to Egypt and India; and in October the desire so often expressed for the utilisation of Lord Kitchener's services was gratified by his appointment to the Defence Committee.

In the House of Commons on June 13 the situation in Egypt, and Mr. Roosevelt's advice (*post*, Foreign History, Chapter VII.), was debated on the second reading of the Consolidated Fund (No. 2) Bill. Mr. Baird (U., *Warwickshire, Rugby*), who had held diplomatic posts at Cairo, began it by attacking Sir Eldon Gorst for speaking of the "progress of Egypt" in his recently issued Report. Great Britain, he said, had been exposed to the humiliation of advice by a "great foreign friend" whose remarks were perfectly justified, and had been received with relief, as his authority gave hope that they would be taken to heart by the Government. He attacked the Liberal supporters of representative institutions in Egypt and appealed to the Government to change its policy. Mr. J. M. Robertson (L., *Tyneside, Northumberland*) replied that Mr. Roosevelt's language was, unintentionally, an insult to Great Britain. The Egyptians should be properly educated in self-government. He hoped that the Government would be true in India as in Egypt to the principle of steady progress and refusal to be swayed by panic. After other speeches, Mr. Balfour, whose words profoundly impressed the House, said that he had never heard a speech less deserving of the charge of insult than Mr. Roosevelt's at the Guildhall. The knowledge and sympathy so often conspicuously absent in foreign criticisms were present in it, and there was nothing to which the most sensitive Briton could take the smallest exception. Mr. Roosevelt realised that the problems of Egypt could not be treated as if they were those of the Isle of Wight. Western nations at their first appearance in history showed the beginnings of capacity for self-government; in the East there had never been a trace of it or a desire for it, until we indoctrinated the peoples with our often superficial political philosophy. Thirty years of British rule would not alter their character, and it was good for them that we should be the people exercising absolute government. We were in Egypt for

the sake both of the Egyptians and of Europe at large; our difficulties were great and inevitable, and it was of the highest importance that our administrators should not lose the sense that they were supported from home. Every one who knew Egypt with whom he had spoken agreed that the position there was eminently unsatisfactory, because the authority of the dominant race had been undermined. He did not know whose fault this was, but the situation called for prompt and decisive action. In criticism of our work in Egypt nothing should be said that might cause our officials to feel that they had not that support without which they would be helpless indeed. Sir Edward Grey said that Mr. Balfour's speech had raised the tone of the debate. He was glad that no one had attacked Sir Eldon Gorst in the House; the attacks in certain papers were unfounded, unjust, and untrue. Attacks should be made, if at all, on the Government, not on the officials who carried out its policy. The policy was that of the Government, and no one could have carried it out with more ability, knowledge, or skill than Sir Eldon Gorst. Mr. Roosevelt had communicated to him (Sir Edward Grey) his experiences in East Africa, Uganda, the Soudan, and Egypt; he did not think Mr. Roosevelt's views were likely to be embarrassing, and he had listened to the Guildhall speech with the greatest enjoyment. The situation in Egypt had given rise to serious consideration, but was not nearly so grave as had been represented. The assassination of the Prime Minister was a very serious murder, and he had consulted Sir Eldon Gorst as to accelerating the punishment of such crimes. There had been too little recognition of the progress made under Sir Eldon Gorst in reducing crime, by special methods, in the rural districts, or of the satisfactory state of the Soudan. The policy of the Government had been to make Egyptian Ministers and officials more of a factor in the government of their country, to build up local government from the bottom by establishing provincial councils, and to try and make large use of the Legislative Council, by giving opportunities to interrogate the departmental administrations on departmental questions. But he had to give a serious warning. The anomalous form of government through Egyptian Ministers and British advisers could not be carried on if deference of the Ministers towards the advisers was to be denounced by the national Press. Nor could the Legislative Council or the General Assembly be used to improve the Government of Egypt if they were to become the instrument of the national movement against British occupation. No progress could be made with the development of the government of Egypt by Egyptians as long as that agitation continued. We were trustees for the natives of Europe in Egypt as well as for the Egyptians themselves, and in the near future the capitulations should be brought more into harmony with modern conditions. There would be no chance of doing so but

for the British occupation. We had done better work in Egypt every year, it depended on our stay, and we could not abandon Egypt without disgrace. As long as the agitation against our occupation continued it would be impossible to talk of further developing self-governing institutions. But a resort to unusual methods would not be justified.

Two days later, however, at the final stage of the Bill, the question of Egypt, with that of Crete, was among those raised, and evoked another important speech from Sir Edward Grey. He had stated in the interval, in reply to a question, that the four protecting Powers had recently addressed collective notes to the Cretan Executive Committee explaining that they would not allow Mussulman officials to be excluded from the exercise of their functions on the ground that they had not taken the oath to the King of Greece, and that the policy of the Government, like that of the other Protecting Powers, consisted in the maintenance of the Suzerainty of Turkey, the protection of the Mussulman inhabitants, and the furtherance of the good government of the island under an autonomous *régime*. In spite of this declaration, however, on June 15, Mr. Lloyd (U., *Staffs, Penkridge*), who had had some diplomatic and official experience in the Near East, urged the Government to make plain that the Turkish suzerainty must continue in Crete and that disturbances would be followed by the return of the foreign troops. Sir Charles Dilke mentioned that those members who took the opposite view had heard with concern Sir E. Grey's answer the day before, but had decided not to interfere with the discretion of the Government in a matter so likely to affect the relations of the great Powers. A declaration of the Powers, however, could not dispose of national aspirations. His speech generally favoured temporising. Mr. Kettle (N., *Tyrone, E.*) dealt with Egypt, asking if Sir Edward Grey's speech two days earlier meant that there was to be no further reform in Egypt if the agitation continued, and charged the Foreign Secretary with having employed Mr. Roosevelt—"a combination of Tartarin and Tartuffe"—as a mouthpiece for the announcement of a policy which he should have had the courage to announce himself, and Sir H. Dalziel (L., *Kirkcaldy*) also blamed Sir E. Grey for justifying the interference of a stranger in a British problem, and declared that in his attitude towards Mr. Roosevelt he was not in accord with the Liberal party. Next, Mr. Arbuthnot (U., *Burnley*) complained that the Government was not supporting the promoters of the Chinchow-Aigun Railway (*post*, Foreign History, Chapter VI.), on the ground that the line did not largely affect British interests and that the Anglo-Russian Agreement of 1897 precluded its support.

Sir Edward Grey replied. In regard to Crete he amplified his answer of two days earlier. The four protecting Powers, he

said, could not definitely solve the Cretan question without consulting Turkey, and meantime must see that the *status quo* was maintained and no change made which could injure Turkey as Suzerain. The Powers had demanded that the *status quo* should be rectified; if the violation continued, they might have to find a definite solution, which would involve the co-operation of the Porte and might be a change for the worse for Cretan aspirations, and would entail consulting Germany and Austria. The attitude of Greece had been perfectly correct, and he trusted it would be felt that there was no legitimate cause for the discontinuance of peace. As to the attack on him for approving Mr. Roosevelt's speech, he should have said much the same if the Egyptian question had been raised before that speech was delivered. He had always held that we must continue to discharge our responsibilities in Egypt, and that, if we did not, the reason for our presence would disappear. We could not leave Egypt without disgrace. He had not seen the manuscript of Mr. Roosevelt's speech. The Chinchow-Aigun Railway was to extend to the Russian frontier, and we had agreed in 1897 not to press for concessions in that particular region. The Government could only maintain a neutral attitude till the Russian and Japanese objections to the railway had been removed.

The Bill was shortly afterwards read a third time. Earlier in the evening it had given an opportunity to the Opposition to ventilate the grievances arising from the administration of the Finance Act in connection with the new land taxes. Mr. Pretyman (U., *Chelmsford, Essex*) complained that under the Act all sales and all leases for more than fourteen years had to go before the Commissioners for the increment value duty stamp; that details were asked for which could not be given without considerable expense, and that all transactions in land would be held up for some months and heavy costs incurred, yet increment duty would be chargeable only in one case of a thousand. He suggested that a test case as to whether the Commissioners of Inland Revenue were acting *ultra vires* should be brought before the Courts at the expense of the Crown. The Chancellor of the Exchequer said that great difficulties had been caused by the postponement of the Budget of 1909. The particulars asked for from taxpayers were asked in their own interest, and had been put into the Finance Bill at the instance of Opposition members. He questioned the particulars of hard cases supplied by Mr. Pretyman. He promised to consult the law officers as to whether a test case as to the cost of plans of property might be tried at the expense of the Crown. The difficulty was only temporary, and the change would not only bring revenue to the Treasury but would simplify the transfer of land.

Earlier in the week there had been a debate on the conduct of the East Dorset election in January. An election petition against

the return of Captain Guest (L.) had been successful, after a protracted trial, on May 14. The graver charges against him and his mother, Lady Wimborne (aunt of Mr. Winston Churchill), of direct and indirect bribery and intimidation had been dismissed; but the legal expenditure had been greatly exceeded; the employment of hired motor cars and the cost of certain printing had not been duly returned, and these omissions voided the election. The judges, however, commented severely on some points in the conduct of the contest, especially the action of the agent of one of the Wimborne estates in standing before a polling station with a notebook, and they took a stringent view as to the electoral expenditure of candidates. The proceedings of Captain Guest and his friends, indeed, looked so like those which Liberals were wont to impute to the territorial magnates of the opposite party, that, when the new writ was moved for on Monday, June 13, its suspension during the current session was moved by Mr. Markham (L., *Mansfield, Notts*). He dealt very fully with the cases disclosed in the evidence, saying that the Wimborne family had come over to Liberalism in 1904, but were not Liberals and never would be. He insisted that specific voters had been intimidated, that there had been indirect bribery, and that the Gladstone League, founded to check and register cases of intimidation, should register the case of East Dorset. The delay would punish, not the constituency, but Lady Wimborne. Mr. Belloc (L., *Salford, S.*) seconded the motion. The Solicitor-General (Sir Rufus Isaacs, *Reading*) said that if half the facts stated by Mr. Markham were true and his statements could be substantiated, the proceedings would have been scandalous, but he had selected his facts unfairly and under strong bias. It was absurd to ask the House to disfranchise 14,700 electors to punish Lady Wimborne, who had no vote. The agent in question had gone merely to see if those who had promised to vote did so, and had not been sent by her. The House could not judge unless members had read the whole evidence and seen the witnesses. Mr. Lyell (L., *Edinburgh, S.*), who had won the seat in 1904 against the Wimborne influence, and Mr. Henderson for the Labour party, opposed the motion, which was eventually rejected by 229 to 24.

Later in the week, on Thursday, June 16, there was an interesting debate on accidents in coal mines, in which several Labour members who had worked as miners took part, and which derived special importance from the recent colliery accident at Whitehaven (*post*, *Chronicle*, May 11). It was opened by Mr. Enoch Edwards (Lab., *Hanley*), who, on the motion to go into Committee on the Civil Service Estimates, called attention to the increase of fatal mining accidents, and moved a resolution advocating more rigorous application of the mining laws, an increased number of inspectors, and the establishment of properly equipped rescue and experimental stations in all mining areas.

He also called attention to the great danger in undersea working, owing to the difficulty of providing a separate exit. In seconding, Mr. Brace (Lab., *Glamorgan, S.*) showed that there had been no improvement in the death rate from mining accidents during the past seven years, and urged that Government aid should be given to the experiments on the causes of accidents undertaken by private initiative. Mr. Twist (Lab., *Wigan*) urged that there should be 200 additional sub-inspectors whose salaries could be defrayed out of royalties paid by coal owners; and other members offered various criticisms and suggestions. The Home Secretary, whose reply gave general satisfaction, began by expressing the deep sympathy of the House with the sufferers through the Whitehaven disaster, and paying a tribute to those who had attempted a rescue. Before the disaster he had arranged for a meeting of colliery owners—as the result of a deputation to him—on the question of providing rescue apparatus. He explained that, though the causes of the disaster were not sufficiently known, it was certain that there were no men alive in the mine when the intake was closed, and, if there had been any, they could have come out by the return air passage, which was not closed for nine days. The number of accidents in mines in 1851-55 was 5·149 per 1,000 of underground workers, in 1896-1900 1·473 per 1,000, but it had not fallen since; he inferred that the limit of improvement under the existing system had been reached, and that it was necessary to break new ground. The Royal Commission was still considering the effect of coal-dust in explosions, it had made recommendations as to shot-firing, and a Home Office Committee had been appointed to revise the rules relating to electricity in mines. The Commission unanimously recommended an increase in the inspectorate, but he could not decide on its extent before the completion of the reorganisation of the district staffs. He hoped he might be able to meet the desire for the appointment of miners, and to have officials with trade-union experience at the Home Office. If he were there till the end of the year, a Bill giving effect to the recommendations of the Royal Commission, and covering metalliferous mines and quarries, would be ready for 1911. The provision of rescue apparatus, however, could not be deferred till then, and a small Bill for the purpose would be introduced. [It became law on Aug. 3.] The Home Secretary's speech was cordially welcomed by Mr. Keir Hardie and other members, and the amendment was withdrawn.

The vote for the Local Government Board next day, June 17, gave rise to a discussion on the proposal to increase the President's salary from 2,000*l.* to 5,000*l.* Mr. Long (U., *Strand*) expressed complete approval of the action of the Government; he had Mr. Balfour's authority to say that, so long as the House differentiated between the salaries paid to Ministers, the public would believe that there was a difference in the status of the Departments, and

this was bad both for the Departments and the State. Mr. Asquith, who followed, said that after surveying the work of the different Departments both as Chancellor of the Exchequer and Prime Minister, he had come to the conclusion that the work of the Local Government Board and Board of Trade could not now be treated as in any sense inferior to that of the other great offices. He complimented Mr. Burns on his assiduity and devotion to his duties, and held that his self-denying ordinance not to accept an increase should no longer be applicable. A reduction of the salary to the old level of 2,000*l.*, however, was moved by Mr. Lees Smith (L., *Northampton*), not on personal grounds, but through apprehension that a precedent might be set for the increase of other salaries; he suggested the appointment of a Committee to inquire into the scale of Ministerial salaries and pensions. In a democratic State, he thought, political leaders might set an example of unostentatious life. Mr. Byles (L., *Salford, N.*), who seconded Mr. Lees Smith's motion, suggested the abolition of the office and salary of Lord President of the Council, in which Earl Beauchamp had just replaced Lord Wolverhampton. After further debate, in which two Labour members advocated the reduction proposed, the increased salary of 5,000*l.* was approved by 159 to 13.

Various points in the work of the Department were also touched on in the debate and dealt with in Mr. Burns's reply. Mr. Burns said that in December, 1909, an order had been issued as to children boarded out within Unions; three skilled lady inspectors had been appointed, and he was about to appoint a fourth, who would speak Welsh. The exemptions from vaccination on conscientious grounds had increased to 20 per cent., but a year after the Exemption Act was passed there was no case of small-pox admitted into any Metropolitan hospital. Insufficient credit had been given to the effect of education and improved sanitation. He defended the Department against the charge of dilatoriness in connection with small holdings, mentioning that in two years it had sanctioned loans of 1,184,000*l.* to fifty-three County and five County Borough Councils in respect of 78,000 acres for 6,534 small holdings. It was necessary to inquire as to financial and sanitary conditions. No work which could properly have been carried on under the Unemployed Workmen Act had been arrested by any action of the Department. He hoped to persuade the local authorities to give more detailed information as to local expenditure, assets and loans.

The debate was cut short by the five o'clock rule.

During the week, however, the preparations for the Conference and the rumours concerning it had practically suspended the strife between the Ministerial and Opposition parties, and had caused considerable disquiet and some resentment among the Nationalists and advanced Liberals. On the Monday after Parliament met

(June 13) Mr. Asquith had given cautious confirmation in the House to the statement of *The Times* that negotiations were in progress; and two days later *The Times* published a letter from Mr. F. E. Smith, M.P., advocating Unionist compliance in view of the accession of a new King, the unrest in India and Egypt, and the possible danger of a war with Germany, and foreshadowing concessions in regard to the Constitution of the Upper House. On the other hand Mr. Wedgwood, after a meeting of advanced Liberal members, gave notice of resolutions—for the discussion of which, however, the Prime Minister refused to afford facilities—reaffirming the aims of the Veto Bill and declaring that, if the Conference fell through, Ministers should at once advise the Crown to take such steps as would ensure the passage of the Bill in the current session; that no prorogation or dissolution would be necessary, and that the refusal of the Crown to take the steps requisite would be inconsistent with the constitutional doctrine of Ministerial responsibility and would involve the Crown in political controversy in a manner inconsistent with its true interests. The Liberals also objected—as was shown by a question from Mr. Martin in the House of Commons on June 16—to any change in the declared policy of the party without consultation of the Liberals in the House.

However, on June 16, the Conference was decided on by the leaders on both sides, and next day it held its first meeting in the Prime Minister's room, behind the Speaker's Chair in the House of Commons. It numbered eight members—the Prime Minister, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Earl of Crewe, and Mr. Birrell representing the Government, and Mr. Balfour, the Marquess of Lansdowne, Earl Cawdor, and Mr. Austen Chamberlain the Opposition. An official statement was issued that the negotiations were entirely untrammelled and the proceedings would throughout be strictly confidential; and each meeting was notified, after it had been held, to the Press. But advanced Liberal and Labour opinion continued unfavourable; so was the main body of the Nationalists; Mr. O'Brien naturally took the other side. A meeting of the Labour members virtually endorsed the views of Mr. Wedgwood and Mr. Martin (June 20); the advanced Liberals, and the Northern Liberal members, suspended their judgment.

The Conference necessarily took party spirit out of most of the debates; and the work of Supply offered little opportunity for it in any case at this time. An interesting debate on the work of the Board of Agriculture was occasioned by the Vote on Account for the Civil Service on Monday, June 20. Mr. C. Bathurst (U., *Wilton, Wilts*) reviewed and criticised various points, declaring *inter alia* that the status and expenditure of the Board should be raised. But later speakers were mainly concerned with the existing prohibition of the importation of live cattle from Argentina, which was questioned by Mr. Roberts (Lab., *Norwich*) and upheld by English

rural members and by Mr. John O'Connor (N., *Kildare, N.*) for fear of cattle disease. Mr. F. E. Smith moved a reduction of the vote as a protest against the prohibition, showing by figures that the import of beef and veal from North America had considerably decreased, and arguing that a considerable increase in the supply of frozen meat from Australia and New Zealand was unlikely. He laid stress on the acquisition by the American Beef Trust of a large interest in the chilling factories at Buenos Ayres, urging that only the importation of live cattle could counteract its monopoly, and stated that the maintenance of the restriction had caused considerable distress. Sir E. Strachey, replying for the Board of Agriculture, refused to withdraw the prohibition, justifying his refusal by particulars of the gravity of former visitations. It was much easier to send over chilled meat than live cattle, and the introduction of the disease might be ruinous to small holders, whose rents a Government Department could not reduce like a private landlord. Dealing with other matters touched on, he mentioned that the Government might possibly assist a private society to send out men to point out locally how co-operation could be made effective among this class. He promised consideration of a suggestion to assist fisheries out of the Development Grant, and stated that the Government would assist any measure for the good of the hop industry if it were uncontroversial and not unduly conflicting with their Free Trade views.

Eventually Mr. Smith's amendment was rejected.

When the debate was resumed on June 22, a reduction was moved by Sir F. Banbury (*City of London*), in order to call attention to the intervention in May of the Board of Trade and the Home Office in a recent labour dispute at Newport, Monmouthshire. He explained that Messrs. Houlder Brothers, a large ship-owning firm, had proposed to employ men to load a steamer named the *Indian Transport* by day work, instead of, as usual, by piece-work, not to save money, but because the ship carried general cargo and they desired to have it more carefully stowed. As the men refused to comply, Messrs. Houlder obtained labourers from the Shipping Federation, who were prevented from working and forced to leave the town. He complained that the Government had told Messrs. Houlder that unless they entered into an arbitration, not only would their men not be protected from Trade Unionist violence, but force would be used to prevent their introduction. Messrs. Houlder, he thought mistakenly, agreed to arbitration, it went in their favour, and the men refused to accept the award, which the Labour leaders had attacked, though advising its acceptance. The Unions would now neither allow their ships to be loaded at Newport under the award nor at another port. If that state of things was to go on, goodbye to the prosperity of England.

Mr. Winston Churchill replied very fully. The responsibility rested with himself as Home Secretary, and with the War Secre-

tary who acted for him in his absence. He himself had telegraphed to the Mayor of Newport, that peace must be preserved and additional help obtained, if necessary, from neighbouring towns. The reply being that the available forces were insufficient, he had urged further efforts, and said that in the last resort the Metropolitan Police would send fifty mounted men and 200 foot. He had suggested also that the Board of Trade should be asked to intervene with a view to a peaceful settlement. On Saturday, May 21, a Conference was held, and an agreement arrived at to refer the question to a Board of Trade arbitration; it was believed that Mr. Macauley, of the Newport Docks Board, had Messrs. Houlder's assent to this course, but on the 23rd and 24th the latter refused to accept responsibility for it, and declared that they intended to bring in imported labour. They resisted the persuasions of the Board of Trade to go to arbitration, and on Thursday, May 26, the War Secretary, who was acting as Home Secretary in his (Mr. Churchill's) absence, had before him a letter from the Mayor stating that if additional labour were brought in there would be a general strike, comprising the tramway and probably the electric services, that 500 additional police would be needed, and that there would be serious rioting and bloodshed. The Government held that a point might be reached where the action of individuals in pursuance of their rights might be so dangerous as to constrain the State to interfere. A telegram was drafted, but not sent, directing the local authority that, to prevent a conflict, they should advise crowds not to assemble at the docks, dissuade the imported labourers from landing, and, in the last extremity, prevent them. The intimation that the labourers would not be landed till the police could safeguard them properly induced Messrs. Houlder to go to arbitration. When the men resisted the award, the Board of Trade assisted the Labour leaders to persuade the men to acquiesce in it. He commended the skill and tact of the Mayor of Newport and the local authority.

In the subsequent debate Lord Hugh Cecil strongly condemned the action of the Government, holding it the duty of the State to maintain order at whatever cost. Later, Mr. Sydney Buxton, President of the Board of Trade, gave particulars of the arbitration negotiations—mentioning that it had been suggested on behalf of Messrs. Houlder that they would agree to go to arbitration if the local authority would indemnify them for material loss and pay them 100*l.* a day demurrage. He complained bitterly of their conduct in throwing difficulties in the way of a peaceful solution. Mr. Haldane defended what had been done on the ground that what would ordinarily have been a legal action on Messrs. Houlder's part would have been illegal in the conditions prevalent at Newport; and Mr. Lyttelton, speaking for the official Opposition, agreed that the action of the Home Office was fully justified, but he and his friends could not accept the doctrine that the temporary

risk of riot was an excuse for making a permanent change in the law.

Another set of criticisms made on the action of Ministers on the Report stage of the vote next day related to the issue of notices calling for returns for supertax. It was complained that the notices had been sent out before the regulations had been printed, though the latter had to lie on the table in both Houses for forty days, and that the demands were inquisitorial. Similar complaints had been made in the other House on June 14. Mr. Bowles (L., *King's Lynn*) asked, as Mr. Bernard Shaw had asked in *The Times*, how a man could comply with the demand to include his wife's income in the return if she refused to tell him its amount. The Solicitor-General explained that the rules were valid as soon as they were made, and that, if they were successfully attacked in the House, anything done under them previous to the attack still held good. The Commission could serve a notice on the wife if she refused to tell her husband her income. Later, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in a speech mainly dealing with minor technicalities, declared that the Commissioners of Inland Revenue had done their best to arrange for the collection of the supertax with as little friction as possible. It was only when detailed information was asked for on real property that complaints arose. After further debate the Report of the Vote on Account was agreed to.

The Regency Bill had been introduced in the Commons on June 15. A message from the King had been read on the previous day in both Houses. It ran as follows:—

The uncertainty of human life and a deep sense of my duty to my people render it incumbent upon me to recommend to you to consider contingencies which may hereafter take place, and to make such provision as will, in any event, secure the exercise of the Royal authority. I shall be prepared to concur with you in those measures which may appear best calculated to maintain unimpaired the power and dignity of the Crown, and thereby to strengthen the securities which protect the rights and liberties of my people.

Both Houses passed Addresses in reply, the House of Lords assuring the King that it "would adopt such measures as may appear to be best calculated to maintain unimpaired the power and dignity of the Crown," and the House of Commons promising to apply itself with the least possible delay to the discussion of the object set forth, and also to provide such measures as might appear to be best calculated to maintain unimpaired the power and dignity of the Crown and thereby to strengthen the securities for the rights and liberties of the people. The Bill, Mr. Asquith explained in introducing it, followed substantially the latest precedent, the Act of 1840. It provided that should any child of the King succeed to the Crown while under eighteen years of age, Her Majesty Queen Mary should have full authority under the style and title of Regent to exercise and administer the Royal power and government of this realm and of the Dominions and territories belonging to the Crown. It required her to take certain

oaths set forth in a schedule; it prohibited any marriage by the infant Sovereign without the consent of the Regent and of Parliament, and withheld from the Regent power to give the Royal Assent to Bills varying the Royal Succession, or repealing the Act of Uniformity, or that part of the Act of Union with Scotland relating to the establishment of the Presbyterian Church. It disabled the Regent, if she should become reconciled to, or marry a man of, the Roman Catholic faith, from continuing to exercise or hold the office.

The Bill was read a second time on June 21 without a division. Mr. MacNeill (N., *Donegal, S.*) advised the Government to drop it as unnecessary and unconstitutional; no previous Bill had ever contemplated a Regency when the Heir Apparent reached the age of sixteen, and at that age he would be fully competent for all the duties of his position. Ministers alone were responsible for the exercise of the power of the Crown, as Sir Robert Peel had said in 1830. He held that the Bill tended indirectly to restore the Royal Veto. Mr. Asquith pleaded precedent for deferring the majority of the Sovereign to eighteen; the other points were for the Committee stage, but he defended the provisions of the Bill as precautionary. Mr. Luttrell (L., *Devon, Tavistock*) and Mr. Holt (L., *Northumberland, Hexham*) made criticisms which they renewed in Committee on July 5, and Lord Hugh Cecil (U., *Oxford University*) protested against Mr. MacNeill's doctrine that Ministerial responsibility excluded the exercise of will by the Sovereign.

The Census Bill was taken in Committee on June 21. It had been read a second time on June 14 on the motion of Mr. Burns, the President of the Local Government Board, who mentioned various novel features in the instructions proposed to be given to the enumerators, which were designed to throw light on the fertility of marriages in different social classes and occupations, on infantile mortality, and other points. The Treasury were not yet prepared to sanction a quinquennial census. Sir Charles Dilke advocated the establishment of a separate statistical department and a permanent census office; and Mr. Long suggested a Committee to consider improvements which might make a quinquennial census possible, and the questions of a religious census and a language column for England were touched on, the latter being advocated by Mr. Llewelyn Williams (L., *Carmarthen Dist.*) and Mr. Kettle (N., *Tyrone, E.*). In Committee, an amendment moved by Sir F. Banbury with a view to restoring the practice previous to 1900 of having a separate Census Bill for Scotland, and supported by Sir Henry Craik and other Scottish members, was opposed by the Government on the double ground that time was lacking and that the arrangements were already far advanced, and was rejected by 206 to 131. After other unsuccessful amendments, Mr. Parker (Lab., *Halifax*) moved that particulars should be asked for showing

whether the persons about whom information was required were unemployed or retired, and for how long they had been unemployed during the previous twelve months. Mr. Lees Smith (L., *Northampton*) proposed to confine the statements as to unemployment to the week before the census, but Mr. Burns argued that statistics so obtained would not be trustworthy, and the amendment was negatived. A brisk debate was raised by the proposal of Mr. Rawlinson (U., *Cambridge University*) to provide for a religious census in Great Britain as in Ireland. It was vigorously opposed by Mr. W. Jones (L., *Carnarvon, Arfon*) on the ground that the State had no right to ask for such a declaration, and that the returns would be untrustworthy. It was advocated by Mr. Ormsby Gore (U., *Denbigh Dist.*) to stop the reckless statements made to injure the Church. Mr. Herbert Lewis (L., *Flintshire*), the Parliamentary Secretary to the Local Government Board, remarked that in Ireland every one professed a religion, and the lines of demarcation were sharp; in Great Britain there were hundreds of sects; the expense would be enormous, and the Bill would become acutely controversial. The proposal had been rejected in 1890 by the Census Commission and by the House. Lord Hugh Cecil strongly advocated the amendment, declaring that the religious census was given in Ireland, but refused in England because it would throw back the cause of Disestablishment. Mr. Verney (L., *Bucks, N.*) pointed out that the lines between Protestant denominations were being obliterated, and Mr. Burns, speaking from his prison experience of 1888, referred to the argument that prisoners generally professed to be Churchmen, and said that when he was asked his religion, a fellow-prisoner advised him to say "Church of England," because there were "three services on Sunday and excellent hymns." Singing was liked partly because it afforded an opportunity for prisoners to communicate with one another, and they could not do that in the small groups of prisoners at the Nonconformist services. The amendment was rejected by 135 to 38, though the division was afterwards described by Lord Hugh Cecil as a "snap" one. The controversy was resumed later in the House of Lords (p. 168). The demand for particulars of the duration, and number of children, of a marriage was objected to by Mr. Rawlinson (U., *Cambridge University*) as inquisitorial. Mr. Burns defended it as likely to throw light on the fertility of marriage and on infant mortality; the cost involved would only be 2,000*l.* or 3,000*l.* Some heat was aroused by the fact that he read from a draft of questions and answers which might be used to obtain the required information. Lord Hugh Cecil insisted that this should be produced in accordance with the Standing Order, and eventually Mr. Burns, though not strictly obliged to do so, promised to comply. The proposal to omit the demand for the information in question was rejected by 151 to 61. After an amendment of minor importance had been rejected, the discussion

was suspended. It was resumed on June 24, when Mr. Burns promised a Report Stage to the Bill, and an amendment was accepted. But amendments intended respectively to throw light on the emigration movement by requiring parents to state the number of their children domiciled in the United Kingdom, and to secure a compulsory language census in Great Britain, were resisted by the Government and rejected—Mr. Burns pointing out that Irish, Welsh, or Gaelic persons might state whether they spoke those languages or English, and arguing that the question proposed would be expensive and confusing.

The Post Office Vote, for 19,828,256*l.*, was taken on June 23, Mr. Herbert Samuel (*Yorks, N.R., Cleveland*) making his first statement as Postmaster-General. He said that in fifteen years the Post Office Estimates had doubled, but the receipts had doubled also, and the profits were about the same. The Post Office dealt daily with 15,000,000 letters and halfpenny packets, and 250,000 telegrams, and transmitted 250,000*l.* in postal and money orders. Its business was always expanding; in the past year the number of subscribers to its telephone system had increased by 12 per cent., the numbers of conversations on its trunk lines by 15 per cent.; and a Bill would be introduced early in 1911 relating to the transference of the National Telephone Company's system. The purchase of the wireless stations round the coast in 1909 had been fully justified by the results. He hoped before long to have a complete ring of stations round Great Britain, and Ireland would not be forgotten. On underground cables 2,000,000*l.* had been spent, and the system was being further developed. Money boxes or "home safes" (already tried by Trustee Savings Banks) were to be introduced in connection with the Post Office Savings Banks, the depositor having the box, and the Post Office the key. In many ways, as through Labour Exchange business in small towns, and the payment of old-age pensions, the Post Office was entering more into the lives of the people. He wished he could extend the penny postage system, but the immediate loss on an extension to France would be 95,000*l.*, and were it extended to other European countries the existing loss of 155,000*l.* would rise to 400,000*l.* annually. The expenses increased with an increase of correspondence, and concessions to the staff and reductions of postage in the past five years now cost the Department 1,000,000*l.* annually. M. Millerand, the French Minister of Public Works and of Posts and Telegraphs, had told him that the French Government was not at present prepared to consider a further reduction of rates. Passing to questions relating to the staff, he declared that the recognition of the Employees' Association by his predecessor had been justified by results, and he had extended it by allowing the association to bring before him the grievances of individual employees, though not questions of promotion. The fair wages clause was inserted to all contracts; when discharges were necessary, the younger men were

discharged, they having the best chance of other employment; committees were dealing with employment in the departmental factories, with Post Office cramp, and with telephone employees, though the effect of telephone work on the girls in the exchanges had been greatly exaggerated. The present conditions of employment of boy messengers were admittedly unsatisfactory, three-fourths of them being discharged at sixteen without training fitting them for other employment. He was not inclined to make room for them at the expense of the ex-soldiers and ex-sailors in the service, and had appointed a Committee which had made it plain that the numbers, and therefore the dismissals, might be reduced. He hoped to find special posts, *e.g.* as wireless telegraph operators, in the services for discharged boy messengers. He was unwilling to replace them by girls out-of-doors, but indoors girls could often be substituted. The boys were encouraged to attend continuation schools, so as to prepare them for other work under private employers. Many plans on other subjects were under consideration.

The subsequent debate dealt largely with the claims or grievances of special classes of employees, but Mr. Henniker Heaton (U., *Canterbury*), long known as an advocate of postal reforms, pressed for penny postage with France, stating that Sir E. Sassoon (U., *Hythe*) had put forward a scheme for supplying the necessary capital. He urged also a reduction in the cost of cable messages of the Dominions, the institution of a special delivery on Sunday, and various other reforms. The Post Office, he declared, had "a parochial mind." General replies on the whole discussion were made by Captain Norton (L., *Newington*), the Assistant Postmaster-General, and by the Postmaster-General later, and the Vote was agreed to.

The women's suffrage movement had meantime entered on a new stage. Early in the session a comprehensive programme affecting the whole legal and social position of women, which had been advocated by Lady McLaren under the title of "The Women's Charter" was embodied in nine Bills introduced by Sir Charles McLaren (L., *Bosworth, Leicestershire*) on Monday, March 14. These provided for (1) the extension of the Parliamentary franchise to women at present disqualified only by sex or marriage, and of the municipal franchise and eligibility for local bodies and offices to women on equal terms with men; (2) the improvement of the condition of working-class women, by the provision of qualified midwives, the introduction of municipal crèches, playrooms, milk-supply, cheap eating houses and kitchens, washhouses, and instruction in domestic economy; (3) amendment of the Factories and Workshops Act; (4) amendment of the Summary Jurisdiction (Married Women) Act of 1895; (5) amendment of the Education Acts, putting both sexes on an equal footing in regard to State expenditure and educational facilities; (6) amendment of the law relating to offences against the person; (7) amendment of the law

relating to the succession of property; (8) amendment of the law relating to husband and wife, giving the wife a claim on her husband's property for earnings as a housekeeper, and a prior claim on her own earnings; (9) opening certain branches of the public service to women. This comprehensive scheme, however, was objected to in some quarters, and condemned by the Women's Liberal Federation on June as likely to retard the settlement of the suffrage question; and, during the lull in politics due to the King's funeral, it was announced that a Conciliation Committee had been formed, with the Earl of Lytton as Chairman, and containing members of all the Parliamentary parties to draft a Bill which could be accepted by all supporters of the movement as at least a provisional solution. This Committee had the sympathy of Mr. Winston Churchill, Sir Edward Grey, Mr. Birrell, and Mr. Alfred Lyttelton. Its compromise, the Parliamentary Franchise (Women) Bill, proposed, substantially, to admit women occupiers, but not women lodgers, to the Parliamentary franchise; marriage was to be no disqualification, except that husband and wife must not both be qualified in respect of the same property. The Bill was introduced under the Ten Minutes' Rule by Mr. Shackleton (*Lab., Clitheroe, Lancs, N.E.*) on June 14, and on Saturday, June 18, a procession of some 10,000 women, organised by the Women's Social and Political Union, marched from the Embankment to the Albert Hall, where there was a crowded meeting in favour of the Bill. The procession was a brilliant pageant, headed by one of the ladies who had been forcibly fed in the Birmingham prison (*ANNUAL REGISTER, 1909, p. 222*), carrying the colours of the Union; she was followed by mounted marshals, by a musical band of women, and by contingents of which one comprised the 617 members of the Union who had suffered imprisonment for their cause, while another embodied representatives of University women, led by Dr. Garrett Anderson, and others representatives of various foreign countries, including Norway, New Zealand, and Australia, where women already had the franchise. The speakers were confident that the Bill would become law, and on Tuesday, June 21, two rival deputations waited on the Prime Minister—the first, headed by Mrs. Fawcett, and representing all the Suffragist societies and the Women's Liberal Federation, asking for Parliamentary facilities to enable the Bill to pass; the second, an anti-suffragist body, headed by the Countess of Jersey, deprecating any such course. In reply, the Prime Minister, while reaffirming his own well-known views, promised to consult the Cabinet and announce its decision in the House; and on June 23 he stated that time would be provided for "full debate and division" on the second reading, but that no further facilities could be given during the current session, "in view of the exigencies of Parliamentary business, and the determination of the Government not to introduce contentious legislation." But the supporters of the

Bill were still hopeful. The debate took place on July 11 and 12 (*post*).

While a fresh strain was thus put on the cohesion of the Ministerialists, some unfavourable comment was aroused among advanced Liberals by the return in the Birthday Honours list—still issued on the day kept as the late King's birthday, June 24—to the practice of creating Peers, which had been intermitted since the rejection of the Licensing Bill of 1908. Otherwise the list gave general satisfaction by its recognition of ability in many forms (see *post*, Chronicle.) The day before its issue was the sixteenth birthday of the heir to the Throne, and was signalled by the announcement that he was created Prince of Wales and Earl of Chester.

A few days earlier (June 18) an interesting military ceremony due to voluntary effort had opened up the prospect of a fresh addition to the defensive strength of the Kingdom. For ten years the *Spectator* had urged that the Government should at least keep in touch with such discharged Regulars or Volunteers as might still be fit for service in a great national emergency; and in June, 1909, the Surrey Territorial Association had appealed to those resident in the county to send in their names. By the end of the year 700 had done so, and they were invited to parade, with any fellow-veterans they could bring with them, at the Horse Guards on June 18, the editor of the *Spectator* paying the cost of the experiment. The number present was nearly 1400; they were addressed by Major-General Sir Ian Hamilton and Mr. Haldane, and a sympathetic letter was read from Earl Roberts, all of whom regarded the experiment as very hopeful. The War Office, on its part, had issued (in May) regulations for the formation of a Veteran Reserve. The idea of the promoters of the scheme was to burden the men as little as possible with regulations or duties during peace, but to have them registered and ready to be called on in a great national crisis.

In some quarters, however, especially where belief in compulsory military service was strongest, acute misgivings were felt as to the capacities of the Territorial Force; and these were expressed by the Duke of Bedford in the House of Lords on June 23. His long and elaborate criticism dealt with three subjects—training after mobilisation, insufficient musketry practice, and service during the absence of the Regular Army, and he insisted (amongst other points) on the deficiencies in the Territorial Artillery, the reluctance of many of the men to undergo training in musketry and the difficulties in the way of prolonged embodied service on the part of the Territorial Force. In reply, Lord Lucas of Crudwell complained that the Duke was "pulling up the plant to see how it was growing," contested his statements as to the Territorial Artillery, and explained that the deficient musketry practice was due to the lack of range facilities, which was being rapidly supplied. The Territorials had never been regarded as anything but second-

line troops, who would require further training after mobilisation before they were fit for active service. The duty of repelling invasion at the outbreak of a war would be shared by the Special Reserve and part of the Regular Army. The Territorials were legally embodied at the outbreak of a war, but would not necessarily be called out or kept out.

More comprehensive criticism of Mr. Haldane's schemes and their execution was offered on the debate upon the vote for the War Secretary's salary on Monday, June 27. Mr. Wyndham, who spoke first, after further condemning the maintenance of the Mediterranean command (p. 131) went on to urge that the expeditionary force, the Army overseas, and the Territorial Force, should each be kept at its existing minimum, and said that much work and expenditure was still needed on the Territorial Force and Special Reserve. The garrison of Egypt was inadequate; the establishment of the home battalions ought to be increased; the supply of officers and horses gave cause for anxiety, and he urged that horses should be bought at three years old for 30*l.* apiece. Our horses were being bought for foreign Powers. After touching on other points, he dealt at some length with the inadequacy, as he alleged, of the Special Reserve and the Territorial Force, holding that to resist a raid of 70,000 men 100,000 men were needed for mobile defence, 100,000 for garrisons, and 300,000 Territorials as a central force. The Territorial Force had practically reached its maximum, and he questioned the policy exhibited in maintaining the new Reserves. There was a danger of reviving the "pot-hunting Volunteer" by having Reserves who were only required to shoot. The Territorial Reserve ought to be composed only of men with Territorial training, and the Veterans' Reserve only of men who had served in the former. He recommended provision of further buildings, and also of standard boots, shirts and socks for the Territorial Force, and he desired that specialists, such as the officers in command of the Maxim guns and the signallers, should be additional to the establishment.

Mr. Haldane replied in detail to Mr. Wyndham's friendly criticism. As to the Mediterranean command, it was necessary after the Imperial Defence Conference of 1909 (ANNUAL REGISTER, 1909, p. 198) to appoint an inspector-general of the oversea forces. Sir Ian Hamilton would not only inspect the forces of the Dominions, if invited, but the British troops overseas outside India, and especially on our line of communication with the East. He would co-ordinate the arrangements for its defence. At Sir Ian Hamilton's suggestion, the post had been made purely military, and the office of High Commissioner in the Mediterranean abolished. His appointment involved no extra cost. In view of the various changes made, the Egyptian garrison was sufficient. The training and education of officers was under consideration, and also the reduction of its cost. There were enough horses in the

country to provide both for mobilisation and for the wastage of war. Plans were being worked out for the organisation of the Special Reserve. The Territorial Artillery was making good progress, and the recruiting for the force, though poor in some places, was wonderful in others. The force had attained to nearly 90 per cent. of the Establishment. As to compulsory service in it, attempts to link this with a voluntary system for the rest of the Army were based on a strategical misconception. Our first necessity was the command of the sea, our second a large expeditionary army. The "small" expeditionary army of Great Britain was larger than the French and German expeditionary forces put together; for long oversea expeditions those countries had to seek volunteers, and could not get them, Continental authorities informed him, in the numbers that Great Britain did. Foreign wars were on a tremendous scale, but short. Besides, the officers to train the recruits got under compulsion would be Regular officers, whom the Regular Army could not spare. If we had the command of the sea, we needed a home defence army just large enough to compel the enemy to come with such a force that the fleet could destroy it. That force was put at 70,000; to meet it, if the expeditionary force were at home, there would be 600,000 men; if that force had gone, a Territorial Force of 300,000, and the Special Reserve. The change proposed would be expensive, ruinous to our supply of officers and to recruiting for the expeditionary force, and he was more and more adverse to it after four years' consideration. After some particulars as to expenditure on the Territorial Force, he expressed his satisfaction that it was not the subject of party controversy.

In the discussion that followed Major Adam (U., *Woolwich*) attacked the Army Council, declaring that they had cut short the career of officers (some of whom he specified) on the ground of confidential reports often prompted by professional jealousy. He mentioned a report by Major-General Scobell, which, he alleged, deliberately misstated facts. After other speeches, Mr. Lee (U., *Fareham, Hants*) described Mr. Haldane's speech as a strategical essay without relation to the realities of war, and denounced the Mediterranean command in its newest phase as a job to save the face of the Government. Mr. Haldane replied, and the Vote was agreed to and reported to the House. It must be added that on the Report of the War Office Vote on July 13, Mr. Haldane made an elaborate statement in rebuttal of Major Adam's allegations, thereby crowding out other subjects of discussion, and leading to a warm debate. He said that he had felt bound to deal with the allegations at the first opportunity, and that the needs of the Service required the Vote to be passed at once. Accordingly, a motion to defer it was rejected by 146 to 114; and in August it was announced that the Army Council exonerated General Scobell from the charge made.

The Colonial Office Vote on June 29 was the occasion of a statement by Colonel Seely, Under-Secretary for the Colonies, which covered a wide field. Beginning with a mention of the achievement of South African Union as the chief feature of the colonial history of the past year, he expressed a belief that under the Union the condition of the natives would improve, and pointed out that one of the first acts of the new Government had been to release Dinizulu. He eulogised the services of the Earl of Selborne, referred to the advance made in settling outstanding questions between Canada and the United States, and mentioned that the Colonial Secretary had expressly recognised the great services rendered by Mr. Bryce, the British Ambassador at Washington. He noted with satisfaction the interchange of visits between statesmen of the Dominions and British officials, declared that in Australia at any rate there was a real desire to encourage immigration from the United Kingdom, and stated that in the past year there had been real and steady progress in the self-governing Dominions. The situation in Somaliland (p. 110) was surprisingly favourable; peace had been restored and the Mullah's power broken; the friendlies were in a better position than before the British withdrawal to the coasts, and Sir W. Manning had intimated that he required no more troops. The maintenance of the inland garrisons would have damaged rather than maintained our prestige; they might have been surrounded, and the Somalis and Abyssinians wondered what we were at. A projected extension of the Uganda Railway by about fifty miles would cost 160,000*l.*, which would be advanced by the Treasury, and the great railway 400 miles long connecting Northern and Southern Nigeria would probably be completed in twelve or eighteen months, and would open up an area of great mineral and agricultural wealth. After referring to the extensive subsidising of religious institutions of all sorts from public money, and to the great work done in abating the mortality from sleeping sickness, he referred, rather deprecatingly, to the proposal mooted that the affairs of the self-governing Dominions should be assigned to a separate department from those of the Crown Colonies; the Dominions would want their department to be under the Prime Minister, who had no time. All foreign nations, he declared, envied our success in Colonial government. The Colonial Office had sometimes made mistakes, but they should be careful in tampering with a structure that had stood so long.

Captain Tryon (U., *Brighton*) moved a reduction of the Vote in order to urge the appointment of a permanent staff and active preparation for the Imperial Conference. He also held that the Crown Colonies and the Dominions ought to be under separate administrations. Free Trade had never survived the grant of self-government, and the self-governing Colonies were all practising Colonial Preference. Mr. Lynch (N., *Clare, W.*) denounced the

attempt to press a bad system of Imperialism on these Colonies, and Mr. Mackinder (U., *Camlachie, Glasgow*) strongly endorsed Captain Tryon's view. Sir Charles Dilke objected to dividing the Empire into "watertight compartments"—India, the Dominions and the Crown Colonies; the Dominions were not homogeneous. The Government was wise to go slowly in preparing for the Conference. He expressed some apprehension that forced labour might be used or concessions of land obtained from the native chiefs and cotton-growing promoted to the detriment of the native population. The preservation of large game also tended to prevent cultivation by the natives and make life almost impossible for them.

Mr. Lyttelton endorsed the demand for preparation of the agenda for the Imperial Conference, laying stress on the multiplicity of engagements of the Colonial delegates. All available information should be supplied them long beforehand on the topics to be discussed; the Conference should be a clearing-house for large ideas. The House should have an opportunity of expressing an opinion on the topics to be discussed. He then drew attention at some length to the payment, contrary to the decision, as he alleged, of the Supreme Court of the Transvaal, of the full salaries of members of the Legislature of the Colony for the short extraordinary session of April, 1910 (*post*, Foreign and Colonial History, Chapter VII.). He ascribed the payment to the advice of the Colonial Office. The Solicitor-General elaborately defended the action of the Deputy-Governor, who, he said, had acted as Governor-in-Council on the advice of his responsible Ministers. Mr. Balfour, in a lively speech, supported Mr. Lyttelton's contention, citing the transaction as an example of financial management by a Single Chamber. Colonel Seely, however, contended that the Deputy-Governor in Council was bound to act on the advice of his Ministers, and that Mr. Balfour's position was untenable. Various other points were raised, among them that of a payment for Anglican worship at Lagos, and Colonel Seely, in a general reply, gave assurances that no forced labour would be tolerated in the British Empire, and that the Government were resolved that any developments in cultivation should work out to the natives' benefit. He spoke at some length on the grants to churches and schools in various Crown Colonies, saying that while he disapproved of concurrent endowment in principle, the Government was strictly undenominational in making the grants and it would be dangerous to put an end to it. As to the agenda for the Imperial Conference, they must await the proposals of the self-governing colonies, but he deprecated Government dictation as to what should or should not be discussed. The Vote was agreed to.

It may here be added that on July 25 Lord Northcote asked the Colonial Secretary in the House of Lords whether detailed instructions could not be issued to Governors-General and Governors of the self-governing Dominions as to the limits of their

authority when acting "in Council," but the reply made by the Earl of Crewe indicated that this course was hardly practicable.

The Accession Declaration Bill had been introduced by Mr. Asquith on Tuesday, June 28, in the first really full House since the reassembling of Parliament. He hoped that in most quarters of the House it would be regarded as uncontroversial. After sketching the history of the old Declaration, he remarked that Roman Catholics were now eligible for all but one or two offices, and he hoped the restrictions would soon be removed; they had greatly increased in number, and their loyalty was unquestionable. The language which seemed natural in the seventeenth century fell on modern ears as a needless and wanton offence. The Declaration singled out cherished doctrines for repudiation, and was offensive both to the Roman Catholics and to the Sovereign; to King Edward VII. the duty of making it at the beginning of his reign was most repugnant. He himself thought that a declaration might be dispensed with; the Government, however, proposed a new form involving a declaration of the Sovereign's personal belief in terms which could not offend, as follows: "I do solemnly and sincerely, in the presence of God, profess, testify, and declare that I am a faithful member of the Protestant Reformed Church of England as by law established in England, and I will, according to the true intent of the enactments which secure the Protestant Succession to the Throne of my Realm, uphold and maintain the said enactments to the best of my power according to law." These words could not offend Roman Catholics, and, speaking as one of the most convinced and resolute Protestants in the country, they appeared to him fully adequate. He deprecated prolonged or acrimonious discussion on that occasion.

Mr. Balfour agreed that discussion should be deferred, and reminded the House that in 1901 the Unionist leaders had been anxious to alter the Declaration. When it was enacted, the Commons represented England only; now the Sovereign ruled over diverse races of various and almost innumerable religions; if the Protestant succession could be safeguarded, as he thought had been done, we ought to consult the susceptibilities of an important section of the King's most loyal subjects. The Bill was fully accepted by Mr. W. Redmond (N., *Clare, E.*), speaking as a Roman Catholic, but opposed by several Ulster Unionists and Liberals, among the latter being Sir W. Cory (L., *St. Ives, Cornwall*), Mr. Agar Robartes (L., *St. Austell, Cornwall*), and Mr. Neil Primrose (L., *Cambs, N.*), and supported by Mr. Belloc (L., *Salford, S.*), a Roman Catholic, who, speaking for a Protestant constituency, thought that anti-Catholic feeling was strong among the working classes. Leave to introduce it was given by 383 to 42.

It was curious, and was probably regarded in some quarters as ominous, that the Bill was introduced on the day of the solemn

consecration of the Westminster Roman Catholic Cathedral, which, though open since Christmas, 1903, had only been freed from debt in April, 1910, its total cost having been 260,000*l.* The consecration ceremony was conducted with all possible pomp and splendour, and lasted seven hours. The Papal Blessing was received by telegram and announced at Vespers.

It may be added that, as Mr. Asquith pointed out in introducing the Bill, the old Declaration was introduced in 1678 at the time of the alleged Popish plot, and was compulsory on members of both Houses and office-bearers under the Crown. The Duke of York, afterwards James II., was expressly excluded from it, but it was extended to the Sovereign by the Bill of Rights and Act of Succession, and abolished for nearly all those on whom it was originally imposed by the Catholic Relief Act of 1829. It required a profession of belief that "in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper there is not any Transubstantiation of the elements of Bread and Wine into the Body and Blood of Christ at or after the consecration thereof by any person whatsoever, and that the Invocation or Adoration of the Virgin Mary, or any other saint, and the Sacrifice of the Mass, as they are now used in the Church of Rome, are superstitious and idolatrous," and an express avowal that the Declaration was made "without any evasion, equivocation or mental reservation whatever, and without any dispensation" past or future, or possibility of it, from the Pope or any other authority. Attempts to deal with the question had failed in 1901 and 1902, and the question had been repeatedly raised since the general election of 1906. (*Cf.* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1901, p. 176; 1903, p. 189.) In the country, some persons desired to abolish the Declaration altogether; others, including all the Protestant defence societies, feared any change, and it was seriously argued on this side that the oath of abjuration administered to Queen Victoria of Spain on her reception into the Roman Church was far more offensive to Protestants than the Declaration could be to a Roman Catholic. A middle party feared that the Roman Catholic demands would not stop with the alteration of the Declaration, and laid stress on the Pope's claim to temporal power as an argument against total abolition.

Meanwhile the Conference had proceeded amid rumours of an impending failure and Liberal and Labour apprehensions of the results of a success. Speaking at Bristol on June 24, Mr. Birrell, after eulogising Edward VII. as "the greatest Constitutional Monarch that ever lived," had said that the Conference was designed, not to invent compromises, but to discover agreement, and if it failed, the fight would begin again. On June 30, hopeful inferences were drawn from the statement of the Prime Minister that the business of Parliament, increased by the demise of the Crown, would necessitate an autumn session beginning in November, for which the later stages of the Budget and some other

measures would be reserved. Parliament would adjourn at the end of July; he could not promise a statement as to the Conference before the adjournment. His announcement showed that the Conference had not broken down, and afforded the advanced Liberals, the Labour party, and the Nationalists the prospect of effectively protesting against any unacceptable feature in the possible decisions of the Conference by voting against the Government on the later stages of the Finance Bill. Indeed, the postponement of that measure till the autumn had been suggested by members of the last-named party.

As a preface to the delayed Budget, we may now give the usual brief summary of the Estimates for the Civil Service and Revenue Departments, issued in March as usual, and of the accompanying memorandum by the Financial Secretary of the Treasury.

CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES.

Net Total, 1909-10.	Original Estimates, 1909-10.	Increase.
42,685,446 <i>l.</i>	40,070,171 <i>l.</i>	2,615,275 <i>l.</i>

Only one class (Class V.) showed a decrease. In the Abstract and throughout the detailed Estimates comparison was made, according to the usual practice, with the total grants, including Supplementary Estimates, made for the service of 1909-10 in the Session of 1909. These Supplementary Estimates, presented in the summer of 1909, amounted to 467,401*l.*, making the net total for 1909-10 40,537,572*l.* On this basis of comparison the Civil Service Estimates for 1910-11 showed an increase of 2,147,874*l.*, of this 417,668*l.* was for Board of Education, England; 470,000*l.* for Old Age Pensions, and 400,000*l.* for Development Fund. There were four new Votes—Labour Exchange Buildings, International Exhibitions, Development Fund, and Visit of the Prince of Wales (now King and replaced by the Duke of Connaught) to South Africa.

CLASS I.—WORKS AND PUBLIC BUILDINGS.

1910-11.	Total, 1909-10.	Increase.
3,452,294 <i>l.</i>	3,257,813 <i>l.</i>	194,482 <i>l.</i>

The largest item of the increase was in respect of Labour Exchange Buildings, for which 181,000*l.* was provided in 1910-11. Among the new public buildings were additional Admiralty Offices, with official residence for the Senior Naval Lord, new offices for the Board of Agriculture and Fisheries, Meteorological Offices, Extension of the National Gallery and protection of it from the risk of fire, extension of the Patent Office, and additional Courts of Justice. The sum of 2,100*l.* was appropriated for the Campbell-Bannerman memorial.

CLASS II.—SALARIES AND EXPENSES OF CIVIL DEPARTMENTS.

1910-11.	Total, 1909-10.	Increase.
3,455,545 <i>l.</i>	3,068,514 <i>l.</i>	387,031 <i>l.</i>

Provision was made for the addition of a Historical Section to the staff of the Imperial Defence Committee. Under the Home Office Estimate a re-organisation was proposed of the staff for the Inspection of Mines. The Estimate for Board of Trade comprised 117,808*l.*, for salaries and expenses under the Labour Exchanges Act, and 10,000*l.* for salaries and expenses under the Trade Boards Act of 1909. Provision was made for the increased salary (5,000*l.*) of the President under the Board of Trade Act, 1909, and for the improved pay granted to the Higher Division staff. The increase under Local Government Board was accounted for partly by similar increases, partly by the creation of a new staff under the Housing and Town Planning Act, and partly by other causes, including the appointment of clerks for work under the Old Age Pensions Act. In the Estimates for the Mint 42,000*l.* was again included to meet the loss on light gold coin withdrawn, and 50,000*l.* (as against 40,000*l.* in 1909-10) to meet that on worn silver coin. Under Stationery and Printing, the net increase of 18,686*l.* was mainly attributable to the provision made for the Census and Labour Exchanges. In the Estimate for the Registrar-General's Office 2,996*l.* was taken for the Census of 1911.

CLASS III.—LAW AND JUSTICE.

1910-11.	Total, 1909-10.	Increase.
4,442,611 <i>l.</i>	4,185,886 <i>l.</i>	257,725 <i>l.</i>

The principal increases were in Police, Pensions, and Irish Land Commission.

CLASS IV.—EDUCATION, SCIENCE AND ART.

1910-11.	Total, 1909-10.	Increase.
18,651,483 <i>l.</i>	17,953,765 <i>l.</i>	697,718 <i>l.</i>

Under the Estimate for the Board of Education the bulk of the increase of 417,663*l.* was due to provision for a probable rise in the average attendance. The Estimate for Scientific Investigation included 7,500*l.* in aid of the Aeronautical Section of the National Physical Laboratory, and 20,000*l.* in aid of the British Antarctic Expedition of 1910.

CLASS V.—FOREIGN AND COLONIAL SERVICES.

1910-11.	Total, 1909-10.	Decrease.
1,862,190 <i>l.</i>	1,891,740 <i>l.</i>	29,550 <i>l.</i>

The Estimate for the Diplomatic Services included 5,000*l.* for the Atlantic Fisheries Arbitration, and 2,000*l.* for the International Opium Conference. Under Colonial Services (net decrease, 28,762*l.*) there were three new grants: 1,000*l.* for Entomological Research, 10,000*l.* for Cotton Cultivation in the British Empire, and 9,000*l.* in aid of the Hong Kong Revenue as compensation for the loss caused by the restriction of the trade in opium.

CLASS VI.—NON-EFFECTIVE AND CHARITABLE SERVICES.

1910-11.	Total, 1909-10.	Increase.
10,073,049 <i>l.</i>	9,627,884 <i>l.</i>	445,695 <i>l.</i>

The Estimate for Old Age Pensions 9,220,000*l.* showed an increase of 470,000*l.* The expenditure consequent on removal of the statutory disqualification for poor relief would be made by a Supplementary Estimate.

CLASS VII.—MISCELLANEOUS.

Estimates, 1910-11.	Total, 1909-10.	Increase.
748,274 <i>l.</i>	553,051 <i>l.</i>	195,223 <i>l.</i>

This class included three Votes not in the original Estimates for 1909-10; *viz.*, International Exhibitions, 54,250*l.*, besides grants already made in Supplementary Estimates; Development Fund, 400,000*l.*; Royal Visit to South Africa, 40,000*l.*

REVENUE DEPARTMENTS.

Estimates, 1910-11.	Total, 1909-10.	Increase.
23,882,656 <i>l.</i>	22,350,730 <i>l.</i>	1,081,926 <i>l.</i>

There was a net increase under Inland Revenue of 84,804*l.*, of which 72,881*l.* was due to the additions to tax surveying staff and other branches. The increase on the Post Office was 850,826*l.*

The Budget statement was made by the Chancellor of the Exchequer on June 30. As in 1909, he lightened his task by issuing a "Statement of Revenue and Expenditure," but it was not published till after the speech. The most important figures will be found in Tables I. and II. below which are given in the form customary in previous issues of the ANNUAL REGISTER, while the Final Balance Sheet which was given in the last official table is slightly abridged in Table III. In addition to these we have space only for a few salient totals from the statement in question. The estimated expenditure for 1909-10 had been 162,102,000*l.* For 1910-11 it was 171,857,000*l.*—an increase of 9,755,000*l.* But besides this the "grants chargeable against revenue for 1909-10 to be paid in 1910-11" were as follows:—

Development and Road Improvement Funds, 580,000*l.*; Land Value Duties Grant, 245,000*l.*; realised deficit of 1909-10, 26,248,000*l.* These arrears raised the total estimated expenditure to 198,930,000*l.* The probable deficit for 1910-11 had been variously estimated by Unionist organs at from 7,000,000*l.* to 16,000,000*l.* But the estimates were: revenue from taxation, 142,455,000*l.*; non-tax revenue (postal and telegraph services, Crown lands, etc.), 27,290,000*l.*; arrears from 1909-10, 30,046,000*l.*; total, 199,791,000*l.*, leaving a surplus of 861,000*l.* The actual expenditure chargeable against revenue, 1909-10, had been 157,945,000*l.*; against capital, under various Works Acts, 1,280,000*l.*; total expenditure of the State, 159,225,000*l.*

The Chancellor of the Exchequer began his speech by saying that the postponement of the Budget had greatly damaged the year's finance. A month after the expiration of the financial year two-thirds of the income tax and all the supertax were uncollected, and the machinery for some of the new taxes had not been set up. Yet nothing had hindered the growth of expenditure, nearly all of it due to pressure from both sides of the House. The growth was due to the Education Estimates, old-age pensions, the Labour Exchanges—an unqualified success; valuation took nearly 500,000*l.*, the Development Grant 900,000*l.*, road improvement 600,000*l.*, and Ireland altogether 700,000*l.*, or more than the total contributed by the new taxes. The greatest growth was on the Navy, and he reminded the House that a Chancellor of the Exchequer had resigned in 1886 rather than agree to Estimates of slightly over 13,000,000*l.* This year they were 40,600,000*l.* and some people were not satisfied. The total expenditure for the current year was 171,857,000*l.*; deficit for the previous year, 26,248,000*l.*; arrears of payment to Local Taxation Account, debited to last year's account, 825,000*l.*—total, 198,930,000*l.* On the Revenue side practically all the previous year's deficit was wiped out, there was money in hand to take up the Treasury Bills for temporary borrowing, and the Exchequer balances were almost restored. The Estate duty was in arrear, the machinery for the supertax and land value duties had not been set up, and the licence duties were largely in arrear, but were due for payment that day. The commanding outlook was distinctly bright, he hoped the volume of trade would be the greatest on record, and unemployment, last year 8 per cent., was now 4 per cent., and declining. After giving various further grounds of hope, he mentioned that his estimate of the receipts from excise were wrong by millions, but he was nearer the mark than the trade. Two causes of the depression in the spirit revenue were temporary forestalments and depletion by the traders of their reserves; the third was diminished consumption, and would be permanent. The decline was 10,000,000 gallons as compared with 1908, but the decline had begun before the new duty, and he calculated that the revenue had

gained by that duty, not lost. But the community had gained by the decline in drunkenness; in Scotland the convictions for drunkenness were 33 per cent. less, and in Ireland (except Waterford) the reduction was 35 to 70 per cent. In England the number of convictions had fallen by 18,000. This must react on the consuming and purchasing power of the people, and an alteration of the tax would be a crime against society. He estimated the increase from Customs at 1,826,000*l.*, from Excise at 1,088,000*l.*, from the death duties at 2,504,000*l.*; from stamps at 1,521,000*l.*; from the land duties 600,000*l.*; the total tax revenue at 142,455,000*l.*, and the total non-tax revenue at 27,290,000*l.* Adding the arrears carried forward, the total revenue would be 199,791,000*l.*, and the surplus 861,000*l.* Normally, he argued, it would have been 1,200,000*l.* Of this surplus 102,000*l.* was to supplement the "whisky money" grant to local authorities for technical instruction in England, and the police in Scotland, and 450,000*l.* towards removing the pauper disqualification for old-age pensions, which would add 270,000 pensioners, and in a full year would mean 2,500,000*l.* The local authorities would be asked to provide the amount this would save from the rates. He did not think it would be possible to postpone beyond the current year the readjustment between Imperial and local taxation. He was left with a balance of 309,000*l.*, which was not too much for contingencies. Next year they could start a great scheme of unemployment and invalidity insurance, on a contributory basis with a liberal State subsidy, and they could then claim that the Budget of 1909, with its accessory measures, would challenge comparison with any set of measures passed by Parliament in the aggregate of human misery they had saved. In 1909 five great nations had to meet huge deficits, and Great Britain of them all alone had done so. What other fiscal system could stand such a strain? British credit and commerce had of late years been much decried, but there was no need for this well-organised despondency; the old country was still the soundest investment going.

The following table shows the estimated expenditure for 1910-11, compared with the issues of 1909-10.

	Estimate 1910-11.	Exchequer Issue, 1909-10.
	£	£
National Debt Services	24,554,000	21,758,000
Development and Road Improvement Funds	1,160,000	—
Payments to Local Taxation Accounts	9,585,000	9,445,000
Other Consolidated Fund Services	1,646,000	1,654,000
Army (including Ordnance Factories)	27,760,000	27,238,000
Navy	40,604,000	35,807,000
Civil Services	42,686,000	40,010,000
Customs and Excise and Inland Revenue	4,094,000	3,342,000
Post Office Services	19,828,000	18,693,000
Total	£171,857,000	
Add grants chargeable against revenue for 1909-10	26,873,000	
Total	£198,930,000	£157,945,000

The following shows the estimated revenue for 1910-11, compared with the receipts of 1909-10.

	Estimate 1910-11.	Exchequer Receipts, 1909-10.
	£	£
Customs	32,095,000	30,348,000
Excise	34,270,000	31,082,000
Estate, etc., Duties	25,650,000	21,768,000
Stamps	9,600,000	8,079,000
Land Tax	700,000	150,000
House Duty	1,990,000	560,000
Property and Income Tax	37,550,000	13,295,000
Land Value Duties	600,000	—
Total Revenue from Taxation	£142,455,000	£105,280,000
Postal Service	18,800,000	18,220,000
Telegraph Service	3,100,000	3,090,000
Telephone Service	1,900,000	1,720,000
Crown Lands	480,000	480,000
Suez Canal Shares and Sundry Loans	1,160,000	1,269,000
Miscellaneous	1,850,000	1,688,000
Total Non-Tax Revenue	27,290,000	26,467,000
Arrears of 1909-10	—	30,046,000
Total	£169,745,000	£161,743,000

The final balance sheet, 1910-11, was as follows:—

REVENUE.		EXPENDITURE.	
	£		£
Customs	32,095,000	National Debt Services ¹	24,554,000
Excise	34,270,000	Development and Road Improvement Funds	1,160,000
Estate, etc., Duties	25,650,000	Payments to Local Taxation Accounts ²	9,604,000
Stamps	9,600,000	Other Consolidated Fund Services	1,646,000
Land Tax	700,000	Army (including Ordnance Factories)	27,760,000
House Duty	1,990,000	Navy	40,604,000
Property and Income Tax	37,550,000	Civil Services ⁴	43,136,000
Land Value Duties	600,000	Customs and Inland Revenue	4,034,000
Postal Service	18,800,000	Post Office Services	19,823,000
Telegraph Service	3,100,000	Arrears of 1909-10 ⁵	908,000
Telephone Service	1,900,000	Total Expenditure	173,234,000
Crown Lands	480,000	Deficit, 1909-10	26,248,000
Receipts from Suez Canal Shares and Sundry Loans	1,160,000	Balance	309,000
Miscellaneous	1,850,000	Total	£199,791,000
	169,745,000		
Arrears ¹ of 1909-10	30,046,000		
Total	£199,791,000		

The usual discussion followed the Budget Speech. Mr. Austen Chamberlain remarked that the other countries referred to had

¹ Customs, 146,000*l.*; Excise, 2,640,000*l.*; Estate, etc., Duties, 1,380,000*l.*; Land Tax and House Duty, 1,940,000*l.*; Income Tax, 23,450,000*l.*; Land Value Duties, 490,000*l.*—Total, 30,046,000*l.*

² Including 6,546,000*l.* for repayment of capital and 54,000*l.* for expenses under the War Loan Redemption Act, 1910.

³ After adding difference between proposed fixed grant and estimated proceeds of local taxation (Customs and Excise) duties, 319,000*l.*, and deducting Land Value Duties Grant (suspended), 300,000*l.*

⁴ After adding Old Age Pensions (net), 450,000*l.*

⁵ This included 580,000*l.* Development and Road Improvement Funds; and 245,000*l.* Land Value Duties Grant to Local Taxation Account.

greater untapped resources, and that their difficulties were largely due to their "semi-Home Rule" Constitutions. Our fiscal system was already lopsided, and we knew nothing about the effects of the new taxes, the loss from which, he predicted, would be permanent and increasing. He distrusted the Chancellor of the Exchequer's speculative anticipations, and maintained that the postponement of the Finance Bill till the autumn destroyed the argument of the Government against the collection of income tax earlier in the year (p. 37). He laid stress on the increase of expenditure, due partly to the great growth in the number of officials, and deprecated proposing grandiose new schemes before the money was found for them.

Mr. John Redmond (N., *Waterford*) remarked that the only increase in expenditure Mr. Chamberlain had deprecated was on social reform. He protested against the retention of the whisky duty, but the Nationalists had voted for the Budget as a whole in view of the constitutional crisis. The autumn session was his only crumb of comfort for some weeks, and he hoped that before the recess there would be some statement as to the Conference. Mr. Barnes (Lab., *Blackfriars, Glasgow*) approved, on the whole, of "this humdrum Budget," but regretted that the sugar duty and certain disqualifications for old-age pensions were not removed, and that naval expenditure was increased. Sir F. Banbury (U., *City of London*) said that under this Government Consols had fallen from 90 to below 82, while the funds of all other great Powers but Germany had risen; as to the land taxes, it was to cost nearly 500,000*l.* to collect 600,000*l.*; and he deprecated the extravagance of the Government, as did also Mr. Gibson Bowles (L., *King's Lynn*), who also condemned the proposed postponement of the later stages of the Finance Bill. After other speeches, Mr. T. Healy (Ind. Nat., *Louth, N.*) made caustic comments on Mr. Redmond's readiness to give way to the Government. He would get the price of his support when he was as old as Methuselah. He himself denounced the whisky tax and the naval expenditure. Mr. G. Younger (U., *Ayr Burghs*) said that the whisky tax led to the consumption of new spirits, which produced a brutal and violent drunkenness rather than the "pleasant drunkenness" due to mature spirit.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer replied, contesting the allegation that Ireland was overtaxed and dwelling on the benefits to the Irish of old-age pensions. He defended himself against Mr. Austen Chamberlain's charge that his estimates were speculative and described him as a "Jeremiah who had been found out." He thought that in a few years or months there would be an outburst of indignation against the constant decrying of the country by Tariff Reformers.

After other speeches, the resolution maintaining the tea duty at 5*d.* per lb. was agreed to and reported, and the House adjourned

soon after 10 P.M., after a protest against these early cessations of business from Mr. J. King (L., *Somerset, N.*).

Next day, as an appropriate sequel to the introduction of the Budget, the Reports of the Public Accounts Committee were discussed—unfortunately in a thin House. (The Reports showed that the examination of expenditure had been very close and thorough, but the details noted cannot be specified here.) Colonel Williams (U., *Dorset, W.*), Chairman of the Committee, remarked that since 1898-9 the expenditure on the Army had increased by 40 per cent., on the Navy by 66 per cent., and on the Civil Service by 78 per cent. (from 37,000,000*l.* to 66,000,000*l.*). In the last-named department the increasing expenditure would necessitate strengthening the Department of the Comptroller and Auditor-General. The Old Age Pensions Act withdrew certain expenditure from the control of Parliament and the Law Courts, and this tendency would increase. The finance of the War Department and the Post Office afforded further reasons for strengthening the control of the Department in question. Among other matters he mentioned the great growth in the work of the Public Trustee, which might involve too much responsibility for one official; and in conclusion he said that he was satisfied that the money committed to the Departments was carefully administered, and that the House itself, through the Comptroller and Auditor-General, exercised a satisfactory control. Mr. Gibson Bowles (L., *King's Lynn*) drew attention to the extreme importance of the work done by the Committee, especially in enabling the Departments to resist improper demands. Later, Mr. Walsh (Lab., *Lancashire, S.W., Ince*) urged that the Committee should be appointed at the beginning of a session to deal with the accounts of that session, and Mr. Courthope laid stress on its criticisms on Post Office finance. Mr. Herbert Samuel, Postmaster-General, gave historical and other reasons for the defects in question, and later Mr. Hobhouse, Financial Secretary of the Treasury, declared that that Department welcomed the discussion. He agreed that the sums being administered by the Public Trustee—something over 7,000,000*l.*—were too large to be entrusted to one person, though of course it was not a question of individual character. In reply to Mr. Walsh, he said that the function of the Committee was not to deal with estimates and policy, but with expenditure—necessarily after it had taken place. The examination was never perfunctory.

The general Budget debate was resumed on the income-tax resolution on July 4. Mr. Austen Chamberlain, who complained of the omissions in the Chancellor's speech, protested against stereotyping the Debt Charge at 24,500,000*l.*, the last 500,000*l.* having been taken for a temporary emergency (ANNUAL REGISTER, 1909, p. 228), and against lumping together the reductions of permanent and short-dated debt. The revenue rightly attributable to the year did not balance the expenditure, and the arrears which

gave the surplus should have been used to return the sum abstracted from the Sinking Fund. He expressed apprehensions as to the tobacco tax, which was helping to drive the smaller manufacturers out of the trade. The spirit duty had only accelerated the decline in consumption; financially, it would have been better to leave the trade alone. He was sceptical as to the moral effect. He asked for more particulars as to the licence duties and as to the estimate of the death duties. In 1909 the local authorities had been promised half the new land taxation; now they were offered instead a fixed sum in commutation of their share of the whisky money, which might increase if the consumption recovered. As to old-age pensions, he distrusted all estimates; the Government were undertaking immense liabilities without knowing how they could be met. He did not believe that German naval expenditure would decline, or that ours could. Was it wise to tell the people that if they wanted social reform they must give up national defence? If the Chancellor of the Exchequer did not agree with his colleagues on naval expenditure, let him resign.

Mr. Dillon (N., *Mayo, E.*) thought the Budget anything but humdrum, and condemned the continuance of the whisky duty. The decline in the Irish consumption was due partly to a remarkable temperance movement and partly to a preference for beer and porter. The closing of Kinahans' distillery (*post*, Chapter VI.) was not due to the Budget, but to dwindling profits for ten years past. It was entirely wrong to put on a tax for a purely moral object. Fortunately the tax could be discussed as a separate issue in the autumn. He commended the Budget generally, and regretted that a bogus naval scare should have taken the money needed for removing working-class grievances.

The discussion was continued by Sir T. Whittaker (L., *Yorks, W.R., Spen Valley*), who dealt at length with the whisky tax, hoped that unemployment assurance would be dealt with, and congratulated the Chancellor on his Budget and his forecast; by Lord Charles Beresford (U., *Portsmouth*), who advocated a big shipbuilding programme as the only means of stopping competition, and thought the country would have to face the question of "Sea-power versus Socialism"; and by Mr. Snowden (Lab., *Blackburn*), who urged that unemployment and infirmity insurance should have been dealt with at once by the addition of a halfpenny to the income tax. The income-tax returns went on swelling, whatever the state of trade. Improved trade would not affect 99 per cent. of the working classes, and he advocated the nationalisation of the land and liquor trades, the repeal of the cocoa and sugar duties, which were so useful to tariff reformers, and the reduction of the tea duty, as the only way to maintain Free Trade policy.

The Marquess of Tullibardine (U., *Perthshire, W.*) having complained of the effect of the death duties on afforestation, Mr. Hobhouse (L., *Bristol, E.*), Financial Secretary to the Treasury,

dealt with some of the points made by Mr. Snowden and Mr. Austen Chamberlain, remarking that the burden of the Budget was relatively less than ten years earlier, and that, if the tobacco tax assisted the "combines" to drive the smaller men out of business, what would be the case with Tariff Reform? In view of the great expansion of trade, the finance of the Chancellor of the Exchequer was not speculative. The Government had shown that social reform and naval expenditure were not incompatible.

The debate was interrupted to take the Port of London Bill. Among the speakers after its resumption on that evening were Mr. Steel Maitland (U., *Birmingham, E.*), who incidentally said that had the Government been in earnest about social reform they would have brought in their Invalidity Insurance Bill in the current year. In the resumed debate on July 6, Mr. Henderson (L., *Aberdeenshire, W.*) gave economic reasons for the fall of Consols and contended that there was enough capital for British use, and Mr. Pretyma (U.) in a forcible speech, severely criticised the new land taxes and their cost of collection, and Ministerial finance in general.

Mr. Asquith gave what Mr. Austen Chamberlain subsequently described as a postscript to the Budget. After saying that the finance of the year was unique in their experience in that taxation remained unaltered, he replied to the charge based on the growth of national expenditure by showing that in 1904-5 the total expenditure on the Army and Navy, including that met by loans, was 74,300,000*l.*, and in 1905-6, when the Unionists were mainly responsible for the Estimates, 63,600,000*l.* as against 66,000,000*l.* in 1910-11. In Civil Service expenditure, since 1905 there had been an increase of 2,000,000*l.* for education, partly owing to increased population, and of 2,500,000*l.* for labour exchanges and other purposes; 700,000*l.* of this had gone to Ireland. The large increase in Civil Service expenditure was due to demands from all quarters of the House, demands he regarded as founded in reason. Old-age pensions in the current year would cost 9,500,000*l.* [A reference by him to their irrevocable character was received with ironical cheers and a cry of "Ure" (ANNUAL REGISTER, 1909, p. 234).] The Development Fund, too, was uncontested. The growth could not be attacked unless it was intended to retrace the steps made towards social reform. As to the charge based on the dealings of the Government with the National Debt, the deadweight debt on April 1, 1905, was 775,000,000*l.*; on April 1, 1906, 743,000,000*l.*; it had now been reduced to 692,000,000*l.* In 1909-10 other capital liabilities had been reduced by 2,000,000*l.*, and the total reduction in that year of the gross capital liabilities of the country would be 12,500,000*l.*, of which 6,000,000*l.* had been provided out of the revenue of the year. The total amount made available out of the current year's revenue for the repayment of principal would be 9,000,000*l.* In spite of the increased burdens

imposed on Great Britain, as on other great nations, by national defence and social reform, Great Britain alone could provide adequately for both, and also largely reduce its capital liabilities. For the essential purposes of maintaining our national finance and providing for the real needs of the people, our existing system of finance had weathered the storm.

Mr. Austen Chamberlain pointed out that the Prime Minister had omitted to mention that one of the causes of the great addition to expenditure was the increased number of Inland Revenue officials, and that in comparing Army and Navy expenditure he omitted the Unionist expenditure on permanent works and artillery. Large sums had been devoted to the reduction of debt, but what was given with one hand was subtracted with the other. He objected to the permanent reduction of the Sinking Fund by 500,000*l.* It was not understood last year that it was not temporary.

Mr. Rowntree (*L., York*), in a maiden speech, appealed—speaking as a manufacturer of cocoa—to the Chancellor of the Exchequer to abolish the duty on cocoa, a course publicly advocated by the leading manufacturers. Describing the operation of the duties, he mentioned that as no drawback was allowed on exported chocolates, British exporters were handicapped as compared with their Dutch and Swiss competitors. The duties, he said, illustrated the difficulty of framing a scientific tariff. Later, Mr. Bottomley advocated the appointment of a Commission to report on the public spending departments, the abolition of both the Sinking Funds, the extension of the tax on share transfers to contracts of transfer, so as to reach gambling transactions in stocks, and taxes on dormant bank balances and unclaimed securities and on betting and horse-racing.

After other speeches, the debate was adjourned till Friday, July 8, when the Chancellor of the Exchequer, after touching on various details, replied at length to the broader criticisms of his finance. To the charge that the current year was being financed out of the surplus of its predecessor, he replied that, had there been no interference with the Budget of 1909, the surplus of the current year would have been 2,200,000*l.* As to the reduction of the Sinking Fund, the provision he had made exceeded by 2,000,000*l.* the highest reduction effected by the last Unionist Government. He referred to the recent return of the National Debt (*post*, p. 166). He was providing for a net reduction of 9,000,000*l.* in the capital liabilities of the country in the current year. The last Unionist Administration reduced debt with one hand and created new debt with the other. In 1903-4 the reduction was 8,600,000*l.*, the increase 11,750,000*l.* They had erected barracks, now derelict, in every zone, from Wei-hai-wei to Bulawayo. Why the huts on Salisbury Plain were built was as great a mystery as Stonehenge. They were used now, but merely because they existed. At Fermoy unwanted barracks had been

turned into a swimming bath. Would those who complained of the additional expenditure get rid of Labour Exchanges and old-age pensions? Land valuation was a capital charge, and temporary; it would be of great value for local as well as for Imperial taxation, and would provide a register of title. Amid loud Liberal and Labour cheers, he exhibited and read out a Tariff Reform placard running as follows: "Exposed. The Radical Government in their last two Budgets have taxed foreign cocoa to the extent of from 3s. to 5s. in the pound for the benefit of the Radical proprietors of the Cocoa Trust Press." The suggestion, he said, was that he had proposed the tax for the first time; it had been in force for sixty years. Were he to withdraw this duty he would lose 60,000*l.* per annum; and the manufacturers did not profit by it, as they did not get a drawback. But the Opposition did not want the drawback withdrawn; this leaflet was worth more to them than the cocoa duty. The keeping back half the land taxes from the local authorities was provisional. So was the contribution from the rates to the removal of the pauper disqualification for old-age pensions; for gradually the paupers would come on the pension list automatically. If the whole burden was thrown on the Exchequer, unemployed and invalidity insurance could not be started in 1911, and 1,500,000*l.* additional would be wanted for the first quarter of that year. That would interfere with demands for education and complicate Poor Law reform and the readjustment of local and imperial finance. In conclusion, he rejected Mr. Bottomley's suggestions, and agreed that, according to the experience of other countries, Tariff Reform led to Socialism.

Mr. Bonar Law wound up the debate with a forcible and ingenious speech. After defending the Unionist action on old-age pensions and military works, he admitted that it was desirable that such posters as that quoted should not be circulated, but it was not actually false, while the Chinese slavery posters were deliberate lies. Nine-tenths of the cocoa manufacturers' trade was a home trade, and they enjoyed a protection varying from 15 to 20 per cent., which enabled them to keep the business in their own hands. After describing as amazing the Chancellor's remarks on the Navy scare, which he supposed were by way of revenge for his defeat in the Cabinet on the Navy question, he dealt at some length with Mr. Lloyd George's comparison of the effects of the British and of foreign fiscal systems. The German Imperial and State debts together amounted to nearly 900,000,000*l.*, but there were assets behind which, taking the Prussian railways only, would leave a balance of 900,000,000*l.* Taking indirect and direct taxation together, the British people were taxed 30s. per head more than the German. The financial difficulties of Germany were due to State jealousy of the central Government. Our rival's external trade was improving more rapidly than ours, and unemployment was greater here than in Germany. (Mr. Lloyd George pointed out that the basis of calculation was different.) At any rate, why were

our people pouring out of the country as if it were plague-stricken, while the Germans remained at home? Wages in Germany had more than overtaken the increasing cost of living. The Budget was called a triumph of Free Trade finance, but it put unjustifiable burdens on individual communities and trades. He contested the alleged diminution of drunkenness by the whisky tax, and derided the position of the Nationalists. Had they insisted on its removal earlier in the session the Chancellor of the Exchequer would have made the best of the situation, but now he had them in a cleft stick; they could not turn the Government out for retaining a tax which they had not voted against when they could. Mr. Redmond must now realise that a long spoon—a much longer spoon than he had—was required to sup with the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Mr. Gibson Bowles then moved an amendment deferring the operation of the income-tax resolution until December 1, on the ground that, as the Finance Act was not to be passed till late in the year, the collection of income tax would not be legal before that time. Mr. Hobhouse explained that the delay would prevent the issue of demand notes, and render the collection of the whole tax impossible. The amendment was rejected by 195 to 83. So was a second, also moved by Mr. Bowles, allowing deduction from income for depreciation of wasting assets, the numbers being 167 to 96. Mr. Bowles withdrew five other amendments and the income-tax resolution was agreed to.

The return of the National Debt (Cd. 5206) referred to by the Chancellor (p. 164) was a very elaborate document, showing (1) the direct liabilities of the State outstanding at the close of each of the preceding 75 financial years, together with such assets as admitted of calculation, *e.g.* advances from the Exchequer repayable to it, the Suez Canal shares, and the balances in the Exchequer; (2) the expenditure charged against the revenue in each of these years on account of the National Debt and other payments connected with capital liabilities; and there were elucidatory appendices containing further particulars. We have space only for a few salient totals:—

Date. ¹	Funded Debt.	Aggregate Gross Liabilities.	Charge on Revenue.
	£	£	£
5 Jan., 1836	760,294,554	846,057,745	28,666,153
31 March, 1855	765,589,176	806,714,160	27,982,513
" 1857	783,962,794	836,811,672	28,773,655
" 1889	607,067,811	736,153,067	25,843,214
" 1900	552,606,898	638,919,931	23,535,285
" 1903	640,058,728	798,349,190	28,430,618
" 1905	635,632,303	796,736,491	28,866,989
" 1910	614,868,547	762,463,625	25,489,006

¹The dates are those of the close of each financial year taken. The aggregate gross liabilities include (a) the Funded Debt; (b) Estimated capital liability in respect of terminable annuities; (c) the Unfunded Debt; (d) other capital liabilities. Against the aggregate gross liabilities were set the assets specified in the preceding paragraph. The charges in column 4 included interest, expenses of management, and repayments. The lowest point in gross liabilities was reached in 1900.

In an interval of the Budget debate the Regency Bill had passed through Committee (July 5). An attempt to extend the minority of the Sovereign till he was twenty-one was successfully resisted by the Government on the ground of precedent, and the offence of aiding and abetting a marriage contracted by him without the consent of Parliament was modified from high treason to treason felony. The prohibition of the Regent's assent to Bills affecting the Act of Uniformity and the Established Churches in England and Scotland was opposed by Mr. Holt (L., *Northumberland, Hexham*) in the interest of Prayer-Book reform and Welsh Disestablishment, and Mr. Asquith, while remarking that such Bills were not likely to be ready within two years, accepted the amendment, which was carried, the Unionists opposing, by 209 to 118. Mr. Holt also moved to omit the provision that the Regency should determine if the Regent became a Roman Catholic or married a Roman Catholic; but this vindication of religious equality was opposed by the Ministry and by Lord Hugh Cecil, and Mr. Dillon, as a Roman Catholic, saw nothing objectionable in the requirement that the Sovereign should be Protestant.

The remaining stages of the Bill require only brief notice. At the Report Stage (July 22) Mr. Mitchell Thomson (U., *Down, N.*), formerly a Scottish member, proposed to reinstate the words prohibiting the Regent's assent to a repeal of the Act of Queen Anne's reign securing the Scottish Church Establishment. Their omission, he said, was an infraction of the Act of Union. After a spirited discussion, in which Mr. Churchill said that the Government would leave the matter to the House, a division resulted in a tie—61 to 61. The Speaker felt bound to support the Bill as it originally stood, and the words were therefore reinstated by his casting vote. The Bill was scarcely debated at all in the other House. An amendment, moved by the Marquess of Salisbury, providing for the appointment of a successor to the Regent, should her powers determine before the end of her term, by the Sovereign on an address of both Houses, was withdrawn on the ground that it was undesirable to fetter Parliament by providing for remote contingencies, and the Bill received the Royal Assent on August 3.

The day after the Regency Bill had passed through Committee in the Commons, the disorder existing in some parts of Ireland—Clare, Galway, Longford, and Roscommon—was brought before the House of Lords by the Marquess of Londonderry, who mentioned that in Clare, Galway and Leitrim boycotting was prevalent; and he complained of the supineness of the Government. He was met, as usual, by a Ministerial refusal to apply the Crimes Act of 1887, which, as the Earl of Crewe pointed out, would not check boycotting and cattle-driving; but it was stated that the Government contemplated legislation with regard to the possession of firearms for the United Kingdom as a whole.

Other Irish matters were dealt with more fruitfully in Committee of Supply on the Irish Estimates (July 7). A demand for further aid towards building labourers' cottages, costing 4,250,000*l.*—of which 23,000 had been constructed under the Act of 1906, or more than under all the previous Acts since 1883—was met by Mr. Birrell with a promise of 1,000,000*l.* more on like terms. He spoke with enthusiasm of the improvement made by the new cottages generally speaking in the landscape and the care taken of them by the tenants. The Bill required to fulfil the promise would provide that the old cottages, "stinking mudheaps," should be pulled down at once. The building was a necessary sequel to the benefits conferred on the farmers by the Land Act of 1903.

A somewhat bitter discussion was next set up by the motion of Mr. Barrie (*Londonderry, N.*) to reduce the Vote for the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction in order to call attention to the position of the Vice-President, Mr. T. W. Russell, who retained that office without a seat in Parliament, though Sir Horace Plunkett had been constrained to resign on a similar ground. Mr. Russell, it was complained, had condemned the co-operative credit banks established by the Irish Agricultural Society as "mostly insolvent." (His attack had already called forth a protest from Sir Horace Plunkett, the President of the Society.) Mr. S. H. Butcher (*U., Cambridge University*) seconded the motion, declaring that Mr. Russell had struck at one part of a co-operative movement necessary to the small Irish farmers. Mr. Dillon, while thinking that Mr. Russell should resign if he could not get a seat in Parliament, defended him at considerable length, and said that the Irish Board of Agriculture had severed itself from the Agricultural Organisation Society because the latter was Unionist. After a speech from Sir E. Carson, Mr. Birrell said that Mr. Russell should be given a reasonable time to find a seat, and that his attack on the banks was made at a private meeting with a deputation of the society in question, who must have divulged it themselves. He was quite right in reminding the banks of their obligations. Ultimately the reduction was negatived by 171 to 67.

In spite of the Conference, the conflict between the two Houses was revived for a moment, though in no acute form, by the Census Bill. At its second reading in the House of Lords on July 7, Lord Newton and the Bishop of St. Asaph revived the demand for a religious census, with the proviso, however, that no person should be compelled to state his or her religious belief. An amendment to this effect, moved by Lord Newton on July 12, was supported by the Archbishop of Canterbury, but the Earl of Crewe pointed out that the Unionists had not instituted such a census in 1900, and that the amendment would be rejected by the Commons. Many Peers, including the Unionist leaders, abstained from voting on this latter ground, but the amendment was carried by 38 to 31. At the Report Stage, however (July 19), Lord Eversley moved to

rescind the amendment, commenting on the abstention of so many Peers, and stating that, when President of the Royal Statistical Society, he had concluded after investigation that a religious census would have no statistical value. Lord James of Hereford supported the proposed rescission; in Ireland the Roman Catholics wished to show their strength, the Protestants to show theirs in certain localities; but the information in England could not be got and should not be sought; the demand went against the repeated declarations of the Commons and the experience of years. Lord Eversley's proposal was rejected by 32 to 29; but after midnight on July 27, when the Bill came back to the Commons, Mr. Burns moved to disagree with the Lords' amendment, on the ground that the statistics would be useless and the information unreliable. Various possible uses for the figures were suggested by Mr. Rawlinson (U., *Cambridge University*), and eventually, after Lord Hugh Cecil had declared that the political Nonconformists dared not face the results, the amendment was disagreed with by 130 to 66, and the Lords accepted the decision.

Mention may here be made of three useful non-contentious measures which became law before the Recess. The Supreme Court of Judicature Bill had been introduced in the House of Lords on March 9, and passed with a trifling amendment; in the Commons it roused more active criticism. Its object was to remove the block of business in the King's Bench Division by the appointment of two additional judges in conformity with the Report of the Joint Committee of the two Houses (ANNUAL REGISTER, 1909, Chronicle, Dec. 7), but it left the way open for further and alternative remedies by providing that, whenever, after January 1, 1911, the number of puisne judges exceeded fifteen, no vacancy should be filled up except with the consent of Parliament. This date had been altered in Committee (April 19) to August 1, 1910, when unsuccessful attempts had been made to fix the maximum age of the new judges at fifty-five, to compel the retirement of all judges at seventy, and to make fifteen years' service the qualification for a pension. There was a strong feeling that some such measures as these, coupled with longer sittings, would be a less costly method of dealing with the block than that proposed by the Bill, and on July 5, at the Report Stage, Mr. Markham (L., *Notts., Mansfield*) moved that every judge appointed should make an annual return of the number of days on which he had sat. Other amendments had been put down, but Mr. Asquith's reply allayed criticism. The new appointments, he said, would not completely solve the difficulty, and steps were under consideration for the better employment and distribution of time in the King's Bench. The Government held that judges should sit on Saturdays, unless they had sat in the week for extra hours equivalent to a normal Saturday sitting. He spoke strongly on the urgency of removing the block of business, and the Bill became law without further

opposition. The new judges were Mr. Horace Avery and Mr. T. G. Horridge, who had defeated Mr. Balfour at Manchester in 1906.

Another and even less contentious measure was the Police (Weekly Rest Day) Bill—a private member's Bill—which became law, after a protest in the House of Lords from the Duke of Northumberland against increasing the burdens on ratepayers, pending the readjustment of the relations between Imperial and local taxation. A third, the Diseases of Animals Bill—also a private member's measure—provided that horses exported should be inspected by veterinary surgeons appointed by the Board of Agriculture. These horses were exported for slaughter—chiefly to be used as food—to Belgium and Holland, and great cruelty was involved in the shipment; numerous penalties had been inflicted on shippers for driving horses to the docks when almost unable to move. The traffic had already been considerably restricted by an order of the Board of Agriculture, which had become operative on June 1, forbidding the export of any horse to Holland or Belgium unless with the authorisation of the local authority at the port of exportation. The Bill became law.

It was agreed during July to appoint a Joint Committee of both Houses to deal with financial adjustments consequent on alterations of local government areas or governing bodies.

A debate on the relations of the Imperial Exchequer and local finance, initiated by Lord Dunmore on July 14, enabled the Earl of Crewe to confirm the assurance given by the Chancellor of the Exchequer (p. 165), that the question would be dealt with by the Government, if in office, in 1911. Attention was drawn by Lord Dunmore and others to the demands put on the local authorities by Parliament, and the undue proportion paid by them of the cost of charges which were really Imperial. Lord Sheffield predicted that the subject would take the whole of a session. A number of suggestive points were raised, but the virtual outcome was that the case for a reform was urgent, and that the reform must be very comprehensive. On the following day the Chancellor of the Exchequer, at the usual dinner given by the Lord Mayor to City bankers and merchants, at which he was the principal guest, also declared that the question must be taken up in 1911 by whichever party was in power. This declaration was the most noteworthy feature of his speech, which also contained a graceful reference to the practical patriotism shown in paying taxes without legal obligation, and a defence of the unavoidable growth of expenditure, the increase in which, as he pointed out, was almost entirely on the Navy and on old-age pensions.

The programme of practical legislation in the near future must also, it was clear, include some instalment of Poor Law Reform; and the Upper House of Convocation on July 5 had urged the necessity, if not of a complete remodelling of the Poor Law system, at any rate of legislation dealing with the case of the feeble-minded,

juvenile labour, vagrancy, and unemployment insurance. But it seemed very doubtful if the political situation in 1911 would be sufficiently settled to allow of the calm consideration of measures naturally lying for the most part outside party politics. On the Unionist side Mr. F. E. Smith, speaking at Liverpool on July 2, had urged silence and patience, and a "real and honest truce," during the Conference; but the advanced Liberals and the Labour party did not conceal their disquiet, and it was intensified by a scheme outlined in *The Times* of July 4, and described as having originated in Liberal quarters. Under this scheme a Joint Committee would be nominated at the beginning of each session, in equal numbers from both Houses; the contingent sent by the Commons would be so constituted as to represent the relative strength of the various parties in the House; the Lords would contribute an equal number of Liberal and Unionist Peers. Thus the Ministry of the day would normally have the preponderance. This Committee would have the final decision on ordinary Bills in case of a deadlock between the two Houses; in regard to money Bills it was supposed that the Lords would waive the right of rejection if an acceptable authority to rule out "tacking" was set up. A deadlock in the Joint Committee would be solved by a general election. This plan attracted much Liberal attention, and was not on the whole received favourably. Mr. Henderson, the Labour member, writing in a Labour publication early in July, declared that the Conference was disquieting the rank and file, who doubted if the Liberal leaders were really in earnest; the Labour party repudiated any compromise which would give less than the proposals accepted by the majority of the Commons. The chief Ministerial Whip, the Master of Elibank, did his best to allay the disquiet in a speech at Peebles on July 9. The Liberal party, he stated, had made every arrangement for an immediate appeal to the country before the King's death; they had then cancelled a thousand projected meetings, including a Hyde Park demonstration; but they could take the field at ten days' notice. He asked for fair play for the Conference, pointing out the admissions on the Unionist side that the Liberals were unfairly handicapped under existing conditions, and that some method was desirable of averting the disturbance to trade incident to frequent general elections. He intimated, also, that the Irish question might be settled as the South African question had been.

However, a further strain on the unity of the Liberal forces seemed likely to be set up by the Parliamentary Franchise (Women) Bill. It was debated on Monday and Tuesday, July 11 and 12. Mr. Shackleton (Lab., *Lancs., N.E., Clitheroe*), who moved the second reading, based his demand on the doctrine that representation should go with taxation, and a share in legislation with the obligation of obedience to the law. He estimated that the Bill would add about a million voters to the electorate, and stated that

in Lancashire the overwhelming majority of women workers would come under it. He laid stress on the value of women's work, notably on Royal Commissions. The colonies had gone much further, and the effect on politics should not be considered. He hoped that the Bill would go before a Grand Committee and become law. The motion was seconded by Sir John Rolleston (U., *Hertford*) and opposed by Mr. F. E. Smith (U., *Liverpool, Walton*) in a brilliant speech. He said the Bill would lead to the enfranchisement of the whole sex, though by itself it was profoundly undemocratic. The doctrine of a right to vote was as dead as Rousseau, and our Indian fellow-subjects paid taxes but did not vote. There was no strong feeling for the Bill; after centuries of man-made law, women were in a preferential position, and he did not think their enfranchisement would raise the rate of women's wages. The analogy of Norway and other countries was of no value, and the Oriental population which was two-thirds of that of the whole Empire detested government by females. Women, with a minority of men, might press proposals on the majority of men—for compulsory service for instance—which could not be enforced. No women could play the slightest part in making the law effective. If women voted, they must logically sit in the House and be admitted to occupy any office. The best influences exercised by women were menaced by their intrusion into politics.

The rejection was seconded by Mr. J. Annan Bryce (L., *Inverness Burghs*). Mr. Haldane, who followed, said that as neither the Government nor the Opposition leaders could give a lead to their followers, he thought the Bill ought not to go to a Grand Committee. If the House were prevented from reconsidering it after it had passed such a Committee, its prospects in the House of Lords would be spoilt. But speaking for himself alone, he cordially supported the Bill, not on abstract grounds, but on the concrete ground of the increased work done in public life by women. Women's wages, he thought, would be improved if women had more political importance. He had rather have this Bill than none, and he did not think that the advent of women to power would make much difference in the continuity of political life. The character of the State was really determined by the natural fitness of things and the natural capacity of the citizens. Hereafter the political distinction of sex would be regarded with as much amazement as slavery.

Mr. Long (U., *Strand*) said that the Bill was not an experiment; it could not be repealed when passed. There was no strong feeling among women in favour of the change; the Bill must lead to adult suffrage. The House should not make such a change without much more information. On the other hand, Mr. Lyttelton (U., *St. George's, Hanover Square*) supported the Bill. As women differed on the question, they would clearly not all vote one way if enfranchised. Members could not accept political as-

sistance from women, and deny them the vote. The East had been passionately loyal to the rule of the great white Queen. Enfranchisement of women would not weaken the virile force of the Government, for the Boer women had kept their men up to the war, and New Zealand and Australia had passed compulsory military service. In our society men and women were mixed indiscriminately, and it was not fair that the weaker should go without representation.

The discussion was continued by Mr. Belloc (L., *Salford, S.*), who opposed the Bill while ridiculing most of the stock arguments against it, but believed that the mass of popular opinion was adverse; and by Lord Hugh Cecil, who ridiculed the notion that women would combine against men and that the State was based on physical force, and supported the Bill. After other speeches, Mr. Keir Hardie (Lab., *Merthyr Tydfil*), who suggested that Mr. Smith should logically vote against the Regency Bill, said that some 2,000 working women in his constituency and 95,000 in London would come under the Bill. Later speakers added little to these arguments, until, on the following day, the Home Secretary, Mr. Winston Churchill, rose. He declined to support the Bill. The sex disqualification for the franchise was not justified, but women were not losers by it, and they had made singularly little use of their opportunities in municipal government. The actual grievances, he thought, were two—the refusal of the vote to women workers in politics, and the slur of inferiority cast on the sex, which was more serious. That grievance he would like to see removed, either by special “fancy” franchises, which he hoped the Conciliation Committee would have considered, or by adult suffrage at twenty-five. But this Bill was capricious, one-sided, and anti-democratic. Many of the working women enfranchised would be disfranchised by their receipt of poor relief, and a rich man might easily give qualifications to his wife and daughters, and multiply plural voting, and many of the propertied women would oppose further change. Under the Bill a prostitute would lose a vote by marriage and regain it on divorce. The Bill could not be amended democratically.

Later, Mr. Asquith opposed the Bill. It was not the sort of measure that could be left to a Grand Committee; and its principle was undiscoverable. He himself thought that in the British Empire it was better to maintain the distinction of sex. This was no reflection on women or on the doctrines of democracy; there was a large neutral field in which the sexes could work together, and it was undesirable to bring them into competition and collision. He did not think women's interests were neglected by the Legislature, and he insisted that the logical consequence of women's suffrage would be their admission to the House and the Cabinet, and, on particular issues and in particular constituencies, the female vote would overbear the male. That would lead to

fitful and capricious movement, followed by intervals of indifference. At the general election women's suffrage had been insignificant as an issue, and the Bill was utterly undemocratic. It created new property voters, and left out the wives and mothers, a class best fitted to exercise political rights. Threats had been used as to the consequences of rejection, but he did not believe that they would affect a single vote. A cause which could not win its way by peaceful methods had pronounced in advance its own sentence of death.

Mr. Balfour, who endorsed Mr. Asquith's condemnation of violence, approved of the Bill, but expected that his speech would please nobody. Democracy was government by consent, and when a large and important section of women felt that they were under a disability, Parliament must see if their grievance could be remedied. He did not think social reform could be correlated with extensions of the franchise; but he dwelt on the great increase of women who had to earn their own livelihood, and on the fact that women of all classes were dragged into politics. It was hard to tell them that their activity must stop short of the Vote. He did not think that the women the Bill would enfranchise would be less competent than men in imperial affairs, nor did he foresee any danger of sex-division in politics. He did not think the Bill must logically lead to further extension. The American and French Constitutions declared the equality of men, and yet these countries stopped short of enfranchising women. The bar of sex was no longer justifiable in politics.

Among the other speakers were Mr. Arnold Ward (U., *Herts, Watford*), son of Mrs. Humphry Ward, the well-known novelist and a prominent anti-suffragist, and Mr. Runciman, Minister of Education, the latter strongly supporting the Bill; and then the Chancellor of the Exchequer, like the Home Secretary, while favouring woman suffrage, opposed the Bill because it was so drafted as to make amendment impossible. The change was, after all, gigantic; it required full consideration in Committee, and the Bill was really an attempt to dictate a solution. If the promoters would undertake that the second reading would be regarded simply as an affirmation of the principle of women's suffrage, and that it would be introduced in a form admitting amendments, he would reconsider his decision to vote against it.

Mr. Austen Chamberlain opposed the Bill as the beginning of a revolution; and Mr. Snowden (Lab., *Blackburn*), winding up the debate for the promoters, asked whether, if they withdrew the Bill, the Government would provide facilities for another. No reply being given, he asked whether, if the promoters agreed to its recommittal so as to widen its scope, facilities would be given for the discussion of an amended Bill.

The second reading was carried by 299 to 189, the majority consisting of 161 Liberals, 31 Labour members, 20 Nationalists

and 87 Unionists, and the minority of 60 Liberals, 2 Labour members, 14 Nationalists, and 113 Unionists. But on the motion of Mr. Lehmann (L., *Leic., Harborough*) the Bill was committed, by 320 to 175, to a Committee of the whole House, and therefore shelved. Messrs. Balfour, Birrell, Burns, Buxton, Haldane, Bonar Law, Lyttelton, Wyndham, Sir E. Grey and Sir Rufus Isaacs, were among the supporters of the second reading; Messrs. Asquith, Churchill, Lloyd George, Harcourt, Hobhouse, Masterman, Colonel Seely, Sir W. Anson and Sir E. Carson among the opponents.

The agitation was continued by rival demonstrations for and against the cause, and Mr. Winston Churchill's "treachery" was bitterly attacked by Lord Lytton. There was some talk of the introduction of a modified Bill; but further facilities for the existing Bill were refused by the Government on July 28, and its Liberal members suspended their efforts to get them, in consequence, it was reported, of an appeal by the Chancellor of the Exchequer to leave the way clear for the House of Lords question.

The House passed to less contentious matters with the Education Vote, moved by Mr. Runciman, President of the Board of Education, on July 13, in a long and interesting speech. He mentioned that in the year since the reopening of the Victoria and Albert Museum (said by some people to be the best Art Museum in Europe) over 1,000,000 persons had visited it, and that the Science Museum would shortly be rebuilt with the aid of a grant from the Commissioners of the 1851 Exhibition of 100,000*l.* The numbers of students in the technical schools and classes had considerably increased. More employers should allow their younger employees to attend these classes in working hours. He looked forward to compulsory continuation schools, as in Scotland. Adult artisans should be given opportunity to revive their elementary education at evening schools. The secondary school grants for the year amounted to 610,000*l.*, and 158,000 pupils were in attendance. There had been a great improvement in the length of school life and the elasticity of the curriculum. Elementary schools varied enormously, but there had been great improvements of late years, and the quality of the teaching had gone up. Some teachers did too much lecturing, and he pleaded for more freedom to teachers to try experiments. He called special attention to the development of rural education and medical inspection. A thousand school medical officers had been appointed, including seventy women; there were 300 school nurses, and 1,500,000 children had been medically examined. He detailed the various means taken by public and private bodies to aid the parents in providing treatment where necessary. Great development had taken place in physical exercises. Experiments were being made in teaching the care of infants and temperance. The number of training colleges and teachers had increased, and over 10,000 places were now available

in colleges without religious tests. For the existing over-supply of teachers, the proper remedy was to check the supply of untrained teachers. After references to the vexed question of the teachers' register and to the University Colleges, he mentioned that in grants and rates 28,500,000*l.* was being spent on education, and from other sources 8,000,000*l.* to 10,000,000*l.* The grants for necessitous school districts were to be increased in 1911-12. There were 7,000,000 children on the school rolls.

Sir W. Anson (U., *Oxford University*) approved of most of Mr. Runciman's speech, but feared that the expenditure demanded from local authorities on the feeding and medical inspection of school children might damp their enthusiasm for education. He pleaded for facilities in each secondary school area for learning Greek, and complained of the Board's attitude towards denominational training colleges and denominational instruction in secondary schools. Later, Mr. Ormsby Gore (U., *Denbigh Dis.*) and Lord Hugh Cecil complained of the withdrawal of the Government grant from Towyn Church School, which had existed over 200 years; but Mr. Runciman explained that in the previous year the attendance had been only twenty. (This drop, however, was ascribed to the presence of an unpopular teacher, who had resigned, and in May, 1910, the average attendance had been fifty-seven.) But the managers, Mr. Runciman stated, had been repeatedly warned that they must provide better accommodation. After further criticisms by other members on various points in educational administration, Mr. Trevelyan, Secretary to the Board, in a general reply, mentioned that the pending Education (Choice of Employment) Bill would enable local education authorities to advise and assist boys and girls as to their future careers, and stated that in 1911 the Government hoped to legislate on the half-time question and continuation schools. The debate was closed by 166 to 134, and a motion for the reduction of the Vote was lost after two divisions (one taken as a protest against the closure) by 173 to 135. The Opposition again divided on the Report of the Vote as a protest against the closure, and were beaten by 169 to 130.

Next day the controversy as to the adequacy of the shipbuilding programme of the Government was renewed in the House of Commons over the Naval Votes. Outside it had recently exhibited new developments. The Imperial Maritime League, nicknamed in 1909 the "Navier League," because it consisted of seceders from the Navy League who regarded the programme of that body as insufficient, had promoted a petition to the Prime Minister to obtain Parliamentary sanction during the current session for a shipbuilding loan of 100,000,000*l.* which had been signed by 100 admirals and fifty generals—most, if not all, of them, however, on the retired lists; and the *Daily Mail* of July 4 had published a remarkable article by Admiral Mahan, the

great American naval historian, which was reprinted as a pamphlet and circulated broadcast. Briefly, it pleaded for the recognition of the German Navy as a new factor in international politics, quite apart from any theories as to the possible intentions of the German Government. At least three times in the past thirty years of European peace, it argued, international issues had been decided without open warfare by the relative strength of the Powers concerned; there were signs that the British democracy failed to appreciate the importance of the Navy, and the development of German naval power had led to the weakening of the British fleet in the Mediterranean, where lay the most delicate link in the communications of the Empire. The passing of the Mediterranean out of the sphere of British influence would symbolise, if it did not accompany, the passing of the British Empire.—The Government, however, had kept on their course, and Mr. McKenna's refusal (July 7), in reply to a deputation, to provide a graving dock on the Tyne or Humber gave fresh offence to the alarmist school. However, it was from the opposite pole of thought that the matter was now approached in the Commons; for Mr. Dillon (July 13) moved a reduction of 2,000,000*l.* in the Vote for dockyard work and *personnel*. This reduction, he argued, would merely postpone the completion of part of the "monstrous programme" of the Government. The increase of the Navy Estimates between 1909 and 1912 would probably amount to 12,000,000*l.*; but this did not satisfy the Imperialists or the experts. He deplored the First Lord's speech on the Navy Estimates in 1909 (ANNUAL REGISTER, 1909, p. 51); if the German declaration (*ibid.*, p. 54) that the German programme would not be accelerated had been honourably observed, how could the construction of the contingent *Dreadnoughts* be justified? He denounced the talk of taking the Army and Navy and foreign affairs "out of politics" as cant, and deplored the debate of March, 1909, and the efforts made by certain writers to provoke war. If the Government went on the same lines as in 1909 they must bear the shame of being the leaders in this ruinous competition.

Mr. Asquith replied that the record of the Government showed that they would not diverge from economy without urgent necessity. The Cawdor programme would have given them twelve *Dreadnoughts*; they had only provided eight, and could hardly, in one year, have become "roaring and rapacious Jingoës." He regretted the association of the increased expenditure with the notion that we were hostile to Germany; Anglo-German relations were most cordial, and he looked forward to a yearly increase in their warmth. The respective preparations of the two Powers were not directed against each other; those of Germany were determined by the fact that she was a great world-Power, those of Great Britain by her responsibility for the defence and security of the Empire.

We had to look at the shipbuilding programmes of the world and to take into account all possible risks, and never to sacrifice that margin of safety by which alone the safety of our trade and Empire could be secured. What he had said in March, 1909, as to German acceleration was literally accurate; the declaration of the German Government referred to future production. The Prime Minister then gave a comparative statement best reproduced in tabular form.

DREADNOUGHTS READY.

	Great Britain.	Germany.
July, 1910	10	5
At end 1911	16	11
April, 1912	20	18
Spring, 1913	25	17
Late in 1913, or 1914	25	21

To our total we had to add the two Colonial *Dreadnoughts*, to Germany's provisionally the four Italian *Dreadnoughts*. As to the four mysterious Austrian vessels, that Government had not indicated its intentions. Could it be said that our programme was inflated? National security was a condition of social reform.

Mr. Balfour welcomed the tendency deprecated by Mr. Dillon to withdraw foreign policy and the Army and Navy from party politics, but was not sure that the debates of 1909, with the vote of censure, bore out Mr. Dillon's statement. He believed that the neglect of the Cawdor programme was the cause both of the great increase of naval expenditure and the international friction in the Press. Mr. Dillon's speech he regarded as calculated to revive such friction; and it was absurd to hold that we could look on naval questions with the same eyes as a patriotic German. A defeat in a naval war would not vitally injure Germany, but would destroy our existence as a nation. Our Navy was to us what her Army was to Germany, the condition of existence. Germany might have accelerated her programme, and he rejoiced that she had not. The Prime Minister had put the case as to relative strength at its best, as a concession to the Small Navy party. He had not dealt with the possible position at the end of 1912, when we might only have twenty *Dreadnoughts* to Germany's seventeen. That margin, adequately supported by destroyers and cruisers, might suffice, but he did not think that for twenty-five years England had been content with so small a margin against one Power. The Prime Minister had made no reference to the two-Power standard. He thought the feeling aroused last year had been for the good of the world's peace, and he rejoiced if the action of the Opposition had helped to arouse it. There was now, at any rate, a general consciousness that we must spend on ships and men, and on the subsidiary services that make them efficient, any sum necessary to enable us to look with confidence on changes of international relations and preserve that peace and friendliness which was the dearest interest of every Government and party.

Later, Lord Charles Beresford endorsed Mr. Balfour's contention that the scare of 1909 was due to negligence in shipbuilding. We had no naval standard, and the Government treated the rôle of the Fleet in war as purely defensive; we could not, like Germany, get supplies in war-time through a neutral port; our margin was insufficient; *Dreadnoughts* were not the whole of a fleet; he had known six battleships out of eight of the Mediterranean command laid up for five weeks through nobody's fault. In 1913 we should have two ships less than the combined *Dreadnought* fleet of the Triple Alliance. We wanted a new Naval Defence Act, a large addition to the Shipbuilding Vote, a proper War Staff to prevent scares, provision for the proper organisation and preparation of the Navy during peace. This would be better than periodical scares, and, if the Government deferred their liabilities, they would have to get a loan.

Mr. Barnes (Lab., *Blackfriars, Glasgow*) condemned the Government programme and believed the fear of Germany groundless; Mr. Belloc thought the power of Germany had been exaggerated, but declared that the tradition of the Prussian Government for 200 years had been "that contract and bond do not count between Christian men"; other Powers would in future develop more rapidly in comparison than ourselves, and he thought it the duty of private members to support the Government. Among other speakers, Mr. Eyres-Monsell (U., *Evesham, Worcestershire*) laid stress on the inadequate protection of our trade routes on the south-east coast of America, and the possibility of destruction of our trade there by commerce destroyers converted from merchantmen; Mr. Gibson Bowles condemned the proposed Declaration of London (ANNUAL REGISTER, 1909, p. 59) as facilitating this change, and pointed out that the German fleet was manned by landsmen; and, after other speeches, Mr. Lee (U., *Fareham, Hants*) emphasised the Unionist warnings, and attacked the Chancellor of the Exchequer for his references to naval expenditure in his Budget and other speeches in 1909 and 1910, which, he declared, should lead him to resign.

Mr. McKenna wound up the debate. He sympathised with the Chancellor of the Exchequer in his dislike to increased naval estimates, but assured the House that his colleagues at the Admiralty had concluded that the provision now being made was the least compatible with security. He defended himself against the charge of raising a scare in 1909; the Admiralty's motto was "Be safe and sober." If the five ships proposed were refused, a far larger demand would have to be made later in the year. Mr. Eyres-Monsell's suggestion was baseless; foreign merchantmen did not have guns aboard, and to carry ammunition would invalidate their insurances, they could not even store the ammunition in a foreign warehouse. He mentioned that a second dock might shortly be put in hand at Rosyth.

The reduction was negatived by 298 to 70 and the Vote agreed to.

Mr. Asquith's speech was welcomed in Germany as indicating that the Anglo-German tension had considerably abated, and that the German armaments were not regarded as a special menace to British power. Several German Liberal papers not only deprecated any idea of war between the two countries, but advocated negotiations for a reciprocal limitation of armaments, and even in Vienna the burden and loss of naval rivalry were recognised. On the other hand the *Observer* of July 17 demanded an emergency loan, a naval Act parallel to that of Germany, and a fixed standard of "two keels to one."

Other questions affecting national defence were discussed on the Army and Navy Votes on July 19. The adequacy of the supply of cordite was questioned, with expert knowledge, by Mr. Burgoyne (U., *Kensington, N.*), editor of the *Navy League Annual*; and in reply Mr. Haldane, speaking, as usual, on this subject with considerable scientific knowledge, contended that the heat test of cordite was necessary to guard against decomposition; a conference of service representatives and manufacturers had considered the possibility of improvements in it, and he hoped that in war time Canada would be able to furnish sufficient acetate of lime, the raw material of the acetone required in the manufacture, and England sufficient acetone. Glycerine, which was also needed, was plentiful owing to the large British output of soap. He defended the action of the War Office towards the manufacturers, and believed that should war break out the supply of cordite would last till more could be made. Mr. McKenna was able, moreover, to assure Lord Charles Beresford that the heat test for cordite issued to ships and stored ensured that the material could be relied on for some thirteen years. Cordite which did not pass, however, might be quite safe for a shorter period. The Admiralty had no intention of reducing the heat test.

Among other subjects raised was that of the provision of small arms, Mr. Lee (U., *Fareham, Hants*) complaining that the War Office were not providing a new rifle, on the ground of expense, though the existing weapon was inferior to those of foreign Powers. In reply, Mr. Haldane said that it would be the height of folly to abandon the short rifle, the issue of which to the troops had just been completed, and substitute a new non-automatic rifle, at a time when all the other Powers were endeavouring to find a satisfactory automatic rifle. Such a weapon was being sought for by a special Committee, but no pattern as yet submitted fulfilled the published conditions.

On the Naval Works Vote on the same evening the refusal of the Government to provide further docks for *Dreadnoughts* at Portsmouth and on the East coast (p. 177) led to a warm discussion, initiated by Lord Charles Beresford, but a reduction of the

Vote was negatived by 276 to 199. The outstanding Civil Service Votes were then passed under the guillotine by majorities varying from 59 to 70.

Some days earlier the wider opportunities for criticism provided by the House of Lords had been fully used to criticise various features of Mr. Haldane's Army scheme. Some of the criticisms came from believers in the necessity of universal military service, others from Peers whose connection with the Territorial Associations had impressed on them defects in the arrangements made by the Government. A debate of a highly technical character on the strength of the Army was initiated by the Duke of Bedford on July 7, when he called attention to the state of the Regular and Special Reserves and Special Contingent, and dwelt in considerable detail on the probable difficulty of finding drafts for foreign service in a war. Lord Lucas of Crudwell replied that a larger expeditionary force could be mobilised now than ever before; the Special Reserve was becoming more popular and was more efficient than the old militia, and the strengthening of the fourth battalions of the Special Reserve was receiving attention. Viscount Midleton, however, contested the optimistic statements of the Government.

On July 11 the Earl of Dartmouth, whose criticisms were of the second kind mentioned above, called attention to various defects of detail in the War Office management of the Territorials, and in its relation with the Associations, and also to the deficiency in the numbers of the force, which, he urged, should be completed before the creation of a reserve was undertaken. Lord Lucas of Crudwell, in reply, declined to discuss the military and strategic question of the value of the force, but dealt very fully with the details mentioned; but the strategic question was raised a week later by the Earl of Portsmouth (July 18), who called attention to the inadequacy of the Territorial Army for home defence in view of the opinion accepted by experts that the landing of a force of 70,000 men was practicable (ANNUAL REGISTER, 1909, p. 179). He pointed out that the numbers were short of the establishment, that many of the men were under twenty or had not been to camp, and that if the Expeditionary Force had been sent abroad the whole duty of defence would rest on the Territorial Force. The Army Council was practically the Secretary of State, and he intimated that Lord Kitchener ought to be asked to report on it. Lord Ashby St. Ledgers, in reply, declared that the country would only adopt compulsory service as the outcome of national disaster. The naval side of the problem of invasion could not be disregarded, and, if the Expeditionary Force had left, there would remain some Regulars, the Special Reserve, which would also contain the immature Regulars, and the Territorials. The Government relied on the Territorials, not to repel invasion, but to force the invading body to be so large that

the Navy, on which they chiefly relied for protection, could not overlook it. Later, Lord Lucas of Crudwell pointed out that invasion was only possible if the Regular Army had gone, the Territorial Force were in its earliest stage, and the Navy had left the coast clear. The Navy, he pointed out, had never asked for conscription. If all the Regulars were out of the country, they would have in all 350,000 to 400,000 men, and 100,000 to 200,000 further in a Veteran Reserve. The present system was elastic and capable of expansion. The Earl of Derby, on the other hand, denied mobility to the Territorial Force and pressed for a report from Lord Kitchener; and Viscount Midleton echoed the demand for a report from some military authority, pointing out that the Army Council was not necessarily consulted by the War Secretary. Lord Esher, whom Lord Midleton had invited to intervene as a member of the Imperial Defence Committee, said that no one could speak for it except a Minister, but he gave his own opinion as a member of the London County Territorial Association that the maximum had been reached there and elsewhere in the country, so that its limit was about 275,000 men. The Earl of Crewe, after expanding the Ministerial view as to resistance to invasion, said that the demand for the opinion of a military authority on the Territorial Force was unreasonable; he could only say that it was continually progressing towards efficiency, and if its further expansion were found desirable, he had little doubt that the country would be prepared to spend more money on it. Two days later in reply to Viscount Galway, Lord Lucas of Crudwell stated that nursing arrangements for the force were under consideration in connection with the St. John Ambulance Association, and that there was no intention of lowering the standard of efficiency of persons entering the voluntary aid detachments of the force.

While these matters were engaging part of the attention of Parliament, the actual working of the Army was being closely studied by the King. Accompanied by the Queen, he spent nearly a week at Aldershot (July 11-16) and closed his visit with a message to the troops expressing his satisfaction at having been able to see their daily life and work. He said that he was struck by the physical fitness of all ranks, and by their evident zeal and keenness to reach the high standard of war efficiency. His visit greatly stimulated the troops, and, as *The Times* remarked, it showed, like his travels as Prince of Wales, a spirit of serious study and a desire to investigate for himself.

A few days later (July 21-23) their Majesties visited Portsmouth for a like purpose, and, after visiting the various establishments, the King issued a similar message, expressing his satisfaction at the high state of efficiency existing, and at the zeal displayed by both officers and men. And on July 27, after a day's delay through stormy weather, their Majesties arrived in the *Victoria and Albert* at Torbay, to review the most powerful fleet ever assembled any-

where, on its return from exercises off the Irish coast. It comprised thirty-six battleships, twenty-three armoured cruisers, six protected cruisers, forty-eight destroyers, with submarines of the latest type, their parent ships, scouts, and fleet auxiliaries. The programmes was interfered with by fog; but, after reviewing the fleet on arrival, the King took the whole of it to sea for tactical exercises, including a naval engagement, and on the following day a portion of it for target practice. It was noted that many of the officers and men had served with the King in his naval career.

On Saturday afternoon, July 30, their Majesties visited the London Hospital, at Mile End, driving over a route specially chosen to enable as many people as possible to see the Royal procession. Incidentally, it was their first visit to the City, and the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs at Holborn Bars tendered the Sword of the City to the King with the usual ceremonies. The visit was the occasion of a striking display of popular loyalty all along the route, which included London Bridge and the Borough. Much interest was shown by their Majesties in the hospital arrangements and the inmates.

The inspection of the Fleet followed on the annual Naval Manœuvres (July 1-18); but the new First Lord's policy was one of silence. The Home Fleet, with its reserve divisions, and the Atlantic and Mediterranean Fleet were engaged; and the ships mobilised numbered 401, of which forty-four were battleships, twenty-four armoured cruisers, thirty-two protected cruisers, 119 destroyers, and sixty submarines. A "Blue" Fleet attacked the British coast, a "Red" Fleet defended it. An attack on Milford Haven proved unsuccessful, and the final engagement off the mouth of the Severn ended in a repulse of the assailants with heavy losses on both sides.

It may be added in this connection that a reminder was given of the existence of the Anglo-Japanese alliance by the entertainment of the officers of the Japanese warship *Ikoma* at the Mansion House by the Lord Mayor of London on July 22, and of a deputation of members of both Houses of the Japanese Legislature by the Government at Hampton Court three days later. At this latter function several Ministers were present, and Sir Edward Grey proposed the toast of the Emperor of Japan.

To return to Parliament, the Scottish Civil Service Estimates were taken on Monday, July 18. The main points discussed related to the Outer Hebrides, where the rates had been raised to an impossible figure by the demands of education and the system of small holdings, and Sir J. Dewar (L., *Inverness*) moved a reduction in order to complain of the action of the Scottish Office. In Skye, he said, that Department had shirked a difficulty in the extension of certain small holdings; in South Uist (owing to the necessity of building new schools in consequence of the altered distribution of population) the rates were 23s. 4d. in the pound, the parish

council and the school board had gone to law as to who should levy them, the parish council had lost and had resigned, and the Scottish Office had sent down Commissioners to levy an impossible rate. The Marquess of Tullibardine, seconding, said that the result of buying Vatersay for 12,000*l.* and dividing it among fifty-eight crofters had been to reduce its rental value from 350*l.* to 180*l.* annually. Mr. Younger mentioned a parish in Lewis with a rate of 28*s.* 9*d.* It appeared from other speeches that local taxation in the region had broken down, and there were no funds to pay for education and other public services. The Lord Advocate, in his reply, represented that the question of rating, though exceptionally urgent, could not be dealt with in isolation. Exceptional treatment was required for exceptional cases. The officials in South Uist would ascertain the actual financial position, and the Scottish Office would then be better able to decide what should be done. The Vatersay experiment had been a social, though not a financial, success. This speech did not satisfy the critics of the Scottish Office, but a reduction of the Vote was negatived by 128 to 64. The condition of the Outer Hebrides was also discussed in the House of Lords on July 27, when Lord Pentland, the Scottish Secretary, said that pending the reform of local taxation promised in 1911, special relief would be given to heavily burdened parishes; but it seemed clear that the policy of multiplying small holdings was on its trial.

The usual debate on the Home Office Vote took place at the Report Stage on Wednesday, July 20. There was a discursive discussion on the administration of the Factory Acts, Sir Charles Dilke, who moved a reduction, pleading for more women inspectors and stricter administration of the Truck Act, and expressing disappointment with the Report on lead poisoning (*Chronicle*, p. 22). He also called attention to the mortality of infants whose mothers were factory workers, to the abuse of special exemptions from the Acts, and to other points. Mr. Hills (U., *Durham*), seconding, urged measures for dealing with lead poisoning, and the other matters touched on included weight-carrying by children, insanitary conditions in cotton mills, quarry accidents, and the restrictions on the evening work of women florists, who were likely, it was said, to be displaced by male foreigners in consequence. Mr. Masterman (L., *West Ham*), Under-Secretary for the Home Department, in a general reply, feared that no more women factory inspectors could be appointed at present, agreed that further legislation against truck was urgent, and laid stress on the remedial measures recommended by the Committee on lead poisoning. The difficulty about women florists was confined to London, and the Home Office saw no reason for making a change. Later, attention was called to the return of alien criminals after deportation, which Mr. Churchill said showed a very weak point in the Aliens Act. The Report of the Vote was agreed to.

The Prisons Vote was next taken, and, after several speeches, Mr. Winston Churchill forecasted a far-reaching scheme of prison reform. He declared that every care ought to be taken to reduce, consistently with the maintenance of law and order, the number of first offenders committed to jail. Accordingly a circular had been sent to every magistrate in the country, explaining clearly the provisions of the Probation of Offenders Act, and urging that advantage should be taken of it on every possible occasion. He had considered whether a period of grace could be granted before the payment of a fine was enforced by imprisonment, and he mentioned that in 1909 90,000 persons were sent to prison in default of payment. Many could have paid if given time; more than half were fined for drunkenness, and for these surely a fine was the better punishment, for it enforced a period of temperance. He promised legislation on this point for the autumn sitting; but circumstances precluded it. Next year he hoped to introduce a system of defaulters' drill for minor offenders between the ages of sixteen and twenty-one. Such offenders should be punished in this disciplinary fashion and so escape the taint of prison. For a youth under twenty-one years of age imprisonment ought to be educative and disciplinary, and the shortest term of imprisonment for such a person ought to be a month. For young people the full three years' Borstal course ought to be relaxed, except in the case of grave crimes. Passing to the treatment of prisoners, he made an announcement gratifying to the Women Suffragists. There were persons, he said, who were sent to prison for offences containing no element of moral turpitude, and under the new prison rules he proposed that it should not be necessary for such persons to wear the prison clothing, to be searched, to have their hair cut, to be shaved, or to take the regulation bath. They would not be forced to clean their cells; they would be at liberty to get food from outside, and would be allowed to take exercise in the morning and afternoon and to converse during exercise. He had given instructions that all passive resisters and women suffragists should as a matter of course have the benefit of the new rules. He had decided to reduce the period of solitary confinement to one month, except for recidivists. He proposed that a certain number of lectures and concerts should be given in every prison, and he was taking steps to secure a more even application of the special powers conferred by the Preventive Detention Act. A great effort ought to be made to rehabilitate ex-prisoners; so he intended to establish a central agency composed of official members and of representatives of the Prisoners' Aid Societies. The whole business of police supervision was to be absolutely suspended; the old system of ticket-of-leave was to come to an end. A sum of 7,500*l.* a year would be set aside for the development of the method of rehabilitation. He closed with a reference to the reduction of sentences effected on the King's accession, which had replaced the previous practice of

releasing a certain number of prisoners. The remissions affected 11,000 prisoners, and struck off at one blow 500 years of penal servitude. No evil results had followed. In an eloquent peroration he sketched the principles that should guide the treatment of crime and criminals; the public mood and temper in regard to that treatment he described as one of the most unfailing tests of civilisation.

The Report Stage was carried by 263 to 171, and the outstanding Civil Service Resolutions were then passed by majorities varying between 77 and 73, the Ministerial numbers remaining at about 260 throughout.

More contentious questions were raised by the resolutions preparatory to the Civil List Bill, moved by the Chancellor of the Exchequer in Committee of Ways and Means on July 21. The Report of the Committee, issued on July 7, had startled the advanced Radical and Labour groups, who complained that the provisions concealed the actual income of the Crown. The annual revenues of the Duchies of Lancaster (64,000*l.*) and Cornwall (87,000*l.*), belonging respectively to the King and the Prince of Wales, were not surrendered to the nation, and annuities were provided in advance for the King's younger sons of 10,000*l.* at majority, and 15,000*l.* on marriage, and 6,000*l.* to the daughters on coming of age or on marriage. (This, however, was in conformity with the Prince of Wales's Children Act, 1889.) A special grant of 55,000*l.* was asked to prepare the Royal Palaces for their Majesties and the Queen Mother. [This subsequently gave Mr. Keir Hardie occasion for a protest on the platform, which was condemned by the Chancellor of the Exchequer in the House, and withdrawn unreservedly.] Annuities in the event of widowhood were provided for Queen Mary of 70,000*l.* (the same sum as had been allotted to Queen Alexandra in the like event) and 30,000*l.* to a possible Princess of Wales, for whom an annuity of 10,000*l.* was provided on her marriage. An arrangement was made (after the issue of the Report) that the King should bear the cost of entertaining Royal visitors, and should, in return, be free from income tax on the Civil List. The Civil charges for the late and the current reign were to be as follows:—

	1901	1910
Civil List	£470,000	£470,000
Pensions of Household of previous reign, transferred to Consolidated Fund	25,000	18,000
Provision for other members of the Royal Family	126,000	146,000
Total	£621,000	£634,000

In moving the Resolutions, the Chancellor of the Exchequer laid stress on the fact that as far as the Sovereign and his Consort were concerned, the provision was less than that in the last reign, because, owing to the increased revenues of the Duchy of Corn-

wall, no provision was asked for the Prince of Wales, except that usual in the event of his marriage. The sum allotted to the King's children would be lumped and committed to trustees. The figures were higher than those of 1901 merely because the allowance then provided for Queen Alexandra on her widowhood had become payable.

Mr. Barnes (Lab., *Blackfriars, Glasgow*), who had stood alone on the Committee in urging the surrender of the revenues of the Duchies, tried to raise this question by direct amendments, which, however, were ruled out of order; so he moved to reduce the grant of 470,000*l.* to 385,000*l.* The revenues of the Duchies, he said, were public property; apart from that, the amount proposed was excessive; and the proposals bound future Parliaments. He attacked the salaries paid to officers of the Household whose services, if any, were political, and he objected to the contingent charges for the King's younger children before the money was wanted. Mr. Balfour thought that the root of Mr. Barnes's criticism was that Royalty was too expensive, but the Duchies of Cornwall and Lancaster were in a different category both from ordinary Crown Lands and from the private property of the Sovereign, and he saw no reason for changing the historic method of dealing with them. As to the cost of Royalty, no doubt these islands would not sink into chaos under a Republic, but the Empire would, for a President would not be elected by the Dominions or the Crown Colonies, and would not have a hereditary title to their allegiance. He did not think that in these days of international relations a Republic could be run more cheaply than a Monarchy, and the Crown cost far less, relatively to the national wealth, than under George III. Sir Charles Dilke complained that the Committee had not gone carefully into the facts, and there was some discussion as to the historic position of the Duchies, the Government view being defended by Mr. Pease, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster. The revenues of the Duchies, he said, could not be surrendered without a *quid pro quo*, and the Duchy of Cornwall had been so well managed and the personal supervision of the late and the present King so thorough that no adequate case had been made out for the transfer. Mr. Barnes's amendment was rejected by 206 to 26, and his further amendment to omit the contingent provision for the Princess of Wales by 218 to 21. Mr. Keir Hardie then moved to omit the provision for the King's younger children, and suggested that they might find ways to earn their salaries instead of being enabled to live in ease, luxury, and idleness. This evoked loud protests, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer in reply laid stress on the "readiness of sacrifice" that had always marked the Royal Family in rendering public service. Other Liberal and Labour members also opposed the grant, and Mr. Austen Chamberlain, supporting it, argued that its refusal would involve recasting the whole

settlement. Eventually the amendment was rejected by 207 to 20, and the resolution carried by 197 to 19.

The contest, however, was revived on the second reading of the Civil List Bill (based on the resolutions) on July 26. Mr. Barnes then moved and Mr. G. Roberts (Lab., *Norwich*) seconded an amendment stating that while desirous of making adequate provision for the maintenance of the Royal Household and the dignity of the Crown, and being willing to provide grants instead of the revenues of the Duchies, the House could not accept a measure which did not provide for the transfer of their revenues to the Public Exchequer. Mr. Barnes explained that he had not intended that the revenues should be transferred without an equivalent, and Mr. Pease defended the title of the Crown to them and the existing arrangement, as bringing the Crown into touch with agriculture, and the amendment was rejected by 221 to 52. In Committee next day, some unsuccessful attempts were made at amendment. Mr. Keir Hardie, in particular, proposed unsuccessfully to reduce the allowance to sons to that of daughters, 6,000*l.*, and Mr. Lees Smith (L., *Northampton*) moved that savings on the Civil List should be handed back annually to the Treasury, a plan which the Chancellor of the Exchequer regarded as a direct incentive to extravagance. This amendment was defeated by 207 to 32. The Bill was read a third time on July 28. It passed the House of Lords on August 1 and 2, and received the Royal Assent on August 3.

The question of Colonial Preference was raised by Mr. Balfour on July 21, on the third reading of the Appropriation Bill, in view of the meeting of the Imperial Conference in 1911. Canada, he pointed out, had asked Great Britain for some form of preference in 1843, and had granted it herself in 1897, and the majority of the British Cabinet would have reciprocated the grant in 1903 but for the opposition of Lord Ritchie and the minority. The advantages of the Canadian concession had been admitted by Mr. Asquith and Mr. Lloyd George at the 1906 Conference. But Canada had been forced into a policy of commercial treaties, and had obtained the right to negotiate her own (p. 128), and these arrangements had involved a diminution of British advantages under Preference. It was a delusion that the most-favoured-nation clause secured us the advantages obtained by other countries, and the process must go on; Australia and the Cape would follow Canada. Negotiation between us and other Powers was inevitable, and we could not bargain, as we had nothing to give. If the Colonies were compelled to abandon the doctrine of reciprocal preference with Great Britain and left to make independent Commercial treaties, these arrangements might prove not to have been made with a regard to the interests of Great Britain or the Empire as a whole. By compelling them to frame their commercial policy as State units, not as parts of the Empire, those vast Imperial

interests would have been gravely injured of which the Mother-Country was the guardian.

Mr. Asquith began his reply by showing that the Government had not been irresponsive to the views expressed at the Colonial Conference by the Dominion Ministers. Of its twenty resolutions they had taken effective action on all but three, which were concerned with preferential tariffs. He went on to deal with the tariff relations between Canada and Germany and Canada and the United States, and affirmed that the result of the exercise by Canada of fiscal freedom in her treaty arrangements had not been injurious to the United Kingdom; whereas Germany, who had flourished a revolver at Canada, had been, indeed, freed from the Canadian surtax of something like 33 per cent., but, after seven years' tariff war, now came under the highest Canadian tariff. There could be no better illustration of Protectionist folly. The Dominions would be glad to receive preferential treatment, but their statesmen at the last Conference were most careful to make it plain that they did not desire, or even suggest, a change not advantageous to the people of Great Britain. Reciprocity was a fine word, but the policy of preference remained as nebulous and as full of inconsistencies as ever. Would colonial corn come in free? Would there be a tax on raw materials? Would there be a preference on timber? Our Colonies would never allow our manufacturers to become effective competitors with theirs. He did not complain of that. Inter-Imperial Free Trade was a great ideal, but would be unrealisable while the Dominions adhered to the doctrine of Protection for native industries. Cheap food and cheap raw material were essential for British industrial prosperity. Let Great Britain be content to develop her fiscal system in accordance with her own interests and to allow the Colonies to develop theirs in accordance with what they believe to be their interests.

Mr. Mackinder (U., *Glasgow, Camlachie*) described Canada as a signal instance of the construction of a State in defiance of natural tendencies and the *laissez-faire* doctrine, and emphasised the importance of preventing the absorption of her commercial interests in those of the United States. The Prime Minister's questions dealt with details which could be wisely deferred until the time arrived for a constructive policy. Our present policy tended to the break-up of the Empire. Mr. J. M. Robertson (L., *Northumberland, Tyneside*) saw a danger to the Empire in the policy of Preference, which already discontented manufacturers in the Dominion. The succeeding speeches contained nothing that was not familiar, and Colonel Seely, in winding up the debate, showed by quotations that the Canadian and New Zealand Premiers had no desire for a policy of Preference unless the British electorate approved of it; and the electorate, he said, had pronounced against it. He contended that the system of Preference, instead of welding the Empire together, might easily break it up. In a shortage of corn,

first the people in Great Britain would curse the system and then, if the Preference to Canadian corn were removed, the Canadians would curse it also. The Government adhered rigidly to the Free Trade system.

The debate then passed to other matters; but on July 25 the question was raised again in another form in the Budget debate. Mr. J. F. Hope (U., *Sheffield, Central*) moved that on Colonial tea the duty should be reduced to 4*d.*—thus giving Indian and Ceylon tea a 20 per cent. Preference. He urged that the existing duty represented 62 per cent. on the average value and 100 per cent. on the cheaper qualities, and the change would be an experiment in Colonial Preference. Ceylon, for instance, might reciprocate. The Earl of Ronaldshay (U., *Middlesex, Hornsey*), seconding, urged that the Indian Protective movement might thus be made Imperial. Colonel Seely replied that the duty had been 8*d.* in 1904, and that, as the import of tea from British possessions was much greater than that from China or Java, the amendment would mean a loss of revenue of 1,000,000*l.* or more annually—half a *Dreadnought*. Besides, the consumption of China tea was not a question of price. In the previous debate it was postulated that Colonial Preference was acceptable to Canada, but at that moment a deputation of farmers were protesting against it to the Prime Minister.

Mr. Lyttelton expressed surprise at this setting of the opinion of a deputation against the views of Canadian Ministers at five Conferences, and ridiculed the “stolid immobility” of members of the Government. If a small food tax were necessary to establish Preference, why should it not be imposed for a great Imperial object, the burden being redressed by a remission on other articles?

In the rather rambling debate which followed, the possibility of retaliation by China was suggested, and also that of a check to competition, if the supply were reduced. The most important speech was delivered by Mr. Bonar Law (*Camberwell*), who laid stress on the prospect of the competition of Java tea with that grown in the Empire. This might be arrested by Preference. But the ground on which the Unionists advocated this Preference was its effect on increasing the trade of the Empire and cementing its parts. He pointed out that a commercial treaty was being negotiated between Canada and the United States, and that the Colonies had held persistently to their demand for Colonial Preference. The Government might have met the Dominions by agreeing to grant a Preference on the existing duties, but they had refused. The amendment was rejected by 188 to 145, and a proposal to reduce the duty all round was described by the Chancellor of the Exchequer as a Tariff Reform trap, which would upset the whole scheme of finance. He hoped, however, eventually to reduce the duty. The proposal was rejected by 162 to 99.

The second reading of the Appropriation Bill (July 27) had

also been used to call attention to certain questions which had been insufficiently debated owing to the premature guillotining of the Foreign Office Vote. After the debate on Colonial Preference Mr. Dillon complained of the withdrawal of this Vote from consideration, and called attention to the situation in Egypt, protesting against Sir Edward Grey's recent declaration (p. 133). He complained of the attacks in Great Britain on the political capacity of the Egyptian people in consequence of the rejection of the Suez Canal Convention, and maintained that the British Government were going from bad to worse. There had been no substantial progress towards self-government, and he believed that the measures taken were merely intended to divide the Egyptian Nationalists, while severe Coercion Acts had been passed. Egyptian Ministers were British nominees, and it was most unwise to have put Boutros Pasha, a Christian Copt, over Mohammedans. Great Britain had gone to Egypt to restore order, and was pledged to evacuation. Sir Edward Grey's statement that there could be no more talk of self-government till resistance to the occupation ceased was dishonourable and disgraceful to the British Government. Mr. Sandys (U., *Somerset, Wells*) took up the Suez Canal Convention from the British standpoint, complaining that there had been no discussion of it in the House, and hoping that steps would be taken to increase British representation and carry out the undertakings of 1883 to reduce the dues. Earl Winterton (U., *Sussex, Horsham*), whose paper, the *World*, had taken a prominent part in attacking the Liberal cocoa manufacturers for their alleged supineness in regard to the slavery on the plantations of Angola and San Thomé, attacked the Government for its neglect in the matter and compared British behaviour in this matter and in that of the Congo. Mr. Harwood (L., *Bolton*) urged the development of cotton culture in the Soudan with State co-operation.

Sir Edward Grey, in reply, delivered a very forcible and impressive speech. The negotiations on the Suez Canal Convention were the business of the Egyptian Government. They were entitled to a free hand. As to British interests in it, they had been discussed between the Government departments concerned and the British official directors of the Company; had matters proceeded further the prolongation of the concession would have been discussed in the House, but representation on the Board and the reduction of the dues were a matter for the Government. Mr. Dillon's speech was a very poor encouragement to persistence in the policy of self-government; it was precisely because British efforts had met with no response that he himself had said what he had (p. 133). Boutros Pasha was not the first Christian Prime Minister, and had been an efficient administrator, studying Egyptian interests. He had, indeed, been criticised as a Nationalist. As to Mr. Harwood's speech, he quite agreed that cotton

cultivation in Egypt on an economic basis should be encouraged, but Egypt paid the Soudan deficit, and could hardly be asked both to deprive herself of necessary water and to pay. The question of British State action was a very wide one; it might have to be considered very carefully, but cotton-growing and everything else affecting the prosperity of Egypt depended on there being no doubt as to the British occupation. He admitted that in the history of the occupation there had not been logic or foresight, but we had now to deal with facts and consequences. Egypt had grown immensely in prosperity and order, and he could conceive nothing more disastrous than that he should unsay a single word of his previous speech. After emphasising his desire to make clear the determination of the British Government to maintain its responsibilities in Egypt, he passed to the subject of forced labour in Portugal, and, after a reference to Lord Winter-ton's attacks on third persons, he said that continual boasting of the representations made to the Portuguese Government hampered its action. Recruiting on the mainland, stopped within the last twelve months, had been revived under regulations precluding compulsion if carried out efficiently, and with full publicity. British consular inspection had been secured, and he believed that the Portuguese Government really desired that the evils should be remedied.

The Indian Budget was introduced by Mr. Montagu, Under-Secretary for India, on July 26. After a graceful reference to his predecessors, he touched slightly on the foreign affairs of India, mentioning the Afghan Boundary Commission, the treaty giving Great Britain control over the foreign relations of Bhutan, and the flight of the Dalai Lama. Internally, the agricultural position was very satisfactory, the cotton, rice, and wheat crops being among the best on record; the export trade had increased from 100,000,000*l.* to 123,000,000*l.*, and food grains were 20 per cent. cheaper than a year earlier. Plague had flared up again, but the natives were co-operating more and more in remedial measures; malaria had an even more serious effect, but it was being combated in the towns by site improvements, in the country by cheapened quinine. Dealing with the financial position (see Foreign and Colonial History, Chapter V.) he explained that a deficit had been avoided by keeping down expenditure and by the higher price than had been expected for opium. Part of this windfall had been given in grants to provincial Governments. For 1910-11 new taxation—to produce 1,126,000*l.*—was needed, the first since 1894-5; meanwhile there had been remissions of 4,500,000*l.* The revenue could not keep pace with the increasing expenditure (notably under Education, Science and Agriculture, Buildings and Roads and Police) owing partly to the growth of working expenses on railways, the reduction of salt duty, and postal rates. The loss of revenue from opium, as to which he

gave details, would be serious from 1912 onwards, and he deprecated shortening the period fixed under the Anglo-Chinese Agreement (ANNUAL REGISTER, 1907, p. 398). The new taxation would fall on imported liquors, silver, petroleum, tobacco and stamps. An excise duty on tobacco was under consideration. Turning to politics, he laid stress on the vast variety of race and religion among the Indian people, and the difficulty of linking the complex government of India with democratic government in Great Britain. The unrest was, of course, confined to a small fraction; but we commended or welcomed unrest in other Oriental countries, and it was the inevitable consequence of the contact of Eastern and Western civilisations, and of religious, social, and economic changes. Handled well, the existing condition of India gave the promise of greater justification of British rule; handled ill, it must lead to chaos followed by a military dictatorship. The majority of Indians realised the danger, and in the past six months there had been a considerable revulsion of feeling. True statesmanship should aim at separating the legitimate from the illegitimate unrest. He read a leaflet advocating "the sacrifice of white blood on the altar of freedom," explained the preventive effect of the Press Act, which he believed, in conjunction with the Seditious Meetings Act, would complete the armoury necessary against the campaign of calumny, gave particulars of the Indian police force, in order to deprecate the wholesale charges against it, referring, though not by name, to a pamphlet recently issued by an ex-M.P., Mr. F. Mackarness, as giving garbled statements of abuses in the force. The worst danger of India was the lawlessness among schoolmasters and students, and he mentioned that, for the benefit of Indian students in England, an adviser (Mr. T. W. Arnold) and an Advisory Committee had been appointed, and a club-house provided. He gave particulars, and asked for the co-operation of those among whom the lives of Indian students were spent in England. A Minister for Education (Mr. S. H. Butler) would be appointed as sixth member of the Viceroy's Council, and Mr. W. H. Clark, late of the Board of Trade, would become Member for Commerce and Industry. After stating that the new Indian Councils had falsified the expectations of hostile critics and had had most satisfactory results, he warned the House impressively against confusing agitation for reform with sedition. "Do not use your murderer as an excuse for your Conservatism." He had confidence in the Civil Service, and urged its junior members to imbibe its traditions and adapt them to modern demands. He closed by reviewing the great record of Lord Minto's Viceroyalty and praising his successor.

Mr. Wyndham (*Dover*), speaking for the Opposition, after a reference to the demand for Tariff Reform in India, agreed that the Press law was not too drastic, and endorsed Mr. Montagu's defence of the Indian police. After a warning as to the danger of

over-concentration in Indian education, he regretted that the representative of commerce was not to be some great Indian merchant or a Civil Servant, and argued that the ultimate success of the Indian Councils Act depended on the ability of the Government to meet legitimate Mohammedan expectations. He agreed that legitimate reform should be carried on irrespective of the maledictions of agitators, and called attention to the danger of forcing British methods on a civilisation not prepared for them.

Mr. Ramsay Macdonald (Lab., *Leicester*) complained that the Government tried to close the mouths of their critics on the Liberal side, and that the Press law did not apply to the Anglo-Indian papers, which were sometimes more seditious than the native Press. The new Act would drive criticism and irritation below the surface. After further speeches, mainly confined to special points, an amendment was moved by Mr. Wedgwood (L.) and seconded by Mr. Keir Hardie, deprecating restrictive legislation, especially the Press Act and Seditious Meetings Act. Mr. Keir Hardie criticised the Indian police and energetically defended Mr. Mackarness's pamphlet. Repressive legislation was aimed at the middle class, whom the Government should specially strive to secure. The Earl of Ronaldshay (U.) declared that these speeches and the motion would do incalculable harm in India; and Mr. Montagu, in a brief reply, adhered to his strictures on the pamphlet. The amendment was rejected by 277 to 48, the minority being mostly Labour members.

[It must here be added that Mr. Mackarness was entertained at lunch at the Criterion by a considerable body of Indian gentlemen, comprising Hindus, Mohammedans, Parsis, and Sikhs, on August 6, and that he defended his pamphlet both in his speech there and in the columns of *The Times*, and stated that he would appeal to the High Court at Calcutta against its proscription. Mr. Montagu reiterated his strictures in a more general form in a speech at Newton, Cambridgeshire, on August 11, declaring that the pamphlet represented the Government as doing nothing to stop the exaction of confession by torture, and deprecating unfair and misleading criticism as discouraging to Indian Civil Servants.]

Meanwhile the Accession Declaration Bill had roused active opposition. Demonstrations were held against it in London (July 8) and other large towns under the auspices of the Church Association, the Protestant Alliance, and other similar societies; and the bye-election in the Kirkdale division of Liverpool, always a stronghold of militant Protestantism, was contested between an ultra-Protestant Unionist and a Labour candidate, and was won by the former mainly on this issue (*post*, Chronicle, July 20). Among less militant objectors to the Bill as it stood, the Non-conformist members of Parliament sent a deputation to the Prime Minister to deprecate the proposed declaration, great numbers of Scotsmen protested against the words "by law established in

England" (p. 153) as making the declaration exclusively Anglican; the Wesleyan body desired to retain an express abjuration of Roman doctrine, and some historical scholars and High Churchmen objected to the description of the Church of England as the "Protestant Reformed Church." However, an attempt was made to reassure the alarmists by the issue of an official document enumerating the securities for the Protestant Succession to the Throne—the Bill of Rights, the Act of Settlement, and the Act of Union with Scotland; and the more moderate objectors were practically disarmed by Mr. Asquith's statement on the second reading of the Bill on July 27. The Government, he said, had anticipated that it would give rise to misconception and active hostility; but the safeguards of the Protestant Succession made the Declaration unnecessary. It would be logical to abolish it, but to this there would have been so much opposition that the Government preferred to modify its terms. These might be treated as a matter of friendly discussion in Committee. Fair-minded Protestants would generally hold that in the substituted form there ought to be no repudiation of any specifically Roman Catholic doctrine, but only an affirmation of the Protestantism of the King. Some persons objected to the term "Protestant," which was not in the Prayer Book, the Thirty-nine Articles, or the Canons; but it was in the Coronation Oath, in the Acts of Union with Scotland and Ireland, and in 3 and 4 Vict., cap. 33. Sensitiveness as to its use dated only from the Tractarian Movement, and he found it difficult to understand the reluctance to apply it to the Church. The specific doctrines of Romanism repudiated in the existing Declaration were expressly repudiated in the Thirty-nine Articles. As to the objections to the form of declaration proposed, the Anglicans regarded the description of the Church as ultra-Erastian, the Nonconformists objected to the special reference to the Church of England, and some highly respected Scottish Presbyterians disapproved of the selection of the Church of England as the sole representative of Protestantism. He was anxious to prevent controversy about the form of words, and after careful consideration the Government suggested as an amended Declaration the following: "I do solemnly and sincerely in the presence of God profess, testify, and declare that I am a faithful Protestant, and that I will according to the true intent of the enactments to secure the Protestant succession to the Throne of my Realm uphold and maintain such enactments to the best of my power." He understood that this commended itself to those in authority in the Church of England, and it met the other objections.

The announcement was received with general cheering, but it did not disarm all opposition. Mr. Agar-Robartes (L., *St. Austell, Cornwall*), moving the rejection of the Bill, pointed out the growing opposition in Cornwall and Scotland, and complained of "the

conspiracy between the two front benches" to rush the Bill through. The Declaration must be negative in character, and the form proposed might be subscribed to by a Roman Catholic. Transubstantiation ought to be expressly repudiated. The argument from toleration was irrelevant. Mr. Mitchell Thomson (U., *Down, N.*), seconding the rejection, argued that the safeguards provided by the Bill of Rights and Act of Settlement would not prevent secret Communion with the Church, and laid stress on the claim of the Vatican to temporal jurisdiction. Lord Hugh Cecil denied that the High Church movement was a Romeward movement, and denounced many of the features of contemporary Romanism; and he agreed with the Prime Minister that the safeguards of the Protestant succession were not in the Declaration. Charles II., though secretly Roman Catholic, would have made it without hesitation; and, if the Sovereign refused to make it, the only course would be for Parliament to declare the throne vacant, in which case a moderate Declaration would make a better case for doing so than a violent one. He did not like the word Protestant, which was not sufficiently descriptive, and reflected on the other branch of the Church.

Later, Mr. Balfour supported the Bill, saying that the only question for the House to consider was whether the Declaration in the new form would weaken the securities for the Protestant succession. He could not understand how these could be weakened by requiring the Sovereign to declare that he was a sincere Protestant, instead of asking him to condemn two specific Roman Catholic doctrines. A faithful Protestant meant one who disapproved of the whole doctrine and discipline of the Roman Church. Shortly afterwards Colonel Kyffin Taylor (*Kirkdale, Liverpool*) (p. 194) supported the retention of the existing Declaration in view of the Romeward movement in the Established Church; Mr. Silvester Horne (L., *Ipswich*) declared himself converted to support of the Bill by the amended Declaration; but several Scottish members, both Unionist and Liberal, were dissatisfied. After a number of speeches, Mr. Birrell wound up the debate for the Government in an amusing but flippant speech. After much banter as to the differences on both sides of the House on the Bill, he said that the country had been shown to be wedded to the Protestant succession. The component phrases of the Accession Declaration had been devised mainly in James I.'s reign, and he described it as a thing of shreds and patches. For securing the Protestant succession barricades of oaths and declarations were futile and absurd. Henry of Navarre said that Paris was well worth a Mass; had he had the opportunity he would probably have said that London was worth a repudiation. If so, why have a Declaration at all? His answer was that the accession of a King was a great and striking event, its circumstances were widely known, and a Declaration caused the country to be

recognised everywhere as not in communion with the Church of Rome. As to the new form of the Declaration, he rejoiced that words had been found which removed the offence to Roman Catholics and would not give offence in other quarters. To single out for repudiation particular doctrines such as Transubstantiation and the invocation of the Virgin was offensive. The words "idolatrous and superstitious," he believed, were put in under the mistaken belief that the Pope could not dispense from an oath containing offensive references to matters of faith. For the first time for more than 200 years the House had had an opportunity of reaffirming the doctrine of Protestant succession. With that striking ratification they might well be content.

The debate was closed by 313 to 187, and the second reading carried by 410 to 64. The new formula was in the exact terms proposed by the Nonconformist Committee in Parliament, but the change had been resolved on earlier, and the terms had been submitted to the highest authorities of the Anglican and Roman Churches in England.

The Committee stage was taken next day, July 28. Numerous amendments indicated that a considerable number of members were determined to resist the proposed elimination of the repudiation of Roman Catholic doctrine from the Declaration, and Mr. C. Craig (U., *Antrim, S.*) moved to report progress, on the ground that the measure was being "rushed through." Several members, both Unionist and Liberal, supported him, Sir C. Cory (L., *St. Ives, Cornwall*) declaring that in thwarting the will of the people the House of Lords were not nearly so bad as the Government; and Lord Hugh Cecil said the Ministers had probably intended to wait for the autumn, but were bidding for Nationalist support on the Finance Bill. The debate was closed after an hour by 255 to 142, and the motion rejected by 232 to 171. Mr. Moore (U., *Armagh, N.*) then moved an amendment making the proposed change in the Declaration operative only on the accession of a new Sovereign. The Bill of Rights, he argued, required the Sovereign to make the Declaration on the first day of the meeting of the first Parliament next after his accession, or at his coronation; if this were King George's first Parliament, his assent to its Acts was invalid until he had made the Declaration; he should make it in the existing form, and an Act should then be passed to validate legislation passed since his accession. Mr. Asquith pointed out that in the reigns of George IV., William IV., and Victoria the Royal Assent had been given by commission to a number of Bills before those Sovereigns respectively had made the Declaration; when the Bill of Rights was passed, the demise of the Crown dissolved Parliament automatically, but that had been altered by 7 and 8 William III., cap. 15, which prolonged the life of a Parliament for six months after that event, and by the Representation of the People Act, 1867, which provided that Parliament should be unaffected

by the demise of the Crown. The first meeting of Parliament for the purpose of making the Declaration was the first after a prorogation or a dissolution. After further discussion, the amendment was withdrawn and Clause I. carried by 340 to 60. Attempts were made, but not persisted in, by Mr. Rutherford (U., *West Derby, Liverpool*) first to insert a proviso expressly maintaining the obligations imposed on the Sovereign by the Bill of Rights, Act of Settlement, Acts of Union, and other Acts for securing the Protestant succession; and secondly, to insert in the new Declaration the words "without any evasion, equivocation, and mental reservation whatever, and without any dispensation." Sir W. Collins (L., *St. Pancras, W.*) moved to insert after the word "declare" the words "that I do not and will not hold Communion with the Church of Rome." This was resisted by the Government, and Mr. W. Redmond pointed out that the Catholics' real grievance was not the words "superstitious and idolatrous," but the selection of their faith for reprobation. Ultimately, after closure, the amendment was rejected by 250 to 143. Another amendment, moved by Captain Craig, proposed that the Sovereign should declare that Transubstantiation, the invocation or adoration of the Virgin Mary or any other Saint, and the sacrifice of the Mass, were repugnant to him and against his religious belief. Otherwise, the mover argued, a future King might be hand-in-glove with the Pope, who claimed temporal power. These doctrines were singled out because a Papal dispensation could not be given to any one who affirmed disbelief in them. Mr. T. Healy, in a vigorous speech, said it was an insult to Catholics to suppose that the Pope could give indulgence or dispensation from any form of lying, perjury, or blasphemy; these were the delusions on which Protestants had been fed for hundreds of years. There was only one man on earth that a loyal Orangeman would not trust, and that was his King. Yet in spite of the right of private judgment, a King must deny [by implication] a doctrine [Consubstantiation] declared by a statute of Edward VI. in 1547. The amendment, after further debate, was rejected by 291 to 58; another, requiring the Sovereign to say "I am *and will remain* a faithful Protestant," was also rejected by 282 to 77. The Government amendments instituting the new form of declaration were then passed, some members however objecting that "Protestant" was indeterminate, but an amendment defining it was rejected, and the new Declaration as a whole was approved by 244 to 54.

The report and third reading were taken next day, July 29. Fresh attempts were made to insert specific repudiations of Roman Catholic doctrine and of the temporal power of the Pope, but the first was defeated after two hours' debate—in the course of which an alleged oath taken by the Roman Catholic Bishops in Quebec Province was quoted, but declared to be a forgery—by 215 to 58; the second by 204 to 81. The third reading was carried by 245

to 52, after a cordial recognition by Mr. Long, on behalf of the opponents of the Bill, of the Prime Minister's courtesy and patience during the discussion. He hoped the Bill would be a message of peace.

It may be added that an influentially signed petition from Irish Protestants expressing a desire that the Declaration should be so modified as to remove offence to Roman Catholics was prepared, but by some accident was not presented to the House.

The second reading of the Bill was moved in the House of Lords by the Earl of Crewe on Monday, August 2. A motion by Lord Kinnaird to postpone it till after the recess, on grounds already familiar from the Commons' debates, was negatived, and then the Earl of Crewe, after a reference to the attempt to deal with the subject nine years earlier (*ANNUAL REGISTER*, 1901, p. 176), dismissed briefly the argument against the Bill based on Roman Catholic intolerance, and declared that adequate safeguards were provided for the maintenance of the Protestant Succession, which the people were as desirous to see maintained as in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. There was no ground for holding that the new Declaration could be taken by a Roman Catholic. The change was demanded even among Irish Protestants, and in all parts of the Empire.

The Archbishop of Canterbury mentioned that he had objected to the form of Declaration in the original Bill as giving statutory authority to a new and misleading description of the Church of England. Dealing with the history and aim of the requirement of a Declaration, he said that even the most doctrinal terms used were put in to secure, not religious belief, but political loyalty. The Declaration was not a product of the Popish Plot; events like the secret Treaty of Dover in 1670 had produced the belief that, to make sure that a man was not under allegiance to Rome, words must be used incompatible on doctrinal grounds with membership of that Church. The difference between now and then, the difference of atmosphere, of the standard of personal honour in this respect, of mutual confidence, justified the substitution of the new for the old Declaration. The very notion that a King could make the promises made by Charles II. at his accession and then negotiate a plot in favour of the Church of Rome was absolutely unthinkable. The new Declaration, he was convinced, secured for the twentieth century everything that was secured 230 years ago. He justified, from the history of the Oxford Movement, the application of the term "Protestant." Reduced to its simplest terms, the Declaration, for the specific purpose wanted, said what needed saying, effectually and without offence.

The Marquess of Lansdowne described the view of the House of Lords as embodied in the Earl of Jersey's resolution carried in 1904 (*ANNUAL REGISTER*, 1904, p. 159). The old Declaration was indefensible. Our conception of the Empire was entirely

different from that prevalent even two or three generations ago. Why single out from 400,000,000 citizens of the Empire 12,000,000 Roman Catholics to pass censure on them, or rather on two of their tenets? A Roman Catholic might be Viceroy of India, with Hindu and Mohammedan advisers. The old Declaration was both offensive and futile, but though the other safeguards of the Protestant succession had an immense cumulative effect, a Declaration was required by the people. The formula discovered by the Government fulfilled the necessary conditions; it was not violent or offensive, and it was perfectly simple and intelligible. He thought the subject had been fully discussed, and delay would only prolong undesirably an acute and bitter controversy. He believed that the public mind would settle down under the new Declaration, and that the public would realise that the Protestant Succession rested on foundations deeper than anything that Churchmen or lawyers were able to contrive.

The Duke of Norfolk and Lord MacDonnell, as Roman Catholics, thanked the Government; Viscount Halifax would have preferred complete abolition, and Lord Balfour, while welcoming the change, explained the objections to the form of declaration in the original Bill. The second reading was passed without a division. In Committee (Aug. 3) Lord Kinnaid unsuccessfully attempted to insert in the Declaration an express repudiation of Transubstantiation, the Invocation of the Virgin, and the Mass, and a disclaimer of mental reservation on the part of the Sovereign; the Bill then passed, and became law next day.

Meanwhile the House of Commons had not sat since July 29. On that day the motion for adjournment—until November 15—had led to the usual miscellaneous discussion. Among the subjects touched on were the infliction of torture by the Sultan of Morocco, the refusal of further facilities for the Women's Suffrage Bill, and the Archer-Shee case (*post*, Chronicle, July 29). The actual adjournment took place on Wednesday, August 3, the House of Lords having meanwhile passed the Accession Declaration Bill, the Civil List Bill, the Regency Bill, and some minor measures of value. Among these a Small Holdings Bill for a brief space seemed likely to revive the controversy between the Houses as to the Lords' right over finance. Its purpose was to put the tenant of a County Council in as good a position as the tenant of a private landlord by allowing him to claim compensation if required to make way for small holders under the Act of 1908; and an amendment extending the time for claiming compensation in the case of tenants whose tenancies had already expired was inserted in the Upper House against the wish of the Government; but the point of privilege was too minute to press, and the Bill became law. Among the other measures passed were the Aldermen in Municipal Boroughs Bill, which withdrew from aldermen the right of voting in the election of aldermen, or, if they were retiring,

in that of Mayor; the Police (Weekly Rest Day) Bill; a Licensing Law Consolidation Bill; an amendment of the Children Act facilitating the punishment of gross moral offences against the young; and the Port of London Bill. This last had been severely criticised in the Commons (July 12 and 21) owing to the discrimination it established in favour of coastwise as against railway-borne traffic, in the interest of the transhipment trade of the port. But an intimation was given that in the application of the scale of rates some concession would be made. This Bill established scales of rates on different classes of goods, and was cited by Tariff Reformers as showing that an *ad valorem* tariff was not impracticable. Of measures left in suspense at the prorogation mention may be made of the Bishopricks Bill, read a second time on July 27. Its object was to facilitate the foundation of new bishoprics and the alteration of dioceses, to amend the Bishops Resignation Act, 1869, and to settle other matters incidental thereto. It was in the charge of Viscount St. Aldwyn, and was approved by the Primate, accepted by the Government, and taken in charge in the Commons by one of the most prominent of the younger Liberals, Mr. Simon (*Essex, Walthamstow*), who however relinquished it on becoming Solicitor-General. It passed the Upper House with an amendment inserted at the instance of Lord Sheffield, reserving to the Crown the nomination of any new Dean; but in November it was necessarily dropped.

It may here be noted that a subject which had exercised Liberal opinion had been disposed of by the Report of the Royal Commission on the appointment of Justices of the Peace, issued on July 25. The preponderance of Unionist and Conservative magistrates on most county benches had been complained of by Liberal members of Parliament in 1906, and the Commission had been appointed in October, 1909 (ANNUAL REGISTER, 1906, p. 253; 1909, p. 166). The Commission, which included Lord James of Hereford (chairman), the Earl of Jersey, Sir William Hart Dyke, and members of all parties in Parliament, admitted that this preponderance had existed in 1905, and attributed it partly to the existence of the property qualifications abolished in 1906, and partly to the fact that the sources of the information of most Lord Lieutenants were mainly Conservative. They recommended that the Crown should continue to make the appointments, the Lord Chancellor being responsible, and that he should appoint small committees in the various counties and boroughs to assist the Lord Lieutenants in their recommendations; and they strongly deprecated political influence on the part of members of Parliament, candidates, and political agents. Working-men, they thought, should be appointed on county as well as on borough Benches. Three members of Parliament dissented to some extent from the recommendations, which were cordially endorsed by the Lord Chancellor in the House of Lords on July 26.

This settlement was hardly likely to mitigate the dissatisfaction among the Labour and advanced Liberal supporters of the Government. The new reign and the Conference had suspended party conflict; the legislation pressed so far was substantially accepted by the Opposition; the great conflict of the past two years between Lords and Commons had shrunk to the small area offered by the Census Bill and the Agricultural Holdings Bill; and in the last-named case it had been avoided. Mr. Birrell, addressing the Eighty Club on July 25, had indicated, in words which subsequent events invested with temporary significance, that the Conference might lead to a great scheme of federalism for the United Kingdom; and Mr. Asquith had told the Commons three days later—in reply to a question from Mr. Wedgwood, one of the Liberals who had exhibited misgivings as to its results—that the discussions had made such progress that it would be wrong to break them off. He had added that if, during the recess, there was found to be no prospect of an agreement that could be announced to Parliament during the session, the Government would bring the Conference to a close. Two Liberals, the Lord Advocate and Captain Murray, speaking on Bank Holiday, expressed themselves hopefully as to the result; but fears were expressed among the rank and file that, as the *Nation* put it, “a Government which last spring found itself suddenly cut off in feeling and opinion from five-sixths of its following” might present “a conclusion which the main body of the party would neither understand nor accept.” There was dissatisfaction also among advanced Liberals at the expenditure on the Army and Navy, and at the virtual removal of foreign policy from Parliamentary control. And there was reason for further disquiet in the symptoms of labour unrest. The North-Eastern Railway strike (*Chronicle*, July 18) broke out on so apparently trivial an occasion that it seemed to indicate profound discontent; the Newport dock strike had been followed by other labour troubles; and it was soon found that the settlement of the wages question in the cotton trade (*Chronicle*, July 16) was no bar to fresh disputes.

CHAPTER V.

THE RECESS, THE CONFERENCE, AND THE GENERAL ELECTION.

THE continuation of the political armistice imposed by the Conference favoured the public consideration of other topics, among them the mode of commemorating the reign of King Edward VII. Here the Government confined itself to a suggestion—made by the Prime Minister in a letter of August 3—that local memorials were preferable to a single national memorial, and that in London the Lord Mayor, to whom the letter was addressed, might take the

initiative. Its recipient complied with this intimation, and various local authorities followed his example.

Meanwhile, the ceremonial duties incident to the Accession were being discharged by the despatch of missions announcing the event to the various European Courts. The Earl of Granard presided over that sent to the kingdoms of the Low Countries, Scandinavia and the Iberian Peninsula; the Marquess of Northampton over another, to France, Italy and Turkey; Earl Roberts over a third, to Germany, Russia, and the various Balkan States. To the Court of Vienna, a little later (Sept. 12), another mission was sent, with Lord Rosebery as its leading personage. The Emperor Francis Joseph received it with marked cordiality, and the Viennese Press was very friendly in its attitude towards Great Britain.

In another sphere of life something was done towards the promotion of harmony among the family of nations by the International Law Conference, in London (Aug. 3 and 5). Among the subjects of discussion were arbitration in international disputes, the possible assimilation of the divorce and commercial law of different countries, and the law of employers' liability. On some points—notably, the law affecting cheques—recommendations were made by special committees which might serve as the basis of future legislation, and valuable service was rendered in clearing up a vexed question by the papers and debate on the Declaration of London (ANNUAL REGISTER, 1909, p. 59).

In yet another department of international relations the efforts to promote reciprocal good feeling between Great Britain and Germany were continued. A party of German agriculturist visitors were addressed at a dinner given them at the Whitehall Rooms, London, by Earl Carrington on behalf of the Government; and a little later a body of German students representing twenty-five Universities, were entertained in London, where lectures on English literature were delivered to them by Professor Sieper of Munich, and also at Oxford, Cambridge, Stratford-on-Avon and Blenheim. A party of Germans interested in garden cities were also entertained in England early in August; and a holiday trip of Manchester Grammar School boys through the Siebengebirge, the Taunus, and the Bavarian Highlands was the occasion of cordial German hospitality.

Home politics were quiet during August. The Labour view, expressed by Mr. Barnes at Glasgow (Aug. 15), was wholly unfavourable to the Conference; Mr. Redmond and Mr. Dillon (in various speeches in August and September) treated the meeting of that body as an unpleasant necessity, the outcome of which could not greatly interfere much in any case with the struggle for Home Rule; Ministerial speeches expressed hopes of a successful result, and intimated that in the contrary case the contest with the Lords would be resumed where it had left off. Meantime, a

manifesto which became significant later had been put forward by the Scottish National Committee (Aug. 5), urging that the settlement of the constitutional question would give an opportunity for the establishment of local legislatures for the three Kingdoms, the Imperial Parliament being set free to deal with the business of the Empire.

Among other political topics touched on by prominent speakers during August, were a possible Government plan for the establishment of co-operative credit banks for small holders, which was foreshadowed by Lord Carrington in the speech to the German farmers mentioned above; the Ministerial desire for an international agreement for the limitation of armaments, which was again asserted by Mr. Samuel at Saltburn on August 19; and the Women's Suffrage or "Conciliation" Bill. On this latter Mr. Lloyd George at Bodnant (Aug. 11) defended his own action (p. 174), declaring that the Bill was undemocratic, and would delay the settlement of the Veto question; but he promised that when once that settlement was achieved he would give his whole-hearted support to a really democratic Suffrage Bill. Six weeks later, on September 28, he discussed the subject for two and a half hours with a deputation of women from his own constituency, and amplified his statements, declaring that an amendment eliminating plural voters would not pass the Lords. Though favouring women suffrage, he put Welsh disestablishment, land reform, and the improvement of the condition of the miners before it, and the constitutional question must be settled first.

It may be added that policy of the Government towards the liquor trade received some justification by official statistics published early in August, showing a marked decrease in the convictions for drunkenness, presumably referable to the increased spirit duty. But on this subject, it was stated, the varying practice of magistrates and the police in different localities rendered generalisation impossible. The number of licences had tended to decline at an advancing rate ever since the passing of Mr. Balfour's Act in 1904. It was admitted that clubs were increasing in numbers, but the proportion of new clubs open to public-houses closed was stated to be less than one to four.

But attention during the Recess was mainly occupied by four subjects; the prospects of Tariff Reform, the preliminary steps necessitated by the application of the new land taxes, the unrest in the Labour world, and the agitation of the Labour party for a reversal of the Osborne judgment.

The International Free Trade Congress at Antwerp (Aug. 9-13) supplied new ammunition to Free Trade controversialists at home. Stress was laid on the damaging effect of the Protective Tariffs in Holland in the past on its cotton manufacture, and, in contemporary France, on that of iron, and on the commercial losses and the dangers to the peace of the world incidental to so-called "tariff

wars." On the last-named subject a paper by the Earl of Cromer pointed out that Europe had tacitly acquiesced in the Anglo-Egyptian partnership of the Soudan, because trade preference to any nation in that country was barred by the Anglo-Egyptian Convention of 1899. But more effect was produced by the signs of a general uprising against the increased cost of living, ascribed mainly to high Protective tariffs, in the United States, Canada, and Germany, and a little later in Austria-Hungary and France. No doubt the significance of the Canadian movement was exaggerated in England (*post*, Foreign History, Chapter VIII.), but the cumulative effect of the concurrent testimonies from so many countries was not lost on the British electorate. On the other side, the *Morning Post* denounced the Canadian movement as treasonable, and as tending to the annexation of Canada to the United States; and it urged that the Unionists should make a "fourfold movement" towards resistance to the disruption of the Empire, the establishment of a small agricultural proprietary in Great Britain, Tariff Reform, and Social Reform. Lord Ridley, speaking at Blackpool on August 20, found new hope for Tariff Reformers in the probable effect of the new Japanese tariff on the Lancashire and Yorkshire textile industries; and early in October a fresh army of lecturers was sent out to hold ten thousand meetings throughout Great Britain in furtherance of Tariff Reform and the Unionist programme.

The political situation was reviewed by Sir Edward Grey at Berwick on August 25. Had the last election gone wrong, he said, there would have been at least the same expenditure, but it would have been met by taxing articles used in manufacture or of general consumption, and Great Britain would be at the beginning of the agitation, frequent in Protectionist countries, against the high cost of living. If the figures of our trade to-day could have been disclosed in 1903, would the country have listened to Protection for a moment? Under Free Trade the commerce of the country had gone on growing ever since 1906; in Protectionist countries the rise in the cost of living was increasing the Socialist vote. If the State could create wealth by raising prices through duties, there was no answer to the demand that it should own and distribute the wealth it had created. The Conference was a good sign; there was no fear that it would shelve or bury the House of Lords question; this question could not be left as it was. The Government were pledged not to continue in office without settling it or bringing it to a head. Should the Conference fail, the Liberal party would take up the question in the same spirit as at the last election.

Pending the Conference, the unrest among various bodies of workmen was such as might well cause uneasiness both among the Ministers and the Labour leaders. The railwaymen's discontent, of which the brief strike on the North-Eastern Railway (p. 202)

had been an unexpected manifestation, was, for different reasons, evident among the North British and Great Northern employees; and its ultimate source was found, rightly or wrongly, in the working agreements entered into between various leading companies for the avoidance of unnecessary competition, which had led to a reduction of the passenger train service and the running of fewer, and much heavier, goods trains. Such agreements, it was noted, had been favoured by Mr. Lloyd George, when he settled the railway dispute as President of the Board of Trade (ANNUAL REGISTER, 1907, p. 244); but they had led to a slackening of employment and promotion, which set up profound dissatisfaction among the railway men. But in other trades there was similar unrest. On the Clyde a partial strike among two of the subsidiary trades in the shipbuilding industry (Aug. 3) was continued for a few days in defiance of the Trade Union authorities, and nearly led to a lock-out; and just a month later a sectional dispute among the riveters on the Tyne led to a lock-out of the boilermakers in the district, and paralysed the shipbuilding industry. In the South Wales coal-mining trade, too, there were sectional disputes, owing in part to the dissatisfaction of many of the men at the action of the Miners' Federation in preventing a strike in March (p. 68); and a little later (Sept. 11) a general lock-out nearly took place in the Lancashire cotton industry over the question whether a single grinder (George Howe of the Fern Mills, Oldham) should do certain technical work on his machine. In all these cases there was a revolt of the rank and file, sometimes backed by the leaders of their own group, against the "collective bargains" imposed by the leaders of the Trade Union movement, and the Boilermakers' Society on September 10 declined on a ballot by 10,321 to 5,431 to authorise their executive to promise that there should be no more breaking of the national agreement.

But even more pressing anxieties were caused by the effect of the judgment of the House of Lords in the Osborne case (ANNUAL REGISTER, Chronicle, Dec. 21, 1909, p. 90). Voluntary levies for the salaries of the Trade Union representatives in Parliament, to replace the compulsory levies which the judgment had declared to be illegal, had proved utterly inadequate. And it was feared that, even among the miners, any man with a grievance would be tempted to drop his Parliamentary contribution. Injunctions had been obtained restraining a number of unions from continuing the compulsory levy, and so cutting off the salaries paid to sixteen Labour members of Parliament; and the Trade Union leaders were actively agitating for legislation to reverse the judgment. The Miners' Federation (Aug. 5) had passed a resolution in this sense, and strong speeches to the same effect were delivered by prominent Labour members of Parliament at a demonstration preparatory to the Trade Union Congress at Sheffield on September 10.

Mr. Henderson insisted that the minority in the Trade Unions had to learn that organised labour could only deal with organised capital on the lines adopted by the latter—that is to say, by getting hold of the Parliamentary machine; and Mr. Thorne complained that, though Ministers had not found time for a measure restoring the Unions to their previous position, they had found time for the Civil List Bill. Mr. Henderson's Presidential address two days later at the Congress emphasised the necessity of maintaining collective bargaining, which was threatened by the recent local strikes (p. 202) and underlay the whole Trade Union movement. He again intimated that no constitutional compromise would satisfy the Labour party which did not enable the representatives of the people to give effect to the people's will, and he pressed for the reversal of the Osborne judgment, declaring that a trade had never adopted Parliamentary representation for itself unless a large majority was in favour of it. The Report of the Parliamentary Committee said that Labour had gained little from the existing Parliament except the Rescue in Mines Act, while it had experienced from the Law Courts "one of those periodical reverses which it is accustomed to receive from those whose duty it is to hold the scales of justice evenly." The Trade Unions must make vigorous efforts to regain their freedom. A resolution welcoming payment of members, but refusing to recognise it as a solution of the difficulty, was withdrawn and replaced by a stronger one, demanding the immediate restoration of the right of effective Parliamentary action, and advocating pressure on the Government for facilities for the Labour Party's Bill for that end. There was some opposition from two delegates representing the minority, but others went farther than their leaders, and advocated defiance of the law; and the latter had some difficulty in inducing these extremists to pass the resolution. It was mentioned that the costs of the appeal were 4,477*l.*, and the preliminary costs 2,619*l.*, so that the total was 7,096*l.*, which was to be levied on the Trade Unions. It was freely stated by Labour advocates that the funds on the plaintiff's side were provided by capitalists and employers; but Mr. Osborne denied this, and stated that they had mainly been subscribed in small sums, which was sufficient proof of the contrary. A Unionist solution of the problem set up by the movement was the payment of members (*post*, p. 212).

Among the other resolutions passed one was devised to prepare the way for a national federation of trades—which would facilitate a general strike. Another advocated such regulation of Labour Exchanges as to preclude injury to Trade Unionists, *e.g.* by the supply of non-Unionists in their place. Incidentally complaint was made of the existing management. A resolution, reaffirming the "secular solution" in education was carried by more than ten to one, after the rejection of a resolution demanding that a ballot of trades be taken on the question. The secular solution was advo-

cated, as usual, as the best way of freeing education from a hampering controversy.

This seems the most convenient place to mention that one item of the Government's social programme was probably foreshadowed by the Address delivered at the British Association on unemployment insurance by Sir H. Llewellyn Smith, the Permanent Secretary of the Board of Trade. Any such scheme, he said, must be compulsory and contributory, the benefit must be subject to a maximum limit, and the unemployment benefit rate must be relatively low; employers and workmen must be associated in the management, and the scheme must be based on large trade groups extending through the whole country. Besides contributions from the trades concerned, there must be a State subvention and guarantee, both to give stability and security and to justify State control. The scheme must aim at encouraging regular as against casual employment, and must be worked in co-operation with the voluntary associations which provided unemployment benefit for their members. Such a scheme was actuarially possible, at least for certain groups of trades, though the administrative difficulties were great.

But the subject most prominent in the public mind and the Press was neither Tariff Reform nor Labour problems, but land. A paper of questions, known as "Form IV.," preliminary to the valuation for the new land taxes was issued by the Inland Revenue on August 15. Prefixed to it was a warning that the penalty for failure to make a due return was 50*l.*, and it was accompanied by complicated instructions which non-legal minds found scarcely intelligible. The answers, it was said, would involve owners in unreasonable expense, not only in obtaining precise surveys and legal advice, but in consulting deeds in the hands of the solicitors to other parties who were, or had been, interested in the lands in question. Some of the questions asked were obscure to the lay mind, or inconvenient to answer. Such was one demanding the estimated annual value, which was defined as "the sum which the property is worth to be let to a yearly tenant, the owner keeping it in repair"—a very rare case with certain classes of buildings. It was also asked whether there were public rights of way—and an affirmative answer might involve the admission that tolerated rights of way were established rights; and also what "easements" existed affecting the land, and what the capital expenditure on it had been since the date of the last sale. But the "additional [and optional] particulars" presented further difficulties, the greatest of which was the estimate of site value as the amount which the land, if sold at the time in the open market by a willing seller, might be expected to realise if divested of buildings and subsidiary structures, and of trees and fruit bushes thereon. Large landowners, too, might have to fill up some hundreds of these forms. All these difficulties were made the most of by the Land Union (p. 108)

and the Unionist newspapers, the more so as it was the "dull season." No doubt the agitation was motived largely by fear that the values would be exaggerated and then used as a basis for death duties and local rates.

In view of the outcry, the Chancellor of the Exchequer wrote to the Press (Aug. 19) saying that the Inland Revenue Commissioners would assist owners if necessary, that nearly all the particulars required had already to be given for income-tax purposes, and in London for the poor-law valuation, that the optional particulars were asked for in the interest of the owner, and that an extension of time would be allowed if necessary. A month later, on his return from his holiday, he summoned at short notice (Sept. 15) a conference of experts, including the officers of the Incorporated Law Society, the Surveyors', Auctioneers', and Estate Agents' Institutes, and of other bodies concerned with land, besides two officials of the London County Council. To them he defended the interrogatories, mentioning that of the forms returnable on September 12, 1,500,000 had already been filled up; the large owners had commonly asked for, and received, an extension of time. Most of the small owners had found no difficulty. He invited criticisms. These, tendered by the experts present as representing their personal views only, dealt mainly with the expense involved in consulting deeds which might be in the hands of solicitors for mortgagees, and with the demand for particulars of the last sale within twenty years. It was suggested that certain points might be cleared up, and that there should be an option of returning the forms to district instead of local officers. In reply, Mr. Lloyd George said that there had been no criticism of the intelligibility of the document itself. Owners need give no particulars which they could not ascertain without expense, but it was their interest to ascertain them. Much of the outcry had been due to the sending out of the forms, when the Press were short of matter. There would be an opportunity of correcting mistakes. The question as to the last sale was in the interest of property owners. The 7,000 local valuers had done their work well, and were unable to reply to the attacks on them, but the option demanded was legitimate. What was asked was information which the landowner ought to possess; it was extraordinary how little people knew about their property.

Later, additional explanations were given by the Treasury which made it unnecessary for owners to incur expense in framing their replies, and permitted them to deliver statements which were merely approximate and conjectural. Still, the landlords' alarm was kept up by a statement of the Lord Advocate at Willesden (Sept. 24) that the valuation was intended ultimately to transfer all rating and taxation from buildings and the work of men's hands to the land.

Another speech by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, which

later events invested with some significance, was delivered on September 20 in Welsh, at the unveiling, in Cefnddwysarn Chapel, near Bala, of a memorial tablet to Mr. Tom Ellis, sometime M.P. for Merionethshire, whose promising political career had been cut short by an early death in 1899. After a eulogy of his subject, Mr. Lloyd George said that some of those present might live to see the Wales that Tom Ellis saw with a prophetic eye—the Wales of a highly trained people, living in valleys made prosperous by science, intelligent, loving their language, literature, land, and religion, making their artistic nature not merely vocal but visible—a Wales independent and free, fearing God and no one else.

The only Unionist speech of any importance in September was delivered by Mr. Austen Chamberlain at Birmingham (Sept. 22). After laying stress on Tariff Reform and Land Reform as the leading features of Unionist policy, he condemned the demand for the reversal of the Osborne judgment (p. 226) as leading to the destruction both of the political liberties of workmen and of the Trade Unions themselves, owing to the inevitable withdrawal of dissentients. He omitted to mention the Navy; but its alleged needs were reasserted, from a non-party standpoint, by Lord Charles Beresford in two "open letters" to the Prime Minister (Sept. 28, 30). In 1913-14, he estimated, Great Britain would have twenty-five *Dreadnoughts* (omitting the two Australasian ships) against twenty-one German, four Italian, and four Austrian—or twenty-nine for the Triple Alliance. He added, however, to the British strength, the eighteen pre-*Dreadnoughts*, which he counted as nine *Dreadnoughts*; but he insisted that in 1913-14 we must have eight *Dreadnoughts* in the Mediterranean, and that we might have to send a battleship squadron to the Far East. His previous proposals, to which he now adhered (ANNUAL REGISTER, 1909, p. 53; 1910, p. 52), would give Great Britain thirty-two *Dreadnoughts*, and he advocated a naval loan; "better owe money than owe ships." In the second letter he dwelt on the insecurity of the principal trade routes, some of them being wholly unguarded, and urged that at the outbreak of war British ships on them would be attacked by merchantmen converted into privateers. In acknowledging these letters (Oct. 4), Mr. Asquith assured Lord Charles Beresford that the Government would not hesitate to recommend to Parliament any steps necessary to maintain British naval supremacy.

The Army manœuvres, which had been carried out in accordance with Mr. Haldane's announcement (p. 42), gave results which were admittedly satisfactory at any rate as regarded the rank and file and the mobilisation and transport arrangements, though the general conclusions drawn differed according as the critics were satisfied with the existing system or advocated compulsory service of recruiting. The Territorial training in July and August had

been generally satisfactory, though here and there the troops were reported lacking in stamina, and there was some indiscipline among a West Riding brigade which was ordered to march without great-coats in heavy rain in the Isle of Man. Some of the criticisms, however, were coloured by preconceived opinions as to the inadequacy of the voluntary service. Interdivisional manœuvres followed in September, and finally the grand manœuvres (Sept. 19-23) took place, according to a scheme which was described as very instructive, in the area formed by Wilts, Dorset, Somerset, and Hants. War was supposed to exist between two countries whose capitals were respectively Shrewsbury and London, and between which hostilities were also in progress farther north. A division was mobilised at war strength, comprising some Territorial units and the Queen's Own Canadian Rifles, brought to England by the generosity of their commanding officer, Colonel Sir Henry Pellatt, and the Special Reserve was called out to form the second line. As the object was to deal with problems of administration, supply, and transport, rather than with strategy and tactics, the manœuvres impressed some critics unfavourably, and Colonel Gaedke, a well-known German expert, who was acting as correspondent to the *Daily Telegraph*, made adverse comments which were resented later by Sir John French—especially on the leadership and the officers (*post*, p. 225). Sir John French, as Inspector-General, set forth his own conclusions at Salisbury in a lecture on September 24. He stated that the Territorials and Canadian troops had done extremely well, and acknowledged the cordial co-operation of the landowners and farmers at the seat of war.

Turning to a very different sphere of activity, the "jubilee" meeting of the Church Congress at Cambridge (Sept. 24-30) attracted more interest and proved more successful than any of its forty-nine predecessors, except that held in London in 1899. But, as Welsh disestablishment and the education controversy were dormant and Poor-Law reform was still in the future, it stood apart to a greater extent than usual from current politics. The Bishop of Ely in his Presidential address described the aspects of Church Congresses; they trained and informed public opinion, they helped Church people to rise above their merely local interests, they had diffused in the Church a worthy conception of corporate life; they presented the Church to the world; but their primary function was to create and strengthen in the Church "a righteous, instructed, large-hearted, far-seeing public opinion," on which, he would dare to add, the seal of holiness was set. He trusted that in the future they would mould Church opinion in regard to the duties of social service, the problems of which were becoming far more intricate, as having their origin and sanction in the Person of the Incarnate Son of God; that they would study Christian re-union and the special problems of the Church; that they would bring together the simple believer and the Biblical student; and that the public

opinion fostered would rest on the conviction that the source and basis of Church life was supernatural. Of the papers read at the Congress, some of the most noteworthy dealt with the newer "eschatological" conception of Christianity put forward by Professor Schweitzer of Strasburg, which had replaced the advanced theological theories formerly current in certain schools in Germany by a view even farther from the historical Christianity of the Churches; others with Prayer Book Revision and Christian union, both of which seemed relegated to a remote future. But on social subjects, the hopes of vigorous co-operation by Church workers were encouraged by papers on some pressing problems, such as boy-labour as leading to adult unemployment, the decline of the birth rate, the care of the feeble-minded, and the treatment of widows with children and of young unmarried mothers under the existing Poor Law. On this subject Mr. C. G. Masterman (*West Ham, N.*), Secretary of the Local Government Board, earnestly appealed to the Congress for a forward movement.

To return to politics, the Osborne judgment continued to occupy public attention, and led to notable developments. On September 29 the executive of the Labour Party resolved to dispense in future with the requirement that members of the party should sign the Constitution—a resolution which would tend to remove the objections put forward to reversing the judgment, though it had been arrived at for other reasons. Liberal speakers were unable to state the intentions of the Government in this matter; but State payment of members of Parliament was already part of the Liberal programme whenever funds should be available, and it was now suggested for adoption on the Unionist side, notably by Mr. F. E. Smith (in *The Times*) and by other Unionists, chiefly those belonging to the advanced tariff and social reform section. It was bitterly opposed by others, notably by Mr. Arthur Lee; the Unionist Press was divided. A pronouncement on this and other subjects was anxiously sought from Mr. Balfour, and the date of a promised visit to the Edinburgh Conservative Club was advanced by a month to enable him to give it. He was entertained at luncheon at the Club on Wednesday, October 5, but his speech did not satisfy his followers. After a hopeful reference to the Conference, he went on to refer to the Osborne judgment, emphasising the part taken by the Unionist party in giving powers and privileges to Trade Unions; but the Unions were being perverted to political uses, and members would be compelled, if the judgment were reversed, to subscribe—under pain of losing their benefits—to the return of members to Parliament whose general conception of national policy was profoundly opposed to their own. That would be worse than any corruption or intimidation of the worst times of representative government. It was a gain to the Commons to contain Labour and even Socialist representatives, but he disapproved totally of their coming as representatives of par-

ticular interests. But it was a hasty judgment to assume that the choice lay between the reversal of the Osborne judgment and the payment of members. If the only result of the latter was to facilitate the entrance into public life of the poor man with special aptitudes, every one would welcome it; but in practice the well-to-do man would pay away his salary in local subscriptions, the less well-to-do would be dependent for his living on the favour of those who patronised him. It would create a class of electoral experts whose existence would discredit the Commons. But he deprecated proposals by the Unionists while out of office. Turning to the land question, he said the difficulty was not that there were large landowners, but that there were far too few small ones. What was most required was the free interchange of land and the creation of a great body of small landowners. For that they must have co-operation and Government assistance. It seemed folly, that being so, to burden every transaction as it was being burdened by the new land taxes. He looked hopefully forward to fiscal reform and laid stress on the fact that two Free Traders, Lord Balfour of Burleigh and Lord Islington, had signed the Report on Trade Relations between Canada and the West Indies, and he thought the ordinary elector would gradually see the Imperial and commercial advantages of Colonial Preference; that the other Colonies would follow Canada, and that there would be produced some great, coherent, and fruitful policy which would bind together the great Empire by bonds of commerce as well as of affection.

This speech, however, by no means met the Unionist demand. The *Morning Post* said Mr. Balfour was fortunate in that attention was diverted to the revolution in Portugal, and that his speech resembled far more an impartial summary of political feeling from the ANNUAL REGISTER than a fighting proclamation which might rally the party on the eve of what might prove either its Austerlitz or its Sedan. It complained that he was vague on all the issues touched, and demanded a definite programme; and much the same feeling was expressed by other Unionist organs. Indeed, the day after the speech a dinner was held in London to promote a "Reveille movement" within the party. The leaders were Lord Willoughby de Broke and several Unionist members of Parliament, among them Mr. Page Croft, Mr. Burgoyne and Mr. Peto, and Mr. Maxse, editor of the *National Review*. Their programme included a naval loan if necessary, Tariff Reform coupled with industrial insurance, Imperial union through tariff preference, land reform through small ownership facilitated by Government credits, and Poor-Law reform "to meet modern conditions." They professed loyalty to and harmony with their leader, but on this outside observers were rather sceptical as were some of the other Unionist leaders.

Meanwhile the storm of protests against the preliminaries of

the new land taxes had been met by the summoning of two other conferences by the Chancellor of the Exchequer on October 6. At the first, composed of representatives of building societies, the co-operative movement, and the small house owners, Mr. Lloyd George was urged to alter the time limit of the increment duty, and to substitute for the existing twenty years' limit twenty years or the lifetime of the present owner, whichever was the longer period, and also to relieve vendors and purchasers from the obligation of furnishing copies of deeds and abstracts on the occasion of a transfer. To this latter request he acceded at once. Generally this conference was favourable to the Act, and the Chancellor, in his reply, laid stress on the fact that it was setting up a great national register of ownership. The second conference was with the President, Vice-President, and Secretary of the National Federation of Building Trades Employers. Various cases were put and discussed in considerable detail, and the Chancellor asked for further suggestions, saying that "his business was to see that the thing was put absolutely right in the next Budget." It was notable that the President's address at the Law Society's annual meeting (Sept. 24) had been very reserved as to the land taxes, and that a resolution condemning compulsory registration of title and deprecating any extension of the process (such as was carried out by the Finance Act) was shelved by the "previous question." Lord Rosebery (at the dinner of the Incorporation of Hammermen at Glasgow, Sept. 30) described the landowners as "between hammer and anvil"; but the outcry seemed to be dying down, though steps had been taken by the Land Union to test the legality of Form IV., and its non-distribution in Ireland caused further comment on the alleged subserviency of the Ministry to the Irish vote.

A test of political feeling was promised by the bye-elections brought about in South Shields and Walthamstow by the promotions of the Law officers (*post*, Chronicle, Oct. 8). Labour opposition to the Liberal candidates was at first threatened, in order to force a declaration on the Osborne judgment. Speaking at Reading on October 14, Sir Rufus Isaacs said that this could never be wholly reversed, but he indicated State payment of members and of returning officers' charges as a mitigation. On the other hand a Labour party manifesto (Oct. 15) declared that the judgment crippled Trade Unionism not only in Parliament, but in municipal bodies and trade councils, perhaps even in the power of sending deputations to Ministers. This meant minority rule, and the minority might be the creature of an employer. Payment of members was in the democratic programme, but was an inadequate alternative to the reversal of the judgment, and in the United States it did not secure Labour representation.

However, a series of far more complex problems seemed likely to be opened up by the reassembling (Oct. 11) of the Constitutional Conference. It was rumoured that a crisis had been reached, that

it was connected with Home Rule, and that the solution would be found in "Home Rule all round" or devolution (*post*, p. 221). These rumours received colour from the abandonment by Mr. Lloyd George of an engagement to deliver a political speech at Mountain Ash on October 15. Two days later, however, he addressed a non-political meeting at the City Temple in support of the social work of the Liberal Christian League. The Rev. R. J. Campbell, the pastor, presided, and Mr. Balfour sent a message of sympathy. Suffragist interruption was threatened, but allayed by Mr. Lloyd George's promise to answer questions later, and his replies reasserted his position on Women's Suffrage and the Conciliation Bill.

He began his speech by pointing out the prevalence everywhere of unrest and discontent, which could not be attributed solely to the effect of fiscal systems. The Free Trader could only claim that it was milder "where the patient had been inoculated with Free Trade Vaccine." Both parties admitted that there was a mass of remediable poverty; no important section would deny the possibility of effective State aid. Mr. Chamberlain's Tariff Reform agitation had at any rate called attention to crying evils among us. The principles underlying it had committed the party which was by temperament, tradition, and interest opposed to great changes, to propositions pressed on them in vain by social reformers of other schools. His "raging and tearing propaganda" would tear up more than his adversaries had ever dreamt of. Mr. Lloyd George proceeded to emphasise the existing poverty by his experience in administering the Old Age Pensions Act and by referring to Mr. Seebohm Rowntree's "Poverty," a study of the city of York. In other countries the high prices of food made matters worse, but this was a torturing climate for destitution. Some landowners required sixty days to fill up the new land forms; of the 420,000 persons dying annually in the United Kingdom five-sixths owned no property worth taking into account; of the 300,000,000 $l.$ passing annually at death half belonged to less than 2,000 owners. It was said that most of the destitution was traceable to thriftlessness among the wage-earners; this he questioned; but there was waste on armaments, which could only be reduced by international understanding; our annual expenditure was equivalent to 4s. a week for every wage earner. There was waste, again, in the failure to get proper returns from the land owing to the conditions of tenure; waste due to sport, to the withholding of land round towns from building, a practice which was excusable when locomotion was dear, but was now "perpetuated through pure greed" and injured the people physically. There was waste from unemployment, and no thought was given to the unemployment of the idle rich. These, with their families and their numerous retainers, numbered 2,000,000. He compared them to the morass in the Upper Soudan which absorbed the water needed for irrigation, so that part of the land was a desert. He agreed with Mr. Chamberlain that

the remedy must be a bold one. In an eloquent peroration he likened the waste of power in a mountain stream and the waste of bursts of popular enthusiasm on some trivial aim of no use to mankind. Let the people enlarge the purpose of their politics and adhere to it unswervingly till the accomplishment of their redemption.

This speech aroused much Liberal enthusiasm, and received qualified approval from some independent and Unionist organs. The *Economist* commended the treatment of the unemployment of the rich and of the waste due to armaments; *The Times* had words of praise for the speaker's "sincerity and moderation of tone" and his comparatively philosophic handling of great social questions; the *Morning Post*, however, described it as a new expression of a predatory policy based on class warfare, and the *Spectator* remarked that the working classes needed to practise thrift, and that the speaker was himself a motorist and a golfer. This provoked Mr. Lloyd George, speaking at the opening of a Liberal bazaar at Crediton, four days later, to a bitter and undignified attack on the editor of the *Spectator*, whom he taunted with the falsification by events of his prediction that the Budget deficit would be 16,000,000*l.*, and advised to address his lectures on thrift to the idle rich. Earlier in this speech Mr. Lloyd George referred with satisfaction to the old-age pensioners, who on January 1, 1911, would number over a million through the recently announced removal of the pauper disqualification. The burden entailed was expressed by an income tax of 2*d.* in the pound extra on incomes of 40*l.* per week, and 6*d.* extra on incomes of 100*l.* per week. But of every pound extra raised by his Budget 10*s.* went for *Dreadnoughts*, and the very people who clamoured for them were those who protested against paying for them.

Mr. Lloyd George's reference to the vast expenditure on naval armaments derived additional force from a return issued a few days earlier giving the estimated naval expenditure of the chief naval Powers of the world for 1910-11 as follows—Great Britain, 40,603,700*l.*; United States, 27,474,454*l.*; Germany, 21,235,000*l.*; France, 15,023,019*l.*; Russia, 9,723,574*l.*; Japan, 7,590,362*l.* But the partisans of British naval supremacy at all costs were still dissatisfied.

Perhaps, however, it was partly because of the silence imposed by the Conference that Mr. Balfour's second public utterance during the recess was devoted exclusively to the alleged deficiency of British naval strength. In opening the new premises of the Imperial Union Club at Glasgow on October 19 he said that Imperial policy required adequate means of Imperial defence. In no five, ten, or twenty years in British history had there been such a change in our naval position as between 1905 and 1910. Nobody now pretended that the two-Power standard had been preserved, or even approximately preserved. The Imperial Defence

Committee soon after its establishment had concluded that invasion was possible only by eluding our naval force. But now, even according to the Government's calculation, our superiority in 1913 in *Dreadnoughts* would be only four. A very slight cause would reduce or wipe out that superiority, and the consequences would be felt by our Empire for generations. He said this quite irrespectively of any idea that this or that Power had the deliberate intention of making war on us. Our forefathers had held that the race had to be preserved against accidental outbreaks of war, and insisted on a large margin of strength. Statesmen of all parties held that a war was the worst of misfortunes. There had been a lamentable pause in shipbuilding during the first two years of the last Parliament, and he could not understand why, in Government and private dockyards, there should be slips on which no ship was being built. Other nations could now build ships as quickly as ourselves, and manœuvre as skilfully; tactics and weapons were continually changing. The big ship could only be rendered obsolete by something which floated in the air above or in the water beneath. Submarines, he thought, were the only invention telling in favour of defence. Would the Admiralty guarantee to land 70,000 men, say on the coast of Spitzbergen, which belonged to no one, if there were a flotilla of submarines within a few hours' steam? But this was not reassuring. Our islands were a strong fortress, but very ill-provisioned; without supremacy in capital ships, our trade routes could not be safe, and "no pedantries of finance ought to allow us to stand in the way of carrying out a policy on which our whole finance depends."

This speech, however, produced no marked effect. Replying to it next day at Llanthwy, Mr. McKenna remarked that Mr. Balfour's naval jeremiads synchronised with his followers' clamour for a pretext for Tariff Reform. In Parliament mere naval generalities would not suffice; Mr. Balfour had neglected his abundant opportunities there to substantiate his conclusions. In first-class battleships we had more than a two-Power standard. If every slip even in the private yards was to be occupied by a *Dreadnought*, not even 100,000,000*l.* would suffice. How to man, dock, and repair these ships not even Mr. Balfour's most trusted adviser could say. Dr. Macnamara also, replying at Camberwell, gave figures showing that the next greatest naval Power would have at most seventeen *Dreadnoughts* in 1913, while Great Britain would have twenty-seven, including the two Colonial *Dreadnoughts*. Beyond this, the programme for 1911-12 could be expedited should any necessity arise. Mr. Balfour, he said, took no notice of our pre-*Dreadnought* battleships, which even Lord Charles Beresford estimated as equivalent in 1913 to nine *Dreadnoughts* in fighting strength.

On the other hand, the Home Secretary, writing to a correspondent on October 20, revived the hopes of the advocates of a

larger Navy by declaring that he was not prepared to say that a naval loan was inadmissible in any circumstances; but he added that the exceptional Naval Estimates of the time need not either preclude national insurance against unemployment and invalidity, and provision for widows and orphans, which ought to have been set up long ago, or disturb with fresh taxation the great financial and social settlement which the Budget had achieved.

Trafalgar Day (Oct. 21) gave the Imperial Maritime League a fresh chance to advocate their plan of a loan (p. 176), and Mr. Bonar Law (at Glasgow, Oct. 27) declared himself a convert. Liberal critics, however, pointed out that such a loan would create a severe financial disturbance by causing a further fall in Consols, very possibly to 70.

Something was done a day or two later to uphold the traditional predominance of the British seamen by a Conference between various educational and charitable bodies and shipping interests on nautical training for boys; and the extreme view on the other branch of national defence was put by Lord Curzon of Kedleston, Vice-President of the National Service League, before a not altogether sympathetic working-class audience at Hanley on October 21. He described the doctrine that with a strong and powerful Fleet there was no need to trouble about the Army as "dangerous nonsense": it was not by the Fleet that we had won India, that Wellington had defeated Napoleon, or that the Boers had been beaten. We required an Army to garrison and defend our foreign possessions, and, above all, to prevent a successful invasion. He dwelt on the changed conditions due to the progress of military invention and aviation, and on Germany's determination to be the first naval as well as the first military Power; and, while eulogising the patriotism and spirit of the Territorials, he said that they could not be made trained soldiers under existing conditions. Under compulsory service, as under voluntary, the Territorials would not be called out in trade disputes. Compulsory service was the policy of the two most democratic States in Europe and of our own Dominions; experience showed it would favour recruiting for the Regulars; it would ultimately be a benefit to trade and industry by the improvement effected in the character and stamina of the workmen, and it would cost, not 27,000,000*l.* a year, but 4,000,000*l.*

A few days earlier a new departure seemed to have been taken in British policy towards Persia by the despatch of a British Note (*post*, Foreign History, Chap. V.) which was misinterpreted both by Continental journals and in advanced Liberal quarters in England, as foreshadowing British intervention with a view to the partition of Persia between Russia and Great Britain. This point was soon cleared up; but light was thrown most opportunely on the genesis and value of the Anglo-Russian Agreement by the Viceroy-designate of India (p. 131), now Lord

Hardinge of Penshurst, at a complimentary dinner given him at the Savoy Hotel on October 20. An address was presented him by Lord Harris, signed by 1,500 inhabitants of his own county of Kent, and allusions characteristic of contemporary English life were made to his early prowess in the cricket field. In reply, he referred to the connection of his family with India, and said that he went there with a mind free from bias and prejudice; but that he had been brought at the Foreign Office into close contact with the weightiest issues on which depended the external relations of India, and which affected not only those relations but the policy of Imperial unity as a whole. When serving at Teheran, and again at St. Petersburg, he had been impressed by the senseless and dangerous rivalry of Great Britain and Russia in Persia and Central Asia, and it was a masterstroke of policy on the part of the Marquess of Lansdowne to have initiated negotiations to put an end to this veiled hostility, dangerous to Great Britain, Russia, and the Indian Empire. The Russo-Japanese War had interrupted the negotiations, but Sir Edward Grey had reopened them, and after eighteen months had brought them to a satisfactory conclusion. The Convention had stood the test of trial, had been observed with the utmost loyalty, and had happily resulted in the Anglo-Russian co-operation for the maintenance of peace in Asia. The advantage to India was incalculable, since the bogey of a Russian invasion had been laid. The successful issue of the negotiations had been largely promoted both by King Edward VII. and the Tsar. As Viceroy it would be his duty to watch with the utmost vigilance and to do his utmost to consolidate the beneficent and far-reaching reform schemes initiated by Lord Morley and Lord Minto for the association of the people of India more closely with the management of their own affairs, and to conciliate all races, classes, and creeds.

Mention must also be made of a proposal for a settlement of the question of religious education in elementary schools which was put forward on October 24 by the Marquess of Salisbury as the result of the deliberations of Committees of the Houses of Laymen of Canterbury and York, of the National Society, and of Birmingham and Manchester Churchmen, and was described by the Primate as "fair, coherent, and reasonable." It provided that the parents of children in elementary schools, whether Council or Voluntary, should state the form of denominational instruction they desired for their children, and that, if more than twelve children required any special form, and no denominational school giving it were within a specified distance, it should be provided, and might be paid for, by the local authority, the syllabus of the religious instruction being drawn up by the representative organisation concerned. Teachers qualified to give this instruction should be appointed, as far as possible, on the school staff, but no teacher should be compelled to give religious instruction, and if none were

available, the representative organisation concerned might appoint one. This "organisation" was to be approved by the Board of Education, it was to cover a local education area or group of areas, and was to be representative of one or several religious bodies. The teaching was to be for half an hour daily, and was to be part of the regular school course.

But public discussion of this scheme was prevented by more pressing questions. One of these was the continued labour unrest. The cotton trade lock-out, involving 120,000 operatives, had ended on October 10 by the intervention of the Board of Trade; but in the South Wales coal trade and among the railway men there was much unsettlement, caused in the latter case by the interpretation of the terms of the various awards made by arbitrators in 1907 (ANNUAL REGISTER, 1907, p. 245); the Railway Servants' Congress found a new reason for advocating railway nationalisation (Oct. 4) in the working agreements between companies, which had virtually established monopolies; and the shipyard dispute went on. The Boilermakers' secretary (Oct. 2) justified the strikers' action on the ground that local rates of pay for piecework had been arbitrarily reduced, and that the machinery for adjusting disputes worked far too slowly to satisfy them; and an agreement drawn up by representatives of both sides on October 11 was rejected a week later on a ballot by 10,079 to 8,760, about 40 per cent. polling; but on another poll (Nov. 8) the adverse figures were nearly three to one (15,563 to 5,630). No worse calamity had threatened the Tyneside industries since the engineers' strike of 1897.

The industrial unrest was analysed by Sir Edward Grey on October 28 at Darlington, in the inaugural lecture of the annual series founded in memory of Sir David Dale, a leading figure in the industries of North-Eastern England and promoter of industrial conciliation, who died in 1906. After a characterisation of Sir David Dale, Sir Edward Grey ascribed the restlessness and impatience in all great industrial countries to great hopes and expectations among the wage-earning classes, combined with consciousness of power, dissatisfaction at the results hitherto obtained, and determination to find more effective means of using it. He emphasised the need of discipline and submission within the trade-unions; the great difficulty in industrial conciliation was to make a settlement seem reasonable to the shareholders and the mass of workers respectively; between these there was a gulf. After a sympathetic reference to profit-sharing, he pointed out that in various ways a growing share of the increase in wealth went to the workers, and described the situation as disquieting and possibly dangerous; but in the danger there was hope, for in it common sense and reasonableness came to the top. Foreign politics, he thought, would not be the main consideration of the twentieth century; the sense of the economic interdependence of nations was

growing among the increasing proportion of people who had to do with industry, and the first country which had a great and successful war would very likely be the first to have a social revolution.

Along with these more or less unrelated events, attention was continuously attracted to the proceedings of the Constitutional Conference. *The Times*, on October 14, stated that it was believed that in July the Conference had considered whether a deadlock between the Houses might not be solved by the reference of the disputed measure to a Joint Committee of both Houses, and whether certain measures should not be further subject to a direct appeal to the electorate. It was believed that the Irish Nationalists and the Unionists differed as to whether these measures should comprise a Home Rule Bill; and *The Times* found in Mr. Birrell's speech of July 25 (p. 202), in the Scottish National manifesto (p. 204), in Mr. Lloyd George's speech of September 20 (p. 209), and in statements attributed to Mr. Redmond and Mr. T. P. O'Connor in America, indications of a concerted movement between Liberals and Nationalists to represent Irish Home Rule as part of a scheme of "Home Rule all round." Mr. Redmond was reported to have told a correspondent of the London *Daily Express* in Canada that the Nationalists only wanted Home Rule for purely Irish affairs. He repudiated the account given, but the idea of "Home Rule all round" found influential support, and not only among Liberals. The *Observer* in particular (Sunday, Oct. 16) stated that the leading spirits in the Unionist party desired a general election in January, to turn out the Liberals before the Imperial Conference of 1911; but the party had no prospect of a sufficient majority; if it were beaten or could not govern, Home Rule would probably be carried out, and every Unionist cause postponed or lost. The Conference, even if it broke down, might be succeeded by another and a larger Conference. The whole aspect of the Home Rule question in Ireland had changed; and Unionists like Cecil Rhodes and Earl Grey, as well as the Nationalist leader, were quoted in favour of a Federal solution. In short, the writer (presumably Mr. J. L. Garvin) favoured a general settlement by Conference, covering the Home Rule and Second Chamber questions, with some concession on Imperial Preference. Further, on October 18, the Master of Elibank, speaking at Belfast, said that but for the Home Rule question Ulster would probably be Liberal, like Scotland and Wales; the Scottish and Welsh feeling for local Home Rule had altered the position, and the business aspect of the question would force it on. He hoped that as the South African settlement had been the glory of the reign of King Edward, so an Irish settlement would be the glory of that of King George. These views found an advocate in an unexpected quarter. On October 20 and subsequently *The Times* published a series of letters signed "Pacificus." The author, at first identified wrongly with Lord Esher, had been one of the earliest advocates

of the Conference, and was an active Unionist and Tariff Reformer. These letters (republished under the title of "Federalism and Home Rule") suggested that the Conference might raise the question what sort of Constitutional change might be retained subject to the Veto of a Second Chamber, and so, like certain conventions recorded in history, might, without achieving its original purpose, yet open the way to a wider Conference early in 1911, which would consider the Constitutional question as a whole. The Unionists might accept Home Rule of some sort from a Convention; the problem, at any rate, demanded rediscussion, in view of the great changes in Ireland since 1893. Ultimately the writer outlined a scheme of "Federal Home Rule"—an Imperial Parliament for the United Kingdom and Imperial and Foreign Affairs, delegating some of its functions to separate Parliaments for England, Wales, Scotland and Ireland, these bodies being subject to it as the Provincial Legislatures in Canada are subject to the Dominion Parliament. These letters attracted much attention; but the *Morning Post*, the *Spectator*, the Earl of Pembroke, and Lord Hugh Cecil (*The Times*, Oct. 28) repudiated their proposals; so did the Ulster Unionists (Nov. 7) at a Conference at Portadown. Mr. Asquith, speaking at Ladybank on Oct. 29, after describing the year as an *annus mirabilis* in British politics, said that everything printed about the Conference was pure guesswork, but that any agreement would require the approval of the country.

The *Observer's* estimate of Unionist prospects seemed to be confirmed by the Liberal victories at South Shields and Walthamstow (*post*, Chronicle, Oct. 27 and Nov. 1). The decline in the Liberal majority at South Shields was ascribed partly to the knowledge that a Liberal victory was certain, and partly to the Osborne judgment. At Walthamstow, the second largest constituency in the United Kingdom, Sir John Simon's personal popularity and the feeling that it was ungracious to oppose a member just raised to office evoked Unionist protests locally against a contest. It was significant, too, that the Unionist candidate had declined aid from Mr. Pretyman's Land Union (p. 108), and preferred to take his stand on Tariff Reform. In the municipal elections moreover (Nov. 1) the Liberal and the Labour parties and the Socialists improved their positions. Six Labour and Socialist gains were recorded in Manchester, four Liberal gains in Liverpool, four in Leeds. The final gains were stated as follows: Liberals, 60; Labour and Socialist, 34; Unionist, 43.

Still, in view of the possibilities of a crisis, the Tariff Reform League opened an active campaign in Lancashire, holding their Annual Conference at Manchester on November 8. A number of speeches were delivered by prominent Leaguers in various parts of the county on the previous evening; and at the Conference a letter from Mr. Joseph Chamberlain declared that Tariff Reform had never before been so strong among the masses, and insisted

on the importance of Colonial Preference. Mr. Wyndham said that those who believed in the good faith of Mr. Balfour and Mr. Chamberlain would have no fear of dear food; and Mr. Bonar Law in the evening spoke eloquently at the Free Trade Hall on the prospective advantage to the cotton trade of Tariff Reform, and to India of Colonial Preference. The campaign was accompanied by the opening of "dump shops" (p. 1); the genuineness of the articles exhibited, however, was frequently questioned by Free Trade visitors. But the promoters professed satisfaction with the results.

General regret was caused by the retirement from the India Office of Lord Morley of Blackburn, which led to further Ministerial changes (*Chronicle*, Nov. 4). Lord Morley's decision was due to reasons of health; but he retained his seat in the Cabinet and some influence on British policy in India.

Speaking on November 2 at Bishop Auckland, Mr. Montagu, Under-Secretary for India, ascribed the increased interest in Indian affairs exhibited in England largely to the appointment of "the best known and most striking personality on the Front Bench" to be Secretary for India. He added that British rule in India had conduced to the material prosperity of that country; sea-borne trade had increased 500 per cent. in fifty years, the land revenue (in rupees) 60 per cent., and large sums had been borrowed by the country; the total "dead-weight debt" was 42,250,000*l.* After ridiculing the idea that the interest on this debt, with the pensions to retired civil and military officers, and payments for stores, could be called a "drain on India," he declared that the situation was full of hope, and the unrest was confined to a small fraction of the population.

In quite another quarter, however, the Government were confronted with serious difficulties. The Eight Hours Act set up peculiar difficulties owing to the nature of the South Wales mines, and tended to diminish output and returns; the miners resented the consequent diminution of earnings, and a five-year wages agreement concluded after the avoidance of a strike in April (p. 68) had given dissatisfaction to them. Serious differences in the Council of the South Wales Miners' Federation weakened its authority, and during the summer there had been many local strikes or threats to strike. Some 30,000 men were actually idle early in November, mainly at the collieries of the Cambrian Coal Trust in the Rhondda Valley—where a strike had arisen in sympathy with a small body of miners dissatisfied with the rate of pay for working a particular seam of coal—and at Aberdare. At 4 A.M. on November 7 the miners at the latter collieries turned out at a given signal, and prevented the enginemen and surface hands from going to their work; and later in the day they stopped the ventilating machinery, imperilling the lives of some hundreds of pit ponies. In view of the possibility of riots, police were sent from Swansea, Bristol, and elsewhere,

and troops were asked for by the Chief Constable of Glamorganshire. Two hundred Hussars and two companies of infantry were actually sent from Salisbury Plain, but they were temporarily detained at Swindon by the Home Secretary's orders, and seventy mounted and 200 unmounted Metropolitan police were sent in their stead. In the evening, however, there was serious rioting, which was continued on the following days; on the Monday evening shops were looted and the contents scattered, the police assaulted, and strangers stoned. Even the men whose duty it was to feed the pit ponies were not allowed to go down the mines. Meanwhile, Mr. Churchill had telegraphed on the Monday, urging the men to cease rioting, mentioning that the troops were being held back, and offering a Conference at the Board of Trade; but in view of the disorder, the cavalry were sent on, and were followed by more Metropolitan police. Order was restored, however, by November 10, but the strikers were still restless, and further outrages were committed a few days later.

Meanwhile there had been two fresh contributions to the discussion of the European situation in the English Press. On November 4 the *Daily Mail* published an article by Admiral Mahan supplementary to that of July 6 (p. 176) in which he insisted on the preponderance in power of the Triple Alliance, controlled by Germany, over the Triple *Entente* of Great Britain, Russia, and France. An offset to this preponderance, however, was supplied by the British Navy, the strongest possible deterrent from war, especially in view of German sea-borne commerce. The advantages of the situation, regarded as commercial and military, were almost wholly with Great Britain, granting the continuance of the existing laws of maritime capture. The natural conclusion from this article was that the strength of the British Navy should be maintained or even increased, and that Parliament should refuse to ratify the Declaration of London. On the other hand, the *Daily Chronicle* three days later published an article by its editor, Mr. Robert Donald, pleading for an Anglo-German understanding of which one element should be an arrangement by Great Britain not to oppose German "expansion" in Asia Minor. This proposal was welcomed in Germany, but neither article had any immediate effect. Some Liberal papers, it may be added, had taken comfort from a report that the German shipbuilding programme had been delayed owing to changes necessitated by the production of the British 13·5 in. gun; but fuller reports indicated that there had been neither delay nor acceleration.

It was amid these conditions that the Lord Mayor's show and banquet was held on November 9. The show was partly a military display, in which the Territorial element, the Boy Scouts, and Lord Roberts's boy marksmen were conspicuous, and partly a pageant of mediæval London as depicted in the plays of Shakespeare. At the banquet, Sir John French, in returning

thanks for the Army, strongly denounced the criticisms of Colonel Gaedke in the *Daily Telegraph* (p. 211) on the manoeuvres, and claimed that in point of efficiency the first line of the Army was second to none in the world. He also, as the result of his recent inspection of the Canadian forces, eulogised the "splendid energy and high Imperial spirit everywhere apparent amongst them." The Prime Minister, in replying to the toast of the Ministry, remarked that hardly any year had been more fraught with the unforeseen. The King's death stood out in tragic prominence; he found the monarchy strong, he left it still stronger, and the nation was confident that the splendid tradition of the past seventy years would be maintained in the new reign. After a reference to the opening of the Union Parliament in South Africa, he referred to foreign affairs, declaring that Great Britain had no desire or motive for an adventurous policy; and he moderated the alarm expressed by some Liberals as to British intervention in Persia (p. 218), explaining that the British Government would gladly facilitate the raising of money by the Persian Government by any reasonable methods, provided the proceeds were satisfactorily appropriated to the policing of the trade routes and the maintenance of security. The British desire was to avoid anything which would weaken the Persian Government. The burden of armaments was being increasingly felt in all countries; relief might be sought in external aggression; but he had hopes that, under the growing pressure of public opinions, good feeling might become so general among the great Powers as finally to end the competition. He referred also to the favourable signs of the state of trade, and to the labour unrest, and concluded by saying that he could make no political disclosure; the English people were a combative race, but the course of constitutional progress had been one of more or less even development, and that we might rely in the future as in the past on the political instinct, judgment, and sagacity of the British people.

The significance of this peroration was apparent on the day following. The Constitutional Conference held its twenty-first and final meeting, which lasted an hour and a half; and the Prime Minister afterwards authorised the announcement that it had broken up without reaching an agreement, and that all its members were of opinion that its conditions precluded any disclosure of the course of the negotiations or the causes of their termination. It was also stated that a general election would take place in December, and both sides began active preparations; and on the succeeding day Mr. Asquith went to Sandringham to obtain the King's consent to the Dissolution.

It was stated by Mr. Long in a speech to the 1900 Club on Mr. Balfour's authority that neither Imperial Federation, Home Rule, nor Devolution were discussed in the Conference. The *Daily Mail* of November 11 stated that the question of the settle-

ment of deadlocks between the Houses by a Joint Committee had been debated in the Conference, and that Mr. Balfour had laid its proposals before his more intimate colleagues in his last Ministry, but that an influential section of Unionist Peers took up the position, "If we are to be deprived of our powers, let it be done by the constituencies and not by a conference." This, being quoted by the *Westminster Gazette*, was afterwards denounced by Unionist speakers as a "Radical falsehood"; and it was expressly contradicted by Lord Lansdowne (*post*, p. 228). The next issue of the *World*, Earl Winterton's paper, attributed the final disruption of the Conference to Lords Lansdowne and Cawdor, and the occasion to the question of the numerical strength of the Parliamentary majorities on Bills sent back to the Upper House after rejection. But no light was thrown on the truth of this or other rumours.

The failure of the Conference was welcomed as a relief by the advanced Liberal and Labour members, and also by the main body of the Nationalists, though Mr. O'Brien deplored the loss of an opportunity for obtaining Home Rule by general consent. Some of the Labour members deprecated another general election; but they were somewhat placated by Mr. Asquith's favourable, though guarded, reply to a deputation on the Osborne judgment (Nov. 21). In the Unionist party there were signs of division; the Free Trade Unionists urged that Tariff Reform, or at least the food taxes, should be postponed over the next Parliament, while the *Morning Post* regarded the constitutional issue as of slight importance compared to Tariff Reform. The Unionist organisation, moreover, was said to be unsatisfactory, the agitation against the land taxes had been overdone, and some Unionist members of Parliament were said to desire a more definite programme.

For the moment, however, the party Press seemed inclined to go to the country on denunciation of Nationalist dictation and "American dollars." Mr. John Redmond, Mr. Devlin (*Belfast, W.*), and Mr. Boyle (*Mayo, N.*) had been on a tour through the United States, and Mr. T. P. O'Connor (*Liverpool, Scotland*) had traversed Canada, collecting funds for the Home Rule cause. Mr. Redmond returned in the *Celtic* on Saturday evening, November 12, the campaign having realised \$200,000. Bonfires and fireworks saluted him from the Irish coast, and no such reception had been given to an Irish leader since Parnell's return from America in 1880. He spoke next day in Cork, at various points on the route to Dublin, and at that city, welcoming the opportunity for the Irish democracy of helping the British in its battle, denouncing Nationalist disunion, and predicting the triumph of Home Rule.

Much was made by Unionists of "the menace of the American dollars" to the British Constitution; but the *Daily Chronicle* of November 17 published a list of Canadian subscribers to Mr. Redmond's fund, comprising Sir Wilfrid Laurier, numerous other

Dominion and provincial ministers, judges, mayors, railway magnates, and men prominent in commerce.

The day before Parliament reassembled the situation was reviewed from both sides at the Colston dinners at Bristol. At the Anchor dinner Mr. Haldane and Mr. Birrell spoke; the latter said that the motto of every member of the Conference had been "Put yourself in his place"; but a wet sponge had now been passed over its slate, and the question must be left to the constituencies. At the Dolphin dinner Lord Curzon of Kedleston urged "Union all round"—of the Empire, of classes, of moderate men. He believed he had been the first to suggest a Conference (p. 112). The King's death made it inevitable; those behind the scenes had not been hopeful, but its members had sincerely desired to find a settlement. He regretted that a statement had been impossible. He referred to the advent of the general election—the date of which Mr. Redmond would decide. If the Veto Resolutions became Law, Home Rule would be forced on them in two years; the Church might be disestablished, taxation pushed to confiscation, and many of the worst Socialist measures passed. Single-Chamber Government was the antithesis of real democracy. He protested against Unionist acceptance of any form of Home Rule. The worst way to Imperial Federation lay through "insular Federation." There was no room for six Parliaments "in these petty islands." He was confident such proposals had never been contemplated by any responsible Conservative leader; and he expected a great bursting out of the national conscience. Mr. Winston Churchill put the situation more concisely. The Liberals, he wrote to the Chairman of his Election Committee, "had long claimed equal political rights. They were now going to take them."

Parliament met on Tuesday, November 15. An early dissolution was known to be contemplated; and the Prime Minister at once moved the adjournment. This caused surprise; but it was arranged that Ministerial statements should be made on the Friday, after Mr. Balfour's speech at Nottingham. Two animated debates, however, took place. Mr. Keir Hardie protested against the employment of the military in the Welsh riots, and Mr. Winston Churchill explained and justified his action—not altogether satisfactorily to the Labour members. And Captain Pretymaan brought forward a charge, already repudiated by Mr. Lloyd George, of hasty valuation for the new land taxes; but, in the absence of sufficient detail, the inquiry demanded was refused.

In the House of Lords, meanwhile, a surprise awaited the Government. After a fitting tribute had been paid to the memory of Earl Spencer by the Earl of Crewe and the Marquess of Lansdowne, the latter, as no information on the course of business was forthcoming from the Government, announced that he would next day move a resolution inviting the Government forthwith to submit the Parliament Bill. He went on explicitly to contradict the

account given in the *Daily Mail* of the breakdown of the Conference (p. 225). The Earl of Crewe replied that he and his colleagues would contradict nothing on this subject, because any statement left uncontradicted might be popularly regarded as accurate, and the Earl of Rosebery complained that Lord Lansdowne's motion would shelve his Resolutions, which he insisted ought to be discussed—if necessary, at once.

Lord Lansdowne's motion was regarded as an adroit move towards the development of the alternative Unionist policy with regard to the House of Lords by amendments to the Parliament Bill. The postponement of the expected Ministerial statement was ascribed to the King's desire to confer with his Ministers, possibly as to the question of "contingent guarantees" for the passing of this Bill. His Majesty came to London from Sandringham on November 16 and received Mr. Asquith and Lord Crewe; and later in the day there was a Cabinet Council. On that afternoon the Marquess of Lansdowne brought forward his motion, laying stress on the inconvenience of an immediate Dissolution, which would again throw the year's finance into confusion, and would wantonly affront Parliament by destroying the Parliament Bill. Both parties admitted that a great Constitutional question had to be dealt with, and was resolvable into two parts—the powers of the House of Lords and its composition; the Liberals had concentrated on the first, his own party on the second; his own party in that House felt that its powers could not be dealt with until they knew what sort of a House of Lords they were talking about. He and many of those near him were willing to support Lord Rosebery's remaining resolutions; he himself was committed to the reduction of the numbers of the House of Lords, the abolition of the hereditary principle as the sole qualification for membership, the retention in it of its present best and most representative elements, and reinforcement from outside by nomination or election; and they were all ready to devise, if possible, some means of solving differences between the Houses. The other side offered the Veto Resolutions, but the Prime Minister had regarded them as an incomplete solution (p. 68) and had contemplated two democratic Chambers, a Joint Session, and a Referendum. The failure of the Conference, an informal body, was no reason for Dissolution. He suggested that Lord Rosebery might be allowed to proceed with his Resolutions, and that the Government should proceed in both Houses with the Parliament Bill.

The Earl of Crewe replied that this latter request was reasonable, and the Government were willing to comply with it; but the defenders of the House of Lords had said nothing about the limitation of its powers, and the Government had to deal with it as it was. It had never done anything to reform itself, and the particulars of the reforms contemplated were utterly unknown.

The renewal of the Conference with additional members representing extreme views on both sides would not lead to an agreement; the country would regard it as an absolute waste of time. In its main lines the question must be settled by one party or the other. The House was entitled to express its opinion on the Parliament Bill, but the Government could accept no amendments. While they could welcome a debate, they could not assist noble lords in covering the whole ground. Similarly they could not assist Lord Rosebery.

The Earl of Rosebery, who remarked that "some slippery work" had been going on, extracted from the Earl of Crew the announcement that the second reading of the Parliament Bill would be taken, and then gave notice that next day he would bring forward his remaining resolutions (p. 131). Of the success of the Conference, he added parenthetically, he had never had the slightest hope. After some further discussion of only transitory interest, the Bill was read a first time.

The Earl of Rosebery brought forward his resolutions next day (Nov. 17), saying that he did so because the House would have no other opportunity of discussing its own reform. The resolutions did not give a detailed plan, which could only be produced by a Government, but intimated the desire of the House to cooperate in its own reform on the basis laid down in them, which would bring about reforms while maintaining the ancient Constitution, and that without the convulsions involved in continuous general elections. They only went part of the way towards solving the Constitutional problem. There was the further question of settling differences between the two Houses, and on that he had vainly tried to persuade the Select Committee on the Reform of the House (*ANNUAL REGISTER*, 1908, p. 240) to recommend a Conference, followed, in the case of acute differences, by a Referendum. On that basis he believed the question would be settled. But that was too large a question for this occasion. The House had learnt something as to the necessity for reform, and no reasoning man believed that there was any choice between the reform of the Lords and the intolerable tyranny of a single Chamber.

Lord Curzon of Kedleston reminded the Committee of the momentous decision (pp. 55-61), giving up the hereditary principle, which, he believed, was unparalleled in any other legislature, and had impressed the country; but since then they had been disabled from discussion. He had hoped to hear how the new Chamber would be superior to the old. He supposed it was to be much smaller, and he hoped the hereditary principle, which had provided a valuable steadying element, would be carefully regarded. He hoped the Resolution would be carried unanimously, as embodying a scheme more likely to impress impartial men than the Parliament Bill.

In the subsequent debate Lord St. Davids pressed in vain for particulars as to the percentage of hereditary Peers which would sit in the reformed House, and Lord Courtney of Penwith insisted that the resolutions were too vague to form the basis of a Bill, but maintained that reform might be proceeded with, and deplored the Dissolution. The Earl of Selborne declared that the great majority of the electors wanted a settlement, and warned Ministers that a party solution would not be regarded as final. Lord Ribblesdale said that, now as in March, he could not support the Resolutions until he had seen the Government Bill; they did not solve the difficulty of adjusting the existing powers of the two Houses. Lord Newton, in the course of some amusing comments on the resolutions, said that "a lot of" that House, including himself, "had got to go."

The Marquess of Lansdowne said that it was generally agreed that the House of Lords could not be left as it was. It was abundantly competent, but unwieldy in numbers. Under Lord Rosebery's guidance, they had travelled a considerable distance towards reform. Qualifications for a seat in the reformed House must be kept within very narrow limits, and must be unimpeachable; and he himself would prefer Peers familiar with country life and the management of landed property to veterans with a distinguished record, of an age when they would look for repose. The House must, however, be brought into closer relation with the democracy, and he attached great importance to nomination by the Government of the day, though he would also desire an elective element. His own view was that half the reformed House might be hereditary Peers, qualified or elected by their fellow Peers; the other half might be chosen from outside by nomination or election. The opposite party had never stirred a foot towards reforming the House. If the Unionist proposals were hazy, it would be a compliment to call theirs nebulous. The Liberal policy was to set up government under the despotic control, not of the House of Commons, but of the Minister controlling it at the moment.

The Earl of Crewe, in the course of a general reply, remarked that neither Lord Rosebery nor any one else had brought up the question during 1909. Nobody desired to divide against the resolutions; probably some of them would become elements in an eventual reform. After some comments, he remarked that the question of a deadlock and difference between the Houses had never before earned the slightest consideration from that House.

The Earl of Rosebery said that this last statement had come on him as a complete surprise. He insisted that the Liberals ought to produce a reform, and strongly asserted that the resolutions were a practicable basis for a plan of reform. The last resolution, he thought, went too far into detail, and he withdrew it.

The first resolution was agreed to, and, with those of March 21 and 22 (p. 64), was reported, and the House adjourned.

However, the main interest of the situation had shifted to the Annual Conference of Constitutional and Conservative Associations at Nottingham, which had opened on the same morning (Nov. 17) with Mr. Chaplin in the chair. It adopted, amid great enthusiasm, a resolution recognising the services of the Unionist members of the Conference, approving the steps taken by the House of Lords towards its own reform, endorsing Lord Lansdowne's challenge (p. 227) and assuring the Unionist leaders of enthusiastic support. Other resolutions were passed advocating Tariff Reform; unassailable naval supremacy; small proprietorship, State-aided either directly or through a land bank; the maintenance of the optional character of trade union Parliamentary levies; settlement of a State invalidity insurance scheme in conjunction with the friendly societies; and unalterable opposition to Home Rule. In connection with this Sir Edward Carson stated, on behalf of the Ulster Unionist members, that Ulster would not accept separate treatment for itself. A resolution was also passed favouring the repeal of the land clauses of the Finance Act of 1909, so far as they affected agricultural land, the building trade, or small property owners, and the appropriation for local purposes of the proceeds of taxation on urban building land. Another resolution condemned the licensing clauses of the Act, and the last urged efforts to elect Unionist Labour candidates.

But the chief event of the day was Mr. Balfour's speech in the evening. He began by asking his hearers not to believe that there was the slightest want of absolute unanimity among the Unionist representatives at the Conference. Unfruitful as it had proved, it might well be a precedent for other Conferences dealing with great national interests. He believed all the members desired an agreement; but had the Unionist members agreed on the only terms upon which agreement was possible, all his hearers would have regarded them as betraying their cause. However, it was now rumoured that they were to be met with a surprise election. The Unionists were ready to meet their party in either House or before the constituencies; they proposed to wage no defensive warfare. He could not, however, survey the whole field of politics, and he passed by with only brief allusions, the Osborne judgment, the Unionist land policy, Poor-Law reform, and invalidity insurance. He referred briefly to the Navy; and he mentioned the Budget in order to say that the Unionist party would do its best to remedy the injustice of its licensing and land clauses. He came to three big questions—first, Tariff Reform. After remarking that food had actually risen in price, and that any variation due to Tariff Reform would be as nothing in comparison with the natural oscillations, and referring to the new Japanese Tariff and to the indefinite postponement of a response to Colonial Preference, he said with great emphasis that if the

benefits of Tariff Reform could only be purchased by throwing additional burdens on the wage-earners, he would not touch it; the increase set up by a duty on foreign wheat alone would be trifling, and new sources of supply would be opened up; but he gave a pledge that no increase should fall on the working man, because the other indirect taxes, on tea and sugar, for instance, would be so reduced as to compensate for it. Next, on the House of Lords, he ridiculed the Liberal antithesis of "Peers against People," and laid down three propositions: a Second Chamber was necessary; it must be real; and the popular Chamber must be dominant. They had in the first place to remedy the deadlocks; the situation in 1906 was not a wholesome one; the only arbiter between the two Chambers was the people. He then outlined a scheme of reform, which corresponded with Lord Rosebery's; he added that he did not want to see a Second Chamber which being wholly elective would become the dominating Assembly, as in France or America. The people could not be appealed to on minor deadlocks, and machinery for settling these could not be set up till the constitution of the new Second Chamber was settled. From this Mr. Balfour passed to his third subject—the domination exercised over the Government in their campaign against the Lords by the Irish Nationalists and the Labour party. The Trade Union organisation had been captured by the "partly Socialist party"; the Government were going to destroy the Constitution at the will of American subscribers. Mr. Redmond frankly admitted that the House of Lords was to be smashed that the Nationalists might get Home Rule. If party Government was to lead to that, we were governed by the log-rolling factions of men who cared nothing for our Empire or our country. Great Britain should manage the affairs of Great Britain.

The speech was followed with intense attention and closed amid extraordinary enthusiasm.

At a large overflow meeting, Mr. Balfour spoke mainly on the necessity of an unassailable navy, and in amplification of his protest against Nationalist dictation. His declarations thoroughly satisfied the Tariff Reformers, though not the Free Trade Unionists. It may be added that the prospect of an election interfering with the period of Christmas shopping caused much protest all over the country, which was made the most of by the Unionist Press.

The Ministerial statements, which had been anxiously awaited, were made in both Houses next day, November 18. In the Commons, Mr. Asquith, moving a resolution taking all the time of the House for Government business during the rest of the session, remarked that the inevitable delay had been unfavourable mainly to the Government, by exposing them to conjectural charges of change of plan and vacillation of purpose. There had

been no change of plan. The idea of withdrawing the Finance Bill—abandoned, it had been said, in deference to the Nationalist leader—had never entered their heads; and the House would be asked to proceed with its essential parts. The discussion would be confined to the tea duty, the income tax, and the provisions relating to the Sinking Fund. They intended that the rest should be reintroduced and discussed before the close of the financial year. The only other business before Parliament separated would be a Supplementary Estimate of 500,000*l.* due to the removal of the pauper disqualification for old-age pensions, an Appropriation Bill which this would necessitate, and the Expiring Laws Continuance Bill. As to the Osborne judgment, the Government intended to propose payment of members in 1911, and a further statement would be made in the following week. When the business he had mentioned was accomplished, the Government had advised the King to bring that Parliament to an end. Reviewing the history of the Veto Resolutions and the Parliament Bill, he said that he had hoped, almost to the last, that some agreement might be found possible. Though the hope had been disappointed, the experiment was well worth trying. His deliberate opinion was that “there never was a more honest and sustained attempt on the part of men of strong and conflicting convictions to understand one another's point of view, and to build up a structure having at least a promise of stability and endurance.” If agreement could not be reached there, it was impossible in Parliament; as the result of the failure of the Conference they had reverted to a state of war. The Government had recognised that the House of Lords should have an opportunity of saying Yes or No to the Veto policy of the Commons, but it would be idle to pretend doubt as to the answer, and the question was not one of amendment, but of acceptance or rejection as a whole. The Government saw no reason why Parliament should not be dissolved on November 28, and an election closed before Christmas would least disturb business interests and the general convenience. The Government was satisfied that after two judgments in the same sense by two successive Houses of Commons it was time that this controversy, which obstructed the whole path of progressive legislation, should be sent to the national tribunal.

Mr. Balfour remarked that the Government only proposed to pass certain fragments of the Budget, unlikely to embarrass them with any section of their supporters. Though the House of Lords had been denounced for delaying a Budget, yet now a second Budget was to be thrown over into some other Parliament. For this amazing procedure no justification had been presented. All controversial matter, indeed, was postponed similarly. He denounced a December election as inconvenient to traders and held on an old register, and complained that the Prime Minister was treating the Parliament Bill as verbally inspired, and avoiding at

all hazards its amendment in a way satisfactory to moderate men. To that end the Government were violating all Constitutional traditions. They were supported by a large, homogeneous, and united combination; why should they resign or dissolve? All things considered they were incurring a very grave responsibility by the advice tendered to the King.

The House now rapidly emptied, members being eager to prepare for the elections; and the subsequent speeches were mainly echoes of previous controversies. Mr. O'Brien, and later Mr. Healy, attacked Mr. Redmond's action in connection with the Budget, the former deploring the failure of the Conference; Mr. Belloc intimated that he could only come forward again as an independent candidate; two Liberal members, Mr. Martin and later Mr. Wedgwood, again exhibited their disapproval of the Conference, the latter hoping that it was really dead; Mr. Barnes (Lab.) denounced the Dissolution and said that the Government should create Peers—"plenty of unemployed would be glad of the job." The Labour party wanted to get on with diffusing wealth among the masses. The Chancellor of the Exchequer replied that the Government had already raised seven or eight million people above "hunger and famine," and had passed the finance to raise fifteen million, and repeated that the Government were postponing part of the Finance Bill to review, and remedy inconveniences arising from, the new taxation. Lord Hugh Cecil described the Dissolution as a party move and an affront to the House. Mr. Asquith, in reply to Mr. Wedgwood's inquiry if the pledge of April 14 still held good (p. 88), insisted on the necessity of maintaining the King's detachment from party politics. Lord Castlereagh (U., *Maidstone*) moved an amendment—defeated by 199 to 52—giving facilities for the Parliamentary Franchise (Women) Bill; and the Prime Minister was vainly asked to receive the women's deputation (p. 236). Eventually the resolution was passed.

In the House of Lords, meanwhile, the Earl of Crewe had announced the Dissolution, denying that it was referable to the breakdown of the Conference; it would be a futile course to proceed in the ordinary way to solve the Constitutional question, because—and he cited Mr. Balfour's speech at Nottingham—the two parties could not be brought together. The House of Lords had passed the Budget after an appeal to the country; they would not agree that the result of that appeal entailed their passing the Education Act of 1906, or the Plural Voting Bill, much less the Parliament Bill, in the form desired by the Liberals. The unique circumstances justified an appeal to the country as to whether "we or you" should have the main voice in settling the question; by the verdict of the country they were content to abide.

The Marquess of Lansdowne characterised Lord Crewe's statement as astounding. He doubted whether a Parliamentary manoeuvre had ever been carried out with greater cynicism. He

described the Dissolution as unprecedented and most inopportune, and, referring to Lord Crewe's quotation from Mr. Balfour, he said that the Unionist representatives might, indeed, have been traitors to their cause had they accepted the whole of the Liberal proposals, but obviously there must have been some measure of agreement at the Conference, and that it was unfair to contend that the failure disposed of all chance of an agreement between the parties. Parliament alone could settle that question, and the Government were ousting it from its proper opportunity of discussing it. Parliament would never have tolerated the Conference had it believed that its proceedings were to be alleged as a reason for stopping further and open Parliamentary discussion. The treatment of the subject was something like a breach of faith with Parliament and the country. This was not the only reason for complaint. The Prime Minister (p. 88) had threatened resignation if the Lords failed to accept, or refused to consider, the Ministerial policy. It had not been presented to that House, and Ministers never meant to do so. The House had humbly asked that the Parliament Bill might be laid before them; it was presented to take or leave. He referred to the Prime Minister's oracular pledge of April 14 (p. 88) as to contingent guarantees, and asked whether the conditions referred to had been secured. Lord Crewe, as leader of the House, should be guardian of its rights, including the power of revision. What power of revision was given them with regard to the Parliament Bill? The treatment of the House could only be adequately described as an outrage.

Lord Balfour complained that the Government were pushing aside the moderate men, whose influence it was that really told in the settlement of large constitutional questions. The Parliament Bill, which was not reform but revolution, could not be discussed in the time available, and the discussion seemed hardly worth while.

The Earl of Crewe said that some amendments of the Parliament Bill might be equivalent to rejection; but Lord Lansdowne's argument of the day before implied that reform of the House must come first. The Opposition presumably desired to put a clear issue before the country; this would hardly be furthered by a discussion of amendments. He believed the issue would be clear to the country. In reply to questions, he added that a Dissolution had been advised on the assumption that the House would reject the Bill. Would any Unionist leader say that it would be passed as it stood? (Derisive laughter was the sole reply.) As to the pledge of April 14, if Ministers were returned to power with a working majority he assumed that the House would give effect to the will of the people as expressed at the election.

Meanwhile the Suffragists were renewing their efforts to force their way into the House of Commons. A letter from the Earl

of Lytton, giving particulars of the popular support of the Conciliation Bill at 4,220 meetings since the division on July 12, and asking for further facilities for the measure, had received an unfavourable reply from the Prime Minister; and, while Mr. Asquith was making his statement on November 18, the Women's Social and Political Union at Caxton Hall adopted a resolution protesting against the Government's "shuffling and delay," and calling on it to "withdraw its veto" on the Bill. A deputation of 300 was appointed to present the resolution to the Prime Minister, and approached the Houses of Parliament in detachments of twenty, which were allowed to proceed as far as the entrance, where they joined a detachment who had been parading in front of it with banners. As the crowd increased, however, the women were pushed back by the police, and the banners upset and torn. Three members of the deputation had been admitted to see the Premier's private secretary, who could make no promise; and from about 12.30 to 6 P.M. the attack continued. At its close 117 women and two men had been arrested. Next morning, however, the charges against them at Bow Street Police Court were withdrawn on grounds of public policy by the Home Secretary. They were not grateful, however; the next week they picketed the House of Commons; on Mr. Asquith's statement on November 22 as to the facilities to be afforded to the Women's Suffrage Bill (p. 246) they again tried to force an entrance, fighting much more viciously than before; they also mobbed Ministers outside the House—temporarily laming Mr. Birrell—broke windows at the Colonial Office, the Home Office, and in Downing Street, attacked the houses of several Ministers, and at two on the following morning broke windows in the Prime Minister's official residence—proving themselves, however, to be singularly bad shots. The Home Secretary, however, pressed the charges against them only in the cases of assault and wilful damage, and those convicted on these charges were fined sums varying from 40s. to 5*l.*, besides the amount of the damage. They all preferred prison. The magistrate expressed his disapproval of the abandonment of the charges of simple obstruction. There was further window-breaking on the following day and night, and similar sentences were imposed; and on Saturday, November 28, Mr. Churchill was assaulted in a train by a male suffragist—a Cambridge undergraduate, who was eventually sentenced to six weeks' imprisonment.

The Suffragist agitation, however, was eclipsed by more urgent questions. The Liberal case was put by the Prime Minister at a luncheon given him at the National Liberal Club on Saturday, November 19. Substantially it was that the House of Lords had systematically thwarted the Parliament of 1906, an eminently representative body; in its successor the Veto resolutions had been supported by a majority of 100; the failure of the Conference had revived the situation of April, except that compromise

must be put aside. The Dissolution was best got over at once. Some progress had been made in the Controversy. It was admitted that Liberal legislation did not get a fair chance, that the popular will might be frustrated by a non-representative body, and that the Lords only forced a Dissolution when the Liberals were in office. The Liberal party was fighting for fair play for progressive legislation and for full representative government. After repudiating the imputation of establishing single-chamber government and repeating in outline the Liberal plan, he commented on the change in the Unionist attitude, quoting Dr. Johnson's saying regarding Dr. Dodd, "When a man knows he is going to be hanged in a fortnight it concentrates his mind wonderfully." In one sitting the House of Lords had been transformed—in principle—into a brand-new modern Senate. It had been found an incubus, but its substitute was nebulous; the value of this depended on the details, but meantime an instrument was wanted to remove deadlocks, and give the Liberals an equal chance in legislation. The Government plan alone even pretended to meet the case. To the Liberal party constitutional changes were but a means to greater ends. It had great social and economic ideals; since 1906 it had made some progress in realising them owing to the financial omnipotence of the Commons; but it was constantly hampered by the Tory House of Lords; for the sake of those great causes the Government was bringing the matter to an issue. Earl Carrington also spoke, laying stress on the reforms accomplished—a position which was naturally treated by Tory speakers as inconsistent with his leader's complaints.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer addressed a meeting of 5,000 men at Mile End, on November 21. After a reference to the attacks on his Limehouse speech, he said that the crisis had been precipitated by the rejection of the Budget; the Government needed money for defence and social reforms, and got it by taxing great incomes, great fortunes, and the luxuries of all classes. The Lords demanded that wealth should be spared, that luxuries should go untaxed, and that the burden should be put on the bread and meat of the people. The Lords said "Out with the Budget"; the Government asked for help to put them out. The election was not a wanton one, and was undertaken in the hope that the struggle would be final. The Budget was a complete financial success. Other countries' deficits were due to expenditure on armaments and to the failure of Protection in raising revenue. It increased the cost of living, and official salaries had been raised—even the Kaiser's. Our deficit was due mainly to social reforms; the Budget was providing for them; it had extracted 25,000,000*l.* a year without injuring business. The increase of trade might not be due to the Budget, but he took it as a fulfilment of the text, "Blessed is he that considereth the poor." Even in the building trade employment was 40 per cent. better; the

Budget had unlocked the land; even Captain Pretymán had bought some. The Tory party must always have a bogey; at the last election it was German invasion, in 1895 an Irishman, in 1885 Mr. Joseph Chamberlain. Now it was a different Irishman—a gilt-edged bogey, framed in American dollars. Since when had the British aristocracy despised American dollars? They had underpinned many a tottering noble house. Eighty millions of them had come to pay Irish rent; and much of Mr. Redmond's money had come from Canadian statesmen. On the whole Mr. Redmond was a stern critic of the Budget; its rejection was an insult to the British democracy; and Mr. Redmond's forces were not with them on the Licensing and Education Bills. They were fighting a British quarrel, which, like that between Charles I. and the Commons, started at Nottingham. They knew how that ended. The so-called Socialist plan had been supported by John Bright, the greatest individualist this country had ever seen in high places, and by Lord Rosebery, an ardent defender of property. The Lords' Resolutions would enable the Tories to carry tariffs, and to tax the country a million or two by every referendum. Ask Australia or Canada if they would have a House of Lords? Mr. Lloyd George here, at some length, described the Lords as descended, partly from plunderers who came over with William the Conqueror,—“an aristocracy,” he said, “is like cheese; the older it is [a voice interjected “the more it stinks”] the higher it becomes,”—and the “second quality” from plunderers of the poor at the Reformation; he contrasted these plunderers with a man he had seen in Dartmoor [of whom more was heard later] who had been sentenced to “thirteen years' penal servitude” for stealing 2s. from a church poor box when drunk; and he concluded that the nearest parallels would be found in Australia in the bushrangers, and in Canada in the Indians. The country wanted legislation expedited; reform of legal procedure was urgent; Wales wanted to be relieved of the Church and of landlordism. The path of progress was quite crooked enough. Let justice be given “as easy an access to the grey homes of the people as to the palaces of the mighty.”

The vulgarities of this speech were bitterly resented, even by Mr. Lloyd George's supporters on the platform; and the Duke of Marlborough, who had entertained him at Blenheim, publicly denounced his reference to American heiresses. His eulogy of the Socialist candidate for the division, too, gave offence to the local Liberals. The *Morning Post* described the speech as “revolution pure and simple,” and appealed to moderate men to save the State.

The Home Secretary, speaking—with much Suffragist interruption—at Highbury Athenæum next day, eloquently vindicated the Irish party and its American collection of funds. The Irish party alone sought no office or favours; they had laboured for

thirty years without hope of personal gain. The approaching reconciliation of the English and Irish people would tremendously strengthen the British position in the world. But even if the abuse of Mr. Redmond was all true, what had it to do with the Lords' Veto? He laid stress on the Lords' rejection of Liberal Bills, condemned their proposals of reform, and said that the Liberals turned to London, which perhaps held the key of victory.

Speaking on November 23 after his adoption by the City Conservative Association as their candidate at Cannon Street Hotel, Mr. Balfour insisted on the necessity that the constituencies should see that Great Britain was managed by the majority of the people rather than by the manipulation of sectional parties to compel the country to give what it did not wish to. He would appeal to moderate men to preserve the best traditions of both Conservatism and Liberalism; and he denounced Mr. Lloyd George, without naming him, as a traitor to democracy, in that he failed to tell the people the truth. The Government was dissolving to escape the risk of a defeat in the Commons on the Budget, and thought it could gain by forcing on the election before the people had had time to consider what was involved. The House of Lords was to be destroyed because the section of the electors who did not value the Constitution wanted Home Rule.

Much the same line, with more abundant invective, was taken by Mr. F. E. Smith during the week at Highbury and elsewhere; and it met with a response in an appeal to moderate men, signed by Lord Cromer, Lord Avebury, and other conspicuous Unionist Free Traders, to support Unionist candidates, on the ground that a single-chamber Constitution would involve, among other grave consequences, the destruction of the Union.

For the moment, indeed, public interest was centred in the House of Lords. The Unionist case now was that a reformed Second Chamber was required, and also a plan for settling deadlocks; Lord Rosebery's resolutions outlined the former; the latter was unexpectedly set forth by the Marquess of Lansdowne on the second reading of the Parliament Bill on Monday, November 21, Earl Roberts having postponed a motion he had contemplated, dealing with national defence. There was a crowded audience.

The Earl of Crewe, in moving the second reading, began by reviewing the controversy between the two Houses opened by the Education Bill of 1906. Explaining the provisions of the Parliament Bill, he noted that it contained the provision against tacking embodied in the Lords' Standing Order of 1702. He indicated that the Government would accept the transference of the decision on "tacking" from the Speaker to some other authority; and said that though there was no explicit mention of a conference between the Houses, the revival of such conferences, the disuse of which he regretted, was essential to its proposals. The Home Rule Bill of 1893 could not have passed the test of a general

election or a Referendum, but neither could it have passed that of discussion in three sessions. The Education Act of 1902 could not have passed a Referendum; that of 1906 would have come out of the process imposed by this Bill as a satisfactory and lasting settlement of the education question, while its form, if submitted to a general election or a Referendum, would have been that given it by the Commons. Cataclysmic legislation, feared by the Opposition through the wild speeches of some insignificant person (here there were cries of "Lloyd George"), was alien to the national temperament. It was not a Bill to establish a Single Chamber. As to alternative proposals, the two Houses were so large that a joint session presented great difficulties, and its working depended largely on the numbers of a reformed House of Lords. The Referendum bristled with difficulties, and he doubted if it would make for moderate legislation more effectively than the Bill. The Government might postpone the reform of the House of Lords, but could not neglect it; first, because Lord Selborne (p. 230) had threatened the repeal of this Bill in the future; next, because the Bill aimed at admitting pressure to be brought on the Commons, and the better the House of Lords was, the stronger the pressure could be; thirdly, because the Liberals, while not hoping for an equal chance in the House of Lords, required such a reform of the Lords as would afford some check on hasty legislation which might be passed by noble Lords opposite. The Bill might be rejected in the hope that something might turn up—a forced election, a cycle of bad trade, a wave of unemployment, or heavy national expenditure involving new taxation; but that was a dangerous game. Admitting, as they did, the essential unfairness of existing conditions, the House could hardly desire to go on playing it indefinitely; but the reform proposals of the Opposition did not seem to change the existing state of things.

The Marquess of Lansdowne said that as no amendments were allowed, the debate was unreal; but he went through the Bill in detail. The provisions against financial Bills with aims other than financial he found quite inadequate; the Speaker was bound to defend the privileges of the Commons. Had safeguards against such Bills been possible, he would readily have forgone the Lords' right of dealing with purely Money Bills. The clauses dealing with ordinary legislation he also found inadequate. A Conference on equal terms was impossible if, after it failed, the Bill was to be passed over their heads. If this was dangerous in ordinary legislation, it was far more so in "capital legislation" dealing with the Constitution, disestablishment, or repeal of the Union. How would the Bill prevent a "scratch majority" from taking advantage of the difficulties of the Government for a transient purpose? The whole scheme was an interim arrangement, with no hint of the manner of transition to a permanent one. The Prime Minister's statement that Government measures had been thwarted

contrasted sharply with the claims of the Government to have accomplished so much (p. 237). The Opposition could only record its own alternative proposals. He would introduce resolutions as to the manner of dealing with deadlocks between the Houses, and would move the adjournment over the next day to consider them.

In the subsequent debate, after other Peers had spoken, the Earl of Rosebery complained that the House was regarded simply as a condemned criminal without the usual indulgences. The Lord Chancellor asked why Lord Rosebery, or some other Peer, had not brought forward the plan earlier? The Government held that the matter must be settled, and on the lines proposed it would take twelve months. After further speeches, the adjournment was carried, and the Marquess of Lansdowne read out his resolutions. They embodied a scheme for settling differences between the Commons and the "reduced and reconstituted" House of Lords. A difference as to Bills other than Money Bills in two successive sessions and within an interval of not less than one year, was to be settled in a joint sitting composed of members of both Houses, provided that, if it related to a matter of great gravity and had not been adequately submitted to the judgment of the people, it should be submitted to the electors for decision by referendum. As to Money Bills, the Lords would forgo their constitutional right to reject or amend Money Bills purely financial in character, provided that effectual provision was made against tacking, and that, any question arising as to any Bill or provision thereof should be referred to a Joint Committee of both Houses with the Speaker as Chairman, and possessed of a casting vote only. Should the Committee find such provisions not to be purely financial, they should be dealt with forthwith in a joint sitting.

The Marquess of Lansdowne brought forward these resolutions after a day's interval (Nov. 23). In a speech which was merely a running commentary on them, he declared that the Parliament Bill was no settlement, and pointed out that they implied a "reduced and reconstituted" House of Lords. As "questions of great gravity" he specified Constitutional questions, disestablishment, and compulsory service. The Referendum would prove of great value whichever party was in power, its existence would usually lead to "a settlement out of court," and its cost was greatly exaggerated. The Constitutional right of that House to reject money Bills was unassailable, but they were prepared to forgo it, subject to the safeguards specified. He admitted that it would be difficult to fill in these outlines, but, until Parliament had tried, they had no right to despair.

The Earl of Crewe, after commenting on the waste of time involved in bringing forward separate resolutions instead of debating, or proposing amendments to, the Parliament Bill, described the resolutions as a startling novelty to many people. The two

Houses were too large to sit together, and there would be difficulties in choosing a delegation from the Commons or a reformed House of Lords. The Referendum was not used in other countries to settle differences between the two Houses, and, if questions were brought before the people by the same apparatus as at a general election, the cost would be similar. Then, what questions would be submitted to it? A tariff could not be put into a Referendum, and yet Tariff Reform, which would be irreversible, would involve a financial measure with other than financial aims. In short, Liberal measures were to be subjected to a Referendum, Conservative not. The real difficulty with the Referendum was that, if frequent, it would be regarded as a negation of representative government. As to money Bills, the abandonment of the right of rejection was not much of a sacrifice, but the right of amending them had not been exercised for many years, and the Commons never had admitted it.

Viscount St. Aldwyn wished the subject had been taken up earlier, and cited Mr. Balfour's speech at Nottingham to show that Lord Lansdowne's proposals were not a sham. He regarded the settlement they proposed as fair, and considered that the Referendum could be easily worked provided a Joint Committee of both Houses, with the Speaker as Chairman, drew up the questions to be submitted to the people. On Tariff Reform, it would be easy to put them thus—will you have Colonial Preference? Will you have import duties on manufactured goods? Why did not the Government give the resolutions fair consideration instead of having a general election? The Veto Bill was being pressed on in order to pass a Home Rule Bill without the assent of England. It would substitute arbitrary Single-Chamber rule for Parliamentary government.

The Archbishop of Canterbury, in a very impressive speech, emphasised the gravity of the issue, complained that the Lords' proposals for Reform, both in 1908 and in the spring, had not been adequately discussed, owing to the indifference of the Government, and commended Lord Lansdowne's action in securing a discussion. The resolutions went—as the country would note—very far along the same lines as those of the Government. He reprehended Mr. Lloyd George's speech at Mile End (p. 237), remarking that the conflict of 1642 ended in the reaction of the later Stuart days, and in deep moral and political decline. This was not a conflict between Peers and people, but between one half of England and the other half. He endorsed Lord St. Aldwyn's appeal for joint action to effect the sort of settlement that had been the pride of British common sense in the past.

Lord Weardale approved the action of the Opposition in securing debate, and advised the Government not to treat their Bill as an unchangeable ultimatum. He favoured the Referendum in cases of a disagreement between the two Houses.

The Earl of Cromer objected to the Government proposals as

to Money Bills, preferring the elasticity given by Lord Lansdowne's resolutions. A Socialist House of Commons and Speaker might, under the former scheme, impose a supertax of 50 or 100 per cent. Under the Bill the Second Chamber would be shorn of all its powers, and would hardly be worth reconstructing. Construction must proceed *pari passu* with destruction, and the country wanted an agreement.

After other speeches, Earl Carrington, who was at once earnest and humorous, pointed out that the Lords were asked by Lord Rosebery's resolutions to "throw up the hereditary sponge." He contrasted these revolutionary resolutions with three great principles of the Parliament Bill. The Lords must not touch finance; with that the Opposition Peers agreed. Parliament was to last only five years; Mr. Balfour had admittedly hung on to office two years too long. The limitation of the Lords' Veto was intended to restore the Constitutional balance; this Government had been chosen to do that, and not to reform the House of Lords.

The Archbishop of York, disclaiming party bias, condemned the haste with which the Government were appealing to the country; Lord MacDonnell opposed the resolutions, incidentally remarking that in the Home Rule scheme in which he had collaborated the integrity and safety of the United Kingdom was insisted on; and Lord Ampthill supported them. The debate was resumed next day by the Lord Chancellor. While insisting on the importance of settling the Irish question, in view of the state of business in the Commons, and the number of Irishmen in the United States and the self-governing Colonies, he said that it was not for the sake of Home Rule that they had advised a Dissolution, but because it was necessary to bring to an issue the irreconcilable divergence between the Houses. In the last five years the Lords had rejected Liberal Bills; had they in the last hundred years rejected any Bill proposed by a Tory Government? After the failure of the Conference dissolution was the only course; and, under Lord Rosebery's and Lord Lansdowne's resolutions, the House of Lords would be dominated by an overwhelming Conservative majority, a joint session or a Referendum would only come into play against Liberal measures, and the former was left vague. A Referendum might be useful in rare and special cases, but not as part of the Constitution. The resolution as to finance took from the Commons more than it gave them. The resolutions as a whole deprived the Crown of the only check on the House of Lords.

Lord Curzon of Kedleston complained that the Government spoke with two voices—the moderate utterances of the Lord Chancellor and the Earl of Crewe, and the invective and misrepresentation of speeches outside. He contended at length that the Dissolution was hasty and inopportune, and defended the resolutions against the Lord Chancellor. He thought that there

would be heavy polls on a Referendum, that it would cost 150,000*l.* to 200,000*l.*, and that it would stimulate the feeling of responsibility in Parliament, and would do away with log-rolling and wire-pulling. He contrasted the definite alternative presented by the Resolutions with the Ministerial scheme, and anticipated that the ultimate settlement would be nearest the line of the former.

Among subsequent speakers, Lord Courtney of Penwith expected a solution combined from both alternatives, unfavourably criticised the Parliament Bill, and favoured the Referendum. Lord Balfour also strongly condemned the Parliament Bill and mentioned that he had proposed to raise an abstract debate on the Referendum, which he advocated at considerable length; the Bishop of Birmingham, on the other hand, condemned it as too costly, as tending to override the special interests of local minorities, and as dangerous if applied to questions affecting the personal and domestic interests of the working classes. It was most inapplicable on matters of great gravity.

Lord Morley of Blackburn agreed with the last speaker; Parliamentary Government in England rested on the confidence of the electors in their representatives. This was a practical, not an abstract question; they desired to repair the national machinery, and he was amazed at the levity of the leading Conservative Peers in sacrificing views and principles; they had not thought out "this thing you call a plan." The proceedings in the House, especially within the last week, might be registered in history as "the day of dupes." He disclaimed class prejudice; but race prejudice was being introduced, and he asked Lord St. Aldwyn, as an ex-Irish Secretary, whether Mr. Gladstone was not right in proposing to relieve the Irish members from attendance in Parliament. They were told that there was a margin of questions on which the Conference would not agree; if the resolutions represented that margin it went to the heart of the controversy. He recalled Lord Lansdowne's saying on the Trades Disputes Bill of 1906, that the Peers should join issue, if at all, on ground as favourable as possible to themselves. Lord Curzon in 1909 had deprecated surrender on the Budget, on the ground that nothing would stand between the people and the House of Commons. "Who are your lordships," asked Lord Morley, "that you should frame measures to stand between the House of Commons and the people?" The House of Commons represented the people; and he suspected that in filling in the resolutions they would try to checkmate it. The Government wanted from the Opposition not resolutions, but a tangible plan; and, if the latter tried to checkmate the Commons, they would get the worst of it.

The Earl of Rosebery replied by asking what was the plan of the Government; and, after a few words from the Marquess of Salisbury, the motion to go into Committee was passed. On the motion of Earl Cawdor, the resolutions were passed after a short

conversation, the Earl of Crewe intimating that the Ministry held aloof; they were then reported to the House, and on the motion of the Earl of Rosebery it was decided to communicate them to the House of Commons.

Some light was thrown on the attitude of both parties to the Peerage in the past a few days later by a Parliamentary paper (issued on Nov. 30). This showed that in 1832, apart from the four Royal Dukes and the Episcopate, the Peers numbered 382; since then 410 Peers had been created, including a few summoned in right of their fathers' baronies, and some Lords of Appeal (who in recent years had been Life Peers). Since Mr. Gladstone took office in 1880, 115 peers had been created by Unionist Ministries, and 90 by Liberal.

Meantime the abridged Finance Bill (p. 233) had been disposed of in the Commons. In moving the resolution for the allocation of time to it, the Prime Minister said that the guillotine had not yet been, and should not be, applied to finance; the abridgment would make the application unnecessary, and the omitted provisions either related to machinery or were in the nature of concessions. He repeated his promise of a full financial discussion in the new House, provided this Government then controlled it. Mr. Austen Chamberlain, in a vigorous attack on the resolution, remarked that the Finance Bill of 1909 had been subjected to "kangaroo closure" (ANNUAL REGISTER, 1909, p. 187) and insisted that the grievances set up by the land taxes and the whisky and licence duties ought to be discussed before the elections. What was wanted was not vague platform promises, but actual concessions. The Dissolution was unfair both to the Lords and to the members of the Conference. So long as its proceedings remained hidden, it was not fair to assert that an agreement after open discussion in Parliament was impossible. That was an insult to Parliament. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, in an equally vigorous reply, said that before the Parliament Bill became law, the House of Lords would have full opportunity for discussing it and proposing amendments; but the Government wanted to know beforehand if the measure would eventually go through. That was why they went to the country. Lord Hugh Cecil bitterly attacked the Government, declaring that a single Chamber as submissive as the present House of Commons could not be trusted, and that the Government were anxious to have an election provided the issue were insufficiently explained. An election under such conditions could not be final or decisive. Eventually the resolution, so far as it related to the Finance Bill, was carried by 215 to 98, and its second part, facilitating the passing of the Supplementary Estimate of 500,000*l.* to remove the pauper disqualification for old-age pensions, was also passed, as was the Estimate itself. Next day the Finance Bill passed its second reading without discussion, the Opposition abstaining as a

protest. In the Committee an amendment reducing the tea duty from 5*d.* to 4*d.* was discussed and rejected by 122 to 45; another, treating the incomes of husband and wife as distinct for income tax was rejected also. The Bill passed the House of Lords without debate. The omitted provisions allowed the payment of the annual liquor licence duty, if over 20*l.*, by two instalments, readjusted the payment to local authorities in lieu of the promised share of the land value duties, and dealt with the payment of income tax in advance of the passing of the Finance Act and the adjustment of the old Sinking Fund, the last-named provision being necessitated by the upsetting of the usual dates for passing the Finance Bill during 1909 and 1910.

The only other items of interest in the Commons before the adjournment were some replies to questions. On November 22, the Prime Minister announced that the Government, if in power in the next Parliament, would give facilities for proceeding effectively with a Women's Suffrage Bill, "if so framed as to permit of free amendment." He stated later that, besides the payment of members and official election expenses, the Government would propose legislation empowering trade unions to provide a separate fund for Parliamentary and municipal action and representation, and to combine for such purposes, provided that the opinion of the unions were effectively ascertained and that no member was under compulsion to contribute. This did not altogether satisfy the Labour members. Next day, Mr. Churchill announced the impending establishment of a new class of sub-inspectors of mines and quarries, consisting of thirty men selected from among actual miners or quarrymen, and the extended appointment of thirteen more inspectors. In the House of Lords the Education (Choice of Employment) Bill, enabling certain local education authorities to advise and assist boys and girls leaving school in choosing employment, which had already passed the Commons, was passed after a warning from the Marquess of Salisbury that its revision might be attempted in the next Parliament. The Government's attitude to Persia was also stated, in reply to questions, in much the same terms as at the Guildhall (p. 225).

The session was now virtually over, and the interest lay in the constituencies. The Ministerial case was effectively restated by the Prime Minister at Hull on Friday, November 25, before an audience of 3,000, after the annual meeting of the National Liberal Federation, which had concentrated its attention on the Veto. About five hundred women were present; but the severe tests imposed to exclude militant suffragists had not been wholly successful. Mr. Asquith first replied at length to the charge that the election was being rushed in order to set up single-chamber government. The Veto had been the dominant issue at the January election; the Peers had then no alternative policy; the King's death had prevented the fulfilment of his own promise

(Feb. 28, p. 32) ; the failure of the Conference had necessitated a dissolution. It was said that the Government were hurrying on a dissolution to prevent the Lords from presenting their case and to avoid submitting the Budget to the Commons, and Lord Lansdowne's call for the Parliament Bill was supposed to have defeated the manoeuvre. But before Parliament reassembled the Government had decided to present the essential features of the Budget to it, and to give the Peers full opportunity to criticise the Government's proposals on the Veto, or to present their own. The Dissolution was undertaken to settle the question before proceeding with Liberal legislation. An adverse vote would bring Protection disguised as Tariff Reform ; but he preferred to concentrate his criticism on Lord Lansdowne's " crude and complex " scheme. He did not believe the " backwoods Peers " or a Tory majority in the House of Commons would accept it, and he insisted especially on the obscurity of its details, the sacrifice of the Royal power to create Peers, the uncertainty as to the numbers of the new House, and the indefiniteness of the term " questions of great gravity." He objected to the Referendum on three grounds : it would enable the House of Lords to enforce what would virtually be a general election—and, if the Ministry were beaten, there would be a general election besides ; it would destroy the Parliamentary sense of responsibility, and therefore representative government. The Ministerial scheme was not a scheme for single-chamber government, and was not final ; it was the minimum necessary to get on with the Liberal programme, which he had stated at the Albert Hall in 1909. He saw no cause for shame in the givers or takers of American dollars ; and, in securing self-government for Ireland and afterwards lightening the work of Parliament, the Government should have the sympathy of the Dominions, who had learnt how easy it was to combine local autonomy and Imperial loyalty. But the immediate task was to secure fair play for Liberal legislation and popular government.

The Unionist case was put on the same evening by Lord Lansdowne at a demonstration held at Glasgow after the annual meeting of the Liberal Unionist Council. After regretting that the Conference had not made for a reasonable settlement, he ridiculed the contention that the conflict was " Peers against People." The last four Liberal Ministries had created 136 Peers ; the Liberal Peers now numbered only 120. Of about 230 Ministerial measures introduced since January, 1906, the House of Lords had rejected only six. He mentioned nine of first-class importance that had become law, and referred to Lord Carrington's eulogy of Liberal achievement. After defending at length the Lords' action on the Education, Licensing and Finance Bills, he asked, Why was their interference regarded with jealousy ? Many people held that the hereditary principle was anomalous ; but moderate men would say that in Great Britain, especially at

present, a real Second Chamber was needed. Ministers began at the wrong end; they abused the House of Lords, but would not touch its reform. He outlined and upheld the alternative policy of his resolutions, and thought the outline might be filled up satisfactorily, but the Government refused to discuss it. The issue was between reform and revolution. He reaffirmed Tariff Reform and the Unionist land policy. Mr. Austen Chamberlain also spoke, and a message was read from his father.

Next day at Edinburgh the Chancellor of the Exchequer remarked on the Lords' rejection of Scottish Bills, described a Referendum as "a prohibitive tariff against Liberalism," and declared that the Peers, not having to earn their living, were deficient in the sympathy needed for social reform. Not property, but poverty, needed defence. One sentence gave great offence. "Why should Scotsmen," he asked, "be unfit to govern their affairs without the direction, say, of Lord St. John of Bletsoe?" He had taken the name at random; but the bearer was known and respected in his own county of Bedfordshire, and his friends resented his being thus singled out.

The attitude of Scotland, however, was not doubtful; that of the main body of the Irish electorate still less so. The Nationalist party issued a manifesto to the Irish voters in Great Britain, denouncing the House of Lords as the special enemy of their countrymen, charging it with the chief guilt of the famine and exodus of the nineteenth century, and declaring that its fall would be the rise of Ireland, and a victory against it a final victory for Home Rule. At Wexford on Sunday, November 27, Mr. Redmond declared that fifty Budgets were as nothing against Irish liberty; Home Rule meant a Parliament elected by the Irish people, with an executive responsible to it, and with full control of purely Irish affairs. There would be no persecution of Protestants. The views of the Dissident Nationalists were expressed on the same day by Mr. O'Brien at Castlebar. Mr. Redmond and Mr. Dillon, he said, had sold the Irish vote to the Liberal party and blocked land purchase. The Irish Unionists held great demonstrations at Dublin (Nov. 26) and Belfast (Nov. 28), Sir Edward Carson, the Marquess of Londonderry and Mr. Long being among the speakers. The idea even of Federal Home Rule was scouted, and it was intimated that Ulster Unionists would pay no taxes imposed by a Home Rule Parliament, and might meet a Nationalist Government with armed resistance. It was stated that arms were being openly purchased on the Continent; but Liberal observers recalled similar threats in 1868, 1886, and 1893; and later investigations (by a *Daily Mail* correspondent) threw much doubt on the truth of the rumour.

Parliament was prorogued, preparatory to its dissolution, by Royal Commission on Monday, November 28. The King's Speech, which was read by the Lord Chancellor, began with a

reference to the death of King Edward VII., and the sympathy expressed throughout the British dominions, and an expression of his own desire to follow in his father's footsteps. The Speech went on to refer to the settlement of the Fisheries question, expressing special satisfaction that it had been found capable of solution by arbitration, and that the award had been so well received; to the inauguration of the South African Parliament, and the appointment of an Executive Council for Bengal. The King noted with satisfaction the liberal grants for the Navy and Old Age Pensions, and expressed his thanks for "the arrangements made for the maintenance of the honour and dignity of the Crown." He regretted the failure of the Conference, and expressed gratification at the passing of the Regency Act and the Accession Declaration Act; thanked the Houses for their zeal, and invoked the Divine blessing on their labours. Later in the day, the Dissolution Council was held at Buckingham Palace, and the Royal Proclamation was issued dissolving Parliament.

Beyond the Finance Act and other necessary legislation, the only notable measure passed since the resumption of the session was the Choice of Employment Act, the promised Shop Hours' Bill having necessarily been dropped, much to the regret of the Labour members. But a number of postal reforms which did not require legislation had been announced by the Postmaster-General, on November 21, in the House of Commons—among them the reduction of the price of post cards, letter cards, and books of stamps to the value of the postage, together with reductions of telephone charges to France, and possibly of foreign cable rates, with various minor improvements. These were interpreted in Unionist quarters as a bid for votes.

The contest, however, was probably not much affected by any issues but the Veto, Tariff Reform, and Home Rule. Mr. Blatchford, indeed, repeated his warnings of a year before (*ANNUAL REGISTER*, 1909, p. 271) and insisted that the "German menace" was the greatest issue of all. But little was heard of it or of other familiar questions, though the organisations connected with the trade in intoxicants and the Land Union respectively did their best against the Government, by advertisement and otherwise. Tariff Reform, too, was referred to mainly in general terms. As a rule, the election was more quietly conducted than its predecessor, and the cartoons were perhaps fewer and less multifarious. The motor-car, as before, facilitated the multiplication of speeches; and the mania for roller-skating facilitated the accommodation of huge audiences in the rinks. As in January, a special prayer was authorised in the Church of England for the Divine guidance of the electors in giving their votes.

Of the addresses to constituents only a few can receive even the barest notice. Mr. Balfour's (Nov. 28) laid stress on the inconvenience and anomaly of the election, and declared that "behind

the single-chamber conspiracy lurk Socialism and Home Rule." The constituencies would feel that ordered progress was possible only on Unionist lines—fiscal, social, Imperial, and constitutional. Mr. Joseph Chamberlain (Nov. 28) urged a strong Navy, land reform on a basis of ownership to increase the supply of food, Tariff Reform, and Colonial Preference, for which the coming Colonial Conference afforded an opportunity. The Second Chamber, he thought, was tending to become more democratic, the Government more bureaucratic, and Single-Chamber government indicated a danger to democracy. Mr. Asquith's address (Nov. 29) said that the appeal to the country was almost narrowed to a single issue, and on its determination hung the whole future of democratic government. The Unionist schemes, put forward in the hope of disguising the real issue, would give a Conservative second Chamber and strengthen the Veto. Sir Edward Grey's address covered a wider field; he advocated a reform of the House of Lords, the settlement of deadlocks by a joint session, and devolution as a relief to the House of Commons.

An independent appeal to the electors which attracted much attention was made by Lord Lindley, sometime a Lord Justice of Appeal, in *The Times* of November 29. If the Parliament Bill were passed, he said, the Commons, with the consent of the Crown, could abolish the House of Lords, and a Money Bill might be framed to effect serious constitutional changes without the consent of a Second Chamber or further consultation of the electors. Was that the wish of the country?

Two Ministers were kept out of the contest—Mr. McKenna by an operation for appendicitis, Mr. Lewis Harcourt by severe illness; but the most of the others were incessantly active. So were the Unionist leaders; but only a few speeches can be even mentioned here. On November 28 the Earl of Crewe at Stalybridge and Sir Edward Grey at Dudley insisted that it was hopeless to go on discussing the situation with the Peers, whose proposals would make matters worse for the Liberals; the former added that he did not think that Tariff Reformers would ever submit their scheme to a Referendum, and a victory for the Lords would be a victory for Tariff Reform. But Mr. F. E. Smith meanwhile at Liverpool was stating that he personally was willing to submit Tariff Reform to a Referendum. Mr. Churchill at Lambeth attacked some of the Unionist leaders, and took credit for the Government for Labour Exchanges and the South African Union; and Mr. Bonar Law in North-West Manchester was offering to fight Mr. Churchill in that constituency, the defeated candidate to stay out of the next Parliament altogether. Lord Milner at Bow and Lord Curzon at Hull were attacking the Government as under Irish domination; the former insisted on the Unionist social and fiscal programme; the latter said that the Liberal attack on a Referendum was enough to make angels weep. Mr. Lloyd George's

oratory furnished an additional subject for denunciation for Unionist speakers; and he gave further offence at Cardiff (Nov. 29) by comparing the Liberal attack on the Lords to that of "the children of Rebecca" against the tollgates in Wales in 1843.

Speaking to an audience of 8,000 in the railway sheds at Reading (Nov. 29), the Prime Minister, who was occasionally interrupted by Suffragists, said that Mr. Redmond had no more to do with the Dissolution than the man in the moon. For ten years after Lord Rosebery's condemnation of the Veto in 1895 there had been a Tory majority, and the House of Lords had done nothing to reform itself; now, in a week, Lord Lansdowne and Lord Rosebery had produced plans for a new Second Chamber with a democratic appendage called the Referendum. Sketching the situation since 1906, he contended that the will of the people must prevail through the Commons, and that the Government's proposal supplied what was really needed,—a safeguard for full discussion, adequate delay, and the full play of a restraining or stimulating public opinion. It was a travesty to describe it as Single-Chamber Government. He repeated the Liberal objections to the Unionist plan, remarking that Mr. Gladstone's and Sir William Harcourt's Budgets, and his own of 1908, were intended to produce social and political effects; partnership with the Lords in measures with that aim would surrender the financial omnipotence of the representatives of the people. He asked, if the Tories returned to power, would Tariff Reform be subjected to a Referendum? The Liberals stood for free trade and a free people.

Mr. Asquith's question received a speedy and unexpected reply. Mr. Balfour addressed a crowded and enthusiastic meeting at the Albert Hall on Tuesday, November 29. Two-thirds of the applications for admission had been refused for lack of room. Before his speech a message was read by Mr. Long from Ulster Unionists, declaring that the Unionists of the South, allied with the men of Ulster, would not acknowledge the authority of an Irish Parliament, and would neither obey its decrees nor pay its taxes; and memorials against any interference with the Union with Ireland were also presented from the Nonconformist Unionist Association and from 604 ministers of non-episcopal Churches in Ireland.

Mr. Balfour said that he had come prepared to deal with Ministerial ill-treatment of London, but after the message from the Ulster Unionists he could not deal with topics of less magnitude than those represented by the Empire. The threatened Constitutional revolution was based on the needs of one section in Ireland, which boasted that it had not yielded one inch from Parnell's position. The Government were yielding now to Socialist, now to Home Rule demands, and the ordinary British citizen's interests were put aside. Sketching the situation, he declared it a "Radical caricature" (p. 225) that the Conference broke down because certain Peers would not abate their hereditary claims.

The aim was to hurry on a Dissolution and prevent the House of Lords from stating their case. This scheme had been defeated; the country could judge between the alternative schemes. Lord Lansdowne had proposed two measures for dealing with deadlocks, one, the joint session, practicable only after reform of the House of Lords; the other an appeal to the people. This embarrassed the Radicals, the professed partisans of Government by the people. The only existing method of such appeal was a Dissolution, which was expensive and disturbing, and the general election might turn on one question only out of many. A Referendum avoided such disadvantages and gave a clear issue; but the Radical party found all sorts of reasons against it. They put the cost at 2,000,000*l.* (p. 238), but it would, he thought, not much exceed 200,000*l.*, much less than payment of members; which of these two changes was the more democratic? Again, they said a Referendum would be taken only on Radical projects: would one be given on Unionist projects, like Tariff Reform? Till four days before they had been seeking a method of solving deadlocks caused by differences between the Houses; now, they sought a means of defeating the agreement of the two Houses. That was a mere expedient for wriggling out of the admission of the people as arbiters. They tried to put the Opposition in a hole by asking, "Will you refer Tariff Reform to a Referendum?" That might set up technical difficulties which there had been no time yet to consider, but he had not the slightest objection to submit the principles of Tariff Reform to a Referendum. (Loud cheers, the audience standing.) Tariff Reform was a great national and Imperial policy and he was perfectly ready to submit it to the judgment of his countrymen. His opponents ought to respond by saying that Home Rule should also be subject to a Referendum. They might say that they had no money to spare from payment of members, or, taking higher ground, that Home Rule destroyed Parliamentary responsibility. But suppose the Parliament Bill passed. Government was carried on by a majority in the Commons; this was governed by the Ministry, which again was governed by "the most noisy gentleman in the Cabinet"; he was governed by Mr. Redmond, and Mr. Redmond by Patrick Ford and the subscribers to the fund. The country had been advised to "trust Asquith"; but Mr. Redmond had explained that he did not trust any British statesman; he had said "Trust me." Mr. Balfour himself advised his audience not to trust the puppets, the Irish wire-puller, or the American paymaster; but trust only the sound judgment and enlightened patriotism of the people of this country.

Mr. Balfour's acceptance of the Referendum was ascribed in Liberal circles to the direct inspiration of Mr. J. L. Garvin of the *Observer*, that paper having recommended the step (Nov. 27) as a device for carrying Lancashire; and it is probable that this hope inspired the cheers which greeted Mr. Balfour's announce-

ment. The *Nation*, however, stated that it had been resolved on at a meeting of the Unionist leaders, Lord Lansdowne's approval having great weight, and that Mr. Austen Chamberlain's resistance had been overborne. It was clearly due partly to the pressure exercised by the Earl of Cromer (*Times*, Nov. 29) and the Unionist Free Traders for the suspension of Tariff Reform should the Unionists be victorious. The acceptance was endorsed by Lord Lansdowne at Plymouth (Nov. 30), and by the Earl of Cromer, Mr. Harold Cox, the Earl of Lytton, and other leading Unionists; and it led to the retirement of an intending Unionist Free Trade candidate at Lincoln. The *Morning Post*, however, insisted that Tariff Reform candidates should keep their original course, declaring that, if elected, they would 'strive to get Tariff Reform at the earliest opportunity. Mr. Goulding and Mr. Arthur Taylor (who was defeated in N.E. Manchester) repudiated the pledge, and Lord Milner said that if Tariff Reform were dropped he would retire from public life. Liberal speakers generally ridiculed the new move; the Earl of Crewe (Nov. 30) described the Referendum as "a foundling of foreign extraction"; Mr. Lloyd George, at Llandrindod Wells, after remarking that Mr. Balfour always avoided figures, said that the Referendum required all the paraphernalia of a general election, and computed its total cost, including that of the political campaign incident to it, at 1,500,000l.; and Mr. Churchill at Sheffield described the Tariff Reformers as routed, and the Unionists as in full flight, with their leader at their head.

After this startling tactical development, the interest of the speeches centred round the Referendum and Home Rule; and, in the space at our disposal, it is impossible to do more than mention the references to these subjects made by the leaders. Exceptions must be made for the two "non-party speeches" of Lord Rosebery, and for the speech at Darwen of Lord Morley of Blackburn. At Manchester (Nov. 30) Lord Rosebery, who was faced by numerous dissentients, emphasised in somewhat exaggerated phrases the encroachment of the newer Liberalism on personal liberty, the danger of Irish dictation subsidised by American gold, and the levity of Ministers in hurrying on Single-Chamber government. The Dissolution was undertaken to prevent the Lords from presenting alternative proposals. The House of Lords had ceased to exist. It had surrendered its powers to the nation, and could only be kept alive by the return of the Government. He scoffed at Ministers' promises of a reformed Upper House, attacked Mr. Lloyd George's speech at Mile End, and, defending heredity, cited the account recently published of the gallant rescue of a poor girl from the Thames at Putney by Lord George Wellesley, a subaltern in the Guards and a great-grandson of the Iron Duke.

Lord Morley of Blackburn replied to Lord Rosebery at an open meeting of both parties and sexes next day at Darwen. He

laid stress on the abiding danger of Tariff Reform for Lancashire, and ridiculed the "appeal to moderate men" by leaders who had destroyed the House of Lords and were destroying the Parliamentary system. The Veto Bill was based on Mr. Bright's declaration of 1884. The hereditary principle was watered down by the Lords' proposals but not abandoned; the reform of their House could only be considered after its relations with the Commons had been amended. He ridiculed the idea that the House of Lords should "stand between the Commons and the people," and that the Commons or the people would be carried away by passion. The Lansdowne resolutions reduced the extensions of the franchise won in 1867 and 1884 to a nullity. Should reform be entrusted to the Government, or to those who had brought about the crisis?

Lord Rosebery supplemented his speech at Manchester by another at a "non-party"—but practically Unionist—meeting at Edinburgh on Saturday, December 2. He asked why Form IV. had been sent out in Scotland, where the information needed was on the valuation rolls, and mentioned that by the Act of Union a land-tax could only be applied to Scotland at one-fortieth of the English rate. He declared that on Second Chamber reform his opinions were the same as in 1868; the Lords' resolutions embodied his policy of 1894; he meant by his speech of that year that the Government was not strong enough to propose reform. The relations of the Houses could not be regulated till the composition of both was known. Again he denounced Single-Chamber government, citing Cromwell and Mirabeau; mentioned that the caucus system had effaced that body of independent opinion in Parliament which overthrew Lord Aberdeen's Ministry in 1854, and expected that a Single-Chamber government would increase its own stipend and prolong its own existence. He disbelieved that public opinion would restrain it, welcomed Mr. Balfour's proposal to refer Tariff Reform to a Referendum (p. 252)—an institution used in Switzerland, in Natal in 1909, and in Australia; and thought it should be the supreme appeal for great Constitutional questions, *e.g.* Tariff Reform, Home Rule, and Women's Suffrage. He would require a special Act of Parliament for it and full safeguards. If the Government lost five seats on balance, they could not go on with their proposals. A settlement could only be effected by agreement, perhaps with the Lords' proposals as a basis for a wider and larger Conference. What confidence could "the Outer and Greater Britains" have in us if we changed in a week the Constitution under which they were bred?

Lord Rosebery, however, was outside both parties; and the interest now lay in the attitude of the leaders to the changing issue. Speaking at Reading (Dec. 1) Mr. Balfour scoffed at the embarrassment caused to his opponents by his acceptance of their challenge to submit Tariff Reform to a Referendum. Was the challenge humbug? There was not the slightest idea of altering

the position of Tariff Reform; but an appeal to the people on it was justified because no one could say what the general election was about. He thought the issues were Tariff Reform, Constitutional Reform, and Home Rule; his convictions on all these were profound; he appealed for the support of Free Trade Unionists, and said that those who disagreed with him on the two last-named questions and desired Tariff Reform ought to have an opportunity of saying so. There had been no response to his challenge to submit Home Rule to a Referendum; was it to be the Home Rule of 1886, of 1893, or of some new scheme? He again emphasised the Unionist belief in an appeal to the people.

On the same day Mr. Asquith at Wolverhampton laid stress on the immense distance travelled by the Tory party since the last election—the House of Lords discarded, a plebiscite instead of Parliamentary government, and Tariff Reform postponed—altogether the largest reported experiment in vote-catching. Mr. Balfour had again escaped the Tariff Reformers. Would the reference to the people be before the Budget or after? Who would vote, and how would the people's answer be interpreted? Apparently the Government was going on in the face of an adverse verdict. But he advised Free Traders not to relax their vigilance. Mr. Balfour's challenge did not embarrass him. Those who proposed a Referendum might fairly be asked if Tariff Reform were included; it was pointless to ask those who objected to it altogether to bargain to apply it to one subject if their opponents applied it to another. Replying to Lord Lansdowne, he admitted that he himself, twelve or thirteen years earlier, had said that the Referendum required careful study by political experts as a possible outlet from Constitutional difficulties; since then there had been much experience of its working in various countries, and in the last twelve months, after careful study of the evidence, he had come to the conclusion, first, that it was unsatisfactory, because a relatively small percentage of the electors voted, next, that its success had been only partial, and had been in countries with totally different social and political conditions from Great Britain. It would give an uncertain sound, it would involve all the disturbance of a general election, and it would impair, and in time destroy, the whole sense of responsibility of the House of Commons.

Speaking at Grimsby on December 2 to an audience of 10,000, Mr. Balfour admitted the right of the Commons to a primacy, but repeated that this would be destroyed were the House of Lords made elective, and that the Ministry meant to give the country the rule of a gagged Single Chamber. He denied that the Referendum would destroy Parliamentary responsibility, laid stress on the dangers, financial and otherwise, of Home Rule, and in the safeguards surrounding Constitutional change in America. Replying to a vote of thanks, he renewed his pledges to Tariff Reform unaccompanied by increase in the cost of living.

So keen was the Grimsby contest that Mr. Winston Churchill, who was speaking at Cheshire on the same evening, travelled to the town by special train and delivered a spirited reply at midnight to Mr. Balfour's speech, which was supplied to him by instalments *en route*. His efforts, however, were unsuccessful. After leaving Grimsby he visited Lincoln and attempted, on the Saturday afternoon, to address a disorderly crowd from the balcony of the Liberal Club, but was refused a hearing, as the Unionists objected to a Minister being brought in during the polling. On that evening he was again speaking in Cheshire.

Speaking at Newcastle (Dec. 3) Mr. Asquith remarked that the Unionists were saying little about the Budget and the land taxes, which a Unionist Government would not repeal; ridiculed the advocacy by the Brewery Debenture Holders' Committee of the Referendum—which was local option—and set forth again the Liberal case against the Unionist proposals and the Referendum. He asked also, what would be referred to the people? Would it be vague general questions, *e.g.* "Are you in favour of taxing the foreigner?" or a concrete scheme which could be judged as a whole? The objections to the Referendum generally were also set forth by the Lord Chancellor in a letter to a former constituent, and by Sir E. Grey at Belford; and Mr. Winston Churchill at Chester repudiated its application to Home Rule.

The election actually began on Friday, December 2, with the unopposed return of eleven Unionists and four Liberals, the former including Mr. Balfour, Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, Mr. Jesse Collings, and Mr. George Wyndham; the latter Mr. Russell Rea and Mr. Burt. One Liberal return was due to an accident, that of Manchester (S.) where Mr. Glazebrook, the Unionist candidate, mistook the hour appointed for the nomination and arrived too late. His successful rival, Mr. Haworth, offered to resign as soon as practicable and fight to a finish; but the offer was not accepted.

At the Dissolution the numbers of the various parties in Parliament, omitting the Speaker, was as follows: Liberals, 274; Labour, 40; Nationalists, 72; Independent Nationalists, 10—396; Unionists, 273. Counting the Independent Nationalists with the Coalition—though their allegiance to it was doubtful—the Unionist gain must be 62 to secure a bare majority. Practically they could only hope to win enough seats on balance to give the Government pause. Lord Rosebery had put the minimum at five; they expected to do better. At Lloyd's the insurance rates charged to recover a claim if the Unionist party were returned to power were 10 to 15 per cent.; 2 to 3 per cent. was charged on risks arising from election petitions. The betting, at first 5 to 1 against a Unionist victory, had dropped to 4 to 1 after Mr. Balfour's acceptance of the Referendum. On the Stock Exchange the Government majority, previously dealt in at 120, fell to 40 after this speech. This speculation in "majorities" was

a novelty; for every drop of a point in the final result below the price quoted, the "buyer" paid the "seller" 1*l.*, and conversely.

The first day's pollings, however, were disappointing to the Unionists. The Liberals held their own in London, where there had been great Unionist hopes, and kept North-West Manchester against Mr. Bonar Law; they also won South-West Manchester, Rochester, Exeter (by four votes), and Peckham; but they lost four Lancashire seats, and also Grimsby—despite Mr. Churchill's efforts—Darlington, and King's Lynn. A wet day calmed excitement, though it did not reduce the polls.

In the speeches during the polling only a few main points call for notice. To Lord Rosebery's speech at Edinburgh replies were made by Mr. Asquith at Burnley and by Mr. Lloyd George at Glasgow on Monday, December 5. The former pointed out that the scheme for the abolition of the Veto had been put forward by Mr. Bright (p. 69), and the Veto itself denounced by Mr. Gladstone in 1893 and also in his last speech in the Commons (*ANNUAL REGISTER*, 1894, p. 54). The idea slept because they had a Tory majority and the drawbacks of Single-Chamber government. Liberal measures had subsequently been frustrated time after time, and at last the Peers' interference with finance brought matters to a climax. The Veto of the Crown had gone, unlamented and to the benefit of all; they were now proposing that the Lords' Veto should follow it. The co-existence of two Chambers of co-ordinate and equal authority was incompatible with democracy; the Government's plans provided safeguards, and would be followed up by the abolition of plural voting, the abridgement of the period of qualification, and the conversion of the representation of the people into a reality. Mr. Lloyd George ridiculed the idea that Sir Wilfrid Laurier would favour an Irish-American plot to blow up the Constitution. He quoted Lord Rosebery's declaration of 1894 (pp. 64, 254), denounced as a misrepresentation the passage in his Edinburgh speech which indicated that the Lords and their leaders were ready to abolish the hereditary principle, and insisted that the majority of the people—the industrious, thrifty, hard-working half—were Liberal and entitled to equal rights of citizenship. Tariff Reform had no "principle"; the objections to the Referendum were the cost, and still more those concerned with the principle.

On the same evening, Lord Lansdowne at Cardiff said that the Government could not get the amount of support necessary to enable them to carry out a great constitutional revolution. A Referendum was not eccentric or foreign—it was used in trade disputes, and under it one vote was as good as another. The Liberals were shrinking from Mr. Balfour's acceptance of their challenge to submit Tariff Reform to a Referendum.

Meanwhile, Mr. Balfour at Sheffield, after denouncing the taking of the polls on the old register, and the attacks of Mr.

Lloyd George and Mr. Winston Churchill, suggested that the Referendum should be called "the Poll of the People." The Unionist trust in the people had no arbitrary limitations. Mr. Asquith had expected them to refuse to subject Tariff Reform to a Referendum; he now said that it was a party enterprise. Mr. Balfour defended the Referendum as a solution for deadlocks between the Houses, and urged when Mr. Redmond held the balance the House of Commons was not representative of the people. All parties felt that the Constitution of the House of Commons had many defects; the Referendum would affect plurality of votes, and a greater anomaly, the distribution of seats. It was a preposterous supposition that Tariff Reform would increase the cost of the people's food. The existing case of Home Rule showed how little general elections enabled the Commons to gauge the real feeling of the people. The Liberal party were trying to get a majority without telling the democracy their plans, and under the influence of another party they were trying to thrust on the people a Constitution they loathed, and to compel them to accept, in the name of freedom, matters they would reject with scorn if they had the opportunity.

Sir Edward Grey, speaking at Wooler on the same day, said that the submission of Tariff Reform to a Referendum would not be a *quid pro quo* for the submission of Irish Home Rule to it. Home Rule, when it came, would be part of a great reconstruction of the House of Commons, by a redistribution of seats according to population. Ireland would then have fewer members, and England, Scotland, and Wales would each have more scope for dealing with their local affairs under a scheme of devolution. That kind of scheme might be submitted to the Referendum if the Referendum were a good thing, which he still doubted, but it would not be fair to submit Irish Home Rule by itself. They could only submit something in which the whole country had an equal interest—not, for instance, Welsh disestablishment.

Speaking to 6,000 people at Chester on December 6, Mr. Balfour again challenged the Liberal leaders to say whether Home Rule was part of their policy. Since the obscure sentence dropped in the middle of his Albert Hall speech by Mr. Asquith in December, 1909, no responsible Minister had made any revelation on the subject, and they had been occupied in destroying the only machinery which ensured that a Home Rule Bill should be referred to the will of the electors from the mixed horde which supported their policy in the Commons. It was not uncharitable or untrue to suggest that their policy in this was dictated by the Irish leader's sense of what was expedient from his own standpoint. He would naturally tell them to say just enough about Home Rule to make it possible to bring in a Bill, but not a word more; because, if they once told the country what burden was to be thrown on the British taxpayer, or that Home Rule would mean giving Irish

members at Westminster power to rule the policy of the Empire while there was another practically uncontrolled Parliament at Dublin, the common sense of the British electorate would revolt. The Government, therefore, had been silent under every challenge; silence was golden. They were determined to sweep away the control of the House of Lords; after denouncing the hereditary principle, they proposed to maintain it, to leave the Second Chamber unreformed and deprive it of its most important functions. And they put in a long preamble, saying that at some unknown distant future it should be reformed. All this was just what Mr. Redmond wanted; reform would increase the power of the House of Lords, and it was absurd to suppose that it would not then have its say. Notoriously the Government were not at one with regard to this reform, and a report, which he believed, said that the preamble was a concession to the reformers admitted by the other members of the Cabinet as containing nothing immediate or practical. The elective Second Chamber advocated by Sir Edward Grey would eat into the power and authority of the Commons. The amazing indifference to this result shown by Radical theorists showed that they did not expect the reform to be carried out. The tendency of the time, through the pressure of small groups on the constituencies for pledges on relatively small questions, and the extreme use of closure in the Commons by the present Government was to make the House of Commons registering clerks of the decrees of the Cabinet.

Mr. Balfour also sent a message to Mr. Astor, one of the Unionist candidates for Plymouth (Dec. 6), stating that under the Referendum each voter would have the right to give one vote only, and the gross inequalities due to differences in the size of constituencies would be avoided. Liberal speakers at once hailed this as implying an abandonment of plural voting in elections. And speaking at Wrexham on December 7, after again declaring (in reply to a Liberal leaflet) that the Unionists had not run away from Tariff Reform, and would submit it to a poll of the people, and alluding to the postponement of the Budget, the treatment of naval preparations by the Government, and the urgency of Colonial preference, he declared that, unless the Government could free themselves from Nationalist domination, they could not be trusted with the Constitution and national defence. Before long another appeal would have to be made to the electorate to insist that the national defences should be entrusted to some homogeneous party which knew its mind and had its policy—especially when that policy contained machinery by which, on matters of great moment, the people might be consulted by a direct vote.

On the same evening Mr. Asquith, replying to a heckler in his own constituency, specifically pledged the Government to bring in a Home Rule Bill, ~~referring for its general character to the Albert Hall speech of 1909~~; and, in a speech afterwards, he laid stress

on recent changes, especially in the financial relations set up by land purchase and old-age pensions, as removing the danger of attempts at the separation of Ireland under Home Rule. Mr. Lloyd George, meanwhile at Pwllheli, was pleading for Welsh Home Rule to relieve the House of Commons from its excessive duties, together with the abolition of the Lords' veto and plural voting, as the first of necessary reforms.

Mr. Asquith's Home Rule pledge was insisted on from different standpoints next day by Mr. Redmond at Dublin—who said "this was not only a Home Rule election, but the great Home Rule election"—by Mr. Austen Chamberlain at Oldbury, and by Mr. Lyttelton at Heywood. Meanwhile Lord Milner at Salisbury was condemning Unionist apathy, especially in London, and declaring that the Unionists were in a better position for carrying out social reforms than their opponents.

Next day at Hyde, Mr. Balfour declared that Home Rule had been kept out of the Ministerial speeches; the most illuminating remark yet made by the Prime Minister was a reply to a heckler in East Fife. Mr. Asquith's Albert Hall statement was intended to convey as little information as possible, to please alike Home Rulers and distrustful Radicals. Mr. Balfour dwelt at some length on the uncertain meaning of the statement, and conjectured that the Government meant to do as little as possible for Home Rule, but that the final victory would rest with Mr. Redmond, and the supremacy of Parliament would be illusory. He also referred to Mr. Lloyd George's demand for self-government for Wales, and asked if the United Kingdom was to be cut up into four separate kingdoms; and he again insisted on the value of the Referendum. Mr. Churchill at Swindon, meanwhile, replied to Mr. Balfour's speech of the previous evening, saying that this general election was "more than a Referendum" and would finally dispose of the Veto, and that a settlement with Ireland at that juncture would increase the strength of the Empire more than half a dozen *Dreadnoughts*. Mr. Lloyd George, too, in reply to questions at Bangor, was promising self-government to Mr. Balfour's four kingdoms, declaring the election final, and, when asked why the Government did not accept the Lords' proposals to reconstitute their own House, replied: "Has any one any notion what they are?" The Government, he added, would wait and hear.

Speaking at Dartford on Saturday, December 9, to 4,000 people, Mr. Winston Churchill described the Unionist party as "in shameful flight," having cast off their armour and equipment by putting aside Tariff Reform. Mr. Balfour, he believed, was glad to have got rid of it; its abandonment and the sudden production of the Referendum had degraded the Tory leaders to the level of political cheap-jacks. After attacking Lord Rosebery, he expressed his confidence that the Veto was done with once and for all.

All this time, of course, the Referendum was being more calmly and more scientifically discussed by publicists in the Press and otherwise. It was the subject of an address, necessarily of a very elementary character, by Professor Dicey at the fourth annual Conference of the British Constitution Association at Gower Street, on December 10; he had favoured its introduction for many years past. Perhaps, however, the most luminous exposition was that of Sir Frederick Pollock in *The Times* of December 12. Briefly, he said that the matter referred must be the passing or rejection of a specific and complete measure; the poll must be of the whole body of electors, each having only one vote; application of the Referendum must be compulsory and automatic (because, if it ensued merely on an irreconcilable difference between the Houses, the Lords would be the deciding authority), and therefore it must apply necessarily and exclusively to legislation defined beforehand in effect as amounting to constitutional amendment, and consequently must involve a written Constitution. But he added that questions would arise as to taking the vote by post, local or central counting, prevention of corrupt practices, and other matters, which had practically not yet been thought about. Other authorities, among them Professor Dicey, would have admitted a "facultative" referendum on the demand of a certain number of voters; but many speakers and writers seemed to have no clear conception of the difference between the Referendum and the Swiss Initiative.

A little more light was thrown on the application of the Referendum to Tariff Reform by Mr. Balfour's speech to an audience of 4,000 at Dartford on December 12. Mr. Churchill, he said, had said that Tariff Reform had been kicked out and the Unionist Free-Traders fooled; both these statements could not be true, and he himself believed neither was. Unionist Free-Traders knew that the Unionists, if they had the power, would bring in a Tariff Reform Budget and submit it to a Referendum, and he believed all classes would support it. Ministers must not think that the country would acquiesce in the Parliament Bill. He did not admit that even if they got a majority, the Bill would become law; but if it did, that would not end the matter; the scheme was preposterous and impracticable, and, whatever happened, it was not going to be the permanent Constitution. It was a device to get Home Rule through after the existing Constitution had been destroyed and before it had been remodelled on new and necessary lines. Home Rule sounded so nice, simple and benevolent when described simply as a plan for allowing Irishmen to govern their own affairs without interfering with the supremacy of the Imperial Parliament. Let them wait till that plan was put into a Bill; let them see what British money was given to the Irish executive, what powers to the majority to interfere with the Ulstermen; let them wait to see whether

attempts were made to deal with the problem in Wales and Scotland; even when the Veto was abolished, and though the people were prevented from being consulted, the path of Home Rule would not be smooth and easy. None of the Ministers had touched on it till 500 seats were decided; they were afraid to mention it; the Parliament Bill and the abolition of the Veto were put forward as a dodge to smuggle through Home Rule. On the Constitutional question the decision would not be final; the relations between the two Houses, and between those Houses and the people, could and would be remodelled on the Unionist lines; but Home Rule, once given, could not be withdrawn, and its passage over the heads of the people and against their wills would be one of the greatest crimes in history.

Speaking to 3,000 people at Bury St. Edmunds on December 12, Mr. Asquith insisted that the sole issue at that moment was the supremacy of the people, through their elected representatives, over legislation. It was sought to confuse this issue by catechising Ministers on the details of the next Home Rule Bill. He repeated his statement made at the Albert Hall and again at Hull (p. 247), insisted that the election was a Referendum, and attacked that proposal and the Unionist scheme for reforming the Lords. Mr. Balfour had surrendered plural voting under the Referendum; at least twenty county divisions would return Liberals but for the plural vote. How would the Ballot Act be applied under the Referendum? Candidates would make the reference to the people an excuse to avoid pledging themselves. He would not care to go to a House of Commons so truncated.

Mr. Winston Churchill outlined the Ministerial programme on the same evening, at Parkstone. The Prime Minister, he said, was now in a position of exceptional power, at the head of a victorious party and of a powerful and united coalition, surrounded by a Cabinet "absolutely agreed in thought and sentiment," and after an election in which his personal leadership had been conspicuous. The first step must be the abolition of the Veto, and after that he hoped that the new Parliament might come together in a whole-hearted effort to solve great Imperial and social problems. The overwhelming majority of British men and women stood true and clear for peace abroad, for law and order at home, for the reconciliation of races within the United Kingdom, for the unity and consolidation of the Empire, for an unchallengeable Navy, for a better and more scientific organisation of social life, for the due correction of the abuses of wealth and monopoly, for religious equality, and for industrial progress; and he hoped for common ground in national insurance, the Poor Law, education, devolution, an Irish Parliament for purely Irish affairs, prison reform, electoral reform and redistribution. He hoped that the Coronation would manifest the deep and fundamental unities underlying the conflicts of British national life. But the Veto must go now, otherwise a

settlement with Ireland and the abolition of plural voting were impossible. He described the Conservatives as "feather-headed revolutionaries," who had shelved their fiscal programme and brought forward a preposterous Constitution only a fortnight old. The Liberal plan for the reform of the Lords would soon be the law of the land. He ended with a vigorous denunciation of the "spiteful" East Dorset election petition (p. 136).

Next day, at Plymouth, Lord Lansdowne described the verdict as inconclusive, and laid stress on the multifarious uncertainties involved in Home Rule. A similar line was taken by Lord Milner at Newport Pagnell; and on the following day at Haddington Mr. Balfour, after denouncing the Ministerial efforts to abolish the brakes on Constitutional change and leave an interval for a Home Rule Bill before substituting others, declared that Mr. Asquith had asked for an increase of authority; it had been refused him; and he would be more than ever dependent on Mr. Redmond. Mr. Asquith at Glossop maintained that the abolition of the Veto would lead to the reconciliation of Ireland, pointed out that a Protestant Home Ruler had been returned in Mid-Tyrone, and met Mr. Balfour's allegation that Home Rule had not been mentioned by the Liberal leaders till after 500 pollings by a reference to his own speech at Hull. But the most notable utterance that day was Mr. Austen Chamberlain's at Buxton. He said that under the original Unionist plan the Referendum would have applied to grave questions, especially of a constitutional character, where irreconcilable differences had arisen between the Houses, but not to Tariff Reform. Under Lord Lansdowne's scheme differences on a Budget which was not purely financial were to be solved by a joint session, the Commons being predominant. There were various reasons against submitting Budgets to a Referendum; the inconvenience of delay, the derangement of trade and injustice to individual traders, especially in connection with Customs duties, and the temptation to a Ministry to bribe the many at the expense of the few. He would not himself have proposed to refer Tariff Reform to a Referendum; but he accepted the proposal when Mr. Balfour made it, and was not afraid of its results. It was a reply to Mr. Asquith's reply to the challenge to refer Home Rule to a Referendum, and Mr. Asquith had run away. A Unionist Government would enact Tariff Reform, or go out. A similar line was taken next day by Mr. F. E. Smith at Leighton Buzzard, who declared that Mr. Balfour's offer was for this election only. The defenders of the liquor trade, it must be added, had expressed dismay at the possible application of the Referendum to measures affecting the sale of alcoholic liquors.

Speaking at Retford (Dec. 15) Mr. Asquith emphatically contradicted Mr. Balfour's statement at Haddington, that he had dissolved Parliament in order to obtain some augmentation of authority; the dissolution was the result of the failure of the

Conference, and his effort had been to make the Lords' Veto the single issue. The people were about to answer by a three-figure majority; was the verdict to be ignored? He ridiculed the notion that the Liberal party could be coerced by the relatively small Nationalist section, and declared that the Ministry would refuse to hold office without power. Their proposal regarding the Veto followed the lines of British Constitutional development by completing the enfranchisement of the people.

On the same evening Mr. Lloyd George at East Ham scoffed at the Unionist explanations of their defeat, which he compared to the French explanations of Waterloo; but Napoleon had been sent to St. Helena. The Unionist party was led by a Scotsman and supplied with ideas from an Irishman, Mr. Garvin; yet they turned up their noses at the "Celtic twilight." It was absurd to say that the Liberals could not find 500 peers competent to sit by the side of Lord Willoughby de Broke.

There were no further political speeches of importance; and the last three polls were declared on Tuesday, December 20. Excluding the Speaker, the strength of parties was now as follows: Liberal, 272; Labour, 42; Nationalists, 76; Independent Nationalists, 8—398; Unionists, 271. In gross, the result was much the same as in January. In London, the Liberals had gained a little in strength; in the boroughs the coalition and the Unionist gains exactly balanced at sixteen each; in Battersea, though opposed by a Socialist candidate, Mr. Burns more than doubled his majority. In the London eastern suburbs, Dartford was a notable Liberal gain; and the Liberals won two seats in Sunderland, possibly through the shipbuilding lock-out and strike. They lost some seats in Devonshire and Cornwall, probably through the fears of the small landholders and the strength of Nonconformist Unionism; they won back some seats in the agricultural counties, notably in East Anglia, possibly because they were more on their guard against illicit influences. Yorkshire was practically the same; Lancashire showed some Unionist gains, notably South Salford, Warrington, Wigan, St. Helens, Newton and Darwen; these were generally attributed to the conciliation of Free-Trade Unionists by the offer of the Referendum, but by ardent Tariff Reformers to their own propaganda. In Wales, the only Unionist gain, at Cardiff, was ascribed largely to territorial influence. In Scotland the Unionists gained St. Andrews; the Scottish Liberal majorities fell off somewhat compared with January, but there were fewer three-cornered contests. The six Unionist workmen, for whose expenses the *Standard* collected over 7,500*l.*, were unsuccessful. In Ireland, the regular Nationalists gained Mid-Tyrone from the Unionists, and North Louth from Mr. T. Healy, the chief ally of Mr. O'Brien, whose followers dropped to eight. Speaking broadly, industrial England returned Liberals, except the Birmingham area, while the chief ports, except London,

Liverpool and Plymouth, and the "pleasure" and "residential" towns and districts were Unionist, so that there was some degree of class cleavage.

On the whole the fight in Great Britain was conducted fairly and without much disturbance, though the petitions and scrutinies proved unusually numerous. In a few cases, disorder at election meetings was punished under the Public Meetings Act (ANNUAL REGISTER, 1908, p. 250). The promise of the Referendum on Tariff Reform, or the fear of Liberal "Socialism," or both, brought about many avowed adhesions to the Opposition by Free-Trade Unionists or moderate Liberals—among them Lord Burghclere, Lord Ribblesdale, Lord Monson, Mr. Abel Smith, several former Liberal candidates, and many local Liberals. Sir J. D. Rees (*Montgomery District*), who had often been in conflict with the advanced section of his party, had joined the Opposition before the Dissolution. Mr. William Watson had deplored the Prime Minister's position in a poem. The Liberals held that the country had affirmed its verdict of January and given an added authority to the Government. The Unionists, however, treated the result as a "stale-mate" or drawn battle; and the extremists of the "Reveille movement" summed up the effects as a "snap verdict," a loss of over 200,000 votes to the Liberals and extensive disfranchisement owing to a stale register. On these grounds they held the Unionists must continue to fight the Parliament Bill. The *Observer* urged that the situation should be allowed to end in absurdity by accepting the creation of 500 "puppet peers." The less extreme members of the party, however, were greatly divided, some advocating submission, others pressing for a Referendum on the Veto Bill, and others still hoping for some sort of compromise, possibly through unexpected desertion of the Government by the new Peers who might be created to force the Veto Bill through. Some Unionists criticised very unfavourably their own organisation and Mr. Balfour's generalship.

The political contest had somewhat obscured the visit of the United States' squadron, a fresh occasion for emphasising Anglo-American goodwill, of which more will be said in the chapter on America. In domestic politics, three subjects of the first importance had been brought prominently forward during the year, and remained for future consideration at its close. The Divorce Commission, appointed October 30, 1909, had held its last sitting for the reception of evidence on December 21, and had supplied the public with evidence from various eminent persons embodying widely divergent views of the degree of permanence and the binding character of the marriage tie; but had itself made as yet no pronouncement.

The Report of the Royal Commission on the Church in Wales—published in November, but anticipated substantially by an unauthorised disclosure in the *Daily Mail* of October 31—proved

more favourable than some Liberals had expected to the Church. The Commission, appointed in the summer of 1906, had notoriously been marked by great divergence of opinion as to the scope of the inquiry and the evidence to be accepted; and the Report was supplemented by rival and controversial memoranda from various Commissioners. Only a few facts from it can be given here. Since 1840, the four Welsh dioceses had received from private sources 4,306,338*l.*, of which 3,332,385*l.* was for church building and restoration, the rest for other ecclesiastical buildings and churchyards. From Easter, 1905, to Easter, 1906, the voluntary contributions were 298,982*l.*; the gross income from endowments, 245,134*l.* Different denominations had different tests for full membership; but, apart from the 64,000 Roman Catholics, two-fifths of the population over three years of age were full members or communicants of some religious body. These were distributed thus—Churchmen, 193,081; Congregationalists, 175,147; Calvinistic Methodists, 170,617; Baptists, 143,835; Wesleyans, 40,811; smaller denominations, 19,870. The church and chapel accommodation (Roman Catholics included) was 6,234 in excess of the population at the last census. But the Report, with its evidences of divergent views and the reciprocal attacks in the memoranda by the various signatories on their colleagues' conclusions, hardly made for a solution of the problem of disestablishment.

The Declaration of London (ANNUAL REGISTER, 1909, p. 58) had received some attention in the Press and in the seaports. The Glasgow Chamber of Commerce, about the middle of November, had published a letter to the Foreign Office criticising unfavourably the provisions respecting contraband, destruction of neutral prizes, and unneutral service. They contended, *inter alia*, that the list of conditional contraband was limited and valueless, that such articles, if shipped to Glasgow, a port in direct railway communication with the naval base at Rosyth, would be declared absolute contraband, that neutral shipping would refuse to convey them to the United Kingdom,—whereas Continental Powers, with their land frontiers, would get supplies from neutral ports,—and that the provisions as to the detention of non-neutrals found on neutral ships would seriously delay and endanger maritime traffic. They regretted, also, the non-prohibition of the conversion of merchantmen into men-of-war on the high seas, and they desired that the Declaration should be submitted to Parliament for ratification. Somewhat the same objections were put more concisely by the Edinburgh Chamber and the Leith Shipowners' Society; the Bristol branch of the Navy League misrepresented the Declaration as permitting enemy's goods of all kinds to go free under a neutral flag, while foodstuffs and fuel would be declared contraband, thus tending to starve the British home population, while the enemy could get its supplies through a neutral port. It also contended, contrary to fact, that the Hague Prize Court would be drawn

“principally” from small States, *e.g.* Colombia, Persia, or Hayti; that it would adjudicate on all Naval captures, and would be free to make its own rules and laws. And the Belfast Chamber erroneously assumed that the Declaration explicitly admitted the conversion of warships into merchantmen on the high seas, and protested accordingly.

The answer of the Foreign Office (Cd. 5418) contested the contentions of the Glasgow Chamber at length. The most noticeable points made were (1) that the list of non-contraband articles was extensive, and in the words of the Liverpool Association of steamship owners, assured to neutrals definite rights as to the carrying of a substantial part of the world's trade; (2) that the rule as to foodstuffs was an advance on the previous practice, under which foodstuffs had sometimes been regarded as being capable of being declared absolute contraband, if destined even for the peaceful subjects of a belligerent; (3) that the onus of proof as to conditional contraband was shifted by the declaration on to the captors; (4) that the treatment of Glasgow would depend on its actual use as a base of supply; (5) that neutral vessels might still import conditional contraband, and were not adequate in numbers for British trade. The other arguments of the Chamber were also met in detail, though without convincing its members. Full Parliamentary discussion before ratification was promised, but it was pointed out that treaties were, under the Constitution, ratified by the Crown. Replies were published also to the arguments of the other Chambers; their tenor may be inferred from what has been stated above.

All this, however, was clearly only a foretaste of future controversies; and as Christmas approached attention was directed to various matters, mostly outside party politics. The murder of three City policemen by foreign burglars at Houndsditch (Chronicle, Dec. 16) revived for a short time the demand for arming the police, and set up the customary outcry against the alien invasion; and the crowded memorial service to the murdered policemen at St. Paul's Cathedral was an impressive popular tribute to their devotion to their duty. The trial and conviction at Leipzig of Captain Trench and Lieutenant Brandon for espionage at Borkum in August (Chronicle, Dec. 22) followed as it was by a comparatively light sentence of four years' detention in a fortress—which it was hoped would be remitted before its expiry—did not intensify Anglo-German friction; but the proposed fortification of Flushing (*post*, Foreign History, Chap. IV.) was interpreted as being undertaken in order to check British protection of Belgian territory against German violation of it in a Franco-German war. Some unfavourable comment was aroused in Unionist quarters by the fact that Mr. Lloyd George gave interviews to two French journalists, one a correspondent of the Paris *Humanité*, the organ of the Collectivist Socialists, and set forth his views and plans in

a manner which, it was thought, might estrange the more Conservative of the French Ministerialists from the existing Liberal Government which he represented as specially friendly to France. But he cast doubt on the accuracy of the report. The boiler-makers' lock-out was fortunately ended on December 14 (see *post*, p. 277, and *Chronicle*). Many of the Welsh strikers at Aberdare (p. 223) returned to work a few days later; and the belief current since the autumn that the plague virus had become established among the rats in Suffolk did not arouse much alarm. But two great disasters—the mine explosion at Bolton, the most fatal on record in Great Britain, and the railway accident at Hawes Junction (*Chronicle*, Dec. 21, 24)—combined with the uncertainty of the political outlook to darken the close of the year.

CHAPTER VI.

SCOTLAND AND IRELAND.

I. SCOTLAND.

APART from the two general elections, Scotland had, on the whole, an uneventful year. At both elections the Liberal majority of seats was, as usual, overwhelming in counties and boroughs alike. The December contests, however, unlike those in England, took place on a new register of voters, and there was generally a decline in the Liberal vote, probably owing to the conciliation of the Free Trade Unionists by Mr. Balfour's offer of the Referendum for Tariff Reform. In the number of seats, however, there was no difference on balance. The Unionist members numbered twelve after the election of 1906, eleven after each of those of 1910; the Liberal gain of Kirkcudbright in December was balanced by their loss of St. Andrews Burghs. In the January elections there were eight "three-cornered contests," mostly in Glasgow and the neighbourhood, owing to the presence of Labour candidates, and one was set up by the rivalry of a regular and an independent Liberal. These cost the Government some seats. In December there were only two such contests.

The Scottish Bills passed were of minor importance; and the Temperance Bill (p. 90), granting local option to Scotland, never reached its third reading in the Commons. But the Prime Minister, in a letter to Mr. Cameron Corbett, M.P., at the end of November, definitely promised a Government measure on the subject in the new Parliament.

It was not surprising that a Scottish Nationalist Committee, consisting of about twenty Liberal members of Parliament, was formed at the end of June to establish "representative government in Scotland for the control of purely Scottish affairs." Its first fruits were seen in the Devolution manifesto of August (p.

204). The Scottish Liberal Association at its Conference on October 22 unanimously passed a resolution demanding both legislative and administrative Home Rule in Scottish affairs, "so devised as to enable Scottish reforms to be carried through and adapted to the traditions, circumstances and aspirations of the Scottish people," with a rider, calling upon the Scottish members to press the question on the Government.

The Parliamentary debates on the Scottish Estimates (July 18, p. 183) dealt chiefly with the difficulties of collecting the rates in the Hebrides, while reference was also made to fishery protection and Scottish education. Land Reform, which was pressed for in the interest of the crofters and small holders by a meeting of Scottish members in March, got no further, and some minor measures promoted by Unionist Peers did not reach the Commons. The Commission on Registration of Title published an inconclusive Report in August. Five of the Commissioners favoured the general introduction of the system, but they differed among themselves as to the proper time for its introduction and otherwise; the other three preferred to amend the existing system of registration of deeds, introducing registration of title only within a limited area and tentatively.

In the demonstrations of sorrow for the King's death Scotland joined to the full; on the day of the funeral business was to a great extent suspended, and many memorial services were held. Unlike England and Ireland, however, there was no stoppage of railway trains at the time of the funeral, though there was of the trams in the chief towns.

The General Assemblies of the three Scottish Presbyterian Churches were opened as usual on Tuesday, May 24. The Earl of Stair was Lord High Commissioner of the Established Church; his Commission had been signed by King Edward VII. the day before he died. A letter was read at its Assembly from King George, assuring the members of his determination so to succeed in the way of his father and their royal ancestors that the countenance and favour which the Church of Scotland received from them it would receive undiminished from him. The number of communicants in 1909 had increased by 4,558. Attention was called, however, to the decrease in the total amount received from collections and contributions, and the lessened number of Sunday scholars. The United Free Church had to deplore a similar decrease, and the increase of its Church members was only 837. The contemplated reunion of these two Churches was discussed in both Assemblies, and the Committee upon it was reappointed for another year, the United Free Church Assembly adding a request to it to report in 1911 if possible. Some doubt was expressed in this latter body as to the practicability of reunion. It was stated in the Established Church Assembly that reunion would set free 800 ministers for fresh work. The Established Church

adopted a new formula of subscription: "I hereby subscribe to the Confession of Faith, declaring that I accept it as the Confession of this Church and that I believe the Fundamental doctrines of the Christian Faith contained therein." The Moderator of the Free Church Assembly ("Wee Frees") stated that it had grown in strength and financial resources, and claimed substantial identity for it with the Free Church of 1843.

Considerable significance attached to the first World Missionary Conference, representing all Christendom, except the Roman and Greek Churches, and with many sympathisers among these latter. It sat in Edinburgh (June 14-23) and discussed eight Reports prepared for it after long study by eight representative Committees, dealing with practical problems of the mission field. At its opening meeting a message was read from King George V., expressing his appreciation of the supreme importance of its work in its bearing on the cementing of international friendship, the cause of peace, and the well-being of mankind, and the Archbishop of Canterbury was among the speakers. Mr. Roosevelt wrote a sympathetic letter, and Mr. W. J. Bryan addressed the assemblage. Great stress was laid in the proceedings on the desirability of evangelisation through native Churches primarily, though with European or American assistance; on the propriety of sympathetic appreciation of the best elements in non-Christian religions, on the danger of the active Mohammedan propaganda in Africa, and on the need for increased religious education in the mission fields. The Conference closed with the nomination, in accordance with a resolution passed unanimously, of a "continuation Committee" to promote co-operation and co-ordination of effort among the various missions, and to consult with the missionary organisations as to the formation of a permanent international missionary conference. It was expressly recognised that the line of work contemplated was interdenominational and did not involve organic or ecclesiastical union. Controversial discussions were successfully avoided, and the Conference seemed to mark a stage towards the achievement of Christian unity. It owed much to its very able chairman, Mr. J. R. Mott, chairman since 1888 of the Student Volunteer Missionary movement.

The centenary of the establishment of self-supporting savings banks in Scotland was celebrated at Edinburgh on June 8, 9, and 10. Delegates attended from all parts of the Empire and from the Continent, and Lord Rosebery, who was unable to be present, sent a message deploring the lack of thrift existing, and extolling the value of the virtue as an element in the Scottish character.

The statistics of population issued by the Registrar-General for Scotland in August estimated the total in the middle of 1908 at 4,820,397. The birth rate of that year was 27·22 per 1,000 of the estimated population, and was the highest in the United Kingdom. Thirty-one thousand six hundred and six marriages were registered

in 1908, a decrease of 1,692, and one of the six lowest totals since 1855. The marriage rate was slightly less than that of England and Wales. The death rate of 16.13 per 1,000, was the lowest since 1855, except those of 1905 and 1906.

In trade and industry the year was prosperous, in spite of the labour troubles and the two general elections. The terms of settlement of the shipbuilding trades' dispute provided machinery for the adjustment, not only of the grievances which had led to the stoppages, but of certain other cases of friction, and gave fresh hopes of industrial peace. The coal, iron, and steel trades, however, were somewhat depressed, the latter partly owing to the shipbuilding dispute; and the Eight Hours (Mines) Act gave some trouble. The Ayrshire coalfields, however, showed a largely increased output, and an important discovery of iron ore in Raasay was announced in December. In shipbuilding the Clyde headed the year's production of the United Kingdom and the world with 358 vessels of 392,392 tons and 593,840 indicated horse-power. These figures showed a slight decline from 1909, but the tonnage of the ships building on the Clyde on December 31 was about 700,000, the largest on record. The whole Scottish output for the year was 459 vessels of 420,250 tons and 624,268 horse-power. One large ocean steamer was built at Aberdeen, but otherwise the production away from the Clyde consisted of smaller vessels, largely steam trawlers and drifters. On the Clyde the largest merchant vessel launched was the *Rotorua*, for the New Zealand trade, with combined reciprocating and turbine engines. Of warships, the battleship *Colossus*, the turbine cruiser *Bristol*, and the turbine destroyer *Brisk*, deserve special note. The textile trades were satisfactory generally, though hampered by the advance in the price of raw material, especially by the shortage of cotton, which was less, however, in the autumn. The jute market was very unsettled through uncertainty as to supplies, caused partly by changes in the official estimate of the crop. The building trade suffered from depression. The crops were greatly injured, first by cold and drought early in the year, then in August by rain and floods, and the losses were made worse by a fall in prices. Agriculturally, therefore, the year was far from satisfactory.

II. IRELAND.

Politically, the year was marked by two features already exhibited in our survey of Parliamentary history—the dominant position in English politics of the main body of the Nationalists, and the war waged against them by Mr. William O'Brien and his small following. Mr. O'Brien's paper, the *Cork Accent*, began publication on January 1, and he stood at the January election along with Mr. Maurice Healy for Cork City, but the latter was defeated. Mr. Tim Healy, Mr. O'Brien's ablest lieutenant, was returned in North Louth by a small majority. The total number of

Independent Nationalists was stated at eleven, but they were not a united body, and one, Mr. O'Sullivan (*Kerry, E.*), was unseated on petition, the seat remaining vacant till the general election. In January the defeat of Mr. T. W. Russell (p. 168) in South Tyrone and the loss of North Antrim, coupled with the failure of some Liberal candidates in Ulster, left the Irish Solicitor-General, Mr. Redmond Barry (*Tyrone, North*), the sole Liberal member from Ireland.

Mr. O'Brien established a new daily paper, the *Cork Free Press*, in March, the principal shareholders being the Earl of Dunraven, Colonel Hutcheson Poe, and Lady Fitzgerald Arnott. His attitude in Parliament showed strong opposition to Mr. Redmond, and friendliness towards that small section of Irish Conservatives that favoured some form of Home Rule. Mr. Redmond's followers decided on February 22 not to ballot for any Bills or motions during the session, in view of the preponderant importance of the Veto question; they showed their importance to the Government in the Address debate (Feb. 24, p. 30) when their abstention from the division on the Tariff Reform amendment reduced the Ministerial majority to 31; and they used their power in causing the postponement of the deferred Budget for 1909 till after the Veto Resolutions had been disposed of, and of the later stages of the Finance Bill of 1910 till the autumn session, after the Lords had shown their hand on the Veto. On September 18 Mr. Redmond, Mr. Devlin (*Belfast, W.*) and Mr. Boyle (*Mayo, N.*) left for the United States, and Mr. T. P. O'Connor (*Liverpool, Scotland*) for Canada, to collect contributions for the party funds; the results have been already narrated (p. 226). Unionist observers declared that Mr. O'Connor's success in collecting Canadian contributions was due to the circumstance that he set forth a milder form of Home Rule than his colleagues in the United States.

At the December elections Mr. O'Brien's party had expected some time earlier to gain some twenty seats or more, but they only fought about a dozen, and their number fell to eight. Mr. T. Healy lost his seat in North Louth, though the election was eventually voided on petition; Mr. O'Brien was returned in North-East Cork and Cork City, but defeated in West Mayo. His party gained a seat in Cork City and a seat in Cork County (*South*) from Mr. Redmond's followers, but outside county Cork it had no representative, and its gains were balanced by the tacit reversion of Mr. Ginnell and Mr. McKean to the main body. Mr. O'Brien's independence of English parties was shown by his substitution for himself in North-East Cork of Mr. Moreton Frewen, a well-known Tariff Reformer, who had just been helping a Unionist, Mr. Ian Malcolm, to carry Croydon. The main body of Nationalists won two seats from the Unionists, Mid-Tyrone and Dublin County (*South*); the final results were: Nationalists, 76; Independent Nationalists, 8; Unionists, 19. A visit to Belfast from the Chief

Government Whip, the Master of Elibank, during the recess, had been followed by the nomination of six Liberal candidates for Ulster seats, but they were all beaten. During the elections the Lord-Lieutenant roused a protest from the Ulster Unionists by a telegram to the Liberal candidate for West Aberdeenshire (Dec. 6), declaring his conviction that the alarm felt regarding the consequences of Home Rule was baseless, especially as to religious intolerance. He had just previously condemned the publication in their interest of a letter to him respecting sacerdotal interference in a case of mixed marriage, on the ground that the Lord-Lieutenant should not be brought into politics.

The Nationalist attitude at the King's death was defined by Mr. John Redmond in a speech at Cork on May 22. From the personal aspect, he said, all parties in Ireland were sorry; the King never showed any hostility to Ireland, and the general feeling was that he was a frank, manly, and friendly Sovereign; but the King of Ireland was not a constitutional monarch. The moment they got a free constitution in Ireland its people would be as loyal as those of Canada or South Africa. The mourning, however, was general in Ireland, impressive memorial services marked the day of the funeral, business was suspended, and the railways, and in Dublin the tramways, were stopped for a few minutes at the hour of the interment.

Mr. Redmond's speech quoted above was delivered at a demonstration at Cork which was met by a counter-demonstration addressed by Mr. O'Brien and followed by some rioting; and its chief political feature lay in the regret he expressed for the King's death as a momentary "check to the onward march of the constitutional struggle." Later, he and his party were active in pressing for the alteration of the royal declaration (p. 126). Little was heard of the extreme elements in Irish politics, though the memory of a dark chapter in Irish history was revived by the funeral (Sept. 12) of Fitzharris ("Skin the Goat"), the Dublin cardriver who had suffered penal servitude for his share in the murder of Mr. Burke and Lord Frederick Cavendish in 1882. The ceremony was attended by some members of the Dublin Corporation and Poor Law Board. "Sinn Fein" was quiescent; its annual Congress (Sept. 29) contemplated fresh efforts for the withdrawal of the Irish members from Parliament.

Of disorder there was happily little to be recorded. Portions of several counties were admitted to be disorderly in July (p. 167) and there were occasional cattle-drives and outrages. A second trial for the Craughwell murder resulted in an acquittal, and a prosecution for conspiracy to boycott, which was transferred to Dublin, was unsuccessful. A strike on the West Clare Railway for some weeks in the summer also claims notice.

After the deferred Budget and its effects, among them a severe depression in the whisky trade which was accentuated by the

closing of Messrs. Kinahan's famous distillery, perhaps the most important economic event was the publication of the final Report of the Viceregal Commission on Irish Railways (July 25). Four Commissioners, Sir Charles Scotter (the chairman), Lord Pirrie, Lieut.-Colonel Hutcheson Poe, and Mr. T. Sexton, signed a majority report favouring State ownership and administration by an Irish Railway Board of sixteen elected and four nominated members, the interest on the necessary capital being guaranteed by the State, and any deficiency being met by a special rate to be imposed by the railway administration, and by an annual Exchequer grant of 250,000*l.* The three other Commissioners merely favoured further amalgamation of the existing Companies. The Chambers of Commerce generally and the Companies opposed the majority report, many Nationalist public bodies supported it, and the formation of an association to promote nationalisation was announced.

An Irish Association to promote Poor Law Reform on the lines of the Minority Report was formed in April.

The progress of land purchase was not improved by the Act of 1909, and the slackening in it was one of Mr. O'Brien's chief charges against the regular Nationalists and the Government. Of the £7,000,000 of Land Stock issued during the year £3,000,000 was taken by the National Debt Commissioners. The new members of the Congested Districts Board appointed under the Act of 1909 included the Earl of Shaftesbury, the Roman Catholic Bishops of Raphoe and Kerry, Sir Horace Plunkett, and Mr. John Fitzgibbon, a well-known Nationalist who entered Parliament at the December election.

The agitation for compulsory Irish at the National University was successful in June, when the Senate, it was stated by a vote of 21 to 12, decided that the language should be required for matriculation in 1913. This decision was ascribed to the pressure of the County Councils, which would otherwise have refused to impose rates for scholarships in accordance with their powers under the Universities Act. But apprehensions were expressed as to the effect on the numbers of intending students. Irish, however, was being taught on December 31, 1909, in 3,066 primary schools, as compared with 88 in 1900.

The statistics of population for 1909, issued in August, gave the excess of births over deaths as 27,786, the loss by emigration 28,676. (Of the emigrants, according to the official figures issued in April, 91·2 per cent. went to the colonies or foreign countries, 76 per cent. going to the United States, and 8·8 per cent. to Great Britain.) There were no statistics as to immigration, but the population was nearly stationary, and was estimated at 4,371,570. There were 22,650 marriages, 102,759 births and 74,973 deaths. The marriage rate was 5·18, the birth rate 23·5, the death rate 17·2 per 1,000, the first being slightly above and the second and third slightly below the average of recent years. The deaths from

tuberculosis had decreased by over 1,000 as compared with 1907—a result officially attributed largely to the active crusade of the National Health Society.

The year 1909 had been very prosperous; 1910 showed an increase of land under tillage to 2,371,214 acres or 67,055 acres more than in 1909. The increase was marked in all the provinces, the largest percentage being in Connaught. Incidentally it led to a fall in the numbers of cattle and sheep, which it was thought might interfere with the export of store cattle to England. The crops suffered considerably in August from storms and floods, but the damage was partly repaired by a week of fine weather just before the corn harvest. A Dairying Bill was projected for 1910 to rescue Irish butter from the disrepute that had affected it owing to variations in its quality. The Irish Agricultural Organisation Society celebrated its twenty-first year of existence on November 29, and continued to afford a hopeful example of the co-operation of men of different political and religious creeds. Unfortunately it had become involved during the year in a dispute with the Government (p. 168). The annual Gaelic League Exhibition of Irish Industries, held in London in October, was very encouraging. In another department of well-being, mention must be made of a very successful temperance effort in the North of Ireland, known as the "Catch my Pal" movement, because those who desired to sign the pledge had to bring a friend with them to sign it also. The pledge was taken publicly, a provision which was thought likely to render its observance more secure. It may be added that the average attendance at primary schools was the highest on record.

The Abbey Theatre in Dublin—the home of native drama—passed during the year from Miss Horniman's hands into those of a company, and the audiences showed a steady increase. A fund of 5,000*l.* was being raised to maintain the theatre for some years to come; about half had been promised by the end of the year. The company had a season in London in June. The centenary of the birth of Sir Samuel Ferguson, a noted Irish scholar and poet, was celebrated in March by a Ferguson exhibition at Belfast.

In trade and industry the year was generally prosperous. In shipbuilding Messrs. Harland & Wolff stood first among the world's shipbuilders in their output of tonnage (115,861; but 45,500 was represented by the huge White Star liner *Olympic*). They also launched large vessels for the Union Castle, P. & O., Bibby, Hamburg-American, and Royal Mail Companies. Messrs. Workman, Clark & Co., turned out 49,993 tons, including two large Holt liners for the Australian service. In the textile trade the year was generally prosperous, in spite of the high prices of the raw material, and the outlook for 1911 was excellent. In certain allied trades carried on by women homeworkers in Belfast, however, notably embroidery and shirtmaking, shocking revelations

of long hours and low pay were made by the medical officer of health for the city and supported by the Trades Council. It seemed probable that the Trade Boards Act would be applied. Belfast, it may be noted, continued to be the seat of the largest ropeworks in the world. The whisky trade (p. 274) suffered seriously owing to the Budget, the temperance movement, and possibly a change in the public taste. The omission of Queens-town in the autumn by the *Mauretania* and *Lusitania* on their eastward voyages, owing to the gain of time caused by landing the mails at Fishguard, was felt as a heavy loss, and a deputation was sent to the United States Post Office authorities to protest against the change.

SUPPLEMENTARY CHAPTER.

FINANCE AND TRADE IN 1910.

THE history of the finance and trade of the United Kingdom in 1910 was in many respects much more satisfactory than that of the previous year. Trade in the first half of 1909 was generally dull, and it was only towards the closing months that a great improvement was shown. The outlook was then described as distinctly encouraging, and the omens proved true. Most industries did well in 1910, and others would have participated to a greater extent in the general prosperity but for unfortunate labour disputes. The coal trade was disturbed by incessant disputes, beginning with trouble in Northumberland and Durham owing to the introduction of the Mines (Eight Hours) Act on January 1, and in March a general strike was threatened in South Wales on the question of a new Wages Agreement (p. 68); this national disaster was averted, but various sectional strikes occurred throughout the year, of which the worst were in the Aberdare and Rhondda Valleys (p. 223). These disturbances naturally had a very serious effect on the coal trade, resulting in decreased production and in many orders being sent abroad; the loss in wages was estimated at 750,000*l.*, while strike payments were put at 120,000*l.*

Cotton spinners were more affected by the high price of raw material, due to a small American crop, than by labour troubles, though early in the year a strike was threatened on the announcement by the employers of a proposed reduction, under the Brooklands Agreement, of 5 per cent. in wages; the proposal was resisted by the operatives, and on King Edward's death the employers announced their intention of postponing the question; later an agreement was signed by both parties, providing that no change in wages should be made for five years; soon afterwards another crisis occurred over the employment of an individual, but after a short lock-out a settlement was reached (pp. 206, 220). The high prices

of cotton goods during the first half of the year, due to the level at which the raw material stood, brought about a great falling-off in the demand from oversea markets, but in August the price of the staple declined substantially, and the mills became busy; activity reigned over the turn of the year and until the end of January, when signs of overproduction began to appear, and short time was again mooted.

As in the case of the coal trade the record of the shipbuilding industry was ruined by a lock-out, which lasted fourteen weeks, of all the ironworkers employed by the Federation of Shipbuilding Employers, the cause of the trouble being the breaking by the men of an agreement made by the Boilermakers' Society on their behalf, and the attitude of the men was thus described as a revolt against trade unionism; the lock-out began early in September, when the yards were beginning to be busy and affected many thousands of men, the estimated loss in wages being 800,000*l.* and the strike pay 100,000*l.* (pp. 206, 220, 268). The employers gained their point, and in spite of the long period of cessation of working or semi-activity, the output showed an increase in tonnage over the production of the previous year. One of the principal events was the launch at Belfast of the new White Star Liner *Olympic* of 45,500 tons, and a development of which much more is likely to be heard soon, lay in the construction of two steamers fitted with oil internal combustion engines. Shipowners did better, especially in the later months, than in the previous year, and at one time freights showed a considerable advance.

After allowing for the mixed blessing of dearer raw material and also for labour troubles, which were certainly not confined to the United Kingdom, it is pleasing to turn to the signs of prosperity. Among these was the increase amounting to 1,133,417,000*l.* or 7·7 per cent. in the turnover at the Bankers' Clearing House, though it is necessary to bear in mind certain exceptional conditions of the year. One of these, as was pointed out in the annual statement of the Clearing House, was the postponement of the Budget of 1909-10 and the large issues of Treasury Bills necessitated by it until the taxes were paid late in the year; another was the rubber "boom" in the early months; yet substantial increases in metropolitan and country cheque clearings indicated greater activity in trade. Another was a general increase in the earnings of the home railway companies, both in goods and passenger traffic, an exception being the Barry Company, which felt the effect of the coal strikes in South Wales,

During the first few weeks the recovery in trade was assisted by cheap money, but on March 17 the Bank of England discount rate was raised to 4 per cent. and remained at that level until June; it was then reduced to 3½ and again to 3 per cent., and was not changed until the end of September; the rate was then advanced to 4 per cent. and to 5 per cent. in the following month, at which

it remained until December 1, when it was reduced to $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. The Board of Trade Returns show that imports of gold into the United Kingdom amounted to 57,322,000*l.* against 54,692,000*l.* in 1909, an increase of 2,630,000*l.*, while the exports amounted to 50,899,000*l.* as against 47,250,000*l.*, an increase of 3,649,000*l.* The net imports were thus 6,423,000*l.* as against 7,442,000*l.*

Bankers enjoyed a prosperous year after allowing for the heavy depreciation in investments referred to later. Some trouble arose from the discovery of irregularity in American cotton bills of lading, and negotiations have been proceeding between English and American bankers to settle the responsibility for the acceptance of forged bills. On September 18 [see Chronicle] the Charing Cross "Bank" closed its doors. It was run by one man, and by offering high rates attracted a large number of small depositors. The failure caused great distress to people who could ill afford to lose their savings, but except by showing to what use the word "bank" could be put the event had no special significance. A result of the failure, apparently, was the suspension of payment by the London Trading Bank, a small institution which catered for tradesmen, owing to the nervousness created, and another consequence was a formidable run on the Birkbeck Bank in November. On the evening of the first day the officials were able to announce that the Bank of England had extended substantial financial assistance, and on the fourth day the run ceased.

The tendency of insurance companies to concentrate made further progress during the year; the principal example was the purchase of the Ocean Accident Company, by the Commercial Union Assurance Corporation. The assets of the Ocean Company amounted to over 2,100,000*l.*, while the liabilities taken over were estimated at less than 1,000,000*l.* Another big fusion was the purchase of the Railway Passengers' Assurance Corporation by the North British and Mercantile Company, the amount paid being 850,000*l.* Fire companies enjoyed a satisfactory year, though competition was very keen; workmen's compensation business was again said to be giving bad results to the offices; and marine underwriters suffered heavily from severe losses falling on reduced rates.

Returns of foreign trade were very satisfactory, showing considerably increased values for both imports and exports, though part of the advance in the imports was accounted for by the higher value of cotton. The imports showed a rise of 53,735,216*l.* or 8·6 per cent. at 678,440,173*l.*, and of this increase raw materials and articles mainly unmanufactured accounted for 41,096,536*l.*, a gain of 15·7 per cent. Exports amounted to 430,589,811*l.*, a gain of 52,409,464*l.* or 13·8 per cent., of which 46,264,818*l.* represented the increase in manufactured articles, a gain of 13·4 per cent. The re-exports of foreign and Colonial merchandise rose by

12,431,285*l.* to 103,776,104*l.* The total figures were higher than those for 1907, the previous "record" year.

A glance at a representative list of Stock Exchange prices shows some interesting movements. The first feature that meets the eye is the further general decline in gilt-edged securities, led by Consols, which closed $3\frac{1}{2}$ lower at $79\frac{7}{16}$, after having touched $78\frac{3}{8}$. Irish Land Stock also fell $3\frac{1}{2}$, Local Loans $2\frac{3}{8}$, India Three and a Half per Cents. $2\frac{1}{16}$, and London County Threes $2\frac{1}{4}$. Very large sums had to be allotted by banks for depreciation, and the various causes of the fall in the price of Consols aroused a good deal of discussion. Proposals have been made for popularising the security, among which is a suggestion for the issue of bearer certificates for small amounts, and now that attention has been called to the subject the prospect seems more hopeful. One of the reasons for the decline is undoubtedly that investors have shown a greater disposition to put their money into securities which give a higher yield, particularly Foreign Government bonds, and this fashion was reflected last year in an advance in a number of such issues. Japanese Four and a Half per Cents. rose $2\frac{1}{8}$ and the Fours $2\frac{3}{8}$, while the Russian Four and a Half and Five per Cent. loans were each $3\frac{1}{2}$ higher. The Chilian loan of 1906 rose 3, Mexican bonds improved, and there was a noteworthy rise of $4\frac{7}{8}$ in Buenos Ayres Municipal Three per Cent. bonds. Portuguese Threes were one higher in spite of the upheaval of the Constitution, but on the other hand Spanish Fours declined, and Turkish Loans weakened owing to the cessation of negotiations in France for the issue of a new loan and the attitude of French financiers. Home Railway Stocks were encouraged by increased earnings, economies partly due to working agreements, and consequent better dividends for the first half of the year. Hull and Barnsley showed a rise of $15\frac{1}{4}$, though a proposed agreement with the North-Eastern Company was not carried into effect, owing to the attitude of the Hull Corporation. Brighton Deferred rose $11\frac{1}{2}$, partly due to the results of the electrification of the line between Victoria and London Bridge; other notable advances were those of $10\frac{7}{8}$ in South-Eastern Deferred, $9\frac{1}{2}$ in Metropolitan District, and $7\frac{1}{4}$ in Great Northern Deferred. Substantial rises were shown in the stocks of the Great Western and South-Western Companies, which early in the year announced that a working agreement had been made. North-Eastern Consols closed slightly lower, but this company was effected not only by the shipbuilding strike, but by a short strike among its staff in the summer. Among Colonial railways a noteworthy feature was a rise of 31 points in the Income Debenture Stock of the Beira Railway Company, which reflects the progress made by Rhodesia, while there were also rises in the Rhodesian Railway issues. A higher dividend was paid on Canadian Pacific Railway shares and the prices of the shares rose $13\frac{1}{4}$. In the Foreign railway market the stocks of the Mexican Company rose

considerably, and South American Railway issues were again in favour. One of the few exceptions in the general improvement in the foreign railway department was a fall in the stocks of the Cuban companies, which were affected by the exceptionally serious cyclone which passed over the island in October.

American railroad shares were affected by adverse influences, such as a great increase in working costs, and a very considerable set back in prices occurred. Proposals of the companies for increasing rates were placed before the Inter-State Commerce Commission, and when the year opened the arguments on either side were being heard. Perhaps the most remarkable feature of the Stock Exchange year was the continuance and development of the rubber "boom." At the end of 1909 the price of fine Para was 7s. 7½d., and from the opening of 1910 until the middle of April the price rose steadily to 12s. 5d. The advance was accompanied by sensational rises in the rubber companies' shares, and by a flood of new issues, many of which were in the form of 2s. shares, but all were quickly absorbed until the fall in the price of the commodity; the market then remained dull until the close of the year. The Bankers' Clearing House statement shows that on March 16, when the "boom" was at its height, the amount cleared reached the record total of 112,343,000*l.*, being an increase over the corresponding settling day of 1909 of 28,117,000*l.* On a much smaller scale oil companies' shares attracted attention, and a number of new issues were launched. Prices during the early months advanced, but then declined and continued dull. Tea companies' shares also came into favour on the basis of a falling off in production and an increased demand; the market, however, in these shares is very limited. Mines were rather ousted from their prominent position as speculative counters by rubber shares, and were also affected by the fact that though the production of the South African mines was greater, working costs were higher and the total amount paid in dividends was actually smaller. Rhodesian issues were supported.

As has already been indicated, the prices of a number of commodities advanced, though the tendency was rather irregular. Wheat was lower, the English average closing at 30s. 5d., as compared with 33s. 3d., the closing price of 1909, and other grains declined. Flour (English households) was from 2s. to 3s. lower on the year.

CUTHBERT MAUGHAN.

FOREIGN AND COLONIAL HISTORY.

CHAPTER I.

FRANCE AND ITALY.

I. FRANCE.

IN France the year of a general election is seldom favourable to Parliamentary work. Since the virtual abandonment of the right of dissolution and the establishment of the custom of holding the elections about the beginning of May, the members of the legislature find themselves every four years in the unpleasant position of a patient who knows that he must undergo within a given period an operation which may prove mortal. The effect is unsettling, and the first third of the year is all but wasted. As another third is religiously set apart for vacations, and the discussion of the Budget annually gives rise to the same abuse of speech-making, the result is that, even by holding morning sittings (which are almost unattended), the Chamber fails to get through its work and therefore compromises its reputation. The break-up of the coalition of the Left, the cleavage in the Radical Socialist party, and M. Briand's swerve towards the Right of the Chamber, were destined further to unsettle the uncertain majority, and to expend Parliamentary energy mainly in debating interpellations and in mere political manœuvring.

The ordinary session began on January 11; M. Henri Brisson and M. Antonin Dubost were respectively elected unopposed to the Presidency of the Chamber and of the Senate. The other outgoing officers of both Houses were elected without difficulty, and, next day, the electoral preoccupation of members was exhibited by M. Péchadre's motion, declaring the confidence of the Chamber that the Government, before the general election, would secure the enactment of the Bill securing the fairness and secrecy of voting. Having quieted its conscience by this purely academic demonstration, the Chamber took no further steps effectively to preclude the scandalous practices prevalent, especially in the southern departments, aiming at the deliberate perversion of elections, parliamentary and municipal alike. Educational questions aroused its passions; between January 14 and 24 most of its time was taken up by a debate on the defence of the neutral and secular school system. M.

Rocafort, a teacher at the Lycée St. Louis in Paris, was the chief member in France of the editorial staff of the *Correspondance Romaine*, an organ of the Vatican, and therefore actively influenced the French clergy. The Minister of Public Instruction, M. Doumergue, had promoted him. M. Besnard questioned the Minister, and M. Dessoie and M. Gerard Varet charged the Ministry with indifference to the Clerical attacks made on the teachers. M. Groussau replied that the masters in the primary schools were poisoning the minds of the pupils entrusted to their care by instruction pernicious in character and violently hostile to the Church. This drew a protest on January 17 from the Prime Minister, who insisted on the Liberalism of the Government. Ultimately, after lengthy speeches from MM. Maurice Barrès, Denys Cochin, Gayraud and Piou, as representing the Right, MM. Alexandre Blanc, Lefas, Ferdinand Buisson, Ducarouge, and Jaurès on the part of the Left, and MM. Doumergue and Briand for the Government, the Chamber adopted by 385 to 137 an Order of the Day brought forward by M. Dessoie, expressing its confidence that the Ministry would defend secular education (*l'école laïque*), and, in any proceedings taken by parents, would shield the teacher by taking the responsibility for his acts. These debates soon had practical results. The Teachers' Association of the Marne recovered damages from Cardinal Luçon, Archbishop of Rheims, as one of the signatories of the letter issued by the Bishops; and the judgment was confirmed by the Court of Appeal. This suit produced a great effect throughout France. That a Prince of the Church should be sued successfully by such humble persons as primary schoolmasters was an impressive sign of the changes accomplished within the past few years in France.

Not less significant was the course taken by the debate in the Senate on working-class pensions. Instead of narrowing and mutilating the measure, as its opponents had predicted, the amendments proposed by the Upper House only made it more liberal and extended its benefits more widely, notably to farmers, *métayer* tenants, and small masters. The amendment in the last-named sense, proposed by MM. Lintilhac and Bepmale, was only defeated by the intervention of the Finance Minister, M. Cochery, who treated its rejection as vital to the Government. Ultimately, on February 12, the Bill was passed unanimously; but, as having been amended, it necessarily went back to the Chamber.

Meanwhile the interminable Budget debate in the Chamber was interspersed with interludes, some of them not altogether creditable to the majority of the House. The debate on the concession of a railway in Algeria from Bona to the Ouenza resulted neither in the sanction of the agreement concluded between the Governor of Algeria and the Company, nor in its rejection through Socialist obstruction. The Government vainly strove to show the importance of the question for Algeria and the feeling roused by

the incredible apathy of the Chamber: no decision was reached. Members' minds were already unsettled by the approach of the elections. On the Budget of Posts and Telegraphs, M. Millerand, the Minister of Public Works,—in spite of all the lavish assurances and the stringent resolutions passed in 1909 on the occasion of the strike,—announced that the Government intended to reinstate the dismissed postal employees. General Toutée, Military Secretary (*chef du cabinet*) to the War Minister, insisted that a document sent by a deputy to his chief should be transmitted through him; he was charged with an infraction of the independence and dignity of the Legislature. General Brun gave way, and suddenly announced (Feb. 7) to the Chamber that General Toutée no longer formed part of his staff. Such submissiveness on the part of a Minister seemed to augur ill for his defence of the national interests when the Army Estimates were discussed; but he adopted a prudent tactical manoeuvre. He allowed the criticisms and complaints to be made during the general debate on these Estimates, and then answered them at its close with truly military brevity, having left M. Sarraut, Under-Secretary of State, or M. Trouillot, Colonial Minister, to give the necessary explanations of the various votes. In this moderately satisfactory fashion the votes were eventually passed. All the rest of February was taken up by the Colonial and Naval Estimates, and hence a vote on account for a third month had to be asked for. Next, the Chamber had to face the serious problem of the new taxes necessary to balance the increased expenditure authorised for almost every Department of State. It is always difficult to effect this balance on the eve of a general election. The task was further complicated by the generosity displayed by the Chamber towards the sufferers by the floods.

The exceptionally wet summer of 1909 had been followed by rains and storms, and in the middle of January, 1910, the floods began. They soon became disastrous. In the basin of the Seine the Yonne and the Marne, which as a rule never rise simultaneously, suddenly overflowed the riverside meadows, and after a series of disasters in the departments comprised in Burgundy and Champagne, aggravated the great rise in the Seine and laid waste its valley above Paris, flooding almost all the suburbs in a few hours. On January 20 the Government had hastily to summon the pontoon regiments of Grenoble and Angers, and to employ the unoccupied naval seamen to secure the provisioning of the inhabitants, who were cut off in their houses. At Paris the river soaked into the soil and filled not only the sewers, which overflowed in the low-lying districts, but the tunnels of the Metropolitan Railway. There was reason to fear that the river might take possession of its ancient bed, which had skirted the great Boulevards. Parts of the mechanism vital to the city—the supply of electric light and power, and in some districts that of drinking

water—were practically paralysed. The Government appointed a Commission composed of engineers and experts, presided over by M. A. Picard, to consider the means of preventing a recurrence of the visitation, and, after the beginning of February, the crisis in Paris was past. The measures of hygiene and disinfection ordered by the authorities at least averted the expected epidemic; and in the second half of that month the mortality was below the average. In view of the distress caused, the Paris Press had started a relief fund; some millions of francs were subscribed at once, and help poured in from all quarters. The Chamber voted 20,000,000 francs (800,000*l.*) for relief; but besides this, facilities were given to the owners of real property to contract loans to enable them to make good the damages they had suffered; these loans were to run for long periods, and their repayment was guaranteed by the communes, the Departments, and ultimately by the State—the public credit being pledged to the extent of 100,000,000 francs. It would be necessary to go far back in the history of French finance to find a similar instance of extravagance.

The harm of this course was aggravated by the obstinate refusal of the majority of the Chamber to support the Finance Minister, M. Cochery, in his efforts to meet the deficit by new taxation. He had made a careful study of the sources of wealth, and the kinds of consumable goods, from which fresh revenue would have to be drawn. But the Budget Commission rejected his proposals to place a surtax on alcoholic liquors, to impose a tax by means of a label guaranteeing genuineness on wines of a superior class, and to postpone the establishment of “postal cheques” to a future Budget. Hence it was necessary to have recourse to borrowing, and the Treasury was authorised to issue 151,000,000 francs of six-year bonds. This financial policy was regarded as one of wilful damage to the Budget; and the Chamber showed its selfish prepossession by refusing to take into consideration a proposal by M. Gauthier de Clagny prohibiting deputies who should fail to secure re-election from exercising the functions of receivers of revenue or treasurers-general during two years from their rejection. Ultimately, on March 10, the Budget was made to balance and sent to the Senate, and the Chamber granted itself a recess of a week.

While the deputies were scattered, and the Senate was debating the second reading of the Workmen’s Pensions Bill, a very grave scandal set up an outcry alike among opponents and supporters of the Government, and seemed likely to rival that of Panama. M. Duez, one of the official liquidators charged by the Courts with the duty of realising the property of the religious Orders, was arrested for diverting money to his own use. He admitted that he had embezzled 4,000,000 francs, but other liquidators were compromised likewise, and the Minister of Justice was accused of neglect in trusting interests of gravity to persons

of doubtful character. The Extreme Right and the Socialists thought they had found a means of overthrowing the Government, and as soon as the Chamber resumed its sittings they gave notice of an interpellation. Three disorderly sittings were spent on the debate. M. Barthou, the Minister of Justice, explained the method of appointing the liquidators; the judicial authorities, not the Ministry, were responsible; his conclusion was that the choice of these "legal bandits" showed how thoroughly corrupt the judiciary had become. Startling as was the scandal, his words seemed strange coming from a Minister, and the explanations given by M. Millerand, the Minister of Public Works, satisfied no one. He remained under the imputation that, as counsel chosen by the liquidators, he had pocketed utterly exorbitant fees. An Order of the Day drawn up by M. Cère and accepted by the Government was passed by 343 to 79, but only after an energetic speech from the Prime Minister. Next day the whole question was re-opened in the Senate; two ex-Ministers, MM. Monis and Vallé, who had been attacked by M. Barthou, claimed the right to explain; they took up two sittings, and led to the unexpected result that M. Combes, in his capacity as President of the Senate's Commission of Inquiry, moved an Order of the Day declaring the Senate to be convinced that the Government was making a thorough investigation as to the parties responsible, and would secure the punishment of those guilty. The meaning of this was that, in both Houses, the majority thought a change of Ministry inadvisable so short a time before the elections. But besides that, it was necessary to go to the country with a certain number of reforms already accomplished. The legislative machine went faster; the Senate, like the Chamber, held morning as well as evening sittings. Bills were passed enacting a revised Customs tariff which gave the Protectionists new favours,—though these did not satisfy their demands; a system of long-term credit was established, enabling the peasantry to acquire, improve, or re-constitute their small holdings; pensions were provided for the working classes; aviation established in the Army. These and other measures were passed one after another, without interfering with a Budget debate which showed once more that competence and talent were not lacking in the Upper Chamber, but that, as usual, there was not time to give proof of them.

The general Budget debate began on March 25, and was practically ended next day, after M. Boudenoot had set forth the criticism of the finance of the Republic, and M. Gauthier, the reporter of the Budget Commission, its defence. On the Estimates for the Ministry of the Interior, M. Briand formally promised to instruct the Prefects to observe strict neutrality in the general election, and to see that the contests should be free from influence and properly conducted. These were fine phrases, but there was no security that they would be acted on, for the measures for

assuring the secrecy of the ballot had not been passed. While the Senate hurriedly voted the Budget, the Chamber adopted the text of the Workmen's Pensions Bill in the precise form in which it had left the Senate; it hastily devised a Bill making for the purification of the Army by excluding persons convicted of crime from the corps at home stations; it transferred all questions relating to the property of the religious Orders from the liquidators to the Administration of State Domains—a feeble expedient, which would not restore to the Treasury the millions squandered. Outside a small group who were in the secret, it was not yet known that the liquidators by their complicity, and the supervisors appointed by the State in connexion with the *Crédit Foncier* by their negligence, had permitted the religious houses to borrow on the security of their property sums almost equal to its total value. The last days of the session exhibited complete unsettlement; each party was in search of tactical devices and electoral allies. It was only on April 8 that the two Chambers at last came to an agreement on the Budget, and they then adjourned to June 1.

The naval programme worked out by Admiral Boué de Lapeyrière had been laid before the Chamber at the beginning of February. The Naval Committee, of which M. Delcassé was President, examined it at once, approved its main outlines, and appointed M. Chaumet, a deputy for the Gironde, reporter. His report was sent in on March 14. The programme abandoned the practice of encumbering the Navy with unequal and heterogeneous units, and recommended the construction of sixteen *Dreadnoughts* to be complete for service in 1918. Half were to be built in the State dockyards, the rest in private yards. Each was to cost rather more than 65,000,000 francs (2,600,000*l.*), and to have six batteries each carrying two 305 mm. guns; four of these were to be on the central line of the ship, the other two placed laterally. The displacement contemplated was 23,500 tons, the speed twenty to twenty-one knots. For future repair new docks were to be constructed at Toulon and those at Missiessy to be enlarged, so that seven battleships could be taken at Toulon and three more at Bizerta. The complete fleet, including the newly launched vessels of the *Danton* type (e.g. the *Brennus*, *Mirabeau*, and *Condorcet*), would number twenty-eight battleships, which would be divided into two groups, the strongest group being concentrated in the Mediterranean, where lay the chief interests of France. Unfortunately, the programme was submitted to the Chamber too late for full discussion before the general election. The Government therefore asked the Legislature to pass the necessary votes for the first two vessels, which were to be laid down in 1910 and completed in 1913. After a short debate in the Chamber, in which Admiral Bienaimé contended that the price per ton was 50 per cent. more in France than in Germany, the vote was passed on April 1, and two days later was endorsed by the Senate. Unfortunately, the

complications arising from the strikes in the autumn precluded the examination of the programme itself before the close of the year.

To return to the Budget for 1910; it gave the Government the disposal of 4,185,382,482 francs (167,415,296*l.*), of which the Service of the Public Debt alone took 1,269,000,000 francs (50,760,000*l.*), the Ministry of War 872,000,000 francs (35,080,000*l.*), the Ministry of Marine 375,000,000 francs (15,000,000*l.*), Public Instruction 302,000,000 francs (12,080,000*l.*), and that of Public Works 265,000,000 francs (10,600,000*l.*); these departments taking the largest sums. The revenue was estimated at 4,182,828,225 francs (167,313,129*l.*). This total, which was below that of the expenditure, had only been reached by the issue of short-term bonds for 160,000,000 francs (6,400,000*l.*), which formed an addition to the floating debt and terminable annuities, the annual interest on which alone was 236,000,000 francs (9,440,000*l.*). All the writing of M. Doumer, the Reporter of the Budget Commission, and all the eloquence of M. Berteaux, its President, could not hide the danger involved to France by so formidable a deficit. These figures might have considerably strengthened the Opposition parties during the electoral contest, had not the sincerity of their criticisms seemed open to suspicion.

The electoral campaign had begun long ago. April 24 had been fixed on for the first ballots; but the various parties were to a great extent paralysed by the extreme uncertainty of the outlook. The agitation over the secular school question left the great mass of the electors indifferent; the underground propaganda of the anti-militarists seemed to have been exterminated since the severe sentence of four years' imprisonment passed by the Assize Court of the Seine on M. Hervé, their leader. The Radicals were profoundly divided on the income-tax question, and the Socialists had been in a state of internal conflict ever since their Congress at Nîmes in February on the attitude to be taken up towards the trade unions. Finally, the vigorous movement in favour of proportional representation and electoral reform, organised by MM. Charles Benoist, Ferdinand Buisson, Jaurès, Deschanel, and Denys Cochin, was another solvent of the old parties. M. Briand's speech at St. Chamond necessarily failed to give the needed platform; he appealed for peace and conciliation, but the politicians of the Right interpreted these attractive words to mean the abolition of the policy of laicisation, those of the Left its development. The only notable incidents during the elections were the strike of registered sailors at Marseilles, and the railway-men's agitation at Paris.

The polls of April 21 showed that the electors had no less difficulty than the candidates in choosing between the multitude of programmes. The second ballots had not been so numerous since 1885, the only election under *scrutin de liste* since the establishment of the existing Constitution; they now numbered 231. A

very keen struggle was expected at them, but it did not take place. The General Confederation of Labour had planned a great demonstration on May 1 at the Bois du Boulogne, with a procession through the streets of Paris on the way back. The Government took such energetic measures to restrict the demonstration to a mere excursion that its organisers gave it up. This crisis over, the second ballots took place quietly enough. The total number of deputies elected was 597, the results of the census of 1906 having made an increase of six seats necessary. As usual, the Press of each party claimed a victory, a course all the more easy as there were 235 new members, a much larger number than usual. The most notable defeats were those of MM. Doumer, Dubief, Krantz, and Allemane. The supporters of *scrutin de liste* coupled with proportional representation had obtained nearly 4,500,000 votes. For no other of the questions most actively discussed was there any specific indication of popular enthusiasm.

The day after the second ballots the spring session of the Councils-General of the Departments opened, owing to the elections being five weeks later than usual. Most of these bodies, though purely departmental, made it a point of honour to associate themselves with the national mourning of the United Kingdom by passing addresses of condolence on the death of King Edward VII. Resolutions in favour of the policy of conciliation were shelved, in certain departments whose Prefects were followers of M. Combes, by the "previous question." Thus the tactics were indicated which the Radical-Socialist party—whose losses at the elections had been considerable—was about to adopt, a line destined gradually to lead to its break-up.

The new Chamber met on June 1. Its first act was to elect as its provisional President M. Henri Brisson, who was re-elected definitively on June 7, but received only 304 votes. Two days later the Prime Minister in the Chamber and the Minister of Justice in the Senate read the Ministerial declaration of policy, which was regarded as too long and not sufficiently precise. But the Prime Minister's plan was to secure by the intentional ambiguity of his programme the individual accession of doubtful members. A somewhat stormy discussion on the general policy of the Government began on June 13 and lasted for nine lengthy sittings, taking up all the remainder of the month. Its most excited phase was marked by the debate of June 28 on the terms of the final resolution. M. Berteaux and M. Cruppi, speaking in the name of the Radical-Socialists and Radicals, attempted to force the Government to dissociate themselves definitely from the Progressists or Conservative Republicans. M. Briand refused to commit himself thus, but he stated that, if not supported by the majority of the Left, he would withdraw. The Radical leaders professed themselves satisfied with this assurance, and gave up a contest of which the opening had been unpromising for them.

The Order of the Day in favour of the Government brought forward by M. Hesse and M. Bourély was then carried by 403 to 110. The minority comprised the Extreme Right and the Extreme Left. The Government and the new Chamber had come into harmony, but the majority had changed its composition. Besides this full-dress debate in the Chamber, the new attitude of the various parties was clearly marked by a number of incidents—the democratic alliance which grouped the Republicans of the Left between the Progressists on one side and the Radicals on the other had declared itself in favour of proportional representation; and M. Lépine, the Prefect of Police, had energetically repressed a riot accompanied by bloodshed, provoked by the General Confederation of Labour on June 26, on the occasion of the funeral of a journeyman cabinet-maker who had been wounded in a disturbance in the Faubourg St. Antoine between strikers and police. The deeds of the Government corresponded to its declarations. Some days later (July 7) an amnesty was proposed by M. Sixte Guénin, a Socialist. It was opposed by M. Briand, and rejected by 420 to 108. At the same time the cause of Proportional Representation was gaining ground in the Chamber itself. It was decided that the members of the large Standing Committees elected for the whole term of any Chamber should no longer be elected by the Committees of the Chamber chosen by lot, but that the various Parliamentary groups should choose their representatives on them in proportion to their respective numbers. The result was a sort of official classification—if not of parties, at least of Parliamentary groups. The numbers of these groups were announced as follows, in the order of grouping: Right, 19; Action Libérale, 34; Progressists, 76—total of Right of Chamber, 129; Democratic Left, 73; Radical Left, 112; Radical-Socialists, 149—total of Left, 334. Finally, there were 30 Independent and 75 Unified Socialists, making a Socialist total of 105. A small group of about 20 Independents completed the Parliamentary kaleidoscope. It was difficult to foresee what combinations such unlike elements would produce. The Radicals and Radical-Socialists, in order to become dominant, had necessarily to secure the support either of the Democratic Left or of the Independent Socialists, but they were not in agreement as to which they should choose. Some, for instance M. Pelletan and M. Buisson, remained faithful to M. Combes' policy of an agreement with the Socialists; but M. Jaurès' adherents repudiated the former agreement, and on the other hand a certain number of Radicals, led by M. Cruppi, were troubled by the understandings existing between the Socialists and the trade unionists, and were aware of the anxiety caused in the country by the perpetual threats of strikes, especially railway strikes. These were advocated by the pictorial placards posted in Paris and in every town where there was a considerable number of railwaymen; and preparations were

being openly made for them by the men's organisations on some of the lines, with the approval of the General Confederation of Labour.

In these conditions the Parliamentary session closed (July 12) amid a feeling of uneasiness intensified by a fresh scandal. Two Socialist deputies, MM. Jaurès and Leboucq, had addressed an interpellation to the Government on the part played by the police in the arrest, in 1909, of a banker named Rochette, whose sudden incarceration had given rise to suspicious movements on the Bourse. M. Clemenceau appeared to be compromised, but at that moment he was in South America; M. Briand had only obtained a vote of confidence by consenting to the appointment of a Commission of Inquiry, which had, indeed, no judicial powers, but of which M. Jaurès was elected President. This was another Socialist success. Some days after the session closed a fresh indication of the progress of advanced opinions was given by the elections for the renewal of half the members of the various Departmental Councils (July 24 and July 31). The Reactionary and Nationalist parties lost 49 seats of the 259 they had previously held; the Progressists lost 19 out of their 332; the Radicals and Radical-Socialists gained 23, the Socialist of all shades 33. This progress of Socialism, however, was a sort of Pyrrhic victory, for to secure it a new method had to be adopted with the rural voters, so that, in dealing with the small proprietors, agrarian collectivism was dropped. This was a fresh illustration of the important position taken in the party by its Opportunist section, which primarily aimed at gaining seats. But the revolutionary tendency was not paralysed. On the contrary, at the beginning of August, as the result of the congress of railway engineers and stokers, a combination was achieved of the Union of engineers and that of train and station employees. The two Unions, while each retained its own autonomy, founded a Railway Union intended to include all railway workers in one combination. This attitude on their part inevitably alarmed public opinion. Several accidents, the severest of which, that of Saujon, near Royan, on the State railway (*post*, *Chronicle*, Aug. 14), caused some forty deaths, showed that the material equipment of the lines did not offer the guarantees of safety rendered necessary by the development of the traffic. But the grave reflexions suggested by the weakening of the discipline and the deterioration of the lines were for some time put out of mind by the "Aeroplane tour of Eastern France," organised by a Parisian newspaper, and brilliantly carried out by daring airmen. For some days the whole French nation followed with impassioned attention the efforts of such men as MM. Aubrun and Leblanc, and allowed itself to be carried away by possibly extravagant hopes. There was a sort of truce in party politics, which was prolonged by the visit to Switzerland paid in the middle of August by the President of the Republic (*post*, p. 362).

But the optimism of an unreflecting populace was brought back to the realms of commonplace by an ecclesiastical question. M. Marc Sangnier, an active publicist with democratic tendencies, had created a party called the *Sillon*, whose tendencies were socialistic; it addressed itself primarily to the young, and appealed to the masses by its crude polemics. M. Sangnier was denounced at Rome by certain Bishops, whose jealousy he had roused, and was abruptly condemned by the Papacy and ordered to dissolve the societies he had formed. He submitted humbly, though not without some bitterness, and numerous Catholics regretted the severity of the paralysing blow. A few days later, a more surprising announcement startled the mass of those who, independently of political differences, remained faithful to the observances of Catholicism. The Pope intimated that, in conformity with the decrees of the Council of Trent, the age of first communion for children was to be reduced from twelve to six or seven. The Bishops, who had not been consulted in any way, respectfully made representations which were unheeded. On the contrary, it seemed as though the more closely the French Church remained attached to its own customs, the more obstinately its Roman head was determined to constrain it to submit to the common rule, even at the risk of hastening the de-Christianising process of which the advance became more evident daily. This event, therefore, tended rather to encourage the enemies of the Catholic party, which was visibly disquieted by the change. But, if the Right was becoming split up, another split was developing during the recess, that in the Radical-Socialist party.

The Councils-General of the Departments had discussed with some bitterness the question of a reconciliation of Church and State. At Lyons the majority of the Departmental Council of the Rhone declared so emphatically against the new policy of the Ministry that M. Lutaud, the Prefect of the Department, withdrew from the Council Chamber by way of protest; at Clermont-Ferrand and at Angoulême there were demonstrations attesting the Radical dissatisfaction at the new attitude of the Government and at the advances it had made to the Right. Within two months of the prorogation of the Chambers, the Radical-Socialist Congress at Rouen gave M. Briand's adversaries the opportunity of exhibiting their distrust of him, and of preparing a decisive attack when the Chambers met. An Order of the Day, passed by a large majority, declared that "the Congress, considering that the so-called policy of reconciliation merely serves to aid reaction, refuses to associate itself under this ambiguous pretext with a policy of reactionary compromise, and directs its Parliamentary representatives to support only a Government inspired by the guiding principles of secularism, democracy and socialism." After this the Presidency of the party was offered to M. Combes; he accepted it by telegram, but unfortunately for him, the course of

events at once endangered interests of such high importance that the debates of the Congress were completely forgotten.

On October 12, the men employed in handling coal on the Northern Railway system came out on strike. Then at Creil and Tergnier in rapid succession the movement extended to the engine-drivers and the train-men, and then to the whole of the workmen employed. A strike was resolved on for the whole system, and rapidly became general. Some days later, the Western Railway, owned by the State, followed suit. All the North Sea and Channel ports were abruptly cut off from communications with Paris and Southern France. Active efforts were made to extend the strike to the systems of all the other companies; meanwhile, at Paris, the everlasting strike in the building trade broke out again with fresh virulence; the outrages committed on workmen who insisted on continuing to work at their trade assumed a character of alarming violence; rumours of the most startling kind began to spread.

But the energy of the Ministry suddenly changed the situation. M. Millerand, the Minister of Public Works, intimated that the sudden stoppage of work by the railwaymen was without justification, the more so as negotiations had been begun between their delegates and the Government with the aim of giving effect to their demands, and that both sides had agreed to await the companies' decision. The Government, therefore, asserted that it had to face, not a mere conflict of economic interests, but criminal and revolutionary enterprise. It therefore declared that it was bound to secure before all things the very existence of the nation, and to protect the safety of the railways against wilful damage and violence. The chief leaders were arrested, and an order given for mobilisation, the railway servants and engine-drivers being called out for a term of military service; and it detailed regiments called up from the provinces and known for their good discipline to occupy the stations, the pointsmen's posts, the bridges and the tunnels, in short all those railway works the destruction of which would have paralysed the traffic. This energy disconcerted the strike leaders, and produced an immediate and complete reversal of the attitude of the railwaymen on the Eastern, Orleans, and Paris-Lyons system, who, through their own submissiveness acted on by intimidation, had been on the point of following the example of their fellows on the Northern and on the Western-State systems. An attempt at a general strike proved a pitiable failure; and the electric workers, who tried to join the rebellious railwaymen, succeeded only in depriving some parts of Paris for a few hours of their supplies of light and power. The repression was so prompt that it ended there and then any extension of the stoppage of work, and the professional agitator, M. Pataud, thought it advisable to take refuge in Belgium.

In short, when the autumn session began, the Government had

cut the ground from under the agitators, reassured the interests concerned, and restored, or all but restored, the normal services of trains. The Socialist and Radical members of the railway group in Parliament had already applied to M. Briand, who had refused to deal with them; a demonstration projected at the Bois de Vincennes had been forbidden by the Government, and the Strike Committee had solemnly decided that work should be resumed. The extraordinary session began on October 25. The Ministry met the Chamber, to all appearance, in its full strength: really it was broken up, for M. Viviani had resigned, and remained in office only to stand by his colleagues until after the debate on the interpellations announced on the railway strike. This debate proved stormy. The Socialists and some Radical-Socialists harassed the Prime Minister with their interruptions and drowned his voice by hooting and wild outcry, by slamming their desks and by bursts of hissing. This bare-faced obstruction did not prevent M. Briand from setting forth both the Ministerial efforts to satisfy the legitimate demands of the men and also the revolutionists' efforts to secure success for their attempts at social war.

The debate was adjourned till Thursday, October 27. The sitting was comparatively calm. The effect in the country of the violent demonstrations of two days earlier was damaging to the Socialists, and the Press was indignant at the lack of energy exhibited by the President of the Chamber. M. Millerand, the Minister of Public Works, was therefore able to defend his action as a conciliator before and after the strike had been declared. The discussion dragged on with the monotony that comes of weariness, through two sufficiently uninteresting sittings; but on October 29, after an encounter between M. Viviani, the Minister of Public Works, and M. Jaurès, the Prime Minister, who lay under the imputation of having in his earlier career set forth the theory of the general strike and commended it, declared that for a nation the right to live took precedence over every other. He added: "I am going to tell you something which will make you jump with indignation. If, to defend the existence of the nation, the Government had not found in the law that which enabled it to remain master of its frontiers, and to control for that end its railways, an essential instrument of national defence,—in short, if it had had to resort to illegality, it would have done so." Hardly had these words been uttered when an unprecedented uproar arose. After ineffectual efforts at explanation, the Prime Minister was assailed by the cries of his opponents for more than an hour as he stood at the tribune. It was necessary to suspend the sitting. The vote was taken next day,—Sunday, October 30. After a few brief words from M. Briand, modifying the dictatorial utterances which he had allowed to escape him the day before, the Order of the Day pure and simple, which the Radicals interpreted as implying a censure on the Cabinet, was rejected by 381 to 170; next, a

resolution moved by M. Jules Guesde, asking the Chamber to demand M. Briand's impeachment, was defeated by an even larger majority; and an Order of the Day, expressing confidence in the Government, brought forward by M. Raynaud, was then reached. Its first part, condemning wilful obstruction by trade-unionists (*sabotage*), violence, and "anti-patriotism," was carried unanimously: the words "approving the acts of the Government," were passed by 415 to 116; the third section by 329 to 183. This ran as follows: "trusting in the Government to protect, within the limits of law and order, the liberties of the Republic and the vital interests of the country." [A final section, which made the vote of confidence unqualified, was passed by 388 to 94.]

This was a victory for M. Briand. He took his profit from it at once. The next day he put it to his colleagues that the retirement of the Ministry was the necessary penalty of the conflict just closed, and announced that he had decided to tender his own resignation to the President of the Republic. A Ministerial crisis was thus the unforeseen result of the Ministerial success. M. Fallières at once entrusted M. Briand with the task of forming the new Cabinet (Nov. 2); and the names of its members were published in the *Journal Officiel* on November 4. The Prime Minister kept for himself the Ministry of the Interior and that of Public Worship. M. Théodore Girard, a Senator, became Minister of Justice. Four of the members of the preceding Cabinet retained their posts, *viz.*, M. Pichon the Foreign Office; M. Jean Dupuy (a Senator), Commerce; General Brun and Admiral Boué de Lapeyrière the Ministries of War and Marine. The Colonial Minister, M. Jean Morel, was a deputy, as were MM. Puech (Public Works), Klotz (Finance), Lafferre (Labour), Raynaud (Agriculture). Finally, a Senator, M. Maurice Faure, became Grand Master of the University and Minister of Public Instruction. The impression caused by the accession to power of so many unknown men was not altogether flattering. It was, of course, a Briand Ministry, in the sense that none either of the new Ministers or of those who had served before had sufficient personal authority to detract from that of its chief. In the Chamber an Opposition group arose under MM. Berteaux, Pelletan, and Delcassé which at once joined battle by an interpellation, which was debated as soon as the Ministerial declaration had been read in the Chambers. Two sittings (Nov. 8, 9) were devoted to this exchange of Parliamentary amenities. Though less violent than those of ten days earlier, they showed the bitter hatred now given free range against the party in power. Eventually, an Order of the Day involving a vote of confidence, brought forward by M. Grosdidier, was adopted by 296 to 209. The minority consisted of Socialists, of members of the Right, and of some Radical-Socialists and Dissident Radicals. Confirmed by this victory, the new Government set to work, and the Chamber at last decided to

discuss the Budget. This annual task began far too late to be completed in proper time. It was interrupted slightly by a few episodes—the discussion of the railway conventions, of a motion by M. Fournier urging the Government to consider the proper means of securing the reinstatement of the railwaymen discharged in connection with the strike, and of M. Messimy's interpellation on the events of Wadai (*post*, Chap. VII.). After a debate lasting over three sittings, this discussion ended on December 24 with a vote of confidence taking note of the formal and precise declarations made by the Government as to the securing of the French possessions in Equatorial Africa.

The session closed amid a feeling of uneasiness, resulting from the obscurity of the situation at home and the uncertainty as to the position taken up by France in the questions which were arising in the East regarding the Turkish railways and the Persian imbroglio, and also in Europe as the result of the interview of the Tsar and the German Emperor at Potsdam. The projected fortification of Flushing (*post*, Chap. IV.) contributed further to set up disquiet, and it was noted that it was not only the Opposition parties who were assailing M. Pichon's policy. The official head of the French diplomatic service had to defend himself against the friends as well as the foes of the Prime Minister; his habitual optimism was shaken, and the consequence was that the alarmist rumours which began to circulate seemed less improbable than would have been the case otherwise.

II. ITALY.

The truce granted to the Sonnino Ministry to permit it to get settled in office and to prepare its plan of campaign lasted through January. The recess was a busy one, especially for Admiral Bettolo and the Marquis Guicciardini; the former had to resume negotiations with the steamship companies regarding the Conventions, while the latter was discussing with France the acquisition of the Palazzo Farnese and with Turkey the assassination of two Italian subjects in Arabia. The death (January 19) of the Vice-President of the Chamber, Signor Andrea Costa, one of the Socialist leaders, served indirectly, through the correct attitude taken up by the Press, to bring out the progress made in the kingdom in that tolerance and that personal respect which form the indispensable condition of political life in a free State. Before facing the Chamber in debate, the Government thought it well to fill the death vacancies among the Life Senators by submitting the names of thirty-three new Senators to the King. Among these were three generals, fifteen ex-deputies, and eleven persons eminent in art and literature, among them Signor Croce and Signor Muzzani; who were further qualified by paying 3,000 francs annually in taxes.

At the beginning of February the gravest difficulties seemed to

have been overcome. Admiral Bettolo had induced the Lloyd Sabaudo and the Peirce-Parodi Companies, whose tenders for the steamship services had been accepted, to withdraw the caution money deposited, the Government in return according them a share of the subventions it intended to grant to the companies, who were undertaking to carry on the mail service and to encourage the export of Italian products or the import of raw material necessary to the national manufacturing industries. This contribution towards the freight charges (*contributo di nolo*) was to be as elastic as possible, so as to give full scope for the mercantile marine; it was an interesting experiment in moderate Protection. Signor Soninno's friends advised him to enter on political debates with extreme reserve, and not to put the very undecided majority, which it was desired to bring into a coalition with the Right, the Centre and the moderate elements of the Left, to the test of a vote of confidence in the Government.

The Session was opened on February 10. The Prime Minister read the Ministerial programme. It announced a very comprehensive reform of the arrangements with the steamship companies, the improvement of primary education, the increase of the teachers' salaries, electoral reform, measures for the encouragement of agriculture (a land and labour bank to assist co-operative societies and small holders, and provision for reafforestation), a complete reorganisation of local taxation, military reforms, among them the reduction of the period of service to two years, a Housing Bill, and a variety of other measures, which were set forth at wearisome length. The Chamber gave the Ministerial declaration a very cool reception, a fact which encouraged the opponents of the Ministry; the Extreme Left and the Radicals resolved to test their numbers in the election of the Vice-Presidents of the Chamber; and next day, to fill the vacancy left by the death of Signor Costa, the Socialists and Radicals proposed Signor Sacchi; the supporters of the Ministry pushed the candidature of Signor Fassi. The respective strength of the groups was tested on February 12, when the Ministerial candidate was elected by 180 to 153. Immediately afterwards the debate on the Ministerial declaration began. It was very brief; Signor Comandi, a Democrat, delivered an uncompromising attack, and the Prime Minister made a defence, moderate in language but in some degree bitter in tone; it was a question, he intimated, of measures, not men. The two representatives of Signor Giolitti, Signor Abignente and Signor Facta, acted as whips for the Sonnino party, and the majority was won over to it. The Order of the Day, expressing confidence in the Ministry, presented by Signor Grippo and accepted by the Government, was adopted by 193 to 84 with ten abstentions. It was not a blank cheque for the Government, but it was at any rate a respite.

The end of February in the Chamber was marked only by

trifling skirmishes. The Foreign Minister, in reply to a question from Signor Colonna on the attitude which the Government intended to take up in the Franco-Turkish disputes as to the hinterland of Tripoli, confined himself to an assurance of Italian respect for the integrity of the Ottoman Empire. In a debate on the plan of the municipality of Rome for building galleries to connect the palaces of the Capitol, the Under-Secretary of State, Signor Lucifero, stated that his predecessor had made certain reservations on this question; and that the Higher Council of Fine Arts, having been consulted by himself, had unanimously replied that the Palaces of the Capitol should remain unchanged. Some days later, a Bill granting women the franchise for local elections and authorising them to compete for employment in the public services without authorisation from their husbands was advocated by Signor Gallini, and with the assent of the Prime Minister was taken into consideration.

Various incidents, however, soon showed the fragile tenure of the Government. The Catholics vigorously protested against the insults which the anti-Clericals amused themselves by offering to the Holy See. A "Giordano Bruno Club" had established itself close to the Vatican, and made noisy demonstrations which the Clericals of Rome described as a scandal. The inquiry into the management of the Department of Public Instruction undertaken in connection with the trial of Signor Nasi (ANNUAL REGISTER, 1908, p. 277) had at last resulted in a severe report from the Commission, which charged the Administration with serious irregularity and incredible negligence. Its conclusions received the passionate support of the whole Opposition Press, which used them to attack not only past and present Ministers but the State educational system. Finally, a commonplace dispute over a bye-election showed that Signor Giolitti's followers did not intend to efface themselves. The Marchese Luca had been beaten by a candidate they had favoured; the question of confirming the election afforded the occasion for a trial of strength; it was confirmed by 147 to 90, with thirteen abstentions. This was regarded as a formal warning to the Ministry, and as meanwhile Signor Giolitti, who had prolonged his stay in Piedmont, returned to Rome, fresh changes were expected. The atmosphere was electric; at Rome there were strikes of tramway employees and street sweepers; a number of trade unions were showing themselves restless.

At last on May 16 the debate on the Shipping Conventions Bill began. It was long and excited; after an interruption of some days due to the death of a brother of the Minister of Marine, its first and unexpected result was that the Socialists put forward, as an alternative to Signor Sonnino's proposal, the solution proposed in 1909 by Signor Schanzer, who had then been so roughly treated by the Extreme Left. During the struggle, a number of

Signor Giolitti's supporters declared against the Bill. The defeat of the Government seemed inevitable when, on March 21, a short time before the division, Signor Marcora, the President of the Chamber, announced that the Ministry had resigned. The Socialists were furious. Signor Barzilai protested against a proceeding so contrary to Parliamentary usage. Signor Sonnino replied informally in the lobbies that he had desired to avoid the formal rejection of the Conventions by the Chamber, an event which would have rendered the next Government unable to negotiate with the steamship companies.

The crisis found every one unprepared; and the arrangements for the formation of a new Ministry took more than a week. It was noticed that the very day of Signor Sonnino's fall the German Chancellor arrived at Rome, and so found that his conversations were only with Ministers *ad interim*. Signor Giolitti was summoned by the King, but formally refused to take office, and ultimately Signor Luzzatti was selected for the laborious task. He accepted it only after receiving promises of cordial support from the leader of the majority and from the more prominent Radicals. The definitive list of the new Ministry was published on April 1. Signor Luzzatti was Prime Minister and Minister of the Interior; Signor C. Fani, a deputy, was Minister of Justice, representing, together with the Prime Minister, the decidedly Liberal element in the Right. The Marchese di San Giuliano, the Foreign Minister, was a Senator and a member of the Centre; of Signor Giolitti's supporters, Signor F. Tedesco took the Treasury, Signor Ciuffelli the Posts and Telegraphs, and Signor Facta the Ministry of Finance. Signor A. Raineri, a deputy, Minister of Agriculture, Commerce and Industry, belonged to the Democratic Left. Two Radical Ministers were also deputies, Signor Luigi Credaro, Minister of Public Instruction, and Signor E. Sacchi, Minister of Public Works. Finally, General Spingardi, Minister of War, and Rear-Admiral P. Leonardi Cattolica, Minister of Marine, both Senators, professed allegiance to no political group. The same skill in combination was shown in the choice of Under-Secretaries of State, who were all members of the Chamber. The Italian Press, except the organs of the Catholic party and of that of Signor Sonnino, received the new Government favourably. Its first acts, moreover, were such as to attest the anti-Clerical tendency of the majority in the Chamber. General Spingardi issued an imperative circular requiring the heads of the Army to do away with the clerical propaganda in progress in the ranks, and in particular to refuse to allow the men to join the Catholic clubs established for them in most of the garrisons. Signor Sacchi withdrew from the members of the religious orders their long-established privilege of travelling by rail at greatly reduced fares.

The session was resumed on April 20. The Government had drafted a declaration which attracted notice first by its length and

next by its adroitness. It was read by the Prime Minister in the Chamber and occupied more than an hour—a “record” in Italian Parliamentary annals. It began by enumerating social reforms; measures were promised to put down usury, the adulteration of food, unemployment, the truck system in the mining industries; and, by way of constructive reforms, there was to be housing at low rates, compulsory insurance extended to agricultural labourers, and a great number of other measures for the benefit of the working classes. The political programme comprised at once resistance to clerical intrigues and prevention of anti-Clerical provocations; the extension of the suffrage and proportional representation. Finally, the usual paragraph on the Triple Alliance and its merits was counterbalanced by an affirmation of sincere friendship with the Powers belonging to the Triple *Entente*. The debate on this monumental document lasted, with some breaks, to the end of the month. The most energetic attacks came from the Socialists, who severely condemned the Government for its alleged taint of Clericalism. Signor Luzzatti replied with a spirited and vigorous speech, which looked as though delivered on the spur of the moment. It made a profound impression, and secured for the Prime Minister a personal success unprecedented since the days of Depretis and “transformism.” Moreover, the Order of the Day, expressing confidence in the Government, brought forward by Signor Falcioni, was voted on roll-call by 393 to 17, with six abstentions. This was almost too good, the more so as shortly afterwards in the Senate, on a less burning question—the plan of reform of the Upper House by an amendment of the Constitution—Signor Luzzatti, supporting a proposal made by Professor Arcoleo, was applauded less unreservedly, but quite as frankly. It was, therefore, under most favourable auspices that the debates began on the Budget and on the interpellations on the home and foreign policy of the Government. However, before speaking in the Chamber, the Marchese di San Giuliano went to Paris to present his letters of recall, and then, at the end of May, returned the visit paid to his predecessor by the German Chancellor. Meanwhile the Government restored order without much difficulty in the Romagna, in the province of Ravenna, where agrarian troubles had set up a conflict between *métayer* tenants who were Republicans and labourers who were Socialists. At Rome (May 22) the Socialist orator Signor Ferri, on his return from Argentina, delivered a lecture at the capitol, with King Victor Emmanuel himself in the chair; he began his address with “Your Majesty,” and at the end cordially and correctly shook hands with his Sovereign—and nevertheless was not expelled from his party. This little incident showed the rapidity of party evolution in the Italian Kingdom. Here may also be noted, as a triumph of skilful combination, the success of the Government on May 28 in inducing the Chamber to pass a Bill for provisional Shipping Conventions

to last three years, which practically prolonged the powers of the company which had previously held the concession. Signor Luzzatti had thus overcome the difficulty which his two predecessors had evaded by retirement. Some days later the debate on the Estimates for the Ministry of the Interior closed with a fresh success for the Government. Signor Luzzatti announced the impending introduction of a law for the abolition of compulsory domicile (*domicilio coatto*) for which would be substituted police measures applicable only to persons previously convicted; he also renewed the promise that the Government would observe absolute neutrality in the Parliamentary and municipal elections. In consideration of this the Chamber (June 4) adopted the figures proposed by the Committee on the Estimates by 176 to 71 on a secret ballot.

Some days later, questions of the Ministerial policy towards the Church again became acute. A Catholic deputation to the Prime Minister complained of the ill-usage to which Catholics were subjected, and demanded protection by the authorities during religious processions, otherwise, they said, they would be obliged to defend themselves. "It would be a sad day for Italy," answered the Prime Minister, "if her citizens had themselves to defend their liberties;" and he was as good as his word. Thus, towards the end of the month, the Government asked the Duke of the Abruzzi to represent the Italian State at the blessing of the bells of the new Campanile at Venice. This conciliatory attitude was a contrast to the ill-timed outbreaks of the Roman Curia, which exposed the Holy See to positive affront. Thus, on the occasion of the tercentenary of the Canonisation of San Carlo Borromeo, the Pope issued an encyclical charging the German reformers with having weakened morality in their country. Protests were made on all sides, and the Prussian Government gave its representative at the Holy See, Dr. Von Mühlberg, emphatic instructions, before which the Vatican gave way with docility. Just at the same time Señor Canalejas was being constrained by the behaviour of the Spanish Episcopate to take measures against the monastic orders. In Italy, the moderate clericals tried their strength at the municipal bye-elections in various large towns. They were successful at Florence, but were beaten by the Socialists at Milan and by the Democrats at Turin.

The Budget debate went on slowly, and the session drew to a close. Still, while the Senate was dealing with the Finance Bills, the Government did not shrink from provoking a keen contest in the Chamber over the Schools Bill. This measure, introduced by Signor Credaro (p. 298) as the minimum demanded by the Radical group, was vigorously attacked by the Catholics and many Giolittists, who owed their election to an understanding among the Moderates (Catholic or otherwise) against the Radicals and Socialists. It seemed impossible to reconcile the conflicting views.

Signor Luzzatti accomplished the feat. The member charged to report on the Bill, Signor Torre, devised the expedient of entrusting the communes with the provision and maintenance of primary schools where none already existed, but only on condition that the teachers should receive proper salaries, not less than a minimum to be fixed for each province by a provincial school council, which should also have the general oversight of the schools. Signor Credaro urged the Chamber to accept the Bill in principle; Signor Luzzatti carried the day by proposing an Order of the Day which was passed by 374 votes to 21—the minority consisting entirely of Clericals—and entailed the discussion of the measure in detail. Again the solution was due to the persuasive eloquence of the Prime Minister (July 2). But, when the details began to be dealt with, the difficulties reappeared, and the Extreme Left severed itself from the majority. The contest lasted two days; Signor Credaro worked marvels of diplomacy; and on July 4, on a vote taken by roll-call, the Government won by 267 to 43. Following up its success, it secured the passage of the Bill relating to denominational schools in the East, the final provisions of which Signor Medi, speaking for the Catholic party, declared satisfactory. The session was then closed, the Prime Minister receiving a cordial ovation (July 6).

The financial situation of the kingdom was no less satisfactory than the political. The Budget of 1910-11 exhibited a total estimated revenue of 2,462,000,000 francs (98,480,000*l.*), of which 246,000,000 francs (9,840,000*l.*) were extraordinary receipts. The expenditure was estimated at 2,415,000,000 francs (96,600,000*l.*), 414,000,000 francs (16,560,000*l.*) being extraordinary. This latter sum was assigned mainly to the Treasury for extinction of debt and unforeseen contingencies, and to the Ministry of War. The resources required by the Ministry of Marine for the completion of Admiral Mirabello's naval programme, of which three *Dreadnoughts* had still to be built, were expected to be secured by the ordinary revenue. The accounts of 1908-9 closed with a surplus of 82,000,000 francs (3,280,000*l.*), and a surplus of nearly 50,000,000 francs (2,000,000*l.*) was expected on those of 1909-10. It was a brilliant result.

The recess was saddened by the outbreak of cholera in Apulia. At Trani, Corato, and Barletta, the authorities had sternly to carry out the hygienic education of the masses, who refused to submit to the sanitary measures prescribed. They acted with decision and promptitude. Dr. Druetti, who was appointed Royal Commissioner with full powers, isolated the infected district by a rigorous sanitary cordon which, in spite of several failures to prevent evasions, was successful in lessening, and eventually in stopping, the spread of the disease. Religious superstition aggravated the epidemic. Thus at Trani, a young girl declared that she had seen the image of the Madonna move its eyes; and at

once processions were organised which led to numerous cases of contagion. Science, however, was victorious over ignorance and panic. Little by little the foci of the epidemic were extinguished, and a feeling of security returned.

The visit of the Marchese di San Giuliano to Count Aehrenthal and the Emperor of Austria afforded a pleasant variation on the established creed of Irredentism. The naval manoeuvres in the Adriatic were interrupted according to some accounts by persistent bad weather, according to others by the desire of sparing Austrian susceptibilities, for it was the landing manoeuvres which were abandoned. The effect produced by this concession to a suspected ally had scarcely begun to pass, when acute feeling was excited by an insult offered by the populace at Constantinople to Baron Mayor des Planches, the Italian Ambassador. This popular outbreak coincided with the demand of the Turkish Government that the European Powers should agree to the abolition of the capitulations, and showed that the demand of the Young Turks was premature. The Italians, however, would have preferred the demonstration to have been made on the person of some other ambassador.

The *motu proprio* of Pope Pius X. entitled *Sacrorum Antistitum* (Sept. 8), imposing a rigorous form of anti-Modernist oath on all the clergy, called out another warlike demonstration among the Democratic Catholics associated with the Abbé Murri, and was destined later to encounter serious resistance in Germany (p. 317). The fortieth anniversary of the entry of the Italian troops into Rome (Sept. 20) occasioned an aggressive demonstration on the part of Signor Nathan, the Mayor, against the Papacy, which was bitterly criticised by General Pelloux, sometime Prime Minister.

At the beginning of October Count Aehrenthal returned at Turin the visit paid him by the Marchese di San Giuliano at Salzburg, and at the end of that month the disaster at Ischia and Naples, due to a cyclone and a tidal wave, caused great damage to property and life.

When the session was resumed at the end of November, the Senate took up the scheme of constitutional reform dealt with by its Committee during the recess; the Chamber applied itself to the sections of the Budget left in suspense. But attention was chiefly directed to Bills the debates on which might lead to a defeat of the Cabinet, which was anxiously awaited alike by irreconcilable opponents and by impatient successors. The Foreign Office Estimates gave the Marchese di San Giuliano an opportunity for a marked success; in the debate on those of the Ministry of Justice Signor Fani announced that the divorce question, postponed since Signor Zanardelli's Ministry in 1903, was to be brought up again. Two questions seemed especially dangerous: the shipping conventions and electoral reform. As regarded the former, the Government, having presented the provisional arrangement

which had been accepted in the spring, had undertaken to introduce a permanent plan before the close of the year. When the Committee came to be nominated, fourteen Ministerialists were elected and four Opposition members. This unexpected result was the outcome of an agreement between Signor Luzzatti and Admiral Bettolo; and thanks to the transaction, the Government overcame without injury an obstacle which had overthrown Signor Giolitti a year before. The Bill for the extension of the franchise set the interests of all parties in conflict. The revised version adopted by the Ministry contained certain clauses demanded by the Socialists, *e.g.* one granting the right to vote to any male adult who could read and write, even imperfectly; but on the other hand the vote was to be compulsory, with penalties for abstention, a provision accepted neither by the Socialists nor by the Catholics. Thus by general consent the Bill itself was postponed until the spring. The furious opposition of Signor Turati brought about a closer connection between Signor Giolitti and the Prime Minister; so that at the close of the year the latter had earned the reputation of a Parliamentary strategist able to combine the patience necessary for temporising with the convincing fervour of a popular leader converted into a Premier.

CHAPTER II.

GERMANY AND AUSTRIA-HUNGARY.

I. GERMANY.

DURING the first months of the year public opinion was chiefly occupied with the Prussian franchise question, which had been much debated and had caused serious public disturbances in previous years (ANNUAL REGISTER, 1909, p. 307). When the Prussian diet was opened by the Emperor-King on January 11 he announced among other measures to be submitted a Bill for the amendment of the Prussian Franchise, but when the Bill was laid before the House it turned out to be merely a modification of the existing three-class system. Direct voting was to be substituted for indirect, the qualifications of higher education, professional experience, and meritorious public service were added to that of wealth, and the method of counting votes was so revised that minorities should not be deprived of influence on the result of the poll in the whole constituency because outvoted in their particular electoral districts. The money qualification was also so far restricted that the amount of taxes paid was to cease to take effect at the sum of 250*l.* a year, which in Prussia represents income tax upon incomes of from 2,000*l.* to 4,100*l.* The number of electors who paid a higher income tax was stated to be only 13,000. So small a reform was of course regarded as quite unacceptable by the

Socialists, and when the Premier, Herr von Bethmann-Hollweg, began the debate on the Bill, they interrupted him with disorderly cries. In a long, rambling speech, in which he propounded old-fashioned Conservative doctrines which were received with laughter, he said, comparing Germany with England, that in England a century of political education and culture prevented people from transferring political or religious differences to the personal and social sphere. Englishmen did not judge one another according to identity of political or religious opinion. They in Germany were in every direction less far advanced. With them it was still often felt, "He does not think as I do, so he stands on a lower level." That helped to bring into politics a bitterness more painful than any realities. It had become the fashion to talk about Prussia as the land of the blackest reaction. They must look that spectre—which both at home and abroad was taken for a living thing—straight in the face. In regard to finance, they had an income tax and a property tax such as democratic countries had been seeking for years in vain. Manhood suffrage did not make the fiscal legislation of the Reichstag more popular than the fiscal legislation of the "Three Class Prussian Parliament." Their legislation in the spheres of self-government and their rapid progress in decentralisation were very far from being reactionary. In these things Prussia could hold up her head, not only before the rest of Germany, but before the world. As for police despotism, he knew no State in which the safeguards of justice were so elaborately developed. The assertion that the existing system favoured Conservative views and must, therefore, be broken down raised the question of the relation between the Government and the parties. He had been much criticised for saying in the Reichstag that they could not have party government; but nobody had refuted him. In the Empire party government would destroy the constitutional position of the Federal Council. In Prussia any Government which lent itself to the purposes of a party would be preparing the doom of the State, and any party which tried thus to imprison a Government would be playing the part of a gravedigger. Prussia could not let herself be towed into the waters of Parliamentary government while the power of the Monarchy remained unbroken. That power of the Monarchy which had always made it its proud tradition to be a Kingdom for all would not be tampered with.

Passing to the Bill, the Premier said the main point of criticism was the maintenance of open voting. The rival merits of the open and the secret ballots were a matter of opinion. Both had their advantages. Prussia could not go over to the latter except in the conviction that it was unconditionally better in theory and in practice. Secrecy was supposed to give independence, but life was made up of interdependent relationships, and the idea that the man who took a voting paper in his hand would suddenly become a detached political animal was pure phantasy. Isolation

was unattainable even in a polling station. Of course secret voting might make it easier for a man to free himself from circumstances of dependence, either economic, social, or religious, but it was untrue that the ties of dependence were stronger now than when the existing Prussian franchise was introduced. On the contrary, everybody with practical experience knew how difficult it was for employers to control workmen, and so far from giving freedom secrecy undoubtedly tended to deprive voters weak in character or intellect of freedom to resist material impulses and personal caprices, or a tendency to general discontent. That was why the Socialists who preached publicity in other matters desired secrecy in this.

The Prime Minister's arguments were treated with contempt by the Radicals and Socialists both inside and outside the House. Large demonstrations demanding secret voting and universal suffrage took place in February, March, and April at Berlin, at Halle, at Frankfort on the Main, and many other towns, and there were frequent collisions with the police resulting in some bloodshed. Meanwhile the Select Committee of the Diet appointed to consider the Bill adopted a Radical motion in favour of secret voting by 15 votes to 13, the National Liberals and Centre supporting it against the Conservatives; but it rejected a motion for making the suffrage universal as for the German Parliament. In March the Committee adopted a motion that indirect voting should be maintained and that secret voting should apply only to the voting for electors, the latter continuing to vote for deputies openly. The Bill, with this amendment, which was a compromise adopted by the Centre and the Conservatives, was passed on March 16, and when it came before the Upper House the Premier announced that the Government would accept this compromise, thus showing that he recognised the dominant position of the "blue-black" coalition of Conservatives and Centre instead of that of National Liberals and Conservatives favoured by his predecessor. He pleaded, however, for some further concessions in a Liberal sense so as to obtain the support of all parties except the Socialists and the Radicals. A glaring evil of the existing system was that the distribution of the seats in the Chamber remained practically as it was in the days when Prussia was pre-eminently an agrarian State. In Parliamentary representation the rise of industry and the growth of towns had been completely ignored, so that the sparsely populated country districts of the eastern provinces of Prussia were grotesquely over-represented as compared with the teeming centres of population in Rheinland and Westphalia. In order to remedy this anomaly Baron Schorlemer proposed, with the approval of the Government, that the area within which voters shall be classified shall be the commune (*Gemeinde*) if it does not contain more than 10,000 inhabitants, and that in communes larger than that it shall be an area the population of which would vary between 5,000 and 51,000. The Bill, with this and other minor amendments,

was returned to the Lower House on April 29, but it was withdrawn by the Government on May 27, as it was found that the "blue-black" coalition would oppose it as containing too great a concession to the National Liberals.

Some important Ministerial changes were made in June. Herr von Moltke was succeeded as Minister of the Interior by Herr von Dallwitz, the Governor (*Ober-Präsident*) of Silesia, and Herr von Arnim as Minister of Agriculture by Baron Schorlemer, Governor of the Rhine Province and author of the redistribution amendment mentioned above. They both had a high reputation for administrative ability. These changes added to the strength of the Ministry, which had been considerably weakened by the resignation on June 6 of Herr Dernburg, the Colonial Minister. He had proved a great success; his remarkable ability and energy had infused a spirit of enterprise and intelligent economical development into the Colonial Department which had hitherto been greatly lacking, and the victory of the Government in the elections of 1907, which were fought on a colonial issue, was mainly due to his eloquence and intimate knowledge of colonial affairs. His chief opponent in the elections was the Centre party, under whose renewed ascendancy his remaining in office had become impossible. He was succeeded by his Under-Secretary, Herr Lindenquist, who had been Governor of German South-West Africa from 1905 to 1907. Further changes in the Ministry took place on June 28, Baron Schoen, the Foreign Secretary, having been appointed ambassador in Paris and succeeded by Herr Kiderlen-Waechter, the German Minister at Bucharest, an able and experienced diplomatist of the Bismarckian school, and Baron Rheinbaben, the Prussian Minister of Finance, by Dr. Lentze, chief Burgomaster of Magdeburg.

After the withdrawal of the Franchise Bill the only measure of importance passed by the Prussian Chamber before the summer recess was a Bill providing for an increase of 100,000*l.* in the Prussian Civil List, together with a supplementary estimate for the year of 75,000*l.* as a contribution to the cost of maintenance of the Royal theatres. The Bill was opposed only by the Socialists, the Polish members declaring that notwithstanding the oppressive Polish policy of the Government they were ready to "render unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's." Baron Rheinbaben, the Minister of Finance, took occasion in reply to the speeches of the Socialists to point out that while the cost of living in Prussia had increased by 25 per cent., wages had increased by 38 per cent., that the average workman's wages had risen from 621 marks (31*l.*) in 1889 to 949 marks (47*l.*) in 1909, and that out of a total of 19,000,000 workmen only 1,800,000 were members of the Social Democratic trade unions.

The German Socialists were very busy this year. They showed considerable ingenuity in arranging the May-Day open-air demonstrations at Berlin in spite of the precautions taken by the police

and the declaration of the Home Minister that such demonstrations must be stopped because "of their disturbing and exciting effect upon large circles of the population." They gained some victories in by-elections to the Reichstag (Eisenach, Frankfort on Oder, Friedberg-Budingen in Hesse, Usedom-Wallin in Pomerania, and Cannstadt-Ludwigsburg in Würtemberg) and at several of their meetings the old question as to whether Socialist deputies should vote for Finance Bills promoted by non-Socialist Governments was hotly discussed (ANNUAL REGISTER, 1908, p. 288). The Socialists of Baden and Hesse met on August 21, when objection was taken to the action of the Socialist deputies in the Baden diet in voting for the Government Finance Bill. Herr Kolb on their behalf pointed out that they had united with the Liberals in order to prevent the formation of a Centre-Conservative majority. Socialist electors, he said, desired something more than the Social-Democratic goal of the future; they wanted something to-day. Even supposing that one day a sanguinary conflict should arise between the proletariat and capitalism and the proletariat were victorious, that would not mean the realisation of Socialism; they would then have to begin where the others had left off and carry out reforms. The policy of pure negation must be abolished; the German workman could not be expected to contribute millions of marks merely for demonstrations. Ultimately the action of the Baden deputies was approved by 184 to 66. This decision was reversed at the general Socialist Congress held in September at Magdeburg, at which a motion resolving that any member who in future voted for a Government Finance Bill should be excluded from the party was passed by a majority of 200; upon which the South Germans left the Congress. The annual report of the German Socialist party stated that it had a total membership of 720,038, as compared with 633,309 in 1909, and with 384,327 in 1906. Out of this total 82,642 were women, an increase of 20,383. Party organisations existed in 381 of the Reichstag constituencies out of 397. The accounts of the party funds showed a revenue of 46,770*l.* and an expenditure of 40,777*l.*, so that the financial year closed with a balance of something under 6,000*l.* As compared with the preceding year the revenue had decreased and the expenditure had increased. The latter feature was attributed partly to an increase of 3,000*l.* as compared with 1909 in the sum devoted to agitation. The Socialist party possessed seventy-six daily newspapers and one quarterly periodical, *Die Neue Zeit*, with 9,000 subscribers, and intended solely for the use of the blind. The number of regular subscribers to the principal Berlin organ of the party, the *Vorwärts*, was stated to be 139,000. The year before the number had fallen to 122,000. At the eighth International Co-operative Congress which was opened on September 5, at Hamburg, a report was also read stating that the present stage of the development of the co-operative movement

could not have been reached had not the ground been prepared by the Socialist movement among the working-classes, and stress was laid upon the close relationship between the international movement among the working-classes and the international co-operative movement, the members of the league being nearly all working men.

A serious riot took place in the Moabit district of Berlin in September in consequence of the police having protected non-unionists engaged by a firm of coal merchants while their own men were on strike. A great demonstration was got up against the police, the street lamps were extinguished, missiles were thrown from windows, and the police were fiercely attacked with stones, upon which they charged the mob with their swords. The rioting continued for two days, and there were many injured on both sides. A party of English and American journalists who had arrived on the scene, by permission of a police lieutenant, in a motor car were attacked by the police with their sabres and some of them were seriously injured. They protested against their treatment through their Ambassadors, but the Government, while expressing regret at the occurrence, refused to censure the police.

Financial policy was the subject of much discussion both in the Prussian and the German Parliaments. On January 10 the Prussian Minister of Finance, Baron Rheinbaben, stated that the year 1909-10 would probably close with a deficit of about 5,250,000*l.*, or 2,750,000*l.* less than the Estimate of the previous year (ANNUAL REGISTER, 1909, p. 306), the difference being due to "the upward movement of the whole economic position," and the excellence of the harvest. For 1910-11 revenue was estimated at 191,870,648*l.* and expenditure at 196,470,648*l.*, leaving a deficit of 4,610,000*l.* Railways were expected to yield 2,000,000*l.* more in 1910 than in 1909. The Minister added that he desired to endorse absolutely a statement about the importance of the home market which had been made by the secretary of the Central Union of German Industrialists. That statement pointed out that between 1880 and 1908 the production of various kinds of grain had increased from 4,900,000 tons to 10,700,000 tons, and of potatoes from 19,000,000 tons to 46,000,000 tons, and insisted that, to strengthen the home market, industry must be concerned to preserve the protection of agriculture. The maintenance of such a spirit of alliance between industry and agriculture must be to the advantage of the Fatherland.

In the German Empire, too, the increased prosperity caused a reduction of the estimated deficit for 1909-10 from 14,987,895*l.* to 6,323,015*l.* A loan of 17,000,000*l.* of German Imperial bonds and 7,000,000*l.* of Prussian Consols was raised on February 6. For 1911-12 ordinary revenue and expenditure were estimated to balance with a total of 135,390,095*l.* Extraordinary expenditure was

estimated at 10,856,290*l.* and extraordinary revenue at 5,968,494*l.*, so that there remained an estimated deficit of 4,887,796*l.* to be met by borrowing. As regards ordinary revenue, Customs and existing taxes were estimated to yield 1,633,542*l.* more than the year before. The general prosperity, however, was somewhat checked by the great increase in the price of meat. In a debate which took place on this subject in the German Parliament in November the Prussian Minister of Agriculture, Baron von Schorlemer, said that all the German duties were so low that the interests of the Imperial revenue would not justify any further reduction. England had no duties on meat, and so was in the unhappy position of having to meet 50 per cent. of its demand by supplies from abroad. He need not stop to explain what that would mean for the English population, and especially for the English working classes, in the event of war.

In reviewing the Estimates on December 9, Herr Wermuth, the Imperial Finance Minister, said that the finances of the Empire were "making steady progress towards a state of health." They must be all the more careful in order that this convalescence should not be interrupted. They were still carrying the burden of old deficits, but they would be able to restore equilibrium between revenue and expenditure. The financial year 1909 showed a deficit in "uncovered matricular contributions" of 11,950,000*l.*, which, according to the law, had to be met in the financial years 1911 to 1913. The financial year 1909 had, however, surpassed expectations by 5,650,000*l.* That disposed of nearly one-half of the deficit. The remainder would be met in the next three financial years. As to the future, they must pay special attention to the Customs results. In particular, they must guard against the fallacy that an industrial "boom" had a very great effect upon the Customs. During such industrial expansion as in 1907 the figures for particular articles in German trade swelled enormously, but the chief articles—wine, petroleum, lard, cocoa, and so on—and also fully manufactured goods, remained unaffected by the fluctuations. It was the corn duties that mainly affected the Customs returns. They were, in fact, an almost accurate mirror of revenue.

The Navy Estimates, Herr Wermuth stated, had developed in accordance with the Navy Law, and in 1911 reached their highest point with an expenditure of 22,500,000*l.* It was, however, only the extraordinary Estimates which would now begin to decline. The ordinary Navy Estimates would go on increasing year by year until 1917. The Army Estimates, which had been more or less steady between 1900 and 1904, had risen, chiefly in consequence of new equipment and increases of pay, to 41,450,000*l.* in 1909. There had then been a small decline, and the total was stationary apart from the new Army Bill. Here technical developments made further expenditure inevitable, and when the increase was kept, as it had been, within the limits of careful economy,

nobody would venture to say that the finances of the Empire could not keep pace with the demand. To take that line would weaken the country and lower its economic efficiency. As to the Empire's borrowings, between 1877 and 1880 they borrowed about 3,500,000*l.* a year, between 1880 and 1890 6,350,000*l.* a year, and between 1901 and 1909 14,350,000*l.* a year. For 1910 there was a loan of 7,400,000*l.* and the new Estimates provided for a loan of 4,850,000*l.* That was a reduction of 2,550,000*l.*; but they must not forget that the expenditure on naval construction and on the Kiel Canal was at its zenith. The price of German loans had become rather steadier of late, though at a lower level than before; but the money market still showed considerable distaste for German loans, as, indeed, for all foreign securities.

Herr Wermuth was followed by the Prussian War Minister, General von Heeringen, who gave a short explanation of the proposed new expenditure in the Army Bill. It had become necessary to supply the infantry with machine-gun detachments without further delay. In two Prussian divisions the artillery regiments lacking must now be added. In order to fill the gaps in the field artillery, while at the same time minimising expense, it had reluctantly been decided to convert twenty horse batteries into field batteries. As regarded the increase of garrison artillery, the development of modern coast and frontier fortifications had necessitated the provision of specially trained troops. The new motor transport was expected to take over a part of the work which had hitherto fallen to the train, but it would never be safe to do away with the use of horse transport, in view of the possibility of having to fight in a country deficient in artificial roads. The Bill represented only the most urgent needs of the Army.

The Estimates were passed by the Reichstag with slight alterations, and the only other noteworthy incident of the session was a further amalgamation of the Liberal parties. On March 6, the Radical People's party (*ANNUAL REGISTER*, 1909, p. 309), the Radical Union, and the South German People's party, consisting of about fifty members of the Reichstag, were united under the name of the "Progressive People's party." A scene was caused in the Reichstag on January 29 by a Conservative member, Herr Oldenburg, saying that the King of Prussia must be in a position to tell any lieutenant to take ten men and shut the Reichstag, but it had no serious consequences.

On October 24, Grand Admiral von Koerber, the President of the Navy League, said at a meeting of the Saxe-Weimar branches of the League at Eisenach that the failure to carry out the provision of the Navy Law that "of the reserve battle-fleet one-half of the battleships and cruisers shall be kept permanently in commission" must be due to shortage of men, or, in other words, to a question of money. If, however, this provision was thought necessary ten years earlier, when ship construction was compara-

tively simple, how much more necessary was it now that ships were a mass of highly complicated machinery? In a speech at Dresden in December he demanded on behalf of the League that from the year 1912 onwards Germany should proceed with the regular annual construction of three ships as substitutes for old ships, upon the ground that the legal total of, in round numbers, sixty ships—thirty-eight battleships and twenty armoured cruisers with a "life" of twenty years—justifies this demand and makes it possible to provide substitutes at the proper time for the training ships struck off the list; and he added that the total number of large cruisers required by the Navy Law was all the more indispensable because, in view of the rapid increase of German world interests, Germany found political questions tending more and more to develop into world questions, the solution of which would, in certain circumstances, only be possible by the rapid despatch of a more or less strong cruiser squadron.

The grant of a Constitution to Alsace-Lorraine, which was demanded by the Socialists, the Centre, and the Radicals in the German Parliament, was promised by the Chancellor in March. He said that he regretted the matter had been at a standstill since 1879 and did not believe that the pause of thirty years had been for the good of the country; and that a Bill on the subject had been drafted and would be presented to the Federal Council. The Bill was duly passed by the Council, but had not been laid before the Reichstag at the end of the year; but the forecasts published indicated that Alsace-Lorraine would still fall short of full membership of the Empire.

The German Emperor this year broke the silence which had been imposed upon him by the commotion produced by the famous interview published by the *Daily Telegraph* in 1908 (ANNUAL REGISTER, 1908, p. 299). On August 20 he came to Posen for the opening of a newly erected Royal Castle, and in his speeches he expressed a wish that it should "remain a home and nursery of German culture and customs"—a sentiment not calculated to appeal to his Polish subjects in the city, though no doubt very welcome to their German oppressors. Far more outspoken in its assertion of Divine Right and German predominance was a speech he made at Königsberg on August 25. He said that his grandfather had "placed by his own right the crown of the Kings of Prussia upon his head, once again laying stress upon the fact that it was conferred upon him by the grace of God alone and not by Parliaments, meetings of the people, or popular decisions, and that he considered himself the chosen instrument of Heaven, and as such performed his duties as Regent and as ruler." The Emperor added that he too considered himself as the instrument of the Lord, and "without heeding the views and opinions of the day" he would go his way, "which is devoted solely to the prosperity and peaceful development of the Fatherland." To German women

he held out the example of Queen Louise of Prussia, saying that their principal task did not lie "in attending public meetings and belonging to societies, in the attainment of supposed rights in which women can emulate men, but in the quiet work of the home, and the family," and in educating the young generation "before all things to obedience and to respect for age." This speech, as was to be expected, raised a storm of criticism in the Press. The semi-official *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* defended it as a personal profession of faith on the part of the monarch, and on August 30 the Emperor himself endeavoured to explain away in a speech at Marienburg the passage as to Divine Right, saying that just as his late grandfather and himself had represented themselves "as working under the highest protection and with the highest mandate of our Lord and God," he assumed "that to be the case with every honest Christian, whoever he be." When the German Parliament met in November after the summer recess an interpellation was addressed to the Chancellor by the Socialists with regard to the speech, but he stated that the Emperor's declaration as to the rights and duties of Prussian sovereigns was in no way incompatible with the Prussian Constitution, which does not recognise the sovereignty of the people; and this view was accepted by all the members except the Socialists and Radicals. His exhortation to German women, too, drew a protest on October 9 from the League of Associations of German Women at its annual conference at Heidelberg, which pointed out that under existing conditions 9,500,000 women in Germany are driven into the struggle for a living outside the home. Another speech made by him in November at the Benedictine Abbey at Beuron, in which he urged the monks to continue to support him in his efforts to maintain religion among the people, as "the twentieth century had let loose ideas the struggle against which can only be successfully carried through with the help of religion and the support of Heaven," was much applauded by the organs of the Centre and criticised by the Radicals.

Some interesting speeches as to colonial affairs were made by Herr Dernburg before his retirement from the post of Colonial Minister. Speaking on the production of cotton on April 14 before the German Commercial Congress he said that, as regards the German Colonies, East Africa began in 1902 with 370 kilogrammes, and in 1904 came up to 188,000 kilogrammes, and in 1908 to 247,000 kilogrammes, equal to about 1,000 bales of the Egyptian variety. Togoland, which began in 1901 with 10,000 kilogrammes, produced 420,000 kilogrammes—equal to 1,620 Egyptian bales—in 1908. In the first three quarters of 1909 about 700 bales were produced in East Africa and about 180 in Togoland. In East Africa there were now about seventeen medium or rather small European cotton plantations with 4,844 acres under cotton and twenty-four plantations, partially under cotton, with

7,051 acres devoted to that commodity. Twelve cotton plantations, with 209,950 acres actually laid out, were in process of development. On April 22, in reply to a proposal made by a member of the Centre, Herr Erzberger, in the German Parliament that to meet the expense of the risings in German South-West Africa an extraordinary property tax, yielding about 4,000,000*l.*, should be imposed upon all persons and companies in the Colony possessing property of not less than 15,000*l.* in value, Herr Dernburg said that the Empire by military operations fulfilled its duty of protection, and it could not put the cost of a campaign upon the province for whose sake it was fought. Three-fourths of the inhabitants of the colony had gone out after the campaign. If they accepted the principle of Herr Erzberger's proposal, they would kill "what poor little interest was taken in the colonies." The proposal was an encroachment upon the powers of the Emperor, and would ruin the companies. After three days' debate on the question it was resolved to invite the Imperial Chancellor to initiate legislation for the relief of the Imperial Treasury by an impost upon persons and companies domiciled in the colony before the outbreak of the native risings.

Herr Lindenquist, the new Colonial Minister, invited on June 27 the Chambers of Commerce of Berlin, Hamburg, Cologne, Chemnitz, Nuremberg, Bremen, and Mannheim to nominate delegates—Berlin and Hamburg two each, and the other towns one each—to form "a permanent industrial committee of the colonial administration" in order to obtain co-operation of men of practical business experience for the solution of commercial and economic questions, such as improvement of communications, development of arrangements for finance and credit, "utilisation of the natives for the work of industry and civilisation," and organisation of the labour market, mentioning these as cases in which progress had been begun; as also for regulation of production in the German colonies, especially of wool, cotton, and other raw material of German industries.

Foreign affairs under the guidance of the new Chancellor pursued an even course; there were no sensational developments as in the time of Prince Bülow, and efforts were made to bring the Triple Alliance into more friendly relations with the Triple *Entente*. The Pan-Germans, in a resolution adopted in February by the representatives of thirty-nine Rhenish-Westphalian branches of the Pan-German League, stated that the Foreign Office continually promoted foreign interests to the disadvantage of German Imperial interests, "has supplied foreign countries with weapons against German undertakings, and in most important cases has done grave injury to large German interests," but this view was not adopted by the majority of the members of the Reichstag, who on the whole approved the Chancellor's foreign policy. As regards Austria the German Emperor gained unbounded popularity among the German

citizens of Vienna by a speech he made in the Vienna Town Hall on September 21, in which, referring to a resolution of the municipality to name after him a part of the "Ring," he stated that he understood that resolution to show that the city of Vienna agreed with his action in taking his stand at a grave moment "in shining armour" by the side of their sovereign, and that this was "at once an injunction of duty and of friendship, for the alliance has, to the weal of the world, passed into and pervaded as an imponderable element the convictions and the life of both peoples." As regards Italy the German Chancellor went to Rome in March and had a prolonged interview with the Italian Foreign Minister which was officially described as resulting in a complete accord between the two States as to foreign policy generally, and especially as to the maintenance of the *status quo* in the Balkans. A subsequent interview at Florence in May, after the change of Government in Italy, was stated to have had the same results. In November the Tsar, accompanied by the new Russian Foreign Minister, M. Sazonoff, paid a visit to the German Emperor at Potsdam, and long conversations took place between the two Sovereigns and their Ministers, which were stated to have established an understanding satisfactory to both parties. The German Emperor and Empress also paid a visit to the King of the Belgians in October, and were very cordially received both at Court and by the people of Brussels.

With France and England Germany's relations were officially friendly, though the German Press continued to impute sinister motives to the policy of the Western Powers and Russia, suggesting that they took the side of Greece against Turkey in the Cretan question, and that England and Russia were contemplating a partition of Persia. Some ill-feeling against England was also aroused by the arrest of two British officers on a charge of espionage (p. 267), though the friction was not intensified by the result of the trial.

A very clear and full statement of German foreign policy was made in the Reichstag in December by the Chancellor, who on this occasion descended from the politico-philosophical heights from which he had been accustomed to lecture the House into the Parliamentary arena, in which he proved himself an able speaker and a keen and bold fighter against his Socialist adversaries. Dealing with German relations with Great Britain he began by pointing out that the British Government had repeatedly expressed the view that to fix by agreement the naval strength of the individual Powers would tend appreciably to tranquillise international relations; but had not made proposals admitting either of positive acceptance or a positive rejection. "We find ourselves at one with England in the desire to avoid rivalries in respect of armaments. But throughout the *pourparlers*—informal and conducted in a spirit of mutual friendliness—that have taken place from time to time we have always put in the foreground the idea that it is an open

and frank discussion, followed by agreement concerning the economic and political interests on both sides, that is the surest means of removing mistrust of any kind in respect of the comparative strength of the two Powers by sea or by land. In itself the continuance of a frank and voluntary exchange of views on all those questions which are connected with these matters is a guarantee of friendly intent on either side, and should lead slowly but surely to the removal of the mistrust which has, unhappily, often made itself felt—not, indeed, on the part of the Governments, but in the public opinion of the two countries.”

He then dealt with the meeting of the Tsar and the Emperor William, and with the visit of M. Sazonoff to Berlin. “I would indicate,” he said, “as the result of the recent interview that it was once more established that neither Power commits itself to any combination which might have an aggressive point directed against the other. In harmony with this standpoint, we have had the opportunity of noting in particular that Germany and Russia have an equal interest in the maintenance of the *status quo*. We have spoken in an open and friendly manner on the subject of our mutual interests in Persia. We have found ourselves at one in the view that our common interests in Persia demand the maintenance, or, as the case may be, the restoration, of peace and order in that country.” Germany and Russia, the Chancellor continued, were alike interested in the maintenance and development of their respective trade with Persia, and Russia had a special interest in the security of that district adjacent to her own frontier. Germany had gladly admitted that this interest implied a need for Russia of special influence in Northern Persia, and we had accordingly been very ready to assent to her claim to all concessions for railways, roads, or telegraphs in that region. Russia, on her part, would not only place no obstacles in the way of German trade, but would further facilitate the provision of a connection by which the portion of it passing by Baghdad to Khanikin might reach Persia. The discussion and agreement with Russia, in the course of which a number of points of detail were raised, would make it an easy matter for the two Governments to attain agreement on such new questions as might arise without change of attitude in respect of their policy in general. Briefly, the conversations which took place during the Potsdam interview had removed more than one apparent misunderstanding, and had confirmed and strengthened the old relations of confidence between Germany and Russia.

As regards Turkey the Chancellor said that the Imperial Government followed with its sympathy the Turkish loan operations in Germany. The latter country, in showing readiness to meet the pressing financial needs of Turkey, also did substantial service to her own established policy of maintaining peace and the *status quo* in the East. A prime factor in the conduct of this



policy was a strong Government in Turkey, strong enough to secure order at home and to command respect abroad. The Turkish Government had hitherto shown great devotion in carrying out this task, and had achieved gratifying success. Financial German support, therefore, was economically and politically reasonable and just.

The Chancellor added that military strength alone enabled Germany to pursue that policy of quiet determination which the practical efficiency of the people had a right to claim, and that next to military strength the German fiscal system was the chief and indispensable guarantee of German greatness; and he dismissed with contempt the suggestion of abandoning in favour of new experiments "the foundations upon which our economic life has been based and brilliantly developed."

In reply to a Socialist attack on account of the conduct of the police during the riots at Moabit (p. 308) the Chancellor indignantly repudiated their charge against the police of having acted as *agents provocateurs*, and declared that "the moral complicity of the Social Democrats in the occurrences in Moabit is established." This declaration evoked a storm on the Socialist benches, but the Chancellor, nothing daunted, maintained the truth of his statement, adding that the German people was sound at the core, and was opposed at heart to the ultimate political aims and to the Utopian economical ambitions of Socialism. Germany had social legislation that went farther than that of any other country in the world. The policy of social help, however, did not affect the action of the State towards Socialism, and lawless and violent assaults would be beaten down by the employment of every resource the State possessed.

The fiscal policy of Germany was the subject of much controversy during the year with France and the United States. The Federal Council, which had previously accorded most-favoured-nation treatment to France in respect of the duties on champagne, cognac, and liqueurs, decided that from July 1 the maximum duties should be charged, and in reply to the protest of the French Government against this measure the German Foreign Office stated that it had become necessary as the Budget Estimates in respect of Customs duties had proved considerably higher than the actual returns. As regards the United States an agreement had been concluded in 1907 (ANNUAL REGISTER, 1907, p. 309) under which, in consideration of reductions made in the duties on certain German imports and of an alteration in the arrangements as to "market value," the minimum rates only of the German tariff should be charged on imports from the United States, but the latter Power having denounced the agreement, a Bill was passed by the German Parliament in February for the imposition of the minimum rates on imports from the United States only so long as the latter Power did not apply to German imports rates

higher than those of the United States minimum tariff. The definition of "market value" in the agreement of 1907, however, was dropped, Germany accepting the American legislative decision that "market value" shall henceforward mean, not the export price (as agreed in 1907) but market value in the United States. Another Bill passed in February provided that in future no person be allowed to deal in potash salts (*Kali*) who is not a member of the legally established syndicate, which will fix prices subject to the approval of the Imperial Chancellor. As Germany has a monopoly of the supply, the object of the measure was to prevent the sale of the material abroad at lower rates than at home. The Prussian Minister of Commerce explained that it was necessary to prevent an industry in which 500,000,000 marks (25,000,000*l.*) was invested from falling into American hands, a fate with which it was at present threatened. The fulfilment of the existing American contracts would be allowed, but the companies executing such contracts would have to pay compensation to the monopoly. Speaking on the general question of commercial agreements the Imperial Minister of the Interior, Herr Delbrück, said that it was a mistake to attribute to German tariff policy the difficulties met with in concluding commercial agreements. The German policy of Protection arose from the desire to preserve a productive industry at home, and success tempted other States to endeavour to develop their own industries and to withhold the raw materials till then gladly put at Germany's disposal. So long as German industry, commerce, and agriculture continued to develop as they had hitherto, all discussion as to a change of policy was idle. When the last European State to adhere to the Free Trade idea was on the verge of going over to Protection, Germany would have to examine whether the instruments and weapons given her by her Protective tariff were being properly wielded, and would suffice for the future to secure the results desired by her industries.

Great excitement was caused in evangelical circles in Germany in June by an encyclical letter from the Vatican on St. Charles Borromeo in which his work was contrasted with that of the Protestant Reformers, and the latter were described as "perverters of faith and morals, exhausting the strength of Europe in strife and war, and preparing the way for the upheaval and decadence of modern times under the name of evangelical freedom." Public meetings were held strongly protesting against this statement, and the Government was interpellated on the subject in the Prussian diet. In reply the Chancellor said that as the Encyclical contained criticisms of the Reformation and the Princes and peoples who had subscribed to it which offended the Protestant population of Germany in its national and moral as well as its religious sentiments, and involved a serious menace to religious peace, he had instructed the Prussian Minister to the Vatican to make an official protest, and express the expectation that the Curia would

find means to counteract the injurious effects of the publication. The incident was closed by an expression of regret on the part of the Vatican and the issue of directions from the Pope to the German Bishops to abstain from publishing the Encyclical in their respective dioceses.

II. AUSTRIA-HUNGARY.

The most important incident of the year in Austria-Hungary was the collapse of the coalition in the Hungarian Parliament between the Kossuth party of Independence and the Liberal dissentients (ANNUAL REGISTER, 1909, p. 294) and the accession to power of a new party styled the "National Party of Work."

Dr. Lukacs, whom the Emperor-King had selected to negotiate with the Coalition (ANNUAL REGISTER, 1909, p. 318), was appointed Premier on January 4, but he failed to form a Cabinet, and the post was then given to Count Khuen-Hedervary, who was Ban of Croatia from 1883 to 1903, and Premier of Austria in the latter year, and had always enjoyed the special confidence of his Sovereign. He formed a Cabinet including Dr. Lukacs, and composed of politicians of moderate views not attached to any of the political parties. In the Chamber he was received with a motion of want of confidence, which was passed by an overwhelming majority, upon which he read an Imperial rescript proroguing it till March 24 and left the House. The members then passed a resolution declaring the Government to be unconstitutional and forbidding the payment of taxes to it. But the Government, though hopelessly out-numbered in the Chamber, steadily gained ground in the country. Under the leadership of the ex-Premier, Count Tisza (ANNUAL REGISTER, 1905, p. 299), the "National Party of Work" issued an appeal to the nation, pointing out that the extravagant demands of the Coalition had led to a division between the Crown and the people which could have no fruitful result, and that the country should now abandon such chimeras and enter upon a policy of practical aims and productive work. It soon appeared that the new party had the nation behind it. By the middle of February it was joined by Count Andrassy and the other seceders from the Liberal party, and the former leader of the Clerical party, Count Zichy, entered the Cabinet. A disgraceful scene took place in the House when it was again convoked on March 21 as a preliminary to its dissolution. The members of the Opposition attacked the Premier and his Ministers with heavy inkpots and paper-weights, and inflicted such severe injuries upon them that they had to be medically treated. The general election, which took place in June, resulted in a triumphant victory for the Government, which secured 246 seats out of 413, while the Independent party in its two sections, under MM. Kossuth and Justh respectively, only obtained 85, the Clericals only 13

(less than half their former strength) and the non-Magyar representatives were reduced from 26 to 7. Bribery and violence prevailed on this occasion even more than usual at Hungarian elections, and the reduction of the non-Magyar seats was effected by stationing troops before some of the polling booths who did not allow non-Magyars to pass. The Chamber was opened by the King-Emperor on June 26, and the Speech from the Throne announced that "the most urgent of internal reforms" being a new regulation of the franchise, a Bill would be laid before the Chamber "on the basis of universal suffrage and in complete maintenance of the unitary national character of the Hungarian State." In the House of Magnates Count Bela Szechenyi then moved a vote of condolence with the British nation and the Royal Family on account of the death of King Edward, "who ever showed his sympathy for Hungary and her children, and honoured some of them with his friendship and confidence."

The Chamber now proceeded to deal with the measures laid before it by the Government, including the Estimates, a Recruits Bill, a Foreign Loan Bill, and a Census Bill, all of which were passed without a hitch, and it separated for the summer holidays in August.

One of the difficulties with which the new Hungarian Government had to deal in consequence of the reckless policy of the Coalition was finance. Besides a "consolidated" loan of 5,207,500*l.* issued in March it had to raise in May a further loan of 4,166,000*l.* in order to pay the coupons of the Hungarian Crown and Gold Rentes due on June 1 and July 1. The Finance Minister at the same time issued a statement showing that in 1909 the expenditure had exceeded the revenue by more than 3,000,000*l.*, although the revenue had actually exceeded the provisional Estimate by 2,000,000*l.* The Foreign Loan Bill above referred to was for raising a further sum of 23,333,333*l.*, a sum of nearly 18,000,000*l.* having been withdrawn by the previous Government from the Treasury reserves. This loan was partly raised in September from German, Austrian, and Hungarian banks, the negotiations entered upon in France for this purpose having broken down.

In Austria finance was also the subject of much preoccupation. Dr. Bilinski, the Austrian Finance Minister, stated to the Finance Committee of the Reichsrath in May that the Budget for 1910 showed a deficit of 2,958,000*l.*, and that for 1911 about 4,000,000*l.* would be required to meet the expenses of the two years' military service system, and about 900,000*l.* annually for new ships to take the place of those which had become antiquated, besides 12,000,000*l.* for four *Dreadnoughts* which were to be built at Trieste. The Reichsrath then passed a Bill for a loan of 9,220,000*l.* General von Georgi, Minister for National Defence, in supporting the Bill said that there had been no war in the previous year "because the Emperor would have no war," and that a war lasting six months

would have cost about 180,000,000*l.* The Estimates, laid before the House in November, showed a surplus of about 13,000*l.* over a total expenditure of 117,425,000*l.*, but the Finance Minister stated that this surplus, small as it was, did not represent the true state of affairs, as the proceeds of impending loans were reckoned as revenue, while ordinary expenditure had been put too low and extraordinary expenditure too high.

Racial strife showed no sign of relaxation. The Ruthenian students at Lemberg got up a riot against the Poles in the University at which a student was killed and a professor severely wounded, and attempts made to effect a *modus vivendi* between the Czechs and the Germans produced no results. The Czechs consequently joined the Opposition, and the Poles having also done so because the Government had refused to carry out the law passed in 1901 for the construction of canals in Galicia on the ground that the state of the Austrian finances would not warrant the heavy expenditure involved, the Cabinet resigned, but remained in office provisionally to carry on the current work of the session (Dec. 12).

The Constitution promised for Bosnia and Herzegovina in consequence of the annexation of those provinces in 1908 was promulgated on February 22. It comprises a preamble and three sections, of which the first concerns general civil rights, the second the Diet, and the third the competence of the Diet. In the preamble the existing administrative and military arrangements are maintained. The civil rights section extends to the annexed provinces the main provisions of the Austrian Constitution in regard to equality before the law, freedom of personal movement, the protection of individual liberty, the independence of the judiciary, freedom of conscience, autonomy of recognised religious communities, the right of free expression of opinion, the abolition of preventive censorship, the freedom of scientific investigation, secrecy of postal and telegraphic communications, and the rights of association and public meeting. The second section creates a Diet of seventy-two elected and twenty *ex officio* representatives, fifteen of the latter being dignitaries of the Musulman, Serb (Orthodox), and Croat (Catholic) religious communities. The Presidential Bureau, consisting of one President and two Vice-Presidents, is to be appointed annually by the Crown at the opening of the session. Each creed will be represented in the Bureau, the Presidential office being held by a Serb, a Musulman, and a Croat in annual rotation. To be valid the decisions of the Diet require the presence of more than half the members, except when ecclesiastical matters are under discussion. On such occasions the presence of four-fifths of the Diet and a two-thirds majority are requisite. The third section excludes from the legislative competence of the Diet all joint Austro-Hungarian affairs and questions appertaining to the armed forces and to Customs arrangements. The Diet is, however, entitled to elect a national council of nine members commis-

sioned to lay the views of the Diet before the Austro-Hungarian Government. In all other matters, such as civil, penal, police, and commercial law, industrial and agrarian legislation, sanitation, communications, taxation, the provincial estimates, the issue and conversion of loans, and the sale or mortgaging of provincial property, the Diet has a free hand. Government measures to be submitted to the Diet require, however, the previous sanction of the Austrian and the Hungarian Cabinets, whose assent is also necessary before Bills passed by the Diet can receive the sanction of the Crown.

Further statutes regulate the franchise and electoral procedure. The seventy-two elective seats are allotted according to religious denomination, the Serbs receiving thirty-one, the Musulmans twenty-four, and the Catholic Croats sixteen. One seat is reserved for a representative of the Jews. The seats are further divided into three *curiæ* or electoral categories, eighteen being allotted to a first category, composed of large landed proprietors and the highest taxpayers; twenty to a second category, composed of urban electors; and thirty-four to a third, composed of rural electors. The franchise is bestowed upon all subjects of the Crown born in the provinces or possessing one year's residential qualification who are of the male sex and have completed their twenty-fourth year. In the first category women also possess the franchise, but exercise it by male deputy. Candidates for election must have completed their thirtieth year, and be of the male sex and in full enjoyment of civil rights. Civil and railway servants and public school teachers are not eligible. In the first and second categories votes are recorded in writing, but in the third or rural category voting is oral on account of the large number of illiterates. In the second and third (urban and rural) categories the system of single constituencies is adopted, so that the provinces are divided into as many Serb, Musulman, and Catholic constituencies, with separate registers, as there are seats allotted to the respective creeds. For the Jews all the towns of the two provinces form a single constituency.

The standing orders of the Diet are simplified by the endowment of the President with discretionary powers in almost every respect. The lessons of obstruction in the Austrian and Hungarian Chambers had evidently not been lost upon the authors of the Bosnian Constitution.

At the end of May the Emperor paid a visit to the annexed provinces, accompanied by the Austrian and Hungarian Premiers and the Common Ministers of Foreign Affairs, War, and Finance, and was heartily welcomed by the people and the official corporations. The Diet was opened at Serajevo on June 14. The ceremony was marred by an attempt on the life of the Governor, General Baron Veresanin, by a Servian anarchist who afterwards committed suicide; but fortunately the Governor was not hurt,

although the would-be assassin fired five shots at him. The most noteworthy act of the Diet during the summer session was the passing of a joint resolution by the Servian, Musulman, and Croat deputies, pointing out that the Constitution had left unchanged the absolute political and economic dependence of the provinces upon the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, had made the introduction of Bills into the Diet conditional upon the previous sanction of the Austrian and Hungarian Governments, had limited the legislative initiative and right of interpellation of the Diet by conferring absolute urgency upon Government measures, had made the answering of interpellations by the Government optional, and had limited the Parliamentary immunity of members of the Diet to the actual duration of its sessions. The resolution closed with the declaration that the Constitution does not correspond to the expectations of the country. One of the most eminent members of the Reichsrath, Dr. Baernreither, said in the Delegations in November that the Monarchy must not limit its work in the annexed provinces to mere administration, but must seek to win the hearts of the inhabitants, and "strive to establish within its borders the moral centre point of the whole Serbo-Croatian world. In Bosnia we are at the parting of the ways. Either we shall have to muster enough energy, perception of political and social necessities, and sufficient material means to develop Bosnia into a great economic bulwark of our position in the Western Balkans by making the provinces themselves happier, richer, and more civilised, or we shall have to go on as hitherto, living from hand to mouth under the wavering and incalculable influences of Vienna and Budapest, with the result that Bosnia will be, like other parts of the Monarchy, merely one more battlefield for unsolved questions. From the military standpoint there is no danger whatever. Our position there is strong and unassailable, but I believe that in the twentieth century certain big questions cannot be solved by military means alone."

The Agram High Treason trial (ANNUAL REGISTER, 1909, p. 319) was finally quashed in November; all the prisoners were released, the Supreme Court having annulled the sentences passed upon them by the Agram tribunal on the ground that the latter had taken no steps to ascertain the trustworthiness of the evidence.

In his statements to the Delegations in October and November Count Aehrenthal made a skilful defence of his general policy, which was on the whole well received, though the annexation was sharply criticised. On this point he said that Austria-Hungary wished expressly to avoid any warlike complication, particularly with Turkey. This expectation was fully realised. "By the Austro-Turkish Protocol of Agreement we have either settled all pending questions or made their solution contingent upon clearly formulated premises. With complete freedom from self-regarding consideration we can grant the new *régime* in Turkey our

friendly support, and it causes me satisfaction that this is fully understood at Constantinople. We, like the other Powers, have a lively interest in the consolidation of Turkey, because by it we shall be relieved of the anxiety and the danger of concerning ourselves with the internal affairs of the Ottoman Empire."

Passing to the Cretan question, Count Aehrenthal reminded the Delegates that when withdrawing in 1898 from the provisional occupation and administration of the island, Austria-Hungary had made the reservation that no change in the constitutional position of Crete could take place without Austro-Hungarian consent. "We intend not to depart from this reservation, but shall always be ready at once to accept any provisional or definitive solution starting from the maintenance of the Sovereign rights of Turkey and effected in reciprocal agreement between the four Powers and the Porte.

Count Aehrenthal went on to insist on the persistence, and value to Austria-Hungary, of the alliances with Italy and Germany, which would form the immovable basis of her policy, though good relations with the other Powers would also be cultivated most carefully. "The Triple Alliance is directed against no one. We judge the grouping of the other Powers with the same openness of mind which we wish them to apply to us. We desire to strengthen the harmony between Governments by a calm, consistent policy that does not trouble about the affairs of others." Although no questions of grave importance or tension between the Powers existed at present, they might arise in this era of rapid life in view of the unfortunately quick excitability of public opinion everywhere. "The aims of our policy are the same, both as regards the relations between the Great Powers and the course of affairs in the Near East. We desire peace and the maintenance of equilibrium. This has been and remains the task of the Danube Monarchy, which has played a weighty part for centuries in the relations between West and East."

In answering a question as to whether the *entente* with Russia begun by Count Goluchowski, his predecessor, was still in existence, Count Aehrenthal said that, as that agreement was concluded with a view to reforms in Macedonia, it lost its *raison d'être* on the restoration of the Turkish Constitution, and no longer existed. "Our relations with Russia," he continued, "are, however, satisfactory. An exchange of views with that Power took place at the beginning of the year, and an agreement was arrived at on the following points: (a) Maintenance of the *status quo* in the Balkan peninsula; (b) the new *régime* in Turkey having taken as its basis equality of rights for all the populations, the maintenance and consolidation of the new order of things; (c) the independence, consolidation, and peaceful development of the small Balkan States. There is no contradiction between ourselves and Russia regarding our aims in the Balkans, and we are striving after the maintenance

of peace and the *status quo* in the Peninsula, and the development of the Balkan States." As regards Germany, Count Aehrenthal warmly defended the Emperor William against abusive attacks made upon him by a Czech and a Socialist member, saying that his action during the annexation crisis had been "the decisive factor in the maintenance of peace, and would also contribute to maintain peace in the future," but he declared himself to be opposed to the navigation dues which the German Government wished to collect from Austrian shipping on the Elbe and Dutch shipping on the Rhine. The freedom of the Elbe shipping from such dues was, he said, guaranteed by international treaties and must be maintained.

A noteworthy statement in this connection was made by Prince Schwarzenberg, a member of the Austrian Delegation. He admitted that the Monarchy owes a debt of gratitude to Germany, but insisted that this indebtedness ought not to be allowed to influence Austro-Hungarian action. "Although my Czech fellow-countrymen fear the effects of German predominance," he added, "the truth must not be forgotten that the Slavs and Slav politicians in Austria have achieved their greatest successes under the Austro-German Alliance. It is good that Germany should be in agreement with our policy, but we must, in our own interest, pursue an entirely independent course in Bosnia-Herzegovina and in the Balkans without troubling about Germany and Russia. I should very strongly protest against any policy that might be interpreted as a further step along the line from the Belt to Constantinople."

The forged documents produced in the Agram High Treason trial (ANNUAL REGISTER, 1909, p. 319) formed the subject of a warm controversy between Professor Massaryk, another member of the Delegation, and Count Aehrenthal, the former asserting that Count Forgach, the Austro-Hungarian Minister at Belgrade, knew them to be forgeries which Count Aehrenthal had denied, though he admitted that "the Austro-Hungarian Legation at Belgrade" had had dealings with Vasitch, the man tried and condemned at Belgrade for having been concerned in their preparation.

As to Italy, the Foreign Minister expressed pleasure that several delegates should have recognised the importance of cordial relations with their southern ally. It was satisfactory that in Italy also a sense of the value of the Austro-Hungarian Alliance should be spreading. This sense would spread the more rapidly in proportion as people in Italy came to understand that the character of the Austrian State was completely changed, and that Austria followed quite other paths than those followed by Austrian statesmen of the last century.

A more friendly feeling towards England was displayed in the Austrian Press than in the previous year, especially on the occasion of Lord Rosebery's mission to Vienna (p. 203), while France, which

had previously been regarded with special favour, was now violently attacked on account of the failure of the negotiations for a Hungarian loan.

A scathing criticism of Count Aehrenthal's policy in the matter of the annexation was delivered by M. Kramarz, the Czech leader. He said the whole development of the European situation and the position of Austria-Hungary had been changed. From 1897 until 1908 an agreement with Russia had governed the policy of Austria-Hungary, and her relationship to Germany had fallen into the background. Now Austria-Hungary was entirely dependent upon Germany. They could have managed Serbia without "shining armour," for they held the two provinces firmly occupied and no one could have wrested them. The result would have been the same without the intervention of Count Pourtalès. Count Aehrenthal's policy had completely stultified the main object of his life. It left Germany mistress of Austro-Hungarian relations with Russia, and reduced Austro-Hungarian intercourse with the Western Powers to an innocent and totally ineffectual flirtation with their amiable Ambassadors. And as they had failed to make of Austria, with her predominantly Slav population, a Slavophil State, they had no course but convulsively to clutch at expedients in the hope of overcoming the inconsistency of her position. Austria-Hungary was said to have gained heavily in *prestige*, but it was a singular gain to have been obliged to fear that, after thirty years of administration, two provinces inhabited by southern Slavs would, if the opportunity had been given them, have sent an address of homage to the Sovereign of Turkey! It was a singular gain to have been obliged to spend more than 300,000,000 kronen on armaments, to have thrown away the Sanjak of Novi Bazar, to have paid 54,000,000 kronen to Turkey without having been able to check the anti-Austrian boycott, to have dislocated the finances of both halves of the Monarchy, to have lost the Servian market for Austrian industry, to have chained Vienna to the policy of Berlin, and to have turned Austria-Hungary into a pace-maker for Germany, bound to share all the perils of German *Weltpolitik*. True, the Monarchy was said now to inspire fear and respect. But to the prestige and respect which the Monarchy formerly enjoyed was now added the reputation of having wantonly violated an international treaty at a moment when the tendency of civilised nations is towards arbitration and the development of international law. The German intervention at St. Petersburg had there been explained away as harmless, lest it should alienate from Germany the sympathies of the Russian Conservatives, who regard Prussia as the home and help of reaction,—and it was a cheap intervention, inasmuch as Germany well knew that Russia did not and could not intend to make war in support of her advocacy of a European conference. M. Kramarz denounced Count Aehrenthal's "theatrical methods" both in the annexation and in the

affair of the Novi Bazar railway, and asked, since a complete agreement had been admittedly attained between Count Aehrenthal and M. Isvolsky at Buchlau, why had not Count Aehrenthal adopted the simple and internationally impeccable plan of summoning a European Conference under Austro-Russian auspices, a Conference at which Austria-Hungary and Russia could have gone hand in hand, and the annexation, the independence of Bulgaria, the Dardanelles question, and the compensations for Turkey, Servia and Montenegro have been pacifically arranged without compromising the international situation of Austria-Hungary; without danger of war, and without upsetting Austro-Hungarian finances?

An announcement was made to the Delegations by the Ministers of War and Marine as to the proposed increases of the Austro-Hungarian Army and Navy. On the former point the Minister said that in consequence of the position of Austria-Hungary, and notwithstanding her policy of alliances, the Monarchy must still reckon with a war on several fronts; and, further, that it was no longer permissible to postpone the development of the defensive forces of the Empire. The military and naval expenditure entailed by the annexation policy had not been money thrown away, but had been a rather rapid and therefore comparatively costly remedy for past negligence. Thanks to the efforts made, machine-gun divisions, motor-boats, heavy automobiles, barbed wire-cutters for infantry, mountain artillery, bridging material, field kitchens, the supply of ammunition and of other military stores, had been either completed or introduced, so that the Army might now be considered more efficient than for long past. Nevertheless, further reforms and development would be necessary, particularly the increase of the annual contingent of recruits. As regards the Navy Admiral Count Montecuccoli, chief of the Austro-Hungarian Navy department, said that the Estimates for 1910 might be described as normal as they showed a total increase in ordinary and extraordinary expenditure of only 145,000*l.* The supplementary Estimate of 2,250,000*l.* concerned the measures taken during the annexation crisis. Almost the whole fleet was then mobilised, and the few units not mobilised were ready for active service at a moment's notice. Though the mobilisation was only partial, the Navy stood the test well. "We do our utmost, but insufficiency of means still keeps us in the last place among the great Powers." After giving details regarding new battleships and cruisers, torpedo-boats burning liquid fuel, submarines, fresh accessory vessels, and the attention profitably paid in the past two years' manœuvres to artillery practice, the Admiral added that the *personnel* of the Navy would for the present be raised to 14,000 men and be further increased under the projected new defence law, and that he would present to the Delegations for 1911 demands for shipbuilding calculated to raise the battleship fleet to the position it held in the 'sixties of the last century.

When the Delegations met again in December at Budapest they were for the first time opened by the heir-apparent, the Archduke Franz Ferdinand, instead of by the Emperor. Much unfavourable comment was made in the Coalition Press on a remark made by the Archduke to the Prime Minister, that if Hungary would grant all the money required by the military and naval administration for the maintenance of the position of the monarchy as a great Power, the Hungarian nation would regain its great renown and the former splendour of its political prestige, "which had somewhat suffered during recent years."

CHAPTER III.

RUSSIA, TURKEY AND THE MINOR STATES OF EASTERN EUROPE.

I. RUSSIA.

THE Nationalist movement which followed in Russia upon the suppression of the revolutionary outbreaks of 1905 and 1906 (ANNUAL REGISTER, 1907, pp. 324-7) continued in unabated force during the year 1910. The extreme reactionists, who demanded the total abolition of the Duma, were but an insignificant section of the population, and the Duma did much good work throughout the year, though the Tsar maintained his right to be the supreme power in the Russian State. But as regards the non-Russian nationalities, the majority of the Russian people were as resolute as the Government in pursuing the policy of Russification. With the consent of the Duma, Finland was deprived of her ancient autonomy, and the Poles, besides the former restrictions on the use of their language, were denied even the slender rights of local self-government possessed by the Russians in the Empire.

In January a coalition was effected between the members of the extreme Right in the Duma and the various Nationalist groups under the name of the "Pan-Russian National Union." This new party comprised more than a third of the Duma, and was numerically stronger than the Octobrist party, which advocated adherence to the existing Constitution but not the extension of the powers of the Duma, as demanded by the Cadets (Constitutional Democrats) and the few remaining Socialists. M. Balasheff, a well-known politician of moderate views, was elected President of the Union, and issued a programme of policy laying down the principle that the Russians in the Empire should be paramount over the other nationalities "without putting undue pressure upon them"—a vague phrase, interpreted by most members of the party as indicating that the process of Russification should be pursued as before, but that violent methods should only be used in case of resistance to the process. As regards the Jews the pro-

gramme declared decisively against the removal of any of their disabilities.

The first step taken by the Duma on its reassembling after the Christmas recess was to pass a resolution (Feb. 2) in favour of abolishing the system of exiling by administrative decree persons whose conduct is regarded as a menace to the State or to society. On March 7, M. Guchkoff, speaking on behalf of the Octobrists, deplored the delay in the enactment of the promised civil and political reforms. The country had returned to tranquillity in expectation of these reforms. Why, he asked, did the Government delay reorganising the police and putting an end to administrative exile and arbitrary measures against the Press? Why were local authorities allowed openly to espouse the reactionary cause, the representatives of which hindered the legislative work of the Duma and the Council of the Empire? The reactionists, especially in the Council, were a serious menace to the new *régime*. "We expect that the sovereign power, as well as the Government and the administrative organs, shall remain outside political parties."

No answer was given to this appeal by the Government, but the Nationalists and the extreme Right made violent speeches opposing the demand for reforms, and left the Duma in a body, upon which the sitting was adjourned. On March 5 there was a debate on the Budget of the Ministry of Foreign affairs, in which M. Miliukoff, the leader of the Constitutional Democrats, sharply criticised M. Isvolsky's policy both in the Near and the Far East, and represented him as a tool of Count Aehrenthal, while the eccentric Reactionist, M. Purishkevitch, who had been repeatedly suspended from the Duma for using abusive language, threatened to give a warm reception to the British members of Parliament who had proposed to pay a visit to Russia, on account of their "sinister designs on the Russian State." Ultimately the Budget was passed, and the Duma also voted that Finland should contribute to the expenses of the Foreign Office.

On March 17 M. Homiakoff resigned his post as President of the Duma on the ground that it was impossible for him to continue in that post in consequence of the continued defiance of his authority by some of the members and the persistent absence of the members of the Government. He was succeeded on March 21 by M. Guchkoff, the leader of the Octobrists, who was elected by 221 to 68, the Nationalists voting for him. M. Guchkoff was perhaps the strongest political personage in Russia, next to M. Stolypin, with whose policy of Russification coupled with administrative reforms and the punishment of dishonest officials he was in sympathy. After an adventurous career in Central Asia, Armenia, Macedonia, South Africa, where he fought on the side of the Boers, and in the Japanese war, he had taken a leading part in organising the Octobrists as a party of Conservative reformers, and was now accepted by all the members of the Duma, except the

Reactionists and their President. He delivered his inaugural address on March 25, and was the first President of the Duma who uttered the word "Constitution." He boldly declared that Russia was now a constitutional monarchy, but this "did not and could not imply parliamentary government in the English sense in Russia at the present day." Members, he said, complained rightly of extraneous obstacles to productive legislation. They would have to reckon with and perhaps combat them. But there were other obstacles inside the Duma, and by removing these they would considerably weaken the former. He had been, and he remained, a convinced adherent of constitutional monarchy. He could not anticipate a peaceful development of contemporary Russia except under a constitutional monarchy with a Duma endowed with wide legislative powers, and with a strong executive responsible only to the Monarch, and not to the political parties.

On April 2, the Duma adopted the proposals of the National Defence Committee for the introduction of Bills providing for the construction of an airship fleet, and the representative of the War Minister said that preparations were being made by the War Office for this purpose, and that the use of airships to the best advantage in war time was being carefully considered. The Bill substituting, in principle, individual ownership of peasant lands for ownership by the commune was passed on April 10 by the Council of the Empire against the opposition of a considerable minority, who feared that disastrous consequences might ensue from the sudden abolition of the communal system.

On April 13, M. Stolypin, the Premier, made an important speech in the Duma, denying that the Government was tending towards reaction; repressive measures were being abandoned whenever possible, and the Tsar had ordered that courts martial and capital punishment should only be resorted to in extreme cases. This was in some measure a compliance with the resolution passed by the Duma on February 2 (p. 328) with regard to punishment by administrative decree. The Duma again rejected the credit for the construction of battleships on April 20, though it had been passed by the Council of the Empire (ANNUAL REGISTER, 1909, p. 323). In accordance with a recommendation made in the previous year by the reporter of the Naval Budget Committee, the Government drew up a programme of shipbuilding at a cost of about 70,000,000*l.* It was spread over fifteen years and included the four *Dreadnoughts* then in course of construction, and also a new naval base near Cronstadt.

A duel took place between M. Guchkoff, the President of the Duma, and Count Urvaroff on May 18, and both were consequently sentenced to imprisonment, but M. Guchkoff remained at his post during the remainder of the session, and only entered upon his term of four weeks' imprisonment after the session was over. A stormy debate took place on May 30 on a Bill providing for the

creation of Zemstvos in the six western provinces which were formerly part of Poland. The third clause of the Bill, assuring a numerical predominance of Russians over Poles in the Zemstvos, was passed by 182 votes to 165, and the House also adopted the fourth clause, excluding Jews from all participation in the Zemstvos. The Bill, known as "The Anti-Polish Bill," was finally passed on June 13. The Opposition voted against the whole measure, because it infused the noxious principle of election by racial *curia* into local government, and because the peasants, who form the enormous bulk of the population, were restricted to one-third of the representatives instead of being allowed at least one-half. Of the other two-thirds the majority was given to the small landed bureaucracy and the remainder to the Poles, who own 40 per cent. of the land. The Poles voted for strengthening the peasant contingent, thereby showing that their interests were solid with the peasants against the bureaucratic element. The Government refused to accept an amendment allowing the *curia* the option of merging, as this would have enabled the peasants and Polish landlords to outvote the Russians.

The Budget of 1911 was published by the Ministry of Finance on October 12. The ordinary expenditure was estimated (taking 10 roubles to equal 1*l.*) at 254,590,000*l.*, the extraordinary revenue at 1,240,000*l.*, and the extraordinary expenditure at 14,740,000*l.*, distributed as follows: For expenditure arising from the Russo-Japanese War, 230,000*l.*; for the Ministry of War, 4,860,000*l.*; for railway extensions, 9,510,000*l.*; subsidies to the Baku Company, 140,000*l.* This extraordinary expenditure was covered by the balance of the ordinary revenue over the ordinary expenditure amounting to 12,370,000*l.*, the extraordinary revenue of 1,240,000*l.*, and the actual cash in hand in the State Treasury.

The constitutional conflict between the Russian Government and the people of Finland continued throughout the year. A general election to the Finnish Diet took place in February. The new Diet was composed of forty-two Old Finns, twenty-eight Young Finns, three Swedish People's party, eighty-six Social Democrats, seven Agrarians, and one member of the Christian Labour party. Fifteen women were elected, including nine supporters of the Social Democratic party. The total number of votes polled was 789,663.

On March 27 the Tsar issued a manifesto, ordering the introduction into the Duma and the Council of the Empire of a Bill submitted to him by his Ministers with regard to the procedure to be followed in the case of laws affecting Finland only and those affecting the Empire generally, adding that the Finnish Diet "would be allowed to give its opinion on the Bill," and expressing his confidence that the Duma and the Council "will carry out the task assigned to them of strengthening the unity and integrity of the Empire, and promote the prosperity of all his subjects." The

Bill was laid before the Duma on March 28. It provided that Finnish legislation "on matters with which the Grand Duchy of Finland is not alone concerned" should be transferred to the Russian Legislature, and that "the fundamental principles of the internal Government of the Grand Duchy" should be "defined or amended by established legislative process on the Imperial initiative," thereby asserting the right of the Sovereign and the Russian Legislature to make any alterations they may think proper in the Finnish Constitution, or indeed to make it a dead letter. Attached to the Bill was a long list, based on the recommendations of the Russian members of the Committee of the Duma of 1909 (ANNUAL REGISTER, 1909, p. 326), of subjects excepted from the decision of the Finnish Diet, including every important department of internal government. The Bill was referred to a Committee on March 30 by a large majority, after M. Miliukoff, the leader of the Constitutional Democrats, had made a strong speech against it, to which the Octobrists answered that the Duma must be supreme. On the same day the Finnish Senate decided to promulgate the Imperial manifesto and lay the Bill before the Diet, but the Deputy Procurator entered a protest against the Senate's decision, declaring that the manifesto was contrary to the fundamental principles of the Finnish Constitution. When the Bill was brought before the Diet on April 5, M. Maekelin, the Socialist leader, declared that it meant the extension to Finland "of the worst system of government in the history of civilisation," and Senator Danielson, the leader of the Old Finns, contrasted the policy of the present Emperor with that of Alexander I., "who sought to obtain the love of his people." The Bill was sent to a Committee of the Diet on April 6, which unanimously declined to report upon it, as being unconstitutional. The Committee of the Duma, on the other hand, adopted on May 13 the following changes in the Finnish Constitution: the period of the mandates of Finnish Deputies to be reduced from nine years to three; the number of Finnish members of the Council of the Empire to be raised from one to two, and of those in the Duma to be reduced from five to four, the members of the Russian community in Finland being debarred from representation. In its final report, presented on May 19, the Committee asserted the jurisdiction of the Imperial Legislature over Finland, and approved of the Government Bill, with certain amendments, one providing that the Diet should be consulted in all future legislation affecting Finland; another that the Russian language should acquire a recognised status; and a third that the Russian Senate should exert supreme control over Finnish laws. A minority report was signed by the Octobrist leaders, MM. Anrep and Kapustin. While approving of the principles of the Bill, they protested against the inclusion of provisions affecting schools, the Press, public meetings, and associations, as unnecessary and gratuitously provocative.

On May 18 the Nationalist Deputy, Count Bobrinsky, made a violent speech on the memorial on the Finnish question addressed to the Duma by a section of the British House of Commons, declaring that it was an interference in Russian domestic affairs and an affront to the Duma. The speech was loudly cheered by the Right and Centre. Meanwhile in Finland the people pursued their policy of passive resistance. On May 25, the Constitutional Committee of the Diet addressed a memorial to the Tsar personally, setting forth in detail the wrongs of Finland, and begging him to uphold the rights of the Grand Duchy and order the withdrawal of the unconstitutional proposals for the alteration of the status of Finland. The Diet also rejected the proposals of the Imperial Government for a special military tax in 1911, and for meeting the final outlay involved in the Army Estimates of 1910 (ANNUAL REGISTER, 1909, p. 325).

The Finnish Bill came on for debate in the Duma on June 3, when M. Stolypin made an important declaration of the policy of the Government. The Finnish question, he said, had given rise to embittered controversies. Various interpretations were honestly admissible, but for Russia it was a question not of controversy, but of historical necessity. Finland was prosperous and quiet, but had persistently refused to discharge her military obligations. The Empire must assert its dominant will or accept Finland's dictation. The Finns were free from many imperial burdens which would have involved taxation to the amount of 800,000*l.* annually. Finland's subordination in Imperial matters had been repeatedly demonstrated by the Acts of every Emperor in the last century. The present Bill, therefore, only asserted a principle which Alexander I. had applied, and British Colonial legislation also had to conform to Acts of the Imperial Parliament. In another speech on this question, addressed to the Council of the Empire on June 21, M. Stolypin said that the Tsar had preferred the co-operation of the Imperial Duma and of the Council of the Empire to a personal settlement according to the Finnish method. This had excited the Left wing of the Duma; but only two ways were open: either the Duma might permit Finland to decide for herself questions concerning both herself and the Empire, or Russian Imperial interests must be protected while fully respecting Finnish autonomy. The legislative institutions of the Empire could not be compared with provincial institutions. Russia was not a destroyer of civilisation, nor would she merely become the forcing ground for foreign culture and foreign progress. Legislators must decide whether they should surrender general Imperial legislation in favour of the Finnish Provincial Diet, or they must prove that the legislative bodies given to Russia by the Tsar deemed it their duty to preserve what belongs to the whole State. The Bill was passed by the Duma on June 10 (the Octobrists striving in vain to obtain the withdrawal of the clauses dealing with the Press,

public meetings, and associations), and by the Council of the Empire on June 27. In the latter body eloquent speeches were made against the Bill by Prince Lieven and Count Asutieff, both members of the extreme Right, insisting that it was not only a violation of the Sovereign's pledges, but was contrary to the express directions of the recent manifesto, which provided for the maintenance of the internal autonomy of Finland, and M. Stakhovitch read letters from Nicholas I. and Count Speransky, in which the Emperor and his Minister, writing to the Governor-General of the Grand Duchy, declared that the Finns must not be regarded as a conquered race, but as one which voluntarily adhered to the Empire and was entitled to its Constitution, and that the Grand Duchy must be treated not as a province of Russia, but as a separate State. In consequence of his repeated protests against the violation of the Finnish Constitution, M. Charpentier, Procurator of the Finnish Senate, was dismissed from his post on July 5, a step which was declared to be illegal, as provincial officials could only be dismissed after trial.

The Finnish Diet was opened on September 16, and on September 23, an extraordinary session having been summoned for the purpose of electing Finnish representatives in the Russian Duma and Imperial Council, and of giving an opinion on the Bills to be presented to the Russian Duma concerning the rights of Russians in Finland and concerning Finnish contributions for Russian military purposes, the Speaker announced that since these questions were raised under the recent law on Imperial legislation which, as unconstitutionally enacted, could not be binding on the Diet, and since they were not presented in proper order as proposals of the Sovereign, countersigned by the Finnish State Secretary, he was precluded by constitutional considerations from placing them before the Diet. This statement was unanimously approved by the Diet, which was consequently dissolved on October 8, and fresh elections were to take place on January 2, 1911.

The death of Tolstoy on November 20 at the little railway station of Astapovo, where he was suddenly taken ill after he had secretly left his home at Yasnaya Polana for an unknown destination, produced an immense impression throughout the Empire. Crowds of people, mostly peasants, came from all parts to bid farewell to the great writer and to attend his funeral at Yasnaya Polana, though the Holy Synod forbade any religious observances to take place on the occasion, and the Duma adjourned its labours for the day, the great majority of the members rising from their seats in honour to his memory. It was a day of mourning throughout Russia, only the Reactionists holding aloof from the great national demonstration. One of the last acts of Tolstoy's life was to write an article against capital punishment, and a great demonstration in the same sense was made by the students of St. Petersburg, who subsequently went on strike to protest against

the ill-treatment of political prisoners. Strikes of students also took place at the end of the year at Odessa and other university towns. In the margin of the report of the Minister of the Interior on Count Tolstoy's death the Tsar in his own hand made the following note: "I heartily deplore the death of the great writer, who has embodied the golden age of his talent in his creations of types of the Fatherland, constituting one of the most glorious years in Russian life. May he find in God a merciful Judge."

In foreign affairs Russia adhered loyally to the Triple *Entente* with England and France, and the strain in her relations with Germany and Austria-Hungary, set up by the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina and its consequences, was to a great degree relaxed by the retirement in October of M. Isvolsky from the post of Foreign Minister. With considerable ability as a diplomatist, M. Isvolsky had shown a singular want of foresight as a statesman. The conclusion of the Anglo-Russian and Russo-Japanese agreements may be placed to his credit, but in backing the claims of Servia in the previous year he had rashly speculated upon the chimerical scheme of a Balkan Confederation and on the chance of Germany continuing to hold aloof from the dispute caused by the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and had placed his country in a position where the only alternative was a diplomatic humiliation or war with the certainty of defeat. He was appointed Russian ambassador in Paris, and was succeeded as Minister of Foreign Affairs by M. Sazonoff, who had acted as his deputy. Shortly after his appointment the new Foreign Minister accompanied the Tsar in a visit to Potsdam, at which important conversations took place with the German Emperor and his Ministers, the result of which was described by M. Sazonoff as having established "the full concurrence of the mutual interests of the two countries combined with the absolute maintenance of the Triple *Entente*."

A deputation from the French National Assembly arrived at St. Petersburg on February 18. It was most cordially received by the Tsar and the people, and a banquet was given to it by the Duma, at which all the parties were represented except the Nationalists and the extreme Left. On June 10 the Russo-British Chamber of Commerce entertained Professor Pares as the representative of the Russian Reception Committee and of the Russian section of the Liverpool Chamber of Commerce. Several members of the Duma and of the Council of the Empire were present, and M. Timiriacheff, who was in the chair, made a remarkable speech on Anglo-Russian relations, pointing out that the so-called interference in the internal affairs of the country should be understood as an outcome of the growing solidarity of civilised nations. Neither diplomatic nor purely business relations sufficed nowadays to bring peoples together. They all looked forward to a return visit from Great Britain.

The Russo-Japanese agreement was signed on July 4. It pro-

vided that with the object of facilitating communications and developing trade between Russia and Japan, the two States mutually engaged to co-operate amicably for the amelioration of their respective railways in Manchuria and the completion of the works commenced thereon, and to abstain from all injurious competition. They also engaged to maintain and respect the *status quo* in conformity with all the treaties hitherto concluded between Russia and Japan or between those Powers and China. Should events threaten the *status quo*, the contracting parties undertook to concert measures for maintaining it. This Agreement was on the whole well received as a satisfactory adjustment of the outstanding difficulties between Russia and Japan, but doubts were felt as to its effect upon the interests of third parties. The United States made a proposal in January for the internationalisation of the Manchurian railways, but this proposal was rejected both by Russia and Japan, and found no favour either in Russia or England.

With the smaller Balkan States Russia continued to maintain her traditional friendly intercourse. King Ferdinand of Bulgaria paid a visit to the Tsar in February, and King Peter of Servia in March, and both were received with great cordiality in the Russian capital.

A scheme for linking up the Russian and Indian railway systems was started by certain leading Russian industrial and commercial men in November. The scheme provided for the establishment of an international railway company on the basis of English and Russian interests being on an equal footing, and the adoption of the shortest route from Calais to Calcutta, using existing lines and going through Persia. A meeting of Moscow merchants held on November 23 strongly opposed any railway constructions in Persia or any connection of the Teheran with the Bagdad route; it was also stated at the meeting that the proposed line would not serve Russian trade interests, but would rather foster British competition. M. Klemm, the chief of the Persian section of the Foreign Office, who was present at the meeting, stated that the Russian Government had approved in principle the Trans-Persian route to India, and that the opposition of the merchants to any railway was untenable, inasmuch as the Treaty binding Persia not to permit railway construction had expired, and Russia enjoyed no monopoly either of railways or trade in Persia. The Anglo-Russian agreement assumed the respective interests of the two countries. No written agreements had been concluded at Potsdam, but the exchange of views which had taken place there had resulted, on the one hand, in a German promise not to seek territorial concessions in Northern Persia or to build a line north of Khanikin, and, on the other hand, a Russian promise to connect the ultimate network of North Persia railways by a line from Teheran to Khanikin. Russian diplomacy had sought to protect

Russian trade by undertaking to build a railway which otherwise might fall into foreign hands.

Among the trials for espionage in various European countries was that of Baron Ungern-Sternberg, who was sentenced at St. Petersburg in November to four years' hard labour for betraying military secrets to the Austrian Government. In the summer there was a severe outbreak of cholera, especially in the coal districts of the South.

II. TURKEY AND THE MINOR STATES OF EASTERN EUROPE.

In Turkey public attention was chiefly occupied with foreign affairs. The persistence of the Cretans in demanding union with Greece, though it was not encouraged by the Greek Kingdom, produced a warlike feeling among the Turks which manifested itself by a boycott of Greek goods; the outrages committed by the Turkish troops in disarming the Bulgarians in Macedonia considerably strained the relations of the Turkish Government with Bulgaria; and the enthusiasm for England at first displayed on the introduction of the constitutional *régime* in Turkey was damped by her refusal to consent to coercive measures by the Turkish troops in Crete, while the conditions imposed by France for the quotation of a new Turkish loan on the Paris Bourse led the Turks to turn to Germany for support both politically and economically rather than to the Western Powers.

Hakki Bey, who had been appointed Grand Vizier at the end of the previous year (ANNUAL REGISTER, 1909, p. 338), formed his Ministry on January 12. Mahmud Shevket Pasha, the generalissimo of the army of operations and the conqueror of the counter-revolution of April, 1909, was appointed Minister of War. A vote of confidence in the new Ministry was passed by the Turkish Chamber on January 24, by a majority of 187 to 34. The Grand Vizier declared, amid loud cheers, that the Government was prepared to extend to the Cretans the largest measure of autonomy, but was resolved to uphold by all means in its power the Sultan's sovereignty. He also stated, after pointing out the necessity of exceptional measures for the prevention of disorder, that it would be the policy of the Ministry "to bring about the disappearance of this unpleasant state of affairs, and, by the gradual adoption of wise measures, to restore normal conditions." With regard to the question of departmental reorganisation, he expressed the opinion that the law which had been promulgated in order to remedy the effects of past despotism had resulted in breaking down the rules concerning the separation of powers and in the absorption by the Chamber of functions outside the sphere of its essential duties. The Cabinet would henceforth assume the responsibility which legally belonged to the Executive.

The Young Turkish Committee of Union and Progress, which had played the leading part in establishing the Constitutional *régime* and had so far presented a strong and united front to the other

parties in the Chamber, began in February to show signs of disintegration. Though professing a policy of equal treatment of all the nationalities in the Empire, there was a growing tendency among its younger members to assert the predominance of the Turkish element, which led to frequent collisions with the deputies of other nationalities, especially the Greeks and the Arabs; and a considerable secession from the Committee took place under the leadership of Ismail Hakki, a former Vice-President. The new party thus formed, under the title of "the People's party," was decidedly reactionary in its tendency, and violently opposed the moderate Liberals under the Albanian leader, Ismail Kemal Bey, who were now better disciplined than the Committee party. On the occasion of the second anniversary of the proclamation of the Constitution, the Central Committee of Union and Progress, which has its head-quarters at Salonika, addressed an important manifesto to the country, congratulating the nation on having entered on the third year of the Constitutional *régime*, and declaring that the second year better responded to the hopes expressed in 1908 by showing that the Constitutional *régime* had acquired power and solidarity. The manifesto expressed regret, however, at the small progress achieved in the union of the various elements of the population, which was probably due to the excessive zeal displayed by the Committee during the first year. The efforts of the second year had been consecrated to the spread of public instruction, and the Committee still had hopes of attaining union, not doubting that the policy of the present Cabinet would realise that object.

On July 19 Dr. Riza Nur, deputy for Sinope and formerly a member of the Committee, was arrested, together with a number of other persons, on a charge of complicity in a plot to overthrow the existing Government, but the conspiracy turned out to have been in no way formidable. It had been engineered by Sherif Pasha, who, after entering the Committee with the hope of finding some high position under the new Government, had started, together with Kemal Pasha, an opposition Committee in Paris, and endeavoured to stir up an agitation against the new *régime*. The attempt proved to be an utter failure, and Sherif Pasha and Kemal Pasha were condemned to various terms of imprisonment. The Opposition in the Chamber, however, cast some discredit on the Government by accusing it of torturing members of the conspiracy in order to extract confessions from them, of opening their letters, and of having their actions watched by spies.

The most important subject debated by the Chamber was the Budget. According to the report of the Parliamentary Budget Commission, the revenue for the year amounted to T26,015,191*l.*, and the expenditure to T35,693,083*l.*, leaving a deficit of T9,677,892*l.* Explaining these figures to the House, the Reporter to the Commission remarked that the deficit was mainly attributable to increased military expenditure and to the voting

by the Chamber of an extraordinary credit of nearly T1,000,000*l.* for the construction of roads. He added that the deficit was certain to be increased during the current year by no less than T850,000*l.*, which would have to be expended on pensions, indemnities to ex-officials, and the payment of some of the ex-Sultan's creditors. The total deficit would therefore amount to T10,527,982*l.*, but there would be T4,000,000*l.* in hand on account of unexpended credits at the end of the years 1908 and 1909, and the revenue would probably exceed the original Estimates by T1,500,000*l.* It was generally recognised, however, that in view of the approval by the Chamber of extraordinary military credits amounting to about T5,250,000*l.*, to be spread over three years, and of an expenditure of T5,000,000*l.* on naval construction during the next ten years, in addition to the T350,000*l.* collected by private subscription for the purchase of four large destroyers from Germany, a considerable sum would have to be raised by loan. New laws for the taxation of house property at the rate of 9 to 12 per cent. of the gross rental value, and for setting off arrears of taxation, etc., against debts owed by the Government were passed by the Chamber and Senate, but these measures would not go far towards covering the deficit. The military authorities, too, greatly resented any interference in their accounts on the part of the inspectors of the Ministry of Finance; they still maintained a separate account from that of the Treasury at the Ottoman Bank; their demands were constantly increasing, and it was difficult to control them in cases of expenditure in excess of the amounts voted. Djavid Bey, the Minister of Finance, strongly protested against these encroachments upon his domain, but he was not supported either by the majority in the Chamber or by the other Ministers, the maintenance of the Ottoman Army in a high state of efficiency being regarded as a paramount consideration. This view was advocated with much ability in the Chamber by Mahmoud Shevket Pasha, who, now that he had become Minister of War as well as Commander-in-Chief, proved to be as good an orator as he was a soldier. "Napoleon," he said, "the greatest commander the world has seen, declared that for war a State required money, money, money. Our Minister of Finance has informed you that if Constitutional Turkey has borrowed T12,000,000*l.* she has paid off T5,000,000*l.* of debt. Of our total debt of T120,000,000*l.* we pay off T2,000,000*l.* annually. . . . Our Revenue Estimates for the current year amount roughly to T26,500,000*l.* But I see that during the first two months of the year the revenue has exceeded the Estimates by T350,000*l.*, so that we may expect to have an increase of T2,000,000*l.* for the year. Next year we may hope for T2,000,000*l.* more. . . . When I became Minister of War I remembered Napoleon's dictum. The Military Budget for 1900 amounted to something over T8,000,000*l.* Being a simple soldier I then believed those who told me that this was excessive. Now that I am Minister

I recognise my error." The minimum peace effective of the Army must not be less than 274,000 men, it would then be the fifth largest army in the world. At least T4,800,000*l.* would be needed to bring the Army up to the requisite war strength in men and equipment. With this sum he proposed to purchase 66,000 rifles, 80 machine guns, 100 field guns, and 38 mountain guns, with a sufficient supply of ammunition. T250,000*l.* would be spent on the fortification of Adrianople, Kirk-Kilisseh and Yanina, T700,000*l.* on uniforms, T331,000*l.* on the purchase of horses, and T211,000*l.* for the training of the reserves. Motor cars, harness, field-kitchens, and transport had all to be purchased. T77,400*l.* was required for the defence by submarine mines of the straits and of the harbours of Smyrna and Salonika. The hospital and sanitary corps would need T339,000*l.*, for the old system of leaving the wounded to shift for themselves would have to be abandoned. He had waited for these credits for five months, and had made urgent requests to the President of the Chamber in vain. He had explained the situation to them. Now, if they hesitated, they would be responsible before God and man.

Negotiations were begun in Paris, in which both the Grand Vizier and the Finance Minister took part, for raising a loan of T6,000,000*l.*, but no agreement could be arrived at as to the guarantees for the loan. The Turkish Government declined to give any guarantees, on the ground that the word of regenerated Turkey should be considered as good as her bond; but this view was not accepted in Paris either by the financiers or the Government. They demanded that two French officials should be appointed as Director of the Department of Public Accounts and President of the *Cour des Comptes* at Constantinople, in order to provide the necessary security for French subscribers to the loan; and, after repeated conferences between the Turkish negotiators and the French Government, the negotiations were finally broken off at the end of October, and arrangements were made to raise the loan in Germany and Austria. The military element in the Cabinet had set its face against foreign control in any shape, and its attitude in this respect was so popular that the other Ministers did not venture to resist it, although the controlling powers now claimed for the two proposed French officials had already been conferred upon the Director of the Public Accounts Department by an Imperial *Iraddé* and had also been proposed for the President of the *Cour des Comptes* by a Bill submitted some weeks before by the Finance Minister to the Turkish Chamber. To the further demand that French industries should benefit by the expenditure of the loan, and that Algerians and Tunisians in Turkey should be recognised as French subjects and *protégés*, the Turkish Government raised no objection. The refusal of France to sanction the quotation of the loan on the Paris Bourse produced an explosion of ill-will in the Turkish Press against the Triple *Entente*. The

Jeune Turc declared that the experiences of the last two years had proved the necessity for Turkey of a *rapprochement* with the Triple Alliance. Since the revolution Turkey had endeavoured to base her policy on the support of the Powers of the Triple *Entente*, but with the exception of France they had done nothing for her. On the contrary, England and Russia even rendered sterile the efforts made by France. At every step they opposed Turkey's attempts to attain international independence and liberty of action. On October 23 a violent anti-English demonstration took place at Constantinople at a crowded meeting held to protest against British intervention in Persia. The meeting included many officers, and loud applause was given to speeches suggesting that Turkey should use her influence in India as a Mohammedan Power, and that if she won the "Moslem" Army of India to her side the British rule would disappear, and praising the German Emperor, "whose attitude at the Algeciras Conference had saved the independence of Morocco." A Committee was appointed at the close of the proceedings to draft a telegram to the Emperor urging him again to come forward as the saviour of a Moslem State.

Further signs of a tendency on the part of Turkey to abandon her previous attitude of cordial relationship with England and France and to seek the support of Germany were the rumours of a military convention with Roumania, which, though officially denied, seem to have been not without some foundation, and the purchase of two German battleships, the *Weissenburg* and the *Kurfürst Friedrich Wilhelm*. The Hohenzollern Prince who was King of Roumania had always maintained intimate relations with the kindred German Empire, and whether a convention with Turkey had been actually signed or not, there was little doubt that, should a war break out between Turkey and Greece or Bulgaria the forces of Roumania and the diplomatic, if not the active, support of her powerful friend at Berlin would be exerted on the side of Turkey.

The eventuality of a war with Bulgaria or Greece, or both of these States, had to be considered by Turkish statesmen in view of the constant difficulties arising from the disturbed state of Macedonia, Albania and Crete. Although the visit of King Ferdinand of Bulgaria to Constantinople in March, and that of the Turkish heir-apparent to Sofia in June, had improved the relations between the Turkish and Bulgarian Governments, the severity with which the disarmament of the Bulgarian and Greek peasants in Macedonia and Bulgaria was carried out produced much ill-feeling towards the Turkish Government in Bulgaria as well as in Greece. On January 2, the Macedonian emigrants in Sofia held a great meeting, at which a resolution was adopted protesting against the unfair way in which the Constitution was applied towards the Christians in Turkey, calling the attention of Turkish public opinion to the persecution of Bulgarians in Mace-

donia, demanding the release of the arrested families of Macedonian Kunitajis at Monastir, asking for a guarantee that justice shall be meted out to those who were incriminated in the murder of Bulgarians in the Monastir vilayet, and appealing to the Bulgarian Government to take energetic action for the purpose of stopping the persecution of Bulgarians in Macedonia. Copies of the above resolution were handed to the Bulgarian Government and to the representatives of the Great Powers in Sofia. The Bulgarian deputies in the Turkish Parliament also addressed a petition to the Grand Vizier on June 20 in which, after recalling the promises made to the subject populations at the beginning of the new *régime* and the active participation of Bulgarians in the struggle against the reactionary movement, they described at great length the sufferings now endured by the Bulgarian population, and concluded with the following demands: (1) An amnesty for those who took part in the revolutionary movement against the former *régime*; (2) restoration to the local population of lands purchased for distribution among Moslem colonists; (3) restoration to the lawful owners of lands usurped under the former *régime*; (4) permission to Bulgarian emigrants to return to their homes; (5) abolition of the *bastonnade*; (6) revision of the sentences of courts martial, which are devoid of legal existence; (7) punishment of officials who practise illegal severities; (8) maintenance of the privileges conceded to Bulgarian schools and churches by Imperial Edicts; (9) rights of personal freedom and inviolability of domicile; (10) abandonment of the policy hitherto followed of inciting the various nationalities against each other.

The Grand Vizier stated in reply to this petition that Macedonian Bulgarians who had emigrated to Bulgaria would be granted a period of six months for returning home and taking possession of their property. The collection of arms from the Bulgarians and Greeks in Macedonia continued, however, with increased severity; they were flogged and otherwise ill-treated if they did not deliver the quantity demanded, and many of them fled into Bulgaria and Greece. In August a great meeting was held at Kostendil, in Bulgaria, protesting to the Bulgarian Government "and to the civilised world" against the action of the Turkish authorities. It was admitted by Talaat Bey, the Minister of the Interior, that there had been cases of ill-treatment of the Macedonian Bulgarians; a strict inquiry was held by "a competent and trustworthy official" with a view to the punishment of the guilty parties, one of them had been dismissed, and another was to be tried by court martial. The agitation against Turkey among the Bulgarians, however, still continued, owing to the suppression of Bulgarian political clubs in Macedonia, the interference of the Turkish Government with the Bulgarian schools, the domiciliary visits in search of arms, the proceedings of the Turkish secret military tribunals, and the colonisation of Bulgarian districts with Mohammedans from Bosnia, and

it was especially remarked that the Roumanians in Macedonia were exempted from the severities practised upon the Bulgarians and the Greeks. The revolutionary organisation in Macedonia, which had suspended its action when the new *régime* was established by the Young Turks, was now revived in consequence of the pan-Islamic tendencies of the Government, and a number of small bands were formed by the secret committees which succeeded the Bulgarian "constitutional clubs" under the name of the "Macedonian Internal Organisation." A very violent article, entitled "Bulgarian Crimes," was published in October by the semi-official *Tanin* of Constantinople, stating that "justice and generosity only produced fatal fruits in Macedonia," that "the violence and savagery of the Bulgar wild beasts increase," and that "the sole duty of the Government is to pursue the policy of repression *à outrance*," adding that "as long as the Bulgar Committees receive bombs and money and instructions from Sofia it will be impossible to restore order in Macedonia." There is no doubt, however, that the suppression of the constitutional clubs by the Government, and the hanging and banishment of many persons after a secret trial before military tribunals drove the Bulgarian movement in Macedonia underground and restored the prestige of the advocates of terrorism.

The general policy of the Government was in December the subject of a long debate, extending over a week, in which the Ministry was violently assailed, chiefly by Greek, Bulgarian, and Armenian members of the Opposition. The Grand Vizier, in a moderate and conciliatory speech, rebutted the charges of his opponents, and expressed regret at the failure of the loan negotiations with France, as her conditions were "incompatible with the national dignity," adding that the relations of Turkey both with France and with England "remain of the friendliest character." The Government "wished to be on the best terms with all the European Powers without leaning on one or the other of the great alliances." No alliance had been concluded with Roumania, as "both Governments are sufficiently interested in the maintenance of the *status quo* in the Balkans to be able to dispense with any formal agreement on the subject." Relations with Greece had been somewhat disturbed by the suspicion that she wished to interfere in the affairs of Crete, and it was hoped that her future conduct would dispel this suspicion. The debate resulted in a vote of confidence in the Government passed by a majority of 123 to 63.

The Turkish Army was again busily engaged in suppressing risings of the Arabs, the Druses and the Albanians, as in previous years. The revolt of the Druses in the Hauran began in August and was not finally suppressed at the end of the year. The Druses numbered 7,000 men who fought with great determination, and twenty-six battalions under the command of Sami Pasha, one of the most brilliant pupils of General Goltz, were sent against them,

Many of them surrendered their arms and agreed to submit to taxation and military service, but several bands remained which gave much trouble to the troops. In Arabia, as in the Hauran, the disturbed state of the country was caused by disputes among the local tribes, and troops had to be sent to restore order. Talaat Bey, the Minister of the Interior, said in February in reply to an interpellation on the subject in the Turkish Chamber that "a province which has been in revolt for centuries cannot be pacified in a few months." After a great deal of fighting during the first nine months of the year most of the tribes submitted to the Government, but the country still remained unsubdued. There was also a Bedouin rising in Palestine in December; many Turkish soldiers and officials were killed at Kerak, and in Moab while the Bedouins were being disarmed. The most formidable of these risings was the one in Albania, which was resumed in the spring after the cessation of military operations during the winter. The cause of the rising in the north was the imposition of the "octroi" duty, a local tax imposed by the Governor of Kossovo for municipal improvements, while in Central and Southern Albania there was much hostility against the Government because it would not sanction the use of the Latin instead of the Arabic alphabet in the schools. In April an army corps was sent against the insurgents, upon which nine of their leaders submitted, but the situation was regarded as so serious that Torgut Shevket Pasha proceeded to Northern Albania at the head of a force of 17,000 men to disarm and register the population for purposes of taxation and conscription and punish those who had directed the rising. The fighting was then resumed; 3,000 Albanians stopped a train in the pass of Katchanik conveying soldiers and supplies bound for Prishtina, captured the supplies, and disarmed the soldiers. The Albanians held the pass for more than a fortnight, and were only driven from it by the troops after a desperate battle lasting thirteen hours. The resistance of the insurgents continued throughout the summer, and there were many killed and wounded on both sides. It was mainly confined to Northern Albania; in the south there were but few bands, and the population only expressed its determination to maintain the national individuality against the policy of racial obliteration adopted by the Young Turks. The troops engaged in disarming the population and dispersing the insurgent bands were nearly 50,000 in number; about a million men had to be disarmed, and the bands mostly occupied almost inaccessible positions from which it was difficult to dislodge them. After the rising was suppressed the Government abolished martial law and dissolved the courts martial in the greater part of Albania and Macedonia, but the Albanians continued to press their demands for national autonomy.

The new *régime* in Turkey, while it unquestionably bestowed vast benefits upon the population generally, was not fortunate in

its dealings with the non-Turkish nationalities; besides the Bulgarians and the Albanians, the Greeks had much to complain of. Both in Macedonia and Epirus they were treated with extreme severity by the Turkish officials and troops, and a law passed by the Turkish Parliament transferring the Greek Churches and schools in Macedonia to the Bulgarian Exarchate, unless two-fifths of the population of the district belonged to the Bulgarian Church, was bitterly resented by the Greek population. On August 9 the Greek Patriarch issued an encyclical declaring that the equality promised under the Constitutional *régime* had proved to be an empty phrase, while liberty was so interpreted and applied as to be more intolerable than the oppression of absolutism. "The State is ruled by an invisible power, the aim of which is annihilation of all religions and of the national existence. Abuses of all kinds abound. Under the pretext of disarmament, free citizens have been tortured and killed by the instruments of a free Constitutional State. In order to enfeeble the autochthonous Christian population, Mussulman settlers have been established in circumstances involving numerous acts of injustice to Christians. The immemorial ecclesiastical and scholastic privileges of the Orthodox Church have been overridden under the forms of the law of Constitutionalism. A Mussulman Minister arrogates to himself the right of adjudicating differences of an essentially religious and dogmatic character. In face of this persecution, the Patriarchate desires to take counsel with representatives of all the Bishopsrics of the Œcumenical Throne in a National Assembly, which is hereby summoned." When the delegates for the National Assembly arrived at Constantinople in September they were arrested, as the Assembly had not been officially authorised and might give rise to disturbances, upon which the Patriarch announced that he would abandon the convocation of the Assembly in view of the vigorous measures taken by the Government. The delegates were then released, and no further steps were taken in the matter, but the Greek deputies in the Turkish Chamber joined in the protest of the Patriarch against the conduct of the Government with regard to the Greek population of the Empire.

The Cretan question continued throughout the year to give much trouble to the protecting Powers and to embitter the ill-feeling between Turkey and the Greek Kingdom. In January the Porte protested in a Note to the Powers against the Cretan officials taking the oath of allegiance to the King of Greece and the application by the Cretan courts of justice of the Greek code, and in February it informed the Powers that should the Cretans elect to appoint deputies in the next Greek elections it would be obliged to take energetic measures for the defence of its sovereign rights. The remonstrances addressed to the Cretans in regard to the oath of allegiance produced no effect, but the executive Government acquiesced in the demand of the Powers for

the presence of consular representatives in the law courts, which was an important concession to foreign subjects in Crete. As regards the participation of Cretans in the next elections of the Greek Kingdom, the Powers notified to the Cretan Government that they would not allow it and would if necessary take steps to prevent it. The Cretan Assembly met on May 9; the Christian deputies took the oath of allegiance to the King of Greece, and the Mohammedan deputies were not required to do so. This in view of the acquiescence of the Powers in regard to the oath in previous years, was regarded as sufficient (ANNUAL REGISTER, 1908, p. 330; 1909, p. 338). In Turkey, however, the incident produced an ebullition of hostile feeling against Greece which manifested itself in the boycotting of Greek goods, in meetings in various Turkish towns to protest against the action of the Cretan Assembly, and in hot debates in the Turkish Parliament. On May 12 the Porte vainly urged the Powers to take the opportunity of proceeding to a definite solution of the Cretan question, and on May 17 M. Venezelos, who had organised the armed rising of 1905 (ANNUAL REGISTER, 1905, p. 333), was appointed by the Cretan Assembly President, of an Executive Committee to act as a Cretan Government. M. Venezelos stated that the Government would strive for the recognition of the annexation to Greece, the preservation of public order, and the protection of the Mohammedan minority. As regards the last point the Consuls General of the Powers notified to the President of the Assembly that any attempt to exclude the Mohammedan deputies would have serious consequences, but on May 19 the Assembly decided to exclude them on the ground that they had declared that they recognised no other standpoint than that of the autonomy granted by Turkey to Greece, and then suspended its sittings for forty days. The Provisional Government meanwhile prevented the Moslem officials from exercising their legal functions, and issued a circular to the Powers begging for the speedy solution of the Cretan question by the recognition of the union of the islands with Greece. To this the Powers replied in June that they would not allow Mussulman officials in Crete to be prevented from discharging their duties or to be deprived of their pay on the ground that they had not sworn allegiance to the King of Greece, and that if on the same pretext Mussulman deputies were excluded from the Cretan Chamber the Powers would "consider what steps were required to regularise the situation" in order to ensure that the Cretans did not make changes which might give rise to a breach of the peace in the Near East; and the Powers agreed at the end of the month, as a precautionary measure, each to send a second vessel to Cretan waters before the next meeting of the Cretan Assembly, in order, if necessary, to enforce the decision as to the proposed exclusion of the Mussulman deputies and officials. The Powers also adopted a proposal made by Russia that Crete

should as a last resort be reoccupied. They next addressed on June 26 a Note to the Porte, stating that they had "given proof of their intention and desire to safeguard the Sultan's sovereign rights," and that if the Porte requires a definite settlement of the Cretan question, it must address itself to all the six Powers signatory to the Treaty of Berlin. They further requested that the Imperial Government should take effective steps to put an end to the excitement which prevailed in the Empire, as its continuance, which was not justified by the attitude of Greece, could not fail to provoke regrettable incidents. The Turkish Government then issued a circular to the provincial authorities in the Empire, directing them to inform the populations under their jurisdiction that the agitation which had been aroused upon the Cretan question was unwarranted, and invited them to allay the excitement which had been caused and to discourage demonstrations upon the matter, assuring the people that the statements positively and systematically made by "certain newspapers" as to the attitude of England were unfounded, and that, far from threatening the sovereign rights of Turkey in Crete, England and the other protecting Powers had promised to safeguard those rights. The boycott of Greek goods, however, still continued with unabated vigour, notwithstanding the protests of the Greek, English, and Austro-Hungarian consuls.

On July 10 the Consuls of the four Powers informed the Cretan Government that if the Assembly did not yield to their demand as to the Ottoman deputies and officials, troops would be landed in the principal Cretan ports and the customs duties would be seized. Upon this the Assembly passed a resolution empowering the Executive to accept the conditions imposed by the Powers, and the additional warships despatched to Crete were withdrawn. But a further difficulty arose in September in consequence of the election to the Greek Parliament of M. Venezelos and three Cretans; the anti-Greek agitation in Turkey then grew to fever-heat, and a war seemed imminent. M. Venezelos was a Greek subject, and no objection could be raised to his taking his seat in the Greek Chamber, on vacating his position as President of the Cretan Provisional Government; but the Porte strongly protested against the three Cretans doing so, as they were Ottoman subjects. They resigned their seats, however, and the question was then dropped, but the anti-Greek demonstrations in Turkey continued, and the situation became so menacing that it was deemed necessary to yield to the popular agitation so far as to mass Turkish troops on the frontier of Thessaly. The Cretan Assembly having again, when it met in December, passed a resolution demanding the annexation of the island to Greece, the foreign Consuls informed the Cretan Executive Committee that the protecting Powers had declared to Turkey that her "sovereign rights over Crete have been and are recognised by the Powers, and that

the acts of the Cretan Assembly can have no effect on the determination of the four Powers to maintain the sovereign rights of Turkey." The Cretan Government resigned on December 23, and a new Government was formed with the object of conciliating the various parties.

Meanwhile Greece, threatened with war on her borders, had been torn with internal dissensions. On January 2 the Military League, which remained the most powerful body in the country since its formation in the previous year, sent two officers to the Greek Chamber demanding that the Chamber should at once vote the Budget, as well as twenty-seven other measures; that the diplomatic representatives of Greece in Paris, Berlin, Vienna and Rome should be recalled, and that an answer should be given to these demands the same afternoon. When the officers returned all their demands were complied with, upon which they made a further demand for the dismissal of the Minister of the Interior, which after some hesitation was also granted. The whole Ministry offered to resign, but the King requested them to remain at their posts. The troops, who had remained under arms pending the reply of the Chamber and the Ministry, were then dismissed by their officers, the Prime Minister was informed that the Ministry "now possesses the full confidence of the League," and all the measures it had asked for were passed without debate. Colonel Zorbas, the President of the League, and other officers were shortly after promoted to the rank of general. The League, having thus triumphed all along the line, now asked for the convocation of a revisionary National Assembly. Its authorised representative was M. Venezelos, who had been invited by the League to come to Athens for this purpose, and he entered into negotiations with M. Theotokis, the leader of the majority in the Greek Parliament, who finally consented to the convocation of a National Assembly, on the condition that it should be followed by the dissolution of the League. This condition was accepted by the League, but the King objected to the convocation of a National Assembly as being not only unconstitutional but involving serious dangers to the country. Most of the political leaders in the Chamber, however, urged the King to accept the proposal, and he then yielded, though with great reluctance. M. Mavromichalis, the Premier, then resigned with the rest of his Cabinet, and a new Ministry was formed on January 31 under M. Dragoumis, with Colonel Zorbas, the President of the League, as Minister of War.

At his weekly diplomatic reception the Minister for Foreign Affairs gave assurances to the foreign representatives that all the efforts of the new Cabinet would be directed to the restoration of tranquillity at home and the avoidance of complications abroad. The convocation of a National Assembly, far from adding to the difficulties of the situation, would avert the dangers which

might, in the existing state of the Cretan question, have arisen from the holding of Parliamentary elections before the end of March, as required by the Constitution of the Hellenic Kingdom. The Government had decided that the elections to the National Assembly should not be held before the winter. This decision to postpone the meeting of the Assembly until the end of this year, or even to the beginning of 1911, was, the Minister said, a proof of the resolution of the Government to remove all causes of misunderstanding between Greece and the neighbouring State, with which it was their earnest desire to maintain relations of amity and good-will. This statement showed the reason for the adoption of the proposal for the convocation of a National Assembly, but the step was strongly opposed by the Greek Press, as the Constitution expressly forbade a general revision of its provisions, and laid down the conditions under which alone the revision of particular provisions was admissible. No revision could extend to its "fundamental principles," and none could be legally undertaken unless the Chamber, in two successive representative periods, by a three-fourths majority of all the members, demanded it by a special Act determining the provisions to be revised, after which the House must be dissolved and an Assembly convoked consisting of twice the number of the members of an ordinary Legislature. The League, however, would not allow any further discussion of the question. It forbade the issue of all journals opposed to its policy, and sent officers round the newspaper offices to enforce its commands, at the same time assembling considerable bodies of troops at two central points in the capital. There was now no further obstacle to the convocation of a National Assembly, which was agreed to by the Chamber on March 3 by 150 votes to 11. It was at the same time decided that the Assembly should be composed of double the number of deputies in the Chamber, that it should be convoked within six months, and that it should consider certain changes in the Constitution proposed by the Government. Among these were the institution of a Council of State, to be entrusted with the preparation and revision of legislation and other duties as a sort of substitute for a second Chamber, the admission of foreigners to the civil and military services, and the right of confiscating any publications injurious to the interests of the State. The legal existence of the Chamber, however, had yet four weeks to run, and the League laid before it a long programme of measures which it demanded should be voted before the close of the session. The most important of these was a Bill for the purchase of the large estates in Thessaly and the distribution of the land to peasant cultivators. The rights of the Moslem landowners in that province were guaranteed by international treaties, and their expropriation, besides affording another cause for Turkish hostility, would be very costly. A deputation of Thessalian peasants had, however, strongly urged this course a

short time back, and the Government having given them an evasive reply, riotous demonstrations took place in various parts of Thessaly, estates were seized by the peasants, corn stores were burnt, and a train with troops was fired upon. At Larissa there was a conflict between armed peasants and the troops, in which several men were killed or wounded. By the end of March the country was quiet, order having been restored by the troops, and the Government having appointed a committee of experts to prepare legislation on the subject. Of the demands of the League the only ones that were carried out were the passing of a Bill for the "purification of the University" and one for the expulsion of incompetent officers from the Army by a committee under the presidency of the Chief of the General Staff.

On March 25 M. Dragoumis, the Premier and Minister of Finance, introduced the Budget for 1910. He estimated the revenue at 142,166,000 drachmæ (5,686,640*l.*), and the expenditure at 142,031,000 drachmæ. A sum of 3,125,000 drachmæ was put down on account of the increase in military pensions arising out of the purification of the Army, the expenses of the Revising Assembly, placed as 637,000 drachmæ, the improvement in the police and judicial systems, the rebuilding of the Royal Palace which had been burnt down in January, the improvement of the telegraphic and postal services, etc. After passing the Budget and a number of other measures the Chamber ended its labours on March 27; on March 29 the Military League was dissolved, and on the following day the King read the proclamation convoking the National Assembly. On March 31 the League issued a manifesto to the nation declaring that the issue of the Royal proclamation convoking a National Assembly for the revision of the Constitution set the crown on the labours of the Army and fleet for the regeneration of the country. The League, nevertheless, was not under the illusion that its work was accomplished. On the contrary, it recognised how small were the results of the revolution, and how much remained to be achieved. While admitting, however, that the greater part of the reform programme remained unfulfilled, it declared that all political factors without exception have endeavoured to paralyse "a bloodless and high-souled revolution" which was but the outpouring of fifty years of national distress over terrible and manifold humiliations. Considering that it is incumbent on the officers of the Army and Navy to return to their duties, and believing that no attempt would be made to disturb its work, the League, after the Royal proclamation, regarded the interference of the Army in political affairs as at an end; but it invited the close attention of the Greek nation to every act which might affect its future, and expressed its conviction that after the dissolution the Army would remain a watchful guardian of its own honour and of national aspirations. Although the League had pursued its objects in a very arbitrary manner,

and, as was to be expected from the political inexperience of its members, had made many mistakes, it is unquestionable that its objects were patriotic, and that it used its power to put an end to a system which was gradually leading to the ruin of the country. The single-Chamber system adopted by the Constitution of 1864 had resulted in the misrule of a parliamentary oligarchy, composed of a class of professional politicians against which the Crown was practically powerless to contend. Corruption was universal, and it was tolerated by the people, whose chosen representatives were the principal offenders. No one had the courage to break up this system until the officers of the Army, stung by the miscarriage of the Cretan question and the humiliations inflicted on the country by Turkey, undertook the task. They soon found, however, that it was beyond their strength; the people, who were at first on their side, began to resent their dictatorial methods and their personal ambitions, and they then accepted the advice of M. Venezelos to hand over the task to a revisionist National Assembly.

The meeting of the Assembly took place on August 21. The number of deputies was 358. Of this total 190 belonged to a coalition formed between the followers of M. Theotokis and M. Rhallis, and thirty-five to forty were followers of M. Mavromichalis. Ten Socialists appeared for the first time, and there were forty-five Thessalian deputies, forming a separate group, aiming at the gradual expropriation of the existing landowners for the benefit of the cultivators. There remained some eighty deputies, elected as Independents, who represented a new party with a mandate to put an end to the self-seeking methods of the old political parties. The majority of this group demanded that the new Chamber should have the character of a "Constituent," not of a "Revisionist" Assembly, and that its chief purpose should be to create a Second Chamber, while leaving the prerogatives of the Crown untouched. M. Venezelos and three Cretans, who, however, gave up their seats (p. 346), were also elected as independent candidates. The Assembly was opened by the King on September 14. At its first sitting on September 16 there was a serious disturbance, the Independent party having endeavoured to prevent the other members from taking the oath prescribed by the Constitution, demanding that the Assembly should "take the oath as a constituent body deriving its mandate from the sovereign people." Tranquillity was only restored by the appearance of soldiers with fixed bayonets. No work was done by the Assembly for several weeks owing to the incessant struggles between the members of the old political parties and the "Independents," notwithstanding the admonitions of the President, who pointed out that since 1864 Greece had never been in a more perilous position than at present, and warned the deputies to take a lesson from the fate of Poland. The Ministry, finding itself incapable of dealing with the situation, resigned on October 12; M. Vene-

zelos was again called in as the most popular man of the hour, and on October 18 he was appointed Premier, with M. Gryparis, the Greek Minister at Constantinople, as Minister of Foreign Affairs. In a statement made by M. Venezelos in the Chamber as to the policy of the next Government, he said that its duty would be to bring to a satisfactory conclusion the task for which the Assembly had been convoked, namely, the revision of non-fundamental articles of the Constitution. The Government had determined to apply impartially the existing laws until they were modified on the basis of its programme, and to set the example of an absolute and sincere submission to the laws, and even to employ force against any reactionary movement on the part of any political group whatever. Thus the first step would be taken towards the desired regeneration of the country, which could not be brought about immediately, but would need a long period of internal and external tranquillity for its realisation. Herein lay the surest pledge that Greece was an element of peace. By endeavouring to remove every possible misunderstanding and every ground of hostility, the Government was confident that it would contribute to the consolidation of the peace necessary to the progress and welfare of all the peoples of the Balkan peninsula.

The politicians of the old parties received this declaration with ill-disguised hostility, and when on October 23 a vote of confidence was moved by one of M. Venezelos' supporters, the followers of M. Mavromichalis and M. Rallis left the Chamber, together with a number of Independent deputies who demanded a Constituent Assembly, to which M. Venezelos had declared himself opposed. As the number of deputies was thereby reduced to 162, or ten below the necessary quorum, the motion could not be put, and M. Venezelos then tendered his resignation to the King, who, however, expressed a wish that the Ministry should again present itself to the Chamber and bring the question of confidence to a direct issue. Meanwhile an indignation meeting of some 10,000 people, convoked by the trade guilds and the University, assembled in the capital denouncing the old political parties and urging the King to maintain M. Venezelos in power. When the vote of confidence was again put in the Chamber on the following day M. Venezelos announced that the Government would expect a vote expressing the complete and unreserved acquiescence of the Chamber in its declarations, upon which M. Theotokis expressed his readiness "to accord tolerance to the Government," M. Mavromichalis said he would give a hostile vote, and M. Rallis that he would again abstain from voting. The Government obtained a majority of 208 to 31, but in view of the declarations of the old party leaders, it came to the conclusion that collaboration with the existing Assembly was impossible, and decided to recommend a dissolution, to which the King agreed. The Assembly was accordingly dissolved on October 25, and the new elections were fixed for December 11, the Assembly to

be again convoked on January 21, 1911. The old party leaders then decided to take no part in the coming elections or in the new Assembly, but the announcement was received with indifference by the people, who looked to M. Venezelos as the only man who could effectually remedy the evils from which the country had so long suffered. He pointed out in a speech from the balcony of his hotel that the political parties in Greece had hitherto acted in their own interest, and not for the public welfare, that the management of the finances was especially unsatisfactory, and that the poorer classes were unnecessarily taxed. The result of the continued maladministration had been the revolution of last year, of which all right-thinking persons approved. The National Assembly need not confine itself to the revision of the clauses of the Constitution prescribed by the last Chamber. The King had no objection to such extension of its activity, provided that the fundamental provisions of the Constitution were left intact. The mode of government hitherto existing must be reformed. In all Constitutional countries the Crown was a most important factor, acting as a curb upon political factions; but unfortunately in Greece the Crown had failed to fulfil this duty. At the same time, M. Venezelos disclaimed anti-dynastic sentiments. The dynasty was now rooted in the country, but he hoped the Crown would henceforth play a more energetic part in the Government. He had been summoned to Greece in order to take part in the regeneration of the country. He had left Crete with reluctance, but felt it his duty to respond to the call, not as the leader of a political party, but as the champion of Greek regeneration. The military revolution had failed owing to the absence of a clear programme and capable political direction. He had been invited by the officers in their perplexity to give his opinion, which was that the Army should return to its proper duties, after insisting on the convocation of a Revisionary Assembly. In accordance with this view M. Venezelos issued a circular to the military authorities on October 30, instructing them to urge the officers under their command to devote themselves exclusively to their professional duties and not to take part in politics. The elections for the revisionary Chamber took place in December, and resulted in an overwhelming majority for M. Venezelos, whose supporters gained 300 seats out of the 364 of which the Chamber was composed.

Greece alone of all the Balkan States had no political supporters outside her frontier. Her diplomatic relations with Roumania had been suspended for some time past (ANNUAL REGISTER, 1906, p. 338), and in June a fresh conflict between the two States seemed to be impending, a Greek mob having boarded a Roumanian steamer in the Piræus in order to rescue a Greek deserter from the Roumanian Army; but through the intervention of Italy and Russia the affair resulted in the Greek Government making a handsome apology and paying compensation

for the damage done by the mob. The reported Turco-Roumanian military convention (p. 340) was supposed to be mainly directed against Greece, but M. Bratiano, the Roumanian Minister of Foreign Affairs, stated to the Turkish Minister at Bucharest in September that in the event of a conflict between Turkey and Bulgaria, Roumania would mobilise the whole of her Army along the military frontier of Bulgaria in order to be prepared for every eventuality.

The outrages committed by the Turkish troops upon the Bulgarians in Macedonia (p. 341) produced a very warlike feeling in Bulgaria against Turkey, and the failure of the Bulgarian Government to obtain redress by diplomatic means caused a Ministerial crisis in September, ending in the reconstruction of the Democratic Cabinet under M. Malinoff (*ANNUAL REGISTER*, 1908, p. 335), who now took over the portfolio of Foreign Affairs, besides that of Premier. A series of visits was made by King Ferdinand to foreign Courts, in February to St. Petersburg, in March to Constantinople, and in June to Paris. The Bulgarian Budget for 1911 showed an unprecedented increase in the receipts, which amounted to 7,133,384*l.*, nearly a fifth of which was to be expended on the Army. The Finance Minister accounted for this increase by stating that the income tax and land tax would both yield 25 per cent. more than before, owing to the increase in the national wealth, the extension of cultivation, and the adoption of an improved system of valuation.

A Panslavist Congress was held at Sofia in July at which Servian, Bulgarian, and Russian delegates made speeches advocating the strengthening of the commercial and intellectual relations between the Slavonic States. The Macedonian societies in Bulgaria, however, called attention to the Servian propaganda, legal and illegal, carried on in Macedonia, asserting that the pressure of public opinion would, for a long time, prevent the Bulgarian champions of Slav Union from taking part in Slav Congresses, where fine speeches would be delivered while a kindred Slav race (the Servian) was thrusting its knife into the body of the Bulgarian population in Macedonia.

King Peter of Serbia followed King Ferdinand in paying a visit to St. Petersburg in March and to Constantinople in April. The Turkish heir-apparent returned the latter visit at Belgrade, and that of King Ferdinand of Bulgaria at Sofia, in June. A new King was established in the Balkans in the person of Prince Nicholas of Montenegro, the father of the Queen of Italy, and the father-in-law of two Russian Grand-Dukes, who a few days before had celebrated the jubilee of his accession, and had during the fifty years of his rule governed his people with remarkable wisdom and tact. All the Powers recognised the new kingdom, and a series of picturesque festivities took place on the occasion.

A commercial treaty between Serbia and Austria-Hungary was

concluded in July, under which the latter country continued the prohibition of the importation of Servian cattle and reduced the quantity of meat to be imported annually below that fixed by the previous treaty.

CHAPTER IV.

LESSER STATES OF WESTERN AND NORTHERN EUROPE.

I. BELGIUM.

THREE matters stand out prominently in Belgian history during the year: the accession of King Albert; the general election for one half of the Chamber of Representatives; and the Brussels Exhibition.

King Albert's accession (ANNUAL REGISTER, 1909, p. 350) gave him and his consort the opportunity to present a sum of 20,000 fr. (800*l.*) to the Belgian League for the Protection of Children. The King also released 2,500 prisoners detained for minor offences. The customary special missions were sent out to the other European Sovereigns, notifying them officially of his accession. These were followed, later in the year, by official visits of the royal couple to various capitals. The King's visit to London, however (May 20-23), was undertaken to attend the funeral of King Edward VII. A week later he was in Berlin and Potsdam, where he received the expressions of the goodwill of the German population and its ruler. As the Emperor Wilhelm II. was indisposed, the Crown Prince took his place as host. In the official speeches peculiar stress was laid on the commercial relations between the two countries, and the absence of any desire on the part of Germany to annex Belgium. On July 14 the King and Queen were in Paris, attending the National Fête, and exchanging expressions of sympathy with M. Fallières, the President of the Republic, with which Belgium has so many ties of race, language and history.

On September 15 the royal couple visited Queen Wilhelmina at Amsterdam, and on October 3 they arrived in Vienna, to visit the aged and venerable Emperor Francis Joseph, to whom both are related. In the interval the Emperor Wilhelm II. had visited Brussels, arriving there on October 25, with the Empress and their only daughter, the Princess Victoria Louise. All these visits were chiefly social and domestic in their significance, although the political undercurrent was present; they helped everywhere to create a very favourable impression abroad of the new King and Queen.

In the latter part of November the severe illness of the Queen caused great anxiety, but she fortunately recovered. On December 14 the last bulletin was issued, and it was possible to arrange for

her a prolonged stay in a warm climate. On December 31 she was well on the way towards complete recovery.

The difficulties between the Belgian Government and the daughters of King Leopold relative to their claims on his estate occupied the lawyers during the entire year, and were far advanced towards a settlement at its close. The marriage of King Leopold's youngest daughter, the Princess Clementine, to Prince Victor Napoleon Bonaparte, the Pretender to the Imperial crown of France, was also celebrated, precautions being taken to dissociate Belgium in any case from any political enterprise of Prince Victor.

The elections for the Chamber were expected by the Liberals to wipe out the existing Clerical majority of 8. Every two years half the Chamber retires, and this year it was the turn of the representatives of the provinces of Antwerp, Brabant, West Flanders, Namur and Luxemburg. But the Liberals were disappointed, as they only won one seat in Nivelles, whereas the Socialists captured a considerable part of the former Liberal vote in the large towns. The Ministerial majority was thus reduced to six, and the Government was exposed to serious risk of defeat in the Chamber by means of "snap" divisions. The school question was again prominent in the electoral contest, as during the whole period of twenty-six years of Clerical rule.

The Ministry was reconstructed in August, Baron Descamps-David retiring from the Ministry of Science and Arts, which was taken over by M. Schollaert, the Prime Minister. The latter gave up the portfolio of the Interior to M. Berryer, and that of Agriculture to M. Helleputte, who also took over that of Public Works from M. Delbeke (who retired altogether), and gave up that of Railways to Baron de Broqueville. Both the new Ministers were said to represent the Old Right or ultra-Conservative Clericals.

The continued agitation to make Flemish compulsory as the language of instruction in secondary schools in the Flemish provinces and in the University of Ghent found Flemish supporters in all three political parties, and caused much irritation among the Walloon population.

In the Speech from the Throne, delivered on November 8 (the first since 1892), the King laid particular stress on the needs of elementary education, and pointed out that everything would be done to secure equal rights for both the Flemish and French languages. The finances of the kingdom, he was able to state, were in an excellent condition. He also urged the desirability of promoting a normal development of the Congo Colony, the first step being to do everything necessary to complete the economic equipment of that huge territory.

It may here be mentioned that on January 29 forced labour on the Congo railways had already been abandoned. On February 24 M. Renkin, the Colonial Minister, speaking in the Senate, denounced the Congo agitation as directed "not only against the

Congo State, but against the Belgian Government," and declared that the possibility of foreign intervention was absolutely excluded by the international Acts relating to the Conventional basin of the Congo. This speech was severely criticised by Sir Charles Dilke in the House of Commons (p. 65). In November it was announced that King Albert had made over to the Colony, for various beneficent objects, the fifteen annual payments to him with which the colonial revenue has been charged by his predecessor.

A year of general election is not conducive to legislative efforts, but there were various events of social and commercial significance. At the beginning of the year the boring for coal began in the Campine. It is fully expected that in four or five years mines may be in working order, as coal is found in sufficient quantity and of satisfactory quality at a depth of 650 *mètres* (2,135 ft.). In the other coal mines the hours were, in January, reduced to nine, "bank to bank."

Owing to the increase of French Protection a tariff war was threatened between that country and Belgium. Early in February a Bill was introduced in the French Senate levying a tax on Belgian workmen in that country; but it met with such strenuous opposition from the Radical and Socialist deputies, that the project was abandoned. The same fate, about the middle of April, awaited a proposed surtax in Belgium on certain French goods. It was pointed out that the imports of such goods into Belgium amounted to 500,000*l.*, whereas the corresponding export of such goods to France amounted only to 60,000*l.* A proposal was also mooted to tax French newspapers and trade catalogues entering Belgium. Difficulties arose in connection with the manufacture of eighty-one railway engines, wanted by the Roumanian Government. The Belgian tenders appeared to be the lowest, but by diplomatic interference the German Government secured the order for their country. In July the Roumanian Government gave out that if the Belgian offer held good for six months, the Government would ask for further supplies, so as to order more engines. This promise was not considered very satisfactory in Belgium. On March 16, the Belgian and English Governments agreed to appoint a Commission so as to end the horrors connected with the export of worn-out horses from England (p. 170).

At the end of May it was proposed to make a reciprocity agreement with Canada on the same terms as those adopted by France. On June 10, Canada decided to grant both Belgium and the Netherlands intermediate tariff rates; as both are low tariff countries no other way seemed open.

An International Cotton Congress was opened on June 7, when the King received the representatives of the cotton industries of the world. The chief topics were the shortage of cotton, and the way to avoid the existing irregularities, and to re-

duce the dependence of the trade on the American crop. It was stated that the Egyptian crop had diminished by 22 per cent. in twelve years, and also that with proper cultivation the Indian supply might equal the existing supply from America.

In regard to the mercantile marine, a scheme was put forward for a new service from Ghent to Brazil and a new line to the Congo was established with a capital of 400,000*l.* Of this capital 160,000*l.* was supplied by the Woermann line of Hamburg and the British Elder-Dempster Company.

The Brussels Exhibition, both in extent and exhibits, was one of the most remarkable of recent times. It covered an area of 205,000 square *mètres*, of which the machine hall alone took up 26,800. This latter was divided into six sections, of which the longest was 245 *mètres*. The British section covered 21,000 *mètres*, and was the fourth in size. The British Government had most interesting and complete exhibits as the result of two years' preparation by the Exhibition Branch of the Board of Trade. The British section had twenty-two classes, 128 groups containing over 400 exhibits. The Home Office exhibits were in themselves a liberal education in Governmental activities. They dealt with the following subjects, among others: Prevention of accidents and industrial diseases; safety at loading, unloading and coaling of ships; suppression of dust and fumes in potteries; fencing of machinery in the cotton industry; avoidance of lead poisoning in pottery works, and of mine explosions. But on August 14 all this was destroyed by the great fire. The other sections were practically untouched, but only the papers and the money in the office of the British Committee were saved; the whole of the British section was annihilated. Some of the losses, which in all amounted to 2,000,000*l.*, were irreparable, such as the English antique furniture and the various *objets d'art* and other priceless things lent by the South Kensington Museum.

The King returned at once from the Tyrol. The Committee decided to keep the exhibition open, and Mr. Wintour, the British Commissioner-General, immediately took steps to form a new British section, the Belgian Government offering the *Salle des Fêtes* for housing it. All the exhibitors responded, and a week after the fire the Board of Trade ordered 15,000 feet of new show cases to be delivered on September 10. On September 19 the King reopened the new British section, and in his speech paid a well-earned compliment to the pluck and tenacity shown in these deplorable circumstances by the British.

The Exhibition was the more or less direct cause of official visits paid by the Lord Mayor of the City of London, Sir Horatio Davies, and the Corporation, to Antwerp and to Brussels and the exhibition. Of the 417 British exhibitors 215 got the "Grand Prix," 120 the "Diplôme d'honneur," 175 gold, 85 silver and 14 bronze medals, a total of 609.

As regarded foreign affairs, public opinion in Belgium was greatly occupied by the Dutch plans of coastal defence. The counterstroke of Belgium is a plan to create a military fort and harbour at Zeebrugge. This place had failed utterly as a commercial harbour, and might when altered enable a force to land on Belgian soil without passing through Dutch territory. In any case the coastal defence plan of the Dutch Government, involving an outlay of 38,000,000 florins (3,166,000*l.*), earmarks only about one-eighth part of that sum for the Flushing fortress. Other questions, touching the sovereign rights of the Netherlands on the Scheldt, were also raised, but as the Dutch plan had not yet matured nor passed the States-General at the close of the year, these need not be dealt with here.

II. THE NETHERLANDS.

Nothing of very great importance happened to the Royal family of the Netherlands in 1910. The Prince Consort visited Berlin on February 1, after having received on New Year's Day from the German Emperor the medal for life saving, in connection with the *Berlin* disaster (ANNUAL REGISTER, 1907, Chronicle, March 22). He attended the funeral of King Edward VII. on May 20. On August 4 he was run into by a lady cyclist and his collar-bone broken.

On May 30 a pageant of the history of the House of Orange, in which 900 persons took part, was witnessed by the Royal family on their annual visit to Amsterdam. They again visited that city on September 15 to entertain the King and Queen of the Belgians.

In politics the question of defence assumed considerable prominence both in the States-General and in the nation. A former ambassador, Baron van Heeckeren van Kell, believed that the former Prime Minister, Dr. Kuyper, had informed him that in 1904 the German Emperor wrote a letter to Queen Wilhelmina urging the fortification of the Dutch coast and even threatening to interfere if the intimation were neglected. Both the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Jonkheer Dr. de Marees van Swinderen, and Dr. Kuyper himself denied the existence of such a letter or of that information, and Baron van Heeckeren failed subsequently to be re-elected to the First Chamber (Upper House).

He had urged the Minister for Foreign Affairs on February 2, in connection with the North Sea Agreement, to ask for guarantees of the integrity and neutrality of the Netherlands, in case of war between Great Britain and Germany. The Minister absolutely refused to do so, contending that the integrity of the Kingdom was sufficiently guaranteed, and that to demand guarantees for its neutrality was neither required by the national interests, nor in accordance with the national dignity.

On September 20 the Queen opened the session of the States-

General. The Speech from the Throne announced a new tariff Bill, a general income-tax Bill, a measure for insurance against sickness and old age, amendments to the Copyright Act, necessitated by the proposed adhesion to the Berne Convention, an Education Bill, and alterations in the internal government of the East Indian Colonies.

In November the agitation about the plans for coast defence was at its height. Flushing was to be made into a strong fortress, replacing the existing antiquated ports at Neuzen and Ellewoutsdyk, in order, as the Government contended, to enable the Netherlands to protect its neutrality in a European war. It was held in England, France and Belgium that this could only be intended to block the Scheldt against a force sent by one or other of the first two Powers to protect the neutrality of the third, which they had guaranteed by treaty. A strong movement also arose in the Netherlands adverse to so heavy an expenditure, 38,000,000 florins (3,040,000*l.*). Earlier in the year (March 18) the Liberal Democrats had moved in the Second Chamber for a Royal Commission to examine the entire question of defence; the Social Democrats deprecated raising the question of defence as a regrettable departure from diplomatic neutrality. Liberals of all shades replied to the contentions of the *Indépendance Belge* and of other foreign critics, that the Kingdom of the Netherlands was, as a neutral State, obliged in any case to prevent any Power from coming to the assistance of Belgium by way of Holland. They pointed out that the existing fortresses at Neuzen and Ellewoutsdyk, to be replaced by the one at Flushing, were built on behalf of Belgium, and that in any case neither these nor the new fort could be considered as implying hostility to Great Britain. The prospects of the scheme, however, were uncertain at the close of the year.

At the International Congress of Publishers, held in Amsterdam in July, the president, Mr. W. P. van Stockum, was enabled to state that the Dutch Government had decided to introduce a Bill to join the Berne Convention. This measure was fully expected to pass during 1911.

The most important step the Government took was the appointment of a Royal Commission for the revision of the Constitution. It consisted of the Prime Minister, Dr. Heemskerk, president; Jonkheer Dr. Roëll (Free-Lib.), Vice-President; Jonkheer Dr. van Citters, Queen's Commissioner (equivalent roughly to an English Lord-Lieutenant) in the province of Guelderland; Dr. Cort van der Linden, a former University professor and Liberal Minister; Professor Oppenheim, member of the State Council; Dr. Drucker, leader of the Liberal Democrats and late professor at Leyden University; Dr. Troelstra, leader of the Social-Democrats; Jonkheer Dr. van Doorn, of the Liberal Union; Dr. Tydeman, leader of the Free-Liberals; Jonkheer Dr. de Savornin Lohman, leader of the Free-Anti-Revolutionaries; Dr. A. Kuyper, leader of

the Anti-Revolutionaries and late Prime Minister; and Dr. Loeff, the Roman Catholic Minister of Justice under Dr. Kuyper. Dr. Kan, Secretary-General at the Ministry for the Interior, was the Secretary. The present Premier's father had been responsible, when Prime Minister, for the latest revision of the Constitution.

There was only one change in the Government; the Minister for War, General Cool, resigned on December 19, the Second Chamber refusing to accept his proposed alteration in the pay of officers. He was succeeded by Major Colyn, an Anti-Revolutionary, who was stated to hold the same opinion as his predecessor on the necessity for the fortification of Flushing.

Other events are the agreement for lower rates of import duties with Canada and a visit by a Dutch squadron of three battleships to Australian ports. In the cotton industry a partial strike led to a lock-out, affecting 8,000 men (Aug. 3-16), and then terminated by agreement between the unions of masters and men.

The mercantile marine saw further developments. The Royal Holland Lloyd changed its route, its ships now calling at Dover, Boulogne-sur-Mer, Corunna, Vigo, Lisbon, Rio de Janeiro, Santos, Montevideo, and Buenos Ayres. The Flushing service was greatly improved by the addition of three large new steamers. On August 17, the *Rotterdam* of the Holland-America Line called for the first time at Plymouth, on its way from New York.

The diplomatic relations with Venezuela were still interrupted at the close of the year. Dr. Grisanti was however accepted as unofficial trustee for the re-opening of negotiations on the protocol. The Netherlands have intimated that they are willing to grant compensation for the repeal of the 30 per cent. duty, if England and other Powers will do the same. On the other hand, Venezuela would have to pay compensation to the foreign inhabitants of Caracas on a question of quite secondary importance.

Grand Duchy of Luxemburg.—Nothing worth registering happened in this happiest of countries.

III. SWITZERLAND.

The year will leave painful memories in the minds of the Swiss people. In several districts, notably the Grisons, much damage was done in June and July by floods. Not only were bridges destroyed, and fields and orchards laid waste, by the mountain torrents, but a number of lives were lost. Except in the Valais, the vintage yielded practically nothing, and the agricultural population suffered losses amounting to many millions of francs; the potato crop, the staple food throughout the mountain districts, failed in many places; in the towns, too, the cost of living increased greatly and meetings of protest were held during the autumn almost everywhere. Finally, the tourist season was delayed owing to the unfavourable weather, and was only moderately successful. All these misfortunes had one compensating

advantage; they roused the sentiment of fellowship in Swiss citizens in all countries, and a subscription set on foot by the Federal Council produced more than 2,000,000 francs, contributed by all the cantons and by the colonies of Swiss citizens settled even in the most distant countries of the world. On the other hand, a marked revival was notable in the industrial and commercial activity of the country; and the receipts of the Federal railways were more by 10,000,000 francs than in 1909.

Politically the question most actively discussed was electoral reform. An Initiative demanding application of proportional representation in the election of the National Council, the Lower House of the Federal Legislature—elected under existing conditions in the proportion of one deputy for every 20,000 inhabitants—was put forward in the first instance by the Catholic and Conservative party, but received the support of all the parties composing the minority. It was rejected on October 23, in accordance with the opinion expressed on it by the two Chambers, by 265,000 votes to 240,000 in round numbers. But twelve cantons out of the whole number of twenty-two declared in its favour, and the adverse majority was so small that the result was legitimately counted as a success for electoral reform, which was confidently expected to secure a definitive victory at no distant date. Two cantons—Zürich and St. Gallen—were to give a decision on the application of the reform to their cantonal elections early in 1910.

The legislation passed by the Federal Assembly included laws dealing with weights and measures, with the postal service (this latter came into force on January 1, 1911), and with the pay of railway servants, which was increased. A tunnel was sanctioned piercing the Hauenstein at its base, and it was decided in principle to complete the second Simplon Tunnel.

Two great questions awaited settlement: that of insurance against sickness and accident, which would probably be disposed of in 1911, and the reform of the Federal Administration. The members of the Federal Government had long complained that they were overwhelmed with petty duties; moreover, the system by which the Department of Foreign Affairs is assigned to the President of the Confederation and so changes hands annually, sets up serious inconveniences in the conduct of the international relations of the Confederation.

In the cantons the last touches were about to be given to the legislation entailed by the approaching entry into operation of the Swiss Civil Code, on January 1, 1912.

The decennial census was taken on December 1. The population had increased from 3,315,443 inhabitants in 1900 to 3,736,685 in 1910, these figures, however, being subject to revision. This increase was in the towns and industrial districts; among the rural population there was a decline. The different religions were more and more intermingled, and, in the large cities

near the frontier, the number of strangers had greatly increased. This last announcement directed considerable attention to the problem of naturalisation and assimilation of foreigners—one of the most urgent problems of the day.

In international relations the year was marked by three important events. Three Presidents of great Republics came to pay visits to the Federal Council, Marshal Hermes Fonseca (Brazil), M. Saenz Peña (Argentina) and M. Fallières. To the last-named visit special importance naturally attached. M. Fallières came expressly from Paris to Berne, immediately after the confirmation of the existing Franco-Swiss commercial relations and the signature of the Convention dealing with the railway approaches to the Simplon Tunnel. M. Comtesse, the President of the Swiss Confederation, was able to state on this occasion that the economic and commercial harmony between the two countries was complete. This interview was characterised in a high degree by cordiality and dignity; the impression it left was excellent, and the resentment which certain Pan-German organs thought proper to manifest at the particularly friendly and even warm welcome given to President Fallières was not the fault of the Federal Council, which would receive with the same attentions the chief of any neighbouring State. Switzerland was resolutely determined to maintain a neutrality absolute in every respect; but this neutrality did not necessarily oblige her to turn her back on her neighbours.

The fact that at the close of the year the relations of the Confederation with Germany left something to be desired was due to a lack of consideration in certain respects on the part of the Imperial Government. Besides the controversy relating to the importation of flour (ANNUAL REGISTER, 1909, p. 356; 1908, p. 347) there were certain frontier incidents between the two countries, and certain allegations of unfair devices on the part of Germany in connection with the Customs. Finally, very general discontent was set up by the provisional Convention concluded, in view of the purchase of the St. Gothard Railway by the Swiss Confederation, with Germany and Italy, October 13, 1909. It can only be said here that the Convention granted to Germany and Italy, by way of compensation for their surrender of the privileges originally accorded in return for their financial aid in the construction of the railway, a reduction in the existing "mountain surcharges" for goods traffic of 35 per cent. from May 1, 1910, and 50 per cent. from May 1, 1920. It also extended the "most-favoured-nation treatment" existing for German and Italian traffic on the St. Gothard route to the whole Swiss Federal railway system, and it provided that rates on the St. Gothard were in no case to exceed those on other Trans-Alpine railways—a stipulation likely to fetter the efforts of the Swiss railway authorities to attract through traffic, *e.g.* from Northern France or Belgium, to the

Lötschberg-Simplon route. In short, the Convention was wholly to the advantage of Germany and Italy, and made Switzerland in a measure dependent on Germany. A petition to the Chambers to abstain from ratifying the treaty was signed with enthusiasm, and it was possible that the Convention might be referred back to the Federal Council—an entirely constitutional course. The best authorities held that this would be productive of benefit rather than injury.

On December 15, M. Marc Ruchet (Vaud) was elected President of the Confederation for the ensuing year, and M. Forrer (Zürich) Vice-President.

We must also mention the abortive competition for the erection of a monument commemorative of the establishment of the International Telegraphic Union; the Congress of Light Railways, held at Berne; the Lötschberg Tunnel, forming part of a through route from Berne to Milan, which was approaching completion; the Federal Rifle Meeting, held very successfully at Berne; the Swiss Agricultural Exhibition at Lausanne; the active political struggles and important labour troubles of the canton of Zürich; the conflict in the watchmaking industry of the Bernese Jura; the discussions connected with the purchase by the Swiss Government of the French (Cornavin) railway station at Geneva; and the 450th anniversary of the University of Bâle. In the literary world we must note the success of two dramas, "Alienor" at the picturesque theatre of Mezières in Vaud, and "Chalamala" at Bulle in canton Fribourg; and the death of Edouard Rod (Obituary, p. 109). In the world of sport, the Lake of Geneva was traversed almost from end to end by the "airman," M. Dufaux; and the aviation meeting at Brieg ended with the tragic death (Sept. 27) of M. Chavez.

IV. SPAIN.

For some years preceding 1910 the education of the Spanish people in all that relates to open-air meetings and great demonstrations, whether political, social, or religious, had made immense progress. Still, if the local authorities and the public were beginning to be no longer moved by the fact that some thousands of Carlists, Democrats, or Clericals, displayed in the streets banners bearing aggressively militant mottoes, yet there was one class of His Catholic Majesty's subjects whose right to hold open-air demonstrations could not be admitted—the soldiery. So slippery is the slope leading to a pronunciamiento that the general prohibition of such processions needs no justification. There was great excitement, therefore, throughout Spain when it was announced that a considerable number of officers of the Madrid garrison, led by a Carlist deputy, Signor Pignatelli, had assembled in a body before the office of a newspaper, the *Correspondencia Militar*, to protest against the system of promotion in the army. From Valencia and

Valladolid breaches of discipline were also reported. These beginnings of disorder were soon coped with by the energy displayed by the War Minister, General Luque; the guilty parties were sent to prison, the commanding officers who had failed to foresee the disturbance were placed on half-pay, and order was completely restored. At Barcelona there was unrest among the Catholics and the Catalanists; the Republicans demanded an amnesty for those convicted in connection with the disturbances of the preceding July; the Clericals demanded the closing of the voluntary schools which were reopening under the auspices of societies of freethinkers. The Ministry dismissed deputations from both alike, promising merely to grant pardons extensively on the occasion of the King's *fête* day.

These acts were its last. A Ministerial crisis was suddenly set up by an incident of but slight importance. On February 8, through a disagreement with Señor Moret, Count Romanones and the Madrid Liberal Committee tendered their resignations. Their action was approved by a great number of Liberal ex-Ministers. Senator Moret declared that he was no longer conscious of possessing the authority requisite for a Minister; he therefore tendered his resignation. It was accepted at once; and after a few hasty consultations, the King sent for Señor Canalejas, and entrusted him with the formation of a Ministry. That very day the new Prime Minister presented his collaborators to the King. The list was as follows: Interior, Count Sagasta; Foreign Affairs, Señor Garcia Prieto; Justice, Don Ruiz Vallarino; War, General Azuar; Navy, Señor Arias Miranda; Finance, Señor Cobian; Public Instruction, Señor Burell; the "Fomento" (Public Works), Señor Calbeton. The new Prime Minister then announced his programme. He stated that he would be inspired by the example of the English reformers in proceeding to social reforms, especially with the view of putting the Spanish peasant on the same level as the Irish. For factory workers, inspection would be organised, and likewise old-age pensions; the *octroi* duties would be suppressed. The religious problem would be considered at once; some urgent questions would be settled by Ministerial decrees, others subsequently by legislation; finally, there should be a real effort to set up schools and supply them amply with the teaching staff now lacking. The speed with which the crisis had been disposed of not only surprised the declared opponents of the Liberal party, whether Conservatives or Republicans, but set up a certain resentment within the Liberal party itself. Señor Moret, in a published letter, complained bitterly of the lack of consideration with which he had been treated; and the patriarch of the party, Señor Montero Rios, had much ado to prevent a formal declaration of war on the part of the Moretist group, which had been joined by a certain number of former Ministers disappointed of their hopes of office, and dissatisfied with the new Cabinet.

This ill-feeling caused Señor Canalejas energetically to repudiate his predecessor's pretensions to continue to direct the Liberal party. It was agreed that its subdivisions should remain autonomous, and that the Government should observe a "benevolent neutrality" towards each of them. Some days later, the Prime Minister went to Seville and obtained the King's signature to a decree pardoning a considerable number of political offences; then, with a view to the restoration of peace in the party, he delivered an important speech (March 10) at a banquet in honour of Count Sagasta, the Minister of the Interior. Having set forth his views on the future of the Liberal party, he ended with an eloquent panegyric on Señor Montero Rios and Señor Moret. The Catholics, however, were agitating in the northern provinces, and were conducting a political campaign against the State schools. The Republicans were organising; they decided to group themselves in two divisions; the Republicans of the Right, who would win over the advanced Liberals to their cause, and the Republicans of the Left, who would devote their efforts to gaining over the Socialists. These agitations were intensified on the publication of the decree of dissolution of the Cortes (April 14). The elections for the Chamber were fixed for May 8; those for the elective section of the Senate for May 22. Of the 404 deputies, 129 were returned unopposed. In all 225 Liberals were elected and 98 Conservatives, besides 6 Republicans, 8 Carlists, and 8 Catalanists. Almost the same proportion was maintained in the Senatorial elections—167 Liberals, 119 Carlists, 18 Independents, 6 Regionalists. Señor Montero Rios became President of the Senate, Count Romanones of the Chamber.

The religious question now suddenly became acute. The Spanish clergy, at the instigation of Cardinal Aguirre, Bishop of Toledo, circulated throughout the Kingdom an Episcopal message violently attacking the policy of the Government in regard to the religious Orders, and charging it with endangering the Catholic faith by the weakness it displayed in regard to the non-Catholic religions and irreligious instruction. Señor Canalejas replied by a decree reviving those of September 19, 1901, and April 9, 1902, promulgated under the Sagasta Ministry, in which he himself had held the portfolio of Public Works. All the Orders, except the three authorised by the Concordat, were required to have themselves entered on the civil registers, like any other association; and monks of foreign nationality had also to prove that they had had themselves registered at their respective Consulates. Finally, those religious houses which carried on manufacture—and their number was considerable—were required to produce their certificate of registration for the trade licence duty (May 31). Some days later (June 11) the official *Gaceta* published a new Royal ordinance, authorising non-Catholic religious bodies to display external signs of their religion (on the walls of their churches and in notices, etc.)

equally with the Roman Catholic Church. A Note of the Spanish Government informed Cardinal Merry del Val of these decisions; he intimated to the Spanish Ambassador, Señor de Ojeda, that he was about to present counter-proposals; but the Spanish Government awaited them in vain until the opening of the Cortes on June 15. Its patience had this result, that Señor Maura, at a meeting of the Conservative party, declared himself ready to take into favourable consideration the plans of the Ministry and to support its efforts to protect the rights of the Civil power.

The summer session was very short. It was devoted more particularly to the discussion of the Address; and thus the various parties were enabled to review all the current problems, religious and financial, the Morocco expedition and the social question. The most notable speeches were made in the Senate. The Bishop of Madrid, after a severe criticism of Senor Canalejas's policy, thought it advisable to declare that the Pope sincerely desired peace, and that the Bishops deprecated the insulting attacks made on the Government. The attitude of the Catholics did not correspond to his words. The provincial governors reported the calm violation by the religious orders of the provisions of the Royal decrees, and the establishments of new religious houses under the control of foreigners, more especially French. Hence on July 5 a new decree formally prohibited the formation of new establishments, and at the same time a Bill termed "suspensory" (*cadenas*) by analogy with the measures taken in anticipation of the imposition of new Customs duties, was introduced into the Senate. In the Chamber, Señor Moret made several speeches in defence of his own policy and criticised the acts of his successor, thereby causing the Socialist committee to vote a congratulatory resolution, which raised doubts as to whether it was sincere or ironical. Just before the debate was declared closed, Señor Maura was assaulted and wounded, though but slightly, by an Anarchist at Barcelona. The Prime Minister denounced this cowardly attack and ascribed the responsibility for it to certain members of the Chamber who had recently justified personal violence; the Republicans, however, treated the attack as a "trade risk." It seemed as though parties were tending to classify themselves not as Clerical or Anti-Clerical, but as partisans of revolution or defenders of law and order. The session ended on July 25. 1)

In Spain Parliamentary government is still so little appreciated that the departure of the members for their holiday was greeted with a rise on the Stock Exchanges of both Madrid and Barcelona. The Government was faced by the social problem and by the Clerical problem. It proceeded to extricate itself adroitly from the twofold danger. The strikes at Bilbao had become very threatening. For some months the men had demanded the suppression of the truck system, a rise in wages, and a nine hours' day. As the masters refused to make any con-

cession, a strike was declared at the beginning of July and collections were started throughout Spain in aid of the strikers. These latter, led by a publican named Pereguerra, who acquired great influence over them, asked the Government to send to Bilbao three representatives of the Social Reform Institute, including both masters and workmen, to study the conditions of life in the Basque provinces. The employers refused this arbitration. Thereupon the delegate of the Minister of the Interior, Señor Merino, proposed to reduce the working day to ten hours, until the Chambers again met, and then to introduce a Bill regulating labour in mines. This time the workmen refused, asserting that they had been insulted by the language of the employers' representatives. August passed in alternations of calm and noisy demonstrations. The Radicals thought fit to intervene. They alleged that the employers were in league with the Clericals to overthrow Señor Canalejas, and brought about a great meeting on August 16 at Santander, at which Republicans, Socialists, and Radicals agreed that the Government must be "supported," as artillery supports troops when placed in their rear to fire on them if they flinch. They little knew the Prime Minister who thought him capable of yielding to such pressure. He had just gained a signal advantage over the Clericals. They had resolved to meet at St. Sebastian, 100,000 strong, to present an address to the King, who, as usual, was spending the summer there. Alarming reports had represented this demonstration as the precursor of a Carlist insurrection, and advices from Rome had testified to the great impression produced in that city. The Government prohibited the demonstration, and caused the town and its approaches to be occupied by troops. The evening before the day appointed, the leaders of the movement decided to abandon the demonstration. The Spanish Ambassador to the Vatican, Don E. de Ojeda, was invited to apply for leave of absence, to the great disappointment of the Vatican; and, having thus got rid, for a time, of the Clerical question, the Government was the better able to isolate the revolutionary elements which sought to convert the Bilbao strike into an insurrection. A general strike had been voted at the end of August at a meeting of the Federation of Trade Unions, but it failed; on September 1, Bilbao was occupied by troops, and next day Captain-General Aguilar, who had hastened thither, proclaimed a state of siege and the suspension of the constitutional guarantees of personal liberty, in other words, martial law. A few outbreaks of disorder took place, but were speedily suppressed; but the agitation reached Saragossa, where 25,000 workmen were reported to have declared themselves supporters of the strikers of Bilbao. The situation was critical; but it was resolved spontaneously and most satisfactorily. Two of the mining employers, Señor Echevarrista and Señor Maistre, announced on September 6 that they would grant a nine hours' day. Others

followed their example ; and on September 21 an agreement proposed by General Aguilar was concluded, limiting the working day to nine hours and a half. On September 24 the constitutional guarantees were restored in Viscaya.

It was in the character of a conqueror that Señor Canalejas appeared before the Cortes when the session was resumed on October 8. He introduced into the Senate three Bills which caused the Clericals to compare him to Diocletian. Compulsory military service was imposed on all Spanish citizens, clerical and lay alike ; in the law courts, a solemn asseveration on honour was substituted for the oath before the crucifix ; and, finally, the Suspensory Bill (*cadenas*) was designated as urgent, and it was passed on November 4, by 149 to 85, after an amendment had been accepted limiting its operation to two years. At the same time the Government faced the agitation inevitably set up by the fall of the monarchy in Portugal, repressed with energy revolutionary disturbances at Sabadell, in Catalonia, and signed a Convention with El Mokri, the Minister of Morocco, arranging matters regarding Melilla and the Riff, granting Spain 65,000,000 pesetas (silver) as a war indemnity, and defining the zone round Ceuta assigned to the mixed police force. On December 2 the Suspensory Bill passed the Chamber by 174 to 56, and, the Budget being voted, the Cortes adjourned to a date to be fixed later by the Government. The political and Parliamentary year closed amid an impression of security to which for some years past Spain had been a stranger.

V. PORTUGAL.

The political comedy played without conviction and before a wearied audience by the regular political parties in Portugal began by following what had become the customary rule. On January 2, King Manoel opened the session of the Cortez by reading a Royal Message of which the optimism was in marked contrast with the real situation. Next day a decree appeared adjourning the Chambers for two months, in conformity with a decision of the Council of State, on the ground that the Veiga Beirao Ministry had not had time to start its programme of reforms. During this recess, for which there was so little justification, the parties split up more and more. The Regeneradores divided into two groups, a Liberal section under Senhor Teixeira de Souza, a Conservative section under Senhor Campos Henriquez, and as a number of prominent members of the party held aloof from both, it was foreseen that a third group would be formed (Jan. 16). On March 3 the Cortez reassembled ; obstruction and disorder reached such a pitch that another adjournment became necessary, until June 1. The Beirao Ministry then again met the Chambers ; its composition had been somewhat modified, but its reception was so unfavourable that its members tendered

their resignations. The crisis proved extremely difficult to resolve. The Progressists claimed that they ought to remain in power; but an agreement between Senhor Luciano Castro and Senhor Alpoim seemed impossible, and the Regeneradores entered the field. Their accession to power was facilitated by the failure (in May) of the Credito Fondiario, of which Senhor Luciano Castro had long been the Governor, and the consequent addition of a fresh scandal to the long list of those that had arisen in Portugal. An attempt was made to form a *Cabinet d'Affaires*, or non-political Ministry; but it proved impracticable. The young King then summoned the Regeneradores, and Senhor Teixeira de Souza was called on to form the new Government. As a political speaker he was remarkable, and in the Hintze Ribeiro Cabinet he had combined the offices of Minister of Marine and Minister of Finance. To Senhor Fratel he gave the Ministry of Justice, to Senhor Botelho Raposo that of War, to Senhor José de Azavedo the Foreign Office, to Senhor Pereira dos Santos the Ministry of Public Works. For himself he reserved the Ministry of the Interior together with the post of Prime Minister. Simultaneously with the accession of the new Ministry to Office the Cortez was dissolved, the general election fixed for August 28, and the opening of the new Parliament for September 23. At the elections there was much disorder; the Republicans, whose position was strong, won by their sheer strength at Lisbon, where ten of their leading men were successful. In all fourteen Republicans were elected, among them Senhores Alfonso Costa, Bernardino Machado, and the two brothers Braga,—twice as many as in the preceding Cortez. The Ministerialists appropriated eighty seats, the Conservative-Monarchist coalition forty-three, the Independents two. The Cortez met on the day fixed, September 23; but two days later they were adjourned by Royal decree to December 12. They were destined never to sit again.

The Republican party had long ago resolved to possess itself of the supreme power by force; and it had carried on an active propaganda in the Army and Navy.¹ The Ministry had been tolerably well informed as to the plot, and had taken the precaution of bringing regiments to Lisbon on which it believed that it could rely. But on October 4 the revolutionists took arms, the crews of the warships declared in their favour, several regiments also went over, and King Manoel, bombarded in his palace and abandoned by almost everyone, left Lisbon and with the Queen Mother took refuge in Gibraltar, whence he was conveyed to England in the Royal yacht of King George V. The Republic was proclaimed at once. The Provisional Government which was immediately established was presided over by Senhor Theo-

¹ It had also sent a deputation to Great Britain, which gave very full information to various London newspaper editors regarding the policy of the future Republican Government, and whose aims were communicated to the Foreign Office.

philo Braga, whose colleagues consisted of most of the Republican deputies for Lisbon; Senhor Affonso Costa was Minister of Justice, Senhor Bernardino Machado Minister of Foreign Affairs, Colonel Xavier Barreto Minister of War. Enthusiastic proclamations were issued, and the Monarchist cause collapsed throughout Portugal, almost without resistance. But after a few days, the attitude of the clergy having seemed open to suspicion, disorders arose, religious houses were attacked and pillaged, monks and nuns were hunted down and numbers of them compelled to leave the country. The Government did its best to repress these outbreaks, and entered into negotiations with the ecclesiastical authorities with a view to the passing of a law separating Church and State, modelled on that in force in Brazil. The ex-Dictator, Senhor João Franco, who had been arrested, was released on bail, and some time later the Court of Appeal at Lisbon formally and unanimously annulled the prosecution instituted against him. For good or ill, the Republic was establishing itself. It was officially recognised at the beginning of November by the Governments of Great Britain, France and Spain; a little later the other Governments followed their lead. Serious difficulties, however, began to appear. To attack the Monarchy the Republican party had incautiously enrolled volunteers of doubtful character, who were unwilling to be disarmed, and understood how to help themselves. They had to be got rid of; there was a strike of the electric light employees; the Republican Consultative Junta was unwilling to resign its power to the Government, and its directing committee secured the immense concession of a weekly meeting with the Ministers to make preparations for the coming elections to the Constituent Assembly and avert the return of the Monarchists to power. It was still a very frail and precarious existence, that of the Portuguese Republic during the last days of December—a republic which in a number of its features, notably the good-will of its leaders and the enthusiasm of the masses, reminded the spectator of the French Republic of 1848.

VI. DENMARK.

The year was in Denmark to a great extent a year of settlement, politically and otherwise, but apart from this aspect and the change of Government but little of interest happened. The Radical Ministry, as the result of a general election, had to relinquish office, to which, when they accepted it, they had but scant claim. The National Court sentenced a Liberal ex-Minister and censured his former chief; and M. Alberti, for seven years Minister of Justice in that and a previous Ministry, received the full punishment imposed by law as a swindler on a colossal scale.

Much attention was attracted by a question put to the Minister for Public Worship in the Folkething on January 19 by M. J. C. Christensen, the former, and M. Klaus Berntsen, the actual Premier.

The Minister in question had issued departmental circulars which were regarded as trespassing on the domain of legislation. He defended himself and was defended by M. Zahle, the Prime Minister, but a resolution was proposed by M. J. C. Christensen and carried unanimously, that the various matters dealt with in the above circulars should be settled by legislation.

On January 31 the Traffic Minister, M. J. J. Jensen-Onsted, resigned in consequence of certain ill-advised public references on his part to military matters, which had drawn a protest from the Commander-in-Chief. M. Weimann, the Minister for Commerce and Shipping, took over M. Jensen-Onsted's office in addition to his own.

The approach of the close of the session was marked, as usual, by a great pressure of legislation. Thus the Minister for Public Worship at almost the last moment introduced four Bills dealing with the questions with which the circulars previously referred to had been concerned. Their tendency was to make Church matters more of a municipal concern at the expense of strictly religious interests, and the clergy showed no sympathy with them.

It was also immediately before the end of the session that the Folkething passed a measure of Constitutional reform. It had been brought forward by the Delegation (*i.e.* the different sections) of the Left, and was carried by 60 votes (those of the Delegation and the Conservative 14) against 1 (Dr. Birch, Conservative), the Radicals and the Social-Democrats abstaining. A Radical amendment and a Conservative proposal had previously been negatived. The proposal of the Delegation, which had still to come before the Upper House, extended the suffrage to women and servants and reduced the age-limit from thirty years to twenty-five. The Radicals based their opposition on the absence of any reform of the Upper House. In reference to this latter, M. N. Neergaard, the former Premier, somewhat reluctantly stated that he had arrived at the conclusion that the balance of argument told in favour of making those of its members who were nominated by the King subject to a dissolution like the rest.

The Rigsdag was prorogued the following day, April 16. During the session eighty-three Bills had been introduced (sixty-one by the Ministry and twenty-two by private members); thirty-one had been finally passed, the rest having been defeated or dropped. The Folkething was dissolved on April 18.

An exciting campaign ensued, the real issue being national defence. The Radical Government and their allies, the Social-Democrats, desired to frustrate and neutralise the defensive measures passed by the Rigsdag in 1909. A few days after the close of the session M. Zahle, the Premier, caused some surprise by his statements made to a German paper, one of them being that these measures exceeded the financial capacity of the country, a remark which evoked energetic protests from the Danish Press.

The Radicals and the Social-Democrats formed an alliance for the general election. The manifesto of the latter party wound up with these words: "Down with the fortifications, down with military expenditure, down with the privileged suffrage; long live self-government and the brotherhood of nations." The two parties agreed to put up candidates in fifty-eight divisions and the Ministers were exceedingly active in addressing meetings. The Coalition, however, made no progress at the general election (May 20). It left them with exactly the same number of representatives (respectively twenty and twenty-four) as in the former Folkething. Sixty-nine members were returned who were in favour of maintaining the defensive arrangements as already settled by legislation. Among these sixty-nine, however, there was a marked change, the Right losing eight seats to the Left Delegation, their respective strength being thirteen and fifty-six; but this result did not affect the position of the Radical Government.

On June 18, the Rigsdag was summoned to meet on June 28. The two groups of the Left in the Landsting, following the example of their colleagues in the other House, promptly combined into one party, the Left, which comprised twenty-four members, whilst the two groups of the Right numbered twenty-seven, the Free-Conservatives eight, the Social-Democrats four, and three were independent unattached, two at least of these being distinctly Radical in sympathy. The Zahle Ministry promptly (July 1) tendered its resignation, which the King accepted.

On June 17, the Supreme National Court, an elaborate institution only very rarely summoned, had after a prolonged investigation, given its judgment on the charges brought against M. J. C. Christensen, the former Premier, and his faithful follower, M. Sigurd Berg, Minister for the Interior in his Cabinet, for having neglected their duty and committed certain irregularities in connection with M. Alberti, who had been Minister of Justice in the J. C. Christensen and the Deuntzer Cabinets, and was then under arrest for fraud and embezzlement. M. J. C. Christensen was acquitted on the various charges brought against him, but the Court censured him for having refused to further an investigation of the charges brought against M. Alberti in the Rigsdag, in the spring of 1908, when he had in fact sheltered M. Alberti. M. Sigurd Berg was fined 2,000 kroner for neglect of duty by failing in the supervision of the Sealand Peasants' Savings Bank, which Alberti had robbed of an immense sum. The result of this trial, which attracted the greatest attention, naturally influenced the composition of the new Ministry, the two politicians in question being necessarily excluded. Its formation the King entrusted to M. Klaus Berntsen, formerly Minister of the Interior and an experienced politician, belonging to the Moderate Left. The list, sanctioned by the Crown on July 4, was as follows: M. Klaus Berntsen, Prime Minister, Minister of Defence and also

of Public Worship *ad interim*; M. N. Neergaard, Finance; Count Ahlefeldt-Laurvigen, Foreign Affairs; M. Anders Nielsen, Agriculture; M. Thomas Larsen, Public Works; M. Jensen-Sonderup, Interior; M. Bülow, Justice; M. O. B. Muns, Commerce; M. Appel was shortly afterwards appointed Minister for Public Worship. The Ministers were taken from the Left exclusively, several having been members of the J. C. Christensen Cabinet. The Ministry was well received by the Conservatives, who promised it their continued support against the Radical-Socialist Coalition.

On July 19, M. Neergaard, the Finance Minister, introduced a Bill providing for a State loan of 36,000,000 kroner (2,000,000*l.*) for one year, the rate of interest, as on that of December, 1909, being 3½ per cent. The conditions were considered favourable, and the loan was concluded with two groups of financiers, one French, the other German and Scandinavian. This loan, which was duly passed, brought the Danish State debt up to 345,000,000 kroner (about 19,166,600*l.*), including 20,000,000 kroner owing to the State Mortgage Bank. The Rigsdag was shortly afterwards prorogued.

The regular session began, as usual, on the first Monday in October, and on the day following (Oct. 4) M. Neergaard introduced the Budget for the next financial year. It showed a deficit of 20,600,000 kroner (1,144,450*l.*), the revenue amounting to 95,700,000 kroner (5,316,660*l.*), and the expenditure to 116,300,000 kroner (6,461,110*l.*). The Budget for the current year showed a similar deficit, with similar revenue and expenditure. Direct taxes were calculated to yield 18,750,000 kroner (1,041,660*l.*), and indirect taxes 58,500,000 kroner (3,250,000*l.*). On the Military Budget an extraordinary vote of 7,250,000 kroner (402,770*l.*) was asked for. The final balance sheet for the previous financial year, 1909-10, was also laid before the House, showing a nominal surplus of 2,000,000 kroner (111,100*l.*), a revenue of 135,000,000 kroner (7,500,000*l.*), and expenditure amounting to 133,000,000 kroner (7,388,800*l.*), but in reality there was a deficit of 51,000,000 kroner (2,833,300*l.*), 53,000,000 kroner on the credit side having been derived from State loans. The Minister explained the reason of this great deficit, which was regrettable but not surprising. The Liberal Government had spent heavily on social legislation, increase of official salaries, and railway construction, also reducing railway rates.

On December 16 the Prime Minister introduced a Bill, proposing alterations in clauses 30, 31, 32, 37 and 39 in the Constitution. The Bill was virtually the same as that passed by the Folkething in the previous ordinary session and then sent to the Upper House. It was now reintroduced because the general election had intervened. M. Berntsen stated that the Government held that the revision of the Constitution should be effected in two stages, the first comprising a reform of the Folkething, so as to make it more truly representative of the people. The Bill reduced the age for attaining suffrage from thirty to twenty-five,

both suffrage and eligibility for a seat in the Legislature being extended to women. The number of members of the Folkething was fixed at 132, the question of proportional representation being deferred for separate treatment. Married women were not to become indirect electors, but women were to be eligible, like men, for appointment to the Landsting by the King.

Before the end of the year, M. Peter Alberti (p. 370) was sentenced to eight years' penal servitude, the highest possible punishment, for fraud and embezzlement amounting to some 15,000,000 kroner (about 833,000*l.*). Two years and three months had elapsed since his arrest, the investigation of the case having involved immense labour.

VII. SWEDEN.

As is often the case with the second of the three years constituting the life of each Riksdag, the year was marked by sound practical legislation rather than by acute political interest. A partial election in the autumn to the First Chamber brought no surprises of importance.

The Riksdag assembled as usual in the middle of January. The Budget balanced at a total of 229,411,000 kroner (12,755,000*l.*). Of the items on the debit side may be noted 5,000,000 kroner (277,700*l.*) to cover the deficit of 1909. This deficit, which was finally made up towards the end of September, turned out to be 8,792,308 kroner or 488,460*l.* A sum of 18,000,000 kroner or 1,000,000*l.* was applied to interest and reduction of the national debt, 1,400,000 kroner (77,770*l.*) to the Workmen's Insurance fund, and 1,000,000 kroner (55,550*l.*) to accident insurance and aid for the sick. The Naval Minister did not ask for a vote for a new ironclad, and the vote for extraordinary naval expenditure was 2,500,000 kroner (138,880*l.*) lower than that of the current year. Considerable sums were demanded for railway construction, the Trollhättan power station, and other objects, the existing Ministry paying great attention to industrial development. The Minister of Finance stated that only strict economy had made it possible to reduce the expenditure below that of the current year, but the Government did not wish to reduce the support hitherto given to the productive trades and industries by the State. For the next few years, however, the Budget would contain no "surplus from previous financial years," and the taxation would have to be arranged accordingly. Sweden must now, like other countries, adopt more stringent taxation. He would therefore introduce a Bill providing for a tax on income and capital on a new basis, that of actual income, including that from real estate; the scale would still be progressive, but the maximum rate would be applied to incomes of 104,000 kroner (5,770*l.*) and upwards, on which he would propose a tax of 5 per cent. He expected to require 36,000,000 kroner (2,000,000*l.*) from direct taxation for 1911.

An interesting debate took place in the Second Chamber on January 25 on the great general strike of 1909. M. Hjalmar Branting, the Socialist leader, in a somewhat disappointing speech, blamed the Government for the excessive precautions they had taken to maintain order, declaring that it was not due to their "provocative" measures that no blood had been shed. He estimated the losses caused by the general strike to the Exchequer alone at 7,000,000 kronor (377,770*l.*). The Government had sacrificed the interests of the community to those of the employers. Count Hamilton, the Minister of the Interior, in an immediate reply successfully refuted M. Branting's contentions. M. Staafl, the Liberal ex-Premier, also blamed the promoters of the general strike, and thought that Swedish labourers, in spite of M. Branting's teachings, had rather remain in harmony with their country's laws and with the old-established ideas of right and wrong, than defy them for the sake of their class. Nothing daunted, the Socialists (Jan. 27) introduced two measures in the Second Chamber, the first for a revision of the merchant shipping law, preferably in conjunction with Norway and Denmark, the second for the appropriation of 5,000,000 kronor (277,700*l.*) for loans to municipalities, free of interest, to enable them to start relief works for the unemployed. A further debate initiated by the Socialists (Feb. 16) merely served as an opportunity for the ventilation by M. Lindhagen and others of extreme views.

On March 1 the Government laid before the Riksdag a proposal for tariff changes, based upon the report of a Select Committee. The Minister of Finance stated that the existing tariff had proved unsatisfactory in the negotiations with Germany for a new commercial treaty; it was now proposed in many cases to substitute specific duties for duties *ad valorem*. He was unable to accept any alteration in the grain duties, nor did he approve of a lowering or abolition of the duty on maize. (This duty, however, was eventually lowered.) He rejected the suggestion of a duty on pig iron, against which a hundred manufacturing firms had petitioned the Government.

On April 6 the Socialists put forward proposals to repeal the so-called Akarp and Staafl laws and to alter the penalty for offences against the dignity of the Crown. In the First Chamber the three proposals were rejected without a division. In the Second Chamber, after a lengthy debate, they were also rejected by 127 to 94, 153 to 56, and 138 to 57 respectively.

On the same day the Government introduced a measure for the establishment of a State power-station at the Porjus falls in Lapland for the electrification of the Kiruna-Riksgränsen section of the State railway and other purposes, asking for a vote of 21,500,000 kronor (1,194,400*l.*). M. Lindman, the Premier, who had done excellent work for the development of the resources of Lapland, had the satisfaction of seeing this important measure passed.

Towards the middle of May, when the Riksdag is generally prorogued, there was considerable pressure of business. A Bill dealing with limited liability companies was passed, though considerable dissatisfaction existed as to its drafting, but Bills dealing with contracts to labour and other industrial questions, which were regarded as the most important of the year, were dropped. In principle both Chambers accepted the Government proposal, but each passed it in a different form. A proposed compromise, supported by the Minister of Justice but repudiated by the Liberal leader, was rejected by the Second Chamber (June 4) by 111 to 100. It was accepted by the First Chamber, but was not passed owing to the vote of the Second.

The Minister of Finance fared better with his proposals than did his colleagues of the Departments of Justice and Marine. The Riksdag (June 2) accepted in principle the Government measure dealing with the tax on income and capital, the First Chamber by 96 to 19, the Second without a division. The tariff changes, which to a great extent were admittedly intended merely to serve as bases for negotiations, were passed. On June 2 the Riksdag, by joint voting of the two Chambers, fixed the duty on cocoa at twenty öre (about 2½*d.*) per kilogramme by 207 to 164, the minority voting for no duty, and abolished the duty on unground maize by 186 to 177, the minority desiring a duty of 1·50 kronor or about 1*s.* 8*d.* per 100 kilogrammes (220 lb.). The Sick-Fund law had been passed by the Riksdag a few days earlier (May 28), in the Upper House without a division, in the Lower by a very large majority. The Riksdag was prorogued on June 11. No political changes of importance took place in its composition during the session. The session was the longest on record under the existing order except that of 1883, which lasted until June 14.

The Minister of Marine, Count Ehrensvärd, who had tendered his resignation early in May, was relieved of his office on June 10, Captain-Commander Henning von Krusenstierna succeeding him.

The Defence Commission appointed in September, 1907, reported on December 6. In the summer the three members of the United Liberal party, M. Karl Staaff, M. S. H. Kvarnzelius and M. Daniel Persson had resigned their membership of it (June 29), through differences of opinion from the majority of the Commission, probably connected more especially with the financial aspect of the question. The Report of the Commission, of which M. Lundeberg, an ex-Premier, was the Chairman, stated that the existing expenditure for the defence of the country absorbed a disproportionately large part of the revenue, and that it was desirable to see the relation between the expenditure on national defence and the total State expenditure become more satisfactory. A development of national defence, however, was possible even under existing financial conditions. The Commission recom-

mended the application for the next eight years of 93,000,000 kronor (5,166,600*l.*) annually to national defence, and proposed the building of four new ironclads and four destroyers. It further recommended the establishment of several new technical departments, one for ballooning, one for wireless telegraphy, and two lighting departments, in connection with two corps of Royal Engineers. Experiments with aeroplanes for military purposes were likewise recommended. It advised the extension of the term of military service to one year, except for certain special sections of the army, and the strengthening of certain naval fortifications, including Vaxholm and Oscar-Fredriksborg. Of the thirteen members of the Commission eight made reservations as to certain details in the Report.

VIII. NORWAY.

The principal political interest in 1910 lay in the downfall of the Radical Government after a brief and somewhat humiliating tenure of office. Otherwise the year was marked by industrial progress and financial improvement both for the State and for the nation.

The Storting met on January 11, M. Berge officiating as provisional President. At the election of members for the Mandate Committee the list of the Right and the Liberals was victorious, securing sixty-four votes. The Budget, which was introduced on the day following, showed an ordinary revenue and expenditure of 111,150,000 kronor (6,175,000*l.*), or 4,000,000 kronor more than that of the year before. The increase was covered without needing any fresh taxation. The extraordinary expenditure for railway construction would mainly be met from the State loan. The available cash in hand at the Exchequer, which at the end of 1908 amounted to 10,600,000 kronor (588,880*l.*), was at the end of 1909 about 19,000,000 kronor (1,110,100*l.*).

The King formally opened the Storting on January 26. The Speech from the Throne referred to the satisfactory relations with foreign Powers ; to the arbitration on the marine boundary between Norway and Sweden ; and the work done by the arbitrators in the matter of reindeer grazing on the territories of both countries, a question which has been a source of constant friction. Mention was also made of the pending negotiations with certain foreign Powers concerning Spitzbergen and the adjacent islands. The various industries and trades of the country were reviewed briefly and several Bills were announced.

In a Council of State held on the following day M. Knudsen, the Premier, handed in the Ministry's resignation, which was accepted by the King. The Gunnar Knudsen Ministry owed its existence to the want of unity between the Moderate Conservatives and the sections of the Left in internal affairs after the spontaneous display of national agreement in reference to Sweden

in 1905. The Radical Ministry depended largely upon the Labour party and the Social-Democrats. The election in the autumn had wrought a great change in the representation, the Radicals faring very badly and the Right and Liberal Left just securing a majority, numbering in all sixty-four members. The immediate resignation of the Government had been expected, and many persons advocated it; but M. Knudsen and his colleagues preferred to retain their offices as long as possible, the meeting of the Storting, however, leaving them no choice.

M. Gunnar Knudsen, on handing in his resignation, recommended King Haakon to send for the Presidents, M. Bratlie and M. Konow, who advised his Majesty to entrust M. Michelsen with the formation of the new Cabinet. M. Michelsen refusing for reasons of health, the King sent for M. Konow, and after negotiations with the Right and Liberal Left, both of which promised their full support, the new Ministry was appointed (Feb. 1). M. Konow became Premier; the Norwegian Minister in London, M. Irgens, Foreign Minister; M. Berge Minister of Finance; M. Arctander Minister of Commerce; M. Brønne Labour Minister; M. Kvigstad Minister of Public Worship; M. Scheel Minister of Justice, and Lieutenant-Colonel Bull Minister for Defence; M. Holtmark was to be appointed Minister of Agriculture as soon as the Storting had voted the necessary grant. The first four of the above Ministers, with M. Holtmark, belonged to the Liberal Left, the rest to the Right.

The leading Conservative papers were not altogether satisfied with the new Ministry, regarding the four Conservative members, though able in their respective departments, as lacking in political authority, and the leaders of the Liberal Left were thought to have acted unadvisedly in monopolising political influence in the Cabinet. The Radical and Socialist Press ridiculed the Conservatives and prophesied a humiliating future for their representatives in the new Cabinet. Some surprise and dissatisfaction was caused by M. Berge's acceptance of the office of Minister of Finance, as his party thereby lost a vote in the House, his substitute being a Radical. (In Norway a substitute is elected along with each Member of the Storting, to take the Member's place in case of death, prolonged illness or other causes preventing his attendance.)

On February 11 the new Ministry stated its programme which was well received. The strengthening of naval defence would be among its chief aims and it would attentively watch the further development of the Church question. In the Government's willingness to maintain the rights of private initiative and the traditional order, the leading Conservative organ saw a guarantee that there would be no dalliance with socialistic theories of the rights of property, or support of endeavours to encroach upon the property of the citizens through nationalisation without compensation.

The Ministerial statement was generally admitted to be reserved and somewhat guarded, not meant to challenge political opponents or invite a great political debate, but giving fair promise of sound practical legislation.

The Konow Ministry scored its first Parliamentary victory on February 28, on a vote for a new Ministry, that of Agriculture. The question had given rise to a heated discussion in Committee, but the Government made it a Cabinet question and carried their point by 62 to 60. The Opposition comprised the Radicals (the Consolidated Left) and the Socialists, who seemed determined to do their utmost jointly to frustrate the plans and the work of the Government.

The contest over the respective positions of the "Rigsmaal" and the "Landsmaal" was still in progress. The former is the more literary Norwegian language, similar to Danish and used by all Norway's great writers and scientists, the latter is based on provincial and local dialects, but in fact largely artificial (ANNUAL REGISTER, 1906, p. 364; 1907, p. 373). During April the Odelsting, in four sittings, discussed the amendment of the law of 1907 regarding higher schools, but the proposals purporting somewhat to reduce the difficulty of the compulsory test in the "Landsmaal" at the student examination, were negatived, the law remaining intact.

On April 30 four of the seven members of the Constitutional Commission reported in favour of giving women universal suffrage, the other three desiring to leave the law as it was. The Odelsting, on May 13, by 71 votes to 10, accepted the proposal to confer municipal suffrage on women, and on May 27 the Lagthing, by 24 votes to 7, accepted the Bill as passed by the Odelsting. It was then unanimously agreed that the measure should be laid before the King for his sanction. The new law increases the number of women possessing municipal suffrage by about 200,000, which means that women obtain suffrage on the same conditions as men. The measure was laid before the King in a Council of State on June 7, all the Ministers, except M. Arctander, the Minister for Commerce, recommending its sanction, which the King granted. M. Arctander then handed in his resignation, which was accepted. M. Bränne, relinquishing his post as Labour Minister, took over the Ministry for Commerce, M. Darre-Jensen being appointed Labour Minister. The change did not imply any political alteration in the Cabinet.

In a Council of State on June 27 it was decided to lay before the Storting a proposal to appropriate 4,000,000 kroner, to be taken from the Exchequer surplus in the current year, to defensive purposes, and to apply further 1,000,000 kroner to defray the cost of the transformation of the malt tax into a tax on beer. Of the 4,000,000 kroner in question half was to be spent on increasing the fleet and the other half on strengthening the fortifications,

Part of this second half was destined for the North, the larger part for Southern Norway, along the southern part of the neutral zone between Norway and Sweden, the so-called Glommen line, for which the late Colonel Stang had prepared plans in 1906. These fortifications were to be armed partly with guns from the fortifications dismantled in accordance with the Treaty of Karlstad (1905) and partly with new guns. Within the defensive area of the new fortifications lie immense waterfalls with highly important electric-power stations. In the North, the defensive measures referred to Narvik, the Norwegian terminus in Ofoten of the important Lapland railway.

The Government proposal above mentioned was dealt with in the combined Military and Budget Commission on July 14. The majority, comprising nine members, voted in favour of the proposal; five desired postponement; two opposed the application of any portion of the 4,000,000 kroner to defence; one reserved the right to introduce a proposal to apply 2,000,000 kroner only to the Navy; four desired that 2,000,000 kroner should be applied to naval purposes, 500,000 kroner to the Ofoten fortifications and 1,500,000 kroner to the fortification of Horten, but in default of this they were willing to vote for the Government proposal, for which there thus was a contingent majority consisting of fourteen members.

On July 6 the Odelsting passed by 58 to 31 the law on meat inspection advocated by the Minister for Agriculture who stated that the existing state of affairs was very unsatisfactory.

On July 20 the Storthing by 84 votes to 38 accepted a plan for railway construction for the next twelve years, the important Dovre line being first on the list in accordance with the proposal of the Committee. The following day the Odelsting, after a long and heated debate, finally disposed, by a strictly party vote of 48 to 43, of the dispute between Admiral Børresen and Admiral Sparre, in the main agreeing with a report by the majority of the so-called Protocol Committee which had investigated and severely criticised the action of the latter and of the Gunnar Knudsen Government.

The vote of 4,000,000 kroner for national defence already referred to came before the Storthing on July 23. A motion by M. Egede Nissen that the question should not be considered by the existing Storthing was negatived by 84 to 37, and the vote was carried by 90 to 30.

The Storthing the same day and also on the 25th discussed the question of the Royal sanction for resolutions affecting the Constitution. The majority of the Constitutional Committee proposed a declaration to the effect that such resolutions were valid without the King's sanction and that the Government should be requested to introduce a proposal for such a re-drafting of the constitution, as to exclude the possibility of any doubt in the

matter. The minority proposed a declaration, that the Storting regarded it as unnecessary to raise the question of a Veto on such resolutions, inasmuch as since the introduction of Parliamentary principles and the severance of the Union the question had been outside practical politics. This latter declaration was carried by 64 to 59, the Conservatives and the Liberals forming the majority, the Radical, Left and the Socialists the minority.

The Storting was prorogued next day, after a session, thanks to the action of the President, about two months shorter than in 1909. The Ministerial Press admitted that the session had been fairly satisfactory, more especially perhaps as demonstrating the union of the majority; the Radical and Socialist organs were dissatisfied and denounced the Government as reactionary.

The Spitzbergen question gave rise to much discussion. A conference was held in Christiania in July to draw up a possible basis for an international convention, while preserving Spitzbergen as the property of no Power. The conference comprised representatives of the Norwegian, the Swedish and the Russian Governments.

November 18 was the fifth anniversary of King Haakon's election to the throne of Norway. The King received many flattering proofs of his popularity and success.

CHAPTER V.

ASIA (SOUTHERN).

I. PERSIA.

IN the ANNUAL REGISTER for 1909 (p. 377) a full account was given of the revolution of that year which ended in the deposition and exile of the Shah Mahomed Ali by the combined forces of the Nationalists and the Bakhtiari chiefs, and it was remarked that up to the close of the year the Nationalist party had failed to produce any real men of mark; the administration was nominally carried on by the old class of officials who went in and out of office in accordance with the votes of the Mejliss, but no strong Government had been formed, and the country generally was almost in a state of anarchy. These remarks are almost equally applicable to 1910. At the close of 1909 the Government had issued a manifesto declaring its intention to restore order and to introduce reforms in all branches of the administration. To do this money was required, but the treasury was empty. Early in 1910 the Mejliss sanctioned an application to the British and Russian Governments for a loan of 500,000*l.*, which would have been granted if the Persian Government had been able to give the necessary guarantees for securing the loan and its proper expenditure.

Application was then made to other quarters, and it was alleged by the Persian Government that the negotiations failed in consequence of the opposition of Great Britain and Russia. But Sir Edward Grey stated in Parliament (Nov. 22) that neither of these Powers had any objection to Persia raising money in any quarter, provided that the guarantees already given for previous loans were not interfered with. The year closed without any fresh loan being raised. The state of anarchy grew worse, except in the immediate neighbourhood of Teheran, and around Tabriz, where bodies of Russian troops preserved order. At Bushire and at Lingah on the Persian Gulf parties from British men-of-war had to be landed to protect the towns from pillage by marauders, but they were withdrawn as soon as a semblance of order had been restored.

Along the southern trade route from Bushire to Shiraz and Ispahan the state of things was so bad that in October Sir Edward Grey addressed a note to the Persian Government (p. 218), intimating that unless order were restored within three months the British Government would be compelled to take over the policing of the route itself, and would do so by organising a Persian *gendarmerie* under officers taken from the Indian Army and lent for service to the Persian Government. At the close of the year the Persian Government replied to this note, alleging that a great deal of the disorder throughout the country was due to a general feeling of unrest caused by the presence of Russian troops about Tabriz, —a statement which was obviously absurd;—that a great deal had already been done towards the restoration of order along the route, and that more would be done as soon as money was forthcoming. It was suggested that to provide money the British Government should assent to the immediate imposition of the surtax of 10 per cent. on the existing Customs duties at Bushire which it had proposed in order to defray the cost of policing the route by itself. The British Minister at Teheran replied that if guarantees were given for the proper application of the money raised the British Government might give the required assent.

Azad-el-Mulk, the Regent, died on September 22, at Teheran, at the age of seventy-six, and Nazr-el-Mulk was appointed by the Mejliss to act as the Regent by 40 votes against 29 votes received by Mustaufi-ul-Mamalik, the Premier.

II. BALUCHISTAN.

The measures to stop gun-running on the Mekran Coast were carried on with increased vigour and success, and have aroused considerable irritation amongst the border tribes. The naval force in the Persian Gulf was strengthened and the blockade made more strict; important captures of dhows laden with arms and ammunition were made, and landing parties from ships of war destroyed depots at several points along the coast, often after severe fighting with the local tribesmen who stored the arms, or

with the Afghans who came to carry them away. The most conspicuous of these encounters, however, was on the other side of the Gulf, at Debai in Trucial Oman, which the stricter Customs regulations at Lingak and Bandar Abbas had made one of the chief centres for the traffic in arms. An International Conference, held at Brussels in 1909, had failed to arrange for the further regulation of this traffic, and on Christmas Eve a landing party from H.M.S. *Hyacinth* was fired on by Arabs, five men being killed and nine wounded. In September, a caravan returning unsuccessful from the Mekran Coast to Afghanistan vented their disappointment on the new telegraph line, some five miles of which were destroyed. When the Chief Commissioner of the North-West Frontier Province met the tribesmen with reference to the closing of the Kohat Pass they, instead of apologising for raids, asked for compensation for the stoppage of their traffic in arms.

III. AFGHANISTAN.

No news of importance was received from Afghanistan during 1910. A joint British and Afghan Commission appointed to settle tribal disputes arising out of raids and counter-raids on each side of the British-Afghan border commenced its work during the summer, starting from the Kurram Valley. Its labours were brought to a satisfactory conclusion before the close of the year. The agreement reached provided that outlaws from either side should be removed to a distance of not less than fifty miles from the border, and orders to give effect to this within British territory were at once issued.

IV. THE NORTH-WEST FRONTIER.

In 1910, as in 1909, the border tribes remained quiet, but raids by outlaws were numerous throughout the year. The chief offenders came from Khost and the Mahsud country, and in consequence of this the Mahsuds were forbidden to enter British territory. The most daring outrage occurred in August, when a gang of outlaws attacked the mail cart near Bannu, killed the deputy collector of revenue of Tank and carried off the driver, syce and three passengers. The latter were recovered by the North Waziristan Militia, but the outlaws escaped.

The Viceroy visited the Kurram Valley in April on his way to Simla and addressed a large Jirgah of all tribes, to whom he announced various concessions.

V. BRITISH INDIA.

(1) FINANCE.

Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson prefaced his Financial Statement, laid before the Imperial Legislative Council on February 25, with

a brief historical summary of the manner in which the Council had dealt with matters of finance. Until 1860 it had possessed no power to deal with them at all, but in that year the power was given to a very limited extent by the new Indian Councils Act, and the Right Hon. James Wilson, the Financial Member, in a long speech in which he fully reviewed the general financial position of India, laid on the table an abstract statement of the finances and the Revenue and Expenditure of the year; so brief was this statement that it barely filled ten octavo pages. The Revenue for the year was estimated at 38,000,000*l.* and the Expenditure at 42,000,000*l.* These figures have now risen to about 75,000,000*l.* The Public Debt was then 98,000,000*l.*; it is now 250,000,000*l.*, and the value of the total trade of the country which was then estimated at 60,000,000*l.* has now risen to over 200,000,000*l.* In 1866 the chief heads under which the Revenue and Expenditure was classified were much the same as at present, but the general manner of dealing with the Budget remained unaltered until 1873. For the three following years, as no legislation was necessary, the Budgets were not laid before the Council at all, but were published in the form of a Minute and Resolution by the Government of India. In 1877 the Budget again came before the Council and Sir John Strachey's speech in introducing it filled forty pages of printed foolscap, and was accompanied by a further Minute of thirty-four pages. In 1882 Major Baring (now Lord Cromer) worked out practically the present tabular statements, showing and explaining the figures. In 1890 Sir David Barbour divided his explanatory speech into two parts, the first dealing with general questions of policy and the second with the figures, and this plan was brought to completion by Sir Clinton Dawkins in 1900, when the first part became the Financial Member's review and the second the statement prepared by the Financial Secretary, explaining the figures in detail.

Down to 1892 the law did not permit any discussion of the Budget, but the rules framed under the Indian Councils Act of that year allowed members to make observations, but not to move resolutions or divide the Council. By the rules made under the latest Act the Council deals with the Budget in three stages; at the first the Financial Member lays before the Council what he calls his preliminary statement of the figures, and makes his explanatory statement of them and of the general proposals of the Government—but no discussion follows; at the second stage the measures of the Government for giving effect to their proposals are introduced and considered, and members are allowed to move Resolutions; at the third stage the figures of the major heads of the Budget are explained by the head of each department concerned, and here also members may discuss the figures and move Resolutions. The actual work of the Council is now finished, but the final sittings are held, at the first of which the Financial

Member explains why Resolutions passed have been accepted, or not accepted, and what alterations have been made in his preliminary figures in consequence; the Council then adjourns for a final sitting, at which members are allowed to make observations covering a very wide field, as they do at the discussion of the Indian Budget in the House of Commons, but they cannot move Resolutions or divide the Council.

Revised Estimate for 1909-10.—The year was a good one from an agricultural point of view, and there were general signs of a revival of trade. But when the usual review was made by the Financial Department in November it was found that although the Opium Revenue was likely to be more than 1,000,000*l.* in excess of the Budget Estimate, and the total Land Revenue owing chiefly to the collection of famine arrears also showed an excess of 393,000*l.*, yet as the Government had relinquished a larger share of the latter to replenish the depleted balances of the two Bengals and the Central Provinces the share actually received by the Imperial Government would be 494,000*l.* below the Budget Estimate. The revival in trade had been slower than was expected, and the net Railway earnings showed a falling off of 644,000*l.*, of which only 73,000*l.* was due to unforeseen expenditure. There would also be a shortage in the receipts from Customs, Excise, Post Office, Forests and Salt. An appeal was therefore made to all the great spending departments for strict economy, and this was well answered. Whilst the total Revenue expected was 74,303,700*l.* as compared with the 73,750,000*l.* of the Budget, or an excess of 552,800*l.*, the shortage in the Imperial share of it was 245,900*l.*

The Expenditure budgeted for was 73,720,500*l.*; that anticipated in the Revised Estimate was 73,350,700*l.*; of the saving thus effected the Imperial share was 284,500*l.* Under the head of Army the saving was no less than 391,000*l.*, effected partly by a ready response to the general appeal for rigid economy and partly by shorter purchase of ordnance and other stores in England. Under Civil changes there was a saving of 122,000*l.* and under Civil Works one of 113,000*l.* Thus the savings under these three departments amounted to no less than 626,000*l.*, and there were also minor reductions requiring no special reference. On the other hand, there were excesses over the Budget Expenditure under three heads, but in only one of them was the excess real. Setting the savings in Expenditure of 284,500*l.* against the shortage in the Revenue of 245,900*l.* the result is a betterment in the financial position of 38,600*l.*, thus raising the budgeted surplus of 230,900*l.* to one of 269,500*l.*

Budget Estimate, 1910-11.—For the coming Financial year there was every prospect of a continuance of good harvests and the revival of trade, with a consequent improvement under some heads of the Revenue. On the other hand, there would be a large decrease in the Opium receipts; and, although the Land Revenue

would probably be paid punctually, there would be no famine arrears to collect, and the allotment of a larger share of it to Eastern Bengal would seriously diminish the amount to be received by the Imperial Government. The Expenditure to be met was 75,652,500*l.*, an excess of 2,301,800*l.* over that of the previous year; of this, 1,101,000*l.* was Provincial and 1,200,000*l.* Imperial. Of the latter 500,000*l.* was required by the Commercial and 700,000*l.* by the Non-productive departments. The total Imperial requirements were estimated at 50,257,800*l.*, whilst the Revenue for the closing year was expected to be 49,326,500*l.*, so that an improvement of about 1,000,000*l.* would be required to balance the accounts, and still more to yield a surplus.

Although the gross Railway receipts promised an increase of 1,130,000*l.* nearly the whole of this would be required for absolutely necessary extra expenditure, so that the increase in the net earnings could not be put at more than 38,000*l.* The increases to be expected on the existing rates were, under Customs, 183,000*l.*; Excise, 109,000*l.*; Posts and Telegraphs, 96,000*l.*; Salt, Stamps, Income Tax and Mint, about 165,000*l.*; the total anticipated increase was 638,000*l.* Although owing to the cessation of Famine arrears the total Land Revenue would be about 23 lakhs less, the special grants to Local Governments would not recur and the Imperial share would be increased by 528,000*l.* Adding this to the other increases the increase of 1,200,000*l.* in the Expenditure would almost be met. But the extra grant to Eastern Bengal would cost the Imperial Government 255,000*l.* a year, and the loss under Opium due to the decrease in the exports to China and to the duty on export of Malwa opium having been paid in advance, would amount to 872,000*l.*, making a total deficiency of 1,127,000*l.*, which would have to be met by fresh taxation. It was proposed to raise the Customs duty on certain imports and increase the Stamp duty on some transactions. The duty on liquors was to be raised from 30 to 50 per cent. *ad valorem*; manufactured tobacco was paying only 5 per cent., unmanufactured nothing; a new set of rates was drawn up which would fall on cigarettes at Rs. 2 per lb. The duty on petroleum was to be increased from 1 anna to 1½ annas per gallon, and imported silver was to pay 4 annas per ounce instead of 5 per cent. *ad valorem*. It was estimated that these changes would produce an increase of 967,000*l.* under the head of Customs. Another increase of 33,000*l.* was to be obtained by raising the Excise duty on beer and so-called "foreign" liquors made in India, and the remaining 133,000*l.* was to come from the changes in the Stamp duties, which would affect only bills of exchange, the issue and transfer of debentures, and agreements for the sale of those securities. By the addition of these new taxes the total Imperial Revenue was estimated at 50,503,700*l.*, which would meet the required expenditure of 50,257,800*l.* and leave a surplus of 245,900*l.*

Exchange remained steady at 1*s.* 4*d.* per rupee for the greater

part of the financial year, and never fell more than a very few points below it.

Ways and Means.—The opening cash balances of the year were, in India, 12,503,227*l.*, in England, 12,758,615*l.*; the latter included 2,064,118*l.* on account of the Gold Standard Reserve and a part of the proceeds of the sterling loan of 7,500,000*l.* raised in England by the Secretary of State in January, 1910.

The requirements of the year were, Railways and Irrigation, 12,000,000*l.*; discharge of Permanent Debt, 946,300*l.*; net debit of 741,100*l.* in connection with Gold Standard Reserve.—Total, 13,687,400*l.* The assets were, Net Surplus, 245,900*l.*, and 500,000*l.* from the Famine Grant; balance of January loan, 1,637,600*l.*; to be raised by Railway Companies, 2,597,500*l.*; Unfunded Debt Receipts, 1,119,200*l.*; Advance and Remittance Account, 348,600*l.*—Total, 6,448,800*l.* It was proposed to take from the opening balances 6,238,600*l.*, making the total assets 12,687,400*l.*, and to raise the required balance of 1,000,000*l.* by the issue of a loan of 1½ crores of rupees in India.

The Bills to give effect to the fresh taxation announced in the Budget were considered by the Legislative Council on March 4 and passed into law without any material alteration. The recommendations of the Select Committee for slightly altering the mode of calculating the duty on liquors, and for exempting from enhanced rates of stamp duty *Hundis* or Bills of Exchange not exceeding 600 rupees in value, were accepted, but motions against the increase in the duty on Silver and Petroleum were negatived on a division by large majorities. On March 5 resolutions of a more general character were discussed at some length, and were either withdrawn or rejected. On March 9 there was a further discussion on general resolutions with the same result, and the detailed Estimates of the major heads of the Budget were explained by the heads of the Departments concerned. The Council adjourned till March 18 when the stage of resolutions and general discussion was brought to a close. On March 23 the Financial Member laid before the Council the Budget in its final form. The figures of the Revised Estimate for 1909-10 did not differ materially from those of the Preliminary Estimate of February 24, but the improvement in trade and harvest prospects justified the expectation of increased receipts under Customs and net Railway earnings, and the result was an increase of 20,000*l.* in the expected surplus. For similar reasons the Estimated Revenue in the Budget for 1910-11 under Railways, Salt, Customs and Excise had been raised, and after allowing for the alterations made in the Budget proposals in Council, and some extra charges, the net result has an increase of 130,000*l.* in the expected surplus which would thus be raised to 376,000*l.* The final stage of a general discussion on the Budget without moving Resolutions or dividing the Council was concluded on March 29.

(2) FAMINE.

There is fortunately nothing to record under this head ; for the first time for some years no relief works were opened in any part of India. The spring harvest quite realised the hopes expressed by the Financial Member when he presented his Budget to the Legislative Council in March. The monsoon set in somewhat earlier than usual and lasted, with a short break from the 8th to the 20th of July, till September 11, which is within a few days of the usual date for its cessation. Although the eastern current was at times somewhat feeble, the western one was stronger than usual, and the rainfall as a whole was slightly above the normal and well distributed.

(3) PLAGUE.

The improvement shown by the returns of last year has unfortunately not been maintained. From October 1, 1908, to September 30, 1909, the recorded deaths were 129,756, the lowest number for many years. It was, however, observed that the figures for the remaining months of the calendar year 1909 compared unfavourably with those of the corresponding months of 1908. This increase continued during the following months, and the returns for March, 1910, showed 117,442 against 21,086 in March, 1909. The usual decline began in April, and for July the lowest monthly figure of 2,539 was reached ; this is slightly below the 2,606 shown by the returns for July, 1909. The figures for August and September were somewhat better than those for the same months for 1909, but those for the last three months of 1910 were not so good. For the twelve months ending September 30, 1910, the total was 448,319. The Punjab has throughout been the Province which has suffered most from the plague, and a committee of experts and senior district officers was appointed to consider and report on the measures taken, or which should be taken, to combat it. The result is very disappointing ; the committee found that after an expenditure of some 7 lakhs of rupees a year for three years their only possible conclusion was that all remedies had failed ; that the people generally would not go to plague doctors to be treated when suffering from plague ; that disinfection of houses by means of chemicals or even by heat, was useless, and the wholesale destruction of rats almost equally so ; inoculation, though a most valuable means of individual protection, could not be used to check the epidemic owing to popular prejudice. The Lieutenant-Governor felt compelled to accept these conclusions, and although he considered that the presence of plague doctors had done much good by showing the sympathy of the Government, and helping to educate public opinion, the general staff for combating plague would be greatly reduced.

Similar conclusions were arrived at by the Lieutenant-Governor

of the United Provinces in his review of the plague operations there for the last two years; the attitude of the people towards inoculation varied from apathy to active hostility, but it was said that the evacuation of villages, which was the only means of checking or preventing an epidemic that had proved efficacious, was meeting with less opposition.

(4) GENERAL.

In October Lord Morley, owing to advancing years, exchanged the India Office for the less onerous post of Lord President of the Council, thus retaining a seat in the Cabinet (p. 223), and on November 23 Lord Minto, on the expiry of his five years of office, made over the government of India to his successor, Lord Hardinge of Penshurst (pp. 131, 219), who as Sir Charles Hardinge had held important appointments in the Diplomatic Service, including one in Persia. The tenure by Lord Morley and Lord Minto of their respective posts of Secretary of State and Viceroy was thus practically identical in point of time, and Lord Morley had repeatedly stated, that, although they belonged to different political parties in England, their views on questions of Indian policy were also identical. So much was this the case that it is impossible to say, without reference to correspondence which will probably never be published, how the responsibility for the measures passed and action taken for dealing with the many grave difficulties which arose during their joint tenure of office should be divided between the two statesmen. Speaking at a Civil Service Dinner in London a few years ago Lord Morley compared himself to a two-headed Janus with one face turned towards India and the other towards England. The simile was very appropriate, but the position described was not a pleasant one; in fact it provoked a shower of missiles at each face. Whilst a considerable body of Indian opinion blamed Lord Morley for delay in taking necessary action to deal with sedition, and held that his measures were unduly weakened while passing into law, and were not enforced with sufficient vigour when passed, he was charged by the extremists of his own party in England with being false to the principles of a lifetime for having recourse to them at all. The reforms generally known by his name were fully explained and discussed in last year's volume (p. 382 *seq.*). A single year is too short a period to judge of their effect, but on the whole they may be said to have worked satisfactorily so far. The right of interpellation has indeed sometimes been used in a manner suggestive of a "pin-prick" policy, and the speeches of many of the Indian members of the Legislative Council have been, not contributions to a debate, but a reading of long written essays on subjects quite foreign to the text. It is hoped that time and experience may cure these defects.

When Lord Morley introduced his reforms into Parliament he

announced his intention of appointing a native of India a member of the Viceroy's Executive Council on the first available opportunity. One occurred early in the year, and Mr. Sinha, a Hindu barrister in a leading position in Calcutta, was appointed Legal Member. He resigned in November, not, as he was careful to explain, on account of any differences between himself and his colleagues, or dissent from the general policy of the Government, but solely because he found his former life at the Bar both more pleasant and more lucrative. He was succeeded by Mr. Syed Ali Imam, another Calcutta barrister, a Mohamedan and Standing Counsel to the Government of Bengal. It was generally acknowledged that both gentlemen were fitted both by personal character and legal acquirements to do the work of their own special department, but the Legal Member is not merely the head of the Legislative Department, he is a member of the Executive Government with the same power and responsibility as his colleagues over all questions of general administration, and doubts were expressed as to the wisdom of the policy of making such an appointment a prize to be given alternately to Hindus and Mohamedans. Still greater dissatisfaction was felt in the ranks of the Civil Service at the selection by Lord Morley of a gentleman from the English Civil Service, Mr. W. H. Clark (p. 193), as Member for Commerce, who had been successful in the open competition only some twelve years before, and who, however great his ability, would if he had chosen the Indian instead of the Home Service now only be holding the charge of a District or a minor appointment in the Secretariat. This was regarded as a mere carrying out of Lord Morley's expressed intention of "making a breach in the wall of bureaucracy," a breach which many people feared might be followed by disastrous results, not merely to the prospects of individual members of the Civil Service, but to the Administration generally.

Perhaps the most serious and most general charge against Lord Morley was that he had not only continued, but had greatly extended, the policy commenced by his predecessors of transferring the actual government of India from Calcutta to London; it had been complained that the Councils both in India and in England had been practically ignored, and that the policy of the Government had been settled between the Secretary of State and the Viceroy, sometimes even by private communications, with the result that the Under-Secretary of State for India was able in the House of Commons to describe the Viceroy as merely the agent of the Secretary of State at home.

The year 1910 was free from murderous outrages of a political nature, but seditious agitation, though checked, by no means ceased, and the existence of more than one serious conspiracy was brought to light. The murderer of Mr. Jackson at Nassik (see ANNUAL REGISTER, 1909, p. 386) declared that he had no accomplices; but

at the trial, which concluded in March, two other men who accompanied him to the theatre were found guilty of assisting in the actual murder, and were executed with him, whilst others who joined in planning it were sentenced to various terms of imprisonment. The inquiries in that case led to the discovery of a far wider general conspiracy for the overthrow of British rule, of which the murder of Mr. Jackson was only a part; and resulted in the committal of thirty-five persons for trial before the Special Tribunal of the High Court of Bombay on a charge of conspiring to levy war against the King, or high treason, according to English law. Eight of them were acquitted, and the remainder received sentences varying from transportation for life to comparatively short terms of imprisonment. This case gave rise incidentally to a dispute on a question of international law between England and France. A young Indian student, Vinayak Damodar Savarkar, was arrested in England and deported, after extradition proceedings, for trial in India. At Marseilles he escaped through the bathroom port-hole of the P. & O. liner *Mecca*, and swam ashore, but was seized by the French police, and brought back to the ship. The French Government, however, held that having reached land, he was entitled to the right of asylum, and, after some correspondence, it was agreed that the matter should be referred to the Hague Tribunal, and his conviction and sentence might be voided by its decision, which had not been given at the close of the year.

The inquiry into another case of a very similar conspiracy, but of even greater extent as regards the number of persons said to be implicated in it, known as the Dacca conspiracy case, was still proceeding at the close of the year.

In February an Act was passed by the Imperial Legislative Council for the better regulation of printing presses. It enables Local Governments to suppress newspapers which are mischievous, though not positively seditious; every new journal must deposit security to an amount not exceeding Rs. 5,000. On a second offence security will be forfeited unless a successful appeal is made to a special tribunal of the High Court. A new licence may be obtained on enhanced security, but a second forfeiture involves confiscation. In August the Seditious Meetings Act was continued for six months only, in order to leave the new Viceroy free to deal with the subject fully during the Calcutta session.

VI. NATIVE STATES.

On his return journey from Simla to Calcutta the Viceroy halted for a few days at Patiala, and installed the young Maharajah with much ceremony. On November 10 at Benares he announced to the Maharajah the gratifying news that the sanction of the Secretary of State had been received to his being raised from a titular Maharajah to a Ruling Chief. The new State over which he will rule has been formed out of what is known as the Family Domains

near Benares, and will comprise an area of 887 square miles with a population of 362,000. The Maharajah of Benares is a descendant of the famous Chet Singh, the attempt to arrest whom nearly cost Warren Hastings his life.

The Rana of Barwani in Central India was also invested with ruling powers in the course of the year.

VII. TIBET.

The flight of the Dalai Lama and the events which led to it were recorded last year (ANNUAL REGISTER, 1909, p. 388). After a short stay at Darjiling, where a suitable residence was provided for him, he proceeded to Calcutta which he reached on March 24. He was received with military honours, and visits of courtesy and ceremony were exchanged between him and the Viceroy. What took place at these interviews is of course unknown, but it may be conjectured with tolerable certainty that the Dalai Lama asked for the help of the Government of India to restore him to his old position and that this request was courteously refused (p. 402). He returned to Darjiling, where he has remained ever since. If he ever really entertained the idea of proceeding in person to Peking, he has apparently definitely abandoned it. Early in the year an Imperial edict was issued formally deposing him, and directing search to be made for a miraculous babe to be his successor. No attempt, however, seems to have been made to execute this edict, and indeed it is difficult to see how it could be executed without destroying the very foundation of the Buddhist religion. The Dalai Lama is an Incarnation; his spirit when released from one body by death passes into a fresh body, that of a newly-born child, and for it to exist in two bodies at the same time would be an impossibility. As to what has been going on in Tibet in the absence of the Dalai Lama there is absolutely no news.

VIII. SIAM.

In the autumn of the year Siam sustained a great loss in the death of its King, Maha Chulalongkorn. According to the custom of his line his early years were spent in a Buddhist monastery. But he there had the benefit of English tutors and became thoroughly conversant with English and with Western ideas. He succeeded his father, the enlightened King Maha Mangkut in 1868 but did not attain his majority until 1873. On assuming the government himself he introduced reforms into every branch of the administration and availed himself freely of the assistance of European advisers of various nationalities in carrying them out. He did not, however, allow his zeal to outrun his discretion, and he showed great judgment in adapting what was best in European civilisation to the real wants and conditions of his own country. Thirteen years ago he made a tour of Europe and was received at Osborne by Queen Victoria. He is succeeded by his son, the Crown

Prince Maha Vajiravudh, who received a great part of his education in England, and who gives every promise of following worthily in his father's footsteps.

CHARLES A. ROE.

CHAPTER VI.

THE FAR EAST.

I. JAPAN.

THE year 1910 was marked by two outstanding events, the absorption of Korea and a plot to take the life of the Mikado. The former had been the object of Japan's ambition for centuries, and time and again since 1585 it had seemed to be within her grasp. The latter had had no counterpart in Japanese history, though the person of the Tycoon had enjoyed no similar immunity.

The assassination of Prince Ito at Harbin in October, 1909, by a Korean and the disclosures which took place in the course of the murderer's trial were among the causes which led to the acceleration of Japan's policy of annexation, and this in spite of the forebodings entertained by her Resident-General in Seoul. But in May, Viscount Sone resigned this post and was succeeded by General Terauchi, the Minister at the War Office.

On the day he arrived in Korea an Agreement was signed with Russia at St. Petersburg under which the two Powers agreed to maintain the *status quo* in Manchuria and to abstain from any unfriendly competition in the development of the country. This understanding enabled Japan to withdraw to Korea a large portion of the force which she had maintained in Manchuria, and at the same time the administration of the police in Korea was delegated to Japan. These steps were followed by the publication of a Treaty (signed Aug. 22) between Japan and Korea under which the two Emperors, "desiring to promote the common welfare of the two nations and assure permanent peace," agreed to the annexation of Korea by Japan as the means by which "these objects could best be obtained." Provision was made under Treaty for the maintenance of the honours and liberal maintenance of the Korean Imperial House, and Japan gave assurances to the Foreign Powers that the tariffs in force in Korea would be maintained for ten years, as well as the regulations affecting the coasting trade and the government of the Treaty ports. The only immediate change was the withdrawal of Masanpho as an open port, with a view to its conversion into a naval base.

The plot against the Emperor contemplated his assassination on his way to attend a military review at Okayama. The author of the plot, Daijiro Kotoku, had been a newspaper writer and author, and was an avowed Socialist. The trial was held in secret, but

according to a newspaper correspondent the discovery of the plot took place through the attention of villagers being attracted to explosions constantly occurring on the top of Mount Kiso. The police, to whom the matter was reported, discovered the whole gang of conspirators with a dynamite manufacturing plant in a deep gully, where experiments were being carried on. Kotoku with his wife and twenty-four other Japanese were convicted and sentenced to death, but the sentence on half of the prisoners was reduced to imprisonment. The trial excited much comment in the foreign Press inasmuch as no stage of it took place in public. Admission was, however, granted by ticket to some members of the foreign Legations and others, at the final sittings.

In January considerable changes were made in Kuantung, in order, as it was supposed, to quiet any fears of Japan's ulterior designs upon Southern Manchuria. The post of Governor-General was abolished; Port Arthur was no longer continued as a naval station; and the administration generally was conducted on a reduced scale. But the proposal made by the United States to place the railways in Manchuria on a neutral footing was at once rejected, and the prompt issue of a further loan of 4,000,000*l.* to meet demands for increased traffic showed that Japan was not prepared to alter her Manchurian policy by any further concessions. In October, however, Port Arthur was opened to trade in accordance with her programme.

The Budget for 1910-11 estimated the ordinary revenue at 488,000,000 yen and extraordinary revenue at 45,000,000 yen, with an ordinary expenditure of 420,000,000 yen and extraordinary expenditure of 113,000,000 yen. A reduction in taxation of about 10,000,000 yen was met in part by general retrenchments, but the salaries of Government officers were raised in all branches of the service, and also the pay of non-commissioned officers and privates, thus entailing an increase of 9,000,000 yen. The sum appropriated to the redemption of the National Debt was increased to 193,930,000 yen by 7,500,000 taken from the surplus of revenue in the past year.

In pursuance of a scheme to redeem 900,000,000 5 per cent. Bonds, 4 per cent. Bonds were issued at different times during the year, and in October the Premier stated that nearly 500,000,000 5 per cent. Bonds had already been converted, and that the price of the new 4 per cent. was well maintained.

In February a Bill was introduced to allow foreigners to hold land in the interior, subject to the condition that their own Governments granted reciprocal privileges, and the Bill was passed with an amendment to the effect that the privilege was restricted to persons and houses of business located in Japan. Certain districts set aside for purposes of national defence were also excepted.

The new tariff introduced in Japan was, in the interest of manufacturers, of a highly protective character. At the same

time provision was made in it for reductions of duties under conventions with different countries in return for similar treatment. As Great Britain is the chief importer of manufactured goods, and according to Count Komura, in his speech introducing the Budget, had no means of purchasing tariff concessions from other countries owing to its position as a Free Trade country, the curious situation was in prospect of Japan's ally being treated more unfavourably under the new tariff than any other Power. The British Chambers of Commerce were naturally ill-pleased, and a quick succession of protests was addressed to our Foreign Office. The position was a delicate one, for this tariff was the first since the introduction of foreign trade under Treaty which Japan had framed without the intervention of foreign Powers, and she was naturally enough very sensitive on the subject of her independence. But after a time she realised the need for consideration of her ally's commercial interests, and in December despatched M. Abe of the Financial Department to England to explain the tariff, and arrive, if possible, at some means of satisfying our grievance.

The opening of the Japan-British Exhibition, to the preparation of which immense care had been given in Japan, was clouded by the death of King Edward only a few days earlier. Prince Sadanaru Fushimi, the president of the exhibition, represented the Emperor at the funeral, and in Japan the signs of universal sympathy in our loss were most gracefully expressed. The exhibition itself necessarily under the circumstances had not the success which it deserved.

In August, on the loss of H.M.S. *Bedford* on Quelpaert Island, the Japanese Admiralty lent its ready assistance, but it was found impossible to save the vessel (*Chronicle*, Aug. 21).

Japan herself had a sad tale of misfortunes to record during the year. In April Submarine No. 6 was lost in Hiroshima Bay. Her commander left a record of the nature of the accident and gallantly ascribed to himself all the blame. In May the town of Aomori in Hokkaido was devastated by fire, and some 8,000 houses were destroyed. In August floods occurred in Tokyo and fifteen other prefectures. The figures of the losses suffered were incomplete. Over 1,000 lives were known to have been lost; some 3,700 houses were swept away; and in Tokyo alone 200,000 persons were in need of relief. In September other floods occurred in Kobe and Osaka with further loss of life. The damage done to the rice crop alone by the two floods was estimated at nearly 4,000,000*l.*, but Japan took the whole burden of relief on her own shoulders, despite the general state of suffering throughout the country.

In Korea Japan's policy of annexation was accepted with a completeness which surprised every one. A few thousand Koreans emigrated to China, and just after the close of the year an ex-

Minister committed suicide at St. Petersburg, but there was no strong manifestation against the new *régime*. Japan proceeded steadily with the development of the railway system and with the construction of her new naval base at Masanpho, which is to supersede Port Arthur.

In Formosa, too, Japan's action against the aborigines was attended with much greater success than in the past. Japan's readiness to rectify real grievances was evidenced by the resignation of the Civil Governor of the island, following on complaints laid against him by Chinese who came to Tokyo to obtain redress.

II. CHINA.

China's difficulties with Russia and Japan in Manchuria had absorbed much of her attention in 1909, and the solution of the problem of how to obtain the recognition of her sovereign rights in that country, while it was still occupied by foreign troops, had also interested other countries, to whom an open door for their trade seemed barred by the abnormal position, despite assurances to the contrary. In January, 1911, Mr. Knox, the United States Secretary of State, in order to overcome this obstacle, proposed the neutralisation of the Manchurian railways, with a view to secure to China the undisturbed enjoyment of her political rights and to promote the development of the Province. The proposal was ill received. Great Britain replied that China, Japan and Russia were the Powers chiefly interested. China, who saw her sovereignty still further imperilled, answered that treaties with Russia and Japan made it difficult for her to entertain the proposal. Russia maintained that the scheme would injure Russia's state and private interests and that no danger threatened China's sovereignty nor the policy of the open door. And Japan rejected the proposal on the ground of the large expenditure incurred by her in her undertakings in South Manchuria.

An attempt made by an American syndicate to obtain a concession for a railway between Chin-chow, Tsitsihar and Aigun encountered similar difficulties. Russia pointed to the dangers with which it threatened Russian interests. Mr. Knox proposed that it should be constructed on an international basis. China declined to ask the formal consent of Russia and Japan to a matter lying within her own domain. Japan offered her consent on condition that she participated in construction and finance. And finally, after Russia had suggested the construction of a railway from Kalgan to Kiachta instead of that proposed, China, who had all along favoured the concession, agreed to carry it no farther north than Tao-nan Fu.

At Harbin the assertion by Russian officials of territorial jurisdiction had been contested both by China and by other Powers, but in June Mr. Knox informed the Russian Ambassador, that Americans would have to pay municipal taxes, and Russia's right to levy

them was generally accepted. A Russo-Chinese Commission appointed to draft regulations for the navigation of the Sungari River failed to arrive at any settlement, but China eventually admitted that her contention that Russia's rights on those waters had lapsed through the omission of any reference to them in the Treaty of Portsmouth was not tenable, and in August a Treaty was signed, under which the export duties on grains were reduced, while China's claim to a free-trade zone of fifty versts on each side of the Russo-Chinese frontier was abandoned.

While Russia's position was thus being strengthened in Manchuria, Japan confirmed her hold by the issue of a loan of 4,000,000*l.*, in order to meet demands for increased traffic, part of the money being devoted to the improvement of the road-bed, and rolling stock, and part to the enlargement of harbours, construction of hospitals, hotels, etc.

The state of things in Manchuria, a reluctance to submit to the conditions demanded by foreign financiers when negotiating loans with China, and a general spirit of unrest arising from the hopes held out of constitutional government being granted within a few years, combined to produce manifestations of impatience and disloyalty with a frequency and change of scene which evidenced how widespread was the ferment that agitated the nation. An attempt on the Regent's life in Peking, a discovery of bombs in the Palace, an abortive attack on Prince Tsai Hsün at San Francisco were the chief signs in high places. In a serious riot at Canton, in February, which arose out of a dispute between soldiers and shopkeepers, troops were called out to suppress the disturbance, and subsequently evidence was given that a rising against the Manchu Government had been contemplated later in the summer. In April at Changsha, in Hunan, a "corner" in rice provoked a riot which at first was directed against the Government offices and schools, and then on all the foreign establishments as the best means of involving the Government in trouble. Disturbances in the far South-West, and in Chekiang and Kiangsu were followed by threatenings of an anti-dynastic rising in the Yangtse Valley. So serious was the state of things, that on the opening of an exhibition at Nanking, the first ever held in China, the local troops were replaced by others, and a number of vessels of war were in readiness to preserve order if called upon to do so. The function passed off quietly and there was no further recurrence of trouble in that Viceroyalty. A trifling rebellion in October, among the troops on the border of Tibet, was the only other direct act aimed against the Government by force within the year. But the summons of the Imperial Assembly to meet at Peking in October brought in its train a series of difficult situations which occupied the grave attention of the Government.

In opening, on October 3, the Assembly, which met in the Law School, the Regent declared that this was the initial step towards

granting a Constitution, and that though the Assembly had no powers of legislation, the recommendation of measures was within its province. It was adjured to devote to the business which came before it a true spirit of patriotism and honestly to represent public opinion. Its Constitution might have led to the expectation that its performance of its duties would have been on quiet lines. Of the two hundred members who formed the Assembly, sixteen were Imperial Princes or Dukes, twelve were Manchu or Chinese hereditary nobles, fourteen Princes or Dukes from the Dependencies, six Imperial clansmen, thirty-two members of Ministries or Boards in Peking, ten eminent scholars, ten large taxpayers, and a hundred members of Provincial Assemblies. These last were "pricked" by the Viceroy from alternative lists presented to them. The Manchu element slightly outweighed the Chinese in numbers and greatly in rank and position. Prince Pu Lun, a son of Prince Kung, was appointed by the Regent to be President of the Assembly, and the conservative character of the whole body made it seem well-fitted to check the outburst of enthusiasm for parliamentary government which had already distinguished the Provincial Assemblies. The latter had as early as January appealed to the Regent for the summons of a Parliament in 1911. Their demand had been rejected on the ground that the country was not sufficiently prepared for such a change. But delegates were at once appointed to urge the speedy inauguration of a Parliament. Their memorial was refused in June, on the ground that it was impossible to alter the date fixed by the late Emperor Kwang Hsü. The Government meanwhile had shown that the changes promised were being prepared for.

A scheme of financial reform had been approved under which a division was drawn between Imperial and local expenditure. Provincial Budgets were to be at once prepared and submitted to the Throne and then transmitted through the Viceroy to the Assemblies for authorisation. The Government had also approved of regulations drawn up by a Commission for Constitutional Reform affecting primary and local courts of justice, the division of judicial areas, and the constitution of courts, under the Ministry of Justice. A Commission under Prince Tsai Tao had been ordered to proceed to Europe to study the military systems obtaining there and thus complement the work of the Naval Commission under Prince Tsai Hsün. A standard currency dollar with subsidiary smaller coins had been fixed by edict, and English had been commanded by edict to be the official language for scientific and technical education. In June the first Provincial Budgets had been received. These showed in each case a deficit, ranging from 1,000,000 to 10,000,000 taels and amounting in all to 40,000,000 taels. This was in part confirmed by a memorial from the Ministry of Finance in which the revenue for 1908 showed a deficit of 1,500,000, as compared with expenditure.

Some changes in the composition of the Grand Council, coupled with a summons in September of the Viceroys and Governors of the Provinces to Peking to consider various questions of importance, excited hopes of a conciliatory attitude on the part of the Government, and great enthusiasm prevailed when the National Assembly opened (p. 397). Its moderate behaviour and the high standard of the speeches excited general admiration. But no time was lost in passing a Resolution urging the Throne to open Parliament at an early date, and in appointing a Committee to draft the Memorial. At the same time a determination was evidenced to concentrate attention on financial reform, and to resist or check the general demand from the Provinces for authorisation to raise loans. The Budget, introduced by Duke Tsai Tse, showed a revenue of 297,000,000 taels and an expenditure of 333,500,000 taels, of which 97,000,000 were on Army account, 50,000,000 for railways, and another 50,000,000 for sinking fund and interest on loans.

A Committee, appointed by the Assembly to examine the Budget, devoted weeks of unceasing attention to unravelling the volumes of accounts furnished in the latter part of the year by the different provinces. Their report raised the estimate of revenue by 4,900,000 taels, and recommended a reduction of expenditure of nearly 30,000,000 taels. Great opposition to such curtailment was developed among the Viceroys and Governors, some of whom tendered their resignations, but the Committee's searching investigation was not without effect and the deficit at the close of the year was reduced to about 8,000,000 taels.

The Assembly's demand for the opening of Parliament was submitted to the Grand Council, and on November 4 an Edict appeared announcing the opening of a Parliament, consisting of an Upper and a Lower House, in three years' time. Provision was also made for a Cabinet, constitutional law and regulations for elections. But the Assembly was not satisfied with this concession and the President gave his support to a demand for an earlier opening of Parliament.

On this supervened the first struggle between the Assembly and the Government. The powers and position of the former *vis-à-vis* the Government had naturally not been defined, and the Grand Council was thunderstruck on being called upon to attend at the Assembly and explain their reasons for having sanctioned the foreign loan for the Hunan Railway. The Council refused to attend, and eventually the Assembly consented to receive the explanation through the medium of a memorial.

The next fight took place over a point of procedure. The Assembly had presented some memorials to the Throne which were referred by the Grand Council to the Boards concerned. The Assembly protested against such a course and the difficulty was overcome by the acceptance in an Edict of the Assembly's

recommendations. But a Committee was appointed by the Assembly to memorialise the Throne regarding the indefinite powers of the Grand Council and to demand that the Council be held responsible to the people. On December 18, the Government rejected the proposal, and the next day the Assembly appointed a Committee to draft a memorial of impeachment of each individual member of the Council. The issue, however, of an Edict on December 26, ordering the preparation with all speed by the Constitutional Bureau of a Constitutional programme, including the formation of a Cabinet, led to the abandonment of this step.

Meanwhile the excitement had spread from Peking to Tientsin, where 2,000 students marched to the Viceroy's yamen and demanded his support for the immediate opening of Parliament. This was too great a trial for the temper even of the Government, and the leader of the movement was sentenced to banishment in Central Asia.

Among the questions on which the Assembly and the party of reform throughout the country concentrated their attention were the suppression of opium smoking and the prohibition of the cultivation of the poppy. In some provinces the latter almost disappeared; in others greater laxity was shown by the officials; and in many of the provinces, and even in those where the poppy was prohibited, the law was not put into effect against smokers. In Peking itself so entirely, the Governor reported, had the habit ceased that there was no longer any need for the continuance of the Anti-Opium Bureau. In the foreign settlements at Shanghai the last of the opium divans were closed on January, 1910, and generally assistance was given by Great Britain to China in the measures which she took to carry out her object. But at Canton a difficulty arose through the imposition by the Governor of a tax of \$300 per chest on foreign opium, and a requirement made by him that all opium should be prepared for consumption within three days of its leaving the Custom House. He also established a monopoly in opium, though monopolies are expressly excluded under Treaty. After much discussion the fines imposed on raw opium were remitted, but the Chinese Government authorised the levy of the tax on the prepared drug. The more forward of the Chinese anti-opium party urged on the Government the absolute prohibition of the drug and the infliction of the severest punishment, short of death, of any breach of the regulation. The Assembly also took the matter up, and the negotiations with India for the renewal of the agreement, which expired in 1910, for the gradual reduction of the import were so far interfered with that no settlement had been arrived at before the close of the year. The Indian Government, however, manifested its intention of observing the spirit of the old agreement, despite the failure of the negotiations.

The growing distaste to foreign control of native enterprise

interfered also with the conclusion of the loan to be issued by the Chinese Government in connection with the Hankow-Szechuen Railway. It was not until May that the British, French, German and American financial groups came to an agreement as to how this line was to be subdivided among them. By that time the opposition to the loan had grown so strong that the Government on various pretexts staved off the time for promulgating an edict with reference to the loan, despite the pressure brought to bear on it by the Legations of the different parties interested.

A somewhat similar fate awaited a loan of 10,000,000*l.* negotiated by an American syndicate in October. After an agreement had been signed by representatives of British, American, French and German financial houses to participate equally in this and future loans, stipulations for supervision of the expenditure of the moneys, with a view to currency reform, proved so distasteful to the Chinese that the negotiations remained at the end of the year without result. But the need of foreign capital for the development of railroads and of supervision in its expenditure were urgently felt. Of the latter an example was offered in the Szechuen-Hankow Railroad, financed entirely by Chinese, where 650,000*l.* were alleged to have been spent before a sod was turned, and the balance of the capital, 1,350,000*l.*, had been spent on ninety miles of construction work without reaching Szechuen. The funds for this had been raised partly by taxation and partly by subscription, but on the disclosure of the financial position and a statement that 8,000,000*l.* were needed for the work, subscriptions ceased.

The pressure brought to bear on the Government to prevent foreign management of local interests obtained the cancellation, for the sum of 52,000*l.*, of a concession for the working of mines in Anhui, where the exercise of their rights by the concessionaires had been stoutly resisted for many years. It was probably in part due to its remoteness that the extension of the French line from Laokai to Yun-nan Fu escaped opposition. The line opened in April had before the close of the year been appreciated by the people and officials of the province for the advantages which cheap and speedy carriage brought to all in its neighbourhood.

The chief exhibitions of anti-foreign feeling in the shape of violence were at Chang-sha, the capital of Hunan, in April and at Shanghai in November. The former (p. 397) developed into a very serious movement, in which the Japanese Consulate, most of the foreign business houses, and six out of nine missionary stations were burnt down. The foreigners present escaped with their lives, but three were accidentally drowned on their way to Hankow. The riot lasted for three days, and the destruction done was carried out with great thoroughness, foreign property alone suffering. The Chinese Government was prompt in the action taken for punishment of the rioters and in its settlement of claims.

At Shanghai the disturbances arose out of the measures taken

by the municipal body to deal with cases of plague. The excitement lasted for over a week, and the foreign Volunteers had to be called out to support the police, but eventually joint measures were taken by the Chinese and the Municipal Council to isolate plague patients, and lady doctors were appointed as inspectors, after which the trouble died down.

The presence of plague in Manchuria and the lack of proper measures to prevent its spreading southwards constituted in December a great danger to China. The year 1910 had not been a good year financially. Shanghai especially had suffered from wild speculation in rubber shares, in which some 3,000,000% had been lost. Banks at Shanghai, Peking, Swatow and other places had failed for very large sums. So serious had been the situation that the Government had been obliged to come to their help, and loans had been advanced by foreign banks under official guarantees. A prominent official had been cashiered for misappropriation of public moneys to help him out of his own difficulties, and the pressure of debt had driven Chinese in Shanghai to appeal to their officials to obtain a general reduction of rents. In addition to these money troubles a terrible tragedy had occurred at Hankow in June, when a fire destroyed hundreds of native crafts on the Yang-tsze and much property on the banks, with a loss of life which must have been enormous. And at the end of the year a famine existed in Kiangsu and Hu Hui which was estimated to affect some 3,000,000 people.

Following on the Anglo-Chinese Convention of 1906, China had been gradually reasserting her suzerainty in Tibet. In the early part of 1910 a Chinese force was sent to support the Chinese Amban's authority. On the approach of the troops to Lhasa, the Dalai Lama took fright and fled to India, and after a short stay at Darjiling arrived at Calcutta, where he was received with unusual honours (p. 392). But the Indian Government apparently declined to interfere between him and China; and his wish to visit England was not favourably entertained. The Chinese Government, which at first had issued an edict depriving him of all rank and charging him with disobedience and intrigue, later on was anxious to induce him to return to Lhasa, but this proposal was not acceptable to him.

III. HONG-KONG.

The foundation-stone of the new University was laid on March 16 by Sir F. Lugard, the Governor, in the presence of an immense gathering of Europeans and Chinese, including representatives of the Viceroys at Canton and Nanking. Sir Hormusjee Mody, to whose liberality the building will owe its existence, formally announced its presentation to the Colony, and the chief speakers dwelt upon the strong link with China which it was hoped to maintain through the education promised. The buildings as

planned were intended to house 150 to 180 students, and to provide accommodation for the education of 500 in arts, medicine and engineering.

The completion of the British section of the Canton-Kowloon Railway was the other important event of the year. The line, only twenty-two and a half miles long, had cost over \$12,000,000.

The revenue for the year, \$7,086,300, was slightly in excess of the Estimate; but the expenditure, \$7,385,300, disappointed the forecast, in consequence of work having been proceeded with on the new Harbour of Refuge. The noteworthy features of the revenue were the proceeds of the new liquor tax, amounting to \$600,000; and a grant from the Home Government of 8,000*l.* in part compensation of the loss on opium revenue. A change in the administration of the British Post Offices in China, which in future would be taken over by the British Government, was expected to relieve the Colony of loss of about \$50,000 on their working, and to assist it also in another direction, as the military contribution of the Colony is based on 20 per cent. of its gross revenue.

In sympathy with the reform movement which is taking place in China, meetings were held in Hong-Kong to protest against wearing the queue, and many thousands of Chinese had this emblem of submission to a Manchu Government removed, either in public at the meetings, or afterwards at their homes.

IV. INDO-CHINA.

The railway from Haiphong to Yunnan-Fu was opened on April 1, 1910. Planned, engineered and financed entirely through French enterprise, the Colony and the Home country had cause to be proud of the success which had at last crowned their struggle against many obstacles, and promised a means of opening the south-west of China by a route through Tonquin to the sea. Already in 1909 the Haiphong-Laokai section of the line had shown an increase of 30,000*l.* in its receipts, and the Laokai-Yunnan-Fu extension both politically and commercially will benefit Indo-China.

In the early part of the year brigands in Northern Anam created considerable alarm by looting a railway station. In April an engagement which lasted some hours was fought in Bacninh with De Tham. His force was driven back with a loss of 400 killed and 1,000 wounded, and some of his officers and men were subsequently sent as prisoners to Guiana. The blow thus struck seemed to have secured good order throughout the provinces.

The construction of a large floating dock at Haiphong, and the establishment of communication by wireless telegraphy between Saigon and Hanoi (940 miles) were the chief public works carried to completion. But at the close of the year a large loan was voted for the further development of the country by railroads tapping rubber districts.

CHAPTER VII.

AFRICA (WITH MALTA).

I. SOUTH AFRICA.

THE outstanding events in South Africa during 1910 were the election of the Parliament under the Act of Union passed by the Imperial Legislature in 1909, and the opening of the Parliament on behalf of His Majesty George V. by H.R.H. the Duke of Connaught. The death of King Edward plunged South Africa into mourning. The festivities of the Proclamation of the Union on May 31 were marred by sorrow at the death of a Sovereign whose name was imperishably associated with the Peace of Vereeniging and whose great personal influence had been used with conspicuous effect at the outset of his reign to reconcile the Boer race to incorporation within the British Empire. Lord Selborne, the last of the High Commissioners, who took up the task of reconstruction at the departure of Lord Milner, and whose labours for the unification of the four colonies carried him to the front rank of Imperial statesmen, left South Africa in April; Lord Gladstone, the first Governor-General of the South African Union, arrived with Lady Gladstone in May. On May 31—Union Day, being also the anniversary of the Peace of Vereeniging—Lord Gladstone took the oath of office in the Legislative Assembly in Pretoria in the presence of General Botha, the Premier of the Union, his fellow Ministers, the judges and a distinguished company. The Proclamation and the ceremony were celebrated with quiet rejoicing throughout South Africa, and telegraphic messages of congratulation were received from the other self-governing States of the Empire. General Botha had been invited by Lord Gladstone to form a Ministry. The choice seemed at first to lie between Mr. Merriman, the Premier of Cape Colony, and the Premier of the Transvaal, but, as events were to show, General Botha was the right man for selection. There were negotiations to give Mr. Merriman a place in the Cabinet, but they fell through. There was also an unsuccessful movement for what was called a “fresh start” Ministry, General Botha and Dr. Jameson to form a Coalition Ministry from all parties. On Union Day the composition of the Cabinet was announced as follows: General Botha, Premier and Minister of Agriculture; Mr. Smuts, Minister of the Interior, including Mines and Defence; Mr. Sauer, Railways; General Hertzog, Justice; Mr. Malan, Education; Mr. Hull, Finance; Mr. Fischer, Lands; Mr. Burton, Native Affairs; Mr. Moor, Commerce and Industries; Mr. Graaff, Public Works and Posts and Telegraphs; Dr. Gubbins, Minister without portfolio. Meanwhile the elective members of the Senate had been chosen in accordance with the Constitution of the Union, the House to be completed by nomination by the

Governor-General. The elective element of the Senate—four-fifths of the whole—was chosen by a system of proportional representation, which seems to have worked well. Interest in the composition of the Upper House was not acute.

The result was to give the Botha party predominance in the Second Chamber. Active politicians were ambitious for seats in the Assembly. The Senate was described as consisting of men respectable rather than distinguished. Attention was quickly diverted from them to the contest for power in the Assembly. There was a fighting chance that a Coalition Ministry might be the outcome of the struggle. On June 14 General Botha, for the Ministerialist or, as they called themselves, the Nationalist party, made a declaration of policy adverse to a Coalition Ministry. He was prepared to abide by the will of the majority. Though he appreciated Dr. Jameson's desire to continue the spirit of the Convention he thought the time had come for starting a clean sheet. He advised the amalgamation of existing parties into a South African National party. Its aim he outlined as the unification of the white population, sympathetic treatment of natives and coloured persons, the prevention of Asiatic immigration, a broad educational policy, and the development of industries, mining, land settlement, and the encouragement of capital. The ties with the mother country must be strengthened. Any one who called from the valley of death the skeleton of the unhappy past would be the enemy of South Africa and of the Empire. He hoped there would be a friendly contest. This speech ended the tentative scheme for a Ministry jointly formed by General Botha and Dr. Jameson, and the leaders of both groups reverted to their party positions. General Botha was criticised by Sir Percy Fitzpatrick for not repudiating the education policy of General Hertzog in the Orange River, the contention being that General Hertzog was a racist. In a speech in English in the Wanderers' Hall, Johannesburg, General Botha replied to these criticisms. The policy of his Cabinet was that of equal language opportunities, the medium of instruction to be that of the mother tongue of the pupil, whatever the cost to the State. It was unfair to demand that the Union should repeal General Hertzog's Orange River Act. It would be unconstitutional to do so. He objected to the separatist schools movement in the Orange River Colony as leading to disunion, and urged that the education question should not be made an electioneering cry. He promised a scheme for helping town dwellers and ex-miners to take up land, and invited the mine-owners to encourage white immigration by offering them employment. The repatriation of the Chinese he described as the best thing the Transvaal had done. The Opposition pressed the education question, and it played a large part in the elections, the point at issue being whether the Union Ministry ought not to impose its educational principles in the Orange River Province, in so far

as these were violated by the Hertzog Act. Otherwise there was no substantial difference between the policy of the Ministry and of the Opposition, which described itself as the Unionist party. Sir Percy Fitzpatrick accused the Ministry of having compiled their programme from the Unionists; the question was who were the more trustworthy. The polling was fixed for September 15. July and August were consumed in polemics. Dr. Jameson, the leader of the Unionist party, made capital out of the inclusion of General Hertzog in the Cabinet. A reference to the Raid caused much controversy. Though the Raid was badly carried out, he said, and was thoroughly deserving of punishment, it was nevertheless a step in the direction of federation, which was Cecil Rhodes's policy. It was not sought by the Raid to supplant Dutchmen by Englishmen in the Transvaal. During the Raid he carried a letter bearing the names of the proposed new Executive, among them being the name of Lucas Meyer, the President of the then Volksraad.

General Botha denied that he had borrowed the Jameson programme. He wanted to see a population of white settlers; but it was economically dangerous to bring thousands of immigrants in while they had thousands of indigent persons already in South Africa. General Smuts advocated military training for every South African elector. The Government would be willing to abide by the advice of the War Office, but South Africa should be self-reliant. She should do everything possible to assist the Empire which had given the Transvaal freedom. No other nation in the world would have done the same thing. South Africans would never forget the great act. General Botha had struck the same note. The cry of "Vote British!" had been raised, but had not the Empire every reason to regard him and his party as her sons, as good as any other? Mr. Smuts touched upon the native question, which, however, played a very small part in the electoral struggle, both parties being of one mind that the question lay outside party. Mr. Smuts pointed out that the native question was unsolved. Discussion upon it might rend the whole of South Africa. The whites had built up the civilisation of the country. It would be dangerous for the whites to give the natives the franchise—a weapon mightier than the sword. There must also be no Asiatic immigration. Some of the Ministerial speakers defined the issue of the elections as being whether South Africa should be governed by the capitalists, whom the Minister of Lands described as "dirty aasvogels," who had found a rich bit of carrion in the Transvaal. Some appeals were made to Boer prejudice against the former uitlanders; but on the whole the campaign seems to have been tolerably free from evil controversy. The surprise of the election, on September 15, was the defeat of General Botha in Pretoria (East) by Sir Percy Fitzpatrick, by a majority of ninety-five. Three other Ministers were also rejected. But the

result of the polls, which were all taken on one day, was to give the Ministry a "Nationalist" majority of thirteen in the House of Assembly. On the Rand the Nationalist majorities were small—one Labour member was returned by the miners; in Cape Colony the "Unionist" majorities were in several instances large, though Dr. Jameson's majority was small; in Orange River Province the candidates of the Hertzog school had relatively easy victories. Thirty-seven seats in various parts of the Union, and chiefly in the Cape Province, were uncontested. There were unexpected losses and gains on both sides, and it would appear that on the whole the Unionists did better than they had expected. The final figures were:—Nationalists, 67; Unionists, 37; Labour members, 4; Independents, 13,—total, 121. Thus the Nationalists had a majority of thirteen over all parties, or of twenty-one if, as was expected would be the case, they carried the Labour men with them. The victory was General Botha's; and for the Prime Minister, as for the Treasurer and Minister of Commerce, who also suffered defeat, seats were in due course found. Diverse uncomplimentary interpretations were put upon the elections; but the indisputable fact was that the Botha Ministry had a substantial working majority in the first Union Parliament. There was, by the way, one native in the new Parliament—the Rev. Dr. Rubisana, who stood as an Independent candidate for Tembuland.

The Cabinet met on September 20, and there were rumours of difficulties likely to lead to General Botha's resignation, but they came to nothing. It was reported that the elections had led to a revival of race feeling, and some of the country predicants were accused of having preached mischievous sermons, but in course of time the tension produced by the contest disappeared. Speaking on the elections General Botha claimed that the Nationalists had won a glorious victory. They had a consolidated party strong enough to govern, and they intended to pull South Africa straight, and make her a home for all her inhabitants. They were not "pocket patriots" who intended to squeeze South Africa dry and leave it. He had played but a small part in politics, but in the future he would play a big part, not on racial lines but in furtherance of a policy of reconciliation. The people of South Africa had decided once for all to do away with racialism. The Unionists had gained a few seats by exploiting Hertzogism, but they would yet be sorry for touching that question. He proceeded to identify the Unionist party with the mining and capitalist interest. During his Administration he had, in the interests of the mines, always listened to the views of the "Corner House"; but now every member of the "Corner House" was a politician who wanted a seat in the Cabinet. He promised fair treatment for the mining interest, notwithstanding its intervention in politics, and outlined a policy of land settlement and agricultural development.

The date for the assembly of the Parliament was November 5

at Cape Town. The Duke and Duchess of Connaught arrived at Cape Town on October 31 on the *Balmoral Castle*. Passing through gaily decorated streets, packed with people who had thronged into Cape Town from all parts of South Africa, they proceeded in the company of the Governor-General, Lord Gladstone, General Botha, the Prime Minister, and other members of the Government, to the Town Hall, where they were welcomed by Sir Frederick Smith, the Mayor. The keynote of his speech was that the Union would knit together the interests of South Africa, and enable the country to take its place among the leading centres of the world. An address in the like vein, speaking of South Africa as an ever-increasing source of strength to the Empire, was presented, as were others, by various bodies. Some of these call for brief analysis as evidences of South African feeling. From Vryburg came an address to the effect that union had breathed into the peoples of South Africa a spirit of mutual toleration and Imperial belief. The Dutch Reformed Church was convinced that the consummation of the Union would lead to greater unity and co-operation, and asked that an assurance of loyal devotion and prayers for a prosperous and useful reign might be conveyed to the King. From the coloured people of mixed blood, some of whom had a grievance because of their exclusion from the franchise under the Act, there was submitted an address, pointing out that the development and progress of South Africa depended largely on the unstinted labours of the coloured races: "We trust that our people will always so act as to warrant them in the assured hope that their co-operation will always receive your hearty sympathy and support." The Indians, who are also not without grievances of a practical kind, offered an address, hailing the advent of a united South African nation, "firmly convinced that the civil status and freedom enjoyed by us will be continued and strengthened by the Union Government from end to end of its vast territories." These and other addresses expressed sorrow at the death of Edward VII., loyalty to the Throne, and fervent wishes for a long and glorious reign for George V. Amid a scene of much enthusiasm, the Duke of Connaught replied to these documents. After a reference to the sad event which had prevented the former heir-apparent from inaugurating the Union in person, His Royal Highness observed that two centuries and a half, with more than their share of war and strife, looked down on the labours of the Convention for Union. "The spirit in which those labours were undertaken, carried through, and consummated is full of hopeful augury for the centuries to come. Great sacrifices, not least by this mother city and province of South Africa, have been freely made for the sake of the Union. They bear with them in one way their own reward, of which the assembling on Friday of the Parliament representing the newly-born South African nation is the visible symbol. There is no truer indication of the soundness of the

people's heart, and even of their fitness and ability to take and maintain their place among the nations, than the willingness of sections of the community to sacrifice their own material interests to the common ideal. Not that the reward will be confined to reaching an ideal. Ideals are essential to the life of the people, but cannot subsist, or at least exert their full influence, except from the basis of material prosperity, and here, where the sacrifices have been heaviest, the gain will be immeasurably greater than the loss."

At night Cape Town was *en fête* with a spectacular pageant representing the story of South Africa from the early part of the nineteenth century. [The earlier history had been depicted the day before.] The festivities were continued for a week and the Duke and Duchess attended various ceremonies and public gatherings, making several admirable speeches. Among other formal duties he opened the new naval dock, named after Lord Selborne. He remarked that we had passed beyond the conception that the Cape was nothing more than a naval base to be held on the line of communication with India. South Africa was able to take a share in her own defence. Her contribution to the Navy was evidence of her appreciation of the interdependence of her interests in defence of those for which the Admiralty were responsible. At a banquet that night (Nov. 3) speeches were made by representatives of other dominions who had come to South Africa to participate in the Union ceremonies. Mr. Fisher, the Prime Minister of the Commonwealth of Australia, enlarged on the enlightened policy of the Imperial Government and people in sanctioning the Union so soon after the war. Nothing which had taken place in the recent history of the world would have a greater effect than the Union of South Africa. They had now five nations willing to co-operate in Imperial affairs. Mr. Lemieux, a Canadian Minister, offered the last-born Union of British possessions the congratulations of the oldest of British confederations. The Union he regarded as a miracle of British constructive genius. British and Dutch would accomplish in South Africa what French and British had achieved in Canada, and he commented eloquently on the spectacle of a French Canadian and a Dutchman at distant ends of the earth upholding with unquestioned loyalty the connection with the Crown.

These and like speeches stimulated public enthusiasm for the culminating event of the week—the opening of the Union Parliament on November 4. The ceremony took place in the House of Assembly, where members of both Houses gathered with many privileged visitors. The Judges of South Africa were present, with representatives of the Army, of the Naval squadron in the Bay, and members of the Consular body, while places were also found for the wives of members. The procession through the crowded streets was witnessed by an enthusiastic throng. Arriving at the

building at noon the Duke of Connaught inaugurated the Parliament by reading the text of the inaugural speech as follows:—

GENTLEMEN OF THE SENATE AND GENTLEMEN OF THE HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY,

On the 21st February last, my beloved and deeply-lamented brother King Edward, in his speech to the Imperial Parliament, dwelt on the establishment of the Union of South Africa, and on his desire that his son, then Prince of Wales, should make an extended tour through the Dominion, and open in his name the first Session of the new Parliament.

But by the inscrutable ordering of events that purpose, charged with so deep an interest and meaning for all his subjects both here and at home, was not to be fulfilled. The sudden calamity which within a few weeks bereaved the Empire of its revered Sovereign thus fell with particular severity upon South Africa herself. It broke the chain of close and abiding forethought which linked my illustrious brother to the welfare of this great territory, and effaced at one blow all those well-planned arrangements for doing high honour to the birth of the Union Parliament which held a prominent place in his thoughts even during the closing hours of his life.

I have it in command from the King to convey to South Africa the expression of his keen and profound regret that he has for the present been deprived of the gratification of coming amongst you in person. To have been here upon this great historic occasion would have been to his Majesty, and also to the Queen, an inestimable pleasure; but the imperative and pressing duties and labours which at this time have crowded upon his Majesty make it impossible for the King to be absent from the Mother Country.

His Majesty has, therefore, conferred on me the honour of representing him to-day. He has bidden me to assure you of his heartfelt gratitude for the warm sympathy extended by the whole of South Africa to himself and his Family in the irreparable loss which they have sustained.

The King, as you are well aware, is no stranger to his Dominions beyond the seas; his association with them is lifelong, and they hold a large place in his heart. His Majesty well knows that you have passed through the fire of sorrow and trouble, and that misunderstanding and conflict have brought calamity upon the land. But all this is now peacefully buried with the past. He recognises, too, that here as elsewhere there must always exist marked divergence of political opinion. Such divisions, indeed, of thought and action are of the essence of full, free, and responsible government—the government which you now enjoy.

The King rejoices in the knowledge that the auspicious Union of his South African Dominions has already made for the social and material progress of his people, and he feels assured that all South Africans will work steadfastly and honourably for the welfare of their great and beautiful country.

It is his Majesty's earnest prayer that this Union, so happily achieved, may, under God's guidance, prove a lasting blessing to you all, and that it will tend to the ever-increasing advantage and prosperity of South Africa and the British Empire.

Gentlemen of the Senate, and Gentlemen of the House of Assembly, it affords me much pleasure to convey to you this message from the King. I now in his name and on his behalf declare this Parliament open.

The Duke read a telegram from the King in the following terms:—

Although it has been ordained that I should not be with you on this great occasion, my thoughts and prayers are to-day for South Africa and for her lasting union. I earnestly trust that for the sake of the people as a whole your great country may, by God's blessing and under wise guidance and statesmanship, progress from year to year, ever increasing in wisdom, happiness, and prosperity.

I have just delivered your message [telegraphed the Duke of Connaught to the King], and in your name declared open the first Parliament of the Union of South Africa. I also read your telegram of good wishes, which was received with unbounded satisfaction. The welcome given to me as your representative is most enthusiastic. All classes of the community have received me with the greatest cordiality. The historic proceedings to-day have been very impressive, and there is a general consensus of opinion that the new Parliament enters upon its responsible duties under the happiest auguries and supported by the good will of all your subjects in South Africa,

There was a message also from the Imperial Government, despatched through Lord Crewe, then Colonial Secretary:—

His Majesty's Government offer their cordial greetings to the new Assembly on the threshold of its labours in the service of a people now united by indissoluble bonds. They cherish the confident assurance that it will discharge the great responsibilities committed to its care with whole-hearted devotion to the public weal, and that it will always be a loyal guardian of the constitutional liberties of South Africa. I desire to add a warm expression of my own good wishes as Secretary of State for the Colonies.

The speech of the Governor-General described the Act of Union as having laid the foundation of a new nationality in a great country; to establish, strengthen and protect that nationality in the true spirit of the Act was the first duty of Parliament. The establishment of the Union had removed from the path of South Africa many of the obstacles which had retarded her progress and development in the past. The new era now opening was rich in the possibilities of great industrial and agricultural expansion. The speech invoked a spirit of moderation, forbearance and wisdom. Thus the Union could be made an enduring basis for the future political, moral and national welfare of South Africa. The legislative programme foreshadowed in the speech was brief. A commission was announced whose duty it would be to make recommendations for the re-organisation and adjustment of the public services. Until it reported no comprehensive legislation would be announced, but laws would be introduced dealing with such matters where immediate uniformity was necessary. Bills would be laid before the Assembly dealing with naturalisation, immigration, railways, harbours, and posts and telegraphs. The question of Defence was under consideration; also a scheme for setting up a National South African University. Estimates would be presented covering the period up to March 31, 1911, and thereafter for a full year to March 31, 1912.

The passage in the Duke of Connaught's inaugural speech, conveying the King's regret that he had been prevented *for the present* from coming to South Africa, caused intense gratification, for it was interpreted as an intention to visit the country in person. No English Sovereign has yet visited any part of his oversea dominions while an occupant of the Throne. Not until his late Majesty as Heir-Apparent went to Canada in 1860 had an English Prince seen any outlying portion of the Empire. The South African Press was jubilant at the prospect, and lauded the Ducal party for their unflinching kindness and tact.

Of the several events in Cape Town at which the Duke of Connaught was present space permits of the mention of two only. He laid the foundation-stone on November 5 of the new University Hall. The King is Chancellor of the University, which is to become a teaching University for the whole of South Africa. It was announced that Mr. Otto Beit had agreed to divert the sum of 200,000*l.* which had been bequeathed by Mr. Alfred Beit for the

foundation of a University at Johannesburg to the National University at Groot Schuur; and Sir Julius Wernher promised to make up the sum to 500,000*l.* The other function was an official dinner at which the Duke made a notable speech. He pointed out that South Africa had attracted two of the most enterprising seafaring races of Northern Europe.

They came for temporary landing. They remained to love the land, to live and die here. We can point to the names of great men identified in the minds of all of you with the spirit which has made this country your own. I will mention only two—the stalwart, courageous old Dutch Governor, Van Riebeeck, and Cecil Rhodes, whose great imagination dwelt continually on the development of the splendid country towards the north—namely Rhodesia.

But with the permanent settlement of these two great virile races came mutual misunderstandings, conflict of interests, and diverse aims and aspirations. At last, however, good came out of evil, and union out of strife. A cessation of the disastrous troubles would not in itself have secured union. A great constructive work had to be begun, completed, and perfected. The essential weaknesses of a country unnecessarily divided persisted in asserting themselves. Different systems of law developed, financial interests diverged and different policies continued to be followed. There was no common authority to deal with matters which affected South Africa as a whole. Fierce intercolonial disputes were either not settled at all for lack of such an authority, or involved recourse to the Home Government, whose wise settled policy it was to leave the great self-governing Dominions, as regards internal affairs, to work out their own salvation in their own way.

At this point your statesmen of all parties and both races came to the conclusion that the evils from which South Africa was suffering could but grow worse in the absence of the one sufficient remedy—an organic Union with a single Government and a single Parliament. With political wisdom, and a spirit of self-sacrifice for a common object and of mutual forbearance on which they cannot be too much congratulated, they elaborated in an astonishingly short time the draft Act of Union which the Imperial Parliament passed unaltered, and to which it was, I assure you, a source of very deep and special gratification to his late Majesty to give his assent.

The speech closed on the note that those who had made surrenders were richer for having made themselves citizens of a nobler State. The Duke looked forward to a great South African nation, its peoples filled with patriotism akin to the love which Britons of other countries—Canadians, Australians, and New Zealanders—had for the countries of their birth, and instinct like them with the wider patriotism which made all alike co-partners in the brotherhood of the British Empire.

On leaving Cape Town the Duke and Duchess and their daughter made an extended tour. They reached Bloemfontein on November 9 and were received with much enthusiasm. Gifts were presented—for the Duke a casket bearing a plate of gold set with four uncut diamonds from the Free State Mines; to the Duchess a silver jackal kaross, formed of twenty fine skins; and to Princess Patricia a fan of black ostrich feathers, with the arms of the Free State enamelled on the handle. A body of Basuto chiefs, headed by the paramount, Letsu, presented an address deprecating their entrance into the Union on the ground of their own backwardness in civilisation. They trusted to fit themselves in time. In this form they declared their wish to remain as they are. The Duke in reply admitted that the Union had caused discussion and anxiety among the Basutos lest they be deprived of

certain rights. King George remembered the representations the Basutos had made to King Edward: King George's message to them was that when the Union Act was prepared, King Edward's counsellors considered carefully how far they could reserve existing Basuto rights, and their decision was embodied in the schedule of that Act, which could not be altered save by the King's pleasure. A child must submit to the decision of his father, who had to judge what was best for the whole family; the Basuto nation was a very young child amongst the many peoples of the British Empire, and the Basutos should rely on the wisdom and experience of their King and his counsellors. Let them not question the justice of what was done. Rather should they be grateful that, notwithstanding the great and important matters which King George's Government had to settle all over the world, so much care and thought had been devoted to them, and His Majesty hoped that they would always heed the advice and instructions of his officers, and that the peace and prosperity which they had enjoyed for a generation would long continue.

The Royal party spent ten days in Rhodesia, after leaving the Free State Province, reaching the Zambesi on November 12, exploring the wondrous falls, and making a three days' stay at Livingstone, the capital of Northern Rhodesia. An address from the settlers spoke of the territory as having been won from barbarism by the foresight and Imperialism of Cecil Rhodes. They felt confident that union would be the means of effacing animosities and of building up a country destined to become one of the greatest in the British Dominions. The Duke's reply contained the following passage:—

The visit is one succession of interesting and impressive experiences. The gigantic Falls and the steady and inexorable march of the railway northwards have each impressed me deeply, but what gives me even greater pleasure than these marvellous sights is to see and know men like yourselves—pioneers of Empire reclaiming from the heart of Africa countries which for so many hundreds of years have been closed to Europeans. The movement, of which you are the leaders, rests on a firmer basis than the mysterious civilisation which once crept in and then disappeared. That civilisation was based on a policy of violence to the native races. Yours rests on the firmer soil of sympathy and amelioration of the conditions of native life. Future generations will tell their children the names of those who first made Rhodesia a white man's country and will teach them to be grateful to that greatest of pioneers from whom this country takes its name.

At Livingstone the Duke had an interview with Lewanika, the paramount chief of Barotseland, whose present to the Duke was a blue monkey and a fine grey kaross. Lewanika, with some two thousand followers, had come a twelve days' journey for the meeting. He was one of the chiefs who had come to London the previous year to protest against the Act of Union. Visits were paid to Gwelo and Salisbury. The dominant note of the Duke's set speeches in Rhodesia, according to *The Times* correspondent, was the patience and courage of the Rhodesian people under their early trials, and the high hopes which were now opening

before them. He paid warm tributes to the work of Sir William Milton, the Administrator, and the Chartered Company. At Buluwayo, the Duke paid an eloquent tribute to the far-sighted patriotism of Cecil Rhodes and congratulated the Rhodesians on their heritage. A visit was paid to Rhodes's grave in the Matopos. At Gaborones the Duke received Khama and a number of minor chiefs of the Bechuanaland Protectorate. The native addresses protested against inclusion in the Union. "We have heard much of this Union, and we do not understand it," said one. "We do not want our land taken; we do not want liquor sold here; we want to remain under the King and his advisers." The Duke of Connaught replied that the King understood thoroughly what was in their hearts, and they would not come under the Union until his Majesty decided that it was necessary and expedient. When the necessity arose the King, remembering their many years' loyalty to the Crown, was certain that they would accept his decision. The King was the Father of his people and cared for white and black alike, and whatever he decided was for their benefit.

On November 28 the Royal party arrived at Johannesburg, where they had a tremendous welcome. The Indians of the Transvaal, however, took no part in the demonstration, sending to the Duke a letter to the effect that owing to their unrelieved grievances, they were unable to associate themselves with the rejoicings over the Union, which meant greater bitterness and anxiety for Asiatic British subjects. They expressed loyalty to the Throne none the less. At Pretoria there were many ceremonies, the chief being the laying by the Duke of the foundation-stone of the splendid public offices, to be erected in Meintjies Kop, to the designs of Mr. Herbert Baker, the architect of the new Cathedrals at Cape Town and Pretoria. The noble pile will overlook the hollow in which the little city lies, and will be the finest building modern Africa has known. There were two foundation-stones, one inscribed in Dutch and the other in English. The Duke made a speech in which he said he shared the hope that he might see the completion of the stately building, which promised to be worthy of the magnificent site, the architect's reputation and its purpose as the centre of national administration. Its amplitude and freedom of design, which looked to wider needs, were typical of the breadth of view and foresight of a people who had been able to subordinate parochial and provincial interests and differences to a common aim. At Johannesburg the Duke laid the foundation-stone of the first Town Hall, and made a speech on the relationship between the prosperity of the mining industry with the fortunes of South Africa. He commented on the fact that Johannesburg, though scarcely more than twenty years old, is the largest city in Africa inhabited by Europeans. Potchefstroom also was visited, and in a speech the Duke observed that King Edward had

died in the full knowledge that the foundations of the new united South Africa had been well and truly laid, and he indirectly confirmed that view that the King would visit South Africa.

From the Transvaal the Royal visitors proceeded to Natal, reaching Maritzburg on December 1, and sailing from Durban on the 3rd. Here also their reception was all that could have been desired. For the Duke of Connaught this memorable tour was a personal triumph. He delighted every one by his tactful cordiality, and his many speeches were models of political discretion and good feeling. The effect of the tour on the South African mind was appreciable. The strenuous election had revived the note of acerbity in public life; the inauguration of the Parliament, the presence of Royalty, the admirable speeches—with their appeal for unity and their confident optimism that a new era had opened—and the hint that the visit would be followed by one from the King himself dissipated any harshness the electoral conflict had produced and concentrated the mind of South Africans on the Sovereignty which unifies them all. The influence of the Duke's presence and of his speeches at indabas must have been considerable also on those native peoples who regard their future inclusion in the Union with apprehension, and used their interviews with him to express their fears. It will have been noted that the Duke's replies were guarded but firm. They were so framed as to give the people in the Protectorates no justification for hope that inclusion would not be their lot. Rather were they admonitions to obedience when the time shall come for the King to decide upon the incorporation of the territories. Inclusion was invariably spoken of as the decision and act of their Sovereign, not of the Union Government. The technical distinction is not without constitutional importance as an indication of the modern tendency to give statutory powers to the Sovereign. Its political convenience will be obvious. Inclusion by act of the Sovereign may be less objectionable to the protesting natives than inclusion by the Union itself, though in practice the King would decree inclusion only on the advice of his Ministers; and if inclusion were required by the Union Ministry and Parliament acquiescence in that requirement would in ordinary circumstances follow as a matter of course. A study of the conditions in the Union Act governing the transference of native territories will show that the Duke of Connaught's statements to native deputations were circumscribed by the logical consequences of the Act and the constitutional usage which follows self-government in any part of the Empire.

Mr. Hull, the Finance Minister, presented the Union Budget in the House of Assembly on November 28. It was for the ten months from the birth of the Union to March 31, 1911, and provided for an expenditure of 13,802,315*l.*, an increase of 596,586*l.* over the figures for the corresponding period 1909-10. Mr. Hull

deferred until next year going far into matters of financial policy. It was not intended at present to deal with railways and harbours. The Union Government had inherited the following revenue balances: Cape Colony, 421,000*l.*; Natal, 268,000*l.*; the Free State, 599,000*l.*; the Transvaal, 1,015,000*l.* The estimated revenue for the period under review was 12,351,000*l.*, as compared with 12,585,000*l.* in the corresponding period of the last financial year, and the estimated deficit was 1,451,315*l.* Mr. Hull proposed to take the railway surplus of 1,220,000*l.*, and to meet the remaining deficit of 231,000*l.* by extending the operation of the Transvaal Gold Mines Profit Tax, with the result that the Cape and Free State diamond mines would pay a 10 per cent. tax. He estimated that this would produce 240,000*l.* He also foreshadowed a general profit tax on base metal mines. The Estimates included a contribution of 86,600*l.* to the Imperial Navy.

As a result of debates in the Union Parliament the Government announced the appointment of a Select Committee to investigate the working of the Hertzog Education Act in the Orange River Province. This was interpreted as an admission that there was a case against the Act and hopes were entertained that in the ensuing session the report would provide the means of ending the controversy. General Hertzog vigorously defended the Act, and claimed that it gave perfect equality between Dutch and English children, denying that there was any compulsion upon English children to learn the Taal. The Committee are to examine the educational systems of the four provinces, with a view to attaining uniformity and the equality of languages stipulated for in the Union Constitution.

The exclusion of Asiatics being the definitive policy of the Union Government the grievances of the British East Indians remained unredressed. The question took a new form during the year by the return of East Indians who had been deported from the Transvaal. It was announced from Bombay that eighty Asiatics—sixty Indians and twenty Chinese—had left that port for South Africa. All were reported to be either South African born or registered and domiciled in that country. The Indians had been deported from Delagoa Bay and while in India had been supported by their compatriots, who found the money for their repatriation. India had been visited by Mr. Polak on behalf of East Indians in the Transvaal, and it appeared that he had raised over 6,000*l.* in India for the purpose of assisting the sufferers from the Transvaal Emigration Prohibition Act. Mr. Polak accompanied the returning Asiatics. They arrived by steamer at Durban on September 28, and some of them transhipped for the Cape. Twenty-eight were admitted into Natal. Thirty-eight possessed evidence to substantiate a claim to reside in the Transvaal. Among these was Mr. Polak. They were prohibited from landing, and a case of small-pox having occurred on the voyage,

they were transferred to the quarantine hulk. Eighteen of the Asiatics were sent back to Bombay. The Cape party endeavoured to land at Port Elizabeth, but were prevented and went on to Cape Town with the intention, so it was stated, of instituting proceedings in the Supreme Court and thus establishing the right to enter the Union. They were not, however, allowed to land at Cape Town, and were ordered to return to Durban and prove their rights there. An application was made to a judge to restrain the authorities. The result was that one man was allowed to land and ten others received temporary permits, subject to proof of their claims. The rest went back to Durban. Application to the Supreme Court of Natal by Indians who claimed the right of entry into the province resulted in an order of the Court restraining the authorities from deporting twenty-one persons. Eventually permission to enter Natal was granted to certain Indians, subject to their finding security. Of the ten temporarily admitted into the Cape five were sent away for lack of proof of domicile and inability to pass the educational test. Nineteen Indians who claimed a Transvaal domicile were, after detention, permitted to land with visiting passes and go to the Transvaal to obtain fresh certificates. These particulars show an organised attempt on the part of Indians to assert a right as British subjects to enter South Africa; and it is noticeable that the contest with the authorities and the applications to the Courts were backed by Indian money, among the subscribers to the defence fund being Maharajahs of native States. The British Indian Committee in England also actively championed the cause of the Indians, and the Secretary, Mr. L. W. Ritch, left for South Africa in the autumn to consult with the Indian leaders, Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Polak, in view of the policy of exclusion of Asiatics foreshadowed by Union Ministers. It was understood also that the Home Government, under pressure from the Indian Government, was making friendly representations to the Union Ministry on the subject. But statements made in the House of Commons showed that the Imperial authorities had no intention of over-riding the will of the Union. Towards the end of the year it was reported that the Transvaal Act of 1907 would be repealed. But the Union Government intended to introduce a general immigration law on the Australian model, which excludes Asiatics from that continent by applying an educational test. By such a test all future Asiatic immigration into South Africa could be prevented. The fundamental fact of the matter is that the people of the Union will not allow the existing Asiatic element in the four provinces to be reinforced and that the Imperial Government is, in practice, a consenting party to the exclusion of British Indians from this region of the Empire. The Indian Government, which has often protested against the treatment of British Indians in the South African States, has passed a Bill prohibiting the emigration of Indians under indenture to Natal.

It may be convenient for the purpose of reference to put on record a few statistics of the Union in the first years of its existence. The total area of the four provinces—Cape of Good Hope, Natal, Transvaal and Orange Free State—is 473,562 square miles. The Cape has the larger areas—276,995 square miles; the Transvaal 111,196. According to the census of 1904 the total population of the Union is 5,175,824, of whom 1,116,896 are European or white. The Asiatics then were, in the Cape, 10,324; Natal, 100,918; Transvaal, 10,508; Orange Free State, 253. The British South Africa territories outside the Union are of an area of 731,404 square miles, with an estimated white population of 16,848, of whom 14,873 were in Rhodesia, and a non-European population of 2,016,064. The territories are Rhodesia, Basutoland, Swaziland and Bechuanaland.

The Transvaal Commission on the Sale of Liquor to Natives reported in the autumn and recommended: (1) the proclamation of areas within which Kaffir beer may be sold to the natives; (2) the granting of permission to European employers to allow their native servants similar liquor; (3) permission for the sale of liquor extract and spirits to Asiatics and other coloured people as distinct from natives; and (4) the vesting in the Government of the power of total prohibition in certain areas.

Having regard to the accomplishment of the Union it becomes unnecessary to enter upon the doings of the expiring Parliaments of the four Colonies; but it should be noted that the controversy in the Orange River Colony on Education was attended by the resignation of Mr. Gunn, the Director of Education, who had found himself in disagreement with the policy and legislative proposals of General Hertzog. The Transvaal Budget gave evidence of a revival of prosperity. There was a substantial rise of revenue from customs and railway receipts. The imports for 1909 amounted to 17,011,000*l.* as against 14,154,000*l.* the previous year; and the exports reached 34,132,000*l.* as against 33,324,000*l.* The revenue from diamonds was 235,000*l.* and gold profits tax 965,000*l.* One of the last acts of the Transvaal Parliament was to allot a sum of 123,000*l.* for the relief of burghers disabled in the war. Another was to vote full salaries to its members for a partial session (p. 152). [An application to the Supreme Court to restrain the payment failed on a technical ground though the Chief Justice held the vote to be illegal; and the Deputy Governor signed the warrants.] *Zululand* continued to be quiet, though there were rumours of trouble during the collection of the poll tax. On Union Day Dinizulu was released as an act of clemency.

Mr. Steyn, the former President of the Orange Free State, found it inadvisable for reasons of health to enter politics, but he made several speeches notable for breadth of view and freedom from racial spirit. Their tendency was in support of General Botha. In December, at Frede, he made a remarkable speech

on Defence, which is one of the problems the Union Government are considering, and advised that the motto of South Africa should be not only "One Vote One Value"—a principle embodied in the Union Constitution—but also "One Vote One Rifle." The phrase went round South Africa and was re-echoed through the British Empire.

The prospects of *Rhodesia* are improving. The white population is growing and marked progress is being made in agricultural settlement. Mining development is steadily going on and there have been no native difficulties. The chief event of the year was the tour made by the Duke and Duchess of Connaught in the autumn (p. 413). The Duke allowed it to be known that he was much impressed by the beauty and economic resources of the country and by the work done by the Chartered Company and the settlers. He saw much of the country, mixed with all classes of the people, and especially interested himself in the efforts of the Administration to organise new agricultural industries. Tobacco cultivation is now carried on on a considerable scale, and the newly established Government experimental farms are turning out student settlers equipped for agriculture with scientific knowledge of local conditions. Cotton growing on an extensive scale has been initiated by the Chartered Company in conjunction with the British Cotton-Growing Association, a sum of 10,000*l.* having been allocated for capital expenditure at the outset. If the results are satisfactory further capital will be found by the Company and the Association. The intention is to foster cotton cultivation among the natives as well as the European planters, and to establish buying and ginning centres. The cotton thus far grown in Rhodesia is said to be an excellent substitute for the Egyptian article, and to have fetched higher prices in the London market than any other variety, save the sea island cotton of the West Indies. Politically no advance has been made on the question of the inclusion of Rhodesia in the South African Union; but the inevitability of inclusion is recognised in Rhodesia. It is a question of terms rather than of principle, and the matter is being left to ripen. Meanwhile the policy pursued is to develop the country and consolidate its interests. North-Eastern and North-Western Rhodesia are to be amalgamated into one administrative area. The chief difficulty in the way has been the reluctance of Lewanika, the paramount chief of Barotseland, whose consent is necessary, to take any step which may ultimately bring them under the South African Union. On October 28 Rhodesia came of age, the day being the twenty-first anniversary of the signature of the Royal Charter investing the British South Africa Company with administrative powers to the north of the Transvaal. It was in 1890 that the pioneer colonies planted the flag at what is now the town of Salisbury. The Report of the Chartered Company for 1909 reflects the advance made in agriculture and mining; and with it are

exhaustive reports on administrative work, which give a clear view of social conditions: the European settlers, after years of difficulty incidental to the opening up of a new country, are beginning to reap the reward of their endeavours; and that among the native peoples the transition from barbarism to civilisation has been rapid. The mineral products of the country in 1909 was of the value of 2,679,536*l.*; of this gold accounted for 2,561,201*l.* as against 2,623,708*l.* in 1909. Much evidence could be summarised which indicates that the country is on the eve of notable agricultural and pastoral development and is likely in the near future to attract a very large population.

II. EGYPT AND THE SOUDAN.

At the close of the year the unrest in Egypt continued, and the Nationalist movement was apparently growing in strength. On February 20 Boutros Pasha Ghali, the Prime Minister, was assassinated at a moment when the Nationalist Party seemed to be losing ground, and the effervescence in the schools abating. Men open to conviction were beginning to be convinced that the policy of training the Egyptians for self-government was intended to be a reality.¹ That the improvement in the attitude of the country towards the Government should be cut short by the mad act of one individual and justification given for a policy of stern repression would, Sir Eldon Gorst pointed out, indeed be a calamity. The best tribute which his colleagues could pay Boutros Pasha was, he thought, to continue the work of pacification which characterised the Prime Minister's tenure of office. Sir Eldon Gorst described the motive of the crime as purely political. Boutros Pasha while entering the office of the Foreign Ministry was attacked by one Ibrahim Wardani, who fired five shots at him from a revolver, three of which entered the body. The victim was taken to hospital and the bullets extracted, but he died the next morning. Wardani was arrested. He was a student, by profession a chemist, and was a Mohammedan and a Nationalist, associated with the *El Lewa* newspaper, for which he had acted as correspondent at the Nationalist Congress at Geneva in 1909. He declared that his motive was to avenge Government acts which the Nationalists attributed to Boutros Pasha personally. As Sir Eldon Gorst pointed out, the crime was purely political, due neither to a personal grudge nor to religious fanaticism, and the murderer defended it by repeating the accusations which had been made incessantly by the Nationalist Press. With the Nationalist leaders, indeed, lay the responsibility for the crime. Mahomed Fahmy Bey, the President of the Young Egyptian or Nationalist party expressed profound indignation at the murder, and, though he admitted an acquaintance with Wardani, denied that the latter had at any time been a member of the party. He denied that he had acted as correspondent of *El Lewa*, and said that he and others ac-

quainted with the man regarded him as mad. It appeared that Wardani had studied chemistry at Lausanne and had been in London. Mahomed Fahmy condemned the murder as utterly opposed to the principles of his party. Boutros Pasha was one of the few native Egyptians who had risen to high office in the service of the State, and would therefore seem to have been precisely one of those men whose life the Nationalist party would seek to preserve; but against this fact there is the long-standing Press campaign against him to which Sir Eldon Gorst alluded. Boutros Pasha, who was born in 1846, and entered the public service at Cairo as a clerk, became at an early age Under-Minister of Justice, and subsequently Minister. He was closely associated with Lord Cromer as Minister of Finance and afterwards of Foreign Affairs. "His death," wrote Lord Cromer, "is a great loss to Egypt, for he was certainly the most capable of living Egyptian Ministers. He was an Egyptian patriot in the fullest sense of the term—that is to say, he worked honestly and devotedly in the true interests of his country. A more foul crime was never committed than that which has prematurely closed his career." His state funeral was attended by the Khedive's staff, the Sirdar and his staff, and the leading Egyptian and European officials. Many supposed Nationalists were arrested, but there was no proved connection between the crime and the Nationalists as a party organisation. Since the death of Mustapha Kamel the party had broken up into sections, *El Lewa* catering for the extremists by attacks on Egyptians in official positions, and giving news and opinions likely to influence ill-balanced persons to violent acts. The assassin denied that he had accomplices, and many of the persons arrested on suspicion were discharged. A new Ministry was formed as follows: Mahomed Said Bey, Prime Minister and Minister of the Interior; Hussein Rushdi Pasha, Minister for Foreign Affairs; Saad Pasha Zagloul, Minister of Justice; Hishmet Pasha, Minister of Education; Sir Joseph Saba Pasha, Minister of Finance; Ismail Sirri Pasha, Minister of Public Works and War.

For a time, the vernacular Press moderated its tone. One Arabic journal which eulogised Wardani's act was promptly suppressed. In his annual report on the state of Egypt for 1909, issued shortly after the murder, Sir Eldon Gorst, reviewing the working of the Press law, admitted that it had been applied with "great, perhaps too great, moderation." Warnings to the Press had not prevented them from pouring odium and contempt on the authorities. Why had not the Government used more vigorously the powers given them by the law? Sir Eldon Gorst's explanation was that the Ministers against whom the diatribes of the Nationalist writers were chiefly directed were reluctant to utilise the law to repress personal attacks upon themselves, and they preferred to treat unfounded and libellous accusations with silent

contempt. Sad experience had, however, now shown that this attitude did not suffice in Egypt. It was possible, though not probable, that those who had been engaged for the past few years in stirring up the evil passions of the ignorant and credulous might at last perceive that they were playing with fire, and endeavour to mend their ways. If not, the Press law must be applied with greater severity than heretofore. No obligation of Government was more imperative than to protect efficiently the lives and reputations of those who devote themselves to the service of their country.

This warning was not invariably heeded. In August El Ghayate, a poet and editor of *El Alam*, was convicted of writing and publishing a book of seditious poems; and prosecutions with various results were instituted against other persons. The trial of Wardani took place in April, unusual precautions being taken to prevent any popular disorder. The evidence was incontestable, and in effect all that could be said for the criminal was that he was not of strong intellect. He was sentenced to death and executed, after an appeal on points of law. One effect of the crime was to create apprehensions as to the extent of native discontent in Egypt, and another to stimulate the Government to act on its own judgment rather than to make sacrifices for the co-operation of the Legislative Council. That Council had been dealing with measures relating to Press trials, secret societies, and political crime, and amended them so drastically as to deprive them of their intended effect. Ministers in Council overruled this body and passed the laws in their original form. Further power for the suppression of illegal societies was thus taken and the Assize Courts given jurisdiction in Press cases. Precautionary arrangements were made by the Home authorities for the speedy reinforcement of the garrison from Malta, but this proved unnecessary. The year closed in doubt as to whether the "unrest" is in reality deep-seated. What was apparent was that the new policy of giving Egyptians a larger share in public life as an experimental step towards providing Egypt with an Egyptian governing class, had received a check. The policy had been initiated by Lord Cromer, in the latter years of his consulship, and Sir Eldon Gorst was thought by some to have carried it too far. A special correspondent of *The Times* who studied the political situation in June concluded that co-operation with the Nationalist party had failed. It was intended, he pointed out, as a compromise between the policy of evacuation and that of direct and manifest control of the Egyptian administration by British agents. It had failed because in the Ministries in Cairo, in the Government offices of the Provinces, and even among the village Sheikhs and Omdehs it had become the fashion to profess if not to practise open contempt for British authority. The Legislative Council and the National Assembly had not justified the hopes that had led to

recent enlargement of their powers; on the contrary, they had but further demonstrated their incapacity for anything but sterile and unreasonable opposition. With regard to the permanency of occupation it should be noted here that Sir Edward Grey stated in the Imperial Parliament in effect that, whatever difficulties might arise in Egypt, England would not abandon her task (pp. 133, 135).

The Congress of the Young Egyptian party was held at Geneva on September 14, under the Presidency of Mahomed Fahmy, who sent a message to the English Press recalling to the British Government the solemn and repeated pledges of British statesmen of both parties, to evacuate Egypt so soon as order could be restored, and definitely fixing January 1, 1888, as the limit of the military occupation; and condemning Sir Edward Grey's declaration (p. 135), to the effect that the occupation has now become fixed and permanent, as a violation of the aforesaid pledges, made not only to the British nation, but also to the Powers of Europe. Since order had long been restored, the Congress demanded the immediate evacuation, in order that Egypt might at once enter upon a *régime* of complete autonomy, subject only to her Treaty obligations to the Ottoman Empire and other European Powers.

The Presidential and other speeches were in a combative vein and protests were made against Sir Edward Grey's declarations in Parliament. Mr. Roosevelt also was attacked for the speech he had made in the Guildhall (p. 129). About 250 persons were present, among them Mr. Keir Hardie. The other wing of the party under Mahomed Farid Bey, held what was called the Egyptian Nationalist Congress in Brussels also in September. The meeting of this body had been arranged for in Paris, but the French Government prohibited it, apparently on the ground that the movement is adverse to French interests in North Africa. The prohibition was attributed by Farid Bey to English diplomatic influence. The speeches at Brussels, like those at Geneva, resolved themselves into a demand for evacuation and the grant of a Constitution.

The economic situation in Egypt was adversely affected by the comparative failure of the cotton crop. Nor has the country wholly recovered from the effects of the financial stringency of 1907. Sir Eldon Gorst's Report shows a reduction of E. 183,000*l.* in the import duties and of E. 175,000*l.* in the Railway receipts. But on the whole agriculture prospered, and while that was so there was no cause for anxiety. Remedies were being found for the ills affecting the cultivation of cotton. During 1910 two Commissions were at work on this question—one of business men concerned in cotton production, and the other of scientists whose object was to check insect ravages. The cotton crop of 1910—nearly 4,500,000 kantars—was an improvement on that of 1909; but the arrears of payments by cultivators of capital and interest due to the Agricultural Bank

were unduly heavy. In 1909 there were 40,000 defaulters. The suggested remedy is a cheaper and more expeditious procedure for the recovery of arrears; and that is now under the consideration of the Government, which gives a 3 per cent. guarantee on the Bank's capital. The Budget Note of the Financial Adviser, dated December 24, showed an unpledged balance of the Reserve Fund of E. 2,000,000*l.* The year 1910 would close with E. 1,400,000*l.* available, in addition to the general reserve, which, with the produce of the sale of Government lands, etc., made a total estimated addition to the reserve of E. 1,725,000*l.* The total reserve at the end of 1910 was estimated at E. 5,364,000*l.* Satisfaction was expressed at the reduction, amounting to E. 900,000*l.*, in the value of the cereals imported during the first ten months of 1910, and also a reduction in the imported sugar amounting to E. 200,000*l.* On the other hand, there were increased imports of cotton tissues amounting in value to E. 180,000*l.*, of iron E. 280,000*l.*, and of manure E. 40,000*l.* The Government accounts for 1909 showed receipts, E. 15,402,872*l.*; ordinary expenses, E. 13,568,426*l.*; and special expenses, E. 673,174*l.*, the result being a surplus of E. 1,161,270*l.* The general reserve fund showed a credit to the Government of E. 4,228,853*l.*, from which must be deducted on account of depreciation of securities, E. 213,000*l.*, showing a balance in hand in the general reserve of E. 4,015,853*l.* During 1909 the Public Debt was redeemed to the amount of E. 272,720*l.*

The Report of Sir Eldon Gorst contained the usual elaborate statistical review of finance and commerce, and a survey of the work of the various departments of the Government.

In April the General Assembly rejected the proposed Convention prolonging the Concession to the Suez Canal Company from the date of expiry, November 17, 1968, to the end of 2008. The question had been made a political one by the Nationalists in pursuance of their anti-European propaganda, and the rejection was received with popular enthusiasm. The Government, which had negotiated the Convention with the Company, decided to abide by the decision of the Assembly. It was represented that the rejection was not on the merits of the Convention, the financial terms of which were described as being very favourable to Egypt. The Administrative Council of the Suez Canal Company have decided to lower the Canal tariff from January 1, 1911, from 7.75 f. per ton to 7.25 f.

✓ Among notable visitors to Egypt during 1910 was Mr. Theodore Roosevelt, who concluded his hunting trip in the Equatorial by passing through the Nile Valley. In the company of Sir Rudolph Slatin he visited the battlefield of Omdurman and the places of interest in Khartoum. In that city, on March 16, he warmly eulogised the work of Great Britain in the Soudan, declaring that it would be a crime against humanity to upset the existing beneficent *régime*; in a speech to the native officers on

the following day he uttered an impressive warning against "mixing politics with soldiering"; and, in addressing the students of Cairo University (March 28) he intimated that he did not consider Egypt as ready for self-government, and denounced the murder of Boutros Pasha and those who in any way apologised for or condoned it either by word or deed, directly or indirectly. Great efforts had been made to induce him to omit all reference to the murder; and the address was described by a *Times* correspondent as "in a sense a criticism of the policy of drift and do-nothing which now prevails here." It was severely criticised both in England and America as an uncalled-for interference in Egyptian politics, but was welcomed by the Europeans in Egypt. It evoked meetings of protest among the students and was violently denounced by the Nationalist Press. Mr. Roosevelt had a long conversation with the Khedive on non-political subjects; and it was reported that on leaving Cairo he was the recipient of letters from Sir Eldon Gorst and Sir Reginald Wingate expressive of their appreciation.

In December the Government issued an order of expulsion against M. Alban Derroja, on account of his writings in a Franco-Arabic journal. One article was decreed to be derogatory to the prestige of the Khedive and of the country, and disturbing to the good relations between France and Egypt. The foreign and native journalists held a meeting of protest, and presented M. Derroja with an address, approving his journalistic conduct during his ten years' work in the country.

The Soudan has been quiet, and the record is one of administrative advance and steady economic recovery. Darfur is now the only province where Anglo-Egyptian control is ineffective. At the close of the year Sir Rudolph Slatin, the Inspector-General of the Soudan, was in the region, and his next report should be of value. According to Sir Rudolph the Soudan is not affected by the unrest in Egypt, except financially. Sir Eldon Gorst's report, it may be mentioned, complains of the attitude of the Egyptian Legislative Council to grants for the development of the Soudan. Sir Rudolph expects the Soudan soon to pay for itself. The Civil Administration pays its way; the only deficit is on the Military Budget. As more land comes under cultivation trade will increase and the deficit disappear. Soudan corn is now being exported and the area of cotton cultivation is increasing. But the Soudan waits upon costly schemes of irrigation before the great cultivable areas can be brought into use. Trade with Abyssinia is increasing.

In November the new railway south from Khartoum was opened as far as Sennar. A daily train each way now runs 160 miles below Khartoum. The line is being continued from the bank of the Blue Nile across to the White Nile, to Kosti, a distance of eighty miles. A bridge is under construction at Kosti and the line is to be continued westward to El Obeid.

Lord Kitchener revisited Khartoum in December *en route* for a three months' shooting trip in Uganda and East Africa.

During the year there was no serious tribal trouble.

A punitive expedition under Colonel Asser reached Jebel Tagoi in November, and there was some fighting.

Professor Garstang's excavations on the site of ancient Meroe, the Ethiopian capital, resulted in the discovery of the temple to the worship of the Sun, spoken of by Diodorus as having been built by King Ergamenes. Sculptures were found representing the victories of Ergamenes, and tables naming the tribes in the Southern Soudan. Other excavations on the site of the Temple of Ammon show that edifice to have been larger than was supposed. Many inscriptions and statues were brought to light.

III. NORTH-EAST AFRICA AND THE PROTECTORATES.

Apart from reports of the death of the Emperor Menelek there is nothing to record concerning *Abyssinia*. The government by Regency has not been without friction, but there has been no violent trouble in the country, though reports of anarchy on the Eritrean frontier have been frequent from Italian sources. The British Minister at Adis Abeba was assaulted by natives in November, but reparation was promptly made, and the guilty persons publicly flogged. In the Northern districts there was some prospect of a rebellion against the Regency, but the arrival at Adis Abeba in November of Ras Olie with a Shoan following relieved the situation. All the provinces were reported to be quiet towards the end of the year.

British *Somaliland* has been much discussed during the year, owing to the decision of the Government to withdraw to the coast. Sir Wm. Manning, the Commissioner, telegraphed in February giving a detailed account of the tribal combinations and describing the steps taken by the Administration to arm the tribes to defend themselves against raids. He denied that the Mullah was organising his forces for an invasion of the Protectorate, but admitted that there would be raids against unarmed friendlies. His view was that the Mullah was not the power he was in 1903 and 1904, and asked for a date to be fixed for the withdrawal of the Protectorate forces from interior posts to the coast. The Government acted on these facts and the withdrawal was made in March, notwithstanding contemporaneous reports of raids and victories by the Mullah in the neighbourhood of Burao. The policy of the Government was challenged in Parliament (p. 110). One effect of the withdrawal seems to have been to stimulate the tribes to combine against the Mullah, and another to add to the coast population. The Mullah gave occasional evidence of his capacity to raid, and still outlives repeated reports of his death. *Italian Somaliland* is also troubled by the Mullah and dervish raiders, and there has been some fighting. Italy maintains a vigilant blockade of the coast to prevent

the importation of arms, and supplies arms to the friendly tribes. In that and other respects the policy of Italy and Great Britain in this region is identical.

Uganda has been quiet save for minor tribal trouble by Turkana raiding to the south of Lake Rudolph. A railway is under construction from the Nile at Ripon Falls to the navigable portion of the river beyond the rapids. It will be fifty miles in length and will open up a portion of Uganda difficult of access because of the rapids, and will link up Lake Chioga and neighbouring waterways on which there is steam navigation. Sir Percy Girouard has succeeded Sir Hesketh Bell as Governor. The English Church suffered a severe disaster in September by the destruction of the cathedral, which was struck by lightning and burnt down. The Right Rev. Alfred Tucker, the Bishop of Uganda, in an appeal to the English people for funds, claimed that the cathedral had been the centre of such spiritual activities as had hardly a parallel in the history of the Church. Ten thousand pounds was needed. From *British East Africa* there is little to report. Representations on behalf of East Indians were made by the London All-India Moslem League to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, objecting to the exclusion of the uplands from the area available for Indian settlement. Indentured Indian labour is used in the Protectorate, and it was contended that it was unfair to debar the time-expired worker from settling on the good lands of the country, especially as the development of the region must depend on Indian labour. Stress was laid on the Imperial aspect of the question, the League pointing out that the maintenance of anti-Indian prejudice in East African legislation and administration would react on the political situation in India. A new steamship service was inaugurated in August to the chief East African ports, *via* the Suez Canal, the Union Castle Company sending a steamer every twenty-eight days from England direct to Mombasa, Zanzibar, Mozambique, Chinde, Beira, Delagoa Bay, and Durban, returning by the same route. A German service was previously the only one available.

A new labour ordinance was passed in *Nyassaland* regulating the employment of natives within and without the Protectorate. Recruitment is prohibited, but the experience is that the natives will go to the Rand, though they die in great numbers. The object of the new law is to prevent them from going. Mohammedanism is spreading through the Protectorate from the East Coast through the agency of Arabs from Zanzibar, but not because of any organised propaganda. When the present Governor, Sir Alfred Sharpe, first knew Nyassaland, twenty years ago, Mohammedanism was almost non-existent; now, he says, from Lake Nyassa to the Coast, there is not a village without a Moslem teacher. The Yaos do not, it seems, make fanatical Moslems, but the movement is opposed to European influence. The Govern-

ment keep an impartial attitude towards the newly introduced faith, which Sir Alfred does not think likely to spread south of the Zambesi. Sir Alfred's game preservation policy has excited criticism from the settlers, who regard it as favourable to the tsetse fly, and therefore retarding the development of the country. A public meeting was held at Blantyre, and resolutions of protest sent to the Colonial Office.

German East Africa pursues an uneventful course, save for the usual tribal troubles. In April a Catholic missionary, Father Loupias, was murdered by order of a rebel chief, Lukarra, to whom he had gone with the object of dissuading him from evil conduct. In *Portuguese East Africa* the chief event has been the decision to improve the port of Lorenzo Marques, a step necessary for the increasing traffic with the Transvaal. Coal depots are to be built, a stone wharf erected, the Potama channel dredged, and the rolling stock of the railway into the Transvaal renewed. The Portuguese banks were to issue a loan of 800,000*l.* on the security of the port and railway receipts. A new Governor, Senhor Linda, is in office and has prepared a scheme of administrative reforms. Measures have been taken to stop the exodus of natives to the Rand. In July there was some sharp fighting in the northern interior, a recalcitrant chief, Coluba, being subdued and Portuguese authority made effective in a new region. Senhor Andrade, the Governor of *Mozambique*, has also been overhauling the system of recruiting natives for the Rand mines. The work is to be done by Government officials, not by agents. Over 60,000 natives of Mozambique were recruited for the mines during 1910, and it is reported that the native population is yearly decreasing. The islands of *Zanzibar* and *Pemba* have no history of note for the year.

IV. NORTH AND WEST AFRICA.

After long delays Mulai Hafid, the Sultan of *Morocco*, yielded to a French ultimatum and ratified agreements on the special claims and interests of that Power arising out of the events of preceding years. On March 1 it was announced that full satisfaction had been given to the French demands. All European creditors were to be paid out of the loan of 4,000,000*l.* which was part of the settlement, and the effect of the arrangement was to restore the prestige of France in Morocco. With regard to the mining claims of the Brothers Mannesmann the German Foreign Office found that they had no legal validity, and that the mining law of October 7, 1908, on which they were founded was inconsistent with Moorish law and did not fulfil the requirements of the Act of Algeciras. For the service of the French loan customs dues, harbour dues, municipal duties on real estate in the ports, the revenue from the tobacco monopoly and certain other imports have been set aside. The situation in the spring of the year was that the north of the country was tranquil, but that there was

tribal fighting in the south. Late in April it was reported that Mulai Kebir, a brother of the Sultan, had caused himself to be proclaimed as Sultan at Fesa. Berber tribes were said to be rallying to his standard, and serious trouble was apprehended. Mulai Hafid recalled his forces to Fez from the mountains, where Raisuli was raiding within fifty miles of Tangier. No important battles were reported, but the movement in favour of Mulai Kebir collapsed, and he became a fugitive, finally, in September, submitting to his brother, who allowed him to return to Fez and promised that his estates should be restored to him. Thereafter the position of Mulai Hafid seemed to be unassailable, and no new pretender to the Throne has since arisen.

Complaint was made of the condition of the prisons, and the Administration was charged with barbarities of various kinds. The British Foreign Office received a report on these matters from the *chargé d'affaires* at Tangier. Sir Edward Grey stated that the condition of affairs it revealed was not satisfactory, and that he was considering what steps, if any, could be taken to ameliorate it; but, he added, "the whole question of improving the internal administration of Morocco is one of great difficulty." Notwithstanding the disturbed state of the interior, prospectors and others were active throughout the country, confident that an era of economic development was about to begin. Since the conclusion of the loan arrangement with France the finances of the Coast region have been under the *Controleurs de la dette*, and surplus money after satisfying the interest on earlier European loans has been expended on improving the ports. Various public works have been begun which are expected to attract shipping and facilitate the introduction of railways. Plans are prepared for the construction of a port at Tangier. The attitude of the Sultan towards these and other matters appears to have been uncertain, and the *Temps* correspondent represented that only under constant pressure would he fulfil his obligations. Complaint was made that he had failed to fulfil his part of the French Agreement. The fact seems to have been that, notwithstanding the loan arrangements, he lacked the money with which to pay his soldiers, with the result that there were wholesale desertions and the activity of rebel tribesmen could not be checked. The correspondent of the *Temps* had an audience with Mulai Hafid in May, and told him that his six months' residence in Fez had led him to conclude that the Sultan would not co-operate with France. The Sultan denied this, and asserted that he wished to go hand in hand with France. But he was misjudged and maligned by a hostile European Press and surrounded by persons who wished to embroil him with France. On a number of specific matters of complaint he gave satisfactory assurances and explanations, confirming these when they were submitted in writing. The effect of this was to ease the situation. But the attacks on the Sultan's

character were renewed, the Tangier correspondent of *The Times* having obtained evidence which he regarded as convincing to the effect that Ben Aissa's wife was tortured in order to compel her to disclose the whereabouts of certain treasure her husband was believed to have concealed. "Her hands were sewn up in damp raw hide, which contracts and causes extreme pain, her breasts were crushed between bars of wood closed by screws, and she was suspended by her wrists from a beam of wood." He alleged that her son was tortured, and that these things were done notwithstanding a voluntary and explicit undertaking by the Sultan to abolish all barbarous punishments. He said the Sultan was addicted to the use of drugs, and that letters from Fez showed that his viziers had great difficulty in dissuading him from committing wholesale murders. The correspondent was requested by many influential Moors to express publicly their abhorrence of the Sultan's barbarities; he hinted, not obscurely, at a revolution at Fez. This was in June; but Mulai Hafid was still on the throne at the close of the year. The Sultan indignantly denied the charges; but the correspondent returned to the attack, and insisted that his evidence was indisputable. His case rested on an examination of the wife of Ben Aissa by Miss Dennison and Miss Mellett, two ladies of the Medical Mission at Fez. With them at the examination was the wife of a French doctor. Other members of Ben Aissa's family were brutally flogged. The entire family seems to have been vilely treated. The question is whether credence can be given to the formal denial given by the Sultan to the foreign consuls.

On the Algerian frontier of Morocco French troops have often been engaged during the year with the Moorish tribesmen. In June and July there were sharp engagements beyond Ujda. A strong force is kept at Ujda, but military operations of importance beyond that point are avoided. That seems to be the policy of the commanders for the present. Turning to another district, the Shawia country beyond Casablanca was the scene of a French military promenade in June with the object of impressing the people with the advisability of having nothing to do with a certain "Sorcerer," one Ma-el-Ainin, an enemy of France. The French Government have sent a scientific mission to the Algero-Moroccan frontier under M. Louis Gentil, Professor of Geology at the Sorbonne. He has done much exploring in the Atlas region. At the end of the year the Sultan was engaged in reorganising his army. The country was apparently less disturbed. A settlement had been arrived at with Spain in the matter of the Melilla troubles of 1909. The war indemnity to be paid to Spain was fixed at 2,400,000*l.* The troubles on the Riff coast did not recur during the year. Mining work has been resumed, and ore is being shipped from Melilla harbour. The Spanish forces are camped in a situation controlling the mining region and commanding a large area of open country with artillery. The garrison was

reduced in June to 15,000 men and there have been further reductions. It was announced in December that the King of Spain would shortly visit Melilla. Next to the Sultan, the most interesting figure in Moroccan affairs is El Mokri, a diplomatist who negotiated the French settlement and loan and also the Spanish treaty. The diplomatists and others with whom he has been in contact in Europe agree in describing him as a man of high ability who has done Morocco conspicuously good service. The deposed Sultan Abdul Aziz has been travelling in Europe during the year, and his exclusion from Moroccan politics seems to be final.

In Nigeria, North and South, affairs have been normal. Sir Hesketh Bell, the new Governor of *Northern Nigeria*, made a spectacular entry into Kano on March 1, being met outside the walls by the Emir with great numbers of horsemen. Emirs had come with mounted men from great distances, and it was computed that 14,000 native cavalry escorted the Governor into the capital. The loyalty of these Emirs is now unquestioned. It is expected that by June, 1911, the railway from the Niger will reach Kano. As the result of investigations by a Nigeria Lands Committee the Imperial Government ordered the issue of a proclamation declaring the land of the Protectorate to be "under the control and disposition of the Government," and declaring it expedient that the existing customary rights of the natives of Northern Nigeria to use and enjoy the land and the forest produce of the Protectorate in sufficient quantity to enable them to provide for the sustenance of their families should be assured, protected and preserved, together with all existing rights to gather produce.

The natives were thus protected against dispossession. Taxation is to be collected through the native administration. This is comparatively easy in the Mohammedan areas but not in the Pagan districts. The subject is dealt with in much detail in a Parliamentary Paper [Cd. 5102]. There have been minor military operations during the year, notably among the Munchis, who inhabit the Pagan region along the frontier of the two Protectorates. A railway is under survey from a point sixty miles below Zaria to the extensive tin fields of Bauchi Province in the north. The distance is about 120 miles. With the arrival of the Baro-Kano line at Zungeru there will be railway communication from Lagos *via* Qebba across the Niger to Baro. In *Southern Nigeria* various military patrols have been active in the hinterland.

Sir William Wallace, the Resident-General, retired from the Government service of Northern Nigeria at the end of 1910. He was one of the pioneers of British enterprise in this portion of West Africa, where he had been a prominent figure for thirty years. As political officer under the Chartered Company he per-

formed duties of the highest importance, and his name is indelibly associated with the expansion of British authority in the Western Soudan, and the events that culminated in the overthrow of the Fulah ascendancy.

In the *Gold Coast* Colony and the Ashanti hinterland affairs have been quiet. A question was raised by Mr. E. D. Morel as to certain lands leased by native chiefs to an exploitation company which claimed to have rights to wild rubber and other sylvan produce. Mr. Morel's point was that the chiefs had no right and ought not to be allowed to alienate the natural produce of the soil and thus reduce the natives from the status of traders and agriculturists to that of hired labourers, and he argued that, if this was legal under the new Concessions ordinance, new legislation was necessary, as it was a violation of the policy and intentions of the British Government. The Colonial Office recognised the importance of the matter and called for a report from the Governor.

The Gold Coast continues to do well financially. The revenue for 1909 was 778,551*l.* including Ashanti and the Northern Territories. The total expenditure was 734,367*l.* The public debt is 2,663,498*l.*, partly due to earlier military expeditions. The sea-borne trade was of the value of 5,049,985*l.* The value of the gold exported was close on a million. Cocoa and rubber industries are progressing. The Ashanti and northern dependencies are doing well, and good relations between the natives and European administrators have been maintained. An active policy of road-making in the hinterland and improvement in health conditions are treated at length in the Colonial Office report, which is sanguine in tone.

The revenue of *Sierra Leone* for 1909 was 361,326*l.*, the highest yet reported, and showed a balance over the expenditure. The imports were of the value of 978,807*l.* and the exports 981,466*l.*—substantial increases over the figures of the previous year. The rubber trade is declining, the exports of rubber finding an easier exit through French Guinea owing to the opening of the Conakry railway. As bearing on the progress of Mohammedanism in Africa it may be noted that the Government of Sierra Leone pays for the entire upkeep of four Mohammedan schools in Freetown. The official report is optimistic as to the future of the Colony.

On his return from South Africa the Duke of Connaught visited Sierra Leone and laid the foundation-stone of the new Law Courts. He also communicated a message from the King, expressing satisfaction at the testimony borne by the reports of the late Governor, Sir Leslie Probyn, to the progress of the Colony and the Protectorate, both in civilisation and in wealth, and the improvement in the health of the community, and expressing His Majesty's interest in their welfare, coupled with hope for their peace, happiness, and prosperity.

Concerning the *French sphere* in West and Central Africa an

unfortunate sequel to the occupation of Abeshr, the capital of Wadai, in 1909, was the annihilation of a small French column early in January. Five staff officers with a hundred Senegalese *tirailleurs* made a reconnaissance of four days' march to the south-east towards the Massalit country and fell into an ambush, only eight *tirailleurs* returning to Abeshr. In November Lieut.-Colonel Moll, the Commander at Wadai, had gone south of Drigele with a column of 300 men, and was attacked by 5,000 under the Sultans Taidjadil and Doudmourrah. The attack was repulsed, but Lieut.-Colonel Moll and two other officers and over thirty privates were killed while over seventy officers and men were wounded. The tribesmen left 600 on the field, and the head of one of the Sultans was brought into the French camp. Complaint was made of the inadequacy of the French forces for the work in hand; the slave raiding bands had been gathered in Wadai since the English reconquest of the Nile Valley. Their hostility to the French advance appears to be due to the fact that the only outlet for the slave trade is now by way of Borku to Tripoli. At the opening of the Government Council in October, M. Merlin, the Governor-General of French Equatorial Africa, pointed out that he had only 4,800 men, 1,200 of whom were in the Lake Chad district, for policing a country four times larger than France, while in French West Africa there were over 10,000 troops. He had apprehended trouble with the Sultans named above and from the Sultan of El Fasher, for whom they were supposed to be acting. Colonel Largeau, who was with the Marchand expedition to the Nile Valley, was appointed to succeed Colonel Moll and reinforcements were sent to Abeshr. There were discussions in the French Chamber on the reverse, which should be noted here for the evidence they afford of French official determination to make effective French rights in the Wadai, Tibesti and Borku regions. M. Morel, the Minister for the Colonies, declared that no territory would be abandoned; but France had no dreams of fresh conquest by arms. Complete mastery of the Wadai region is essential to the continuity of French influence from Algeria to the French Congo. The frontier between the French Soudan and the Anglo-Egyptian Soudan is at present undelimited, and it would seem that there is a large area of "no man's land" where tribes hostile to European influence foregather. Darfur Province adjoins the Wadai country. There have been negotiations between France and England for the delimitation of a frontier, but that would need an important armed mission and the work has been deferred. Difficulties between Ali Dinar, the Sultan of Darfur, and the tribesmen of Wadai may precipitate the need for action, simultaneously with French military activity. Sir Rudolph Slatin, Inspector-General of the Soudan, was on a tour through Darfur in July and left Khartoum for a farther tour in the Western Soudan and Darfur in the autumn. He had not returned by the end of the year. The

French losses, it should be noted, were known at Tripoli earlier than at Paris. During the year Turkey has shown much activity in the *Tripolitan Soudan*. Ottoman troops were reported to be in occupation of the oasis of Kufra, till lately the centre of the Senussist movement. An important desert chief had been given a subvention and a Turkish title of Prefect; and statements were made in Constantinople which pointed to a Turkish intention to establish a Turkish Senussist control over the caravan routes across the Eastern Soudan from Lake Chad and from Djalo to Abeshr. If that be so, there may be trouble for France with Turkey, which does not recognise the Anglo-French Convention of 1889, dividing the Soudan into spheres of influence. Turkish patrols are reported to have been active from the Bilma oasis, and there is said to have been a large traffic in arms and ammunition between Tripolitan agents and the desert tribesmen. The suggestion is that Turkey is contesting the extension of French influence; but definite news on that point is lacking; and the chief fact of the situation is that every forward step brings France nearer collision with the Dervish masses within her sphere of control. From another part of the Equatorial it was reported that Senegalese troops were in touch with Anglo-Egyptian stations on the Southern frontiers. Captain Stoney, in command in the Bahr-el-Ghazal district, accompanied Captain Modat, the French officer, back to N'dele, in the French Ubanghi. He is reported to have been of opinion that the French had greater difficulties than the English in the Egyptian Soudan, owing to the military forces at the service of the local Sultans.

On the *Ivory Coast* the French have had to suppress a native rebellion. The task was finally accomplished by the close of the year. Brazzaville, the capital of French Equatorial Africa, is being equipped with wireless telegraphy stations, as is the terminus of the Southern railway at the new coast port in the Loango district. The construction of a railway from Thies to Kayes was sanctioned early in the year and a quarter of a million sterling is being spent on the line. In French *Guinea* the railway from the sea to the Niger, begun in 1900, was completed in September. It is about 350 miles, and has cost 2,500,000*l*.

The "rebellion" in the hinterland of *Liberia* brought United States assistance in the form of a gunboat in March, this friendly help to the Government being in accordance with the treaty of 1862. A United States Commission, which had been studying Liberian affairs, advised that the Washington Government should take over the Liberian debt, reorganise the administration, use its good offices for a settlement of Liberian frontier disputes with France and England, and consider the question of having a coaling station on the coast. This Report led to much discussion. The Liberian Minister in London denied on the highest American authority that there was any question of an Ameri-

can Protectorate or control. The Washington Government, he said, had throughout consulted the British, French and German Governments, all of which favoured its proposed action. Negotiations were entered upon for a loan for 400,000*l.* issued by American, French, British and German houses. It was believed that with such a sum the Republic could make a fresh start. Reports from French sources show the state of the country to be very bad, the Liberian forces behaving barbarously to tribes supposed to be in revolt. Several of the Kru tribes are again petitioning for British or French protection. Both France and Great Britain have grievances against the Liberian Government.

In *Portuguese West Africa* the transition from a Monarchical to a Republican régime was accomplished without disturbance. The new regulations governing the recruiting of labour in *Angola* for the cocoa plantations of Sao Thome have not worked so well as to arrest the agitation against "slave-grown" cocoa. Mr. Burt, the prime mover in the matter, extended the agitation to the United States, where some of the largest firms have placed Portuguese cocoa under a ban. Labourers have been recruited from Mozambique. In November it was reported that the Minister of Foreign Affairs had given satisfactory assurances to the British Anti-Slavery Society that a stop had been put to all abuses in Angola and other colonies (*Chronicle*, Nov. 23). In August there was trouble with the natives of *Fernando Po*, the south side of the island being, it was reported, up in arms because pressure had been exercised upon them to work in the plantations. An attack on the town of Santa Isabel from the Bubi tribesmen was feared. Assistance was sent from the mainland.

In *German South-West Africa* the diamond industry has developed. The German Colonial Company announced in September a dividend of 64 per cent. for the year as against 25 per cent. in the previous year; but the directors estimate was that the output would decline. It has averaged 60,000 carats a month. The stones are small, and according to a report by Mr. H. W. Diederich, the American Consul at Antwerp, the Germans are likely to displace the British in the market for small stones. Deep digging is not necessary, and the cost of production is said to be much less than at Kimberley. The syndicate which controls the industry has a monopoly from the Government for which it pays 80 per cent. of its profits. There was a Kaffir revolt at Wilhelmstal in October, the native labourers alleging grievances as to pay and rations in connection with railway construction. Some of these were British subjects from Cape Colony and a report was made that several were killed and wounded. The matter was brought before the Union House of Assembly for investigation.

In the German *Cameroons* a merchant named Bretschneider, together with seventeen porters, was murdered by the Makkas, a

cannibal tribe beyond the station at Dume. Punitive measures followed.

The continued delay in the publication of British Consular reports from what is now the Belgian Colony of the *Congo* makes it difficult to judge whether rapid progress is being made in the reform of the administrative system. Various measures of reform have been decreed by the Colonial Council in Brussels. A system has been devised of appointing native chiefs recognised by the district Commissioners and subject to their authority. They are not to be absent from their districts without passports and cannot inflict corporal punishment in excess of a dozen lashes. Except in cases of urgency the work to be required of natives is to be limited to two days of eight hours each per month. Decrees were also issued for the compulsory registration of ivory, the establishment of a copper coinage, the expulsion of undesirable immigrants, the taxation of rubber and traders' licences and similar administrative matters. There has been a reduction estimated at one-third of the taxation to which Europeans in the Congo have been subject and a revision of the taxes on the natives. A decree of March abolishes by successive stages, ending July, 1912, the exploitation of the Domain lands by the State, and establishing a system of permits for collectors of rubber and other forest products. Natives will not, however, need such permits, unless they engage in exporting what they gather. The tendency of these and other measures was towards reform, and in so far as they meant loss of revenue and added expenditure their effect was to increase the uncertainty as to the financial future of the region. The Budget presented to the Brussels Chamber showed a deficit. M. Vandervelde, the Belgian champion of Congo reform, subjected the decrees to much criticism. He had recently returned from the Congo and submitted evidence that abuses continued. He complained also that freedom of trade had not been established. Similar views were put forward by Mr. Morel on behalf of the Congo Reform Association, who submitted fresh facts to the Foreign Office. Light on the actual conditions of the region is expected as the result of a tour in 1911 undertaken by agents of the Aborigines Protection Society. One of the issues in controversy is the extent to which a decree abolishing forced labour on public works is being carried out. Meanwhile formal recognition of the annexation by the British Government is still delayed.

Negotiations for the delimitation of the Eastern frontier were concluded. The *Journal de Bruxelles* thus describes the results:— "The frontier between the Congo and German East Africa will henceforth follow the River Pusizi and the shore of Lake Kivu, leaving the island of Kwijwi in the lake to Belgium. Thence the line will pass to the east of Goma across the summit of Mount Karissimbi to the summit of Mount Sabinio, where the British, Belgian, and German frontiers will meet. From Mount Sa-

binio the frontier between the Congo and Uganda will follow a straight line towards the summit of Mount Ngabua, and from that point to Lake Albert Edward, along the course of the Isasa. After crossing the lake in a straight line the frontier will run towards the mouth of the Lubilika, following the course of this river to its source, afterwards passing over Marguerite Peak, leaving half of Mount Ruwenzori to Belgium, and descending by the course of the Lamia and the Semliki to Lake Albert. From the north of the Semliki the frontier will cross the middle of Lake Albert to a point opposite the Mahagi strip held on lease by Belgium. Belgium acquires all the territory situated to the north of the Semliki and on the western shore of Lake Albert." Great Britain thus retains the eastern side of Mount Ruwenzori, with access to Lake Albert Edward, but gives Belgium the western shore of that lake and the western slopes of Mfumbiro. The frontier follows natural features and is no longer formed by the 30th meridian.

An outbreak in the Welle district was reported in December. It was alleged to be due to two white men who beat a native runner so that he died. They were arrested. Some late reports from the Congo as to the effect of the Decrees, especially as affecting trade, were of a promising character. Concerning Katanga Province Royal Decrees were issued to syndicates to explore and prospect certain areas believed to be rich in minerals. The railway adjoining the British line north and south at Elizabethville is to be extended as far as Bukama.

The twenty-fifth anniversary of the founding of the Congo State was celebrated in July.

In the *French Congo* arrangements have been made with the chief concession companies, substituting settlements recognised only by virtue of cultivation or other use of the land. The present concessionaires are to be allowed to select blocks of land and subdivide them for settlement. After ten years' actual cultivation or exploitation the lands are to become the absolute property of the concessionaires. With regard to the rubber concessions arrangements were made by which such parts of the territories as are then undeveloped will revert to the State in 1920; but, subject to a minimum yearly production of rubber from them, the concessions will be renewable till 1930. Provision was made guaranteeing the natives in possession of "their villages and dependent lands according to custom," and the right of the natives to the products of these lands is recognised. The right of the natives to use undeveloped land and collect products therefrom is also admitted. Contracts between the chiefs and the rubber companies for the collection of forest products are to be subject to the approval of the Governor-General. The financial relations of the companies and the Government were also revised.

In *Malta* the year was uneventful. The revenue for 1909-10

was 436,200*l.* and the expenditure 458,013*l.* The details in the last report to the Colonial Office confirm the impression conveyed by previous documents that the island is not flourishing. But there has been no recurrence of political agitation. The palace at Valetta has been assigned as a residence for the Governor, Sir H. Leslie Rundle. One of the features of the year was an outbreak of enteric, attributed to water contamination.

CHAPTER VIII.

AMERICA:

I. THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND ITS DEPENDENCIES.

THE year began with a fresh effort on the part of the Executive to bring the great railroad companies and trusts under the effective control of the Central Government. On January 7 President Taft sent a special Message to Congress reviewing from a legal and historical standpoint the operation of the Anti-Trust and Interstate Commerce Acts, and suggesting that the desired aim might be effected by a permissive measure of Federal incorporation. The Message began by pointing out that the tendency of the past forty years towards combination in business tended by its resultant economies to reduce competition and sometimes to establish monopoly. The Sherman Anti-Trust Law was aimed against the aggregation of capital and manufacturing plants with intent to restrain or to monopolise, partly or wholly, interstate or foreign commerce; and competition by underselling, exclusive contracts, and similar measures made possible by the possession of large capitals, were violations of it. On the other hand, the loss of the economy in production effected by large capital under one management would be disastrous to the prosperity of the country. Reviewing the interpretations of the Sherman Law, the President saw no need for amending it, but held that it could not be fully enforced without endangering industrial stability, and for that reason he suggested that the Corporations should reorganise themselves under the protection of a Federal Incorporation Law. He believed it possible to frame a statute offering protection to a Federal company against vexatious and harmful State interference, and yet subjecting it to reasonable State taxation and control with respect to its purely local business. Federal incorporation alone could offer both Federal protection and close Federal supervision "of these great Corporations that are in fact Federal, because they are as wide as the country." He recommended also, with a view to greater expedition, the creation of a United States Court of Commerce to try all railroad cases arising out of orders made by the Interstate Commerce Commission. It would consist of five Judges appointed from among the U.S. Circuit Judges, to sit, as

a rule, at Washington, and to issue decisions subject only to review by the United States Supreme Court; and he suggested that railroads should be forbidden to issue stock or bonds unless paid for at par value in cash, or, if in property, at a fair value ascertained under Federal supervision, the amount of the new capital issue being first approved by the Interstate Commerce Commission. Railroads should, moreover, be prevented from acquiring stock in any competing line, or purchasing or leasing it. Some scepticism was expressed by financial critics as to the practicability of these latter measures, and the proposal as to Federal incorporation must, it was argued, infringe State rights in practice.

However, the Federal Incorporation Bill was introduced on February 7, and followed the lines laid down by the President. Corporations (which, under existing conditions, are all formed under the laws of some State) would be able to take out a Federal Charter, and would thus be subject to strict supervision by the Corporations Bureau; they would also be debarred from acquiring the stock of other corporations. The measure was criticised as highly contentious and disturbing to business, and did not become law.

The President's proposals as to railroads were embodied in another measure. This made some concessions in regard to agreements and stock transactions between railroads, which were, however, to be subject to examination and approval by the Interstate Commerce Commission.

In a second special Message to Congress (Jan. 14) the President recommended that the public lands should only be disposed of on conditions which should at once attract the necessary capital and maintain the restrictions necessary to prevent monopoly and abuse arising from absolute ownership. Mining rights should be separated from the title to the surface area, and mineral deposits and water-power should be alienated only by lease, on conditions allowing of their resumption if the rights to them were abused. He also approved the schemes for the improvement of the Ohio, Mississippi, and Missouri Rivers, and urged that a loan of \$30,000,000 should be raised to complete the projects for reclamation put forward by his predecessor.

A week before this Message (Jan. 7) the President had dismissed Mr. Pinchot, Chief Forester of the United States, for writing a letter to Senator Dolliver in which he endorsed the charges made by subordinates against Mr. Ballinger, the Secretary of the Interior, of favouring certain capitalists who were endeavouring to acquire certain lands controlling water-power and coal areas in Alaska (ANNUAL REGISTER, 1909, p. 440). This decision, though technically justified by this new offence on the part of Mr. Pinchot, anticipated the assembling of the Congressional Committee of Inquiry; and, as Mr. Pinchot was a friend of President Roosevelt, it tended to widen the breach between the

latter and his successor, though this effect was modified by the appointment of a friend of Mr. Pinchot's to succeed him. Later in the year the Congressional Committee definitely exonerated Secretary Ballinger from the charges made against him.

President Taft's two messages tended to conciliate the Middle West and the "Insurgent" Republicans in Congress, and, on February 1, the latter resolved to support all the measures he recommended, excepting the Ship Subsidy Bill. On February 12, however, speaking at the New York Republican Club, he defended the Payne Tariff as having really lowered the average Customs rates, besides greatly increasing revenue. While commending Mr. Roosevelt's action "by what almost amounted to a religious crusade" in arousing the people to the need of self-protection against the greed of corporations, he said that the inevitable aftermath of such an agitation was "hysteria" in some persons, "hypocrisy" in others, manifesting itself in blind denunciation of all wealth and in impeachment of the motives of men of the highest characters, and by demagogic appeals to the imagination of a people greatly aroused upon the subject of purity and honesty in the administration of the Government. He added that the Republican party was not perfect, and could not be so after seventeen years of power, and he remarked also on the danger of Republican dissensions. The speech made a good impression.

However, the dissatisfaction with the corporations and with the elements in the Republican party which were supposed to be in league with them went deeper than political divisions. The rise in the cost of living was attributed to the Payne Tariff and the Trusts, and an attempt was made to defeat the Meat Trust by a "boycott" of meat, which was started in January in Cleveland among the labour unions, and in a few days extended through the Mississippi Valley, ultimately comprising some 2,000,000 people. It terminated about March 18, having failed to reduce the price of meat, though it had considerably raised that of eggs and other provisions. It occasioned, however, various legal proceedings against the Trusts, notably the National Meat Packing Company, which was indicted by the State Authorities in New Jersey (under the laws of which it was incorporated) in February for manipulating prices in violation of the common law, and by the Federal authorities at Chicago a month later under the Anti-Trust Law. Various official inquiries were also started, including one by a Committee of the Senate, and it was established that cattle cost more than at any time since 1882; hogs had never been so dear since the Civil War, and eggs were being imported into New York from Europe. The invention of cold storage had helped to enable the Trusts to regulate prices, and a Bill was introduced into the Senate to check its abuse.

Another result of the high prices was a marked labour unrest, with general demands on the great railroads for higher wages,

Early in April considerable increases were granted on the New York, Central, and Pennsylvania systems. A dispute on a question of organisation and discipline was settled in March by Federal intervention. In Philadelphia a strike of street car employees began in February over the terms of renewal of an agreement as to wages and conditions of labour which would expire in the summer. The company had had difficulties previously with its employees, and was said to have promoted a bogus trade union in rivalry with theirs. On February 28 the labour unions of the city voted a general strike in sympathy, which began at midnight on March 4. It was joined only by about a third of the workmen in the city; but it led to serious riots on Sunday, March 6, owing to the prohibition of a meeting by the police and attempts to run cars manned by "strike-breakers". But the "strike in sympathy" was abandoned on March 27, after an attempt to extend it throughout the State, and the street car employees accepted the company's terms about the middle of April. During that month a number of other labour disputes were reported. There were several cases of interference with the labour unions by State Courts, by injunctions against picketing—a familiar Labour grievance; and in February a firm of hat manufacturers at Danbury, Conn., after years of litigation, recovered damages in the United States District Court under the Sherman anti-trust law against a labour union for a "criminal conspiracy in restraint of trade." The case, however, was to be taken to the Supreme Court of the United States.

Meanwhile the President's programme was being embodied in legislation. Bills were before Congress creating a Court of Commerce (p. 438), and carrying out the recommendations of his January message as to the railroads, and also establishing postal savings banks. An extensive shipbuilding programme was also announced to the Naval Affairs Committee of the House by Secretary Meyer on February 26. It comprised two battleships each of 27,000 tons, with ten 14-inch or twelve 12-inch guns; one repair ship, two colliers, and five submarines for the Pacific coast. The total appropriation for the Navy was to be \$130,000,000. In 1911 it was contemplated to build two battleships, each of 32,000 tons, armed with 14-inch guns. A reorganisation of the Navy Department was contemplated, and also arrangements for the more rapid promotion of officers. The programme was ultimately altered by the House, two fleet cruisers being substituted for the colliers, a repair ship added, and one submarine struck off. It was stated that the 26,000-ton battleships would cost \$16,000,000 each.

Federal expenditure caused disquiet. A Bill was introduced by Senator Aldrich to appoint a "Business Methods Commission" of three members from each House of Congress with three nominated by the President to revise departmental expenditure, which was said to be badly co-ordinated and very wasteful. In 1880 the Congressional appropriations had only been \$372,000,000;

in 1890 \$690,000,000; in 1911 they ultimately amounted to \$1,055,000,000. The population in twenty years had grown by 44 per cent.; expenditure by 170 per cent. The President approved of the Bill, and had recommended retrenchment in his message of November, 1909; but there were great differences in Congress as to the composition of the proposed Commission.

The "Insurgents," though accepting most of the President's measures, were profoundly dissatisfied with the Railroad Bill as inadequate, and with the situation in general, and on March 19 they gained a conspicuous victory in the House of Representatives. The Speaker of that House had gained, merely by custom, within the past twenty-five years, full control of its business, appointing the various Committees to which Bills are referred and which practically decide whether they shall proceed; and, as Chairman of the Rules Committee, he controlled the procedure of the House. Speaker Cannon had used this power autocratically in the Republican interest. After two days' debate, on March 19 the House carried a resolution, excluding Mr. Norris, an "Insurgent" Republican from Nebraska, from the Rules Committee, by 191 to 155, after an appeal from a ruling on his part which would have been fatal to the resolution had it been carried. A further motion to declare the Speakership vacant, which he had offered to entertain, was moved against the wish of the Democratic leaders, and rejected by 191 to 155. But this tactical blunder on the part of the Democrats did not help towards Republican reunion.

Three days later an even more startling exhibition of popular discontent with the Republican leaders was afforded by a bye-election in Massachusetts, where a district (extending from Boston almost to Cape Cod) that had invariably been Republican returned a Democrat by a majority of nearly 6,000, the late member in 1908 having beaten his Democratic opponent by 14,000. A little later, the Democratic candidate, Mr. Havens, won an almost equally striking victory in a Congressional bye-election at Rochester, N.Y., though here the Republican candidate, Mr. Alldridge, was charged, when a member of the State Senate, with accepting a bribe, which he claimed was a subscription to the party funds.

A further blow to Republican ascendancy was the impending retirement at the close of the existing Congress of Senators Aldrich of Rhode Island and Hale of Maine, who for many years had controlled the Senate in the interest of Republicanism and extreme Protectionism.

The results of the session, however, went far towards restoring the credit of the President and, therefore, of the Republican party. More constructive legislation, it was said, had been passed than at any time since the Civil War. The Railroad Bill had extended the power of the Federal Government over the railroad companies; New Mexico and Arizona had at last been admitted

as States of the Union ; Postal Savings Banks had been established, and a Mines Bureau created ; authority had been granted to the President to withdraw public lands from sale, pending a decision by Congress on their use—an important step towards the conservation of natural resources ; a commission had been established to inquire into the watering of stock ; another was sitting to investigate the difference in cost of production in the United States from that in foreign countries, with a view to the readjustment of the Tariff ; and candidates for Congress were to be required to publish particulars of their election expenditure. These results were largely due to the President's influence. The Railroad Bill had nearly led to a crisis. It had escaped drastic amendment by the " Insurgents," and was expected to pass early in June. Meanwhile, owing to the demands of their employees and increased working expenses, the leading railroad companies had announced an increase of rates. The day before it was to come into force the Attorney-General obtained an instruction forbidding it in the case of twenty-five western companies, which had violated the anti-Trust law of 1890 by acting through a Joint Committee. A compromise, however, was effected, the increase being suspended until the need for it had been examined as provided by the new Bill, which passed on June 9. It set up the proposed Court of Commerce, and provided that the Interstate Commission might initiate investigation as to rates ; but the provision as to capitalisation was dropped, and the Commission of Inquiry appointed as mentioned above.

The two new States had long claimed statehood, but New Mexico had been ignored for many years, originally, it was said, because its population was largely Mexican and Catholic, and both had been expected to add to the Democratic strength. It was now thought, however, that New Mexico might be Republican. Its population was about 227,000, that of Arizona about 155,000 ; the wealth contained in the two States respectively was estimated at \$332,000,000 and \$306,000,000. Each would return two representatives to Congress.

Meanwhile there had been some interesting by-play in New York State. Governor Hughes, like Mr. Roosevelt, was in conflict with the Republican party machine ; and, in his message to the Legislature in January—besides other measures mentioned later (p. 448)—he advocated direct election, organised and paid for by the State, for the " primary meetings " of each party, which chose the party officials and candidates for office and had usually been packed by the party managers. The Legislature passed a Bill in this sense which was regarded as a device of the machine politicians to evade effective reform, and was vetoed by the Governor ; and the Republican party managers put up a candidate for Congress at a bye-election at Rochester who had been forced to resign his seat in the State Legislature on a charge of receiving a bribe. The result was a heavy Republican defeat. But the end

of the conflict between Mr. Hughes and the Legislature had been foreshadowed in April by the announcement of his nomination as a Justice of the United States Supreme Court.

It was thought that Mr. Roosevelt, now on his way home from Africa (pp. 129, 424), might return to public life as Mr. Hughes' successor. He arrived in New York from Southampton on the Hamburg American liner *Kaiserin Augusta Victoria* on Saturday, June 18, and was received by a national salute from the forts, by a naval parade, and by crowds of sightseers on steamers in the Bay. Landing at the Battery from a small steamer, he was conducted up Broadway and Fifth Avenue, amid cheering crowds, by a procession headed by Rough Riders and other veterans of the Spanish War. No American had ever had such a reception, and there was much conjecture as to the probable political developments.

Mr. Hughes had summoned a special session of the Legislature to deal with his own Direct Primaries Bill,—which, however, was not passed,—and Mr. Roosevelt re-entered politics openly (June 29) by sending a message in its favour and by a speech at Harvard in which he praised Mr. Hughes's policy, and so further estranged the Republican "machine" politicians of the State. He refused nomination as Mr. Hughes' successor in the Governorship; he was spoken of as a possible Senator; and he seemed, from various indications, to be prepared to lead the Insurgents. The summer he spent in a series of oratorical tours. In the first days of August he investigated the industrial and social conditions in the anthracite coal region for the New York *Outlook*, and on August 23 he began an oratorical tour in the West. On his way thither he spoke at Utica, N.Y., advocating the conservation of natural resources and efforts to increase the attractiveness of country life. At Cheyenne, Wyoming, on August 27, at a "cowboys' carnival," he recalled his own pioneer days, declared that he stood for progress, and suggested that social evils might be the result of a wrong system. At Denver (Aug. 29) where he was publicly urged to stand for the Presidency in 1912, he indirectly attacked the Supreme Court; and at Osawatimie, Kansas (Aug. 31), at the dedication of the John Brown Memorial Park, he insisted on what was termed "his New Nationalism," which widened his breach with the Conservative elements in both parties alike, and provoked comparisons with Mr. Bryan's speeches of 1896. The really big fortune, he said, by the mere fact of its size, acquired qualities differentiating it in kind as in degree from those of men of small means; and he advocated Federal control over corporations, natural resources, the wages and hours of labour, sanitation and the conditions of rural life—a blow at State rights. He advocated Tariff revision by schedules, following the investigation by an independent commission of the difference of labour cost of production in America and abroad—which was

substantially the official Republican policy. At Kansas City next day he advocated an efficient Navy and the fortification of the Panama Canal; at Sioux Falls, Iowa, two days later, he commended Mr. Taft's attitude on Tariff revision, and attempted to reconcile the President's attitude with insurgency. At the Conservation Congress at St. Paul (Sept. 6), where President Taft had previously spoken, Mr. Roosevelt in the main praised the policy of the Administration, and advocated careful conservation for the public use of natural resources, including waterways, and Federal control of corporations. His speeches were generally regarded as widening the breach in the Republican ranks. As a physical feat his tour was noteworthy. He had travelled in three weeks 5,600 miles through fourteen States, and spoken in some twenty cities, besides addressing the crowd from his car in the railroad depots.

Meanwhile things had become worse for the Republican party. The Insurgents had gained marked successes at the "primaries" for the nomination of candidates in various States, notably California, Kansas, and Iowa, and to some extent in Michigan, Wisconsin and Nebraska; and the defeat of Mr. William J. Bryan in the Democratic State Convention of Nebraska on July 26, and of his candidates at the Democratic primaries of that State, indicated that he was at last to be eliminated as a Democratic leader. The Vermont elections on September 6 showed a greatly reduced Republican majority (Vermont had never yet gone Democratic); those of Maine, six days later, resulted in a heavy Republican defeat, the new Governor and two of the four Congressmen being Democrats. In New York, New Jersey, and Ohio, the Republicans were greatly divided also; but a Conference held between Mr. Roosevelt and the President on September 19 indicated that the two were in harmony, and on September 27 the former defeated Vice-President Sherman, the nominee of the "machine" in the contest for the temporary Chairmanship of the Saratoga Convention, by 507 to 445. The platform, though moderate rather than Insurgent, involved another defeat of the "machine" politicians, and, while it made ultimately for purity in government, it temporarily weakened the Republican party. A further element of uncertainty was introduced by the Independence League New York State Convention, which was promoted by Mr. Hearst of the *New York American*, and ran an independent candidate for Governor. Its platform comprised the Initiative and Referendum, municipal ownership, Home Rule for cities and counties, direct nomination, and popular election of Federal Senators (Oct. 6). In many other States there were several independent parties with various programmes, Socialists (as usual) among them—a sign that the historic parties were gradually decaying.

Mr. Roosevelt spoke in New Hampshire on October 21 and

22, when he endorsed both the "progressive" platform and the official Republican candidate; in New York City he appealed to Labour against the financiers, offending the Conservative elements in both parties by the antithesis of "workshop and bucket shop"; he was very active in the Middle West just before the elections, and in Ohio he attacked Mr. Harmon, the Democratic candidate for Governor. Earlier, in the same State, Senator Foraker (a Republican) had denounced Mr. Roosevelt's "new Nationalism" as a doctrine as dangerous to the Union as any advanced during the War of Secession; and on October 28 in New York Mr. Root exercised himself to bring the Republicans together, extenuating Mr. Roosevelt's utterances and warning the ex-President's opponents in the party that their opposition might cause a Radical reaction at the Presidential election of 1912.

The elections took place on November 8. All the States were electing Congressmen, twenty-eight Governors and State officials, and twenty-nine Legislatures, which elect the Federal Senators. Interest was perhaps keenest in regard to New York, Ohio, and New Jersey, in the last-named State because Mr. Woodrow Wilson, ex-President of Princeton University and a well-known academic publicist, was the Democratic candidate for Governor. In New York the campaign for the Governorship was even more bitterly personal than usual. The Republicans ran Mr. Stimson, the successful prosecutor of the Sugar Trust, the Democrats Mr. John A. Dix, member of a well-known family; Mr. Hearst and a Socialist also stood. The result was a great Democratic victory. No such turnover of votes had been seen since 1890. New York elected Mr. Dix Governor by a majority of 65,000; Ohio Mr. Harmon, by 60,000; New Jersey Mr. Woodrow Wilson, by 35,000; and Connecticut and Massachusetts also elected Democratic Governors. The "Insurgent" Republican Senators would increase their numbers, and there were great "Insurgent" and Democratic victories in the West. Democratic Senators would probably be returned for West Virginia, Indiana, Nebraska, Ohio, New York, New Jersey, perhaps Montana and even Massachusetts. The Republican majority in the Senate would shrink to about ten; the Democratic majority in Congress was fifty. Milwaukee, largely a German city, had returned the first Socialist (Mr. Berger) ever sent to Congress; and it was noted that the Socialists got increased support in New York City. About thirty-five Socialists were elected to State legislatures, and forty cities and towns showed Socialist majorities. The high cost of living, and discontent with the Tariff and the Trusts, to whose influence it was ascribed, were unquestionably the chief factors in the Republican overthrow. Mr. Roosevelt's efforts to purge and transform his party had probably intensified the catastrophe; and it was noted that, outside New Hampshire, every candidate for whom he had spoken had suffered defeat. But though some Free Trade Democrats were

elected, the mass of that party generally favoured only tariff reduction, and they had still to find their policy and their leader.

Writing in the *New York Outlook*, Mr. Roosevelt said that he stood by his speeches; the fight for progressive popular government had merely begun, it would go on to a triumphant conclusion in spite of initial checks and irrespective of the fortunes of individual leaders.

The expiring Congress met on December 6. The President's Message opened with references to foreign relations, welcoming the Fisheries settlement (p. 458) and speaking favourably of the pending attempts to widen the scope of the Hague tribunal; of Mr. Knox's proposal regarding the Chinchow-Aigun railway (p. 396); of Central American affairs—condemning President Zelaya; of the tariff arrangements with foreign Powers, with a veiled reflection on German action under the Kali Law (p. 317), and of reciprocity with Canada. A ship subsidy Bill was recommended. Great administrative economies were noted. The new tariff law was extolled as an income-producing measure; no report on the schedules to be revised would be practicable in the existing Congress. A further study of the banking and currency system was advocated with a view to reform. The needs of the Army were considered at length, and Congress was asked to establish a commission to remedy the defects. The Panama Canal would be finished by January 1, 1915, at a cost within \$375,000,000, and its fortification was recommended. (The President had inspected it in November; *post*, p. 467.) A law was suggested prohibiting interstate railroads from owning or controlling ships trading through it. Reforms in legal procedure were recommended, following the English courts, which were highly praised for their simplicity and expedition. The issue of injunctions (p. 441) should be regulated by law to avert more radical legislation, which the President deprecated. Postal savings banks were announced, an experimental parcel post recommended in rural districts, the continuance of the two-battleship programme was advised, and much space was devoted to public lands. After dealing with other topics, the President closed with the statement that it was advisable for the time that the Government should suspend the regulation of corporations, watch the effect of the laws already passed, and direct its activities towards economy of administration, enlargement of the opportunities of foreign trade, the conservation and improvement of agricultural lands, the building up of home industries, and the strengthening of confidence of capital in domestic investment.

The Message was well received in business circles, though there was some disappointment among the "Insurgents" and Democrats as to Tariff revision, and among both Republican sections at its relatively short programme of legislation.

The Report of the Secretary of the Treasury recommended currency reform, and the extension of the limited scope of business

permitted by law to the National Banks. The Secretary of the Navy demanded a first line of twenty *Dreadnoughts* as a minimum, each with a life of ten years, a programme which would involve building more than two annually. For the second line he advocated an establishment of twenty ships. Great economies had been effected by him through administrative reorganisation in the Department and the Navy yards. The War Secretary sent a special confidential report to Congress, demanding an increase of the Army—a measure likely to be very unpopular in the West; and the report was hastily withdrawn.

Congress adjourned on December 23, having had little time to do anything but pass Appropriation Bills.

The anti-Trust campaign had received a set-back early in the year, by the order of the Supreme Court of the United States for rehearings of the suits against the Standard Oil and Tobacco Trusts, which, owing to changes in the judiciary, were left over till 1911. Suits for the dissolution of several other Trusts were also pending. The Sugar Trust frauds (ANNUAL REGISTER, 1909, p. 443) were punished by the imposition of fines of \$3,500,000 on the companies implicated, which replaced the profits of a record year by a deficit of \$1,400,000; and several of their officials were convicted of complicity and sentenced to terms of imprisonment accompanied by heavy fines.

Of State politics little can be said here. In New York State, besides the futile Primaries Bill (p. 413), the Legislature passed a graduated inheritance tax with a maximum impost of 25 per cent., which was expected to produce \$4,000,000 or \$5,000,000 annually in revenue; rejected the proposed amendment to the Federal Constitution legalising a Federal income tax—in accordance with the recommendation of the Governor, who held that it would reduce the ability of States and municipalities to borrow; passed a Bill prohibiting gambling on racecourses, a measure alleged to have been combated by bribery, but effectively enforced; and accepted the munificent gift of a public park on the Hudson, including the Palisades and extending to Newburgh, which was due primarily to the generosity of Mrs. Harriman, widow of the railroad magnate who died in 1909, and was increased by gifts from other multi-millionaires and the States of New Jersey and New York. In New York City, Mayor Gaynor effected notable financial reforms. The attempt to murder him (Chronicle, Aug. 9) had no political significance. In the Middle West State government was being purified by the system of "direct primaries" (p. 443), which was largely extending, and city government by the "Des Moines Plan" adopted in the capital of Iowa and elsewhere, under which the city was governed by five men elected by the people, subject to popular initiative, referendum, and recall. Women's Suffrage was adopted by a majority of 25,000 in the State of Washington in November;

Colorado, Idaho, Utah, and Wyoming already had it; in Oregon, Oklahoma, and South Dakota constitutional amendments establishing it were rejected. On April 18 the Suffragists held a great demonstration in Washington, and were courteously received by the President. Steps were taken by Congress to prevent the interstate "white slave traffic" (ANNUAL REGISTER, 1909, p. 443). Besides the strikes already mentioned there were many others, notably the clockmakers' strike in New York (Aug. and Sept.) in which various Society people assisted the strikers, some of whom were women; an expressmen's strike in the same city at the end of October, a tailors' strike in Chicago in December, and a strike of street-car men in July in Columbus, Ohio. The questions at stake were wages, hours, and the employment of non-Unionists, known as "the open shop." Another outcome of the labour unrest was probably the destruction at Los Angeles (Cal.) of the *Times* office by an explosion—the paper having attacked the trade unions. The social unrest was largely due to the high cost of living, ascribed by Democrats to the tariff and by Republicans to the increased production of gold, but a contributory cause was thought to be the general extravagance, which had manifested itself notably in the extended use of the motor car.

A few detached events must here be noticed. "Columbus Day," the anniversary of the discovery of America, was observed for the first time as a general holiday (Oct. 12). The opening of the Pennsylvania Railroad terminus in New York with its approaches linking Manhattan directly with New Jersey and Long Island seemed likely to produce far-reaching changes in traffic. The South suffered severely from spring frosts, which intensified the shortage of cotton, and Florida and Key West also from the Cuban cyclone (p. 452). In Minnesota, Michigan and Wisconsin there were severe forest fires, involving great destruction of life and property.

Three great benefactions must also be noted: Mr. Rockefeller's of \$24,000,000 (Chronicle, March 3), Mrs. Harriman's (p. 448), and Mr. Carnegie's of \$2,000,000 for the promotion of peace.

Race-feeling against the negroes was unfortunately roused by the unexpected and easy victory of a negro pugilist, Johnson, over a white man, Jeffries, in a prize fight at Reno, Nevada, on July 4. Crowds were present from all parts of the Union, including many Society women. The winner was to receive \$70,000, the loser \$50,000. Much of the money was found by cinematograph enterprises. Racial riots followed in many cities, the whites attacking the negroes for fear they should be unduly exalted by the victory; in all thirteen negroes were killed, and some hundreds injured. Steps were taken in over a hundred cities, as well as in India, South Africa, and New Zealand, and also in London, to prevent the public exhibition of "living pictures" of the fight; but at a private view of them in London they were found uninteresting.

The Census returns, published December 11, showed that the population of the continental United States was 91,972,226, as against 75,994,595 in 1900. Including the dependencies the total population was about 101,100,000. About 45 per cent. of the population was urban; in the older agricultural States there was a relative, and in Vermont and Iowa an absolute, decline in the rural population; but the newer agricultural States showed a very rapid increase. The population of New York City had increased from 3,437,202 in 1900 to 4,766,883 in 1910. New York State ranked first in population, Pennsylvania second, Illinois third, Ohio fourth, Texas fifth, Massachusetts sixth.

A Congress convened at Washington by the Society for the Judicial Settlement of International Disputes (Dec. 16-19) was attended by leading men from all over the Union, among them President Taft, Mr. Root, Mr. Choate, Mr. Carnegie, and the Presidents of Harvard, Columbia, and Chicago Universities, and Judge Baldwin, Governor-elect of Connecticut. A message from the Lord Chancellor of England, read by the editor of the London *Economist*, emphasised the services of the United States people and Government to international justice. At the banquet which closed the proceedings, President Taft intimated that the United States were ready to submit to a properly constituted arbitral tribunal any issue that could not be settled by arbitration, "no matter what it involves, whether honour, territory, or money"—an announcement of which more was heard in 1911.

The foreign relations of the United States during the year are for the most part dealt with elsewhere in this volume. The President's attitude was expressed in his Message and in much the same sense in a speech at Pittsburg on May 2. With Great Britain three old and vexatious controversies were finally settled, and the boundary between the United States and Canada through Passamaquoddy Bay and Grand Manan Channel, disputable since 1783, was adjusted by a treaty signed on May 21 by the British Ambassador, Mr. Bryce, and Mr. Knox, the Secretary of State. A Pecuniary Claims Agreement submitted to arbitration claims by citizens of each State on the Government of the other, dating back before 1812, and others which had arisen since 1853—independently of the Civil War claims, which had been settled between 1870 and 1880. Finally, the Fisheries dispute was settled by the Hague Tribunal on September 8 (pp. 458, 464). The effort made by Mr. Knox to "take the Manchurian railways out of politics" (p. 396) and show the four great capitalist nations united for "equality of opportunity" in China proved unfortunate. The Liberian arrangement (p. 434), which at first aroused the usual groundless suspicions of American "expansion" in the Continental Press, was more successful. A Californian official report on the Japanese immigrants indicated that the 40,000 of them on the Pacific coast were indispensable; 65 per cent. were agricultural

labourers, and 15 per cent. domestic servants. This tended to moderate a constant cause of friction with Japan. With France, Canada, and Germany there were tariff disputes. In March, after controversy arising from the new French Tariff, France agreed to give the United States the minimum tariff rates on several classes of their goods, comprising agricultural implements and other iron and steel wares, and the United States in return conceded France the minimum rates of the Payne Tariff. The Franco-Canadian agreement, giving Canada special low tariff rates, was regarded at Washington as undue discrimination against the United States, and maximum tariff rates on Canadian products were threatened in reprisal, but this was disposed of by the Canadian threat of a surtax on goods from the United States. The German Kali law (p. 317) also caused some friction, though early in the year an arrangement was made by which Germany conceded numerous reductions and received the minimum rates of the Payne Tariff. Central American affairs will be dealt with in Section IV. of this chapter.

In November a United States fleet visited English and French ports. The first and third divisions arrived at Torbay in November, and stayed three weeks at Portland and Gravesend respectively; they then left for Brest and Cherbourg, and were succeeded by the second and fourth divisions. The visit excited great interest. The officers and men were much seen in London, and hospitality was shown them at the Guildhall, the House of Commons, and elsewhere. The men were entertained at the ports, and also at the Guildhall, where an indiscreet speech of Commander Sims (Dec. 3), declaring that, were the British Empire ever menaced by an external enemy, "its people might count upon every man, every dollar, every ship, and every drop of blood of their kinsmen across the ocean," was resented in the German Press, and by some German and Irish elements in the United States, and the speaker was officially reprimanded by order of President Taft early in 1911. The Navy, the President declared, was an instrument of peace; one of the chief functions of its officers when visiting foreign ports was the representative one of conveying to all nations the goodwill of the United States; and they were under special obligations not to embarrass their Government.

The *Dependencies of the United States* can only be briefly noticed. In *Cuba* the Congressional elections in November maintained the Liberals in power. The "Independence Party of Colour," a negro organisation, had attempted in the summer to start a revolution, but had been speedily checked. A Radical party, anti-capitalist and anti-Clerical, had also made its appearance. A concession sought by an American syndicate to establish a sort of Monte Carlo near Havana was refused by the Cuban Congress. The Republic was preparing to build a Presidential palace and also gunboats. The United States Government had

authorised an attempt to raise the battleship *Maine*, the sinking of which in Havana harbour in February, 1898, had been the chief occasion of the war with Spain. Opponents of the war in the United States had always maintained that the explosion which sunk the *Maine* was accidental, and it was hoped that this question would at last be cleared up.

Two great disasters befell the island during the year. On May 17 a quantity of dynamite, which was being removed, in anticipation of political disturbances, from the Road and other Departments to the rural guard barracks, at Pinar del Rio, exploded, destroying the barracks, killing 100 Rural Guards, and wounding about 100. On October 13 a hurricane swept over the island, and returned three days later with cyclonic force. At Havana the damage was estimated at \$1,000,000, and thousands of peasants in the three western provinces were rendered homeless and destitute. The calamity was said to be the greatest in Cuban history.

Porto Rico continued in an unsatisfactory political position, and a Message from President Taft to Congress in January, recommending a grant of United States citizenship and an increased measure of self-government, was not acted upon.

In the *Philippines* the Payne Tariff, by practically establishing Free Trade with the United States, greatly stimulated production, notably of sugar and tobacco. The growth of Manila hemp, which was unaffected by the tariff, had greatly increased likewise. Much had been done to educate the natives for self-government, but, as in Egypt, there was a strong Nationalist feeling adverse to foreign rule. Intermittent fighting took place in some of the islands. In July the Secretary of the Interior, Mr. Worcester, was attacked in Palawan by a band of Moros, who were, however, driven off. In August an attempted rising was checked in the north of Luzon; in October a rising of Manobos tribesmen was reported in Mindanao. The recharting of the coast was proceeding, and half would be completed at the close of the year. Much was being done in road-making, water-supply, and sanitation. The mortality rate among Government employees had been reduced to 8.62 per 1000, bubonic plague eradicated and cholera greatly reduced. A large tract of land, formerly belonging to one of the religious Orders in Mindoro, had been sold, it was believed, to a representative of the Sugar Trust, it having been held that the "friars' lands" were exempt from the legal limitations on the area of Government lands tenable by one person or corporation. This decision roused adverse comment and was to be investigated by a United States Congressional Committee. Mining was promising, and the great obstacle to agriculture lay in the disinclination to it of the Filipinos. In July the Manila Railroad Company issued \$2,000,000 in 4 per cent. gold bonds at 86, guaranteed by the Philippine Government, for the construction of lines in the south of Luzon.

II. CANADA.

Parliament, which had adjourned on December 17, 1909 (ANNUAL REGISTER, 1909, p. 445), met again on January 12, 1910. Owing to the serious illness of the Minister of Marine the Act respecting the Naval Service of Canada (Statutes of Canada, 1910, chap. 43) was introduced by the Prime Minister. The Act was based on the unanimous resolution of March 29, 1909 (ANNUAL REGISTER, 1909, p. 451). It provides for the creation of a naval force, comprising a permanent body of 5,000 men, and a reserve and volunteer force. A Naval College is to be part of the scheme. The command is to be in the King, and is to be exercised by the Governor-General as his representative. The ships, eleven in number, to be built (in Canada) are to be of the character described in the report of the Imperial Conference of 1909 (Cd. 4948, 1909). The total cost is estimated at \$11,000,000, of which the estimates for 1910-11 contained an item of \$3,676,500. The Prime Minister declared emphatically that so far as the Canadian Navy was concerned "when Britain is at war, Canada is at war." This emphatic qualification of a previous statement (ANNUAL REGISTER, 1909, p. 452) that the Navy would not go to war unless the Parliament of Canada chose to send it there, was received with satisfaction. The Opposition leader criticised the Government's proposals as being wanting in promptness; and on February 4 moved an amendment to the effect, first, that the Government's plan did not follow the suggestions of the Admiralty at the Conference of 1909; second, that the proposals should be submitted to the people; third, that in the meantime a cash contribution should be offered to construct two *Dreadnoughts* to be built at the discretion of the Admiralty. Mr. F. D. Monk, ordinarily a follower and lieutenant of Mr. Borden, moved another amendment calling for the submission of the whole scheme to the people. After five weeks' debate the Government proposals were carried on March 11 by 119 to 78. In pursuance of the policy of building a Navy in Canada a Bill was introduced and passed (chap. 17, 1910) to "encourage the construction of dry docks," granting large subsidies according to the size of the docks. Negotiations for taking advantage of this offer were going on during the year by eminent British building firms. On October 21 the first vessel of the proposed Canadian Navy, the *Niobe*, arrived at Halifax; and in November the *Rainbow* arrived at Victoria, British Columbia.

The Budget for 1909-10, ending on March 31, 1910, was delivered on December 14, 1909 (ANNUAL REGISTER, 1909, p. 450). The Public Accounts for the year ending March 31, 1910, were encouraging. The surplus, estimated at \$16,500,000, turned out to be \$22,091,963. The total receipts for the year were \$101,503,710, the largest in the history of the country. The

Estimates of expenditure for 1910-11, were (for the Consolidated fund) \$95,578,910. For 1911-12, the amount was \$100,674,627, an increase of \$5,095,717. Of this expenditure, \$7,524,950 was for Militia Service, and \$3,831,500 for Naval Service. To offset this expenditure the revenue received to December 31, 1910, amounted to \$85,666,833, leaving the months of January, February and March, 1911, still to be accounted for. The total sum required would therefore be much exceeded. The total trade of Canada for the year ending March 31, 1910, was, exports \$301,358,529, imports \$375,833,016. For the seven months of the fiscal year 1910-11 (that is from March 31 to October 31, 1910), the figures were, exports \$170,611,886, imports \$262,685,148, a total trade of \$433,297,034, showing an increase of \$66,489,552, for the seven months of the unexpired year. Owing in part to the illness of the Finance Minister and in part to his absence at Washington during the Reciprocity negotiations, the Budget Speech was not delivered before the close of the year.

On February 1 the Finance Minister announced that ratifications had been exchanged of the Supplemental Convention with France, by which certain slight changes had been made in the terms of the trade Convention of September 19, 1907 (ANNUAL REGISTER, 1907, p. 458; 1909, p. 447-8. Sessional Papers of Canada, 10a, 10b, 1908; 101, 102, 1909; 44, 1910). On February 15 the Government laid on the table the terms of an agreement arrived at with Germany, by which the Canadian surtax of 33½ per cent. on German goods, imposed in 1897, was repealed, and certain products of Canada were to be received in Germany on more favourable terms than hitherto. These products were Canadian wheat, barley, oats, fresh and dried fruits (e.g. apples and pears, apricots, peaches, plums and small fruits), rough timber, staves, horses, cattle, sheep, bacon, lobsters, condensed milk, wood alcohol, leather, footwear, semi-pulp for the manufacture of paper or cardboard, pasteboard and strawboard. A Canadian office was opened in Berlin to supply information (Canada Sessional Papers 10G, 10H, 1910). Thus two important international trade questions were settled during the year. Had the negotiations with the United States been concluded, there might have been a wide extension of trade with foreign countries, sufficient to attract the attention of business men at the centre of the Empire. In the meantime the attention of German and French traders and capitalists has been attracted to Canada. New trade agreements were also made with Belgium, Italy and the Netherlands, under the provisions of the Tariff Act of 1907 which offered the privilege of the intermediate or low tariff of Canada to such countries as would establish the like, or satisfactory trade terms with Canada (*Canadian Royal Gazette* extra, June 11, 1910).

The trade relations between Canada and the United States

were much discussed during the year. On March 3 American Customs and trade officials conferred with Canadian officials at Ottawa. On March 30 the Finance Minister explained to the House of Commons that the United States had taken the initiative in opening negotiations; that a tariff war was to be avoided; that the Payne Tariff, then in course of consideration in Congress, threatened *prima facie* such a war; that the trade relations of Canada with France and Germany were an added complication; that the British preference had also to be considered; and that certain reductions had been offered by Canada. A meeting was held at Albany with the United States Secretary of State and the President; and the grounds were laid for further meetings and discussions (Canadian "Hansard," 1910, March 30, p. 5942-5973), which took place during the close of the year; but at its end nothing had been settled for publication. Among the western farmers, however, there was an active agitation for tariff reduction and reciprocity during the summer, and on Dec. 16 a great deputation from the National Council of Agriculture visited Ottawa to press these demands. Sir Wilfrid Laurier gave a guarded reply.

On March 30 it was announced that the Waterways Treaty with the United States (Treaty Series, No. 23, 1910) had at length been accepted by the Canadian Government. This treaty had been postponed owing to a "rider" adapted, after signature, by the United States Senate on March 3, 1909, providing for the protection of private American rights on the St. Mary's River at Sault Ste. Marie. As a means of settlement the American Government expropriated the foreshore of St. Mary's River, and thus prevented private rights from being further established or injuriously asserted. A Joint Commission was appointed under this treaty to administer its details. Other treaties relating to Canada and the United States were, No. 17, 1910, for the protection of fisheries in the waters contiguous to the United States and Canada; and No. 22, 1910, to settle the boundary between Canada and the United States in Passamaquoddy Bay. Commissions were appointed under these treaties and reports will be duly published. On March 21 the Prime Minister announced that propositions had been made by the United States for the revision of the Rush-Bagot agreement of 1817-18, limiting the number of war vessels on the Great Lakes; but nothing had been done at the close of the year.

At the close of the Parliamentary Session, on May 3, a joint address of both Houses, adopted unanimously, was voted to His Excellency Earl Grey, at what was supposed to be the end of his term as Governor-General. The address was proposed by the Prime Minister, who in the course of his remarks made use of the following significant words:—

From time to time in recent years paragraphs have appeared in the Press to the effect that at the present stage of Canadian development it would be fitting that a

Canadian should be representative of His Majesty. In this we find the expression of a laudable, but to my mind, a misguided expression of national pride. The system which has been in operation since confederation, of His Majesty appointing to be his representative in this country some of the great names of Great Britain has worked most harmoniously and most satisfactorily, and any change in that system would not, I am sure, be productive of good results, but perhaps on the contrary would jeopardize something which we hold dear.

The leader of the Opposition was emphatic in recognising Earl Grey's success as Governor-General; he said :—

A man of courage, of initiative, of imagination and of clear imperial vision, we recognised him when he came to the shores of Canada as a man than whom there was no truer imperialist throughout the Empire. As he leaves the shores of Canada we recognise in him as true a Canadian as is to be found in this great Dominion.

The address itself summed up His Excellency's merits as follows :—

The special interest which Your Excellency has taken in everything calculated to foster a high sense of public duty and responsibility, to stimulate intellectual development and to advance science and art, will long be gratefully remembered; while the success of your endeavours in cultivating the growth of a Canadian spirit has strengthened us in the belief that the full development of our national life is compatible with the closest and most loyal connection with the Empire.

Eventually, however, Earl Grey's term of office was prolonged for another year, greatly to the satisfaction of Parliament and the public.

During the summer the Governor-General undertook a memorable journey through the Northern regions of Canada. The route chosen was that of the proposed Hudson's Bay Railway and the grain route *via* Hudson's Strait to Europe. This subject has been long before the Canadian public, nor is it unknown to the world at large (ANNUAL REGISTER, 1907, p. 452, where the principal authorities are set forth; *ibid.*, 1909, p. 449). His Excellency, who was accompanied by Lady Grey and their daughters as far as Norway House, left Winnipeg on August 1, and started from Norway House on August 8. The official wireless Message which told of the successful accomplishment of the trip on September 2, said that the journey had been described by Earl Grey as undertaken "to explode the theory of the frozen North." He had "wished to see the short route from the North-west to the sea, the route followed by the early explorers in Canada, the route along which for two centuries the trade of half the continent had been conducted, but which yet remained in its primeval condition, soon, however, to be opened up by modern transportation. This year is the tercentenary of Hudson's discovery of Canada's great Mediterranean, and it is fitting that it should be visited by the Governor-General."

The climatic conditions were found to be surprisingly favourable throughout. No wraps were required when sitting on deck at night, and coffee was taken at 6 A.M. on deck in pyjamas. Summer sailing on the Mediterranean of Canada was found as pleasant as it could have been on the Mediterranean of the Old

World. The statement concluded with the information that scarcely any vessels, even among sailing ships, had experienced serious trouble, though there were not even detailed charts; but currents and magnetism were being worked out; and when captains became familiar with the route the existing season of navigation (mid-July to November) might be lengthened at both ends.

As the Canadian Government has now fully committed itself to the building, though not to the operating, of the Hudson's Bay Railway, this trip of Earl Grey will be historic. Valuable letters by *The Times* correspondent, with the expedition, appeared on September 22 and 29 and on October 1, 3 and 4. The first contract on the road was let on August 8 to Messrs. Mackenzie and Mann. The estimate cost of the Hudson's Bay Railway, whether the terminus be at Churchill or Nelson, is officially given (Reports on Railways and Canals, 1910, p. xvi) as follows: "The distance from Le Pas to Fort Churchill would be approximately 477 miles; its cost with sixty-pound rails, \$10,586,520, or with eighty-pound rails, \$11,351,520; adding \$7,757,152 for buildings, shops, grain elevators, etc., and for harbour works, \$6,675,000, the total is set down at \$19,108,672. The distance from Le Pas to Port Nelson would be approximately 410 miles; its cost with sixty-pound rails, \$8,333,800, or with eighty-pound rails, \$8,981,800; adding for buildings, shops, grain elevators, etc., \$7,444,540, and for harbour works, \$5,065,000, the total cost is set down at \$16,426,340. In both cases \$4,000,000 is given as representing the cost of two 4,000,000 bushel fireproof elevators to be erected at either terminal."

The Parliamentary session of 1910-11 began on November 17. The Speech from the Throne referred to the prolongation of Earl Grey's term of office; to the death of King Edward; to the growing prosperity of Canada; to the arrival of the *Niobe* and the *Rainbow*; to the acceptable decision of the Hague Tribunal; to the progress of the Transcontinental Railway; to the trade negotiations with the United States, and the Royal Commission to the West Indies. In the debate on the Address special mention was many times made of, and many tributes were paid to, His Majesty King Edward the Seventh, whose death was universally deplored. It was His Majesty who, when Prince of Wales, laid the foundation-stone (1860) of the Parliament building of Ottawa. The debate on the address, on general political lines, was continued for many days. The leader of the Opposition moved the following amendment, on November 24: expressing "unalterable attachment and devotion of the people of Canada to the British Crown and of their desire and intention to fulfil all just responsibilities devolving upon the country as one of the nations of the Empire," but regretting that the Speech gave no indication of any intention on the part of the Government "to consult the people on the naval policy of Canada."

Mr. F. D. Monk (who had during the recess won a seat from

the Government on the Nationalist cry against the Naval programme) moved an amendment of his own, regretting that "the Speech gave no indication of the intention of the Government to consult the people on its Naval Policy and the general question of the contribution of Canada to Imperial Armaments." It was rejected on December 1 by 126 to 70; and Mr. Borden's by 120 to 67.

The most important speech or statement made before the Houses rose for the Christmas recess on December 16 was made by Hon. A. B. Aylesworth (now Sir Alan Aylesworth, K. C. M. G.) in explanation of the decision of the Hague Tribunal on the questions placed before it by Great Britain, the United States, and Canada. These questions had periodically disturbed the friendly relations of the three countries since the Treaty of 1783, and in particular since the Treaty of Ghent in 1814 and the abrogation of the Reciprocity Treaty of 1854, after the Civil War in 1866. The literature of them is large, nor did there seem to be any end to the disputes. (For a full list of the authorities, debates and negotiations see Supplementary Catalogue of Canadian Library of Parliament, 1910-11.) Previous to the abrogation of the Reciprocity Treaty of 1854 the various North American Provinces, not yet confederated, made attempts to renew it, but failed. In 1869, 1871 and 1874 further attempts were made. In 1874 a Treaty was agreed to, but was rejected by the United States Senate. In 1888 a Treaty negotiated by Mr. Joseph Chamberlain and Sir Charles Tupper, Bart., was signed and sent to the Senate by President Cleveland, but it was thrown out (Canada Sessional Papers, No. 36, 1888). In 1899 a Joint High Commission was appointed on which Great Britain was represented by Lord Herschell. This commission met several times, at Quebec and at Washington, but no agreement was come to, and nothing has ever been officially published on the subject. The reference to the Hague Tribunal in 1910 arose out of the discussions on, first, the Treaty of Arbitration between the United Kingdom and the United States signed April 4, and ratified June 4, 1908 (Treaty Series, No. 21, 1908); and, second, the Agreement for Submission to Arbitration signed January 27, 1909 (Treaty Series, No. 21, 1909). The Tribunal met at the Hague on June 1, and began business on the following Monday. The Court was composed as follows: Dr. H. Lammasch, Professor of the University of Vienna, Member of the Upper House of the Austrian Parliament; Jonkheer A. F. De Savornin Lohman, sometime Minister of the Interior, Member of the Second Chamber of the Netherlands; the Hon. George Gray, Judge of the United States Circuit Court of Appeals, sometime United States Senator; the Right Hon. Sir Charles Fitzpatrick, Chief Justice of Canada; the Hon. Luis Maria Drago, sometime Minister of Foreign Affairs of Argentina.

The proceedings were public; and the addresses of counsel

were summarised in the Press. The case was closed on August 12, and the decision of the Court was given on September 7 (House of Commons Papers, Miscellaneous, No. 3, 1910, Cd. 5396).

The points decided were: first, that the right to make regulations as to the exercise of the liberty to take fish, under the Treaty of 1818, is inherent to the sovereignty of Great Britain. Such regulations, however, are to be officially published in the British, Canadian and Newfoundland *Gazettes* and to be subject to diplomatic negotiations. Second, that while the United States has the right to employ others than United States citizens in the fisheries, such persons derive no benefit or immunity from the treaty. Third, that while American fishing vessels should report at Colonial ports when at all convenient, such vessels should not be subject to the purely Commercial formalities, nor to Light-dues, Harbour-dues or other dues not imposed on Newfoundland fishermen. Fourth, that American fishing vessels entering certain Colonial bays for shelter, repairs, wood and water, should not be subject to dues or demands for doing so, but that they might, if thought necessary by Great Britain or the Colonial Governments, be required to report to any reasonably convenient Custom House or official. Fifth, that in the case of "Bays" mentioned in the Treaty of 1818, "three marine miles are to be measured from a straight line drawn across the body of water at the place where it ceases to have the configuration and characteristics of a bay. At all other places the three marine miles are to be measured following the sinuosities of the coast."

This was the most important of all the points at issue; and the decision was entirely in favour of the British and Colonial Contention, maintained since 1818 but long denied by the United States. It is to be noted that in settling the points at which, in the case of some of the "Bays," the three-mile basis is to be fixed, the arbitrators expressly follow the language of the Treaty of 1888 (p. 458). It is also to be noted that on the decision on question 5, on the "Bays," Hon. L. M. Drago of the Argentine Republic, a member of the Tribunal, filed a dissenting opinion. But the decision was signed by the United States representative, the Hon. Mr. Justice Gray. Minor questions as to "regulations" which were left to be settled by further Commissions of experts, or even by another resort to the Tribunal, were disposed of in a Conference at Washington at the close of the year; so that further references were obviated, and a high degree of finality arrived at. Thus ends more than a century of diplomatic difficulties.

Two very important items of Canadian prosperity during 1910 were, first, the great increase in immigration. During the fiscal year ending March 31, 1910, the total immigration had been 208,794, distributed as follows: From the United States, 103,798; from England and Wales, 41,144; from Scotland,

14,706; from Ireland, 3,940; from other European countries, 45,206; from Japan, 271. These figures were, of course, greatly increased by the immigration of the summer and autumn, not yet officially tabulated. Second, the remarkable progress in railway building. The total railway expenditure for the fiscal year ending March 31, 1910, was \$32,862,094. On the new National Transcontinental Railway the sum of \$19,968,126 (included in above figures) was spent. The total grading was 1,106 miles, total track-laying 8,132 miles. It is calculated that this great scheme will be completed in the autumn of 1912. The National Transcontinental is rivalled in activity by the Canadian Northern (the proprietors of which, Messrs. William Mackenzie and Daniel Mann, were knighted during the year), which has also established a successful ocean steamship line. And the Canadian Pacific Railway, the chief creator of recent development in Canada, has added much to its mileage. Canada has now some 25,000 miles of road. It was estimated that 4,500 miles were under construction in the summer of 1910. The passengers carried numbered 35,894,575; the tons of freight 74,482,866.

A notable event was the Eucharistic Congress held in Montreal, September 8-11. It was opened in St. James's Cathedral by the presentation of the credentials of Cardinal Vannutelli, the Papal legate, in the presence of 110 Roman Catholic prelates, the greatest assemblage of Roman Catholic ecclesiastics in American history. It was closed by a procession of five hours from the Cathedral to the base of Mount Royal, where Mass was celebrated by the Papal legate in the presence of 200,000 spectators. This marked a notable advance in Canadian tolerance, and conspicuously exhibited the strength of Roman Catholicism in the Dominion. At the same time, the Anglican community were celebrating the bicentenary of the English Church in Canada at the Church Congress at Halifax, where the anniversary was to be commemorated by a new cathedral, costing \$175,000.

Provincial affairs in Canada are becoming of importance. The increase in territorial extent, the influx of population, the building of local railways, the rise in the price of land, the additions made, and to be made after the census of 1911, to the number of Western members in the Federal Parliament, all point out the rapid approach of Western preponderance. The other provinces have been taking counsel together, but owing to the sectional differences inevitable under a federal system, no definite programme was laid down at the meetings in December.

The *Prince Edward Island* Legislature met on February 15. The parties were narrowly divided, but the Local Government was sustained in office. The revenue was \$375,374; the expenditure \$392,864, showing a small deficit.

The *Nova Scotia* Legislature met on February 24. A Commission reported favourably on the establishment of an eight-hour

day. Resolutions were adopted protesting against the decrease of the representation of the Province in the Federal Parliament.

The *New Brunswick* Legislature met on February 17. The chief legislation proposed was for the encouragement of the manufacture instead of the export of pulp-wood or pulp, and for the creation of a Public Utilities Commission. There was a small surplus for the year.

The *Quebec* Legislature met on March 5. The finances showed a surplus of \$120,000. The estimated surplus for the year 1909-10 was \$190,000, the actual surplus \$945,147. The chief legislative event was the creation of a Public Utilities Commission, to exercise control over all corporations conducting business relating to public interests.

The *Ontario* Legislature met on January 25, 1910. The public accounts, which closed on October 31, instead of December 31 as heretofore, showed a slight deficit owing to the change in date. The Budget showed that the revenue for the ten months ending October 31 was \$7,477,920, and the expenditure \$7,545,000. The estimated revenue for 1909-10 was \$8,540,000, the estimated expenditure was \$7,623,745. The notable development of the gold and silver regions of Northern Ontario was the marked event of the year.

The *Manitoba* Legislature met on February 10. The Prime Minister, Hon. Mr. Roblin, was too ill to attend. The Budget was delivered on February 23, and showed a surplus of \$624,000. After a very embittered session, a general election was held on July 11, and the Roblin Government was again sustained by a large majority.

The *Alberta* Legislature met on February 10. Resignations from the local government took place owing to accusations made in regard to railway schemes. A Royal Commission was appointed to examine into these. The result was the resignation of the Rutherford Government, and the creation of a new one under Hon. Arthur Sifton, hitherto Chief Justice. In the subsequent elections the new Ministry was sustained. The report of the Royal Commission, published on November 10, exonerated Hon. Mr. Rutherford from any responsibility in regard to railway deals for personal profit.

The *Saskatchewan* Legislature met on March 11. The revenue for the fiscal year ending February 28, 1910, was \$3,893,795; the expenditure was \$3,819,823. Each of these new provinces has now a University, and much money is devoted to education.

The *British Columbia* Legislature met on January 20. The Estimates were on a large scale, and a deficit was expected, but land sales were large and a good revenue from this source was hoped for. Much Socialist legislation was proposed, but most of the Bills were killed. The new city of Prince Rupert was incorporated, as the terminus of the Transcontinental Railway.

III. NEWFOUNDLAND.

In 1910 the material prosperity of Newfoundland was more than maintained, notwithstanding the shortage in the catch of fish along the Labrador coast and other parts of the Colony, the enhanced value of the product arising from the short supply having helped to counteract the loss due to the smaller export. The seal, herring, lobster, whale, and other fisheries were prosecuted with encouraging results. The paper and pulp industries proved a great success, the products of the mines continue to increase, both exports and imports had gone up in value, and the outlook at the close of the year was encouraging.

The value of the products exported was as follows :—

	1909.	1910.
	\$	\$
Fishery - - - - -	9,846,246	9,578,984
Agriculture - - - - -	8,013	10,286
Forests - - - - -	151,508	713,967
Mines - - - - -	1,191,123	1,370,775
Manufactures - - - - -	7,535	4,840
Miscellaneous - - - - -	144,393	146,145
Totals - - - - -	<u>10,848,818</u>	<u>11,824,997</u>

The public revenue for 1909 was \$2,949,869 and for 1910 \$3,477,427 ; the expenditure was the same as the revenue in both years.

The debt of the Colony in 1910 stood at \$22,943,196.

The total imports were \$12,799,696, an increase of \$1,397,359 ver 1909 ; and the total exports were \$11,824,997, an increase of 976,084 over 1909.

The imports and exports were respectively as follows :—

Countries.	Value of Imports.	Value of Exports.
	\$	\$
United Kingdom - - - - -	2,940,401	1,824,235
Dominion of Canada - - - - -	4,559,759	1,454,314
Other British Possessions - - - - -	411,358	436,376
United States - - - - -	4,571,192	1,163,313
Portugal - - - - -	30,367	1,693,798
Brazil - - - - -	22	2,100,691
Spain - - - - -	81,077	883,539
Other Countries - - - - -	205,520	2,218,731
	<u>12,799,696</u>	<u>11,824,997</u>

The excess in the value of imports over that of exports does not mean that the Colony has been over-spending ; this surplus represents the value of machinery and construction material required for the new pulp and paper mills at Bishop's Falls and Grand Falls, the capital for which has been provided from outside sources. Already the benefit of this expenditure has been felt, the value of the exports from the forests having increased almost fivefold as compared with 1909.

Lumbering has been carried on with increased vigour, the prices

being about the same as prevailed in 1909. The markets of South America absorb most of this product at remunerative prices.

The construction of branch railways had progressed. The branch to Trinity Bay and Bonavista was completed to within a few miles of its terminus; and two branches to Heart's Content and Trepassey (the latter a port open all the year round, on the southern coast of Avalon Peninsula) were to be undertaken in 1911. To build the five branch lines a loan of \$400,000 was raised in London on terms more favourable than any loan previously negotiated by the Colony.

Agricultural and Industrial Exhibitions were held in November in pursuance of the Government's policy of forwarding agriculture and manufactures. Both exhibitions were very successful, and it was hoped that the interest evoked by the former would create in the populace a belief in the agricultural possibilities of their own country. The Government had done much to foster the feeling. Experts from Canada had visited the Colony, and by lectures, experiments and visits to different parts of the island had shown that Newfoundland was quite able to raise all the agricultural produce necessary for its own population. The Government had imported for every district pedigree live stock, and seeds of the best quality. Of course the initial difficulty of turning a fishing population into an agricultural one had to be overcome.

The Industrial Exhibition showed what had been accomplished by the local firms in manufacturing nets, lines, and twines, leather, boots, soap, paints, oilcloths, stoves, and iron and steel castings, the products of the fisheries in the shape of seal, whale, and cod oils, and preserved fish of every form and kind, also paper and pulp from Grand Falls. This exhibition called forth much favourable comment and demonstrated clearly the progress recently made in manufactures.

The Government had encircled the island with telegraph communication, which along with the Marconi wireless system installed on Labrador and on the Northern coasts had proved of great service to the fishing and sealing fleets.

An arrangement was entered into between the Government and a large company in Maine, U.S.A., for the erection of five large cold storage plants, each capable of taking 1,000,000 lb. of frozen fish. This enterprise would ensure a new and speedy way for fishermen to market their catch; and as each plant would have in connection with it factories for the manufacture of all the bye-products of the fish and for putting up fish in all forms, it was expected that the fish business would be revolutionised.

The Colonial finances for the first half of 1910-11 were in a very satisfactory condition; the revenues being \$70,000 in excess of the same period of 1909-10. The Government has consequently been able to make provision for Old Age Pensions.

The prosperity of the Colony was further shown by the

increase during the year in the number of branch banks and the improvement in the steamer services to Canadian and American ports and along the coast. The only service that was not what it should be was that connecting the Colony with Great Britain.

A mail train thrice a week had hitherto met the wants of the country; 1911 was to see the inauguration of a daily service to the American Continent.

The lobster fishery increased 15 per cent., and the Board of Trade reports that the quality was much improved. The seal fishery was the best in aggregate gross weight since 1900. Nineteen steamers returned with 333,349 seals with a gross weight of 7,628 tons, and one steamer was lost with about 5,000 seals aboard. The prices realised for the seal produce were satisfactory. The herring fishery had been very good. Dried squid for purposes of bait and for food was tried with marked success. The whale fishery was only moderately successful.

Forty Bills passed through both branches of the Legislature. The majority affected the internal economy of the country—mining, agriculture, and woollen manufacture. Amendments to the Education Act increased the Education grants by \$155,000 in two years. Many of the recent Acts were framed to encourage mining, manufacturing, fishing and farming, and they have already borne fruit in the practical interest shown by the British and American public in the natural resources of the Colony.

The most interesting event in 1910 was the settlement of the Treaty Shore difficulties at the Hague (p. 458). The award placed Newfoundland in a most favourable position for dealing with the discrimination exercised against Newfoundland-caught fish exported to America by Newfoundlanders.

The tercentenary of the foundation of the first settlement in Newfoundland by John Guy of Bristol was celebrated at Cupids; the Governor, Sir Ralph Williams, and H.M.S. *Brilliant* taking part in the proceedings. A special set of stamps was issued to mark the event.

IV. MEXICO AND CENTRAL AMERICA.

(This and the subsequent Sections of this Chapter are by H. Whates.)

The warning given in the volume for 1909 of a movement hostile to the Government of the veteran President of *Mexico*, Porfirio Diaz, was justified during 1910. Minor evidences of unrest appeared in June in a rising of the Maya tribe of Indians on the south-east coast of Yucatan, under the reported leadership of Maximiliano Ramirez Bonilla. Valladolid was attacked by them, and there were serious collisions with the Mexican troops before the rising was quelled. But it was not clear that this affair was

directly associated with politics. In June, however, Señor Francisco Madero, the Opposition candidate for the Presidency, was arrested and arraigned before a judge on a non-political charge. He refused to defend himself, declaring that he had no faith in the Courts of Justice. The arrest was not, perhaps, unassociated with the imminence of the Presidential election, and a rebellious movement along the United States border. The re-election of Porfirio Diaz (June 27) was a foregone conclusion, apart from the fact that his opponent was in custody. There was no disorder. Señor Madero received only 2 per cent. of the votes. Affairs quieted down, and in September the hundredth anniversary of Mexican independence was celebrated amid general rejoicings and congratulations from all parts of the world, especially to President Diaz. There were pageants depicting Mexican history from Aztec times to the founding of the Republic, and parades through bedecked and illuminated streets. Mexico City was the chief centre of the demonstrations, which were on a superb scale. They culminated on the 15th, when Porfirio Diaz attained his eightieth birthday. "President Diaz," said the special correspondent of *The Times*, "withstands the strain; he walks like a gliding shadow, shakes hands with an iron grip, and listens unmoved to much eloquence and Mexican poetry declaimed by ardent patriotic authors. He said recently that he only required a doctor for his wounds." Gifts were made by many nations, the German Emperor presenting a statue of Alexander Von Humboldt, Italy one of Garibaldi, the United States of Washington, France of Pasteur. France also restored to Mexico the keys of the Old City. All the South American Republics seem to have taken part in the celebrations. The British residents presented an illuminated address to the President, but their share in the festivities was small owing to the mourning for King Edward. Apparently all was well. Early in November, however, anti-American feeling broke out in Mexico City; the United States flag was torn down and Americans insulted in the streets. The cause was said to be the lynching of a Mexican in Texas for an outrage on a white woman. Troubles were also reported from the frontier districts. President Taft and President Diaz exchanged friendly and reassuring messages on these matters, the one offering redress for the lynching, and the other for the affront to the United States flag and citizens. The next incident was a reported plot against the Government, and a rising along the border from Nogales to Brownsville, Texas. The money and arms of the revolutionaries were said to come from United States sources. On November 21 revolutionaries and soldiers came into collision at Zacatecas, and a serious disturbance, ruthlessly repressed, took place among the factory workmen at Puebla. Meanwhile United States troops were held in readiness in Texas. Madero had obtained his liberty, and was reported to have been badly wounded while

leading the revolutionaries in a fight at Guerro. The Mexican Minister in London issued an official statement minimising the trouble, and stating (Nov. 24) that tranquillity prevailed throughout the country. Further fighting was reported in the next few days, the advantage being with the Republican troops. The Federal Legislature passed a vote of confidence in President Diaz, who was reported to have declared that had the revolutionaries been in force he would have taken the field against them himself. The news was very untrustworthy, but it appeared that the disorders were confined to the States of Chihuahua and Coahuila, where Madero was "provisional President." The formal installation of General Diaz for his eighth Presidency took place on December 1. With Vice-President Corral he took the oath in the Legislature. Replying to the Diplomatic Corps, he stated that "with the support of the Mexican public, which still honours me with its confidence, I shall continue to concentrate all my attention and energies on the maintenance of peace and the cause of national progress." There were further hostilities, varied by negotiations through peace commissioners sent from the capital. On December 17 organised resistance was reported, prematurely, to be at an end. The year ended with the Government apparently in control of the area of the rebellion, the significance of which remained obscure, though it was probably a protest against the extreme and despotic centralisation kept up by President Diaz. The centenary of Mexico was celebrated in London by a dinner. Among the guests were the Foreign Minister, Sir Edward Grey, and Señor Limantour, the Mexican Minister of Finance, to whom Sir Edward Grey referred as one whose record could be compared with that of any Finance Minister in the world. Sir Edward also paid a tribute to President Diaz as one of the great men of the time.

Nicaragua began the year in revolution. General Medina and others charged with executing two American citizens were acquitted by court martial in January. The fighting between the party of President Madriz and that of General Estrada went on inconclusively for the greater part of the year, but it seemed that the Madriz party had gained the upper hand in July. The Estradists, however, overthrew Madriz in August and compelled him to flee. At the end of the year General Estrada was *de facto* President, and the country seemed to be settling down again. At the end of the year General Hurlado was in the field against the Estradists, and notice had been given to both combatants by the commander of a British warship that as the greater part of Greytown was owned by British subjects he would prevent fighting in that town. In the summer ex-President Zelaya had published a pamphlet at Madrid in English and Spanish, ascribing his fall to a conspiracy between the President of Guatemala and the Washington Government, and giving facsimile letters from Groce and

Cannon written just before their execution, which seemed to dispose of the charge that they had been tortured; but, on the whole, his fall seemed to have been a good thing for the peace of Central America. Later in the year the new Government declared the liquor and tobacco monopolies, which formed part of the security for the latest loan, unconstitutional, but itself assumed the service of the loan.

In *Guatemala* Señor Estrada Cabrera was elected President for a third term.

Salvador was very prosperous, and the foreign loan rose considerably.

Costa Rica was visited by a severe earthquake in May, which destroyed Cartago, and seriously injured Mr. Carnegie's "Peace Palace" for the Central American arbitration tribunal. The new President, Don Ricardo Jimenez, promised stringent economy and retrenchment.

The President of *Panama*, Señor Obaldia, died in March, and was succeeded temporarily by the Vice-President, Dr. C. H. Mendoza. The new President of the Republic is Señor Arosemena. To a special correspondent of *The Times* the President denied that the Republic is bankrupt. The Government had 1,250,000*l.* sterling in New York banks and 1,000,000*l.* in banks at Panama. It was expected that the canal would be complete by January 1, 1915. It was visited in the middle of November by President Taft, whose Message (p. 447) declared that it would be open by January 1, 1915—a statement confirmed by other visitors. He disclaimed any intention of annexation on the part of the United States.

Honduras, which in 1909 denounced the Treaty of Friendship, Commerce, and Navigation with Great Britain, consented to a six months' prolongation from October 6. The President is Dr. Davila, and a rebellion was proceeding in the late autumn under General Valladares, against whom complaints were made of ill-treatment by British and United States citizens. General Valladares had seized Amapala and expelled the foreign residents.

V. WEST INDIES AND GUIANA.

The British *West Indies* have been much agitated by the questions of a regular mail service with England. On the one hand the Royal Mail Steam Packet Company decided to determine the existing contract for the carriage of mails from Southampton by a regular fortnightly service and intercolonial boats; and on the other the ten-year contract for a subsidised direct service between Bristol and Jamaica expired, and the negotiations for its renewal were unsuccessful. Protests and discussions arose in British Guiana and the islands as to the first matter, but an arrangement was reached at the end of the year by which the Royal Mail Company will continue a fortnightly service for seven

years with an annual subsidy of 63,000*l.*, Trinidad providing 20,000*l.* as the head-quarters of the intercolonial service. Barbados will be on the main service; Guiana on the intercolonial. Jamaica stands outside the arrangement, and pays for her mails on a poundage basis. The alternative to the new contract was a service *via* Canadian ports; but as the West Indies have had direct and regular communication with England through the Royal Mail for over seventy years, there were sentimental as well as practical reasons against this arrangement. With regard to the direct service to Jamaica, the subsidy for which was 40,000*l.* a year, half being provided by the Imperial Government, chiefly with the object of developing the fruit industry, the breakdown of the negotiations for renewal was not regarded as final at the close of the year. Efforts were being made to induce the Colonial Office to reconsider its decision not to continue the subsidy—a decision taken in consequence of the attitude of the Colony, which appears to find its best market for fruits in American ports. The Report of the Royal Commission on Trade Relations between Canada and the West Indies [Cd. 5369] was issued in September. The Commissioners were Lord Balfour of Burleigh (Chairman), Mr. Fielding and Mr. Paterson, two Canadian Ministers, Sir John Dickson Poynder (now Lord Islington, Governor of New Zealand), and Sir Daniel Morris, formerly Imperial Commissioner of Agriculture in the West Indies. The Commission held sittings in the West Indies, in Canada, and in London. The evidence taken in the West Indies and Canada will be found in Cd. 5370 and Cd. 5371. The report cannot be adequately summarised here. Its most important aspect is the effect of the preference of 33½ per cent. granted to West Indian products in the Canadian market. Because of this preference, combined with economic causes, the importation of West Indian sugar into Canada has risen from 11,000 tons in 1897 to 133,000 tons in 1909. The Report enlarged on the mutual benefit to both countries and advised reciprocal preference as the only policy likely to command approval either in the West Indian Colonies or in the Dominion. While in some circumstances, the Commissioners argued, objection might be taken to the inauguration by a group of Crown Colonies of a system of discriminatory tariffs, the very special relations which exist between Canada and the West Indies would justify it in this case. The geographical position of the West Indian Colonies must always tend to throw them under the influence of the fiscal system either of the United States or of Canada. Attempts have been made from time to time to obtain for them special advantages in the markets of the United States, whose Colonial policy had now finally stopped advance in that direction; it would be unwise, except for the gravest reasons, now to oppose their natural desire for closer connection with the northern Dominion. It was a cardinal policy of His Majesty's Government that any concession to imports from

the Dominion should also be extended to imports from the mother country; and this principle was universally recognised both in Canada and the West Indies. In a few instances they found with regret a tendency to minimise the benefit derived from the Imperial connection; but, apart from the considerable pecuniary assistance given to the West Indies by the Imperial Government of recent years it was generally admitted that the power of the United Kingdom was the security of these Colonies against aggression, its wealth the guarantee of their credit. A uniform tariff for all the West Indies, the Commission thought, would prove impracticable, having regard to the varying conditions of the islands and mainland Colony; and they recommended the establishment of a uniform minimum amount of preference on each tariff, suggesting 20 per cent. Schedules were given of articles on which mutual preferences might advantageously be given. The position of Jamaica, whose commercial relations with the United States are of more importance to her than are like relations with Canada, was separately considered; and it was suggested that the way should be left open for Jamaica to come into a minimum preference arrangement at a later stage. British Honduras and Bermuda and the Bahamas are similarly situated. The Commission also considered the whole question of trade relations between the United States and the British West Indies and discussed the question of steamship services, telegraphic communication, and the work of the Agricultural Department of the West Indies. They recommended a continuation of the Imperial grant of 5,000*l.* a year to the Agricultural Department. The Report, with the Evidence, gives an immense amount of information on the present condition of the West Indies. No action on it had been taken at the close of the year. The principle of preference to Canadian imports and therefore to those of England was approved by the Legislature of British Guiana. Other West Indian legislatures, at the invitation of the Secretary for the Colonies, had the matter before them at the end of the year. The question of East Indian coolie emigration to the West Indies has been exclusively investigated by the Departmental Committee of the Colonial Office which was instructed, under the Chairmanship of Lord Saunderson, to inquire into Indian indentured emigration. The Committee were adverse to any system of obligatory repatriation on the termination of the indenture period, and favoured settlement on the Crown lands by time-expired Indians.

The *Jamaica* revenue for the year ending March 31, 1910, was 992,976*l.* against 933,750*l.* the previous year. The expenditure was 1,033,794*l.* The imports (1909) were of the value of 2,561,674*l.* and exports 2,628,307*l.* The approximate figures for the first half of 1910 showed that these totals would be maintained. The year was one of fair economic progress. Considerable improvement has been made in the rebuilding of Kingston. Sir

Sydney Olivier's last report (1909) gives an interesting account of the rebuilding, and is, on the whole, hopeful in tone, besides being a suggestive commentary on the backward condition of the Colony and the causes that retard the development of its agricultural resources. The financial position of the island had so much improved that the Government made a substantial reduction on the import duties, especially on articles of general use.

General Nord Alexis, ex-President of *Haiti*, died in Jamaica in May. He had taken refuge in the island after his downfall in 1909, and with other refugees was believed to be engaged in a conspiracy for the overthrow of his successor, General Simon, against whom General Firmin was conducting a revolution said to be financed by Alexis. Alexis possessed a considerable fortune. A Haitian gunboat was blown up off Port de Paix in October with heavy loss of life, among the killed being ten Haitian generals on their way to command troops in the north.

The revenue of *British Guiana* for 1909-10 was 540,269*l.* and the expenditure 546,711*l.* The imports were valued at 1,774,457*l.* and the exports at 1,985,337*l.*—a slight decrease owing to a shorter sugar crop. The gold industry shows a decline. Subsidiary industries also indicate that the Colony is in a stationary condition economically.

The revenue for *Trinidad and Tobago* for 1909-10 was 853,563*l.* and the expenditure 863,254*l.* The total value of the trade in 1909 was 6,506,918*l.*, imports and exports roughly balancing. Owing to its varied industries Trinidad is the most securely prosperous of the West Indian colonies.

The *Barbados* labouring classes flourish on the demand for gangs for the Panama Canal works. It was calculated that in 1909 some 80,000*l.* was sent to or brought into the island by Barbadian shovelmen. The revenue for 1909-10 was 195,803*l.*, the expenditure 199,625*l.* The imports (1909) were of the value of 1,119,343*l.* and exports 888,086*l.* Business had been affected by the appearance of yellow fever the previous year. There were no cases after December, 1909. The sugar industry is stationary. The new cotton industry flagged. The tendency of trade with Canada is to increase—a feature common to the British West Indies.

VI. SOUTH AMERICA.

In *Brazil* Marshal Hermes da Fonseca was successful in the Presidential election in March by an overwhelming majority over Señor Ruy Barbosa. The final figures were 233,882 against 126,692. The country was quiet. The financial statement showed a revenue for 1909 of 32,069,000*l.* and expenditure 30,875,524*l.* The external debt on December 31, 1909, was given as 87,320,000*l.* During the financial year 892,000*l.* had been paid off of the foreign debt. The balance at the banks (March,

1910) was stated to be 8,000,000*l.* The exports during 1909 amounted to 69,724,440*l.* and imports to 37,139,354*l.* Trade during 1910 was good. The President at the opening of the Congress on May 3 again reminded the world that the Federal Government had always declared that it declined responsibility for the debts of the States. He referred to the creation of a Ministry of Agriculture and the advance made in railway and mining enterprises; and he congratulated Brazil on the definitive settlement of all frontier questions. For this last great work, he paid a tribute to Baron Rio Branco, who, he said, merited the undying gratitude of Brazilians. The new President initiated severe economies in administration and there were heavy Budget reductions. He visited Europe in the summer and was well received. On his return he received M. Clemenceau, who was making a lecturing tour in South America, and courtesies were exchanged which were believed to have strengthened good relations with France. In October the President formed a new Cabinet, Baron de Rio Branco continuing to hold the office of Foreign Minister. General Dantas Barretto was Minister for War, and Admiral Marques Leao Minister of Marine. While in Germany the President had arranged for the employment of German officers to act as instructors to the Brazilian Army. On November 24 a mutiny in Rio harbour was reported, the crews of the battleships *Minas Geraes* and *Sao Paulo* and four other vessels expelling their officers, and threatening to bombard the city unless their pay was increased and corporal punishment abolished. The captain of the *Minas Geraes* and two lieutenants were killed. Pardon was demanded for the mutineers. No immediate reply being received to these demands, shells were fired at intervals during the night, a woman and two children being killed in the street. It was reported that measures were taken to torpedo the warships, which, nevertheless, took up positions which enabled them to command the city and the forts. There were English engineers on board the *Minas Geraes*, and these were sent on land. The forts do not appear to have answered the fire. Official statements were issued in London that the movement was not political and that the Government was taking all necessary steps for its repression. These steps appear to have been the passing of a Bill declaring martial law for thirty days, and opening negotiations with the mutineers. Simultaneously there was a mutiny of Marines on Cobras Island, and there seems to have been a good deal of fighting between them and the Government troops, with considerable loss of life. The news was freely censored. On December 12 it was announced that the mutiny was at an end, that tranquillity was everywhere restored, and that the city of Rio had resumed its normal calm. The *Minas Geraes* is an Elswick-built vessel of the *Dreadnought* type, and left the Tyne for the first time in February. The second battleship was not in the

harbour. Besides these two *Dreadnoughts* Brazil has ten torpedo-boat destroyers and two scout cruisers. She has also a large floating dock. The *personnel* of the Navy is 8,500 of all ranks. The political significance of these facts will be obvious. Assurances were, however, offered that the mutiny had no political meaning, and was a protest against internal Navy administration.

The value of the rubber exports in 1909 was put at 18,926,061l. —twice the value of seven years previously. But the quantity exported was less than one-fourth larger.

Dr. Saenz Peña was returned unopposed in the election of the Presidency of *Argentina* in March, Señor Udaondo retiring from the contest. In the elections for Senators and Deputies, Dr. Peña's supporters were in a large majority. The Message to Congress of the retiring President, Señor Alcorta, told of good relations with all European countries and all the American Republics, with the exception of Bolivia; and he referred to the conclusion of the Arbitration Treaty with Great Britain. He gave the stock of gold in the conversion *Caisse* as 201,653,000 pesos gold. The internal debt on December 31, 1909, was 87,000,000 pesos gold and 115,845,000 pesos paper. The external debt was 310,000,000 pesos gold. The imports for 1909 amounted to 302,756,095 pesos gold and the exports to 397,350,528 pesos gold. There was some uneasiness in May owing to threats of a general strike, and demonstrations by Anarchist and Socialist bodies and their opponents in Buenos Ayres. The Government therefore declared a state of siege throughout the Republic. Another trouble was the appearance of foot and mouth disease among the cattle of the Corrientes and Entre Rios. Professor Lignières made an investigation for the Government, and vigorous steps were taken to arrest the outbreak. The centenary of the independence of Argentina was celebrated in May, the state of siege continuing and a rigorous censorship being exercised on all telegrams. Brazil did not send warships, apparently from the politic motive of not desiring to emphasise her new naval strength. The absence of this compliment seems to have excited hostile feelings against Brazil, and Brazilian flags were torn down from consulates and hotels. The celebrations were attended on behalf of Spain by the Infanta Isabel, aunt of King Alfonso, by an Ambassador Extraordinary, and by delegates from the Spanish Royal Academies. Chili was represented by President Montt, who died later in the year; and a feature of the celebrations was the emphasis put upon the friendship between Chili and Argentina. But the festivities were marred by the state of siege, which in effect suspended the Constitution whose inauguration was the theme of the rejoicings. A banquet in honour of the centenary was given in London under the presidency of Lord Revelstoke and was attended by the Foreign Minister, Sir Edward Grey, who contributed to the complimentary oratory.

The festivities in Buenos Ayres were followed by an International Agricultural Exhibition. A Pan-American Congress was held in the city in July, Dr. A. Bermejo, of the Argentine delegation, being voted to the chair. The United States had the largest delegation. The object of the discussions was to promote union and better intercommunication between the Republics. A Venezuelan delegate made an attack on the United States. The Brazilian delegation, supported by Chili, moved the adoption of the Monroe doctrine as a principle of policy for all the Republics; but Argentina opposed. During the state of siege, which ended on September 29, there was an Anarchist outrage in the Colon theatre of Buenos Ayres, a bomb being thrown and several persons injured. Congress enacted a law for the summary expulsion of Anarchists, and many suspected persons in the hands of the police were sent out of the country. Dr. Saenz Peña assumed the Presidency in October. The Budget Estimates for 1911 previously presented to Congress showed an expected surplus of over two and a half millions sterling. President Peña's new Ministry comprised Dr. Rosas as Minister of Finance; Dr. Indalecio Gomez, Minister of the Interior; Dr. Bosch, Minister for Foreign Affairs; Dr. Ramos Mejia, Minister of Public Works,—all of whom had served in previous Ministries. Mr. James Bryce, the British Minister at Washington, was at Buenos Ayres in November in the course of a tour through South America. Later in the month Argentina was visited by a British squadron under Admiral Farquhar, and officers and men were lavishly entertained. The squadron stayed in the estuary for a week and steamed for Montevideo. The foundation-stone of a British monument in honour of the Centenary of Argentine Independence was laid by Mr. Townley, His Majesty's Minister at Buenos Ayres, in November, and speeches made by Argentine Ministers in eulogy of Great Britain. In December the Chamber passed the Budget for 1911, which provides for an expenditure of nearly 28,000,000*l.* sterling. The returning of Dr. Charcot's Antarctic expedition has brought forward the question of the ownership of the South Orkney Islands, which were annexed to the Falkland Islands by Great Britain in 1908. They were claimed by Argentina by virtue of the establishment of a meteorological station. They are said to be useless for any other purpose, and habitable the year round only by seal and penguin.

Señor Pedro Montt, President of *Chili* since 1906, died suddenly at Bremen on August 17 while on a visit to Europe. The new President assumed office in December. He is Señor Barros Luco, now in his seventy-fifth year, with a life-long experience of Chilian politics. His election was practically unanimous. In the new Cabinet Señor Raphael Orrego is Minister for Foreign Affairs. The centenary of the establishment of the Republic was celebrated in September, with much gaiety and religious cere-

mony. The principal visitor from the Chilian standpoint was the outgoing President of Argentina, Dr. Alcorta. At the opening of Congress in June the late President Montt said relations with all other Powers were friendly, with the exception of Peru, with whom there is a boundary question unsettled. He denied that the differences between Peru and Ecuador were due to Chilian influence. The chief financial fact of the year is that the Chamber of Deputies authorised the President in June to contract a loan of 4,000,000*l.* sterling for naval purposes, 1,000,000*l.* to be spent on coast defence. Congress voted 4,480,000*l.* for naval and military purposes, chiefly naval. The shipbuilding programme comprises one battleship of the *Dreadnought* class, four destroyers and submarines. The Chilian end of the Transandine Railway was officially opened in April with much ceremony. Another Transandine Railway has been authorised by the Argentine to connect the northern provinces with Chili. The function of arbitration between Chili and the United States in the Alsop claim has been assumed by King George V. During the first nine months of 1910 the total Customs revenue was \$63,758,555, the value of the dollar being eightpence. The external debt is, in round figures, 23,000,000*l.* sterling.

Peru has had difficulties with Chili about the territories of Tacna and Arica, which by the war treaty of 1883 is under Chilian domination pending a plebiscite to determine under which sovereignty they should be. The expulsion of certain Peruvian priests led to a rupture of diplomatic relations.

Between *Ecuador* and Peru there were strained relations on a frontier question and preparations for war were made. The matter was left to the arbitration of King Alfonso of Spain, who had been investigating the matter by a Commission in the disputed area—some 100,000 square miles of virgin forest in the region of the sources of the Amazon. The quarrel goes as far back as 1830. It was stated that Ecuador would not accept the King's award, which was expected to be unfavourable to her, but that the United States Government had pressed Ecuador to accept its mediation jointly with that of Chili and Brazil. Colombia was also concerned in the dispute. A new Cabinet was formed in August. An insurgent movement followed, but was said to be local and to have ended in December with the flight of the rebels into Ecuador.

With *Bolivia* too Peru had trouble, also over a frontier difficulty, which was believed to have been settled by arbitration. The award of the President of the Argentine was, however, unsatisfactory to both parties. The two Governments agreed directly, and during 1910 a commission of British officers under Major Fawcett was engaged in delimitating the boundary. In December, however, Bolivian troops were reported to have surprised and slain a Peruvian garrison.

The exports of Bolivia in 1909 were of the value of 45,620,903 bolivianos (twelve and a half to the English sovereign) and the imports 36,936,940 bolivianos. With a new loan of a million and a half the foreign debt appears to be 3,000,000*l.* sterling. The Government have given a three million guarantee on bonds for railway enterprise. It was reported in October that Major Fawcett had completed his delimitation work by a survey of the River Heath, a stream not previously explored beyond its mouth because of the hostility of cannibal tribes who live on its banks.

President Williman's Message to the Congress of *Uruguay* estimated a surplus for 1909-10 of 1,313,720 pesos gold. A revolution broke out in October in view of the impending elections for the Chamber, the composition of which determines the choice of the President to be elected in 1911, when Dr. Williman's term expires. There were two parties, the Colorados, who wanted Señor Battle y Ordoñez, who was President during 1903-7, to be re-elected, and the Blancos, who wished to force his withdrawal from candidature. Late in November it was reported that the revolutionaries had delivered up their arms, and that the insurrection was mainly confined to the rural districts in the east.

In *Paraguay* there was a minor revolution in September. The Republic is reported to have received an accession of ranching investors from the Argentine and Brazil. It is estimated that there are some 5,000,000 head of cattle now in the country.

Of *Venezuela* it is sufficient to note the election of a new President, Señor Juan Vicente Gomez. Diplomatic relations with Colombia have been resumed. The Hague Tribunal has given a decision awarding the United States 9,374*l.* and costs in the matter of the Orinoco Steamship Company, one of the victims of the Castro regime.

In *Colombia* Señor Carlos E. Restrepo of Antioquia, President of the National House of Representatives, was elected President for four years by the National Assembly on July 19. He was a lawyer, and said to be Liberal in his proclivities. The Government was late in paying the July interest on its debt, but raised a new loan privately in London. The Republic celebrated the centenary of its independence.

CHAPTER IX.

AUSTRALASIA.

I. THE AUSTRALIAN COMMONWEALTH.

THE year 1910 marked the close of the first decade since the establishment of the Federation. It was a record season of production, and it was crowded with Parliamentary events of more than ordinary significance.

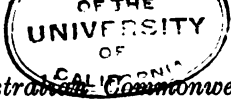
As showing the rate at which Australian production and trade are expanding the comparative figures for 1905 and 1910 are of interest.

	Total Imports.	Total Exports.
1905 - - - - -	£88,847,000	£56,841,000
1910 - - - - -	58,425,000	74,498,000
Particulars of Exports.	1905.	1910.
Wool - - - - -	£19,822,216	£28,779,000
Wheat - - - - -	4,174,128	9,922,000
Flour - - - - -	1,180,818	1,241,000
Butter - - - - -	2,328,890	3,953,000
Frozen Mutton and Lamb - - - - -	1,111,969	2,162,000
Beef - - - - -	441,925	1,179,000
Hides and Skins - - - - -	179,846	3,954,000
Copper - - - - -	2,078,523	2,169,000
Lead - - - - -	1,569,754	1,059,000

This development is chiefly due to an awakening of the Australian people to the real producing value of their lands, and to a rapid increase in the number of small holders. Hence the value of agricultural produce has become about equal to that of the products of the pastoral industry, which latter, however, has never been so prosperous. The farm movement means, of course, an inevitable and rapid increase of the Australian people, and a substantial impetus to immigration. In 1910 upwards of 20,000 immigrants received assisted steamship passages from the Governments of the States, and there was also a good inflow of unassisted settlers. The estimated population at the end of September was 4,498,626, a gain of 733,287 since 1900.

The year opened under the Coalition Government formed a few months before between Mr. Alfred Deakin, the Prime Minister, and the old Opposition, formerly led by Mr. G. H. Reid (now Sir George Reid). Sir George Reid did not join this Government, and his party was led in the Cabinet by Mr. Joseph Cook. The general election in April was the first fought in the Commonwealth by two parties only, on fairly clear issues. At all previous Federal elections there had been three parties: the Protectionists, led by Mr. Deakin; the Free Traders, afterwards the Anti-Socialist party, led by Sir George Reid; and the Labour party, first led by Mr. J. C. Watson, and afterwards by Mr. Andrew Fisher. The end of the three-party system was very welcome to Australia. It had meant Government without full responsibility. Labour was in a position of considerable power whichever party was in office.

The election went strongly against the Coalition, and the Labour party came back with a substantial majority both in the House of Representatives and in the Senate. There were many reasons for the downfall of the Coalition. The Labour party must clearly have received much independent support. It appealed for a stronger Federal Union and thus undoubtedly profited by the remarkable spirit of nationhood awakened by the establishment of the Commonwealth. The different attitude of the two parties



towards the relationship of the States and the Commonwealth was shown on the question of finance. Under the Braddon Clause of the Constitution the Commonwealth undertook for the first ten years of its life to repay to the States three-quarters of the Customs revenue. The Deakin Government proposed to substitute for this an arrangement by which the States should receive for all time a payment *per capita* of 25s. This would have given the States a strong permanent hold over the finances of the Federal Government, and was strongly and successfully opposed by the Labour party. The point was submitted to a referendum at the general election, together with the question as to whether the Commonwealth should have power to take over the State debts. The latter was answered in the affirmative, but the electors rejected the *per capita* payment of 25s. to the States.

When Parliament met, Labour had a majority of twelve in the House of Representatives and ten in the Senate, and Mr. Andrew Fisher became Prime Minister and Treasurer. The Labour party adopted the innovation of selecting the balance of its Ministry by ballot, and the following was the result: Mr. W. M. Hughes, Attorney-General; Mr. Frank G. Tudor, Minister for Trade and Customs; Senator G. F. Pearce, Minister for Defence; Mr. King O'Malley, Minister for Home Affairs; Mr. E. L. Batchelor, Minister for External Affairs; Mr. Josiah Thomas, Postmaster-General; Mr. C. E. Frazer and Senator Findley, Honorary Ministers, and Senator Gregor McGregor, Vice-President Executive Council.

Australia then had for the first time in its Federal politics a Ministry independent of other parties in both Houses; and it was probable that Mr. Fisher would at any rate retain control of the Senate at the next general election. The Ministry at once came down with a striking programme, which included the permanent maintenance of the white Australian policy, nationalisation of monopolies, a graduated tax on the unimproved value of land, compulsory military training and the establishment of a Citizen Defence Force, a Commonwealth Bank of issue, restriction of public borrowing, more liberality in Old Age Pensions, and insurance against unemployment. Two Labour members, Mr. Turley and Mr. C. McDonald, were respectively elected President of the Senate and Speaker of the House of Representatives. Labour, in short, was supreme.

After the defence proposals, and inseparably connected with them, perhaps the most important legislation of the year, was the Federal Land Tax Assessment and Rates Bill. This provides for a progressive tax on the unimproved value of land. It is intended both to raise revenue for defence and for the construction of one or two trans-continental railways, and the development of the Northern Territory, and also to quicken the subdivision of large pastoral estates suitable for farming settlement. The small

holder is exempted from the operations of the tax, and this made the measure popular with the great majority of the people. Land with an unimproved value up to 5,000*l.* pays tax only when the owner is an absentee. From 5,000*l.* to 10,000*l.* the rate is a penny in the pound, and after that it rises to sixpence in the pound on values above 80,000*l.*, while owners who do not live in Australia pay an additional penny in the pound. The validity of this measure is to be challenged in the Law Courts. Already, however, it is considerably accelerating land settlement. Owners must now either work their land, so as to employ large numbers of people, and so effect one of the accepted purposes of the tax, or else they must sell it to small holders. The latter course will probably be the more general, so that the tax must greatly encourage immigration.

During the year the Commonwealth Government took over the Northern Territory from the State of South Australia, and at once initiated a policy for the development of that great region of upwards of 500,000 square miles. Little is known of the Territory except that it is a well-watered and well-grassed area. The Federal Government proposes the appointment of a resident Administrative Commissioner, and is also moving in the matter of a railway to link up the country with the more closely populated South. Special encouragement will be given to white settlement. At the outset the Territory will not receive a Constitution, but will be administered by the Federal Government, and the South Australian State Courts will temporarily retain their jurisdiction. The Australian Notes Act provides for the issue by the Commonwealth Government of notes to the value of 10*s.*, 1*l.*, 5*l.*, and any multiple of 10*l.* The reserve must be not less than one-fourth the amount of notes issued up to 7,000,000*l.* and pound for pound in excess of 7,000,000*l.* This note issue met with strong opposition in business and financial circles, but proved highly successful. The demand for Government Treasury Notes was far in excess of anticipations. The Federal Treasury became possessed of some millions sterling, part of which it is proposed to lend to the States at reasonable rates and so partly to obviate borrowing money abroad.

Other Acts during the year were the Seaman's Compensation Act, which came into force before the elections, and the Australian Industries Amendment Act, which imposes heavy penalties on those making contracts in restriction of trade, or detrimental to the public. A highly important measure proposed amendments to the Constitution to give to the Commonwealth complete legislative control over trade, commerce, corporation and industrial matters, including employment, wages, and settlement of disputes, and to admit of the nationalisation of monopolies. Before these proposals can become law, however, they have to be submitted to the popular vote (in April, 1911). Some amendments were made to the Tariff to provide for anomalies.

The year was momentous for the Commonwealth in matters of defence. Mr. Fisher's first Government in 1908 gave orders for the building in Great Britain of two torpedo-boat destroyers, and the construction in part of a third. The first of these boats, the *Parramatta*, which was also the first unit of the locally owned Australian Navy, was launched at Glasgow by Mrs. Asquith, and a little later the second, the *Yarra*, took the water at Dumbarton. These events created world-wide interest, and Australia received universal congratulations on her establishment of a defensive naval force. Later in the year the two little destroyers steamed to Australia with Australian officers and crews, and their arrival at the different ports was the signal for much enthusiasm and display of patriotism.

It was estimated that the Australian Naval Unit would consist of one armoured cruiser, three second-class cruisers, sixteen torpedo-boat destroyers, and three submarines, and would cost 3,695,000*l.* Owing, however, to improvements in type this sum will probably be exceeded. The annual maintenance was estimated at 750,000*l.*, towards which the British Admiralty offered to contribute 250,000*l.* until the Commonwealth was in a position to take over the whole cost. The Commonwealth Government, however, decided to bear the whole cost from the beginning. The armoured cruiser, two second-class cruisers, and two submarines, were in course of construction at the end of the year, while the third second-class cruiser is to be built in Australia. At the request of the Commonwealth Government Admiral Henderson was subsequently appointed by the Imperial Government to visit Australia, and, after complete investigations, to draw up a scheme for the adequate defence of the young nation. This step was the natural sequel of a visit of some months earlier in the year from Lord Kitchener on a similar mission regarding land defence. Lord Kitchener's report was awaited with the deepest interest, and although the Government had already in hand a detailed scheme for compulsory training, steps were immediately taken to adopt in their entirety the recommendations of the distinguished Field-Marshal.

Under the new scheme, to take effect early in 1911, every male inhabitant of Australia who has resided there six months and is a British subject will be liable to be trained: (a) from twelve to fourteen years of age in the Junior Cadets; (b) from fourteen to eighteen years of age in the Senior Cadets; (c) from eighteen to twenty-five years of age in the Citizen Forces, and in the case of imminent danger of war, from twenty-five to twenty-six years of age. The obligatory training does not apply to persons reaching the age of eighteen years in or before 1911. Apart from the Junior Cadets an immediate enrolment is expected of 100,000 Senior Cadets. When the scheme is in full operation (1919-20) it is estimated that there will be 114,000 men aged from eighteen to twenty-five years undergoing training, with

13,000 men between twenty-five and twenty-six in the first line of reserve, making a total fighting force of 127,000 men between the ages of eighteen and twenty-six. The Commonwealth has been divided into military areas, and area officers will supervise and direct the registration, organisation, and training of Senior Cadets, inspection of Junior Cadets in schools, administration of troops within the area, and training of all recruits. To provide for the higher training of officers a military college has been established, and the services of qualified officers on its staff have been obtained from the War Office. The education at this college will be entirely free. The estimated cost of carrying out the scheme is about 2,000,000*l.* per annum.

Members of the Federal Parliament, both Senate and House of Representatives, passed a measure increasing their pay from 400*l.* to 600*l.* a year. One of the last important steps taken by the Coalition Government was the appointment of Sir George Houstoun Reid as Australia's first High Commissioner in London. The new High Commissioner took control early in the year of Australia's temporary offices at 72 Victoria Street, which had been organised by Captain R. Muirhead Collins, now Official Secretary to the Commonwealth in Great Britain. The Commonwealth staff in London was considerably strengthened, and a large amount of important work accomplished. All departments of the Federal Government are represented in the High Commissioner's offices, and the value of establishing this close official touch with the centre of the Empire at once became apparent. The Federal Government has not yet taken over full control of immigration, but by arrangement with the various States, the High Commissioner in London is now doing nearly the whole of Australia's advertising. The Labour Government, though sometimes charged with indifference as to immigration, voted 12,000*l.* for expenditure on publicity in Great Britain, a sum far exceeding the amount spent in any previous year. It is hoped that both Federal and State representatives in Great Britain will eventually occupy one permanent central office.

In Federal legislation the Labour Ministry is aiming at a strong national programme. First comes the White Australian policy. That has been the beginning of all Federal legislation. Next the recognition that if Australia is to be kept for a white race, immediate steps must be taken for its defence. Hence the progressive land tax, which opens up land for settlement, and makes immigration easier. Land and Naval Defence measures then follow naturally. Protection has the support of the Labour Government, and the existing Ministry is as much concerned about Protection for the worker as for the employer; hence its attention to social and industrial legislation. The endeavour to stamp out anything in the nature of monopolies is directed against the exploitation of Protection by a few highly organised capitalists.

Old Age Pensions are evidence of the humanitarian side of the Labour force, and are fully supported by the great majority of the people, while the tendency towards State Socialism, as shown in the proposed nationalisation of monopolies, is but one more stage in a policy of State interference which was firmly rooted in Australia long before the day of organised Labour. Generally speaking, Australia enjoyed during the year a prosperity without precedent, employers obtaining very high dividends, although the wage-earner enjoyed rates of pay and conditions ahead of those in almost any other part of the world. The year was, broadly speaking, free from industrial strife, and many new agreements and awards were reached under the operations of various State and Federal Arbitration Courts and the Wages Boards.

The most significant feature of the Australian year was probably the general awakening of the Australian people to the grave necessity of attracting more immigrants from overseas. The Commonwealth Government not only greatly increased its advertising expenditure, but every State showed zeal in winning people to its shores. Western Australia, Queensland, and New South Wales led the movement, these States having for the time being the most attractive offers for the immigrant. Assisted passages are granted liberally; the farmer, the farm labourer, and the domestic can proceed from Great Britain to Western Australia to-day for as little as 2*l.* a head, while the rate to Queensland and New South Wales is also very low. The Governments also practically guarantee work to these assisted immigrants, and during the year the demand for the new arrivals was always far in excess of the numbers landing. The amount spent on assisted immigration by the States and the Commonwealth in 1910 was about 200,000*l.*, mainly on assisted passages. Nominated passages, by which people resident in Australia who have friends in Great Britain are able to obtain passages at about half-rates for approved people, add some thousands yearly to Australia's population.

New South Wales had a highly prosperous season. Production was heavy and prices good, and the number of land settlers increased substantially. The Wade Government pursued a very vigorous policy of buying large estates from their owners, and selling them on easy terms to farmers. The plan adopted was to buy big areas at wholesale prices, and to sell them at cost, plus subdivision expenses to the settlers, on terms extending over thirty-eight years. Thus men with very little capital could become land-owners, and the result was a record year in land settlement. In addition to this 25,000*l.* was expended on attracting immigrants from Great Britain. The good times in the country were reflected in the cities, and particularly in Sydney, where building was remarkably active, and manufacturing showed a large expansion. The big Burrenjick Irrigation Scheme on the Murrumbidgee River was advanced almost to completion, and

the first steps taken towards making available upwards of 100,000 acres of irrigated land in small holdings for intensive cultivation. The North Coast Railway which is opening up a splendid tract of good rainfall country, along the Pacific margins, was actively pushed forward. A number of other important public works made good headway.

This vigorous policy might have made the Government very popular, but at the general elections in October Mr. Wade's party were placed in a small minority, and Mr. McGowen formed a Labour Ministry. His tenure of office is unstable, being dependent on a small independent party. The Labour programme includes amended legislation for dealing with Labour disputes, the extension of the Eight Hours principle, the creation of a new Department of Labour and Industry, and a vigorous policy of land development and public works. The Labour Ministry will grant no further freehold titles for Government lands. This provision, however, will not apply to existing holdings.

Victoria.—The political position in Victoria remained unchanged, and Mr. John Murray's Liberal Ministry, sitting with Labour in direct Opposition, accomplished much useful legislation. The way of the Government was made easy by a record year in production. The wheat crop exceeded 32,000,000 bushels. No Australian State had previously produced more than 30,000,000 bushels in a single year.

The feature of the year was the Government's bold policy of attracting settlers for its irrigated farms in the North. Mr. Hugh McKenzie, the Minister for Lands, accompanied by Mr. Elwood Mead, the Chairman of the Waters and Rivers Commission, proceeded to Great Britain and America in quest of farmers, and the mission was highly successful. Some hundreds of settlers, possessed of considerable capital, were induced to proceed to Victoria, and at the end of the year they were busy taking up irrigated blocks from the Government. The conditions under which this land is offered illustrate the endeavours now being made to increase the population by immigration. The Victorian Government has expended some 3,500,000*l.* on irrigation works. In 1910 large areas of land, capable of being watered from these works, were bought by the Government, and offered in small holdings. Purchasers were given possession on payment of 3 per cent. of the price of their land, the balance being spread over thirty-one and a half years. In addition to this, the State provided steamship fares, houses, and live stock, and improvements on the land on the payment of a small deposit by the incoming farmer. At the end of the year this policy had been so successful that the Government had to buy more land, and large additional irrigation works were in contemplation. An interesting departure in State ownership was made in the development of the Government coal mine on the Powlett River, which at the end of the year had a

capacity of 2,500 tons a day. It was estimated that in 1911 the mine would supply the State Railway Commissioners with all the coal they needed, and that there would be a large surplus available for sale.

The Budget included a tax of three-farthings in the pound on the unimproved value of land, but, the financial position improving, the Treasurer was able to reduce the tax to a halfpenny. In spite of the compensation claims arising out of the Richmond collision (Chronicle, July 18) the railway receipts for the year showed a handsome surplus.

In *Queensland* the political year closed with the retirement of Mr. William Kidston from the State Premiership. Mr. Kidston left his party in a sound position in the House, and his place was taken by Mr. Denham. The retiring Premier had the satisfaction in the closing days of the year of obtaining sanction to the biggest railway scheme yet embodied in a single piece of Australian legislation, as also to the loan of about 9,000,000*l.* for construction. One of the new railways will pass through the centre of Queensland from North to South; the other will open up a large fertile coastal area between Rockhampton and Cairns, and together with the railways already existing will form a rough parallelogram with a number of lines across it. This scheme will necessitate the immigration of several thousand navvies, and will also open up a vast area of superior country for settlement. It means, in short, a new era in Queensland's development. Immigration was very active during the year, and all industries flourished, the season being one of the most prosperous on record. Sir Horace Tozer, for some years Agent-General in London, resigned his post, and was succeeded by Major Robinson, who was soon afterwards knighted.

In *South Australia* the year was politically stormy. In June Mr. Peake's Ministry was defeated on a vote of want of confidence proposed by Mr. Verran, the leader of the Labour party. Mr. Verran had a majority of only one or two, but nevertheless the Ministry was still in office at the end of the year, and was putting forward a vigorous policy, including the election of the Legislative Council by adult suffrage, the construction of locks on the River Murray within the State, and new railways to open up fresh country for agriculture. The first-named proposal was thrown out by the Upper House. The tax on unimproved land values was increased by three-farthings in the pound without any exemptions, and the tax on incomes derived from land abolished. Railway freights were reduced and receipt stamps abandoned. The Budget imposed a tax of 20 per cent. on the increment value of land. A measure carried by the Labour party makes it practicable for wage earners to acquire their own freehold dwellings. St. Peter's Cathedral at Adelaide was completed and relieved of debt.

In *Western Australia* the year was marked by a great immigration policy. To further it the Premier, Colonel Newton Moore, came to Great Britain in March, and visited many rural centres in the United Kingdom. The result was highly satisfactory, and before the end of the year more desirable settlers were offering than could be provided with shipping accommodation. Colonel Newton Moore was knighted shortly before he left Great Britain. On his return to Western Australia, however, he was compelled by ill-health to resign the Premiership, and was succeeded by Mr. Frank Wilson. Speaking in Western Australia on the settlement policy, Sir Newton Moore pointed out that the area under crops (540,000 acres) had tripled in the past five years. A number of important Railway Bills were passed by the House, the expressed aim of the Government being to bring all the agricultural lands within a distance of fifteen miles of a railway. Satisfactory progress was made with the scheme to link up Kalgurli in Western Australia with Port Augusta in South Australia. This work, to be carried out by the Federal Government, now appears to be free of obstacles, and the Western Australian people look forward to its completion within a few years. The opening of the Bullfinch gold mine at Yalgarn, near Southern Cross, provided a sensation scarcely second to the discoveries at Coolgardie and Kalgurli, and was followed by the flotation of many other mines in the adjoining country. Two exploring expeditions went to Western Australia during the year; the Cambridge Ethnological Expedition, and another, assisted by the Stockholm Academy of Science.

In *Tasmania* the year passed quietly, but was marked by conspicuous industrial prosperity. Parliament sanctioned Acts dealing with foods and drugs, the improved supervision of dairy produce, the appointment of Wages Boards, the law of evidence, workmen's compensation, and also continued a free policy of reproductive Public Works. A State tax was also projected on the unimproved value of land. As in the other States the Government abolished political control of the railways by the appointment of a Commissioner with wide powers.

II. NEW ZEALAND.

The good times so conspicuous in Australia were also enjoyed by the Dominion of New Zealand. The revenue for 1909-10 was a record—9,238,261*l.*, and the expenditure falling below the estimate, Sir Joseph Ward's Government had a surplus of 432,316*l.* A vigorous policy of retrenchment saved the Government about 300,000*l.* on the year. The most important measure was that dealing with defence. Lord Kitchener visited the Dominion after leaving Australia, and reported upon the steps necessary for the establishment of satisfactory forces. The Premier immediately adopted the scheme, and introduced and carried a

Defence Amendment Bill. Under the Act passed in 1909, 30,600 men were compulsorily liable for service; under the Amendment Bill 75,000 will become liable, and after allowing for exemptions, the total forces will be 50,000 men available for service up to the age of twenty-five. The scheme will be in full operation in 1913, and its annual cost is estimated at 400,000*l.*

The Government took steps to obtain authority to create stock so as to consolidate all the Dominion's loans. Another important measure was the National Annuities Bill, which provides an annuity for all people participating in the scheme. A new Licensing Act provides that if 600,000 of the voters favour the prohibition of intoxicating liquors, they must not be imported into, manufactured, or sold in the Dominion. The trade returns to the end of September, which marks the close of the produce year, showed exports for the previous twelve months to the value of 21,958,864*l.* exclusive of specie, and imports at 16,101,886*l.* against 18,700,000*l.* and 14,916,000*l.* respectively for the previous year. The chief exports were wool 7,954,000*l.* (increase 2,040,000*l.*), frozen meat 3,929,000*l.* (increase 367,000*l.*), butter and cheese 2,987,000*l.* (increase 508,000*l.*). These returns illustrate the striking prosperity enjoyed by the New Zealanders. The Dominion made a handsome exhibit at the Anglo-Japanese Exhibition in London, and was the only one of the Australasian States to be represented. The immigration policy was modified owing to more people being on offer in Great Britain than could be provided with berths on the steamers. There is, however, still considerable encouragement and assistance offered to domestic servants. Lord Plunket's term as Governor expired, and he was succeeded by Lord Islington. Mr. William Hall Jones, High Commissioner for the Dominion in London, was honoured with a Knighthood, and also Mr. C. C. Bowen, Speaker of the Legislative Council. The growing importance of the Dominion's trade was shown by the fact that the Canadian Pacific Railway Company opened a new direct steam service between Canada and Auckland under the name of the New Zealand Shipping Company. The Seddon Memorial was unveiled during the year at St. Paul's Cathedral.

III. POLYNESIA, ETC.

The year passed without notable event. In many of the groups, however, there was an increased activity in the various island industries, and especially in planting. European investors are slowly awakening to the fact that the islands of the Pacific are among the few naturally rich places in the world which still remain undeveloped. To-day the missionary and the trader are everywhere being followed by the expert and the company promoter. No native troubles of consequence were reported, and the year was a quiet one among the various Powers whose interests have sometimes come into conflict.

The Anglo-French Convention for the New Hebrides bore fruit in the Joint Court. So far, however, the tribunal has failed to restrain the disputes between the French and British settlers over questions of recruiting and the sale of liquor.

The death of Mr. George Clunies-Ross, the Governor of the Cocos or Keeling Islands, removed a remarkable personality from that sphere of British influence. The Clunies-Ross family has for two or three generations exercised a unique sway in the Cocos Islands.

The late Governor had native blood on his mother's side. He was educated in Scotland, and succeeding his father at the islands he displayed not only an exceptional grasp of the possibilities of the area under his control, but was also highly skilled in the native arts and crafts. One notable event of his life was an unsuccessful attempt to colonise and civilise the Christmas Islands. On another occasion he sailed with some members of his family all the way from the Cocos to Great Britain in a small schooner. He is succeeded at the islands by his son.

PART II.

PART II.
CHRONICLE OF EVENTS
IN 1910.

JANUARY.

1. The Primate's New Year's message. (See English History, Chapter I.)

— Under Rugby Union Rules, an international football match at Swansea between Wales and France was won by Wales by forty-nine to fourteen points.

2. The ss. *Ayrshire*, from Liverpool to Australia, and the ss. *Arcadian*, of the Ellerman line, collided in fog in St. George's Channel; the *Arcadian* sank, and twelve Lascars were drowned. The *Ayrshire* was beached at Holyhead.

3. Announcement that Dr. Ludwig Mond had bequeathed 50,000*l.* to the Royal Society and 50,000*l.* to Heidelberg University, to be devoted to research, principally in chemistry and physics; 20,000*l.* to the Munich Academy for the promotion of sculpture and painting; 20,000*l.* for a pension fund to aged or disabled workmen of Brunner Mond & Co., Ltd., and 20,000*l.* to the town of Cassel, supplementing a previous gift of 5,000*l.* and for the same purposes; and, subject to the life interest of his wife, fifty-six pictures by great Italian masters to the National Gallery.

4. Announcement that Sir Henry Norman, M.P., had been appointed Assistant Postmaster-General. (See English History, p. 19.)

— At Bordeaux, M. Delagrangé was killed by a fall from his aeroplane, which collapsed at a height of 26 feet.

5. At Johannesburg, a South African team defeated the M.C.C. cricket eleven by nineteen runs.

6. The Royal Palace at Athens was damaged by fire, to the extent of 100,000*l.*, the furniture and various relics and documents, however, being saved. British and Russian bluejackets aided in overcoming the flames.

7. Announcement that Parliament would be asked to vote 20,000*l.* towards the projected British Antarctic Expedition.

— At Mourmelon-le-Grand, Mr. Latham broke the aviation record for altitude by exceeding 3,000 feet. (See Aug. 11.)

10. Parliament dissolved by Royal Proclamation ; the new Parliament summoned for February 15. (See English History, Chapter I.)

12. The Southern Pacific Railway Company's steamer *Czarina* was wrecked at Coos Bay, Oregon ; about thirty lives lost.

14. The general election began with the unopposed return of Mr. J. Chamberlain for West Birmingham, and two other Unionists.

— Heavy snowstorms in New York, Chicago, and other parts of the United States.

15. First pollings in the general election. (See English History, Chapter I., p. 12.)

— A Rugby football match between England and Wales at Twickenham was won by England by eleven points to six.

16. Serious floods announced in and near Tamworth, New South Wales ; many cattle, horses, and sheep drowned.

17. A new comet discovered by Mr. Drake, an observer at Johannesburg ; on January 19 it was observed at Cambridge, and in the following week was very generally seen shortly after sunset in the United Kingdom and throughout Europe.

18. At Maritzburg, Natal, the M.C.C. cricket team beat a Natal eleven by nine wickets.

18-23. Violent storms and floods in Southern, Eastern, Central and South-western France and in Switzerland. Railway communication in parts of South-eastern France was interrupted, and the Seine began to rise at Paris (Jan. 20), and the underground railway tunnels in that city to collapse.

19. Announcement that Sir Alfred Jones, who died December 14, 1909 (ANNUAL REGISTER, 1909, Obituary, p. 143), had left the residue of his estate, probably amounting to 500,000*l.*, for charitable objects in England or any British possession on the West Coast of Africa, at the discretion of his trustees ; he suggested as such objects the technical education of West African natives, the promotion of education or science, original research into the causes of disease on the West Coast (direct or indirect), relief of deserving relatives of his own, or employees of his firm, and charitable objects benefiting Liverpool or the West Coast of Africa.

— In the Manchester County Court, Miss E. W. Davison, a suffragist, obtained 40*s.* damages (having claimed 100*l.*) against certain visiting justices of Strangeways Prison, Manchester, for turning a hosepipe on her in her cell to drive her away from the door, which it was found necessary to force. The object was to prevent her from injury.

— At Constantinople the Chiragan Palace, which served for the meeting of the Turkish Parliament, was burnt down ; no lives lost.

21. The Duke and Duchess of Connaught left London for East Africa.

22. At Edinburgh a Rugby football match between Scotland and France was won by Scotland by twenty-seven points to *nil*.

— At Westminster Cathedral, Archbishop Bourne unveiled a memorial to Cardinal Manning, erected over his tomb.

23. On the Canadian Pacific Railway, near Webbwood, Ontario, the Montreal-Minneapolis Express ran off the rails, and two cars fell into the Spanish River; forty-eight persons were killed, about sixty injured.

24. It was stated that nearly half France was under water. In Paris the Orleans Station on the Quai d'Orsay was flooded, and the water was above the crowns of the arches of the bridges over the Seine. Many suburbs were cut off or flooded. The Lyons line was interrupted.

— In the High Court Building at Calcutta, a Mohammedan detective officer, Shams-ul-Alam, was murdered by a Bengali youth. (See Foreign and Colonial History, Chapter V.)

25. The reformed Imperial Legislative Council of India held its first meeting at Calcutta.

— Retirement of Admiral Sir John Fisher from the post of First Sea Lord of the Admiralty.

26. At Durban, the second test match between a M.C.C. eleven and South Africa was won by the latter by ninety-five runs.

29. The Paris floods reached their maximum, the depth at the Pont Royal being over 31 feet. The water rose through the drains and underground railway tunnels, endangering various buildings at some distance from the river, notably near the St. Lazare terminus. There were some 200,000 sufferers.

— At Stoa's Nest Station, on the Brighton Railway, one of the coaches of an express from Brighton was derailed and thrown on to the platform; seven persons were killed and about fifteen injured. The report of the Board of Trade inspector (April 5) ascribed the accident to the shifting of one of the wheels of the fifth coach, owing to its loose grip on its axle. A special test of this grip had been previously adopted on the Great Western Railway, and was now to be adopted on the Brighton system.

FEBRUARY.

1. The first Labour Exchanges opened. (See English History, Chapter I., p. 17.)

— At East London, South Africa, the cricket match between the M.C.C. team and a Border eleven was won by the English team by four wickets.

2. At the sale of the Earl of Chesterfield's furniture at Holme Lacy, a carved Chippendale mahogany bookcase fetched 2,000 guineas, four wood carvings by Grinling Gibbons 3,675 guineas, and a Boulle writing-table 565 guineas.

3. Announcement that the Rev. Bertram Pollock, Head Master of Wellington College, had been appointed Bishop of Norwich, *vice* Dr. Sheepshanks, resigned.

5. At Christie's, a pair of pictures by J. B. Pater, "The Gardens of a Palace," and "The Interior of a Palace," realised 2,650 guineas.

— At Cardiff, a Rugby football international match between Wales and Scotland was won by Wales by fourteen points to *nil*.

6. M. Edmond Rostand's drama "Chantecler" produced, after many postponements, at the Théâtre Port St. Martin, Paris.

7. Announcement that the Mayor of the city of Norwich should for the future enjoy, by the King's direction, the title of Lord Mayor, in view of the position of Norwich as the chief city of East Anglia and of its close connection with his Majesty.

8. The Indian Press Bill passed the Legislative Council, and the Viceroy announced the decision of the Government to release the prisoners deported since December, 1908.

— Recurrence of floods in France on the Marne, Meurthe, Rhone and Doubs, and on the Sambre in Belgium.

— The Pacific Steam Navigation Company's intermediate steamer *Lima* wrecked at Huamblin Island, west coast of South America; 188 passengers and seventeen of the crew were rescued by ss. *Hatumet* on February 9, the remaining eighty-eight, after some days' detention and suffering, by the Chilian tugboat *Pisagua*.

10. A memorial erected in the crypt of St. Paul's Cathedral to the memory of Mr. Richard Seddon, Premier of New Zealand, who died on June 10, 1906, was unveiled by the Duke of Argyll.

— The steamer *Général Chanzy*, belonging to the Compagnie Générale Transatlantique, and bound from Marseilles to Algiers, was wrecked on the north coast of Minorca in a heavy gale; 154 persons drowned; one, a passenger, saved.

11. A Royal warrant provided that an official Roll of Baronets should be prepared and kept by the Home Secretary, and that a Registrar of the Baronetage should be appointed, and that no person not on the roll should be received or officially addressed as a Baronet.

12. At Christie's, a picture by J. W. M. Turner, representing ladies and gentlemen in a garden, sold for 1,120 guineas.

14. The general election closed with the declaration of the poll for Orkney and Shetland.

— In the Probate and Divorce division of the High Court, the President dismissed with costs the suit brought by Ernest Henri Sackville-West for a declaration that he was the legitimate son of Lionel Lord Sackville and Josefa Duran de Ortega, a Spanish ballet-dancer, and a British subject. Lord Sackville had lived with the lady in question and had had children by her, whom he had registered as legitimate; but there was evidence that he had done this only to save her feelings, and that their marriage was rendered impossible by the existence of her husband.

15. The new Parliament was opened by Royal Commission. (See English History, Chapter I.)

— Prince and Princess Henry of Prussia arrived in London.

— Mr. J. Dunville and Mr. C. Pollock crossed the Irish Sea in a balloon, leaving Dublin at 10 A.M. and landing near Macclesfield at 3 P.M.

— The Seine rose for the third time in 1910.

16. It was announced that Mme. Curie had at length succeeded in isolating one-tenth of a milligramme of polonium, which possessed much greater radio-activity than radium.

18. The Waterloo Cup was won by Mr. S. Hill-Wood's greyhound Heavy Weapon; Full Steam, the other victor in the semi-final tie, being withdrawn.

— Visit of French Parliamentary deputation to St. Petersburg.

21. The King and Queen opened Parliament in State. (See English History, Chapter II.)

— At Johannesburg, the M.C.C. cricket team beat the Transvaal by fifty runs.

22. Announcement of the discovery of the MS. of Goethe's "Wilhelm Meister's Theatralische Sendung," a hitherto lost variation of "Wilhelm Meister's Lehrjahre."

— Promulgation of the Bosnian Constitution. (See Foreign History, Chapter II.)

23. It was announced that the Dalai Lama, with several Tibetan notables, had fled from Lhasa to India. (See ANNUAL REGISTER, 1909, Part I., p. 388; 1910, Foreign History, Chapter V.)

— At Derby Assizes, Mrs. Miriam Charlesworth and her daughter May (otherwise Violet) Charlesworth were found guilty of conspiring to obtain money by false pretences from Dr. Jones of Rhyl, and Mrs. Smith, of Derby, and were sentenced to five (afterwards reduced to three) years' penal servitude. (Cf. ANNUAL REGISTER, 1909, p. 1.) The pretence was that the daughter was to inherit a large fortune from a deceased admirer when she reached twenty-five. [An appeal against the conviction was dismissed on March 18 by the Court of Criminal Appeal.]

— The Stanhope Gold Medal of the Royal Humane Society was presented by its President the Prince of Wales, to Thomas Bouttell, an able seaman of H.M.S. *Glory*, for rescuing an Arab passenger who had jumped overboard from the burning steamer *Sardinia* (ANNUAL REGISTER, 1908, Chronicle, Nov. 25) in the face of great danger from explosions and the heated plates of the ship.

24. Announcement that the Hon. Ivor Guest, M.P., was appointed Paymaster-General, *vice* Sir Joseph Causton, resigned.

— The headmastership of Bedford Grammar School, vacated by the appointment of Mr. J. E. King to Clifton College, was filled by the appointment of Mr. Reginald Carter, Rector of Edinburgh Academy.

— At Bunny Hall, near Nottingham, Hoppner's portrait of Mrs. Parkyns was sold for 8,800 guineas.

25. First sitting of the Royal Commission on Divorce.

— First election of Beit Fellows for medical research ; nine men and one woman were chosen.

26. A Rugby football international match at Belfast between Ireland and Scotland was won by Scotland by a goal and three tries to *nil*. An Association International match between England and Scotland at Blackburn was won by Scotland by three goals to two.

27. The towns of Mace and Wallace, Idaho, were overwhelmed by avalanches ; about 50 persons were killed.

28. Sir D. Brynmor Jones (L.), appointed Recorder of Merthyr Tydfil, re-elected M.P. for Swansea unopposed.

— Dr. E. W. Hobson, F.R.S., elected Sadlerian Professor of Pure Mathematics at Cambridge, *vice* Prof. A. R. Forsyth, deceased.

— The last Chinese labourers left the Rand for China, thus ending the employment of Chinese labour in the mines of South Africa.

MARCH.

1. Appointments announced of Mr. P. H. Illingworth to be a Junior Lord of the Treasury (unpaid), and of Mr. C. P. Allen, M.P., to be a Charity Commissioner (unpaid) *vice* Mr. E. J. Soares, appointed to a Junior Lordship of the Treasury.

— Announcement of the abandonment of the proposed German-American exhibition in Vienna, owing, it was stated, to German opposition.

— At the bye-election in the Rotherham division of Yorkshire, due to the resignation of Sir W. Holland, Mr. J. A. Pease, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, was returned unopposed. At the bye-election in the St. George's division of the Tower Hamlets, due to the appointment of Mr. Wedgwood Benn to a Junior Lordship of the Treasury, Mr. Benn was returned by 1,598 votes, Mr. P. C. Simmons (U.) receiving 1,089.

— Announcement that the King had conferred a Viscountcy on Mr. Herbert Gladstone, the Governor-General designate of the Union of South Africa, and a Barony on the Hon. Ivor Guest, Paymaster-General. Mr. Gladstone took the title of Viscount Gladstone of Lanark, and Mr. Guest that of Lord Ashby St. Ledgers.

— Renewed rise of the Seine, speedily followed by a fall, and no further harm was done.

— In Washington State, U.S.A., two trains on the Great Northern Railway were buried by an avalanche near Wellington ; about sixty lives lost.

2. At the bye-election for the Barnstaple division of Devonshire, Mr. E. J. Soares was re-elected unopposed after vacating the seat on his appointment to a Junior Lordship of the Treasury.—Mr. Maurice Healy (Ind. Nat.) was elected for North-east Cork, Mr. O'Brien having elected to sit for Cork city, after being returned for both seats.

3. At Johannesburg, the M.C.C. cricket team beat South Africa in the third test match by three wickets.

3. Mr. J. D. Rockefeller, head of the Standard Oil Company, announced his intention to endow a body of trustees with the balance of his fortune for "the promotion and dissemination of knowledge, the prevention and relief of suffering, and the promotion of any and all of the elements of human progress." The operations of the trustees were not to be confined to the United States. Mr. Rockefeller had already given away \$24,000,000.

4. Announcement that Mr. C. E. Mallet, M.P. for Plymouth, had been appointed Financial Secretary to the War Office.

— At Chester Assizes, Cornelius Howard was found not guilty of the murder of his cousin, Mr. G. H. Storrs, at Gorse Hall, Dukinfield, on November 6, 1909. (See ANNUAL REGISTER, 1909, Chronicle, p. 36.)

— Strike of street railroad employees in Philadelphia, ending April 16. (See Foreign History, Chapter VIII.)

5. The triennial elections to the London County Council resulted in the return of sixty Municipal Reformers and fifty-eight Progressives, one seat (in Central Finsbury) being adjudged to the former after a tie and a recount. The Progressives won seats in Battersea, Bow and Bromley, East Dulwich (2), Central Hackney (2), Haggerston (2), Hoxton (2), East Islington (2), South Islington (from the Labour party), Limehouse, Mile End (2), Peckham, St. George's in the East, West St. Pancras (2) and Whitechapel. The Labour party won seats from the Progressives in North Lambeth and Poplar and from the Municipal Reformers in Bow and Bromley. The Municipal Reformers won two seats in Deptford. Two women candidates were returned, Miss Susan Lawrence (M.R.) in West Marylebone and Miss N. Adler (P.) in Central Hackney. Three were defeated.

— On the Canadian Pacific Railway, near the top of the Selkirk Pass, a snowslide swept away a number of Japanese and Italians who were clearing the line; sixty-two were killed.

— Announcement that Mr. W. H. Lever, M.P. for the Ormskirk division of South-west Lancashire, and head of a great firm of soap manufacturers, proposed to present to Liverpool University 91,000*l.* received by his firm in settlement of the actions brought in connection with the "Soap Trust." (ANNUAL REGISTER, 1906, p. 37; 1909, p. 23.)

6. Franchise demonstration at Berlin. (See Foreign History, Chapter II.)

7. The King left for Biarritz.

— Announcement that Sir Samuel Evans, K.C., M.P. for Mid-Glamorgan, Solicitor-General, had been appointed President of the Probate, Divorce and Admiralty Division of the High Court of Justice, *vice* Sir J. Bigham, retired; and that Mr. Rufus Isaacs, M.P. for Reading, had been appointed Solicitor-General.

— At the bye-election for the Ilkeston Division of Derbyshire, due to the resignation of Sir W. Foster, Colonel Seely, Under-Secretary for the Colonies, was returned by 10,204 votes, Mr. H. Fitzherbert Wright (U.) receiving 6,871.

7. Centenary of the death of Admiral Lord Collingwood celebrated by a special service in St. Paul's Cathedral and also at Newcastle-on-Tyne.

8. At Edinburgh, in the case of *Ogston and Tennant v. The Glasgow Daily Record*, the jury found for the pursuers, damages 9,000*l.*; an action by the same firm against the Associated Newspapers, Ltd., was settled for 4,500*l.* damages and a portion of the costs. The suits arose out of the "Soap Trust" libel (see March 5, above).

— At Capetown, South Africa won the fourth test match by four wickets.

— At St. Petersburg, M. Tchaikovsky was acquitted of the charge of participation in the Russian revolutionary movement; Mme. Breshkowskaya was found guilty and sentenced to be exiled to Siberia.

10. In the Shipley Division of Yorkshire Mr. P. H. Illingworth (L.) was returned again without opposition, having vacated his seat by accepting a Junior Lordship of the Treasury (see above, March 1).

— The memorial fountain to the "Brown Dog done to death in the laboratories of University College" erected in 1906 in the Latchmere Recreation Ground, Battersea, as a protest against vivisection, was removed in the night in consequence of a vote of the Battersea Borough Council on the previous evening. A few hours later an interim injunction prohibiting the removal was granted by Mr. Justice Neville. The memorial had been continuously protected by the police since its establishment, and frequent attempts to destroy it had been made by medical students.

11. Near Clydach Vale, Rhondda Valley, a dam shutting in old and flooded colliery workings burst owing to heavy rains; several houses were swept away and six persons drowned.

— At the Old Bailey, Mr. Fred. Horner, a journalist and sometime editor of the *Whitehall Review*, was convicted of forging and altering telegrams sent to the *Daily Mail* in the name of a frequent contributor to that paper, and stating that a demonstration had taken place against Mr. Lloyd George at Falmouth, on Jan. 8. He was sentenced to six weeks' imprisonment in the second division.

12. The Court of Inquiry into the loss of the *Ellan Vannin* on December 3, 1909 (see Chronicle of that date), found that the vessel was in seaworthy condition and proper trim at starting, and suggested that she might have broached to and have had her after-companion washed away; she would then have gone down by the stern, her bows being broken off by heavy seas. The catastrophe was probably sudden.

— Announcement that the Rev. Canon J. A. Kempthorne, Rector of Liverpool, had been appointed Bishop Suffragan of Hull, *vice* the Right Rev. R. F. L. Blunt, deceased.

— Mr. Rufus Isaacs re-elected M.P. for Reading without opposition on his appointment as Solicitor-General. (His knighthood was announced on March 18.)

14. At Capetown, the fifth test match was won by the M.C.C. team with nine wickets to fall.

— At Cardiff, the international (Association) football match between England and Wales was won by England by one goal to *nil*.

15. Foundation of a National Association for Poor-Law Reform on the lines of the Majority Report of 1909.

16. Announcement that Sir Alfred Keogh, K.C.B., had been appointed Rector of the Imperial College of Science and Technology.

— At Lake Vrynwy, Montgomeryshire, the Prince of Wales opened the new tunnel, bringing the waters of the Marchnant into the reservoir formed by the lake and increasing the water supply of Liverpool.

18. Murder, in a train between Newcastle and Alnmouth, of Mr. John Nesbit, a book-keeper carrying money for the payment of wages at the Stobswood Colliery. Frederick Dickman was arrested on suspicion, convicted of the murder, and executed on August 9.

— At Cambridge Dr. Karl Breul, University Reader of German, was elected to the newly founded Schröder Professorship.

— At Liverpool, the Grand National Steeplechase resulted thus—Mr. Stanley Howard's Jenkinstown, 1; Mr. Assheton Smith's Jerry M., 2; Mr. Hall's Odor, 3. Time, 10 min. 44.5 sec.

19. Announcement of an Austro-Russian agreement to recognise the *status quo* in the Balkans. (See Foreign History, Chapter III.)

— The International Rugby Football match between England and Scotland at Edinburgh was won by fourteen points to five by England, which thereby secured the annual championship.

— At Green Mountain, Iowa, on the Chicago and Rock Island Railroad, a heavy passenger train left the rails, ran into a clay bank, and telescoped; about forty-five persons were killed and thirty-one injured.

22. The recount of votes in the Parliamentary election in North Lonsdale (Lancashire), ordered by the Court in consequence of an election petition, resulted as follows: Mr. G. B. Haddock (U.) 4,329; Mr. J. Bliss (L.) 4,160; an increase of 100 in the Unionist majority.

— At Sotheby's, a desk once the property of Robert Burns was sold for 600*l.*, a first edition of "Don Quixote" for 250*l.*, an edition of John Eliot's "Indian Grammar Begun," printed at Cambridge, Mass., in 1666, for 200*l.*; and a copy of the earliest Welsh New Testament, 1567, for 180*l.*

23. Announcement that the Royal Geographical Society had awarded the Founder's gold medal to Colonel H. H. Godwin-Austen for his geographical and geological researches in the Himalayas, and the Patron's medal to Dr. William Speirs Bruce, LL.D., the Antarctic explorer; the Murchison Grant to Dr. Carl Skottsberg, for survey work in the Southern Atlantic and Pacific; the Gill Memorial to Mr. Douglas Carruthers, for a journey in North Central Arabia; the Cuthbert Peek Grant to Lieut. C. E. Fishbourne, R.E., for surveys in the Lake Kioga region; the Back Bequest to Mr. Hanns Vischer, for a journey from Tripoli to Nigeria across the Eastern Sahara; and a special medal to Rear-Admiral Peary for his discovery of the North Pole.

— An eruption of Mount Etna began. Four new craters were formed; a stream of lava over 1,500 ft. wide flowed down towards Belpasso, going farther than that of 1892. (See *post*, Science.)

23. The University Boat Race was won by Oxford by three and a half lengths; time, 20 min. 14 sec. The race falling in Holy Week, the usual dinner was postponed.

24. In connection with the Waterways Commission (see ANNUAL REGISTER, 1909, Chronicle, Dec. 27) estimates were issued giving the total cost of the improvement of the four main routes specified in England for 100-ton barges at over 13,500,000*l.*, with 800,000*l.* additional for extra works; and for 300-ton barges at nearly 25,000,000*l.*, with supplementary estimates of over 2,000,000*l.* for extra works.

25. On the Fochlwyd, Glydyr Fach, Carnarvonshire, Mr. Charles Donald Robertson was killed by a fall of about 40 ft. while leading a climbing party over rocks.

26. The final (Rugby Union) tie for the Army Football Cup was won by the Gloucester Regiment by a try to nothing.

— At Ökörító, Hungary, at a dance in aid of the Protestant Church of the district, the ball-room (the coach-house of an inn) took fire; 320 persons were killed and 100 injured, about 70 fatally. Many of those burned cast themselves into wells in their agony.

28. By an explosion during gun practice on the U.S. cruiser *Charleston*, off Olongapo Island, Philippines, eight men were killed and several injured.

— The International (Rugby Union) football match between Ireland and France in Paris was won by Ireland by one goal and a try to a try.

— The final Army Cup tie (Association rules) at Aldershot between the Royal Marine Light Infantry (Gosport) and the 1st Battalion Royal Irish Fusiliers was won by the Royal Irish by two goals to *nil*.

— On Lliwedd, a spur of Snowdon, Mr. Leonard Salt, of Burton-on-Trent, was killed by a fall while climbing.

29. Mr. E. P. O'Kelly (N.) returned unopposed as M.P. for West Wicklow, *vice* Mr. John O'Connor (N.) deceased.

— At Bombay, three Brahmans concerned in the murder of Mr. Jackson at Nasik on December 21, 1909, were sentenced to death, three to transportation for life, and one to two years' rigorous imprisonment.

— The Oceanographic Museum opened at Monaco. (See *post*, Science.)

— At Portadown, a statue of the late Colonel Saunderson, M.P., was unveiled by Mr. Walter Long, M.P.

30. A Blue-book containing statistics of crime in England and Wales gave the number of persons tried for indictable offences in 1908 as 68,116, an increase of 11 per cent. on 1907; but crime had increased very little since 1859 and the criminal classes were probably fewer.

30, 31. A heavy snowstorm beginning at 10 P.M. dislocated traffic in Vienna, many persons remaining all night in the *cafés*.

31. At the Parliamentary bye-election for Mid-Glamorgan, due to the appointment of Sir S. Evans to a Judgeship, Mr. F. W. Gibbins (L.) received 8,920 votes, Mr. V. Hartshorn (Labour) 6,210.

— The "All for Ireland" League inaugurated by Mr. W. O'Brien, M.P., at a meeting at Cork.

31. The Aberdeen liner *Pericles*, from Melbourne to London, ran on an uncharted rock 24 ft. below the surface near Cape Leeuwin, Western Australia, and sunk; the passengers and crew were safely landed. The value of the ship and cargo exceeded 500,000*l.*

— The Most Rev. Dr. Wright, Archbishop of Sydney, elected Primate of Australia.

— The Revenue Returns for the year ending March 31, 1910, showed a total revenue of 131,696,456*l.*, as compared with 151,578,295*l.* for 1908-9. The chief increases were: on Customs, 1,148,000*l.*; on estate duties 3,396,000*l.*; on stamps, 309,000*l.*; and on the postal, telegraph and telephone services of 730,000*l.* The chief decreases were: excise, 2,618,000*l.*; house duty, 1,340,000*l.*; property and income-tax, 20,635,000*l.* The net decrease was 19,881,839*l.* For the last quarter of the year the net decrease was 21,309,039*l.*, which was nearly all accounted for by the non-collection of property and income-tax and inhabited house duty.

APRIL.

2. At San Sebastian, M. le Blon, a distinguished French aviator, was killed by an accident to his Blériot monoplane at a height of over 50 ft.

— The International Football (Association) match at Glasgow between England and Scotland was won by Scotland by two goals to *nil*.

— The sentences of all but one of the persons convicted in the Agram High Treason trial (*ANNUAL REGISTER*, 1909, p. 318) were annulled by the Croatian Supreme Court.

3. The balloon Pommern struck a factory roof in the ascent from Stettin and fell into the Baltic near Sassnitz, Rügen; Dr. Delbrück, member of the Reichstag for Stettin, and another occupant were drowned; the two other occupants were severely injured.

— A poll of the workmen interested in Sir C. Furness's co-operative shipbuilding scheme at West Hartlepool resulted in a decision for its discontinuance by a vote of 354 to 302 among co-partner members and 598 to 492 amongst co-partner employees. There were many abstentions among the latter. (See *Chronicle*, Oct. 9, 1908.)

— First ascent of Mount McKinley, Alaska, by the Fairbanks expedition. No traces were found of Dr. Cook's alleged ascent.

4. It was announced that Mr. Roosevelt's audience of the Pope would not take place owing to the insistence by the latter that the ex-President should not visit the American Methodists, who were carrying on a campaign against the Holy See.

— The elections of Poor Law guardians took place throughout England and Wales. In London little interest was shown, and in many cases there were no contests.

— At Akaroa, New Zealand, the sculling match between Arnst, the champion of the world, and Welch, the champion of New Zealand, was won by Arnst by six lengths.

4. Off Land's End, the barque *Kate Thomas*, of Liverpool, in tow from Antwerp to Port Talbot, was run into and sunk, probably by the steamer *India* of Penzance; eighteen persons, including the wives of the captain and chief officer, were lost; one of the crew escaped by swimming to the tug.

5. At Winchester Cathedral, in the presence of the Prince of Wales, a memorial window was unveiled in memory of the officers and men of the King's Royal Rifles who lost their lives in the South African War.

— The first train was run through the Transandine tunnel between Argentina and Chile.

7. The Newcastle liner *Cairnrona*, from London to Portland, with nearly 900 passengers, chiefly Russian emigrants, put back from off Beachy Head with coal bunkers on fire; the passengers were partly transferred to other vessels, and landed at Dover, partly brought back to London, whence the ship proceeded on April 16.

— In the King's Bench Division, in the action "The Red Man's Syndicate v. The Associated Newspapers, Limited," for libel contained in a letter in the *Daily Mail* from Sir William Dunbar, imputing cruelty to the cowboys at Earl's Court Exhibition in 1909, the plaintiffs obtained a farthing damages.

8. Announcement that the Rev. E. Lee Hicks, Canon of Manchester, had been appointed Bishop of Lincoln, *vice* the Right Rev. E. King, deceased.

— Mr. W. P. Byrne, Assistant Under-Secretary of State for the Home Department, appointed Registrar of the Baronetage, and Mr. R. F. Reynard Assistant Registrar.

— Sir Harvey Adamson appointed Lieutenant-Governor of Burma, *vice* Sir Herbert White, whose term would shortly expire.

9. The *Dreadnought* battleship *Colossus* launched on the Clyde.

— An International (Association) football match at Park Royal between England and Switzerland was won by England by six goals to one.

11. Announcement that Sir John Dickson Poynder had been appointed Governor of New Zealand, *vice* Lord Plunket, who was made K.C.M.G. on retirement. (The new Governor was subsequently raised to the Peerage as Lord Islington.)

12. Announcement that Mr. T. E. Scrutton, K.C., had been appointed a Judge of the High Court, *vice* Mr. Justice Sutton, resigned.

— At Lambeth, the Primate entertained at luncheon a number of clergy and laity interested in the promotion of friendly Anglo-German relations, to meet the President of the German committee concerned in the same object, Dr. Spiecker of Berlin.

13. Australian general election; the Labour party made a net gain of eighteen seats. The final figures were—Labour, 44; Fusion, 29; Independent Liberal, 2. In the Senate the Labour party won fifteen out of eighteen seats vacated, giving a majority of ten. Of two referendums, the transfer of State debts to the Commonwealth was affirmed and that on

the financial relations rejected. (See Foreign and Colonial History, Chapter IX.)

18. An international conference for the suppression of the "white slave traffic" was opened by the French Foreign Minister in Paris.

— The Atlantic transport liner *Minnehaha*, from New York for London, went ashore in a fog near Bryher, Scilly Islands; no lives lost. The vessel was got off; the captain's certificate was suspended by the Wreck Inquiry Court (June 3) for three months.

19. At Oxford, Mr. J. A. Smith, Fellow of Balliol, was elected Waynflete Professor of Moral and Metaphysical Philosophy, *vice* Mr. T. Case, resigned.

— In reply to a Parliamentary deputation, the Postmaster-General declined, purely on financial grounds, to establish penny postage with France. The loss in the first year would be 90,000*l.*, or, if extended, as logic would require, to the whole of Europe, 380,000*l.* When finance permitted, however, the reform would be carried out.

— In Buffalo, N. Y., U.S.A., at a congressional bye-election, Mr. Havens, a Democrat, was elected, succeeding a Republican and showing a great Democratic gain in votes. The result was thought to be ominous for the Presidential election of 1912.

— At Christie's, at the sale of bronzes collected by Mr. Isaac Falcke, deceased, a Venetian 16th cent. fountain realised 4,100*l.*, an equestrian group of a Roman soldier 3,700*l.*, a figure of Eve 3,000*l.* The second of these had been bought for 12*l.* in 1908, the third for 20*l.*

— Announcement that Mr. Arthur Dewar, K.C., Solicitor-General for Scotland, was appointed a Senator of the College of Justice in Scotland, *vice* Lord M'Laren, deceased, and that Mr. William Hunter, K.C., M.P. for Govan, was appointed Solicitor-General for Scotland, *vice* Dewar.

21. The Court of Appeal dismissed the appeal of the Board of Education in the Swansea School case (*ANNUAL REGISTER*, 1909, p. 30). A rule had been obtained for *certiorari*, calling on the Board of Education to show cause why its decision not to interfere between the managers and the local authority should not be brought up and quashed, and the Board had appealed. In the course of a dispute with the managers the local authority had refused to pay the teachers' salaries, and the Board, after inquiry, had declined to interfere.

24. Mr. Grahame-White started from Park Royal at 5.12 A.M. to compete for the *Daily Mail* prize of 10,000*l.* for the first flight from London to Manchester. He descended at Rugby and was compelled by the wind to descend again near Lichfield, after accomplishing 117 miles out of 185. He intended to fly back from Manchester to London.

— The Marconi Transatlantic wireless service inaugurated.

— Shakespeare's birthday celebrated at Stratford-on-Avon; speeches were delivered by the Austro-Hungarian Ambassador, Sir George Reid, and the Lord Mayor of Birmingham; there was a procession to the birth-place and the parish church and a performance by Mr. Benson's company of the "Two Gentlemen of Verona."

24. Brussels International Exhibition opened by the King and Queen of the Belgians.

— The final (Association) football cup match played at the Crystal Palace between Newcastle United and Barnsley, was drawn, each side scoring one goal. The match was replayed on April 28 at Liverpool, and was won by Newcastle United by two goals to none.

— Mr. Roosevelt lectured at the Sorbonne on "The Duties of the Citizen in a Republic."

25. First ballots at the French general election. (See Foreign History, Chapter I.)

— At Sotheby's a collection of documents relating to the North American colonies and provinces, part of the Blathwayt correspondence, 1675-1700, was sold for 8,650*l.*, a record price.

26. At Washington, the centenary of Latin-American independence was celebrated by the dedication of a new building for the International Bureau of American Republics, given by Mr. Carnegie.

— At Cambridge, the new School of Agriculture was opened by the Duke of Devonshire as Chancellor of the University.

27. Announcement that the Albert Medal of the first class had been conferred by the King on Mr. Thomas Reynolds, railway conductor, for gallantry in saving the lives of eleven persons in the accident on the Canadian Pacific Railway on January 21, 1910 (p. 3). He had dived out of the sinking car and, though wounded, had extricated the imprisoned passengers through its roof.

— M. Paulhan flew from London to Lichfield on a Farman aeroplane, starting at 5.20 p.m., and descending at 8.10 p.m. Mr. Grahame-White hurriedly started in pursuit at 6.30 p.m., but was compelled by the darkness to descend at Roade at 7.55 p.m.

28. M. Paulhan, resuming his journey at 4.10 a.m., reached New Bur-nage, Manchester, at 5.30 a.m., thus winning the *Daily Mail* prize of 10,000*l.* Mr. Grahame-White left Roade at 2.48 a.m., but descended at Polesworth, near Tamworth, at 4.13 a.m.

— At the bye-election for the Govan division of Lanarkshire, Mr. W. Hunter, K.C., who had vacated the seat on his appointment as Solicitor-General for Scotland, was returned unopposed.

— At the Parliamentary bye-election for North Down, Mr. Mitchell Thomson (U.) was returned, *vice* Mr. Corbett (U.) deceased.

— The House of Commons adjourned for the Spring recess.

29. The House of Lords adjourned for the Spring recess, after the Royal Assent had been given to the Finance Bill.

— Dissolution of the Budget League.

— At the Parliamentary bye-election in South Edinburgh, due to the elevation of Sir A. Dewar, K.C. (L.), to the Bench, Mr. C. H. Lyell (L.) was returned by 8,964 votes, Mr. R. C. Glyn (U.) receiving 6,367.

30. At the Parliamentary bye-election in the Crewe division of Cheshire, necessitated by the death of Mr. J. Tomkinson (L.), Mr. W. B. McLaren (L.) was returned by 7,639 votes, Mr. J. H. Welsford (U.) receiving 6,041.

— M. Paulhan was entertained at lunch at the Savoy Hotel and presented by the French Ambassador on behalf of the *Daily Mail* with its prize of 10,000*l.* A second *Daily Mail* prize of the same amount was announced. Mr. Grahame-White was presented with a silver cup.

— Canon John Walmisley, Vicar of St. Anne, Nottingham, appointed Bishop of Sierra Leone.

— Lord Gladstone left London for Capetown.

— Royal Academy Banquet. The Prince of Wales and Lord Morley of Blackburn were among the speakers. The latter repudiated the notion of British decadence.

MAY.

2. The Scottish Episcopal See of Edinburgh, vacant by the death of the Very Rev. Dr. Dowden, was filled by the election of Canon G. H. Walpole, Rector of Lambeth.

— The trial of the election petition of Sir Christopher Furness (L.) for West Hartlepool resulted in his being unseated on the ground that an organised visit of miners to the town to demonstrate in his favour was illegal, that Mr. Wallace, who organised it, was his agent, and that the cost of it should have been returned. Sir C. Furness himself had not been guilty of corrupt or illegal practices.

4. Commander Peary addressed a special meeting of the Royal Geographical Society at the Albert Hall, describing his journey to the North Pole. A special gold medal was presented to him and a silver medal was given to his companion, Captain Bartlett.

— Earthquake in Costa Rica; Cartago and the "Peace Palace" destroyed. (See Foreign History, Chapter VIII.)

— At Sotheby's, a collection of autograph letters and historical documents realised 5,446*l.* A letter of Mary Queen of Scots was sold for 713*l.*, one of Queen Mary I. of England for 205*l.*, and a collection of letters from Huguenot leaders and their opponents 220*l.*

5. Mr. Theodore Roosevelt delivered the Nobel Prize address on Peace at Christiania in the presence of the King and Queen. He suggested a World-Court on the analogy of the United States Supreme Court, an international agreement to check the growth of armaments, and a League of Peace among those great Powers who were honestly bent on peace.

— The jubilee of the departure of Garibaldi on his expedition to Sicily was commemorated throughout Italy.

6. Death of King Edward VII. (See English History, Chapter III.)

— At the sale of the Coope collection of pictures at Christie's, Sir Joshua Reynolds' "Perdita" realised 5,500 guineas; a portrait of Mrs. Phipps, by Hoppner, 5,000 guineas, a landscape by Gainsborough 4,000 guineas, and "The Sick Lady," by Jan Steen, 3,250 guineas.

7. King George V. held his first Council and made a Declaration to his people. Parliament met to take the oath of allegiance. (See English History, Chapter III.)

— At Woodlesford, near Leeds, a new pit shaft caved in ; six men were killed. One lived for eight hours, caught in the shaft by the falling timber ; an attempt to rescue him by amputating his legs proved impracticable. As he was gradually being overtaken by the rising water a Roman Catholic priest descended to administer the last rites of the Church, with a doctor who held up the head of the dying man.

— It was announced that the Road Board under the Development Act of 1909 would consist of Sir George Gibb, Chairman, Lord Pirrie, Lord Kingsburgh, Lord St. Davids, and Sir C. D. Rose, late M.P. for the Newmarket Division of Cambridgeshire.

9. The Accession of King George V. was publicly proclaimed in Great Britain and throughout the greater part of the Empire.

11. At the Wellington Pit, Whitehaven, about 7 P.M., an explosion occurred cutting off 136 miners in the workings under the sea ; four made their escape, the pit caught fire, and after some thirty-two hours had been spent in efforts at rescue it was decided, on May 13, to brick off the burning area in order to stop the fire. Though it was certain that none of the men in the pit could be then alive, the decision roused considerable hostile feeling. (See *post*, Dec. 2.)

— King George V. proclaimed at Simla as Emperor of India.

— Mr. Roosevelt lectured at Berlin University on "The World Movement" before the Emperor and a distinguished audience.

— At Oxford, Mr. A. D. Godley, Fellow and Tutor of Magdalen College, was elected Public Orator, *vice* the Rev. the Rector of Lincoln, resigned.

14. At Dorchester, the trial of the East Dorset Election Petition, resulted in the unseating of Captain Guest (L.), on the ground that all his expenses had not been included in the return. The charges of bribery and intimidation were dismissed. (See English History, p. 135.)

— The Japan-British Exhibition at Shepherd's Bush, London, was opened. Owing to the death of King Edward VII. there was no ceremony. It closed in October, the admissions having been about 8,000,000.

15. At Lille, a Socialist demonstration was held in honour of the visit of 300 English Socialists, accompanied by Mr. Keir Hardie, M.P., and Mr. William Ward. The banners of the English visitors displayed Christian mottoes, and their speeches asserted their belief in Christianity.

16. Announcement that the Rev. C. H. Westcott had been appointed Bishop of Lucknow, *vice* the Very Rev. A. Clifford, D.D., retiring.

— At Kansas City, Dr. Clarke Hyde was found guilty of murdering his uncle by marriage, Colonel T. H. Swope, a millionaire and philanthropist. An appeal on July 5 resulted in a sentence of imprisonment for life.

17. Lord Gladstone arrived at Capetown.

— At Canton, Ohio, an explosion in a tinplate works killed some twenty workmen and injured about 300.

17. At Pinar del Rio, Cuba, 100 persons were killed and about 100 injured by two explosions during the removal of a quantity of dynamite to the Rural Guard Barracks.

17-19. Lying in State of King Edward VII. (See English History, Chapter III.)

19. In the early hour of the morning the earth passed through the tail of Halley's Comet, but no observations were made. In Paris, Constantinople, and various Continental capitals, and in New York, crowds of people remained up to see the comet. In Russia and other countries its advent had been regarded with the utmost alarm.

— Strike of dockers at Newport, Mon. (See debate in Parliament, June 22, English History, p. 140.)

20. Funeral of King Edward VII. (See English History, Chapter III.)

— At Venice, after a lengthy trial, Countess Tarnowska, and MM. Prilukoff and Naumoff, her two lovers—all Russians—were convicted of the murder in 1907 of another lover, Count Kamarowski, whose life had been insured in the Countess's favour. She had been divorced for some years from her husband, who had treated her badly. The actual murder was committed by Naumoff. Prilukoff was sentenced to ten years' solitary confinement, the Countess to eight years and four months, Naumoff to three years and one month. The trial excited much popular interest.

— A cloudburst and thunderstorm over Driffield and part of the East Riding of Yorkshire, did great damage to crops and drowned poultry and cattle. Through the rising of a brook houses were flooded and a child was drowned.

21. M. Jacques de Lesseps flew over the Channel in a Blériot mono-plane, leaving Calais at 3.40 p.m. and arriving at Wanston Court Farm, near the South Foreland lighthouse, at 5.15 p.m. He was unable to fly back owing to wind. The Channel was hidden by mist.

— Severe thunderstorms did great damage in various parts of England; several lives were lost. Severe thunderstorms were also reported in Eastern and Central France.

24. Empire Day was celebrated by the display of the national flag all over the Empire and by the delivery of addresses to children in the schools.

— The Registrar-General's annual statement showed that in 1909 the marriage rate in England and Wales was 14.6 per 1,000, the birth rate 25.6 per 1,000, and the death rate 14.5 per 1,000, all three being the lowest on record.

25. Celebration in Buenos Ayres of the centenary of Argentine Independence. (See Foreign History, Chapter VIII.) At a commemorative banquet in London Sir Edward Grey spoke on the prosperity of the Republic and described its relations with Great Britain as a model for all international relations.

26. The French submarine *Pluviose*, manœuvring off Calais, was struck and sunk at 1.10 p.m., while rising to the surface, by the cross-Channel mail steamer *Pas-de-Calais* from Calais to Dover; the crew of twenty-six

were drowned. The vessel was raised and brought into Calais on June 11, after great difficulties owing to the strong tides.

26. Earthquake shocks were felt in Alsace, Baden, and parts of Switzerland, but no damage was done.

27. At Palermo, a monument to Liberty in commemoration of the annexation of the Two Sicilies to the Kingdom of Italy was unveiled in the presence of the King and Queen, representatives of the Parliament, and various associations and many Garibaldians.

28. In an International Amateur Golf contest at Hoylake, England beat Scotland by five matches to four.

— Papal Encyclical recalling the memory of San Carlo Borromeo, and reflecting on Luther and Protestantism. It gave great offence in Germany. (See Foreign History, Chapter II.)

29. Mr. Curtiss flew from Albany, N. Y., to Governor's Island, 150 miles, landing at Poughkeepsie and at Spuyten Duyvil. Including stoppages, he took five hours; the actual time in the air was stated as two hours, forty-five minutes.

30. It was announced that Lieutenant Hofrichter of the Austrian army had been convicted of murder and sentenced to death. He had sent poisonous pills to various members of the Austrian General Staff, one of whom had died. His motive was believed to be jealousy through failure to obtain promotion.

— Visit of the King and Queen of the Belgians to the German Emperor.

31. Announcement that the Rev. Lionel Ford, Headmaster of Repton, had been appointed Headmaster of Harrow.

— Mr. Roosevelt in the City. (See English History, Chapter III.)

— The *Pourquoi Pas*, with Dr. Charcot's Antarctic Expedition, arrived at Guernsey on its return. (See ANNUAL REGISTER, 1908, Part II., p. 25.)

— Arbitration began in the Newport Dock Dispute. (See English History, Chapter IV.)

— Announcement that 10,000*l.* had been offered by Mr. J. B. Simpson of Wylam-on-Tyne to develop the Art Department of Armstrong College, Newcastle.

JUNE.

1. At Epsom, the Derby was won by the favourite, Mr. Fairie's Lemberg; Lord Villiers' Greenback was second, and Mr. Cunliffe's Charles O'Malley third; time, 2 min. 35½ sec. (the fastest on record). Fifteen ran. Lord Rosebery's Neil Gow, the second favourite, was fourth.

2. The *Terra Nova* left London with the members of the British Antarctic Expedition.

— Mr. C. S. Rolls flew from Dover to Calais and returned (without landing on French soil) at an average height of 800 feet; time, 90 min.

3. At Christie's, Corot's "The Bird-nesters" was sold for 13,000 guineas; "L'Enfant Couchée," by Matthew Maris, 4,900 guineas; Josef Israel's "The

Pancake," 2,700 guineas. The two first prices were "records" for these two artists' work.

3. At Epsom, the Oaks was won by Sir W. Bass's *Rosedrop*; Mr. J. Musker's *Evolution* was second, and Mr. Reid Walker's *Pernelle* third; time, 2 min. 38½ sec.

3-4. The Army dirigible airship flew from Farnborough to London and back during the night, from 11.39 P.M. to 3.43 A.M., circling over St. Paul's at a height of 1,000 feet.

7. Mr. Roosevelt visited Oxford as the guest of the Vice-Chancellor, receiving the honorary degree of D.C.L., and delivering the Romanes lecture on "Biological Analogies in History".

— At an auction in London, a great auk's egg realised 250 guineas.

— Calitri, in the province of Avellino, Italy, was partly destroyed by an earthquake, and about twenty persons killed; the shock was felt at Naples, Benevento, Foggia, and other towns.

8. At Christie's at a sale of a collection of objects of art formed by Mr. T. W. Waller, of Bradford, a pair of *Sèvres* vases realised 2,000 guineas, a pair of *Chelsea* vases 1,800 guineas, and a *faience* dish 1,200 guineas. A *Louis XVI.* suite of furniture realised 2,900*l.* The total realised for the three days' sale was 53,726*l.*

10. Announcement that Sir Charles Hardinge, Permanent Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, would succeed the Earl of Minto as Viceroy of India. [He took the title of Lord Hardinge of Penshurst.]

— Commander Peary entertained at dinner at the Savoy Hotel by the Pilgrims' Club.

11. At Leeds University, the Duke of Devonshire was installed as Chancellor, *vice* the Marquess of Ripon, deceased, and honorary degrees were conferred on Mr. Asquith, the Marquess of Lansdowne, the Earl of Crewe, the Speaker, Lord Rayleigh and others.

12. On the Jungfernheide, near Berlin, where a crowd was sheltering under trees near a barbed wire fence during a thunderstorm, sixty persons were struck by lightning, six being killed and many more or less injured. Violent storms took place in many parts of Germany and floods in the Ahr Valley, where some 200 persons were reported missing.

— Hospital Sunday. The amount available for distribution was 63,836*l.*, including 13,000*l.* from Mr. George Herring's estate and 11,584*l.* from investments.

13. Announcement that Mr. J. L. Myres, Christ Church, Gladstone Professor of Greek at Liverpool University, was elected first Wykeham Professor of Ancient History at Oxford, and Dr. W. S. Holdsworth, Fellow of St. John's College, All Souls Reader in English Law.

— At Montreal, the *Herald* building was burnt down; the water tank on the roof fell, destroying the whole structure; twenty-nine persons were killed and seventy or eighty injured.

14. At a Parliamentary bye-election for Dublin City (Harbour) Mr. Abraham (N.) was elected unopposed, *vice* Mr. T. C. Harrington deceased.

14. At Cambridge University, the results of Part I. of the Mathematical Tripos were announced, the names being for the first time in alphabetical order. There were twenty-three wranglers, ten senior and thirteen junior optimes. Of women there were one wrangler, three senior and seven junior optimes. At a special Congregation, honorary degrees were conferred on the Earl of Selborne, the Speaker, the Rt. Hon. Mr. Justice Ameer Ali, Sir Oliver Lodge, Mr. W. H. Perkin, Prof. G. A. Smith, Prof. C. H. Firth, and Sir Walter Parratt.

14-23. World Missionary Conference at Edinburgh. (See English History, Chapter VI., Scotland.)

16. The Ascot Cup was won by Mr. Fairie's Bayardo, four years; Mr. W. Vanderbilt's Seasick II. was second, and Mr. W. Bailey's Bachelor's Double third. Thirteen ran. Time, 4 min. 23½ sec.

— A cloudburst in the county of Krasso-Söreny, Hungary, destroyed several villages; several hundred lives reported lost. Floods and landslips occurred elsewhere in Austria-Hungary and also in Switzerland, doing great damage, notably at Bâle and Zurich.

— It became known in Hull that the trawler *Onward Ho* of that port had been seized by a Russian cruiser in the White Sea for fishing within prohibited limits; compensation was demanded.

17. Announcement that Earl Beauchamp had been appointed Lord President of the Council, *vice* Lord Wolverhampton resigned.

— First meeting of the Constitutional Conference. (See English History, Chapter IV.)

— At the Parliamentary bye-election for the Lewes division of Sussex, Mr. W. R. Campion (U.) was returned unopposed, *vice* Sir H. Aubrey-Fletcher deceased.

— At Christie's, at the sale of the late Sir Frederick Mappin's pictures, Constable's "Stoke by Weyland, Suffolk" realised 8,800 guineas.

18. At Oxford, Mr. Selwyn Image was elected Slade Professor of Fine Art, *vice* Mr. C. J. Holmes.

— Mr. Roosevelt returned to New York from Europe. (See Foreign History, Chapter VIII.)

— At Villepreux-les-Clayes station, near Versailles, an express train for Granville ran into a stationary local train; eighteen persons were killed, thirty injured.

20. At the Parliamentary bye-election at Hartlepool, due to the unseating on petition of Sir C. Furness (L.), Mr. S. Furness (L.) was returned by 6,159 votes; Mr. H. Gritten (U.) received 5,993.

— Announcement that General Sir Ian Hamilton had been appointed General Commanding-in-Chief in the Mediterranean and Inspector of the Oversea Forces, Major-General J. S. Ewart Adjutant-General of the Forces, and General Sir A. Hunter Governor and Commander-in-Chief at Gibraltar.

23. Announcement that the Duke of Cornwall was created Prince of Wales and Earl of Chester.

23-July 1. Salvage under great difficulty of the Austrian Lloyd liner *Trieste* by the British tramp steamer *Lowther Range* in the Indian Ocean;

one man lost, nine injured. The feat was described as unsurpassed in the history of the mercantile marine.

24. The Honours List was issued in connection with the official celebration of the birthday of King Edward VII. Peerages were conferred on Mr. R. K. Causton, Sir Walter Foster, Sir Hudson Kearley, Sir Westman Pearson, Sir W. H. Holland, Sir Christopher Furness, and Mr. F. Freeman Thomas. There were five new Privy Councillors, among them Lord Sheffield and Mr. Munro-Ferguson, M.P., and eleven new baronets, including Mr. J. M. F. Fuller, M.P., Mr. Alfred Moud, M.P., Mr. Courtney Warner, M.P., and Mr. Harold Harmsworth, M.P. Among the thirty new knights were Mr. A. T. Quiller-Couch, the novelist; Dr. H. S. Lunn, founder of the Grindelwald Conference; Mr. Alfred East, A.R.A.; and Dr. Alfred Hopkinson, Vice-Chancellor of the Victoria University. The G.C.B. was conferred on General Sir Ian Hamilton, the G.C.B. and the G.C.M.G. on the Viceroy-designate of India, and there were numerous conferments of various orders and colonial knightoods.

— At Christie's, Millais' "Chill October" realised 4,800 guineas.

26. The Grand Prix de Paris was won by Mme. Chermetteff's Nuage; Mr. W. K. Vanderbilt's Reinhart was second; Mr. J. A. Rothschild's Bronzino third; Mr. Fairie's Lemberg, the Derby winner, finished fourth. Time, 3 min. 31 sec.

28. Announcement that Sir A. Nicolson, British Ambassador to St. Petersburg, would succeed Sir Charles Hardinge as Permanent Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs.

— The Roman Catholic Cathedral at Westminster was consecrated with great ceremony. A message from the Pope was read at Vespers, giving his blessing to the bishops, clergy, and laity of the diocese.

29. The Lady Chapel of Liverpool Cathedral was consecrated by the Bishop of Liverpool and the Archbishop of York.

30. At the bye-election for East Dorset due to the unseating on petition of Captain the Hon. F. E. Guest (L.), Major H. Guest (L.) was returned. He received 6,967 votes; Colonel J. S. Nicholson (U.) 6,375.

— At Christie's, at the sale of the collection of Mr. Alexander Young, deceased, Corot's "L'Abreuvoir" realised 6,200 guineas; Daubigny's "L'Inondation," 1,500 guineas; Troyon's "Vaches au Pâturage," 5,800 guineas; Maris' "View near Dordrecht," 2,800 guineas; Israels' "The Fisherman's Wife," 2,500 guineas.

JULY.

1. New Great Western railway route opened from London to Birmingham by way of High Wycombe and Aynho.

— The Rev. W. Temple appointed Headmaster of Repton School, *vice* the Rev. Lionel Ford, appointed Headmaster at Harrow.

2. At Bisley, the Empire Challenge Trophy was won by the United Kingdom team with 2,177 points; the other competitors were—Canada, 2,105; Australia, 2,045; India, 1,973; Singapore, 1,972.

— The Army Pageant at Fulham Palace ended. In all, 100,000 persons had witnessed the nine performances.

4. Russo-Japanese Agreement. (See Foreign History, Chapter IV.)

— Near Dayton, Ohio, twenty-five persons were killed and seventy injured in a collision between an express and a freight train.

— Prize fight at Reno, Nevada, between Johnson (a negro) and Jeffries ; the negro won. (See Foreign History, Chapter VIII.)

— The National Rifle Meeting at Bisley. (See opposite page.)

— At Christie's, at the sale of the picture collection of Mr. Alexander Young, deceased, "The Entrance to the Zuyder Zee," by J. Maris, realised 3,000 guineas ; "Turning the Furrow," by H. Mauve, 3,050 guineas ; Corot's "Mantes la Jolie," 4,150 guineas ; Josef Israels' "The Ship-wrecked Fisherman," 4,600 guineas ; this last was bought by Mrs. Young as a present to the nation.

5. The Report of the Departmental Committee on Lead Poisoning in the Pottery Trades stated that the special dangers arose from lead poisoning chiefly through the glazes used, and inhalation of dust, and recommended numerous sanitary precautions. The total disuse of lead appeared impracticable.

— At Lord's Cricket Ground, the Oxford and Cambridge match was won by Oxford by an innings and 126 runs.

5-11. At Christie's, at the sale of the collection of Baron Schröder, deceased, a rock-crystal biberon purchased four years earlier for 16,275*l.* realised 10,000*l.* ; two sets each of three Sèvres vases, 9,000 guineas ; a pair of Chinese vases, 2,400 guineas ; two snuffboxes, Louis XV. and XVI. respectively, each 4,000 guineas. A cameo head of Eros realised 760 guineas.

6. At Paris, a monument in the Tuileries gardens to M. Waldeck-Rousseau, sometime Prime Minister, was unveiled ; M. Briand delivered an important speech. (See Foreign History, Chapter I.)

— Centenary festival at Bournemouth began.

— Report of the Departmental Committee on the Procedure of Royal Commissions was issued. The preparation of a Code of Rules was impracticable ; but it was suggested that (1) the subject of inquiry should be clearly defined ; (2) Commissioners had been appointed who should rather have been witnesses ; (3) the numbers had been too large. The Report deprecated the assumption of despotic authority by the Chairman ; and, *inter alia*, recommended the institution of a permanent staff for all Commissions, restrictions on the presentation of minority reports, and provisions as to the curtailment of excessive expenditure, especially in printing. The Government Department concerned should take part in appointing the Secretary.

7. Close of the Henley Regatta. The Ladies' Challenge Plate was won by Eton College against Balliol College, Oxford ; the Grand Challenge Cup by Magdalen College, Oxford, against Jesus College, Cambridge ; the Stewards' Cup by the Winnipeg Rowing Club, Canada, against the Mayence Rowing Club ; the Silver Goblets by the Leander Rowing Club against the De Amstel Rowing Club, Amsterdam ; and the Diamond Sculls by W. D. Kinnear, Kensington Rowing Club.

Matches.	Distance.	Highest possible score.	Total scores.
Humphry Challenge Cup (M.R.)	900, 1,000, 1,100	900	Cambridge 777
Halford Memorial Challenge Cup (M.R.)			1,000, 1,100
Astor County Championship Challenge Cup (S.R.)	200, 500	420	Mr. Thos. Caldwell, Ulster
Wimbledon Cup (M.R.)	1,100	75	R. A. 131
Ashburton Challenge Shield (M.R.)	200, 500	560	Lewisham 399
Spencer Cup (S.R.)	500	35	Harborne 391
Elcho Challenge Shield (M.R.)	900, 1,000, 1,100	1,800	Brislington 388
Kolapore Imperial Challenge Cup (S.R.)	300, 500, 600	840	Sergeant J. Tippins, 5th Essex
United Service Challenge Cup (S.R.)	300, 500, 600	—	Bradfield 524
Chancellor's Challenge Plate (S.R.)	200, 500, 600	840	Malvern 508
China Challenge Cup (S.R.)	600	500	Lancing 504
Houses of Parliament Match [Vizianagram Challenge Cup] (S.R.)	500, 600	560	Lance-Corp. F. E. B. Guise, Felsted School
Maokinnon Challenge Cup (S.R.)	800, 900, 1,000	1,800	England 35
National Challenge Trophy (S.R.)	200, 500, 600	2,100	Ireland 1,678
			Scotland 1,648
			Scotland 1,596
			Mother Country 798
			Canada 796
			Royal Navy 945
			Cambridge 756
			Oxford 742
			County of London 466
			City of Edinburgh 459
			City of London 459
			City of Glasgow 458
			Cambridgeshire 456
			Kent 456
			Commons 456
			Lords 448
			Canada 1,567
			Scotland 1,526
			England 1,495
			Scotland 1,931
			England 1,928
			Ireland 1,909
			Wales 1,872

Prizes.	Distance.	Highest possible score.	Winner.
Waldegrave (M.R.)	900, 1,000	100	Caldwell, T., Ulster R.A. . . 98
Albert (M.R.)	900, 1,000, 1,100	225	Col. H. Mellish, 8th Notts & Derby 217
Wimbledon Cup (S.R.)	600	50	Col. W. J. Perkins, 5th R. W. Surrey 50
Prince of Wales (S.R.)	300, 600	85	Sergt.-Major J. A. Wallingford, School of Musketry . . 85
Alexandra (S.R.)	200, 600	70	Pte. A. G. Fulton, 16th London 70
Duke of Cambridge (S.R.)	900	50	Sergt. G. Morrison, Transvaal Sco. 49
King's (S.R.), 1st stage, Bronze Medal	200, 500, 600	105	Capt. D. Campbell, 8th A. & Suth. Highlanders 104
Do., 2nd stage, Silver Medal			300, 600
Do., 3rd stage, Gold Medal	800, 900, 1,000	355	Corp. F. R. Radice, Oxf. Univ. O.T.C. 340
St. George's Challenge Vase (S.R.), Dragon Cup and Gold Cross	500, 600, 900	145	Lieut. A. M. Humphry, Camb. Univ. O.T.C. 139
Do., Silver Cross	500, 600, 900	145	Res. J. H. Williams, Australia . . 137
Grand Aggregate (S.R.)	—	350	Sergt. H. Ommundsen, 4th Royal Scots 341
Territorial Aggregate (S.R.)	—	140	Pte. L. Fulton, 16th London . . . 134

8. Mr. Chamberlain's seventy-fourth birthday celebrated by a banquet at the Prince's Restaurant, Piccadilly, and by numerous congratulatory telegrams.

— Near the Bergli Hut, on the route from Grindelwald to the Jungfrau, an avalanche carried away two parties; two German tourists and five guides and porters were killed. No blame attached to the victims.

— At the Rheims aviation meeting Mme. Raymonde de Laroche fell with her biplane from a height of 150 ft. and was terribly injured.

9. The Departmental Committee on the Employment of Children in connection with the Act of 1903 was issued. The Majority Report (seven signatories) recommended that street trading by boys under seventeen and girls under eighteen should be prohibited, except as regarded delivery of ordered newspapers as goods. The Minority Report (four signatures) declined to concur in the proposed prohibition of street trading by boys, but recommended that discretionary powers should be given to local authorities to prohibit under certain conditions.

— The following were the Civil List Pensions granted during the Financial Year 1909-10 :—

- Mr. Thomas Rice Holmes, Litt.D.—In recognition of the value of his historical writings on the Indian Mutiny and the campaigns of Julius Cæsar, 200*l*.
- Mr. Thomas Bryant, F.R.C.S.—In recognition of his services towards the advancement of surgery, and in consideration of his age and reduced circumstances, 100*l*.
- Mr. Richard Whiteing.—In consideration of the literary merits of his writings, 100*l*.
- Mr. Arthur Granville Bradley.—In consideration of the value of his writings on Canadian History, 80*l*.
- Mrs. Alice Theodora Wilson Fox.—In recognition of the distinguished public services of her husband, the late Mr. Arthur Wilson Fox, C.B., Comptroller-General of the Commercial, Labour, and Statistical Departments of the Board of Trade, and in consideration of the circumstances in which she has been left by his premature death, 75*l*.
- Mrs. Mary Louisa Gamgee.—In consideration of the valuable contributions to physiological science of her husband, the late Professor Arthur Gamgee, and of her straitened circumstances, 70*l*.
- Mrs. Eleanor Jane Seeley.—In consideration of the valuable writings on geology and palæontology of her husband, the late Professor Harry Govier Seeley, and of her straitened circumstances, 70*l*.
- Mr. Edward Dwelly.—In recognition of his labours in the compilation of a Gaelic dictionary, 50*l*.
- Miss Helena Stormont Murphy.—In consideration of the services rendered by her father, the late Professor Edward William Murphy, M.D., in furthering the use of chloroform, and of her straitened circumstances, 50*l*.
- Eleanor, the Honourable Lady Monson.—In consideration of the distinguished public services of her husband, the late Right Hon. Sir Edmund Monson, Bart., G.C.B., and of her straitened circumstances, 100*l*.
- Mr. James Sully, LL.D.—In recognition of his services to psychology, in addition to his existing pension, 95*l*.
- Mrs. Constance Garnett.—In consideration of the merits of her translations from the Russian, 70*l*.
- Mrs. Joanna Calder Fraser.—In consideration of the value of the investigations in anatomy and embryology of her husband, the late Professor Alexander Fraser, and of her inadequate means of support, 70*l*.
- Mrs. Ellen Beardsley.—In recognition of the merits of her son, the late Mr. Aubrey Beardsley, as an artist in black and white, and in consideration of her necessitous circumstances, 55*l*.
- Miss Julia Dobson.—In recognition of the important services rendered by her brother, the late Surgeon-Major George Edward Dobson, M.A., F.R.S., to zoological science, and in consideration of her straitened circumstances, in addition to her existing pensions, 15*l*.

9. The Cretan Assembly decided under pressure from the Powers not to exact the oath of allegiance to King George of Greece from Moslem deputies or officials. (See Foreign History, Chapter III.)

— At Lord's Cricket Ground, the Eton and Harrow Match was won by Eton by nine runs.

11. At Sotheby's, a Shakespeare first folio realised 2,000 guineas as compared with 2,400*l.* in 1907.

12. At the Bournemouth Aviation Meeting the Hon. C. S. Rolls was killed in an alighting competition. (See *post*, Obituary.)

— At Lord's Cricket Ground, the Players beat the Gentlemen by ten wickets.

13. Near Patscheid, Rhine province, Germany, a non-rigid airship invented by Herr Erbsloeh exploded and fell from a great height; the inventor and his four companions were killed.

— Opening of the Pan-American Congress at Buenos Ayres. (See Foreign History, Chapter VIII.)

— Discovery in the cellar of 39 Hilldrop Crescent, Hornsey, of remains believed to be those of Mrs. Cora Crippen (Belle Elmore), an American music-hall artist. (See *post*, Aug. 31.)

16. Settlement by agreement of the wages dispute in the Lancashire cotton trade. No increase or reduction of wages was to take place for five years. (This was finally ratified by the cardroom workers on August 6.)

— At Battersea, in a block of flat-dwellings, Mr. Wildon Anderson, an actor, was shot by an unknown man, for whom he had apparently been lying in wait. The man was seen escaping, but the motive and circumstances of the crime remained a mystery.

17, 18. Celebration at Dieppe of the tercentenary of Admiral Duquesne, a native of the town and a distinguished French naval commander in the wars with the Spaniards and Dutch in the seventeenth century.

18. At Richmond, near Melbourne, Australia, an express ran into a stationary train; nine persons were killed, 188 injured.

18-21. Strike in the Newcastle district on the North-Eastern Railway. (See English History, Chapter IV.)

19. Visit of the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs of London to Belgium.

— In a railway collision at Roscrea, Ireland, about 100 persons were injured.

20. Announcement that an "Academic Committee," representing pure literature and to consist ultimately of forty members, had been constituted in the Royal Society of Literature. Mr. Alfred Austin, Mr. Edmund Gosse, Mr. Thomas Hardy, Mr. J. W. Mackail, Mr. Andrew Lang, and Sir A. W. Pinero were among its members.

— At the Parliamentary bye-election in the Kirkdale division of Liverpool, due to the death of Mr. C. McArthur (U.), Colonel Kyffin-Taylor (U.) was returned by 4,268 votes, Mr. A. Cameron (Lab.) receiving 3,427. Colonel Kyffin-Taylor stood mainly as a Protestant and opponent of the alteration of the Royal Declaration at accession.

21. The Royal Proclamation announcing that the Coronation should take place in June, 1911, was publicly read with due ceremony at St. James's Palace, Charing Cross, Temple Bar, and from the steps of the Royal Exchange.

22. At Sotheby's a first folio Shakespeare, one of a set belonging to the late Bishop Gott of Truro, realised 1,800*l*.

23. The Japanese steamer *Tetsurei Maru* sank off Chindo Island, Korea; about 200 persons lost.

— Heavy storms in Germany and Northern Italy; much damage done, and about fifty persons killed in the latter country.

26. The King reviewed the Fleet in Torbay. (See English History, Chapter IV.)

— Menlough Castle, a historic building near Ballinasloe, co. Galway, was burnt down, and Miss Blake, an invalid lady, lost her life.

— At Belfast, the Kelvin Hotel was burnt down; three lives lost.

27. The Goodwood Plate was won by the Earl of Derby's Queen's Journal; time, 4 min. 22 sec.

28. The Goodwood Cup was won by Mr. Beddington's Magic, Mr. Fairie's Bayardo, the favourite, being second; time, 4 min. 54½ sec.

— In the King's Bench Division, a Petition of Right put forward by Mr. Martin Archer-Shee in respect of his son's expulsion from the Royal Naval College, Osborne, resulted in a settlement. The son, a naval cadet, had been expelled in 1908 on the charge of stealing and cashing a postal order belonging to a fellow-cadet, and the father claimed damages for unlawful expulsion in breach of contract by the Admiralty. On the fifth day of the trial the son's declaration of his innocence was accepted by counsel for the Admiralty, and counsel for the plaintiff agreed that the Admiralty had acted in good faith. The important legal questions involved were left unsettled. (The case was touched on in Parliament, July 29.)

29. The "Auld Brig of Ayr," restored by public subscription at a cost of 10,000*l*., was opened by the Earl of Rosebery.

30. By a fire in a draper's shop at Accrington three women assistants and two customers lost their lives.

— The King and Queen visited the London Hospital.

31. Dr. H. H. Crippen, husband of the woman found murdered at Hornsey (see above, July 13), and Miss Ethel le Neve, his typist, disguised as a boy, were arrested aboard the Canadian Pacific Liner *Montrose*, from Antwerp, at Father Point on the St. Lawrence. Their presence had been discovered by the captain (Kendall) of the liner on July 22, and wireless telegrams had passed since that date between the captain and the police and Press in England. (See *post*, October 22.)

AUGUST.

1. At Stockholm, the Eighteenth Universal Peace Congress was opened, the members being welcomed by the Swedish Foreign Minister. Eight hundred delegates were present from more than twenty States. Among the subjects dealt with were the preparations for the next Hague Confer-

ence, obligatory arbitration, the limitation of armaments (in which considerable progress in opinion was noted), and the treatment of Finland by Russia.

1. At Guildford Assizes, Mrs. Annie Tugwell of Sutton was sentenced to twelve months' imprisonment for criminal libel of a Roman Catholic priest and other persons by anonymous letters and postcards.

2. The King presented Edward Medals at Marlborough House to a number of miners and others concerned in the efforts at rescue in the Whitehaven colliery accident of May 11 and other colliery accidents; and Board of Trade medals to coastguardsmen and sailors for saving life at sea.

2-5. At Cowes Regatta the King's Cup was won on time allowance by the Earl of Dunraven's ketch *Cariad II*. The German Emperor's prize for a schooner race was won by the American vessel *Westward*. The first Town prize was won by the German Emperor's yacht *Meteor*. In a race for twenty-three-metre yachts Sir T. Lipton's *Shamrock* beat Mr. Myles Kennedy's *White Heather* easily. In a handicap race for schooners, Mr. G. C. Whitaker's *Cicely* was first, Herr Krupp von Bohlen und Halbach's *Germania* was second, and the German Emperor's *Meteor* third.

3. At Liège, M. Nicolas Kinet was killed by a fall of 620 ft. owing to a breakdown of his aeroplane. At Mineola, Long Island, Dr. Charles Walden was fatally injured in an aeroplane accident.

4. It was announced that the King had approved the appointment on October 1 of Mr. Horace Avory, K.C., and Mr. T. G. Horridge, K.C., late M.P. for East Manchester, as additional judges in the King's Bench Division.

5. The appointment was announced of the Rev. G. Milligan, D.D., Minister of Caputh, to the Regius Professorship of Divinity and Biblical Criticism in Glasgow University, *vice* the Rev. Professor W. Stewart, resigned.

— At Provincetown, Mass., a monument was dedicated in the presence of President Taft commemorating the landing of the Pilgrim Fathers on November 11, 1620.

6. Announcement that two Rembrandts, the Rape of Europa and a portrait, possibly of Rembrandt himself, had been sold by the Princesse de Broglie to Messrs. Agnew, the well-known London picture dealers.

6-7. Mr. C. Willows flew from Cardiff to London in a dirigible balloon, 150 miles, in two hours.

9. The second International Free Trade Congress met at Antwerp. (See English History, Chapter V.)

— The cases of cholera recorded in the Russian epidemic exceeded 65,000. (See Foreign History, Chapter III.)

— At Hoboken, New Jersey, Mayor William T. Gaynor of New York was shot by James Gallagher, a discharged municipal employee, when starting for Europe; his injury proved not to be serious. (See Foreign History, Chapter VIII.)

— Near Ignacio, California, on the North-west Pacific railroad, thirteen passengers were killed in a collision and twelve injured.

10. At Turin, the centenary of the birth of Count Cavour was celebrated by an address delivered by the Prime Minister, Signor Luzzatti, in the presence of the King and a distinguished company.

11. Lock-out in the German shipbuilding trade.

— At the Lanark aviation meeting, Mr. Drexel broke the record for altitude by reaching 6,750 ft. on a Blériot monoplane. Mr. Brookins at Atlantic City had reached 6,175 feet.

12. Announcement that Mr. Edward Armstrong, Fellow and Bursar of Queen's College, Oxford, had been elected Warden of Bradfield College, *vice* the Rev. H. B. Gray resigned. The office was to be separated from that of head-master and made non-resident.

12-14. Serious floods took place in Tokyo, and other places in Japan; 1,112 persons were reported as dead and missing, and 3,953 houses as washed away.

14. At Saujon (Charente-Inférieure) an excursion train from Bordeaux to Royan ran into a goods train; thirty-seven persons were killed, of whom thirty belonged to a party of thirty-two school girls; fifty-five were injured.

— Fire at the Brussels Exhibition. (See Foreign History, Chapter IV.)

15. The possible alteration of the date of Empire Day from May 24 to June 24 having been suggested by the Earl of Meath, the King's private secretary in reply stated that as the earlier date was fixed by statute in the oversea Dominions, the King could not consider the proposed change unless on the advice of his responsible advisers.

16. Off Tarifa, the Spanish steamer *Martos* was sunk by collision with the German steamer *Elsa*; twenty-three passengers and seven of the crew were drowned.

— In Switzerland, three French tourists, M. and Mme. Delurich and Mme. Allemand, climbing without guides, were killed in a storm on the Rottal-Sattel, after ascending the Jungfrau.

— At Kingsand, near Plymouth, Major James Nicholas, a retired Army surgeon, was killed by his son, who was found insane on trial.

17. Mr. Moisant, an American, with M. Fileux, flew on a Blériot aeroplane from Calais to Tilmanstone, near Deal; his subsequent flight to London was delayed by repeated accidents, till September 6.

— A French cross-country aviation race for a prize of 100,000 francs, offered by the *Matin*, was won by M. Leblanc, who covered 500 miles in a little over twelve hours.

— Announcement that Sir Ernest Cassel proposed to provide 200,000*l.* for the establishment as a memorial to King Edward VII. of an Anglo-German Institute, to facilitate employment for and otherwise aid English workers in Germany and German workers in England. The enterprise was under Royal and Imperial patronage.

18. The eightieth birthday of the Emperor Francis Joseph was celebrated at Vienna, Ischl (where the Emperor was staying) and other towns of the Empire, and by the Austrians abroad.

18. In the race for the sculling championship of the world at Livingstone on the Zambesi, Richard Arnst, the holder (New Zealand) beat Ernest Barry, the English champion, by seven lengths. Distance 3½ miles; time, 20 min. 14½ sec.

— The Report of the Joint Parliamentary Committee on Water Supplies recommended (1) the establishment of a new central authority to avert pollution and collect information as to local supplies and needs; (2) the division of the country into watershed areas under subordinate local boards of advice and inquiry.

19. A Parliamentary Paper was issued showing that the total expenditure from March, 1901, to March, 1910 (a period practically covering the late reign) on the King's Household from public sources was 8,841,411*l.*, against which the receipts from hereditary revenues paid into the Exchequer were 4,449,543*l.*

20. Launch of H.M.S. *Orion* at Portsmouth, more than 40,000 persons witnessing the ceremony.

21. H.M.S. Cruiser *Bedford*, while carrying out full speed trials, grounded on Samarang rocks, off Quelpart, near the entrance of the Korean Straits; eighteen men, mostly stokers, were drowned owing to the inrush of water; the vessel was a total loss.

24. Announcement of the annexation of Korea to Japan. (See Foreign History, Chapter VI.)

— Near Durand, Michigan, on the Grand Trunk Railway, a collision was followed by fire; eighteen persons killed, twenty injured.

25. At Königsberg the German Emperor insisted on the Divine Right of the Crown of Prussia. (See Foreign History, Chapter II.)

26. The Board of Trade coal tables, 1908-9, giving statistics of the import, export, and production and consumption of coal in various countries from 1885 to 1909, showed that the output in 1909 was in the United Kingdom, 263,774,000 tons; in Germany, 146,507,000; in France, 36,654,000; in Belgium, 23,182,000; and in the United States, 390,336,000 tons. The consumption of coal in 1908 was in the United States, 360,935,000 tons; in the United Kingdom, 176,228,000; in Germany, 129,845,000 tons.

27. The proposed reform scheme for Oxford University, initiated by the Chancellor and considered by the Hebdomadal Council, proposed (1) a reform of that body, (2) a reconstitution of Congregation as an organ of the teaching and administrative elements in the University and Colleges, (3) modifications in the procedure of Convocation, (4) a reconstitution of the Boards of Faculties, (5) Greek to be an optional subject in Responsions, (6) a University Entrance Examination in substitution for Responsions, (7) facilities for poor students by an increased number of College Exhibitions and a fund for the assistance of non-collegiate students, (8) a University Finance Committee. Recommendations were also made in regard to College Fellowships, a diploma in commercial subjects, and the placing of examinations outside full term.

28. Proclamation of Montenegro as a Kingdom. (See Foreign History, Chapter III.)

30. In New York City the new Pennsylvania Railroad Station was opened, and also the tunnel connecting the system with the Long Island lines.

— A Parliamentary return showed that in the general election of January, 1910, 5,770,243 votes were cast in England and Wales, 660,442 in Scotland, and 220,529 in Ireland—total, 6,651,214. Of these, illiterate voters recorded 17,151 in England, 2,044 in Scotland, and 22,515 in Ireland. In East Donegal 1,582 votes out of a total of 5,617 were polled by illiterates.

31. The British Association Meeting began at Sheffield. The Address of the President, the Rev. Professor T. G. Bonney, dealt with the effect of glacier action on the physical geography of Western Europe.

SEPTEMBER.

3. Lock-out of the members of the Boilermakers' Society from all yards comprised in the Shipbuilding Employers' Federation. (See English History, Chapter IV.)

— A Blue-book on railways of the United Kingdom showed that the average rate of dividend in 1909 on ordinary shares was 3·15 per cent., as compared with 2·99 per cent. in 1908. Excluding season ticket holders there were 8,250,000 third class passengers fewer, but this loss was more than counterbalanced by increased goods traffic. The decrease was attributed to a decline in the visitors to the "White City" Exhibition, unsettled weather, and tramway competition.

— At Capetown, the deciding test match of the British Rugby Football team was won by South Africa by twenty-one points to five.

6. Eucharistic Congress at Montreal. (See Foreign and Colonial History, Chapter VIII.)

7. Award of the Hague Tribunal in the Atlantic Fisheries Arbitration. (See Foreign History, Chapter VIII.)

— At Doncaster, the St. Leger resulted as follows : The Earl of Derby's Swynford, 1 ; Mr. J. A. Rothschild's Bronzino, 2 ; Mr. Fairie's Lemberg (the favourite), 3 ; won by a head ; time, 3 min. 4 sec.

8. Papal *motu proprio* against Modernism, requiring strict supervision of the young clergy, who were to be forbidden to read newspapers and periodicals for fear of distraction from their studies. Stringent oaths of loyalty to Roman doctrine and discipline were to be taken by all ecclesiastics on appointment to a new post.

9. Announcement that Mr. Frank Watson Dyson, F.R.S., Astronomer-Royal for Scotland, would succeed Sir William Christie, F.R.S., Astronomer-Royal, on the retirement of the latter.

10. At Bernay, on the Paris-Cherbourg (Ouest-État) railway line, the Cherbourg-Paris express was partly derailed ; seven passengers killed, twenty injured. On September 18, the Dieppe-Paris express on the same railway system collided with the buffer-stops at St. Lazare ; twenty-five passengers were injured.

11. Mr. Robert Loraine attempted to reach Dublin from Holyhead in an aeroplane, but fell into the sea about 60 yards from the coast at Howth ; he was picked up uninjured.

12. The King inspected at Balmoral the detachment of the 2nd Queen's Own Rifles of Canada, which had taken part in the manœuvres.

— A Board of Trade Report stated that the industrial disputes in the United Kingdom in 1909, taken all together, occupied 2,750,000 working days, slightly more than one-fourth of the time recorded in 1908, and below the average of the previous ten years. Disputes affecting 66 per cent. of the workpeople involved were settled by compromise.

14. The airship *Zeppelin VI.* which had made thirty-four passenger cruises from Baden-Baden in the previous four weeks, was burnt during cleaning; two men injured.

15. First Parliamentary election in the South African Union. (See Foreign and Colonial History, Chapter VII.)

16. Centenary of Mexican Independence. (See Foreign and Colonial History, Chapter VIII.)

18. Centenary of Chilian Independence. (*Ibid.*)

— The Whirlpool Rapids below Niagara Falls, where Captain Webb was drowned, were traversed by Klaus Carsen in a motor-boat; time, 45 min. The feat had been performed in 1861 by the steamer *Maid of the Mist*, which then plied in the calm water in front of the Falls, and in later years by a man in a special "lifeboat" and by various people in barrels.

19. The King of the Belgians opened the new British section of the Brussels Exhibition, restored after the fire of August 15.

20. At Rottenmann, near Selzthal, Austria, the Rome-Vienna and Vienna-Rome expresses were in collision; seven persons reported killed, forty injured.

— Storms and floods in the provinces of Toledo and Murcia.

21. The German Emperor in Vienna. (See Foreign and Colonial History, Chapter II.)

— Announcement of the appointment of Mr. John Eldon Bankes, K.C., to be a Judge of the High Court, *vice* Mr. Justice Walton deceased.

— On the Wabash Valley traction (*i.e.* electric tram) line at Kingsland, India, over forty people were killed in a collision.

23. The Queen consented to receive a petition from women cottagedwellers of Great Britain, complaining of the hardships inflicted on them by motor traffic, and expressed her sympathy.

— The Alps were crossed from Brieg to Domo d'Ossola by M. Chavez in a Blériot monoplane, in about one hour, following the route of the Simplon Road. He broke both his legs on landing, and died of internal injuries on September 17.

— The Uganda (Anglican) Cathedral, erected by the natives in 1901-2, destroyed by lightning.

26-30. Strike riots at Berlin. (See Foreign History, Chapter II.)

27-30. The fiftieth Church Congress was held at Cambridge. (See English History, Chapter V.)

28. Announcement that the Rev. T. C. Fry, D.D., head-master of Berkhamsted School, had been appointed to the Deanery of Lincoln, vacant by the death of the Rev. E. C. Wickham, D.D.

28. Result announced of the court-martial at Tynemouth on Lieut. A. J. Sutor, B.G.A., for publishing a pamphlet criticising Army administration. The sentence, dismissal from the service, had been commuted by the King on the advice of the War Secretary to one of severe reprimand. (See *post*, Nov. 1.)

29. Announcement that Mr. C. Montague Lush, K.C., had been appointed a Judge of the High Court of King's Bench, *vice* Mr. Justice Jelf, resigned.

OCTOBER.

1. At Cambridge University the new Vice-Chancellor (Mr. R. F. Scott of St. John's) on taking office announced that Mr. Harold Harmsworth had offered the University 20,000*l.* to found a Professorship of English Literature; and that the Drapers' Company had offered 23,000*l.* to build and equip a new physiological laboratory.

— At Los Angeles, California, nineteen persons were killed and over twenty injured in an explosion and fire at the office of the *Los Angeles Times*. The explosion was attributed to a bomb; the paper had attacked the Trade Unions.

— The Vanderbilt Cup for a motor race of 278.08 miles on Long Island, N.Y., was won by Mr. H. F. Grant on an "Alco" car; time, 4 hrs. 16 min. 21.51 sec. There were 250,000 spectators. Four persons (two being competitors) were killed, and about twenty injured, mostly spectators.

— A boat conveying seamen of the U.S. Navy to the battleship *New Hampshire* in the Hudson at New York capsized; about twenty-nine were drowned.

2. A statue of Racine unveiled at his birthplace, La Ferté-Milon.

3. A memorial was unveiled in Edinburgh to the Rev. Thomas Guthrie, D.D., the famous preacher and philanthropist.

3-4. Revolution in Portugal. (See Foreign History, Chapter IV.)

5. Publication of the first interim Report of the Historical Monuments Commission relating to Hertfordshire.

8. The appointment was announced of Sir W. S. Robson, K.C., M.P., Attorney-General, to be Lord of Appeal in Ordinary, *vice* Lord Collins resigned; Sir Rufus Isaacs, M.P., Solicitor-General, to be Attorney-General, and Mr. J. A. Simon, K.C., M.P., to be Solicitor-General.

10-14. Town Planning Conference opened at the Guildhall, London, with a speech by Mr. John Burns, eulogising the architecture of London and emphasising the influence of environment on character.

11. The Duke and Duchess of Connaught, with Princess Patricia, left for South Africa to open the Union Parliament. (See Foreign and Colonial History, Chapter VII.)

— Railway strike in France. (See Foreign History, Chapter I.)

— Celebration of the Centenary of Berlin University.

11-13. Women Workers' Conference at Lincoln. Among the subjects discussed were education, the care of the feeble-minded and the position

of women in the Universities. On women's suffrage the Conference maintained neutrality.

13-14. Severe gale; the steamer *Cranford* foundered off Hartlepool, twenty-three lives lost; the steamer *Heathfield* off Sheringham, twenty lives lost; the steamer *Ville de Rochefort* was run down off St. Nazaire, twenty-three lives lost.

15. Announcement that Colonel Sir William Manning had been appointed Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the Nyasaland Protectorate, *vice* Sir Alfred Sharpe.

16. The airship "Clément-Bayard, No. 2" travelled from near Paris to Wormwood Scrubbs between 6.55 A.M. and 1.25 P.M. Her average altitude was 200-300 metres, her average speed about 60 kil. hourly.

17. The Gordon-Bennett balloon race started from St. Louis. One balloon (the Harburg, German) fell into Lake Nipissing, Ontario; the America II. (American) landed on October 19 near the Peribonka River, Quebec province, having covered over 1,400 miles—a "record."

17-18. Disastrous cyclone in Cuba. (See Foreign History, Chapter VIII.)

18. Announcement that the Prince of Monaco had granted a Constitution to his people, who had hitherto had representation without taxation, the expenditure of the Principality being defrayed out of the revenues of the Monte Carlo gambling establishment.

-- Suspension of the so-called "Charing Cross Bank," a London institution with forty-four provincial branches, carried on by a single proprietor, which received money on deposit and current account at high rates of interest; the depositors were principally of a humble class. A relief fund was opened. The liabilities were estimated at 2,500,000*l.* and the assets (capable of valuation) at 358,000*l.*, besides others of very uncertain value.

— The Wellman airship, which had started with Mr. Walter Wellman and a crew of five from Atlantic City, N.J., on October 15, was found in distress by the Royal Mail Company's steamer *Trent*, 250 miles north-west of Bermuda; the crew were saved and the ship abandoned. She had reached a point near Sable Island and had then been blown back; distance covered, 850 miles; time, 69 hours. Her regulator (an arrangement of petrol tanks floating on the sea) had proved unsuccessful.

19. Announcement that Sir W. S. Robson had been elevated to a Life Peerage as Lord Robson of Jesmond. (See Oct. 8.)

— King Manoel and the Queen-Mother Amelia of Portugal arrived at Plymouth from Gibraltar on the Royal yacht *Victoria and Albert* and proceeded by special train to the Duke of Orleans' residence at Wood Norton, Evesham.

— Sir William Ramsay announced that radium had for the first time been produced from British ore, that of the Trenwith Mine, Cornwall. The Cornish mines were the largest known sources of supply.

— Severe hurricane in Florida.

— Memorial tablet to Sir Curzon Wylie unveiled in St. Paul's Cathedral. (For his murder see ANNUAL REGISTER, 1909, p. 22.)

20. The Common Council of the City of London approved the report of the Bridge House Committee, recommending the expenditure of 261,000*l.* on the reconstruction of Southwark Bridge and the building of a new "St. Paul's Bridge" at a cost of 1,646,983*l.*

— The steamer *Kurdistan*, from Manchester to Persian Gulf ports, foundered sixty miles south-west of Scilly; forty-one lives lost, including three English lady passengers.

21. The taking over by Cambridge University of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* was celebrated by a dinner at Claridge's Hotel, Lord Rayleigh, Chancellor of the University, presiding.

22. Death of Prince Francis of Teck. (See *post*, Obituary.)

— At Oxford, a new wing of Lady Margaret Hall for women students was opened by Lord Curzon of Kedleston, Chancellor of the University.

— At Liverpool University, the foundation-stone of new engineering laboratories, to cost 35,000*l.*, was laid by one of the donors, Mr. T. Fenwick Harrison.

— At Bodmin Assizes, Mrs. Olive Wilyams, who had been prominent in county society, pleaded guilty to forging and uttering promissory notes, for about 9,000*l.*, alleged to have been given her by her husband's uncle Mr. Brydges Wilyams, an ex-M.P., in consideration of a [non-existent] *liaison*. Sentence, five years' penal servitude. Her husband was acquitted.

— After five days' trial at the Central Criminal Court, Hawley Harvey Crippen, an American medical man, was convicted of the murder on February 1 of his wife, Cora Crippen, known on the music-hall stage as "Belle Elmore," by poisoning by hyoscin, and sentenced to death. (See *ante*, July 13 and 31.) An appeal was disallowed on November 12, and he was hanged on November 23. Ethel le Neve, the typist who had accompanied him, was charged as an accessory after the fact, but acquitted on October 25.

23. The Portuguese mail steamer *Lisboa* was wrecked in North-West Bay, near Paternoster, Cape Colony; seven persons were drowned.

24. Mr. A. E. Shipley, F.R.S., elected Master of Christ's College, Cambridge, *vice* Dr. Peile deceased.

— In the Westminster County Court judgment was given in a case tried on October 17 in which Mr. Lumley Dann, an advertising agent, and his wife, sued Mr. Frank Curzon, lessee of the Prince of Wales's Theatre, for services in connection with the "*matinée* hat incident" in April, 1910. The plaintiff's wife and another lady had attended the performance in specially large hats and, refusing to remove them, had been turned out, the incident having been prearranged as an advertisement of the performance. The judge found that agreements had been made for the payment of a hundred guineas to the husband and fifty to the wife, but they were illegal as contrary to public policy. An appeal was dismissed December 20.

25. At Aberdeen University Mr. Asquith delivered his Address as Rector. It dealt with Culture.

— Lord Rosebery elected Rector of St. Andrews University without opposition.

25. The German Emperor in Brussels. (See Foreign History, Chapter IV.)

— The Local Government Board announced that the deaths of four persons at Freston, Suffolk, between September 16 and 29 were due to pneumonia caused by plague, and that three rats and a hare in the same locality had been found infected. Little danger was apprehended, but an active campaign against rats was begun.

26. Funeral of Prince Francis of Teck at St. George's Chapel, Windsor Castle.

— The Lebaudy airship, built to the order of the *Morning Post* for presentation to the British Government, flew from Moissan near Chantilly to Farnborough in five and a half hours. The envelope was torn while housing the vessel, and collapsed.

27. At the bye-election for South Shields, caused by the appointment of Mr. W. S. Robson (L.) to be a Lord Justice of Appeal, Mr. Russell Rea (L.) was returned by 7,929 votes; Mr. Vaughan Williams (U.) received 4,910.

— Announcement that Mr. Syed Ali Imam had been appointed an ordinary member of the Council of the Governor-General of India, *vice* Mr. S. P. Sinha, resigning.

28. At Edinburgh University, Mr. George Wyndham, M.P., delivered his Address as Lord Rector, on "The Springs of Romance in the Literature of Europe."

— The inaugural lecture of the Dale Memorial Lectures at Darlington was delivered by Sir Edward Grey. (See English History, Chapter V.)

— A letter was published to the Postmaster-General from Mr. Henniker Heaton, M.P. for Canterbury, suggesting sixty-two postal reforms, among them the appointment of a Postmaster-General for the British Empire, international and inter-Imperial Conferences of Postmasters-General, universal penny postage, penny-a-word telegrams to all European countries, cheapened foreign postcards, international postage stamps (for reply postage), the "cash on delivery" postal system, extension of the telegraph money-order system, express letter and telegraph services, and a Postal Consultative Committee.

— At Chester, the trial of Mark Wilde for the murder of Mr. Storrs at Gorse Hall, Chester, on November 1, 1909, ended with an acquittal. (Another man had already been tried and acquitted; see *ante*, March 4.)

29. Consecration of Brisbane (Anglican) Cathedral.

— At New York, the Gordon-Bennett international speed race of 100 kilometres or about 62½ miles for aeroplanes was won by Mr. Grahame-White; time, 1 hr. 4 min. 3 sec. M. Le Blanc, who attained a speed of seventy miles an hour, ran into a telegraph pole in the last lap but one.

31. The Duke of Connaught landed at Capetown. (See Foreign and Colonial History, Chapter VII.)

— The new "Paul's Cross" in St. Paul's Churchyard, erected with funds left by Mr. H. C. Richards, M.P., deceased, was dedicated by the Bishop of London.

NOVEMBER.

1. At the bye-election for the Walthamstow division of Essex, due to the acceptance of the Solicitor-Generalship by the sitting member, Sir John Simon (L.), he was returned again by 18,873 votes, Mr. Stanley Johnson (U.) receiving 13,907.

— Announcement that Lieutenant A. J. Sutor, R.G.A., had been removed from the Army, "His Majesty having no further occasion for his services" (see *ante*, Sept. 28). Since his sentence he had given interviews to a paper for publication.

2. The report of the Postmaster-General for the year ending March, 1910, stated that over 5,000,000,000 of postal packets had been dealt with during the year, including about 3,000,000,000 letters, 974,000,000 halfpenny packets, nearly 200,000,000 newspapers, and 118,000,000 parcels. Undelivered packets exceeded 31,000,000; the money found in addressed and unaddressed packets in returned letter offices was nearly 650,000*l.* Over 35,000,000 old-age pension orders were paid, representing nearly 8,500,000*l.* The telegrams passing over Post Office wires numbered 86,884,000.

2-3. The French Cabinet reconstructed. (See Foreign History, Chapter I.)

4. Official announcement that Lord Morley of Blackburn was appointed Lord President of the Council, the Earl of Crewe, Colonial Secretary, succeeding him as Secretary of State for India; Mr. Lewis Harcourt becoming Colonial Secretary, and Earl Beauchamp succeeding Mr. Harcourt as First Commissioner of Works.

— Announcement that the Rev. F. H. Beaven had been chosen Bishop of Mashonaland, *vice* the Right Rev. E. N. Powell, resigned.

— The Duke of Connaught opened the first Parliament of the South African Union. (See Foreign and Colonial History, Chapter VII.)

— Visit of the Tsar to the German Emperor at Potsdam. (See Foreign History, Chapter II.)

— An examination of the tomb in St. George's Chapel, Windsor, traditionally regarded as that of Henry VI., revealed remains identified as his, which were re-interred after minute anatomical examination.

— The Report of the Commissioner of Police for London for 1909-10 showed a decrease of 1,135 in criminal offences, and 1,201 in principal offences (19,663 against 19,804). The authorised strength of the Metropolitan police at the end of 1909 was 18,657.

— A correspondence was published between the Home Secretary and the Guisborough magistrates, relating to the remission [by the Earl of Crewe acting for Mr. Churchill in his absence] of a sentence of fourteen days' hard labour for begging passed on a man by the East Langbaurgh Bench. The Justices, after some correspondence, had passed a resolution protesting against the remission as "an unusual exercise and abuse of prerogative," and Mr. Churchill, in reply, severely censured their language as involving a pretension to control the clemency of the Crown.

4-5. Mr. E. T. Willows in his dirigible airship flew from Wormwood Scrubbs to Douai in France; time $10\frac{1}{2}$ hours, distance about 170 miles.

5. Close of the White Slave Traffic Congress in Madrid. Fifteen countries were represented. It appeared that the traffic was most widespread and disease most prevalent where Governments attempted to regulate vice.

6. The German five-masted sailing ship *Preussen*, 5,081 tons, the largest sailing ship afloat, was run into by the London, Brighton and South Coast steamer *Brighton*, from Newhaven to Dieppe, which was compelled to put back. The *Preussen* was afterwards wrecked in heavy weather near St. Margaret's Bay. The crew and two passengers were landed on November 8, after exciting scenes.

7. By Royal Proclamation, June 22, 1911, was fixed as the date of the Coronation.

— Mr. Asquith was presented with the freedom of the City of Glasgow, and delivered an address on the work of civic authorities and civic problems.

— A steamer, identified as the British India new liner *Abhona*, which was proceeding to the East without passengers, to take up her station, was seen from the Danish steamer *Boscia* to sink in the Bay of Biscay; about ninety lives were lost.

— Opening of the new General Post Office buildings in King Edward Street, London, E.C.

8. Award of the Royal Society's medals: the Copley medal to Sir Francis Galton, F.R.S., for researches on heredity; the Rumford medal to Professor Heinrich Rubens, for researches on radiation; Royal medals to Professor F. O. Bower, F.R.S., and Professor John Joly, F.R.S., respectively, for a treatise on the origin of a land flora and researches in physics and geology; the Davy medal to Professor T. W. Richards, for researches on the determination of atomic weights; the Darwin medal to Mr. Roland Trimen, F.R.S., for South African bionomic researches; the Sylvester medal to Dr. Hay F. Baker, F.R.S., for mathematical work; and the Hughes medal to Professor J. A. Fleming, F.R.S., for researches in electricity and electrical measurements.

— The King and Queen paid the visit to King's Lynn postponed from October 20 owing to the illness of Prince Francis of Teck.

— Strike riots in the Rhondda Valley. (See English History, Chapter V.)

— Great Democratic victory in the United States Elections. (See Foreign and Colonial History, Chapter VIII.)

— The *Daily Chronicle* and a Copenhagen paper published evidence from Dr. Cook's Eskimo companions, indicating that his journey was a mere pretence. (See ANNUAL REGISTER, 1909, Chronicle, Sept. 1.)

— At Adelaide, the South African cricket team beat South Australia by 281 runs.

9. Lord Mayor's Banquet at the Guildhall. (See English History, Chapter V.)

9. In the election of Mayors throughout England and Wales, only two Peers were chosen—Earl Brownlow at Grantham and the Marquess of Londonderry at Durham. There were two Lady Mayors—Miss Morgan at Brecon and Mrs. Lees at Oldham—and one Labour Mayor, Mr. R. Evans at Merthyr Tydfil.

10. Failure and break-up of the Constitutional Conference. (See English History, Chapter V.)

— At St. Petersburg, Baron Ungern-Sternberg was sentenced by the Court of Appeals to four years' hard labour for betrayal of military secrets to Austria-Hungary.

— Announcement that an Advisory Committee would be appointed to assist the Censor of Plays.

— First Annual Report of the Port of London Authority issued. The total values of the exports and imports together amounted in 1909 to 322,614,363*l.* as against 304,869,133*l.* in 1908. It was proposed to form from the Nore to Crayfordness a navigable channel 1,000 ft. wide and 30 ft. deep at low water, and from Crayfordness to the Albert Dock a channel of the same depth 600 ft. wide. Thence to the Surrey Commercial Dock the depth would be 20 ft. at low water.

— Opening of the new landing-stage and station on the Admiralty Pier at Dover.

11-15. Run on the Birkbeck Bank, owing to an anonymous letter to depositors; the strain was met with signal success.

12. Mr. Shackleton, M.P., appointed Senior Labour Adviser at the Home Office to deal with factory and industrial work. A second Trade Unionist would be appointed later, to deal specially with mining.

13. At the Winchester Assizes, Lieutenant Siegfried Helm of the German Army pleaded guilty to the charge of unlawfully being in the neighbourhood of and sketching certain fortresses near Portsmouth on September 3, 4, and 5. (The charge of espionage had been dismissed by the magistrates.) He was bound over in 250*l.* to come up for judgment when called on. The information he had acquired was valueless, but the case had attracted attention as one of German espionage.

14. Lord Rosebery unveiled a tablet at the Students' Union of Liverpool University, and delivered an address on debating. Honorary degrees were conferred on him, Lord Morley of Blackburn, the Earl of Cromer, Mr. John Burns and Sir A. Geikie.

— Paris again threatened with floods.

15. Arrival of United States battleships at Torbay. (See English History, Chapter V.)

— At Bristol University a new wing, which had cost 50,000*l.*, was opened for the chemical and physiological departments.

16. Announcement that the King and Queen hoped to visit India to hold the Coronation Durbar at Delhi, on January 1, 1912.

— The court-martial held at Sheerness on Captain Fitzherbert, commander of H.M.S. *Bedford* (see Aug. 21), found him guilty of negligence and sentenced him to be dismissed his present ship and severely reprimanded. The navigating officer, Lieutenant Dixie, received a similar punishment.

17. At Denver, Colorado, Mr. Ralph Johnstone, an aviator, was killed through an accident to his biplane.

23. Funeral of Count Tolstoy. (See Obituary.)

— A letter was published from a deputation of the Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society, stating that as the result of a visit to Lisbon they placed confidence in the intention of the new Portuguese Government to abolish the abuses in the supply of labour to the cocoa plantations. (See ANNUAL REGISTER, 1909, p. 427.)

24. The Senate of Cambridge University rejected by 349 to 242 a proposal to substitute a new House of Residents for the existing electoral roll—the first of a series of projected reforms.

25. At Ormskirk, an express train to Scotland collided with a light engine; one passenger was killed.

— A panel of tapestry, one of a set of which three were at Hampton Court, representing the Seven Deadly Sins, was sold by auction in London with a piece of sixteenth century frieze for 6,600*l.*

29. The International Conference on Aerial Rights, which had sat at Paris and adjourned in June, was indefinitely postponed owing to differences between the Powers as to the reservation of the right to close their frontiers to aerial vessels of one or more nationalities without notice.

— Announcement that Professor R. A. Sampson of Durham University had been appointed Astronomer Royal and Professor of Practical Astronomy at Edinburgh *vice* Dyson (see *ante*, Sept. 9).

— The Report for 1909 of the Chief Medical Officer of the Board of Education, dealing with the results of medical inspection under the Education (Administrative Provisions) Act of 1907, stated that of the 6,000,000 children in elementary schools in England and Wales, about 10 per cent. had serious defects in vision, 3 to 5 per cent. defective hearing, 8 per cent. had adenoids, 20 to 40 per cent. extensive dental decay, and 40 per cent. unclean heads.

DECEMBER.

1. Announcement that the projected exploration of the Roman-British town of Verulamium by the Society of Antiquaries had been abandoned.

— In the King's Bench, in "Griffiths and Another *v.* Benn," an action against Sir John Benn for libel and slander in attacks on the "stud system" of electric tramways adopted in parts of London by the County Council, the verdict was given for the plaintiffs; damages 12,000*l.*

2-20. General election. (See English History, Chapter V.)

— At the Guildhall, the City Corporation entertained more than 100 officers of the United States squadron visiting Great Britain.

— At Vienna the Emperor, on the sixty-second anniversary of his accession, opened a new aqueduct 120 miles long from the Hochschwab region in Styria to Vienna.

— In the official inquiry into the Whitehaven colliery disaster of May 11, the jury found that the cause was an explosion of gas and coal dust combined, and that there was insufficient evidence as to whether it was

due to a defective safety lamp; and they approved the closing of the pit and attributed no negligence to any one. They made recommendations as to future working.

3. First polls in the general election. (See English History, Chapter V.)

— In the King's Bench, "*Lotinga v. Edward Lloyd, Ltd.*," an action against the proprietors of the *Daily Chronicle* for alleged libel in connection with the issue of a prospectus of "*Amalgamated Pictorials, Ltd.*," the jury found for the defendants.

4. A German balloon, which left Munich on the previous day for Switzerland, was driven north-westwards and landed, late at night, near Kirkwall, Orkney; one of the three occupants had fallen overboard and been drowned.

4-5. Severe floods in the Thames, Severn, and Trent Valleys, and in Northants and Lincolnshire.

5. At Willesden Junction, a suburban morning train from Watford to Euston was run into while stationary by a train from Watford to Broad Street; five passengers were fatally and about fifty seriously injured. A signalman had inadvertently pulled the wrong lever.

— Sir Henry Irving's statue in Charing Cross Road, erected by subscription, unveiled by Sir John Hare.

7. At Christie's, the collection of lace formed by Sir William Abdy, deceased, realised 9,397*l.* An old Italian gold and thread lace flounce realised 740*l.*, and five pieces of Point de Venice 2,770*l.*

8. The Great Central Railway's new steamer *Blackburn*, from Grimsby to Antwerp, sank near Sheringham after collision with the s.s. *Rook*; crew and passengers saved; one of the engineers of the *Rook* was killed.

— Solemn opening at Norwich of the Roman Catholic Church of St. John the Baptist, erected at a cost of 250,000*l.* by the Duke of Norfolk as a thankoffering on his marriage.

9. At Christie's, a circular bronze sixteenth century plaque realised 700 guineas; a set of seven panels of old Brussels tapestry 1,700 guineas.

10. International Socialist demonstration in the Albert Hall to protest against expenditure on armaments; MM. Jaurès, Vandervelde, and Molkenbühr were among the speakers.

11. In Regent Street, a motor-omnibus ran into and wrecked two shops, the driver losing control of the steering wheel; two persons killed, one injured.

12. Serious floods in the Thames Valley and in Somersetshire.

13. In the King's Bench Division, in "*Simmons v. Edward Lloyd, Ltd.*," an action for libel against the *Daily Chronicle* for accusing the plaintiff, a Unionist candidate at the election of 1910, of "voting against the feeding of poor children," the verdict was for the plaintiff; damages 5,000*l.*

— In the King's Bench Division, in "*Knollys v. John Bull, Ltd., and Others*," Miss Alexandra Louvima Knollys, daughter of Lord Knollys, recovered 500*l.* damages for libel, contained in a paragraph taken from a French paper, implying that she had eloped with a Peer.

13. At Queen's Club, the Rugby Football match between Oxford and Cambridge Universities was won by Oxford by twenty-three points to eighteen.

— Boilermakers' lock-out ended. (See English History, Chapter V.)

— The Elder Dempster s.s. *Azim*, from Liverpool to West Africa, foundered with all hands about this date in the Bay of Biscay ; 35 persons perished.

14. Announcement that the Rev. H. Scott Holland, Canon of St. Paul's, had been appointed Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford, *vice* the Rev. W. Ince, D.D., deceased.

— Transfer to trustees by Mr. Andrew Carnegie of 2,000,000*l.* in 5 per cent. first mortgage bonds, the income to be used to hasten the abolition of war and establish permanent peace in the world.

— Announcement of the resignation of the Most Rev. W. Alexander, D.D., Archbishop of Armagh, owing to advanced age.

— At Sydney, the test Cricket Match between South Africa and Australia was won by the latter by 114 runs.

15. The Chauchard collection of pictures opened in the Louvre.

16. At Harwich, H.M.S. *Elfin* collided with submarine C 8 ; five men drowned.

— Violent and prolonged gale in the Channel ; much damage done at south coast towns. Heavy floods at Seville.

— As five City policemen were watching a house in a street at the back of Houndsditch, from which burglars (Poles and Letts) were apparently endeavouring to enter a jeweller's adjoining premises, the inmates opened fire ; one policeman was killed, two fatally injured. One of the supposed burglars was found dying in his lodgings some hours later. A funeral service for the murdered policemen was held in St. Paul's on December 22.

18. Mr. Tom Sopwith flew from Eastchurch, Sheppey, to Beaumont, Belgium, 177 miles, in three and a half hours, gaining the De Forest Prize of 4,000*l.* Mr. Grahame-White in the same competition was injured by an accident to his aeroplane.

19. At the New York Central Railroad's power-house, near the Grand Central Station, an escape of gas caused by a heavy blow on the stop buffers from an incoming train was exploded by an electric spark from a short circuit ; fourteen persons killed, about seventy injured.

20. Mr. Asquith presented with the freedom of Edinburgh.

21. At the Pretoria Pit of the Yard Coal Mine, near Bolton, an explosion took place followed by a fire ; about 320 lives were lost.

22. At Leipzig, Captain Trench, R.M.L.I., and Lieutenant Brandon, R.N., were convicted of espionage ; sentence, four years' detention in a fortress.

— The Cunard Liner *Mauretania*, which had left Liverpool on December 10 at 5.43 P.M., arrived at Fishguard on her return from New York at 10.22 P.M., having accomplished the double journey to New York and back in 12 days 4 hours and 39 mins., staying 41 hours in New York.

22. Mr. Cecil Grace, having crossed the Channel in an aeroplane, when returning to England took too north-easterly a course and disappeared in fog; his cap and spectacles were recovered.

23. The Paris-Modane express ran into a goods train at Montereau; one killed, eleven injured. The Bordeaux-Toulouse express was run into by a passenger train at Abbanats in a fog; four killed, thirty injured.

24. At Calcutta, after sixty-nine days' trial, judgment was delivered by the special tribunal of the High Court in the Nasik conspiracy case. Vinayak Damodar Savarkar was sentenced to transportation for life, with forfeiture of property, for conspiring to wage war and collecting arms. The sentence was to be suspended until the decision of the Hague Court on the legitimacy of his extradition after escape and recapture at Marseilles.

— At 5.45 A.M., between Hawes Junction and Kirkby Stephen, on the Settle and Carlisle line, a Midland express to Scotland struck two light engines, and the two front coaches were telescoped and took fire; about twelve persons were killed or burnt to death, and several injured.

— At Bolsover, near Chesterfield, three children were killed and three seriously injured at a railway level crossing.

— At Marmande, France, a collision took place; twenty injured.

— Near Upper Sandusky, Ohio, on the Pennsylvania Railroad, eight persons were killed and eleven seriously injured in a collision.

25. Near Chateaudun, France, an express struck a carriage at a level crossing; six killed, three injured.

27. Bank Holiday in the United Kingdom (except in Scotland) under Royal Proclamation, Christmas having fallen on Sunday.

28. The Duke and Duchess of Connaught arrived from South Africa.

— At Issy, France, M.M. Laffont and Paula killed in an aeroplane accident.

29. Announcement that the Right Rev. H. E. Ryle, D.D., Bishop of Winchester, was appointed Dean of Westminster *vice* the Rev. J. Armitage Robinson, D.D., transferred to Wells. (Both changes were due to considerations of health.)

30. At St. Cyr, Lieutenant de Caumont, of the French army, killed by an accident to his aeroplane.

31. At New Orleans Mr. John Moisant (see *ante*, Aug. 17), and at Los Angeles Mr. Hoxsey, were killed by accidents to their aeroplanes while flying. The aviators killed during the year were thirty-three; since the commencement of aviation forty-two.

— At Farnborough, Mr. Cody won the British Michelin aviation prize, covering 169.3 miles in four hours forty-seven minutes.

— Announcement that M. Wynmalen (Holland) had won the Automobile Club Prize of 100,000 fr. for a flight from Paris to Brussels and back; time, twenty-seven hours, fifty minutes.

RETROSPECT

OF

LITERATURE, SCIENCE AND ART IN 1910.

LITERATURE.

If the number of books written within a given period can be taken as an indication of the trend of general reading or study, those classified as "theological" would this year seem to take the lead. The interest in this subject arises as much from the wider recognition of the non-identity of religion and theology as from the fact that the discussion of one or the other is no longer regarded as the duty or privilege of a special caste. Extended knowledge and research have suggested to laymen as well as to ecclesiastics fresh points of attack and defence, and the changed tone even of religious controversy has permitted even diametrically opposed views to be stated with calmness and courtesy.

The love of adventure and sport, which during the last century enriched its history with the discovery of hitherto unknown countries, seems now combined with a desire to know more of the peoples and places visited. Careful study of the habits, traditions, customs and religions of remote and obscure tribes has been pursued by our countrymen on every continent (literally) "from China to Peru." The additions made to our knowledge of the existing races and of the vestiges left of bye-gone civilisations, or of the survival of primitive habits, are valuable contributions to the study of ethnology, anthropology, and religious ceremonial.

The completion of the "Cambridge University History" and of the "Political History of England" are, amongst other similar works, worthy memorials of the projector of the former, Lord Acton—who by his initiative stimulated the methodical writing of history in other centres. Thanks to these the present century starts well equipped with the knowledge of what has befallen the world in the making of history. The constant flow of biographies of men, great and small, has probably been the outcome of this renewed interest in historical study; whilst they have supplied details concerning individuals which found no place in the historian's work.

In the domain of sociology, the tendency to sink purely economic theories in the broader field of social development and improvement was strongly marked. A growing feeling that pressing reforms were sacrificed

to party shibboleths and political convenience manifested itself in the majority of the books dealing with such subjects. This impatience found an echo among the spokesmen of the classes whose interests were most at stake, and expressed itself in still louder tones in the literature circulating among them.

Although the record of the poetry of the year can hardly be regarded as one of achievement, it would seem that the public taste for verse was widely recognised. Anthologies, general and special, compiled with taste, skill and sympathy, illustrating varying phases of thought and feeling, have found favour. Writers, quite forgotten, have been recalled, and some gems long buried have been unearthed. This revival of a demand which a hundred years previously had shown itself in the popularity of "Elegant Extracts" and fifty years later in "Selections from the Poets" bears witness to a recurrent cycle of taste in sampling works with which readers desired to claim acquaintance, although they might shrink from closer intimacy.

It might have been anticipated that the revolutionary wave which had carried away so many long-established landmarks in poetry and painting, would have shown even more destructive work in fiction. This has not been the case, whether from consciousness that former efforts to scatter to the winds the social conventionalities and restrictions had not met with success, or from a recognition that the present generation of readers of fiction demanded amusement rather than instruction or guidance. The social and political unrest, which in a previous generation had found expression in "Alton Locke," "Felix Holt," and many other works, was scarcely reflected in the fiction of the year. Incident and dialogue formed the staple of the works which won popularity, and many new names appeared as purveyors of light literature, for which the demand seemed almost as inexhaustible as the supply.

ART AND ARCHEOLOGY.

The researches of Mr. J. C. Lawson into **Modern Greek Folklore** (Cambridge University Press), with a view of connecting it with what has come down of the ancient Greek religion, were doubtless fascinating to the investigator. He has certainly indicated many analogies between the peasants' tales of the present day and the myths of antiquity. But so many of these have their counterparts in every country of Europe that there is considerable chance that their survival in Greece may be due to other causes than the ancient Greek religion. Notwithstanding this possible infiltration of non-Greek traditions, Mr. Lawson's book is full of interesting facts which do credit to his zeal as a collector, whilst it is marked by a style which distinguishes him among story-tellers.

The learning and labours of at least a generation of Italian archæologists and scholars have been rendered accessible to a wider public by Mr. Eric Peet's compendium on **The Stone and Bronze Ages in Italy and Sicily** (Clarendon Press). The materials within his reach were abundant, and his method of dealing with them is marked by a restraint unusual among enthusiasts. He is strictly economical in his deductions from what has been garnered by his forerunners, and is more inclined to challenge their inferences than to accept them unexamined.

Mr. G. F. Hill's **One Hundred Masterpieces of Sculpture** (Methuen) and

Professor S. Gardner's **Six Greek Sculptors** (Duckworth) might well pass for complementary volumes. Professor Gardner lays down certain canons of criticism by which the work of the sculptors of the Golden Age (from Scopas to Polycleitus) may be distinguished—but these, however useful for the general reader, will scarcely satisfy the æsthetic or the critic. He is more convincing when pointing out how Roman copies of Greek originals may be detected. Mr. Hill's collection will naturally arouse complaints—inevitable in such cases—as to the inclusion or exclusion of certain specimens, but here again the average student will be thankful for what he finds in a certainly well-selected volume of masterpieces—worthily reproduced—and accompanied by a running commentary on the part played by sculpture in the expression of contemporary thought and civilisation.

The Trustees of the British Museum may be congratulated on the results of the long-protracted labours of successive keepers of the Greek and Roman Department. The volume on **The Sculptures of the Parthenon** (British Museum; Longmans & Co.) is in every way worthy of its compilers, Dr. A. S. Murray, Sir Cecil Smith and Mr. A. H. Smith. To the last-named also is due the illuminating commentary on these masterpieces of Greek art, of which full appreciation has been of recent growth. The price and size of the volume will probably deter private purchasers; but it should be found in every art school possessing a library for students or scholars.

Miss E. A. Browne's **Romanesque Architecture** (A. & C. Black) belongs to an interesting series of works, dealing with buildings of historical or architectural importance in various parts of Europe. Hitherto there has been a tendency to depreciate Romanesque Art as transitional; but in this volume—as well as in the more limited scope of Rev. G. S. Davies' **Romanesque Tombs** (Murray)—there is to be found a full vindication of its claims to a definite place in the history of art. Mr. Davies limits himself to the monumental tombs of the country round Rome. Probably there are even richer districts to be found, where the memory of Etrurian art lingered, though unofficially recognised. Both writers concur in recognising the imaginative qualities displayed by the Romanesque architects, notwithstanding the restrictions under which they worked.

Lord Balcarres has a congenial subject in **The Evolution of Italian Sculpture** (Murray) and has produced a work which will appeal to many. It lies outside his scope to show how plastic art in the hands of the Greeks rose so high to sink so low under Byzantine influence. Lord Balcarres starts from this lowest depth, and follows the trend of sculpture in Italy through the Romanesque and Gothic periods until it reached its zenith with the Renaissance and the triumph of humanism. To this succeeded the artificiality of the Baroque period, and the gradual development of the effeminate school of which Canova was the best exponent. How this evolution from Benedetto Antelami was logical, and under the varying influences inevitable, Lord Balcarres explains and illustrates by copious photographs.

AUTOBIOGRAPHY.

Students of the history of the earlier years of the nineteenth century will be grateful to Lord Ilchester for **The Spanish Journal of Elizabeth, Lady Holland** (Longmans), which fills up a blank period in a life of which

later reminiscences had already appeared. Lady Holland's impressions of Spain and Spaniards during the Peninsular War reflect the prejudices of her class as well as of her *coterie*; and her criticisms on her own fellow-countrymen are not less mordant, and often as ungenerous to her political opponents in Spain as in England. She had, however, an observant eye as well as a pointed pen, and this volume throws fresh light upon the ways of the Whigs, as revealed by the same writer in previous volumes, and their intolerance of all who ventured to hold opinions different from their own.

The publication after a stated interval of the **Private Letters of the Marquess of Dalhousie** (Blackwood) may be taken as evidence that the writer wished that they should be printed, and his attitude towards some of his less reticent detractors vindicated. From the political point of view these letters which relate to Lord Dalhousie's administration of India are of great value to the historian, whilst from the more domestic side, these open-hearted outpourings of his trials, troubles and successes to his most intimate friend are full of life and interest. Lord Dalhousie's governor-generalship of India preceded the Mutiny, and his relations with some of the generals to whom the policing of India and its frontier was entrusted were often the reverse of pleasant. It is therefore valuable to know to whom to apportion the blame of subsequent events.

The position occupied by her husband in the Free Trade and other political struggles of the last century gives interest to the Diaries and Correspondence of **Lady John Russell** (Methuen) which have been edited by her daughter and Mr. Desmond McCarthy. The writer was the second wife of the future Prime Minister, and her diaries bear witness to her close association with her husband in his political ambitions. These were, on more than one occasion, doomed to disappointment by the more eager policy of his colleagues or rivals. At other important junctures, the Italian struggle for liberty, the policy of the Northern States in the American Civil War, and others, Lord John Russell was able to assert himself more clearly, and it is evident from this volume that his wife was often consulted, and that her influence on her husband's attitude to public questions was sagacious and appreciated.

The second instalment of Lord Broughton's **Recollections of a Long Life** (Murray) covers the period 1822 to 1834, which in politics coincides with the conflicts raging round Catholic Emancipation and Parliamentary Reform. As John Cam Hobhouse he was in the thick of the fray—and his passing comments on the events of each day or month convey the impression that he was far from being a blind enthusiast. He was able to appreciate—and also to chronicle—the happy sayings of his political opponents as well as those of his friends—thereby bearing witness to the amenities of English politics. A large portion of these volumes naturally is occupied with the closing years of Byron's life, and the somewhat unpleasant incidents following upon his death. The story of the burning of the Byron papers is told again and with little variation. So many persons were mixed up with the business that it is easy to understand that divergency as to its details may be consistent with good faith on the part of all who have published their versions of the story.

Whilst there is much in the diary and correspondence of **Guthorne**

Hardy, First Earl of Cranbrook (Longmans) that will interest those who were more or less his contemporaries, there are no important lights thrown upon the political intrigues of his time to be used or misused by future historians. Gathorne Hardy's career was that of a barrister of ordinary abilities endowed with good common sense; a thorough-going party-man, and a ready speaker. He bore his disappointments with dignity and his rewards with meekness. His tenure of the Home Office coincided with the Fenian conspiracy, of which he probably knew more than any of his contemporaries in or out of Parliament. And if he retained any of the documents which came into his possession at the time, his son has shown wise discretion in not publishing them after an interval of more than thirty years. Far more interesting are the passages and letters which deal with Lord Randolph Churchill's ways as leader of the House of Commons, which induced Lord Salisbury to write to Lord Cranbrook that "the machine is moving along with the utmost friction in home and foreign affairs."

Under the unassuming title of the **Correspondence on Church and Religion of W. E. Gladstone** (Murray) Mr. D. C. Lathbury has given to the world the hitherto unwritten side of Mr. Gladstone's life. No one is more competent to deal with the tangled skein of politics and religious eagerness which made up so much of the statesman's life. Mr. Lathbury is well versed in all the Church quarrels of the last century, and is in complete sympathy with the last phase of Mr. Gladstone's ecclesiastical views. Mr. Lathbury's method of dealing with the enormous mass of correspondence placed in his hands, may be commended to future editors. The relations of Church and State, the Oxford Movement, the Education Question, the Controversy with Rome and the Controversy with Unbelief were so many stages in Mr. Gladstone's public life, and Mr. Lathbury follows up each in succession—and independently of each other—finally arriving at the sum and goal of the statesman's convictions. These volumes will long remain as one of the best text-books of the ecclesiastical history of England in the nineteenth century.

The family editors of the **Journals of Ralph Waldo Emerson** (Constable) have been placed in a difficult position by the copiousness of the materials at their disposal. Some admirers of the transcendental philosopher would have resented the omission of any details throwing light upon the making and working of their leader's mind. Others, rather students than devotees, would have wished for only passing glimpses of the influences by which he was stimulated. These two closely printed volumes, moreover, deal only with Emerson on quitting school for college life and his earlier strivings with the baffling problems of the world (1820 to 1832). From his carefully kept diaries, one gathers no little insight into the lingering traditions of the old Puritanism of New England; and to both his mother and a more eccentric aunt were due his deep convictions of the seriousness of life. The dominant impression left is the writer's self-consciousness, and from this subsequently grew those speculations and aspirations which attracted to him in course of time disciples from all sides.

It is a depressing reflection for those who occupy high positions even in philosophy that the publication of **The Letters of John Stuart Mill** (Longmans) should have attracted but languid attention. It is not so many

years since that, amongst his fellows in nearly all branches of mental energy, Mill was consulted as an oracle, and listened to with reverence. In these two volumes, carefully edited by Mr. Hugh S. R. Elliot, we may assume that we have the cream of that enormous mass of draft letters which Mill seems to have preserved. One volume is devoted to letters which might reasonably be appended to Mill's *Autobiography*—so much do they reveal of the man, of the phases of his mind and of the emotional side of his character in youth. The other portion refers to the period when Mill was an authority among men, and was consulted by the wise (and also by the foolish) upon every conceivable subject. Mill took himself seriously, and consequently gave himself endless trouble in order to satisfy the aimless curiosity of many of his correspondents. Miss Taylor's short note on Mill's private life will be of interest, especially to the survivors of the admirers who gathered round the knees of the author of "Liberty."

Frankness, spiced with malice, distinguishes Professor Goldwin Smith's *Reminiscences* (Macmillan) from the ordinary colourlessness of such compilations. Mr. Arnold Haultain shows taste in his selection from an apparently large supply of materials of which only a small portion had been previously published. Goldwin Smith had the double advantage of social position and good brains, and from an early period he took advantage of one and the other, jotting down much that he saw and heard in a life which began at Eton and Christ Church, and brought him into contact with men already prominent in politics and literature, as well as with others who were his more distinct contemporaries. The result is a volume of more than usual interest, and the stories it contains are for the most part fresh, at least to the present generation of readers. The keen interest which Goldwin Smith took in public affairs, both in this country and in Canada, where he passed the later years of his life, was sometimes expressed in rasping terms: and brought him into controversies in which he generally had the last word.

BELLES-LETTRES.

Mr. Wight Duff's aim in discussing the *Literary History of Rome* (Unwin) is to vindicate its independence of Greek influence, at least for a longer period than writers are generally willing to allow. He traces the national spirit and character in that side of literature—the drama—where the borrowing of form and its setting were most distinctly Greek. It is probable that without the example and influence of Greek poets, the Roman would not have reached the finish of their work in the golden age, but as Mr. Duff points out and illustrates from the origins of literary expression in Italy, the Roman feeling and temperament asserted themselves. In later times, with which this volume does not concern itself the foreign element overshadowed the national, and the decay of the true literary instinct seems to have preceded by a generation or so the collapse of the Imperial traditions of Roman supremacy.

Good progress has been made by Dr. A. W. Ward and his able colleagues in the *Cambridge History of English Literature* (Cambridge University Press) of which three volumes have appeared during the year. With Vol. IV. we reach the dawn of both Prose and Poetry in the sixteenth century, with the extension of printing. Translations occupied a prominent place in the prose works, and included not only renderings of Greek and

Latin authors, but introduced French and Italian writers to English readers. The translation of the Bible had a further humanising influence and the contemporaries and successors of Spenser added both to the vocabulary and form of English verse writing. Volumes V. and VI. deal with the rise and growth of the English Drama. The former is confined mainly to the expression of religious or patriotic emotion, as seen in miracle plays and "Storiall Sheaws." The value of such research, as pointed out by the editor Dr. Ward, is that we are enabled to realise the contemporary view of mysteries and ceremonial dances. In this way a clearer glimpse of mediæval life is obtained than is possible from the conceptions of modern writers on the subject. The later volume deals with the drama when it had fully emerged from its swaddling clothes, and had reached its high estate in the days of Elizabeth. Apart from the main channel there were numerous springs by which the stream was enriched, and these are ably dealt with by the body of writers who are gathered under the leadership of Dr. A. W. Ward and A. R. Walker.

The fruits of thirty years' delving among the four centuries preceding the Reformation and collected by Mr. G. G. Coulton form **A Mediæval Garner** (Constable) of which the wealth can hardly be overstated. Possibly no more "human documents" relating to the Middle Ages have ever been brought together in a single volume than those which Mr. Coulton has succeeded in extracting from the most mummified sources. He has ranged over the whole field of monkish learning and stupidity, and shows how from Sweden to Spain, from Portugal to Prussia, similar influences produced similar results. He opens up the simplicity and the barbarity, the piety and the credulity of those centuries, which have left traces in our character that are not yet wholly obliterated.

The concluding volume of Professor Saintsbury's **History of English Prose** (Macmillan) will be cordially welcomed by scholars wherever our language is studied. The difficulty of determining how far accent and quantity are distinctive in rhymed and blank verse does not grow less as the language becomes more polished. Casual readers of poetry most frequently fail to notice the methods of metre, or the tricks by which certain metrical effects are obtained. For those who would learn them Professor Saintsbury may be accepted as an unerring guide. It is beyond his power as well as outside the scope of his work, to discuss the question how far certain poets have a more musical ear than others, but he is a helpful authority in showing how between Blake and Swinburne English poetry underwent the influence of Romanticism, and how much its plastic form helped the expression of singers so divergent as Wordsworth and William Morris, or Browning and Tennyson.

The concluding volume—the sixth—of Mr. Courthope's **History of English Poetry** (Macmillan) deals with the later Romantic revolt against the cold classicism of the eighteenth century. His line of limit is drawn at Scott, so that he has nothing to say of the more modern expression of the movement. Byron, Shelley, Keats and Wordsworth are the leaders of the Romantics on whom he centres his attention. In so far as Professor Courthope traces the trend of English literature, his readers will learn much from his knowledge and criticism, but possibly some may be inclined to think that a more permanent influence was set up by fore-

runners who knew nothing of the French Revolution and that its force was not expended in the course of the century. Professor Courthope's work will take its place among the classics, and will throw fresh lustre on the Chair of Poetry at Oxford of which he was a worthy occupant.

Mr. Sidney Lee is far from being the first competent writer to discuss the influence of **The French Renaissance in England** (Clarendon Press) but he brings to the study a more methodic mind than some of his predecessors. His aim has been to show how the great movement in literary thought and expression extended itself directly from France to this country and to acknowledge the debt which the language owes to Tudor influence. At an even earlier date, when printing was still in its infancy, some of the earliest works issued by Caxton were translations from the French. But our indebtedness does not rest there, and as Mr. Sidney Lee shows in every domain of literary work, dramatic, lyric and philosophic, the French forerunners had shown the way, and proclaimed the prizes and the pitfalls which awaited the ambitious author.

The conflicts of critics hitherto have not risen to the level of the "Quarrels of Authors" but Mr. Andrew Lang has contributed largely to the former. In his vindication of the dealings of **Sir Walter Scott and the Border Minstrelsy** (Longmans) he deals trenchantly with Colonel Fitz-William Elliot's Essays in which the latter accuses Scott of having foisted upon the public as genuine old ballads modern verses made to suit the popular taste. Mr. Lang does not go so far as to assert that Scott made no changes or interpolations in the surviving ballads of the Border. In fact, in this he had done only what preceding editors of Scottish songs had found necessary. Scott throughout retained the distinctive echo of the stirring movements, of which the ballads seized upon a typical incident and committed it to popular memory.

Mr. Hugh Walker's survey of the **Literature of the Victorian Era** (Cambridge University Press) bears testimony to the care exercised by the Syndics in according the privilege of publication. Mr. Walker has not contented himself with giving merely the dry bones of Victorian poetry and prose, but he has connected the writings with their authors, has given some idea of their men and women contemporaries, and analyses the conditions under which they wrote. The difficulty with which he has to contend is that of condensing into reasonable limits the work of so many authors. Nevertheless he has found space to give criticisms, in many cases original and enlightening, on the literary output of the Victorian age.‡

BIOGRAPHY.

Two books on the same subject appearing almost simultaneously, Miss Nora Duff's **Matilda of Tuscany** (Methuen) and Mrs. Huddy's **Matilda, Countess of Tuscany** (John Long), suggest either that full justice has not been done to "la grand' donna d'Italia" by previous historians, or that fresh materials have thrown new light upon the struggle between Henry IV. of Germany and Pope Hildebrand, one of the most important episodes of mediæval history. Miss Duff's estimate of the bitter question at issue between the Empire and the Papacy is the less partial of the two volumes, but it would be scarcely correct to describe it as impartial. Both writers seem imbued with the idea of Henry's innate wickedness, and neither

Hildebrand's astuteness at one moment nor his high-handed policy at another seems to suggest to either of them that secular as well as saintly motives may have swayed the papal autocrat. Matilda was a devout daughter of the Church, but how far her power of judging her contemporaries and weighing their merits, irrespective of their attitude towards Gregory, is not cleared up by either of her present biographers.

In an attractive monograph on **Becket** (Sir Isaac Pitman and Sons) the Rev. W. H. Hutton has given a graphic description of the social condition of Europe at that period. The struggle between Church and State occupied the attention of the world; it excited the keenest intellects and sharpened the strongest swords. The separation between Churchmen and laymen was absolute and complete; and it must be added the rivalry among Churchmen for local episcopal and archiepiscopal power was only one degree less marked. Becket's part in these struggles was conspicuous and his popularity far outstretched the borders of his own country; for his contention that the priest could not be amenable to the magistrate appealed to at least half of the educated men throughout Christendom. Mr. Hutton naturally declines to follow his hero on this hazardous path; but he shows how he fought and died for his principles, and explains how he obtained canonisation when saintlier men were neglected.

Few names in history are more familiar than that of **The Black Prince** (Methuen) of whom Mr. Dunn Pattison has brought into a readable volume all the ascertained, and possibly ascertainable, facts. He deals with his hero almost exclusively as a warrior, though he does not altogether dismiss as impossible the tradition that Edward III.'s son was an Oxford undergraduate at the College with which his mother's name has since been associated as joint-foundress. The part played by the Black Prince in the prolonged war on which his father entered so hopefully and from which his descendant a century later emerged so disastrously is recounted with clearness and impartiality. Mr. Dunn Pattison enables his readers to realise his qualities as a descriptive writer, and to follow the part played by the Black Prince in France and Spain, the difficulties he surmounted, the wrongs he redressed, and the disappointments he had to endure. The book will throw a good deal of light, hitherto hidden away, upon an interesting character in the annals of England.

The claim put forward by Mr. Laurence Stratford, on behalf of **Edward the Fourth** (Pitman) as a maker of national history must surprise those who have regarded him as merely the Yorkist figure-head in the struggle with the Lancastrians. Edward IV. hitherto has been without a biographer, and hence has fallen a victim to the aspersion of those writers who have made Henry VI. the object of their solicitude. Mr. Stratford shows that the Yorkist king had special claims to public favour, he was a sportsman, a lover of pageantry, and the first King of England to recognise the claims of the middle class to share in the privileges to which the nobles then laid exclusive claim.

In his **Life of Reginald Pole** (Pitman) Mr. Martin Haile has wished to give an unbiassed account of the stormy career of the last English Pre-Reformation Cardinal. His character was one that deserved vindication, and though some readers and theologians will be slow to adopt all Mr. Haile's conclusions, they will recognise that scant justice has been done to

Pole's firmness and fearlessness both in championing the cause of Katharine of Aragon, and in his attitude towards the members of the Council of Trent. As chief councillor to Queen Mary, he showed a more flexible mind, but it would be difficult to endorse Mr. Haile's estimate of Pole's clemency towards the Protestants of England. It is in his relations, however, to the successive wearers of the crown that the interest of this volume lies. The tragic ending of Catholicism as the State religion of England in the person of its last Cardinal deserved to be told, and Reginald Pole stands out as an ecclesiastic free from worldly motives, and regardless of consequences when his acts were approved by his conscience.

There was always an air of romance gathered round **Bess of Hardwick** (Hutchinson) which Mrs. Stepney Rawson's vivid portrait will not destroy. The wife of four husbands, all of whom brought estates and fortunes, a lover of intrigue, but still more a woman of action, Elizabeth of Hardwick was perhaps the most remarkable woman of Queen Elizabeth's Court. One naturally compares her with Sarah of Marlborough, whose position at Queen Anne's Court was even more precarious. **Bess of Hardwick**, however, had qualities which carried her in triumph through many quarrels with her royal mistress; and it is to Elizabeth's credit that she was able to recognise her subject's value.

Englishmen jealous of their country's honour and of the good name of those who have sustained it, will welcome Mr. G. W. Forrest's **Warren Hastings** (Constable). Many years ago when Mr. Forrest commenced his valuable work at the India Office, he more than hinted that the then current estimate of Hastings's administration was founded on prejudice, not upon facts. The documents which are now brought together for the first time in one volume serve as an introduction to another in which Mr. Forrest carefully follows every incident of the political career of the first Governor-General of India. There is absolutely no evidence of Hastings having accepted bribes, of having caused the death of Nuncomar, or of having conducted the Rohilla War under the conditions described by Burke. It is no part of Mr. Forrest's task to sift the motives which actuated English politicians at home, he has done enough to vindicate Hastings's character and claim to our admiration against the partisan calumnies of which Edmund Burke consented to be the mouthpiece.

Following on the same lines, and on those now recognised to be correct by Sir John Strachey, Sir James Stephen and others, Mr. G. W. Hastings has compiled an interesting **Vindication of Warren Hastings** (Frowde) which deserves to be widely read. He is able to give various family details with reference to the great Proconsul, and his volume is one which might with advantage be circulated among the younger students of the history of the British Empire.

Lord Rosebery's long expected biography of **Chatham** (A. L. Humphreys) ends with the great War Minister's entry upon that phase of his career which was to earn for him abiding fame. This volume deals solely with Pitt's hitherto unknown early life. His connection through Governor Pitt with Eastern habits of thought, his education at Eton, his travels on the Continent, his attachment to his family and his correspondence with a favourite sister, recall, in a strange parallelism, the early life of another statesman who occupied almost as prominent a place in the political history

of the nineteenth century as the elder Pitt in the eighteenth. The interest of Lord Rosebery's volume lies in the amount of absolutely new material he has discovered in the shape of family letters, and a hitherto unpublished collection of "Family Characters and Anecdotes" compiled by Pitt's nephew, Lord Camelford. It is needless to add that Lord Rosebery has turned his opportunities to good account, and for the first time the public is able to follow Pitt's often erratic methods, but persistent determination to qualify himself for that position which he had marked as the goal of his ambition.

By giving to the public the story of the **Intimate Life of Alexander Hamilton** (Duckworth) his grandson, Mr. A. M. Hamilton, has done good service to both American and British students of the Constitutional history of the United States. Hamilton's public life has been the object of much discussion, and by degrees the important part he played as a framer of the Constitution has been recognised. Unhappily his misunderstandings with Monroe, Aaron Burr and others, of which partisans have exaggerated or misrepresented the causes, have placed Hamilton's private character at a disadvantage. The private letters and personal memories which form the greater part of this volume enable the reader to understand the conditions of life and thought under which the American Republic came into existence; and throw a fresh and bright light upon the secret, as well as the avowed intentions of the framers of the American Constitution.

For some reason the teaching of history in both schools and universities is limited to special periods and special nationalities, while events which have changed the whole face of a continent are absolutely neglected. This is the case with the history of South America, with which our chief acquaintance is due to Canning's famous sentence. Such a book therefore as Mr. Loraine Petre's **Simon Bolivar** (Lane) is of as much value as of interest; for it places before its readers an intelligible account of the breaking away of the Spanish Colonies, and explains incidentally the general revolt against Spanish rule which extended from North to South of the great Continent. Bolivar, "El Libertador," had a career as varied and as brilliant as that of his disciple Garibaldi five-and-twenty years later. They had in common a passionate desire to see their respective countries free from foreign domination and domestic misrule. They were both ardent patriots, and alike absolutely indifferent to personal honours, and both were scrupulously honest. The story of the emancipation of the South American States is a complicated one, but Mr. Petre has told it with lucidity and impartiality.

Mr. F. Lawton in his biography of **Balzac** (Grant Richards) has applied to the French novelist the scalpel which the latter unflinchingly used upon his own countrymen and women in the various episodes of "La Comédie humaine." The result is the story of the life of an egotist, incapable of sympathising with the motives or the temptations of those whose actions he criticised with a keenness amounting to cruelty. Mr. Lawton follows Balzac through the shifting scenes of his life. His readers are enabled to realise the sources of the novelist's inspiration and to infer the personal motives which lay behind his actions. Socially Balzac was unattractive to his contemporaries; and this may account for his biography having been so long neglected.

Probably few books of recent times have been looked forward to with more curiosity mingled with some misgiving than the long-expected biography of **Benjamin Disraeli** (Murray). The papers originally entrusted to Lord Rowton passed finally to Mr. Monypenny, the first-fruits of whose labour will be cordially welcomed. This instalment, dealing with Disraeli's early youth, his education, and his *début* in society and literature, may well prove the most generally popular volume of the five to which the biography may extend. Readers by whom the intrigues and disappointments of political strife are watched or weighed are few in comparison with those who take a keen interest in the struggles of literary and social life. Mr. Monypenny is able to give a practically unbroken record of Disraeli's early life; and he enables his readers to understand the making of the man who, in the face of every obstacle, reached by self-confidence, audacity and inexhaustible patience the topmost rung of the political ladder. Undaunted by failure, unscathed by ridicule, Disraeli forced his way into society, that of an aristocratic Bohemia, and also upon the attention of the public by novels, pamphlets and satires. At the close of this absorbing volume he is on the threshold of parliamentary life in which he was to make his way by the same qualities which marked his career in literature and society. Mr. Monypenny has fully justified his position as Lord Beaconsfield's biographer.

To Mr. Charles Graves has fallen the congenial work of writing and editing the **Life and Letters of Alexander Macmillan** (Macmillan) the younger of the two brothers who founded the great publishing house which bears their name. It completes the story of which "Tom" Hughes gave the first instalment in his life of the elder brother, Daniel; and enables the reader to understand the grit and persistence of the family, which in a comparatively short time secured a place in the first rank of publishers. The letters bear witness to the activity and still more to the foresight of both brothers, although it was the subject of the present biography to enjoy the full harvest which both had sown and watched. Amongst Alexander Macmillan's correspondents scarcely one of the great writers of the Victorian age is not represented. He and they tell good stories bearing upon the relations of publishers, authors, and reviewers which are instructive as well as amusing. Mr. Graves shows a fine and delicate appreciation of the man who was deservedly held in high esteem by all with whom he came in contact; or by him were brought into notoriety.

The biography of a man of science is seldom likely to attract readers not interested in his special studies, but the **Life of Lord Kelvin** (Macmillan) as written by Professor Silvanus Thompson is an exception to the rule. William Thomson's energies from an early date were directed to a channel before unexplored, which led him and his contemporaries to the apparently unbounded sphere of electrical discovery. His University career at Cambridge had scarcely closed when the first submarine cable to America was laid, and before he died the principle of wireless telegraphy had been firmly established. In the intervening half-century William Thomson's name and hand are found in connection with each step in the progress of electrical science. At the same time the problems of light and motion, of force and energy and their application to practical industry engaged his attention and drew from him hints

and designs which have been invaluable in the extension of industrial activity.

Although there is little dealing with controversy in Mr. J. Snead Cox's life of **Cardinal Vaughan** (Herbert and Daniel) it is that little which will make the two volumes interesting, especially to non-Catholic readers. After a period of missionary activity Herbert Vaughan returned to this country and became editor in succession of the two leading organs of his party. He was thus brought into contact with the burning questions of the day, and his record of Cardinal Newman's attitude towards the Vatican Council and its decrees is of the greatest importance. Vaughan naturally attracted the goodwill of Cardinal Manning by whom he was recommended for the Bishopric of Salford, and whom he subsequently succeeded at Westminster. During the tenure of the latter see, he was able to carry out the great project of a metropolitan cathedral to which Manning had shown little favour, and he was prominent in securing the rejection by the Papal *curia* of the validity of English Orders, a decision which was cordially accepted by the mass of the English laity.

The Life of Rt. Honble. Cecil J. Rhodes (Arnold), written by Sir Lewis Michell, will probably be accepted as the recognised biography of the founder of the South African Union. Sir Lewis Michell had special qualification for such a work, and he has had at his disposal ample materials, much of which is absolutely new. Still, he stands too close to the period in which Rhodes played his part, and not unfrequently the wood cannot be seen on account of the trees. Every now and again a glimpse is obtainable of the qualities, strength and weakness combined, which made Rhodes what he was. His ever-present and all-absorbing passion was the grandeur of England, and the pursuit of his passion brought him into conflict in the Transvaal with a type which rendered collision inevitable; it was the struggle between progress and conservatism of the most narrow school.

On the other hand although Sir Thomas Fuller's monograph on **Cecil John Rhodes** (Longmans) makes no claim to be a biography of the builder of the South African Union, it is a timely reminder of the qualities of the man. Sir Thomas Fuller's friendship with Cecil Rhodes lasted over twenty years. They were in full sympathy both as to the object the latter had in his mind, and the means by which he hoped to attain it. The book shows not only how but why Rhodes obtained his ascendant influence over such divergent races as the Dutch farmers and the Matabele warriors. He was instinctively a South African and by some inexplicable power he carried this belief into the minds of those with whom he had dealings, and forced them to realise the fact that, having to dwell together, their common good was to dwell in harmony.

Mr. Philip Jourdan is able to throw still more light upon the private life of **Cecil Rhodes** (John Lane). It was, however, imperative that in all cases Rhodes should be the leader and not a buffer between conflicting interests. Mr. Jourdan, as his private secretary, admits candidly that Rhodes at times had misgivings as to the effects of his own policy. He had, too, his foibles—but they were unworthy of notice in view of the breadth of his views, the frankness of his counsel, and the openness of his life. Mr. Jourdan has discharged a delicate duty to his chief's memory with singular taste and tact.

The abounding energy and versatility of the latest Unionist War Minister can ill be spared by a party not over-strong in capable administrators; and the **Memoir of the Right Honourable Oakeley Arnold-Forster**, by his widow (Edward Arnold), gives an attractive picture of his career. As journalist, educationist, naval critic, and army reformer, he did excellent service to his party and his country; he promoted the effective teaching of geography, history, and civics, he did much to secure an adequate and efficient navy, and, though the great work of his life at the War Office was set aside by rival plans while still unaccomplished, he deserved well of his country for his zeal and devotion. In her service he spent himself abundantly, and he was strenuous even in his recreations.

The publication of a life of **The Empress Eugénie** (Harpers), with her obvious approval, is not inopportune. Mr. Edward Legge has performed a somewhat difficult task with tact and discretion. He has collected materials, which though in a great measure public, have passed out of remembrance—and he has much to say that is fresh and interesting about the ill-fated Prince Imperial. There are many details connected with the flight of the Empress from Paris which Mr. Legge ignores—voluntarily or otherwise. This would convey the intended impression that the biography in no way pretends to be authoritative.

The main interest in the new **Life of Robert Browning** (Methuen) lies in the connection established between the poet's life and his work. The task undertaken by Professor Hall Griffin has been carried on by Mr. H. C. Minchin, who unfortunately did not enjoy that personal friendship with the poet which was the Professor's happy lot. Nevertheless this volume gives what may be regarded as the best key to Browning's early youth, his education and his self-instruction. From Professor Griffin's personal acquaintance much of the obscurity which surrounded the choice of subjects by Browning in his earlier days is cleared away; and the letters and Diary of Alfred Domett, Browning's life-long friend, are an additional help to the student of the poet's writings.

There has probably never been a more amazing instance of a double life than that of **William Sharp** ("Fiona Macleod") (Heinemann) of whom his wife has compiled a most fascinating memoir. William Sharp began life amid uncongenial surroundings, from which happily he escaped before they had dulled his powers. He found his feet first in journalism, and gathering strength and knowledge he gained recognition as an essayist, a critic and a novelist. All the time, from his childhood onwards, he had the consciousness of another "self"—poetic, imaginative and mystical—which inspired the poems published under the name of "Fiona Macleod." The secret of his duality was known to very few and they never betrayed his confidence. It was not until after his premature death that the truth was known. How he lived, with whom he associated, and the friends with whom he consorted and corresponded have been revealed by his wife in a memoir which does honour both to her and her husband.

A more favourable view of **The Great Empress Dowager of China** (Hutchinson) is taken by Mr. Philip W. Sergeant, who whilst writing with partisan feeling, is obviously competent to express his views, founded on local knowledge. His book, however, is chiefly valuable for indicating in clear language the general aversion of the Chinese to European ways and

methods; and he hints that this feeling will remain unabated so long as the Chinese are treated by Western nations differentially from all other foreigners and aliens. In the main the late Empress Dowager was, Mr. Sergeant thinks, favourable to liberal reforms; but at the same time she was distinctly an opportunist, and hoped to profit by a temporary alliance with the Boxers, whom she subsequently abandoned in favour of the Reformers, whom she had previously persecuted.

GEOGRAPHY AND TRAVEL.

For those who can see there is still much to discover even in Europe as Messrs. Chapman and Buck's interesting volume on **Unexplored Spain** (Arnold) fully testifies. They do not follow in the footsteps of Richard Ford, nor do they busy themselves with the features of the people and country which interest ordinary travellers. It is rather to the unknown sections of the Spanish people, to the part played by Spain in the animal and bird life of Europe, that the authors have turned their attention. And they have brought together abundance of fresh material for the use of both ornithologists and zoologists. The volume is profusely illustrated with studies of bird life, especially in the little known Marasma district of Andalusia.

In **Spain from Within** (Fisher Unwin) Mr. Rafael Shaw in some ways supplements what Ford and Borrow had already revealed, but his range of view is more general and deals more with the conditions, religious and political, under which Spaniards are living. In the Spanish peninsula as in the Italian the struggle is between the lay and the clerical powers, and the underlying antagonism of masses who outwardly adhere to ecclesiastical control is stronger in Spain. The Religious Orders are the cause of much of the actual unrest, and this part in political strife can only be measured by that which happened in France in the last century.

Two other quite divergent methods of seeing the same country are offered in Mr. P. S. Marden's **Travels in Spain** (Constable) and Mr. Bogue-Luffman's **Quiet Days in Spain** (Murray). The former, an American, has produced a book which, although not a guide book, will help travellers to look for what is most worthy of being seen in a country distractingly rich in associations, artistic and historic. Mr. Bogue-Luffman, on the other hand, is the genial vagabond to whom the human element is the chief attraction. He is at home with the peasant, the gipsy, the innkeeper and the village barber. He gives as vivid an idea of what the Spaniard of to-day says and thinks as Mr. Marden gives of how and why Spain of the past did so much and left so much undone. The latter writes of the cities and Mr. Luffman of the country, and Mr. Shaw of the people. Together these bright books of travel will enable the stay-at-home reader to learn enough about Spain of to-day to give him an intelligent interest in any events of which it may be the theatre.

Far away to the south, **In the Heel of Italy** (Melrose), Mr. Martin S. Briggs seeks to rescue Lecce from its neglect by travellers, who hurry through Brindisi, ignorant that an artistic and historic city lies within easy reach. How far back the city can trace its existence is doubtful. Although its art bears distinct traces of Roman, Norman, Sicilian and Spanish influences, the churches and buildings mainly bear witness to

the *baroque* style which flourished from the middle of the seventeenth century. Mr. Briggs, as an architect as well as an authority upon architecture, naturally gives prominence to this side of Leccese art, but he says enough of other features of the city and neighbourhood to make it worthy of a notice from travellers visiting Bari or Taranto.

The primary object of Rev. Lord William Gascoyne-Cecil's **Changing China** (Nisbet), the outcome of two visits to that country, is to commend to his fellow-countrymen the scheme of a Chinese Christian University. By its influence native thought and teaching may be brought to bear upon a people who will never be led by aliens—missionaries or others—and by whose hands the doctrines of probably the whole of Eastern Asia might be guided. Lord William Gascoyne-Cecil speaks his mind freely on the limitations of missionary work, and he points out clearly the dangers surrounding our position as traders with the Chinese. This valuable contribution to our knowledge of the social, economic and political state of affairs is marked by that acumen and insight which distinguish so many members of the family to which the writer belongs, as well as by an impartiality and breadth of view which are often absent from such appeals for support.

Mr. Hanns Vischer's simple story of his journey **Across the Sahara** (Arnold) will enhance interest in the former civilisation of that district of which he met with so many traces. How far such civilisation was independent of Roman influence, and whether its collapse was due to the forces of nature or to the ruthlessness of Moslems, are debatable problems. Mr. Vischer does not pretend to offer any solution; he notes such evidences of former life as stone implements, Roman inscriptions, and ruined buildings. He is not only a careful observer, but also a clear and effective writer, whose concise style adds not a little to the attraction of his account of his journey from Tripoli to Bornu across the great desert, which he believes was formerly not waterless as now, and which promises to become fruitful again under French development.

It is the lot of few travellers of the present day to discover new routes between any two defined points except in darkest Africa. Captain C. H. Stigand's spirit of adventure happily directed him to that partially explored continent. In his journey **To Abyssinia through an Unknown Land** he starts prosaically enough from a station on the Uganda Railway—having been previously occupied in studying the natives and shooting the elephants of that district. His objective on leaving British territory was to reach Addis Ababa by way of the Omo River and Southern Abyssinia. This he accomplished by striking a route to the east of Lake Rudolf, through a country hitherto unvisited by Europeans. The chief outcome of Captain Stigand's journey is the knowledge he acquired of the practically unknown tribes of Southern Abyssinia.

Primarily the interest aroused from Mr. Theodore Roosevelt's **African Game Trails** (Murray) arises from its authorship. It is rare to find a ruler of men showing so keen a zest in the pursuit of wild beasts, unless one goes back to primitive times. In the present case, however, there is much that is lacking in even the most poetic rendering of the feats of mighty hunters. Mr. Roosevelt has the finer instincts of the traveller as an observer of nature, and the result is that he has produced a picture of

Central African life and its conditions which will be valued for its obvious truthfulness. The opportunities of the ex-President were unique, but he availed himself of them, and his skill in obtaining local knowledge and local impressions is not less marked than his power of conveying them in picturesque language and in an impartial spirit.

Colonel J. H. Patterson's continuation of his adventures in British East Africa, *In the Grip of the Nyika* (Macmillan), fully sustains the reputation gained for its author by his previous work, "The Man-Eaters of Tsavo." On the present occasion Colonel Patterson first journeyed eastwards from Nairobi in pursuit of big game and also of zoological study. His second journey took him to the Northern and Eastern boundaries of the great game Reserve of the territory. The natives were in many cases distinctly hostile, and one of his party was murdered when in bed. The day following the native porters who had accompanied the shooting party mutinied, and Colonel Patterson ran imminent danger of sharing his companion's fate. The hardships which he and the widow of the murdered man encountered on their way back to Nairobi will probably deter sportsmen from venturing so far beyond the reach of protection or the neighbourhood of friendly natives.

All who are interested in the development of the Dark Continent will turn to Mr. A. J. Swann's *Fighting the Slave-Hunters in Central Africa* (Seeley) for first-hand information. For seventeen years Mr. Swann has been engaged in endeavouring to put an end to this blighting curse which for so many centuries has crushed civilisation throughout the length and breadth of the land. He has had every opportunity of gauging the potential qualifications of the African for self-government; he has studied the conditions under which life goes on in those tropical countries, and he has written his conclusions with an eye to literary effect, so that he never becomes tedious. Mr. Swann is under no illusions as to what can be done to raise the moral standard of the tribes of Central Africa, and he is full of encouraging words to those who set about the work in a discreet way.

The chief interest of Mr. H. L. Tangye's volume, *In the Torrid Sudan* (Seeley), arises from his very strong conviction that, however rich the country may be in mineral and other products awaiting development, it is essentially a black man's land. Our policy, he holds, should be to instruct the natives so far as to make them dependent on our markets to supply them with implements, machinery and other requirements for the land and its resources, which they should be induced to cultivate or explore. He warns his fellow-countrymen that unless they are on the alert, this promising market will fall into the hands of the Greek or Levantine merchants whose representatives hang on to the skirts of the English officials and infest the Egyptian stations. For Europeans, except in the uplands, which are few, the climate is unsuitable and enervating after a few years' stay; and with the constant fear that a Mahdi may appear at any moment and at any place, the attention of our officials is fully occupied, and the protection of settlers onerous.

Mr. G. M. Theal's study of *The Yellow and Dark-Skinned People of South Africa* (Sonnenschein) cannot fail to rouse discussion among ethnologists. The author's intimate acquaintance with the tribes of whom he writes renders his views as to the part played by Africa in the world's

making worthy of attention. North-East Africa, he thinks, was as important in sending out migrant bodies as Western Asia. At the same time he abstains from claiming kinship between the Bushmen of South Africa and the specimens of an extinct race found on the European shores of the Mediterranean. Mr. Theal's special acquaintance and sympathy with the Bantu race do not blind him to its limitations, and the details he furnishes of Bantu life and language will be much prized by students of anthropology.

Another equally valuable contribution to the same study is Mr. C. W. Hobley's *Ethnology of A-Kamba and other East African Tribes* (Cambridge University Press), dealing mostly with the country leading to Mount Kenya and the Great Lakes. The author, who for some time administered the district, shows himself to have been a careful observer of the native customs and beliefs. His remarks on the curious mental condition of the Bantus, and on the similarity of some of their religions to those of the Australian tribes are of extreme interest to students of anthropology and primitive religious ceremonies.

A debt of gratitude is already due to Mr. R. C. Maugham for having thrown so much light upon the actual position of things in Portuguese East Africa. The debt is increased by his more circumstantial account of the province of *Zambesia* (Murray), from which scientific inquirers and commercial men will learn much that respectively concerns them. Mr. Maugham, as our Consul-General at Delagoa, has had for many years special facilities for acquainting himself with the actual condition of the country and of the native inhabitants. How long the present flourishing state of the Zambesi country will be maintained now that the river is every year growing shallower, is the problem of the future. For the time being the Colony is absolutely self-supporting—receiving no grant from Portugal—but affording remunerative employment to a considerable number of energetic Portuguese officials. The uplands offer fine opportunities to the sportsman, the ethnographer and the mountain climber.

Possibly the least known of our colonial dependencies is *Labrador* (Macmillan) of which Dr. W. T. Grenfell has gathered together the scanty records of others, and added thereto a rich harvest of his own. In his labours he has had the assistance of both American and Canadian experts. So far little is known beyond the coast line on which Biscayans and Bretons, Canadians and New Englanders have scattered settlements, but inland Indians and Eskimo live undisturbed on such scanty food as the inhospitable land provides. Dr. Grenfell and his friends, however, believe that if the food problem can be solved, the interior of Labrador will offer an attractive field for "adventurers" in mining and other industries.

Mr. W. C. Gosling has gone somewhat deeper into the history of *Labrador* (Alston Rivers) and has laid the foundations upon which future explorers will have to build. He has travelled farther inland than Dr. Grenfell and has apparently devoted much of his time in examining the annals of the outpost settlements of the Canadian explorers and hunters. In his opinion it will be long before Labrador proves itself an attractive playground, except for fishermen whose zeal can make them disregard mosquitoes and bulldog flies, and his estimate of the natural products of the country is not optimistic.

Miss A. Dean Cameron is another explorer of **The New North** (D. Appleton) who takes the Hudson Bay Company's territory as her jumping-off ground, and determines to reach the land's end of the North American Continent. Miss Cameron is a fellow-countrywoman of Mark Twain, and she brings to her journeyings in desolate regions not a little of that humorous observation and self-analysis which gave charm to the "Tramp Abroad." The practical value of her expedition and of her readable account of what she saw, may show itself in a greater interest in the unsettled land lying still farther north than that now known as the Fertile Belt. The moderating influence of the Saskatchewan River makes agriculture not only possible but remunerative at a far higher degree of latitude than was hitherto supposed. Miss Cameron moreover has examined to good purpose the records kept at the old factories and stations of the Hudson Bay Company, and has extracted from them many interesting details, whilst her intercourse with native Indians adds much to the little hitherto known of the trans-Athabaskan tribes.

The story related by Commander Peary of his adventures in search of **The North Pole** (Hodder & Stoughton), and his ultimate arrival at the goal of his ambition, will be read with interest by many succeeding generations. The long Arctic night, the constant battle with fog and ice, the ever-imminent danger of being cut off from retreat, are incidents which the explorer takes as matters of course, and in Commander Peary's case these hardships seem to fade under his never-failing energy and self-reliance. The experiences of former years had taught him much, and few Arctic explorers started on their journey better equipped with knowledge of the problem awaiting solution. The track from the time when the ship was left and the sledges brought into use was over rugged and mountainous ice, and from February 22 to April 6, 1909, the exploring party steadily pursued its way, and on the next day the American flag was planted at the North Pole by Commander Peary, who brought back his ship and crew in safety, having achieved at last the object of his dreams, and solved the mystery which for three centuries had baffled explorers of the Arctic seas.

Sir Francis Younghusband's **India and Tibet** (Murray) deals more with the political relations of the two countries, past and present, than with the events of the expedition to Lhasa, conducted by the author with equal tact and energy. In 1904 the influence of Russia in Tibet was a serious menace to tranquillity in Nepal and Bhutan, and although the danger of provocation from St. Petersburg has passed away, there is now substituted that from Peking. The account of the difficulties which beset the Mission on its way to Lhasa and of the still greater troubles of its return is told vividly and enables the reader to grasp the isolation of Tibet, and its consequent aloofness from all those influences which have during the centuries promoted mental and industrial development in other parts of the world.

The contribution made to the study of ethnology by Mr. Edgar Thurston's **Castes and Tribes of Southern India** (Fisher Unwin) will raise the burning question as to the value of State aid in scientific research. The Government of India has for many years protested its desire to obtain some more accurate knowledge of the various tribes and customs of the

Empire. That there are competent Europeans and natives on the spot to carry out this scheme is shown by the seven volumes now presented by the Madras Government, and it is surprising to find that such interesting results have been obtained in spite of the inadequate funds placed at the disposal of the Museum authorities, Mr. Thurston and Mr. Rangachasi. They have grouped the results of their own investigations among the Hill tribes methodically, and in such a way as to make them available for purposes of comparative study. Outside this restricted area the compilers have had to depend upon information which often needed the most careful test. This it was impossible to apply with the funds available, and the general result is that, from no fault of the editors, this intended contribution to the study of anthropology is meagre and unsatisfactory.

Mr. Foster Fraser's **Australia** (Cassell) produced on its publication a not surprising display of temper on the part of those Australians who thought they were beyond the reach of criticism. It is a book, however, that all who wish well to Australia will be glad to read. Mr. Fraser is engaged in describing "the making of a nation," and discusses with sense and moderation the Australian temperament, as well as the material resources of the country. Probably there is some connection between the one and the other. There is no country perhaps, at all events in modern times, where the "cult" of happiness, as judged from externals and the material side, has been carried so far, but like every other cult it has to reckon with its by-products, and time and stress alone will show whether the sunny skies of the Commonwealth or the grey skies of the Mother Country have produced a type of more lasting and of more beneficial influence.

The intrepid lady traveller in remote regions is now a familiar figure in literature, and Miss Beatrice Grimshaw may take high rank in the sisterhood. Her **New New Guinea** (Hutchinson and Co.) is a graphic and spirited account of the territory of Papua, now taken over by the Australian Commonwealth, a land rich in plant and bird life, in savage tribes speaking mysterious languages, and presenting unsolved ethnological problems, and, potentially, in all the wealth of a tropical colony. She has been specially fortunate, travelling on a Government steamer in almost unexplored regions, and visiting cannibal tribes in their communal buildings. Her book appeals to travellers and settlers alike.

Another valuable contribution to the study of an obscure question is Dr. George Brown's **Melanesians and Polynesians** (Macmillan), the outcome of many years of patient observation. Dr. Brown inclines to the view that the two types with which his book deals, had a common negrito origin in a race which held sway over the more or less mythical Malaysian Empire. Dr. Brown is careful to avoid anything like dogmatism in the unsolved problem of the peopling of the islands of the South Pacific. He gives from observation or from tradition the contrasts between the customs of the people of New Britain, New Ireland and those of Samoa and its adjacent islands, and allows the reader to draw his own inferences as to the probability of a common source. Not the least attractive as well as informing feature of Dr. Brown's book will be found in the numerous and super-excellent photographs with which it is illustrated.

HISTORY.

As the work of excavation in Eastern Europe and Western Asia proceeds the further back the history of civilisation is thrown. Egypt, at one time regarded as the cradle of art and religion, has long since found rivals in the Eastern empires by which it was alternately ruled and obeyed. Mr. Leonard King's **History of Sumer and Akkad** (Chatto & Windus) takes the student of the history of Babylonia back some five thousand years before our era, and shows him a form of government, a code of morals, a system of religion, and both literature and art firmly established. Of the dawn of this civilisation we know nothing—at least at present—and can only imagine from its then condition the countless ages through which it must have passed. Sumer and Akkad were two great divisions of the Babylonian Empire in prehistoric times, and antedating by many centuries the still powerful kingdoms of Assyria and Nineveh. Mr. King has used the materials at his disposal with care, showing a natural anxiety to avoid mingling assurance with conjecture, and to advance cautiously through an unknown country.

The results yielded by the excavations of Cornell and other explorers in the **Land of the Hittites** (Constable) fully justify Professor Garstang's volume. It was less than fifty years ago that attention was first called to the possibilities of this outlying empire, which exercised direct influence upon Jewish civilisation. Professor Garstang's survey of Hittite history will be welcome to all who have not been made acquainted with the special articles and lectures by individual explorers at home and abroad. The sites and monuments of the principal cities of the North Syrian Empire are clearly set forth, and the results of the various discoveries reduced to intelligible order. The deduction from what has been found is that the Hittite Empire had two distinct periods of active influence, of which the earlier coincided with the invasion of Palestine under Moses, and the latter with the disruption of the Jewish Monarchy after the death of Solomon.

Mr. Arthur Weigall has endeavoured to bring before his readers the **Life and Times of Akhnaton, Pharaoh of Egypt** (Blackwood), "the first individual in human history." It is astonishing that Egyptologists should have found sufficient records to justify their data; but it seems now beyond dispute that in the fourteenth century before Christ a Pharaoh ruled, imbued with high ideals, who was able to evolve and impose upon his people "a religion so pure that one must compare it with Christianity in order to discover its faults." So far as we know at present the worship of the Aton (the effulgence of the sun on the horizon) was the precursor of all monotheistic religions. It was at the same time more spiritual than any save that of the Hebrews in its highest expression. Aton—the True God—had no form, was "the tender loving Father of all men, ever present and ever mindful of his creatures, the Lord of Love." This higher religion, however, scarcely survived the lifetime of its founder, and Egypt under Akhnaton's successor returned to the dark and dreary State religion, through which the priests for centuries had debased the popular mind.

The Syndics of the Cambridge University Press have earned the gratitude of a large body of students by publishing Mr. W. E. Heitland's **Roman Republic**. Hitherto the latter have been mainly, if not wholly,

dependent on translations of foreign works, imbued with the national sympathies or prejudices of their authors. Possibly Mr. Heitland's work may not be wholly immune from local influences, but it is more satisfactory to judge foreign civilisations from our own standpoint than from that of others. Mr. Heitland marshals his facts in close order, and presents the events in clear-cut terms. He has divided the history into three portions, each closing with a dramatic situation—the final defeat of Hannibal, the supremacy of Rome in the Mediterranean, and the death of Cæsar. Mr. Heitland has availed himself largely of Mommsen's monumental work, but he has also gone to many other sources of information of which the German historian took small account.

The series of monographs on the States of Italy, issued under the general editorship of Messrs. Edward Armstrong and R. Langton Douglas, has been much strengthened by Mr. Wm. Heywood's masterly **History of Perugia** (Methuen). The author closes his survey with the sixteenth century, having had abundant opportunity of discussing the actors in the eventful and blood-stained drama which spread over nearly four hundred years. Autonomy in the Perugian State was of remote origin and struggles between patricians and plebeians rather than between rival families distinguished its history from that of neighbouring States. Against the Empire and the Papacy nobles and people seem to have been united and the name of Cola di Rienzo stands out in bold relief as defender of local independence. With Assisi within easy reach it was the object of the Perugians from an early date to bring the house of St. Francis under their control. At one time their sway extended over Spoleto and for a time also over Arezzo. The last great struggle was within the city between the Oddi and Baglioni factions, the latter ultimately gaining the mastery until it passed under Papal rule.

Miss A. M. Allen's **History of Verona** (Methuen) is a welcome and worthy addition to the "States of Italy" series. It reveals not only careful research, but keenness of appreciation, and the faculty of distinguishing between important and unimportant episodes in the history of the city. Its position among its rivals in Northern Italy might have fostered in the Veronese a spirit of exclusiveness and jealousy towards their Eastern and Western rivals, but they retained for a longer period than others their traditions of freedom of conscience and speech. Miss Allen's account of the gradual elimination of Imperial control, and the subsequent flow of political events in the other direction, is graphic and suggestive, and her appreciation of the social and economic tendencies of the Veronese at various times is a distinct addition to our knowledge.

The completion of the work to which Dr. Rawson Gardiner devoted so many years of his life has fallen to the Regius Professor of History at Oxford, Mr. C. H. Firth. His task is limited to **The Last Years of the Protectorate** (Longmans) which cover the close of the Spanish War, Cromwell's European policy, and his attitude towards Scotland and Ireland during the two last years of his life. Mr. Firth's estimate of the Protector is not altogether from the standpoint of Dr. Gardiner, but the divergence is not sufficient to mar the continuity of the story, and it will be admitted readily that the final volumes are far more interesting to the ordinary reader than either of those to which they are a concluding sequel. Mr.

Firth's acquaintance with the literature of the period is not inferior to that of Dr. Gardiner, but he attaches more significance to its more ephemeral products, and is endowed with a lighter touch than his predecessor.

The twelve volumes of the **Political History of England** (Longmans), edited by Drs. Hunt and Lane Poole, are now completed by the publication of Mr. A. F. Pollard's contribution, forming Volume V. of the Series, and dealing with the reign (1547-1603) of the later Tudors, and that of Dr. Lodge covering the period between the deaths of Charles II. and William III. Professor Pollard's verdict upon Edward VI. is hardly favourable, but on the other hand he credits the sickly youth with more character than is generally attributed to him. With regard to his successor, he finds in both the same "wooden bigotry" in religious views and "obstinate absolutism" in political matters. In other words, each of Henry VIII.'s children inherited their father's characteristics. In the period dealt with by Mr. Pollard religion bulks largely even in politics, and it is not the least merit of his lucid style that he makes his readers understand how interdependent the one was with the other during the stress and strain of the latter half of the sixteenth century. Dr. Lodge has to discuss a period when Protestantism became a party watchword. The acclamations with which Charles II. had been received on his return from exile soon died away, and Parliament, in which the Puritan feeling survived, passed laws which by a strange irony were a few years later to be invoked to put an end to the Stuart dynasty. Dr. Lodge has been able to compress into this volume nearly all the events of the most important half-century in English history.

The constantly increasing results of research demand the re-writing of history at frequent intervals, and in time possibly each publishing house will have its special organ of this nature. **The History of England** (Methuen) is announced to be in seven volumes, and the introductory volume on England before the Conquest has been written by the general editor, Mr. Charles Oman. Many doubtful points concerning the Roman invasion of Britain have been more or less explained, although it must be recognised that assumption plays an important part in some of the theories as to the reason for certain works of Roman origin. The earlier stages of the Anglo-Saxon invasion are enveloped in as much obscurity as the history of Britain under the British, although on this period Mr. Haverfield's researches throw some light. It is not, however, until the eighth century is reached that any trustworthy records are to be found. Of these Mr. Oman has made skilful use and under his guidance the reader can follow the story as told in an often fascinating style. He makes more probable suggestions as to the causes of the collapse of the Anglo-Saxon monarchy than his predecessors when dealing with this phase of our national history, and he declines to endorse the generally accepted view that the Norman Conquest was beneficial or inevitable.

In view of the controversies aroused by the King's Accession Oath, Dr. Hay Fleming's **Reformation in Scotland** (Hodder & Stoughton) will be referred to for a clue to the influences which brought about the change from Romanism to Presbyterianism north of the Tweed. Sympathy with France as much as antipathy to England might have, it would be thought, predisposed the Scotch against any movement which found favour at

Westminster. It was in fact from Geneva that came the force which was to uproot the tradition of centuries, and Dr. Hay Fleming traces with minute care the spread of the new religion and of the spirit of destruction by which the country was disfigured. It would be hard to describe Dr. Fleming's history as wholly impartial, but it affords much accurate information with regard to the movement, and throws fresh light upon points which even now are but half explained.

Mr. Julian Corbett has succeeded in writing a volume on the ever-memorable and much discussed **Campaign of Trafalgar** (Longmans) and endowing it with freshness and absorbing interest. The space of time covered is barely two years, from Pitt's return to office until his death, and the main object which Mr. Corbett has had in view is to show how much Nelson owed to the support and discrimination of the Prime Minister. He tells how the younger Pitt had been inspired by his father's faith in British sea-power, and by the uses to which a statesman supported by an efficient admiral could apply his fleets, and by exercising pressure upon hesitating Governments could throw into confusion the plans of astute enemies.

If the history of a great national struggle can and should be written by those who took part in it, or at least were witnesses to its throes, the time has undoubtedly come for both Mr. John Formby's **American Civil War** (Murray) and Mr. Eggleston's **History of the Confederate War** (Heinemann). The former purports to be a concise history of the causes, progress and results of the great movement for secession which, according to the writer, had its origin in the earliest days of the Republic. Mr. Formby has certainly condensed his story, and presents a lucid and methodical treatment of the campaign, which, ranging as it did over a vast continent, presents insuperable difficulties to the ordinary reader and many even to the student of military tactics. Mr. Eggleston, having been himself a combatant on the Confederate side, may claim to speak with intimate knowledge of the ways in which the war was carried on and of the causes of its final collapse. He writes with a careful attempt at impartiality which will arouse no recriminations, but he does not forget the flag under which he fought, and he makes especially clear that one of the difficulties which both Generals Lee and Grant had to face was the almost unmanageable size of their respective forces.

If the succeeding volumes of Mr. C. E. Cory's **The Rise of South Africa** (Longmans) sustain the promise of the first, that country will be in possession of a national history sooner than befalls most nations. Mr. Cory goes back to the earliest times, but until the arrival of the first Dutch colonists, there is little to guide the student. He has, however, picked up some driftwood from the past, and has been able to piece the bits together and to frame a coherent structure. The present volume comes down to 1820, about six years after the Cape Colony had been finally surrendered by Holland to Great Britain. Troubles were not long in growth; on one side were ignorance and stupidity, on the other obstinacy and a mistaken view of the intentions of the new suzerain. Mr. Cory writes in a judicial spirit and gives a thoroughly impartial account of the Bezuidenhout incident which led up to "Slachters Nek" and tinged for succeeding generations the relations of the Boers and the British.

There is plenty of room for a study of **New Zealand in Evolution**

(Unwin) such as that made by Mr. Guy Scholefield. He gives in a succinct form a history of the development of the country during the last seventy years; and of the methods by which it has reached its present condition of prosperity and financial stability. Mr. Scholefield having spent his life in New Zealand, and having been gifted with keen powers of insight and a well-balanced mind, is able to throw much light upon the progress of the country. He loves it enough, too, to be ready to denounce "the profligacy" with which the natural beauties of the country have been and still are being destroyed. On the other side he shows how Government intervention and control act in farm and workshop, how arbitration affects labour questions, and how Protection, whilst unavoidable, tends to maintain prices against the consumer. There are other questions not less interesting with which Mr. Scholefield deals with lucidity and impartiality.

By degrees the veil which concealed the policy of **China under the Empress Dowager** (Heinemann) is being lifted, and much that was unintelligible in the recent proceedings of the Chinese Court is beginning to be understood. Messrs. Bland and Backhouse, the joint authors of this work, in addition to their own knowledge and observation of what took place in Peking in and before 1900, have had access to the diary of a kinsman of the Empress Dowager, who was present in the Forbidden City during the attack on the Legations. The reader is thus enabled to grasp the Chinese view of the situation, how it was created, and what were the conflicting influences at work within the palace walls. The relations between the Dowager Empress and the leaders of the Boxer faction are exposed with a frankness which suggests that the diary in which they are recorded was not meant for publication. A careful study of these notes and of the editor's reflections and warnings may give a more accurate clue to Chinese policy, past and present, than can be elsewhere found.

The most obvious question which suggests itself at the sight of Mr. F. Hugh O'Donnell's informing volumes on a **History of the Irish Parliamentary Party** (Longmans) is how many practical politicians will find leisure to wade through a thousand pages. Mr. O'Donnell, though he writes as a partisan, has a special knowledge of the development of the Home Rule movement since the days when Mr. Parnell entered public life, and inaugurated the policy of obstruction. He is able to throw much fresh light upon the movement which under American pressure culminated in the struggle between the Land League and the Fenians. This is, perhaps, to ordinary readers the most interesting feature of the book; as only a few will care to know the reasons of the severance between Mr. Parnell and Mr. O'Donnell, or the latter's withdrawal from the counsels of the Home Rule party. On view, however, of the question of Home Rule for Ireland becoming a prominent topic in Parliament, and the certain renewal of attempts to meet Irish demands, Mr. O'Donnell's admissions and denials deserve the serious attention of politicians and writers, who may draw their own conclusions from the documents and statements set before them in these volumes.

Whatever the ultimate solution of the Irish problem, however, may be, the changing moods of the leaders of opinion in that country are seldom devoid of dramatic episodes. Mr. William O'Brien, who presumably voices a section of Irish opinion, thinks that he may increase its importance by

giving to the world his idea of **An Olive Branch in Ireland** (Macmillan), in order apparently to show that the Nationalist leaders have for the last seven years given proof of nothing except incapacity. His opinion of Mr. Redmond and of Mr. Dillon as representing the rival leaders is that after all it would be better for the Irish Nationalists "to be united in support of a short-sighted and foolish policy than divided in support of a far-sighted and wise one." The perplexity of the situation to English minds becomes greater when Mr. O'Brien assures his readers that Mr. Redmond has to take his orders from Mr. Dillon, in order to retain the Chairmanship of the Nationalist party.

POETRY.

The title of Mr. William Watson's volume of verse, **Sable and Purple** (Nash), is indicative of its contents. There is much colour, and that of the best, often delicately graduated, often broadly contrasted. Of real grit and conviction of opinion there is less evidence. In polishing his style Mr. Watson has deprived it of much of its vigour. At times he was a trenchant critic of the world and its follies, but age has apparently brought acquiescence with wrongs he has been unable to redress.

Mr. Robert Service, who has already identified himself with the ice-bound gold-bearing Yukon district, is unable to throw off the influence of his master, Mr. Rudyard Kipling. In his new volume, **Ballads of a Cheechako** (Fisher Unwin), he shows no desire to run alone, and although the form he adopts is well suited to the stories he tells one would prefer less imitativeness in his work. The episodes of a digger's life are harsh and often gruesome, and Mr. Service spares his readers nothing of the tragedies which attend the quest for gold. His real power, however, lies in his descriptions of the scenery and surroundings, in local colour and a wide and unconventional vocabulary, which goes well with his swinging verse.

Mr. Kingsley Fairbridge's **Veld Verse** (Nutt) strikes a very different but not less genuine note. The love of the Veld inspires, apparently, introspection, as Miss Olive Schreiner's tale taught in by-gone years. But external objects have a charm for Mr. Fairbridge, and there is in his verse, as in that of his Canadian contemporary, a freshness and originality of thought and touch which bode well for the future of Colonial poetry. Both volumes are so replete with local terms that for ordinary European readers a glossary should be appended for their enlightenment.

Mr. Rudyard Kipling's **Rewards and Fairies** (Macmillan), although primarily addressed to children, will have fascination for many who have no desire altogether to put away childish things. Scattered through the prose story-telling, it is the verse in the volume which will give it its vogue. There is as ever an easy lilt in Mr. Kipling's poetry, but beyond that there is an imaginative sense which naturally seeks an outlet otherwise than in prose, and for this reason "Rewards and Fairies" deserves a place amongst the poetry of the year.

The issue of Mr. Alfred Noyes' **Collected Poems** (Blackwood) enables the public to obtain a fuller appreciation of his talents and of his range than has been previously afforded. He is gifted with much imagination

and has a facility for rich rhyme, a rare combination among modern poets. The sad catastrophe in recent years connected with "Mount Ida" has never been called in doubt, and furnishes Mr. Noyes with an opportunity of showing his power to adapt modern thought to classical themes. It is, however, in his more purely national appeals that Mr. Noyes shows his best qualities as a singer of the day, and stirs the feelings of his readers.

Lady Tennant's talent as shown in her book of verse, **Windlestraw** (Chiswick Press), lies in the simpler forms of didactic poetry, and in her obvious sympathy with children's ways of thinking. "A Child's Garden of Verses" is one of the most attractive features of this little volume, and her rendering of the "Legends of Plants and Animals" in rhyme will give more popularity to her work than her carefully elaborated sonnets, and the occasionally involved thought of her lyrical efforts.

Miss Dorothea Hollins' *Morality, The Quest* (Williams & Norgate), is conceived upon ambitious lines, and it must be admitted that the achievement justifies her self-confidence. She reviews the problems of human life in seven scenes, which having shown the powerlessness of Purity, Humility, Penitence, Devotion, Humanism and other high gifts to set free the human soul, lead up to a vision of the Future where the Child, the Mother and the Father, working for others and thinking nothing of themselves, find the Key of the Gate of the Enchanted Castle before which Death, Pain and Ignorance stand as guardians. There is a certain staidness in Miss Hollins' blank verse, and melody in the lyrics which the maidens, like a Greek chorus, sing to the "deliverers," as full of hope they approach the castle and full of sorrow they return defeated.

Mr. Stephen Phillips appeals to the readers of poetry in an epic, **The New Inferno** (John Lane), and by a drama, **Pietro of Siena** (Macmillan). In both his qualities of imagery, diction and high-sounding verse are distinguishable. But the epic is too obviously an attempt to adapt Dante's majestic work to the spirit of modernism, and the result is that the reader seems called upon to take sides in a strife in which he is personally interested. In his drama we have another side of Mr. Stephen Phillips' talent. He makes as little secret of his walking in the footsteps of the later Elizabethan dramatists as he does of following the Florentine exile in his epic.

Apart from its literary value and style, Miss Helen Keller's small volume, **The Chant of the Stone Wall** (Hodder & Stoughton), should attract attention in many circles. History records more than one great poet who had lost his sight, though not before he had accumulated treasures of observation upon which he was able to draw; and others who had in later life been deprived of the use of other senses. Miss Keller, however, comes before the public as a verse-writer to whom sight, hearing and speech have (it is implied) been denied from earliest childhood. The working of the imagination under such restrictions is a no less perplexing problem than mastery of rhythm, which although sometimes rugged is often powerful. The poem itself deals with the first settlement of New England by the Puritans, and the survival in their descendants of certain ancestral characteristics. Consciously or otherwise Miss Keller has adopted a style of writing poetry mainly associated with Walt Whitman, but it must not be supposed that she has attained his strength or flexibility.

SCIENCE AND PHILOSOPHY.

At an age to which few attain, and fewer retain their mental activity, Dr. Russell Wallace—whose name will be associated for all time with that of his contemporary, Charles Darwin—offers to the world the ripe fruits of **The World of Life** (Chapman & Hall). The joint-author of the theory of natural selection, he resolutely sets his face against the materialism of many of its later champions. He devotes much of his book to the deductions made by geologists as to the time during which the earth was preparing to receive life-forms, and the duration of their various periods. In the inception as well as in the development of life he recognises a purpose and an order of which the source can only be a Divine Being. With regard to the disappearance of certain life-forms he inclines to the view that from the Tertiary Period onwards—and possibly even earlier—man contributed to the destruction of those mammals whose extinction was ultimately due to natural causes. For the Divine origin and mission of man he stands forth as an uncompromising champion.

The attitude towards **Reason and Belief** (Methuen) taken by Sir Oliver Lodge is frank and helpful to students of moral development. He holds to the traditional explanation of the conflict between good and evil going back to the earliest appearance of human life, when “the recognition of responsibility must have dawned upon some early genius of the race, into whom entered the Divine breath of inspiration.” At the same time he recognises that with “assertion” arose “denial,”—the latter often as well equipped for controversy as the former. Succeeding generations have profited by these arguments and added their own quota, but in every case in the past, as in the present, “predisposition” has been and will continue to be the determining cause of the conclusions at which the individual arrives. The book is full of suggestions put forward tentatively, and is wholly free from dogmatic assertion.

Students who have accepted the conclusions of many recognised biologists will be disturbed by Dr. Archdall Reid's **Laws of Heredity** (Methuen). He adopts the germ-plasm starting-point, but regards its developments as due to inherent causes rather than to the accidents of its environment. These causes would seem to be “nutriment, use, and injury.” In one respect Dr. Archdall Reid is more in accord with his forerunners in the same paths of study, holding that acquired characteristics are not transmissible. His revolt, however, against “progressive” variations in heredity is complete, for he holds that “retrogressive” variation tends to be greater as time goes on. In other words, reversion to an original or ancestral type would seem to be a more potent influence than the chances of variation under altered conditions or nutriment. Dr. Archdall Reid's theories are the outcome of his observation and experience as a practising physician. His knowledge of all classes of men and women have led him to the conclusion that the most important factor in the improvement or degeneration of the race is “disease-selection”; and that the deterioration of slum-dwellers, factory hands and the like would vanish with the opportunity of their development in improved surroundings.

The medical questions raised by Major Ronald Ross's volume on **The Prevention of Malaria** (Murray) must be left to experts; for the public at

large it has a greater interest. It shows how slowly the light of science, even when most beneficent in its aim and methods, makes its way into the darkness of prejudice, ignorance and official obstinacy. It is more than forty years since Dr. Manson announced his discovery that a mosquito was an active agent in the propagation of malaria, and twenty years later the particular mosquito was recognised by Major Ross. On the Suez Canal Ismailia had almost as bad a reputation for malaria as Panama for yellow fever, yet by the enforcement of precautionary measures and inoculation the mortality from one and the other has practically ceased. In India the Government still hesitates to enforce a treatment in the face of fakirism; and yearly thousands—even hundreds of thousands—of lives are sacrificed because prejudices must be respected.

SOCIOLOGY AND POLITICS.

It may now be presumed that Dr. J. G. Frazer has offered his final views on those early forms of superstition and society classified as **Totemism and Exogamy** (Macmillan). Of the four volumes now issued two-thirds are made up of Dr. Frazer's earlier studies, revised by the light of the subsequent development of his subjects. Dr. Frazer's conclusion is that society, so far as its record can be traced, proves the slow progress of reason and intellect, more or less upon the same lines, by every family of the human race. He considers that savagery in the order of things, and independently of direct pressure from without, must disappear. Dr. Frazer discusses with impartiality the various theories as to the origin of Totemism of which instances have survived among the Australian and other aborigines. His conclusions on this, as on the kindred subject of Exogamy, in which his indebtedness to his precursor, J. F. McLennan, is recognised, give to this important book a foremost place among the authorities on the early stages of primitive development.

Mr. Gerald C. Wheeler's monograph on **The Tribe and Intertribal Relations in Australia** (Murray) is valuable as a scientific attempt to throw light upon an obscure point. By degrees knowledge is being accumulated as to the organisation of the Australian tribes—the least civilised people in the world, so far as explorations have gone, if the still unknown races of New Guinea be left in suspense. It is, however, now abundantly clear that even in Australia civilisation is not to be found in its most rudimentary stage. The aborigines, or those we take to be their lineal descendants, show very definite customs, some social and others religious, which must indicate progress from some more primitive conditions of life. The distinctive and perhaps most interesting feature of Australian development, according to Mr. Wheeler, is, that whereas other races and nations seem to have emerged from a normal state of warfare with their neighbours or among themselves the Australian tribes settle their disputes by "a juridical fight" between champions of contending claims. Students of anthropology will find much information brought together in this interesting volume.

The investigation of primitive institutions which was the special work of the anthropologists of the last century has been steadily carried on by their successors. Mr. E. S. Hartland's **Primitive Paternity** (Nutt) approaches the family question from an independent point of view—that of the Myth of Supernatural Birth. In a rudimentary stage human beings,

he argues, were incapable of realising the physical facts of paternity—and the invocation of magic or the will of a disembodied spirit to return to the world was recognised as a possible cause for a child's birth. Mr. Hartland examines a number of myths which might bear out this theory, and puts aside many rival hypotheses which recent writers have adopted on the strength of evidence obtained from further acquaintance with semi-savage life. The value of Mr. Hartland's book, however, will be the mass of information respecting marriage customs he has brought together, and the analysis he makes of the various theories put forward by his predecessors.

In this connection a valuable monograph by Major A. Playfair on **The Garos** (Nutt), a hill tribe on the border of Assam, deserves notice. The forms of marriage, the descent of property, and the otherwise topsy-turvy ways of society, according to general notions, are explained by the author. The subject is the more interesting as it is in this remote district that the two surviving matriarchal tribes, the Garos and the Kharis, are to be found.

In their account of their lengthened stay **With a Prehistoric People** (Arnold), the Akikúyu, Mr. and Mrs. Routledge have thrown a beam of light upon one of the mysteries of Darkest Africa. The tribe, probably settled in their present abode from a remote antiquity, have developed various arts and crafts; they have retained religious conceptions and folklore, and have evolved a peculiar and interesting social and political life. Mr. and Mrs. Routledge established remarkably friendly relations with leading men of the Akikúyu, and were thus enabled to obtain a vast amount of information, which is presented to the general reader in an attractive form.

Scarcely less important a contribution to the cognate study of ethnology is Dr. C. G. Seligmann's **Melanesians of New Guinea** (Cambridge University Press); one of the valuable results of the Daniells expedition. Hitherto it has been customary to classify the inhabitants of New Guinea as Papuans; Dr. Seligmann shows that there are on the island at least five distinct tribal groups—each possessing its own forms of government, social habits, and peculiar customs. He has observed the ways of various tribes with attention, and although unacquainted with the idioms in use, he was able to pick up a good deal of information. In some parts of the island sorcery, if not held in high esteem, plays an important part in the daily life of the people—and it would seem that "mystifications" scarcely less wonderful than those of Indian jugglers and American mediums are produced by even youthful members of at least one group of natives. Fresh information on the vexed questions of exogamy, tabu, and totems is furnished, and material for abundant controversy is provided for ethnologists, sociologists and etymologists.

The second volume of Messrs. Carlyle's **History of Medieval Political Theory in the West** (Blackwood) takes up the argument from the time when Patristic glosses on Christian teaching were mingling with the traditions of Roman jurisprudence. The struggle between the secular and ecclesiastical power was becoming more acute throughout the period occupied by Mr. A. J. Carlyle in this volume. The outcome was the development of a natural law—which in more modern times has found its expression in opportunism. Mr. Carlyle points out with force and clearness that the

separation of the powers of Church and State which had been recognised in the ninth century had lost much, if not all, its effectiveness in the thirteenth. The need of some theory on which the government of kingdoms could be carried was making itself felt, when with the close of the Crusades domestic legislation became a pressing necessity.

The assertions of platform and parliamentary speakers are too often accepted without challenge, especially when eager to support their own arguments. Mr. Harold Temperley's **Senates and Upper Chambers** (Chapman & Hall), whilst explaining accurately the part played by these bodies in the colonies and foreign countries, incidentally shows that Mr. Balfour and Lord Hugh Cecil—just as Mr. Asquith and Lord Morley of Blackburn—have in their speeches made misleading statements with regard to the functions or constitution of Upper Chambers. Mr. Temperley brings their actual condition under review, and further shows the difficulties under which they have been constituted in countries where hereditary privileges had to be accorded with popular demands.

Unintentionally Professor C. H. Firth's **House of Lords during the Civil War** (Longmans), apart from its value as an impartial account of an episode in history, comes at an opportune moment, and will furnish material for disputants on both sides. The part played by the House of Lords during the seventeenth century is instructive to modern politicians. It had sympathised and co-operated with the Commons in the earlier stages of the encroachments of the Crown upon public liberty. When the struggle was over it was put aside and its services ignored, and after the end of the Commonwealth it revived with increased importance in the management of State affairs. Mr. Firth regards the increase in the number of Peers under the Stuarts as the beginning of its decline in power and prestige, and the quarrel between them and Charles I. provoked a schism in their rank which rendered their order powerless in the ensuing conflict. The story of Cromwell's House of Peers, and his reasons for creating and then promptly dismissing it, is told with vigour and a clearness which makes the episode intelligible.

It is to be regretted that Mr. J. W. Welsford was not spared to show more fully his capacity as a writer of history. His posthumous work, **The Strength of England** (Longmans), gave promise of a brilliant career, for he shows in it a strong grasp of the points which he wishes to establish. His aim apparently was to prove the continuity of the economic policy of England from Saxon to Stuart times. Mr. Welsford occasionally startles his readers by confident assertions which sound paradoxes; but he defends his position with skill and tenacity. His main theory is that the rulers of England on several important occasions within the period treated had, by their insistence upon a protective system, developed English industries in a degree impossible under one of greater freedom. He supports his arguments with abundant evidence and persuasive pleas.

The history of the development during three-quarters of a century (1834-1907) of **English Poor Law Policy** (Longmans) has been carefully followed by Mr. and Mrs. Sidney Webb through a bewildering maze of statutes and Orders in Council. Thanks to their labours and lucidity, the reader is able to realise the slow evolution of the present conditions of State relief. They show how much has been achieved, and also how much

more has still to be done before the responsibilities of the State towards the poor can be regarded as discharged. Mr. and Mrs. Webb do not leave students of this pressing problem without some clue as to the way out of the difficulties which obstruct the way. It is necessary to do much—perhaps more to relieve the sick, to feed the children, and to assist the aged—but the best way by which the burden thus imposed is to prevent destitution is by anticipation. The present Poor Law system if pursued must lead to the disappearance of parental and personal responsibility—and consequently to extravagant demands, and an overwhelming increase of both rates and taxes. Every one is more or less interested in the solution of this problem, and to everybody who recognises his responsibility this valuable book is addressed.

Mr. Seebohm Rowntree's contribution to the study of economical questions deals with **Land and Labour : Lessons from Belgium** (Macmillan), and notwithstanding the special conditions which obtain in that country there is much which is applicable to our own. Mr. Rowntree touches debatable points in asserting that Belgium is not a land of peasant proprietors. This may be true for the provinces of Liège, Luxemburg and the south-eastern districts, but in Flanders the peasant proprietor predominates, though probably he does not thrive, as his holding is mortgaged and re-mortgaged to such an extent that, fruitful as it is and unremitting as his work must be, it fails to give him more than a scant subsistence. As Mr. Rowntree points out the small farmer is, thanks to proper training and to Land Banks and co-operation, in a better pecuniary position than the nominal freeholder. It is this part of this informing volume which specially concerns English economists and land-reformers.

It was scarcely necessary that Sir Horace Plunkett should localise the gospel he preaches in **The Rural Life Problem in the United States** (Macmillan), for it was during his administration in Ireland that the author sowed the seed of this idea. If he has had the good fortune to see it adopted and fostered in the United States, under the mighty hand of Mr. Roosevelt, he has also seen it fructifying in Canada, Newfoundland, Scandinavia and Ireland. Sir H. Plunkett's belief and aim are that the world having been over "urbanised" must now be "recountified." He would see established in every province, district or county a Country Life Institute, where all the materials necessary for the work of reform would be accessible to all comers. In this way, he believes that the land, the only true capital of every country, will be fully utilised, and its resources developed for the common good, though not necessarily in joint ownership.

Year after year goes by and the future of the Southern States of the Union grows no clearer. Mr. Booker Washington's **Story of the Negro** (Fisher Unwin), though written by an advocate for the race to which he belongs, is sufficiently impartial to make his readers realise the gravity of the situation. The colour-line, emancipation notwithstanding, is marked as distinctly as ever, and neither philanthropy nor political expediency can or will soften its limitations. Mr. Washington shows, however, that the coloured population is capable of mental advancement, and that the schools and colleges devoted exclusively to the education of negroes have already produced results far more satisfactory than could have been anticipated forty years ago. Pending a further extension of educational

discipline, it seems unfair to submit the negroes to the test of criminality established by the white races. Having kept the negro down for centuries, the problem for the white man now is how to lift him up, and Mr. Booker Washington places this problem clearly and fairly before his fellow-citizens.

The experience gained by Sir Harry Johnston during his service in West and East Africa gives him the right to speak of the possibilities of the **Negro in the New World** (Methuen). He however scarcely goes farther than stating the problem which the people of the United States have to solve. Whilst recognising the value of the work done by Mr. Booker Washington and others, he holds a low opinion of the mental capacity of negro races; but he gives evidence of the advance in the external ways of civilisation made by the negroes of New York. He considers that the first thing which negroes should be made to understand is the necessity to work, and the dignity of labour. Archæologists are beginning to discover traces of a civilisation in Africa, which seems to have been destroyed by centuries of warfare and oppression. How far it will be possible to arouse capacities so long unexercised and unwelded is the question which thoughtful Americans in South and North are asking themselves. And Sir Harry Johnston bears willing testimony to the serious efforts being made to find the satisfactory answer.

The weighty counsels delivered to the students of Yale University by Mr. James Bryce on **The Hindrances to Good Citizenship** (Frowde) have happily been made the common property of all English-speaking peoples. Mr. Bryce addresses himself in these lectures to those who may be too insistent upon the rights, and somewhat forgetful of the duties of citizenship. He realises that we stand at the parting of the ways of Liberalism; that the rising tide of Democracy threatens to remove the social and political landmarks of the past. The great hindrances to progress in the path of liberty for individual life and thought are indolence, personal self-interest and party spirit, the only means by which these are to be overcome are by intelligence, self-control and mutual respect. "The central problem of civic duty is the ethical problem." Mr. Bryce desires to press upon his readers the need of "the better conscience" of duties and responsibilities by party leaders, and this can only be effected by trying "to reach the Will through the Soul."

Mr. J. A. Hobson lives too much in the turmoil of Socialist aspirations to take any but a pessimistic view of **The Crisis of Liberalism** (King), although he seems to advocate remedies which may prove more fatal to society than those from which he believes it to be suffering. He has a remarkable belief in the blessing of State Socialism, and he is not less in favour of the usual nostrums, manhood suffrage, votes to women, proportional representation, combined with the abolition of plural voting. But even these reforms will not suffice to restore to the House of Commons its effective power as a representative body. As he desires, so he seems to favour, government by the Referendum as the only control of the Cabinet. But Mr. Hobson's claims to be heard are mainly those of an economist. And when he discusses the causes of poverty and the methods of dealing with it, he leaves his readers in the lurch, after having led them to regard "the penetrating force of realism" as a condition beyond scientific control.

Ostensibly addressed to his own fellow-countrymen, Admiral Mahan's

Interest of America in International Conditions (Sampson Low) is a volume which should receive careful attention from all those on this side of the Atlantic who interest themselves in questions of Imperial defence. Admiral Mahan deals with the situation which would be created by a "German Navy supreme by the fall of Great Britain, with a supreme German Army able to spare readily a large expeditionary force for oversea operations." He warns his countrymen as to the danger to which their commerce would be exposed, and urges upon them, as well as upon Japan, as the only Powers having no land frontiers exposed to German troops, to consider whether they can afford to exchange the naval supremacy of England for that of Germany. Admiral Mahan's idea is that in the Pacific, and in the doctrine of the Open Door in China and Japan, lie the more immediate danger for the United States. Inferentially, though not explicitly, he sustains the view that access of the Pacific from the Atlantic should be jealously guarded and strongly held.

To all citizens of the Empire whose interest in its welfare and stability is not merely a catchword, Mr. Valentine Chirol's study of the cause of **Indian Unrest** (Macmillan) comes opportunely. The author's knowledge of India and its people goes back for more than thirty years. He has watched with care the spread of the system of education under British rule, has noted the use of their opportunities made by intelligent Hindus; and finds in it the germ of the spirit of revolt. A class has been created for which no proper field of employment has been found; and discontent has been spread not so much by education as by the methods of education. The agitators have been astute enough to mingle ideas of Western democracy with caste prejudices, and religious enthusiasm has stimulated popular passion. Mr. Chirol puts clearly and logically the means by which a better understanding between the British Government and the Indian people might be established and maintained. These suggestions deserve to be carefully weighed and calmly discussed by political leaders, and by their organs in the Press.

A more thoughtful and suggestive book than Mr. Ramsay Macdonald's **Awakening of India** (Hodder & Stoughton) has seldom appeared at so critical a time. It reflects the mature and sober judgment of an advanced Liberal and one of the leaders of the Labour party on the problems forced upon the British Government as the logical outcome of fifty years of direct control of Indian affairs. Mr. Macdonald recognises fully the difficulties which have grown out of the policy which has been followed. He acknowledges that British rule alone prevents the disruption of India. His criticism is that, whilst native opinion has steadily grown in force and purpose, there has been no corresponding sympathy between the governing class and the governed. He recognises the loyal and disinterested work of English officials, civil and military, but he sees the gulf which separates them, and would like to see Indian self-government gradually developed under the protection of a supreme British control and authority.

THEOLOGY.

The position occupied in the Church as a teacher and preacher fully justifies Mr. B. H. Alford in offering to lay readers his admirable summary of the position of **Old Testament History and Literature** (Longmans)

as viewed from the point of modern students. The revision of the Old Testament, according to Mr. Alford, was carried out by Ezra and Nehemiah under the influence of the Prophet Ezekiel. The moral as well as the hierarchical effects of the Exile are very plainly set forth, and the intensity of Jewish hatred of all "strangers" and their secular exclusivism are explained and in a sense justified.

The increasing interest in the period between the close of the Old Testament and the opening chapter of the first gospel is seen in Dr. W. O. Oesterley's **Doctrine of the Last Things** (Murray) especially written for lay readers. The transition period after the return of the Jews from the second captivity until the birth of Christ has hitherto been treated like the blank page dividing the Old from the New Testament. The books of the Machabees deal only with events, and those of a limited period, and from them one can learn little of the mental and spiritual influences which were operating on the Jewish people. These are to be found reflected in the Apocalyptic writings, which until recently have been unknown to all but a very small circle of scholars. These writings bear witness to the general unrest in the Jewish mind, to the conviction of the imminence of the Messiah, and the consequent end of the world as then established. Dr. Oesterley adds to selections from the Apocalyptic Scriptures passages from contemporary Rabbinical writings, but he does not touch upon the more delicate question as to how far these writings influenced our Lord's teaching and that of the evangelists and apostles.

It is not surprising that Mr. Claude Montefiore who in his Hibbert Lectures contributed so much to our knowledge of the conditions under which the books of the Old Testament were composed, should pursue his study of the development of the Jewish religion. **The Synoptic Gospels** (Macmillan) will rank as a remarkable work, not only as the first instance of the Jewish mind being applied to the teaching of Christianity in its earlier forms, but as claiming for its Founder the true successorship to the pre-Exilic prophets. Mr. Montefiore holds that Jesus never ceased to be a Jew, that His teaching, opposed to that of the Scribes, was that of a great Reformer, whose "Kingdom of God" was a purified Judaism, and that He was not consciously the founder of the Christian Church as it has come to be known in either Western or Eastern Europe. The commentator naturally realises that his remarks may prove "to Jewish critics too Christian and to Christian critics too Jewish," but, feeling that he had a message to his co-religionists, he has delivered it in all devoutness and sincerity, hoping that it may lead to a meeting-ground between Jew and Christian.

Dr. Sanday's **Christologies Ancient and Modern** (Clarendon Press) are a fitting introduction to the author's promised Life of Christ, to which he has for many years devoted his learning. In the present volume he sums up the various conceptions and speculations concerning the Founder of Christianity which at different stages of the world's history have been current. In the earlier centuries metaphors were freely used, and not unfrequently a confusion between them and statements of fact arose. In the "dark" age lying between the fifth and the ninth century the accretions were for the most part superstitious, and with the Schoolmen came a logomachia, in the dust of which the truth was often obscured. It is,

however, with modern and more philosophical studies that Dr. Sanday deals at greater length in this volume, and he is not afraid to bring the latest psychical speculations to his aid to interpret the twofold nature of Christ.

The laymen to whom Canon G. S. Streatfield's **Incarnation** (Longmans) is specially addressed will find in this volume wide teaching and broad thinking, leading on to fearless assertion. Canon Streatfield in his survey of the rise of Christianity from the ashes of dying faiths, pagan, Jewish and others, realises the honesty with which the teachers of religions everywhere had been seeking after God. For this reason, if for no other, resemblances between the Christian religion and others must necessarily exist. The fundamental difference between Christianity and other religions was that it brought before the world a Divine Being who was ready to suffer, and who could stoop to the level of his humblest worshipper.

No better criterion of the relations of the clergy to the laity could be found than a comparison of the Bampton Lectures of thirty years ago with those of the present day. The last series, delivered by Canon Hobhouse, entitled **The Church and the World** (Macmillan), looks at the relationship from an ideal as well as from an historical standpoint. The Apostolic Church, although a visible society, was an ideal conception, that of "a society separate from the world and in some sense antagonistic to it." The conversion of Constantine brought the world into the Church. The conversion of the world by the Church, and, in later times, the maintenance of a dominant form of doctrine, was effected by the help and arm of the State. The outcome has been the religious chaos of the present time. There is pressing need for reunion without insistence upon absolute uniformity, the sense of discipline must be restored, nominal Christianity must be rooted out. The line which separates the Church from the world must be clearly defined, and men must be forced to make their choice.

From among the numerous theological works which appear any special selection seems invidious, whilst it is impossible within restricted space to do more than mention a few. The attitude of the clergy towards social questions, as well as towards religious doctrines and ecclesiastical differences is equally important. Dr. Chadwick's Hulsean Lectures on **Social Relationships in the Light of Christianity** (Longmans) are primarily addressed to members of the University, and by inference to those in orders or preparing for them. Dr. Chadwick's views are well worthy of attention by a wider public, especially when dealing with the moral duties of citizens. The symposium presided over by the Bishop of Bristol, **The Church and Life of To-day** (Hodder & Stoughton), embodies the views of several Church dignitaries who for the most part seem uncomfortable on their thrones and in their stalls. With few exceptions they realise, but do not admit, that their hold over society is less firm than it should be. If they were unanimous as to the means of combating the conditions they bewail, they might recover much of the authority they once possessed. The cause of much of this weakness may be sought and found in the Bishop of London's collection of sermons, **Into the Fighting Line** (Wells, Garden & Co.), in which he sketches the plan of campaign which he would wish his clergy to adopt. Experience, however, has shown him that however strongly the claims of Christian brotherhood are urged and accepted, those

of Ritualistic observance are more imperative, with exclusiveness as the necessary outcome.

From whatever point of view the Anglican party in the Established Church may be regarded, there is no question as to the value which attaches itself to the utterances of the Bishop of Birmingham. His volume on **Orders and Unity** (Murray) has moreover the interest of reflecting some of the changes which have come over Dr. Gore's mind in the course of twenty years. He accepts without hesitation the Catholic principle of orders, but he confesses that there is much obscurity as to the source whence the ministry originally obtained its authority. He, however, considers that "historical evidence of a cogent kind" points to the conclusion that the officers of the newly founded Churches were confirmed—if not directly appointed—by apostolic authority, and that the devolution of their power through the sub-apostolic time remained unbroken until the question of apostolic succession was finally and authoritatively settled by Church Councils. It is to those who accept this view without demur that Bishop Gore addresses himself, rather than to those who find it difficult to connect the authority assumed by the Church with the historical value of the Apostles' teaching.

The anonymous author of **Absente Reo** (Macmillan) has followed up his earlier appeal for Christ and the Church by another warning cry, of which the dominant note slightly wavers. He recognises the need of a radical change in the conception and the discharge of social duties, he looks to the Bishop of Birmingham (Dr. Gore) as his most hopeful ally, but he does not close his eyes or his ears to the fact that the section of the clergy which follows Dr. Gore in his ecclesiastical methods, is marked by narrowness, intellectual incompetence, and conventional blindness to the dangers which threaten society. The author recognises, but does not admit, that his idea of a comprehensive Christianity is not likely to be realised under existing conditions. He sees that the majority of his fellow-citizens do not want England to be turned upside-down, but he is by no means sure that the Deity to whom respectable persons—ecclesiastics and laymen—pay reverence may not wish otherwise.

Dr. C. A. Briggs, whose reputation as a Biblical scholar is recognised beyond the limits of the party of which he is a protagonist, is desirous to leave his mark upon the Church as a peacemaker. In his series of studies on **Church Unity** (Longmans) he deals with some of the more important problems which present themselves to the section of thinkers amongst whom Dr. Briggs is prominent. He and they hanker after reunion with Rome, and Dr. Briggs's varied experiences of many creeds and connections may possibly give him an authority to speak with conviction. He states, moreover, that the decision given by Leo XIII. against the validity of English orders is capable of being revised by Pius X., and gives the grounds for his belief. On the somewhat broader issue whether the great bulk of the English laity would welcome this method of reunion, Dr. Briggs is somewhat vague; but he recognises that a united Christendom must rest on the Bible, the Church, and the Reason, and his hope, rather than his conviction, is that the greatest of these is the Church.

Canon Henson's lectures to the Yale students on **The Liberty of Prophecy** (Macmillan) were as appropriate to the place of their delivery

as they were enlightening to the audience he addressed. He naturally gives prominence to the conditions and obligations imposed upon those who take orders in any Church. He discusses at length the articles of the Apostles' Creed, and regards the acceptance of its articles as a necessary test of discipleship. On the value of the historical facts included in the creed, Canon Henson recurs to the main line of those arguments, which have brought him into direct collision with the Anglican party in this country. To all his hearers and against all his opponents he maintains that the one essential and unassailable historic fact is the sinlessness of Christ. This great truth above all he urged upon his hearers, for the most part candidates for ordination, to grasp and to make the corner-stone of their belief and teaching.

It would be difficult to find a clearer and a more judicial survey of contemporary theological opinion than in the sixteen **Essays on Some Biblical Questions of the Day** (Macmillan), edited by Mr. H. Barclay Swete. The writers are recognised masters of the subjects they discuss. Mr. A. Bevan brings his knowledge of Arabic literature to bear upon the historical methods of the Old Testament, Mr. Stanley Cook summarises the results of Old Testament research during the last thirty years. Professor Kennett's survey of the progress of the Jewish religion from Nebuchadnezzar to the second exile period is ably supplemented by Rev. C. H. John's essay on the influence of Babylonian Mythology upon the Old Testament. Much light is thrown upon the transition from the Old to the New Testament teaching by Mr. Israel Abraham's article on Rabbinic literature. Coming to questions of more vital import to modern Christianity, Professor Inge and Mr. Alan E. Brooke deal with the Fourth Gospel, while Professor Percy Gardner and Mr. Scott discuss the attitude and relations of St. Paul towards the other Apostles and their teaching. Professor Swete, who writes the concluding essay, recognises the crisis through which dogmatic teaching is passing, holding that the worth of the Bible is proved by the religious life and ideals it inculcates and maintains.

The attitude occupied by Dr. Fairbairn on the question of the Free Church movement is clearly defined in the collection of his **Studies in Religion and Theology** (Hodder & Stoughton) now brought together. The special aim of these lectures was to explain the Idea as well as the History of the Church from its earliest days. His view of "the rise of a priesthood within a once priestless religion" will not be accepted by either section of the Established Church; but possibly in the course of time even that body will be brought to modify its concepts of the origin and powers of the Episcopacy in the early Church. Dr. Fairbairn is so generally impartial in his judgments, and so often in sympathy with those from whom he differs as to forms and ceremonies—that this volume well deserves the careful study of all who wish to advance their common object—the religion of Christ.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Psychical Research lost one of its most able pioneers in Mr. Frank Podmore; and the volume which he left behind, **The New Spiritualism** (Fisher Unwin), attests the care with which he dealt with all phenomena brought to his notice. Every claim for supernatural powers put forward

during his time was tested, and it may be added generally rejected. With the questions of clairvoyance, appearances of the dying, and messages from the dead, Mr. Podmore deals with more sympathy. The mass of evidence after the most careful sifting is so overwhelming in support of the theory that certain persons are endowed with a sensitiveness denied to the average man or woman, that even Mr. Podmore's stubborn doubts break down. He has sifted countless cases, and although he rejects many, he recognises that the evidence of "manifestation" in certain cases is incontrovertible.

So many theories of the relation of mind to body have found currency, the most fantastic being often the most popular, that such a sober treatise as Dr. Bernard Hollander's *Hypnotism and Suggestion* (Sir Isaac Pitman) is especially welcome. He recognises how large a part habit plays in our actions, and how little they are the result of conscious reasoning. It is when the sub-conscious mind is aroused by suggestion, hypnotically, that a power is established which may be exerted banefully. It is to warn not only those who are possessed of this power of imposing their will on others, but also those with too receptive minds that Dr. Hollander addresses himself, showing how in daily life, in education and especially in medical treatment, dangers beset "the suggester." To consent to the paralysis of one's own consciousness is scarcely less reprehensible than for the stronger mentality to enslave the weaker. In our present highly strung and intense life these dangers are constantly becoming more real, and although the phenomena of suggestion have doubtless played a part in many true religions, they have been far more prominent in superstition and imposture.

Professor Spencer Wilkinson's position as a critic of military tactics gives value to his collection of studies, *Britain at Bay* (Constable), dealing with the present situation. He frankly avows his deference to the cry for compulsory military service; and to obtain this he would willingly sacrifice our regular army. At the same time he admits that in all schemes of national defence, the Navy must be the first consideration. How the financial side of the question is to be treated does not enter into Professor Wilkinson's survey, and this is the paramount question with politicians.

The controversy raging round the use of cavalry in war, if not actually originated by Mr. Erskine Childers' *War and the Arme Blanche* (Arnold), was certainly brought more vividly before the public on the appearance of this volume. Mr. Childers urges with insistence that the reforms introduced into our cavalry equipment by Lord Roberts have been superseded by more recent theories, and that the importance which he attached to arming the cavalry with rifles, and making them proficient as marksmen, has been lost sight of, or deliberately reversed. The question is not one of expediency but of efficiency; and Mr. Childers is able to adduce an immense weight of evidence from South Africa as well as from Manchuria in support of his contention. To all soldiers, and to many Army reformers, Mr. Childers' marshalling of the arguments on both sides will be of much value and importance.

SCIENCE OF THE YEAR.

ASTRONOMY.

THE principal astronomical event of the year was the return of Halley's comet, which had not been seen since 1835. It became visible in telescopes long before the end of 1909, but was not discerned by the naked eye till April, when it showed a strong central nucleus, with no tail. In Great Britain it proved a disappointment, at first owing to cloudy weather, and afterwards from the want of a dark background. In other places, however, *e.g.* Madrid, Malta, Manila, Kodaikanal (S. India) and elsewhere, it was a conspicuous and beautiful object, and at one time the tail was traceable at the Lick Observatory along an arc of 140° . There being a likelihood that the earth might be enveloped in the tail of the comet on May 19-20, special watch was kept for meteorological, magnetic, and even chemical phenomena (in the event of cyanogen being poured into the atmosphere), but beyond sky-glow, which may have been due to other causes, the search was fruitless. Owing to the very careful and elaborate calculations made by Drs. Cowell and Crommelin, of the Greenwich Observatory, the path of the comet was known much more accurately than if the perturbations due to planetary influence had not been fully taken into account.

On January 17, the period of its perihelion, a comet, afterwards known as 1910 *a*, or the daylight comet, was examined by Innes at Johannesburg, the first discovery having been made the previous day by a workman. Moving rapidly towards the north through Pegasus, it was quickly seen in Europe, and under favourable conditions proved a striking object. Owing to its path being almost "end on" as viewed from the earth, it disappeared very rapidly, and was reduced to the 12th magnitude by the middle of April.

On August 9 a comet (1910 *b*) was discovered at Taunton (Mass.) by the Rev. J. H. Metcalfe, while another, 1910 *c*, seen at Kiel on August 26, proved to be D'Arrest's comet, which had been known since 1851, and has a period of six and a half years.

During the last fortnight in February a sunspot group, having a total area of about 120,000 square miles, or one-seventh of the sun's disc, was observable, though the year as a whole was one of diminished activity in this particular.

A total solar eclipse took place on May 9, but was not well suited for observation. Mr. Frank McLean's expedition to Bruni Island (Tasmania) unfortunately proved a failure owing to continuous bad weather, and though at Queenstown (Tasmania) the conditions were favourable, no results of importance were obtained.

The latest value of the solar parallax, deduced from observations of Eros in 1900-1, is $8''\cdot806 \pm \cdot006$, corresponding to a distance of 93,740,000 miles. A determination of the velocity of the solar system through space by Professor Stroobant gives 19·4 kilometres per second towards an apex in R. A. $277^{\circ}5$, Dec. 35° .

The International Union for co-operation in solar research met at Mt. Wilson (Cal.) during the last week in September. A report issued by the committee on standard wave-lengths stated that the red cadmium line had been compared with the standard metre, the results confirming those of Michelson. Sunspot spectra, spectroheliographic work, and allied matters, were also discussed.

The controversy as to the existence of intelligent beings on Mars still continues, and Professor Lowell now has the satisfaction of proving the reality of two new "canals" first seen by him in September, 1909, since no trace of them can be found on photographs of the planet taken within the last fifteen years.

The star Eta Geminorum was occulted by Venus on July 26, and from the fact that in $1\frac{1}{2}$ or 2 seconds after reappearance its ordinary brightness was resumed the conclusion is drawn that the atmosphere of Venus cannot be more than 80-110 kilometres deep.

It seems probable that a large number of new nebulae will shortly be added to those already known, Dr. Ritchley's work with the 60-inch Crossley reflector at Mt. Wilson being full of promise in this direction. The 100-inch mirror, however, is not yet in sight of completion.

On December 30, a new red star, since called Nova Lacertæ, was discovered by the Rev. T. H. Espin, of Towlaw, Durham. Its spectrum showed bright hydrogen and helium lines, and it belongs to the class of stars which, by some unexplained catastrophe, blaze up for a time and then resume their ordinary appearance.

The proposal to adopt Greenwich time in France, so long resisted for jealous reasons, was passed by the Chamber of Deputies during the year, and has since (Feb., 1911) been ratified by the Senate. The change will involve the setting back of all French clocks by 9 min. 21 sec. [It was made at midnight on Friday, March 10, 1911.]

Sir W. H. M. Christie has resigned the post of Astronomer Royal, and has been succeeded by Mr. F. W. Dyson, Astronomer Royal for Scotland.

Three eminent astronomers have died during the year: J. G. Galle (March 11), E. V. Schiaparelli (July 4), and Sir William Huggins (May 12). (See *post*, Obituary.)

C. L. B.

GEOLOGY.

The eleventh International Geological Congress met at Stockholm from August 18-25, under the presidency of Professor de Geer, and drew an attendance of about nine hundred. Excursions to Spitzbergen, Lapland, and Central Sweden preceded the meeting, and the Archæan areas and glacial deposits round Stockholm and Upsala were also visited. In his opening address the president discoursed on the geochronology of the last 12,000 years. He stated that the site of Stockholm was covered with ice only a few thousand years ago, and hoped that proof would ere long be

forthcoming as to whether or not the glacial periods in Scandinavia, the British Islands, and North America were coeval. Among other subjects discussed were glacial erosion, the pre-Cambrian period, and iron ore supplies. In connection with the latter the general opinion was that there is little fear of a failure of iron-ore deposits, the chief danger being that the supply of coking coal will give out first.

The Italian Government commission has issued two valuable reports on the Calabrian earthquake of November 16, 1894, and that of Messina on December 30, 1908. Recognising that Messina must be rebuilt on its present site, they recommend that no buildings intended to be permanent should be erected on loose sand or gravel, or within 100 metres of the shore. As a result of the last great earthquake the 200 metre and 300 metre lines extend much farther to the north of the Straits than formerly, and the 400 metre line near the Calabrian coast no longer exists.

The town of Cartago, Costa Rica, was practically destroyed by an earthquake on May 4. After a lengthy period of quiescence, severe shocks were felt at Zanzibar (Dec. 14), when four cables were broken; New Guinea (Dec. 16), the West Indies (Dec. 17), and Java (Dec. 18), all of which affected quite half the world.

Chili has now fallen into line with other countries similarly affected by establishing a seismological service. A chain of observing stations now exists along a meridian from Tacna to the South Shetlands.

A great eruption of Etna took place on March 23, and continued for twenty-nine days, by which time a lava stream 100-1000 metres wide, and of varying depths up to 100 metres, extended to a distance of 10 kilometres from the new craters on the south side of the mountain.

At the Sheffield meeting of the British Association the president, the Rev. Professor T. G. Bonney, was a geologist, and took for his subject the problems of the ice age. He did not, however, advance any new theories, but reviewed and summarised what had been done. The majority of the geological papers dealt with stratigraphy, the Lower Palæozoic rocks being discussed by several speakers, and it was stated that the concealed coalfield of Notts, Derby, and Yorks was far more extensive than had been supposed.

The mineral production of India formed a feature of the quinquennial review issued by the director of the Indian geological survey, Sir T. H. Holland, now Professor of Geology at Manchester. India produces large quantities of mica, petroleum, and manganese ore, and has extensive coal-fields, not, as previously thought, of Mesozoic age, but probably as ancient as our own.

Dr. Tempest Anderson gives reasons for attributing the decay of certain building stones to mould or fungus growth, and finds that germicides, such as copper sulphate, mercuric chloride, or creosote, will arrest further decomposition.

C. L. B.

GEOGRAPHY.

The most strenuous work of geographical exploration at the present time is being directed to Arctic and Antarctic areas. Commander Peary has lectured before the Royal Geographical Society on his successful journey in search of the North Pole, which is now accepted without reserve as trust-

worthy. This was his eighth attempt, the successive latitudes he reached being, 69°·0 (1886); 81°·35 (1892); 81°·40 (1895); 81°·50 (1899); 83°·59 (1900); 84°·17 (1902); 87°·60 (1906); and 90°·0 (1909).

From soundings it appears that the Arctic basin begins in north latitude 84° to 85°·5 and shelves down rapidly, and to such a depth that the floor of the ocean was not touched at 1,500 fathoms in the neighbourhood of the pole. The expedition collected much useful information, and the tidal observations, which were carried on with great care, have already led to the correction of some erroneous views formerly in vogue.

Captain R. Amundsen, in co-operation with the Department of Terrestrial Magnetism of the Carnegie Institution, started an expedition on June 6 in the *Fram* for polar exploration. He entered the polar basin from Bering Sea, after sailing round Cape Horn, and he intends to force his vessel into the ice which in its drift will probably carry him over or near the Pole, and bring him into open water, between Greenland and Spitzbergen, about the year 1915-16. The object of the expedition is entirely scientific.

News has been sent by the steamship *Kong Harold*, which has been in polar seas, that the *Fram* expedition whilst there discovered a volcano and hot springs in Wood Bay, Spitzbergen. An Arctic Zeppelin airship expedition is under contemplation, more particularly for the exploration of Franz Joseph Land and Spitzbergen.

In the Antarctic regions the British expedition under Captain Scott is now commencing its work. The *Terra Nova* left England in June, arrived at Lyttleton, New Zealand, in October, and is expected to reach McMurdo Sound at the end of December, where she will land the western party. As soon as the winter quarters are established the main body will proceed to lay depôts to the south, while the ship is to proceed eastward to King Edward's Land, where she will probably leave a small party with supplies and facilities for transport, and then return to New Zealand about February.

In October, Captain Scott and his comrades will commence the journey to the south, traversing the Barrier plain and proceeding up Beardmore Glacier to the high plateau, with the intention of reaching the Pole about Christmas Day.

Other expeditions to Antarctica are also in course of preparation or projected. Dr. Bruce proposes to start in 1911 for Coats Land and to attempt to cross the Antarctic Continent. A German expedition under Lieutenant Filchner and Professor Penck is being organised which will have for its object the discovery of a sea communication, if it exists, between Weddel Sea on the one side and Ross Sea on the other, and thus to establish whether Western Antarctica is an archipelago or not.

An American expedition under Captain Bartlett in the *Roosevelt* proposes to land at a point opposite to Ross Sea, and about 2,000 miles from it, and to proceed as far inland as possible.

The French expedition under Dr. Charcot has returned after an absence of two years in Antarctic waters and has named an unknown portion of Adelaide Island after Queen Alexandra.

The results of Antarctic exploration are being published from time to time, and it appears that there are evidences of recent elevation of the land to a height of several hundred feet. The Barrier is in motion, travelling

at the rate of 500 yards per annum, and is fed with snow which, in its compressed state, measures one foot per annum in depth.

Colonel Kozloff has continued his travels under the Imperial Russian Geographical Society in Central Asia and has found some lofty ranges of hills running east and west in the region south of Koko-nor. Excavations were made in the ruins of Khara-Koto and much archæological material obtained.

Dr. and Mrs. Workman have published an account of their explorations in the Himalayas and give a detailed description of the Hispar Glacier, one of the largest in the world. It has a low gradient, its width is about two miles, and it receives in all nine tributaries, most of which are heavily laden with debris. The lateral moraines are large, but the medial ones are insignificant, the surface is freely covered with ice-basins and there is generally an absence of crevasses. Since 1906 it has been almost stationary, but five years prior to this it had moved nearly two miles.

Mention must be made of Dr. Longstaff's Himalayan expedition into the mountains of the Karakoram range, of which one peak, Teram Kangri, about 27,000 feet in height, is amongst the greatest altitudes in the world.

Through French enterprise a great railway was opened on April 1 between Yunnan and the French possessions in Cochin China. From Tonking it rises, in 263 miles, 8,000 feet to the level of Yunnan-fu, and its construction presented many engineering difficulties. It forms a new trade route with Western China and will be of great advantage to commerce.

Mr. Douglas Carruthers has been exploring in the upper Yenesei basin, Mongolia, and a Japanese expedition has been at work in Chinese Turkestan.

Alois Musil has completed an arduous and dangerous journey into the area between Arabia Petraea, Syria and Mesopotamia, and he has thus been able to construct a map of the country between 37° and 44° E. Longitude and 27° and 36° N. Latitude with topographical and ethnographical reports.

The Cape to Cairo railway now stretches from Wad Medani in the north for a distance of 1,501 miles southwards, and the Cape to Congo portion reaches northwards 2,312 miles. It is estimated that 2,060 miles have yet to be made to connect them together.

Lake Chad has been investigated by Captain J. Tilho, and a comparison with a previous journey by himself shows that the northern portion has dried up, and where he previously sailed he now was able to travel on foot. Captain Cortier has been exploring in the Sahara and M. Gentil in Morocco.

A British expedition under Captain Rawling has pushed its way towards the mountains in Dutch New Guinea, the height of which is placed at 15,000 feet.

In North America Professor Coleman has ascended Mount Robson (13,700 feet) which is the highest peak in the Canadian Rocky Mountains, and the National Geographic Society has organised an expedition to explore the Alaskan Glaciers. Professor Macmillan has made a journey in the region westward of Davis Inlet to George River, and he reports that three lakes have been discovered, the largest of which is twenty-five miles in width and is called Misternipi. Professor R. McFarland, accompanied by

a single Indian guide, has visited little-known territory north of Labrador and has ascended the Porcupine range of mountains.

During the year a Danish expedition under Dr. Schmidt in the steamer *Thor* has been making observations on the Atlantic Slope and on the Mediterranean Sea. Interest in the Mediterranean Sea arises from its land-locked situation, as it is almost cut off from the Atlantic Ocean, the Strait of Gibraltar being only 200 fathoms in depth. There is also a high ridge between Sicily and Tunis where the water is no more than 150 fathoms deep, whilst east and west of this it is 1,000 fathoms deep. Thus this sea is divided into two basins, almost isolated in their deepest parts, and a comparison of the fauna here and in the Atlantic is likely to yield very valuable biological results.

On Friday, March 29, 1910, an Oceanographical Institute and Museum was opened at Monaco under the auspices of the Prince of Monaco. It is a fitting culmination of his twenty-five years' uninterrupted work.

J. R. A.

METEOROLOGY.

On July 1 a new arrangement came into force by which the Kew, Eskdale Muir, and Valencia Observatories will in future be under the control of the Meteorological Office and its Director, and the superintendents of these observatories will be appointed by the Meteorological Board, acting with an Advisory Committee of the Royal Society. The testing work hitherto carried out at Kew is to be transferred before long to the National Physical Laboratory at Teddington.

The Meteorological Office is now established in new premises in South Kensington where its growing work can be more efficiently performed. No less than 4,388 reports were received in the twelve months ended March, 1910, from Atlantic liners, 42 per cent. of which were received within twenty-four hours of the time of observation. Weekly editions of the North Atlantic charts are now issued, showing the weather to the day before that of issue. In forecasting weather the percentage of success has been ninety-three for the year, which is the highest yet attained.

The British Rainfall Organisation founded fifty years ago by the late G. J. Symons, F.R.S., is now handed over to a Board of Trustees with Dr. H. R. Mill as Chairman, and an endowment fund is to be formed for the continuance of its work. There are now nearly 5,000 observers in co-operation with this organisation and the accumulated records of rainfall are quite unique.

Evidence is increasing to show that the temperature and rainfall of the British Islands is much influenced by the Gulf Stream drift, which, like the great cyclonic system in the atmosphere, is a convection current set up by the cold of the polar and the heat of the equatorial regions. The Gulf Stream drift and the circulation of the air have in course of time settled into a state of mobile equilibrium, and some of the disturbances in the weather are the outcome of adjustments in the maintenance of this equilibrium. It is thought by Mr. Bassett, who is investigating this subject, that long forecasts of the weather may be made possible by a precise knowledge of the course of the Gulf Stream drift.

Observations at great heights in the air are still being continued, and

an interesting report compiled by Dr. Shaw and Mr. Dines has been issued by the Meteorological Office on the "Free Atmosphere of the British Isles" which gives a comprehensive survey of the results of recent researches into the upper air.

An important fact has been brought to light by Mr. R. B. Sangster in examining some magnetic disturbances at Greenwich. The component of the force perpendicular to the total force is rotatory in character and proceeds in an anti-clockwise direction very generally, but sometimes clockwise. Left-hand rotations are always to be observed between 4 P.M. and 9 P.M., with a maximum at 8 P.M., a change from left to right not infrequently occurring at midnight.

It was thought by some meteorologists that the passage of the tail of Halley's Comet (p. 82) through the atmosphere might yield some results different from what usually obtain. Balloon ascents at the time of passage, May 19-20, made at Ditcham Park, Pyrton Hill, and Glossop Moor failed to establish any change markedly different from what often occurs, either in temperature or in the amount of ozone, in the upper reaches of the atmosphere. Furthermore, none of the electric or magnetic variations on May 19-20 were abnormal.

Mr. Hayhurst and Dr. Pring have examined the amount of ozone in the air, and find it is about one part in 4,000,000,000 parts at the ground level and rather more at altitudes of five to ten miles. The smallness of the amount at ground level upsets the current notion that country and seaside air owes its invigorating properties to ozone.

Dr. E. Alt has produced a map to show the frequency of thunderstorms in different parts of Europe. Cornwall, N.W. Scotland, and Norway have the smallest number of storms per annum, whilst the Carpathians and Northern Italy are visited most often. It is noteworthy that those parts where rainfall is heavy are not the parts subject to many thunderstorms.

Carl Störmer has been successful in photographing 400 auroræ, and by taking simultaneous photographs, four or five kilometres apart, he has been able to estimate their height, which he places at 50 to 190 kilometres.

Mr. J. J. Plummer of the Hong-Kong Observatory has long studied typhoons, and concludes that, although they develop on the sea, their origin is on land, that they are mutually independent, and that they do not merge into each other, but rather the reverse.

The rainfall of Rhodesia has been compiled by the Rev. E. Goetz from observations at sixty-three stations. The longest record comes from Hope Fountain, and extends over nineteen years. Near the Portuguese territory the rainfall amounts to thirty to forty-five inches, but in travelling westward it diminishes to twenty inches. A consideration of flood and drought cycles leads him to the conclusion that an application of Colonel H. E. Rawson's nineteen-year cycle in the movement of the high pressure belt is likely to yield useful results.

A network of meteorological stations over Egypt and the Soudan has in the course of ten years enabled the prominent features of the African climate to be determined with precision. Captain G. H. Lyons refers the hot and dry condition of N.E. Africa to the north-easterly trade winds, this state of things being modified in the south by the rains of summer.

The driest parts are Wadi-Halfa and Dongola where there is concurrently a great range of temperature. The rains of Uganda and Abyssinia supply the waters of the Nile and are caused by the south-easterly winds blowing from the Indian Ocean, and it is the variation in these rains which affects to a high degree the fertility of Egyptian soil.

The weather during the year, according to observations taken at Greenwich, was not extreme in any one feature, and the seasons were not well marked. January, February and March both in temperature and rainfall were above the average, but from April to September the temperature was below the normal, especially in July, and there was more than the usual rainfall, except in September which was a dry month. There was a fortnight of frosty weather in November, but the remainder of the year was mild and wet. The mean temperature was $49^{\circ}7$ F. and the total rainfall $28\cdot064$ inches.

The terrestrial magnetic elements at Greenwich for 1909 were:—

Declination	$15^{\circ} 47' 6''$ W.
Inclination	$66^{\circ} 53' 57''$.
Horizontal Force	$0\cdot18528$ C.G.S. units.

J. R. A.

CHEMISTRY.

Mme. Curie and A. Debierne have succeeded in obtaining a liquid amalgam of radium by electrolysing a solution of radium chloride, using mercury as the anode, and a platinum-iridium cathode. On being dried and heated on an iron boat, in a quartz tube, most of the mercury was driven off at 270° , and apparently the whole of it at 700° , at which temperature the radium itself began to volatilise, and attacked the tube. The metal formed a bright white, strongly-adherent deposit, which rapidly became black on exposure to the air, probably owing to the formation of a nitride. It decomposed water, and exhibited the normal amount of radio-activity.

The same two investigators have definitely established the production of helium from polonium, but owing to the exceedingly small quantities in which the metal occurs, about $\cdot04$ mgr. per ton of ore, it has been possible to do little more than observe the spark spectrum—which involves a loss of material—and to show that lead, presumed to be the last product of the decomposition of polonium, is faintly indicated.

The molecular weight of radium emanation, for which the name niton has been adopted, is given as 221. Chemically it is absolutely inert, and in the periodic table falls into a vacant space below xenon, amongst the argon group.

An important paper on the electrical theory of dyeing was read by Professor W. W. Haldane Gee and Mr. W. Harrison before the Faraday Society on April 5. In brief, the theory starts from the assumption that whenever two bodies are placed in contact they are oppositely electrified; in tinctorial chemistry one of these is a solid and the other a liquid. Wool and silk are negatively electrified in contact with water, and the electrification appears to be a maximum at 40° C. Hence in dyeing these materials, which are "wet-out" before entering the dye-vat, a basic dye, containing

positive ions, will be attracted to the fibres, and the subsequent "fixing" is attributed to some cause not yet understood. In the case of acid dyes, experiment shows that wool and silk take a positive charge when placed in an acid bath, or boiled with acid, so that the electrification is present as before, but in the opposite sense. The theory is in accordance with well-known but previously unexplained facts, as, for example, that the maximum amount of basic dye absorbed is at 40° C., and that dyeing is only possible in liquids which produce strong electrification by contact.

The seventeenth report of the International Committee on Atomic Weights was published early in the year, but in future it will appear in September or October. The following are among the values altered or recently confirmed: strontium 87·63, phosphorus 31·04, vanadium 51·06, tellurium 127·5, argon 39·89, arsenic 74·96, platinum 195·23.

The values 3·994 for helium, 20·200 for neon, 39·889 for argon, and 130·22 for xenon, have been obtained by H. E. Watson.

The spontaneous cracking of cartridge-cases of hard drawn brass, which sometimes occurs several years after their manufacture, has been shown by Professor E. Cohen to belong to the same class of phenomena as the pustules often found on masses of tin which have been exposed to a temperature of -40° C. In either case it is due to the formation of minute crystals, but, remarkably enough, the condition can be communicated by contact from one piece to another.

At the British Association meeting the president of the chemical section was Dr. J. E. Stead, who took as his subject the influence of sulphur and silicon on the carbon condition of commercial iron. The papers were in the main of technical rather than general interest, a feature of the meeting being the joint debates of the chemical section with the physical, physiological, engineering, and educational sections.

Much attention is being paid in France by M. Victor Henri and others to a process for sterilising water on a large scale by means of the ultra-violet rays. The Cooper-Hewitt or some similar lamp is employed, and is either sunk in the water or caused to act on it through a system of tubes in which a circulation is kept up. The oxidising powers of the ultra-violet rays are of remarkable efficacy, and the method has the advantage of cheapness.

C. L. B.

PHYSICS.

The early experiments made by Sir J. J. Thomson and his pupils to determine the magnitude of the elementary charge of electricity, now recognised as one of the fundamental constants of Nature, have been repeated under improved conditions by Professor R. A. Millikan in America. He passes a stream of water and alcohol vapour over two metallic plates one above the other, the upper one having a small hole in it through which droplets from the vapour can fall. By means of an electric field maintained between the plates the droplets are held in suspension, and their number can be counted by observing them through a microscope illuminated by an arc light. These droplets carry from two to six times the elementary charge, but in every case the quantity of electricity is an exact multiple of the number $4·65 \times 10^{-10}$. This number differs consider-

ably from Sir J. J. Thomson's value, but it is in good agreement with recent determinations of the same quantity by Professor Rutherford and Professor Planck, who employ different methods.

The Brownian movement of small inorganic particles in liquids, which resembles that of microscopic organisms, has been the subject of study by Professor Jean Perrin. As the movements of these particles are held to be due to molecular impacts they should serve as a magnification of the molecular agitation and be subject to similar laws. By determining the kinetic energy of the granules Professor Perrin has deduced on these assumptions the number of molecules which should exist in a gas under normal conditions, and by two independent methods he finds that the number is 3.15×10^{-10} . From this the mass of the atom can be determined, and this again allows the magnitude of the elementary charge of electricity to be calculated. The number so found is 4.11×10^{-10} , a value not very far from that quoted above. Thus four different methods conspire to give the same result and the magnitude of the electronic charge may be considered as known with considerable confidence.

Dr. Kossonogow has applied the ultramicroscope to the study of electrolysis, and he finds that when the current is flowing a number of bright points are seen in the liquid which travel towards the electrodes with the known ionic velocity, and attach themselves thereto. As non-electrolytes do not show these effects, it is argued that the ionic hypothesis of electrolysis has been visibly demonstrated.

In radio-activity, now that it has been definitely proved that the α -particle is an atom of helium, and its mass, charge and velocity have been determined, interest is directed mainly upon the β and γ rays. Problems engaging the attention of physicists are the mode of absorption of the β -rays and the essential nature of the γ -rays. As to the latter the hypothesis that they are of the nature of x -rays, and are ethereal pulses set up on the sudden expulsion of β -particles is in general harmony with their behaviour, but the fact that they do not get weaker as the distance from their origin increases has led Professor Bragg to suggest as an alternative that they are entities carrying equal positive and negative charges. Much research is being carried on to elucidate this question.

With regard to the β -rays the natural exponential law of their absorption by matter has hitherto been accepted, but Mr. W. Wilson has found from his experiments that the simpler law of direct proportionality with thickness of the absorbing material more nearly conforms to the facts. A former view that the velocity of the β -particle is definite and is characteristic of the substance from which it is emitted has recently undergone modification, and it would now be more correct to say that there are groups of β -rays for each substance characterised by definite velocities. On this subject Dr. Otto Hann and others are making investigations.

The origin of the penetrating radiation in the atmosphere has been studied by Dr. Karl Kurz, and he concludes that neither an extra-terrestrial nor an atmospheric source is permissible, but on the other hand that the earth, which by exclusion is the only remaining source, is sufficient to supply all the observed effects of this radiation.

Professor Sir J. J. Thomson, who has studied in recent years the canal rays produced in vacuum tubes undergoing an electric discharge, dis-

tinguishes in such rays three types, namely, rays undeviated by electric or magnetic forces, secondly, rays produced from those carrying positive charges deviated by electric and magnetic forces, having a constant velocity of 2×10^8 cms. per second and a ratio of charge to mass of about 10^4 , and, thirdly, rays which are characteristic of gases in the tube, conspicuous only at low pressures and having a variable velocity. Under the influence of a magnetic field these can be drawn out into a kind of spectrum, and this property affords a delicate test for the presence of small traces of gases.

Mr. E. Kidson on the cruise of the *Carnegie* made experiments on the conductivity of the air by means of a Gerdien apparatus. The conductivity was always low in the neighbourhood of land and was greater for positive than negative electricity; in the night it was nearly constant and about double of its value in the daytime. The radio-activity of the air appeared to come from the land and to be due to it.

Van der Waal's theory that the physical properties of vapours and liquids are the same if they are compared at corresponding temperatures, pressures, and volumes has demanded an extensive and trustworthy series of determinations of the critical constants of fluids for its verification. Professor S. Young has devoted himself to this task since 1888 and finally contributes the results of his laborious investigation in one important paper, in which he gives the vapour pressures, specific volumes, and critical constants of thirty pure substances. The results in part conform to Van der Waal's law, but it is evident that this law must only be treated as a first approximation.

A law equivalent to that of Van der Waal's appears to hold in the very different phenomena of the variation of the magnetic intensity with change of temperature, and experimental evidence has been adduced to show that the magnitude of the effect is the same if the ferromagnetic metals are compared at corresponding temperatures. International Congresses on different branches of physics are becoming common. The first to be held on Radiology took place at Brussels on September 13-15 and was attended by many continental and British investigators.

During the year the deaths have occurred of Professor F. Kohlrausch, a leading authority on several subjects in physical science, Professor J. S. H. Pellat, and Professor H. Dufour on the continent, and of Dr. Shelford Bidwell, and Professor T. H. Core in this country.

J. R. A.

BOTANY.

This subject shares in the general advance of Science to such an extent that it becomes increasingly difficult for a worker in one of its branches to survey the field covered by the whole subject. Fifty years ago Botany was almost confined to the collection and systematic classification of plants. Now it embraces in its scope Plant Physiology, the study of the life processes of plants, Cytology, the study of the structure of the plant cell, Palæobotany, the study of fossil plants, as well as the older study of Morphology dealing with the form and structure of plants. To these must now be added Ecology, the study of plants in their relation to their natural

environment. This subject has been coming to the front in the last few years and now merits attention in this review.

Under this heading in an important paper Messrs. Tansley, Moss, and Rankine have given a comprehensive survey of the woodlands of England. They find that our forests and woodlands are not a haphazard collection of various trees, but that they fall into an orderly scheme of classification in which the various classes depend upon certain factors of the environment. Thus they find three principal groups of woodland conditioned largely by the nature of the soil: (1) The Alder-Willow group on very wet soils; (2) The Oak and Birch group on non-calcareous soils; (3) The Beech and Ash group on calcareous soils. Each of these groups includes a small number of "associations." These are largely determined by soil factors, either the water content or the chemical nature of the soil. The Oak and Birch group, for instance, is divided into (1) Oakwood "association" on non-peaty soils at low and moderate elevations; (2) Oak-Birch-Heath "association" on dry sandy and dry peaty soils at low elevations; (3) Birchwood "association" on non-calcareous soils at high elevations. Each of these associations has a fairly definite and well-recognised ground flora, so that a trained ecologist on learning the nature of the soil and the elevation of a given wood will tell with very fair accuracy what trees and what shrubs and herbaceous vegetation it will contain without visiting it.

This order in woodland distribution has not been affected much by artificial planting, for the planter's efforts have not been successful in the case of trees not suited for a certain locality or soil, and so planting has been kept in certain limited grooves which result in artificial woodland not much different from the original indigenous woodland flora.

Students of Ecology have had great need to define their terms, and in giving more precision to efforts in this direction, without which the study cannot make progress, Mr. C. E. Moss has rendered excellent service. His paper on "The Fundamental Units of Vegetation" has done much to clear away the misty confusion into which ecological nomenclature was falling, and has effectively put forward what may be spoken of as the "English" point of view. He has proposed to make definite the two units, "formation" and "association," and to give each typical formation and association a definite name which would belong to that unit only. Groups of formations may be made according to some soil factor such as content of mineral salt and not, as some continental botanists have suggested, partly on soil conditions and partly on plant form, a method which could only lead to confusion.

In Plant Physiology an important contribution to our knowledge was made at the Sheffield meeting of the British Association by Mangham of Cambridge, who has employed a method—first introduced by Senft—which enables the sugar content of cells to be easily identified. In this way he has investigated the question of the path by which sugars pass out of the leaf, and concludes that they do so by the sieve-tubes and not by the parenchymatous bundle-sheath as some investigators have thought. More important than the immediate result is the prospect which this method holds out of settling many vexed questions regarding the translocation of sugar and thus filling up a gap in our knowledge which at present causes much trouble to all teaching botanists. At the same meeting Dr. F. F. Blackman brought forward the results of his long series of experiments on

Respiration which go to establish the theory that this function is dual in nature, being partly respiration of protoplasm and partly respiration of reserve carbohydrate. Thus there is a "floating" respiration which ceases when reserves are used up and a more fundamental "protoplasmic" respiration which goes on as long as the plant is living.

Mr. Francis Darwin's new method of observing stomata was also described at Sheffield and is likely to render our observations on this subject much more exact. It is based on the rate at which air can be drawn through the stomata and this is measured by the movements of a manometer attached to the leaf.

Important papers have been contributed on the question of the ancestry of the Ferns. Kidston and Gwynne-Vaughan, by a study of fossil *Osmundaceæ*, have concluded that the *Osmundaceæ* were primitively without foliar gaps, that the more ancient forms were protostelic and that the pith was of stelar origin and formed by the alteration in nature of the central portion of the primitive protostele.

This position is in direct opposition to that held in America, and their paper has been strongly controverted by Jeffrey, who thinks that pith has in all cases arisen by an inclusion of part of the cortex into the stele. Sinnot has concluded that foliar gaps were a primitive feature in *Osmundaceæ*. Chrysler, in important studies on the *Ophioglossaceæ*, has shown that these ferns are related to the *Osmundaceæ* and that both groups branched off from a more primitive group at a remote period. Whatever be the value of the opposed views it is becoming increasingly clear that the *Osmundaceæ*, living and extinct, are of prime importance in settling the question of the ancestry of Ferns.

Miss Sykes has studied the leaves and inflorescences of the remarkable South African plant *Welwitschia Mirabilis*, which was described fully by Professor Pearson in a paper noticed last year. In her further study Miss Sykes finds reasons to connect *Welwitschia* with the Cycads and the extinct *Medulloseæ*, thus confirming its position as an isolated survival whose separation from its congeners occurred at a remote geological epoch.

In Palæobotany we have had a description by Miss Stopes and Professor Fujii of an interesting new fossil flora from Japan. This is the first time that a Mesozoic flora has been examined which showed the internal structure of the plants found. Hitherto for this period we have had to rely on external impressions and the inner structure has given us most important additions to our previous knowledge. The plants found were about equally divided between the Angiosperms, the Gymnosperms and the Cryptogams and were in many respects like those of the present day. Several of the species, however, are now extinct, and on the whole the nature of the flora points to the existence of a warmer climate in North Japan than it now enjoys.

In Cytology we have had a further investigation into the structure of the nucleus of the Yeast plant. This has always seemed abnormal in structure, but the painstaking minute examination of Wager and Peniston has brought it into line with more normal nuclei and shown that it really presents the same essential features.

Professor V. H. Blackman's announcement that the vermiform generative nuclei of *Lilium*, though devoid of cilia, are capable of movement, is

of great interest, reminding us of the descent of the nuclei in these forms from ancestors whose homologous cells possessed the power of swimming freely by means of cilia.

ZOOLOGY.

Zoology is still very much concerned with the study of parasites causing diseases in man. The Sleeping Sickness Commission is continuing its work, but of course discoveries of primary importance cannot be made at the same rate as they have been in the years when attention was first directed to the subject. The investigators are finding that unicellular parasites (trypanosomes) similar to that causing sleeping sickness in man are very widespread and cause diseases of various kinds. A new trypanosome has been found during the past year in the sleeping sickness area of Central Africa which is the cause of a serious cattle disease. This, like the sleeping sickness trypanosome, is carried about by the tsetse fly. It is fatal to domestic cattle, and may find an intermediate host in a species of antelope found in the district.

The zoological department of Manchester University has already met with considerable success in combating the larch disease prevalent in the Thirlmere plantations, though its attempts are yet only in their infancy. The cause of the disease is the larch saw-fly, and the Manchester scientists have encouraged its bird enemies by providing artificial nesting boxes for them. Large numbers of the boxes have been used by the birds, and already a marked increase of bird life is apparent.

In the more purely scientific branch of the subject several papers of great interest have been contributed. Professor Dendy has completed his work on the Pineal Eye of certain lizards, a task which he has been prosecuting at intervals during the last ten years. The animal known as the tuatara is an inhabitant of New Zealand, where it is rapidly becoming extinct. It is remarkable in possessing, in addition to the pair of eyes normal throughout the vertebrate animals, a third eye which is situated on the top of the head in the middle line and is called the pineal eye. Even man, though without the pineal eye, has traces in his brain of a body associated with it, called the pineal body. Professor Dendy has made a thorough investigation of the structure and nerve and blood supply of the pineal eye in the tuatara. His results lead to the theory that the pineal eye and the pineal sac, a hollow vesicle lying directly behind the eye, are the representatives of a pair of eyes which were originally similar to the normal pair and which have taken up their present position and structure as a later evolutionary development. Evidence of this is found in the fact that in the early development of the pineal structures they do not both appear in the middle line, but are placed obliquely side by side, the pineal eye being at the left. There is no certain experimental evidence to show whether the eye is at present a useful organ of sight or only a degenerate and useless structure, but it is inferred from its rather elaborate structure and the complexity of its blood and nerve supply that it must be of use at least in distinguishing different intensities of light and shade.

Another important piece of work is that by Hill on the early development of the Marsupials. By a careful examination of the early stages of the embryo of certain marsupials the author has reached the conclusion

that in their peculiar mode of development they stand in an intermediate position between the Monotremes, egg-laying animals of which the well-known Australian duck-bill (*Ornithorhynchus*) is a type, and the true mammals which bring forth their young after a longer or shorter intra-uterine life. The Monotremes are connected with the Reptilia, so that the marsupials complete an evolutionary series from the reptiles to the highest mammals. In the early stages of the egg traces are found of the presence of a shell-membrane to the egg and also of a considerable store of food-yolk. This food-yolk is characteristic of egg-laying animals, but is no longer useful, is rather indeed a hindrance to development within a uterus. In the marsupial egg, therefore, this extra food-yolk is cast off before further development proceeds, but its presence is a reminder of the ancestral connection of the marsupials with egg-laying animals. The changes which have come about in the method of development along this upward series have all been conditioned by the loss of the egg-shell. This Hill considers the determining factor upon which the other changes, *e.g.* the reduction in the size of the egg, have depended.

Important investigations have been published on the subject of "mutation" in prawns. Two genera of prawns found in the islands of the Indian and Pacific Oceans have been named *Atya* and *Ortmannia* respectively. The sole distinguishing difference between certain species of these two genera was the form of the last two joints of the chelipeds. Bouvier has found in Hawaii two species, one from each genus, which are thus distinguished, and brings forward the following facts about them. They are found in constant not accidental association and they have no other differentiating character. He concludes that they should not be regarded as species of two different genera, but only as two "forms" of a dimorphic species. He gives good reason for thinking that the presence of the two forms is not due to hybridisation, nor to mutilation, and finds the most probable explanation in the supposition that they are mutations in the sense of De Vries. He thinks that the two genera have been evolved by two discontinuous steps and not by the accumulation of small variations and that the dimorphic species are in a transitional state of instability. Breeding experiments carried on by Bordage have shown in one case that a female of the *Ortmannia* form gave rise out of sixteen offspring to ten of the *Ortmannia* form and six of the *Atya* form. If the result of this single experiment is reliable we have remarkable new evidence from the animal kingdom of that tendency to sudden change or "mutation" which De Vries described in his experiments with the Evening Primrose, and which he thinks is the usual method of evolution.

Geoffrey Smith has continued his important researches in the analysis of sex. Last year's contribution deals with further work on the effect on the spider-crab of a parasite named *Sacculina*. The effect of the parasite is to cause the infected individuals of both sexes to assume adult female characteristics. The male is transformed into a hermaphrodite with preponderating female characters, and the young females assume adult female characters much earlier than they otherwise would. The change normally accompanying the assumption of sexual maturity in the female is the rapid elaboration of abundant yolk material in the ovary. Now it is shown that *Sacculina* elaborates from the blood of the crab a yolk-substance

similar to that usually formed in the ovary, and the inference is made that they extract from the blood the female sexual formative substance which normally produces yolk in the ovary. Smith's theory of the action of *Sacculina* is that it stimulates both sexes to form an excess of the female formative substance, much in the same way that in a case of immunity from parasitic infection the organism is stimulated to form continuously an "anti-body" which protects from the parasite. The continuous formation of this female sexual formative substance is accompanied both in male and female by the assumption of the secondary sexual characters of the adult female. This is just the same process as occurs in the normal development of the female to maturity when the same substance forms abundant yolk material in the ovary.

A. M. S.

ART, DRAMA AND MUSIC.

I. ART.

THE death of the King, which cut short the London season at the beginning of May, naturally had a prejudicial effect on the picture galleries, and on none so much as the Royal Academy, whose receipts and sales alike suffered from the general dislocation of affairs and from the closing for several days of the exhibition at Burlington House. The other art societies were affected in a greater or less degree, but the period of mourning did not injure Christie's, where, curiously enough, the sales were of unprecedented magnitude and importance. Private sales for enormous sums of fine pictures by Rembrandt and Velasquez were further proofs of the healthy condition of the market for Old Masters, but there was, unfortunately, no sign of any increased demand for the work of modern artists. The chief event of the year in the London art world was the opening of the new Turner rooms at the National Gallery of British Art, and the most sensational the exhibition of the pictures by the so-called Post-Impressionists at the Grafton Gallery.

At the National Gallery the year was one of change and disturbance caused by the removal of the Turners, and the preparations for replacing them by other works and for arranging pictures in the nearly completed new galleries. Several of the rooms were closed during a great part of the year, and numbers of pictures were placed temporarily on screens. The new Turner rooms at the National Gallery of British Art were very much admired, but most artists found fault with the aggressive crimson background against which the chief pictures were hung. A new and much enlarged edition of the catalogue, containing some interesting and little known information about Turner, was published concurrently with the opening of the Turner rooms.

The sequence of exhibitions of works by deceased artists at the Royal Academy, broken in the winter of 1909 by showing the McCulloch collection, was resumed in 1910. The small Black and White room was filled with pictures and drawings by the late E. J. Gregory, R.A.; and a mixed collection of works by British and Foreign Old Masters was displayed in the Water-Colour Room and in Galleries I. to V. Sir Joshua Reynolds, Gainsborough, Hogarth and Turner were the British artists most strongly represented, and the foreign pictures included examples of Rembrandt, Hals, Velasquez, Rubens, Titian, Tintoretto, Claude, Cuypp, Teniers, Vanduyck, Bellini, Luini, and Holbein. It was altogether a finely composed and attractive exhibition.

At the summer exhibition the arrangement of the pictures and sculpture was undertaken by Mr. Frank Dicksee, Mr. J. W. Waterhouse, Mr. Henry Woods, Mr. John MacWhirter, Mr. G. D. Leslie, Mr. J. J. Shannon, Mr. J. Belcher, and Mr. Goscombe John. The number of works sent in for exhibition by non-members were 11,485, against 11,793 in 1909. Of these works 8,462 were rejected at the first examination, seven were refused as inadmissible, 2,855 placed in the "doubtful" group, and 361 accepted outright.

The only picture purchased by the Chantrey Trustees was the large painting of cattle and landscape in the Fourth Gallery, "Silver Morning" (630*l.*), by Mr. Arnesby Brown, A.R.A. The Trustees also bought from the exhibition a statuette in bronze and enamel, "Sigurd," by Mr. Gilbert Bayes (150*l.*). For the first time for many years the Royal Academy exhibition contained no portrait by Mr. Sargent, who, nevertheless, made his influence felt by contributions of another nature. The famous Anglo-American showed in place of portraits a group of open-air paintings all of which found purchasers. These pictures were "Albanian Olive Gatherers" (700*l.*); "Glacier Streams" (600*l.*); "A Garden at Corfu" (300*l.*), and "Vespers," the price of which was not made public. Other pictures sold at the Royal Academy included: "Autumn in the Valley of the Seine" (630*l.*), by Sir Alfred East, A.R.A.; "A story of the Armada" (630*l.*), by Mr. A. C. Gow, R.A.; "The Church Pool, Bettws-y-Coed" (400*l.*), by Mr. B. W. Leader, R.A.; "Cutting Furze Bavins" (500*l.*), by Mr. H. H. La Thangue, A.R.A.; "Meadows and Mountains, Tyrol" (250*l.*), and "The Gates of the Forest, Evening" (250*l.*), by Mr. J. MacWhirter, R.A.; "Boys" (400*l.*), and "Flying a Kite" (400*l.*), by Mrs. Laura Knight; "Couch Burners" (525*l.*), by Mr. Arthur Hacker, R.A.; "The Mouth of the Harbour" (300*l.*), by Mr. W. L. Wyllie, R.A.; "Wine" (300*l.*), by Mr. Frank Brangwyn, A.R.A.; and "Spring laughing at Winter" (500*l.*), by Mr. F. G. Swaish. In the autumn an exhibition of models and architectural drawings, organised by the Town Planning Congress, was held in the galleries at Burlington House, by permission of the Royal Academy Council.

The art honours of the year included the election of M. J. B. Edouard Detaille, the battle painter, to an Honorary Foreign Royal Academician-ship. Mr. A. S. Cope, Mr. C. Napier Hemy, Mr. A. Stanhope Forbes, and Mr. Arthur Hacker were raised from the rank of Associate to that of Academician; and Mr. William Orpen, Mr. Adrian Stokes, Mr. F. Derwent Wood and Mr. Ernest George were elected Associates. A knighthood was conferred upon Mr. Alfred East, A.R.A., President of the Royal Society of British Artists; Mr. Frank Short, A.R.A., was elected to the Presidency of the Royal Society of Painter-Etchers in place of the late Sir F. Seymour Haden, and Mr. J. J. Shannon, R.A., to that of the Society of Portrait Painters in place of the late Sir William Orchardson, R.A. The Rev. Selwyn Image, M.A., was elected to the Slade Professorship of Fine Arts at Oxford made vacant by the appointment of Mr. C. J. Holmes to the Directorship of the National Portrait Gallery.

In February the New Gallery, following the example of its prototype the Grosvenor Gallery, surrendered to commerce its beautiful galleries, which at the close of the Arts and Crafts Society's exhibition were given over to the builders for adaptation to their new uses as a restaurant. The

change was, of course, altogether to the advantage of the Grafton Galleries, which became at once the head-quarters of the International Society. The Society of Portrait Painters, also made homeless by the closing of the New Gallery, found a temporary refuge at the gallery of the Royal Society of Painters in Water Colours, where, however, space was barely adequate for the works of the members. Late in the autumn was opened at the Grafton Galleries the sensational exhibition of pictures by a group of artists who for some reason that was never made clear were described as "Post-Impressionists." The unsparing ridicule bestowed upon these pictures in criticisms and letters to the Press drew crowds to the Grafton Galleries, and the Post-Impressionists became in a way the fashion. Applauded by a few journalists, the pictures were condemned by artists, almost without exception. Mr. Sargent, writing to a weekly journal to protest against the connection of his name with the Post-Impressionist movement, said, "The fact is that I am absolutely sceptical as to their having any claim whatever to being works of art, with the exception of some of the pictures by Gauguin that strike me as admirable in colour—and in colour only." Mr. Sargent in his letter referred to the pictures by the so-called Post-Impressionists alone, and not to those of Manet and Cezanne, who were also represented at the exhibition. An interesting collection of pictures, chosen by Sir Hugh Lane for the New Gallery at Johannesburg, was exhibited at the Whitechapel Art Gallery.

At the British Museum great progress was made with the new buildings that have been for some time in course of erection. An admirable collection of Chinese paintings was shown at the Museum early in the year. In October it was announced that Captain H. B. Murray had bequeathed, subject to certain conditions, the whole of his collection of pictures, goldsmiths' work, etc., to the Victoria and Albert Museum. In addition he left to the Museum the sum of 50,000*l.*, the income of which may be applied to the purchase of such works of art as the Trustees may from time to time select, to be added to and to form part of the Murray collection. At Dulwich College the famous picture gallery was extended by a new room, the cost of which was defrayed by Mr. Yates Thompson. Six new frescoes were added to the decorations of the House of Lords, painted by Mr. F. Cadogan Cowper, A.R.A., Mr. Byam Shaw, Mr. Denis Eden, Mr. F. Salisbury, Mr. Payn and Mr. Ernest Board; and St. James's Park was adorned by the erection of a Memorial, the work of Mr. W. Robert Colton, A.R.A., to the officers and men of the Royal Artillery who lost their lives in the Boer War.

A new society, intended to work on lines somewhat similar to those followed by the National Art-Collections Fund, was founded in the summer, under the presidency of Lord Howard de Walden. Its founders believe that among artists working to-day are some of great talent whose work for various reasons does not find favour with official purchasers, and is therefore rarely if ever to be found in national or municipal collections. The energies of the new association, "The Contemporary Art Society," will in the main be devoted to the collection of funds for the purchase of works by these artists. The Society bought during the year a picture by Mr. Augustus John, "The Smiling Woman"; a portrait, by Mr. Walter Sickert, of Mr. George Moore the novelist and critic; "The Green Apple,"

by the late Charles Conder; and a bronze statue, "Maternity," by Mr. Charles Ricketts.

For the magnitude of its sales, other than those of works by living artists, the season of 1910 surpassed that of any previous year. A picture by Rembrandt that had not been previously exhibited in London, "The Polish Rider," was shown at the gallery of Messrs. Carfax and Co. It had been bought on the Continent for a wealthy American collector at the price, it was understood, of 60,000*l.* An even larger sum was mentioned as the cost of another picture, a Velasquez, said to be the original of the well-known portrait of Philip of Spain in the Dulwich Gallery, which was brought to London in the autumn by Messrs. Agnew. The dispersal of the Alexander Young, the Schröder and many other collections gave to Christie's the busiest season on record, a season that was especially noteworthy for its sales of examples of the great French landscape art of the Nineteenth Century. (*Cf.* Chronicle, May 6, June 3, July 4, 5.) Pictures by Corot to the value of about 60,000*l.* were sold at Christie's. Among them was the famous "Birds'-nesters," which realised 13,000 guineas, the largest sum paid for a picture during the season in the auction room. A landscape by Constable, "Stoke-by-Nayland," was sold for 8,800 guineas, two Hoppners for 8,800 and 7,550 guineas respectively, and 6,200 guineas were given for Gainsborough's portrait of Raphael Franco. Numbers of pictures by Daubigny and Israels were sold, two by the first named fetching 4,300 guineas and 3,700 guineas; and the "Shipwrecked Fisherman" of the Dutch master 4,600 guineas. Other notable prices were 5,800 guineas for a cattle picture by Troyon; 4,900 guineas for a small painting by Matthew Maris, and 4,800 guineas for the well-known landscape by Millais, "Chill October." The biberon from the Schröder collection, which was sold four or five years ago for 15,500 guineas, fetched only 10,000*l.* when it came under the hammer in July. Immense sums were paid at Christie's for porcelain and bronzes; and a panel of tapestry fetched 6,600*l.* at Puttick and Simpson's in November.

W. T. WHITLEY.

II. DRAMA.

The year 1910 has been, it must be confessed, somewhat disappointing, as regards the work of our leading dramatists. Of the older, or Victorian, school, Mr. Henry Arthur Jones alone has produced new work, and even in his case the one-act piece, "Fall in, Rookies!" which made part of a music-hall programme, is no more than a dramatised political tract. Great hopes were aroused by the announcement that Mr. Frohmann would present at the Duke of York's Theatre, on the repertory system, new plays by Mr. Bernard Shaw, Mr. Granville Barker, Mr. J. M. Barrie and Mr. Galsworthy. But, with the exception of Mr. Barrie, whose short piece, "The Twelve Pound Look," met with a deserved success, these authors seemed each one bent on caricaturing his own work. Mr. Shaw's "Misalliance" contained the usual brilliant dialogue; but the effect of the play, as a whole, was too grotesquely incoherent to be very interesting. Mr. Granville Barker in "The Madras House" introduced a more than ever unattractive array of human beings, many of whom expounded their views of life at incredible length. The subordinate characters are, for the

most part, admirably drawn; in particular the elderly merchant and his wife, in their suburban home, with their six daughters, who might, but just do not, become farcical. It is Mr. Barker's principal figures who fail; Philip Madras, like Edward Voysey, might conceivably be a useful citizen in real life; for dramatic purposes he is a mere talking-machine. Authors of the new school, who dispense with dramatic action, cannot afford to ignore the fact that force of character in one or more individuals alone can take its place. Hamlet himself would have been heavily taxed in maintaining the interest of a play throughout five acts of dialogue, almost unbroken by incident. Neither "Misalliance" nor "The Madras House" suffered anything in the interpretation; Mr. Frohmann's repertory company included, among others, Mr. Sydney Valentine, Mr. Edmund Gwenn and Mr. Charles Maude. Mr. Dennis Eadie wrestled bravely with the part of Philip. Miss Lena Ashwell, Miss Hilda Trevelyan, Miss Irene Vanbrugh and Mr. Dion Boucicault were specially engaged for various parts.

The production of Mr. Galsworthy's "Justice" aroused considerable excitement, at the moment; partly on account of the undoubted force and originality of the play, and partly from the implied attack on the prison system of this country. The story is of a young clerk, scarcely more than a boy, who commits a forgery, is convicted, and sentenced to a term of imprisonment. The governor, the doctor, and the chaplain of the prison are all represented as well-meaning, but hopelessly narrow-minded, and paralysed by hard and fast rules; the chaplain can give the prisoner no consolation; the doctor fails to see that he is suffering from neurasthenia, and that solitary confinement is literally driving him mad. A scene of rather morbid horror culminates when their victim, left alone, works himself into a frenzy; and the curtain falls as he beats wildly on the door of his cell. He survives the imprisonment, and is released, but his life is shattered, and the play ends with his suicide. In the unrelieved gloom of the subject, the sordidness of the surroundings, and the appearance of detailed realism, Mr. Galsworthy has surpassed himself; but, unfortunately for the play—though fortunately for our national institutions—there is reason to believe that this realism is mainly superficial; and that his presentment of the treatment of prisoners, so far from being typical, is, on certain points, wholly misleading. How far an author may be morally justified in the perversion of facts, is not for us to decide; but from a dramatic point of view, a play which purports to be "a slice of life" loses half its interest by such distortions. The chief honours of the acting fell to Mr. Dennis Eadie, as the unhappy hero, and to Mr. Edmund Gwenn, as an old man, employed in the same office, who befriends him.

Shakespearean revivals have been fewer than usual. By far the most noteworthy was "Henry VIII.," first given at His Majesty's on September 1, with Sir Herbert Tree as Cardinal Wolsey, Mr. Arthur Bourchier as the King, and Miss Violet Vanbrugh as Queen Katharine. "Henry VIII." lends itself better than any other of Shakespeare's works to spectacular treatment. The elaborate dances and processions introduced at His Majesty's are perfectly legitimate, and authorised in each case by the original stage directions; but, while the actual text has been vigorously compressed, more than one scene was unduly lengthened by

unauthorised pieces of "business." Mr. Bouchier acted with great spirit, and faithfully reproduced the outward appearance of Holbein's portrait; he failed, however, in the difficult task of giving Henry that touch of majesty which Shakespeare's Kings, in spite of all their moral defects, never fail to possess. Sir Herbert Tree's Cardinal, though, it need scarcely be said, an impressive figure, showed a tendency to over-exquisiteness in speech and manner, and suggested an Italian rather than an Anglo-Saxon prelate. Miss Violet Vanbrugh declaimed her long speech effectively in the Westminster Hall scene. For the rest, the play does not give great scope for acting; Mr. Henry Ainley made the most of the small but exacting part of Buckingham; and the scene between Anne Boleyn and "an old lady" was charmingly played by Miss Laura Cowie and Mrs. Charles Calvert.

Romantic drama, which had fallen deplorably low of late years, has begun to show some slight signs of reanimation. Two leading managers, indeed, have to record comparative failures in this direction; Sir Herbert Tree with "The O'Flynn," by Justin McCarthy, and Mr. George Alexander with "D'Arcy of the Guards" by Louis Evan Shipman. On the other hand, "The House of Temperley" by Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, produced at the Adelphi (Dec. 27, 1909) and boldly styled "a melodrama of the Ring," showed decided originality of subject, and at times real force of treatment. The story, partly taken from the same author's novel, "Rodney Stone," deals with the golden age of prize-fighting, in the early days of the nineteenth century; one scene shows Tom Crib's bar, and boxing-saloon; another, the dinner given by a young "Corinthian" to leading men of "the Fancy"; and a third, the prize ring on Crawley Downs. Each of these scenes is excellent, and conveys, as we imagine, exactly the right impression of the sportsmanship of the age. Unfortunately, it was thought necessary to add three or four superfluous scenes, on which, since neither fighting nor fighters took an active part in them, Sir Arthur Conan Doyle had wasted no trouble. Here, all the stereotyped figures of melodrama played their accustomed parts, without any distinction whatever; and, as a result, the whole play was dragged to a lower level. There was no demand for subtle acting at any point; the chief parts were well sustained by Mr. Ben Webster, Mr. Charles Maude, and Mr. Charles Rock; the ladies' parts were, perforce, of small importance.

Adaptations of novels have been much to the fore. Besides "The House of Temperley," we have an acting version by Mr. A. E. W. Mason of his historical novel "Clementina," produced by H. B. Irving, at the Queen's Theatre, on December 15. "The Princess Clementina," with its Jacobite setting, is less original than the "melodrama of the Ring"; but it has an element of true romance, and a hero who, as played by Mr. Irving, is something more than a figure of cardboard. Countess von Arnim made of her novel "Princess Priscilla's Fortnight" a light comedy, verging here and there on farce, which was produced by Mr. Herbert Trench at the Haymarket during the autumn, under the title "Priscilla Runs Away." The part of the disguised Princess was played by Miss Neilson-Terry, who had made her stage *débüt* earlier in the year in one of the Shakespeare festival revivals at His Majesty's, and who promises to carry on the traditions of her name. Another dramatised novel, of a

widely different type, is "The Unwritten Law," Mr. Laurence Irving's very free adaptation of Dostoieffsky's "Crime and Punishment." It is easy to see the fascination, to an actor-dramatist, of certain scenes in the Russian author's amazing psychological study; and also the impossibility of reproducing on the stage the mental process by which the neurotic, half-starved student, Raskolnikoff, is driven to commit an apparently causeless murder. But once a definite and quixotic motive is supplied for the crime, as in the acting version, the whole aspect of the story is changed. As treated by Mr. Laurence Irving, the novel becomes an almost commonplace melodrama; save for one scene, in which the murderer is forced to the brink of confession by the torture of cross-examination. Mr. Arthur Lewis, as the relentless examining magistrate, and Mr. Laurence Irving as the student, both acted with great power, and won the piece considerable success. "Count Hannibal," adapted from Mr. Stanley Weyman's novel, and given at the Garrick Theatre, follows well-trodden paths of costume drama, but provides effective parts for Mr. Oscar Asche and Miss Lily Brayton.

Of modern "drawing-room" plays, the list is long, and not particularly striking. Among the foremost in merit was Miss Cicely Hamilton's comedy "Just to get Married," produced by Miss Gertrude Kingston at the Little Theatre. Miss Kingston herself appeared as the heroine, with Mr. Godfrey Tearle as the hero, and Miss Dorothy Minto, in far too small a part, as a pert *ingénue*. Mr. Somerset Maugham, in "Grace," dealt with one of those "county families" whose manners and customs are known only to the stage; the title-*rôle*—that of the squire's wife, who is not of "the county"—was taken by Miss Irene Vanbrugh. Mr. Gerald du Maurier acted admirably in two successive productions, neither of which was worthy of his talents: "Alias Jimmy Valentine," an American play, with a hero of the now popular "Raffles" type; and "Nobody's Daughter," a comedy by George Paston. Mr. Hawtrey won some popularity for "Inconstant George," a farce adapted from the French. Mr. Cyril Maude and Miss Marie Löhr played parts on familiar lines in "Tantalising Tommy," at The Playhouse; and later in the year Mr. Maude produced "A Single Man," in which Miss Hilda Trevelyan gave a delightful performance as the typist heroine.

The Christmas plays have shown no very remarkable new work; nothing to rank as a classic beside the perennial "Peter Pan" and "The Blue Bird." M. Maeterlinck's play has been altered since last year; the forest scene—decidedly the least successful—has been replaced by "The Palace of Happiness." The new scene was well received; but, like its predecessor, it is hardly on a level with the rest of the piece. The idea of perfect happiness is too apt, on the stage, to consist chiefly of pink lime-light, and is better left to the imagination of each individual spectator.

The Report of the Select Committee on the Censorship of Plays was not discussed, as had been expected, in the House of Commons (ANNUAL REGISTER, 1909, Part II., p. 103); but a further step towards reform was taken in November, in consequence of the refusal of the Lord Chamberlain to licence Mr. Laurence Housman's "Pains and Penalties," a play dealing with the history of the unhappy Queen Caroline, wife of George IV. The refusal, announced by Mr. Housman in *The Times* of September 26,

was declared by a number of leading dramatic authors (*Times*, Oct. 3) to be a proof of the necessity of allowing an appeal from the decision of the Lord Chamberlain as censor, and on November 10 it was announced that the Advisory Board to deal with the censorship had been reconstituted, and would comprise, besides the Lord Chamberlain as Chairman and the Comptroller of his Department, Sir Edward Carson, Sir Squire Bancroft, Sir John Hare, Professor Walter Raleigh, and Mr. S. O. Buckmaster, K.C. This Board was criticised as oddly constituted and as containing no dramatic author, but it was, at least, better than nothing. Mr. Housman's play, which was made public, contained nothing objectionable, and the Lord Chamberlain ultimately explained that it had been forbidden "as it dealt with a sad historical episode of recent date in the life of an unhappy lady."

EVELINE C. GODLEY.

III. MUSIC.

For once in a way the recorder of contemporary music has little or no difficulty in deciding the central feature of music in the past year. Indeed 1910 was a year of opera, and, it is hardly too much to say, of Thomas Beecham in connection with it. At Covent Garden three seasons were held, two of which Mr. Beecham directed, whilst also he gave a ten weeks' season of Opéra Comique at His Majesty's Theatre during the months of May, June and July. Opening originally at Covent Garden on February 19, Mr. Beecham plunged into the midst of the stream by producing on the first night Strauss's much-discussed and much-maligned one-act opera "Elektra," King Edward VII. and Queen Alexandra being among the audience. Mr. Beecham, who himself conducted, set something of a seal upon his fame by the superb nature of the performance, the "principals" in which were Edyth Walker (Elektra), Frances Rose (Chrysothemis) and Mildenburg (Clytemnestra). Strauss himself conducted two of the nine performances given. In their season Delius's opera "A Village Romeo and Juliette" and Debussy's "L'Enfant Prodigue" were given for the first time in England, and "Ivanhoe" by Sullivan and Ethel Smyth's "The Wreckers," were revived. A feature was the encouragement of native artists, of whom Edith Evans, Perceval Allen, Ruth Vincent, John Coates, Frederick Austin, Robert Radford, Harry Dearth appeared constantly. In Beecham's Opéra Comique season referred to the principal success was achieved by Offenbach's "Tales of Hoffmann" which became quite popular. Missa's "Mugnette," and Massenet's "Werther" and Stanford's "Shamus O'Brien" failed to hold their place. But on the other hand the Mozart festival, which formed the centre of the season, was immensely successful, "Il Seraglio," "Cosi fan Tutte," "Le Nozze di Figaro" all being mounted, and sung well in English. Richard Strauss's "Feuersnot" was offered and Johann Strauss's "Fledermaus," and at the end of the season Beecham produced G. H. Clutsam's "A Summer Night," which subsequently he repeated in his autumn season. Miss Maggie Teyte established for herself a supreme fame as opera singer here during the season, like that she enjoyed at the Opéra Comique in Paris. The Covent Garden season which ran concurrently with Beecham's, brought little enough that was new and not a vast deal of first-rate musical interest. As a fact Laparra's gruesome

"La Habanera" was the sole actual novelty, the changes being rung on the conventional repertoire that has long done its duty in London. Hans Richter directed part of two cycles of Wagner's "Nibelungen Ring" but unhappily his health broke down and his place was taken by various conductors, including the great Schuch from Dresden. Melba, Tetrizzini, Demellier, Riccardo Martin, Zerola, Baklanoff were among the chief singers. Great were the expectations when Beecham opened on October 3 his autumn season with a revival of Thomas's "Hamlet"—to an almost empty house be it recorded. The season, however, proved a financial failure, but nevertheless musicians enjoyed an opportunity of hearing various works popular elsewhere but neglected by the Grand Opera Syndicate. These included D'Albert's "Tiefand" and Strauss's "Salome," the latter so maltreated by direction of the censorial authorities as to have stultified the British opera-goer. Even these activities, however, did not entirely dissipate the pseudo-operatic fever of this *annus mirabilis*, for Madame Marie Brema held a somewhat *intime* season of opera at the Savoy in which pride of place belongs to her revival with much artistic success of Gluck's "Orfeo." Wagner's "Ring des Nibelungen" was given, also successfully under the direction of Ernst Denhof, in Edinburgh.

It is difficult to know where to begin to speak of the well-nigh innumerable important concerts that occurred in London alone. The old established Royal Choral Society went on its placid way and brought forward nothing new, unless Brahms's "Triumphlied" can so be described. "Messiah," "Elijah," Berlioz's "Faust," Elgar's "Dream of Gerontius," Handel's "Acis and Galatea," were given and once more Sir Frederick Bridge was the conductor. Meanwhile this society's younger rival, the London Choral Society, under Arthur Fagge's direction, exhibited a marked energy and produced Professor Granville Bantock's setting of "Omar Khayyam" in its complete form for the first time in London. They also included Bach's "St. Matthew Passion" in their scheme. Bach was further recognised by the Bach Choir who sang his B minor Mass at one of their concerts; and the recently founded Queen's Hall Choral Society under Franco Leoni's direction brought out Hubert Bath's "Look at the Clock," also works by G. H. Clutsam and Moellendorf, and successfully repeated "The Wedding of Shon Maclean," by Bath.

If London is not particularly strong in the matter of choral performances—or in the manner—it surely is the busiest city in the universe from the orchestral point of view. Week after week the whole year round orchestral concerts, many of them of high interest, followed each other. Historically speaking pride of place belongs to the ancient Philharmonic Society which next year celebrates its centenary. Thomas Beecham, Arthur Nikisch, Landon Ronald, Luigi Mancinelli, were among the conductors engaged, and Rachmaninoff's E minor Symphony, Sir Hubert Parry's revised version of his Symphony in the same key, Josef Holbrooke's "Queen Mab," Scherzo and Landon Ronald's "Lament of Shah Jehan" were of the chief works heard in their ninety-eighth season. But if the Philharmonic Society has earned a premier position in virtue of its hoary age, it cannot be denied that for musicians the splendid concerts of the Queen's Hall and the London Symphony Orchestras were of vastly greater interest. (Sir) Henry Wood still conducts the former with all of his old skill, but perhaps the

most noteworthy performance of the season was that of Mozart's Jupiter Symphony, conducted by Richard Straus—a memorable performance indeed. Curiously enough, now that London amateurs have as it were discovered César Franck, they cannot have too much of his music. For this reason Franck's beautiful symphony had to be repeated owing to the success of the opening performance. The London Symphony Orchestra still persevere in their old and excellent habit of engaging various conductors for their season instead of reserving the services of one only. Here were heard Richter, Safonoff, who uses his hands but never a conductor's baton, Nikisch and Kuszewitzky. Richter conducted a fine performance of Beethoven's Mass in D at one concert in which the Sheffield Musical Union took part, and A. von Ahn Carse's "Newcastle" symphony was brought to a first hearing in London in its revised form. At both of these series of concerts the most eminent soloists appeared, such as Moriz Rosenthal, Pugno and Sauer among pianists, Elena Gerhardt among singers and Zimbalist among violinists. Landon Ronald's series of New Symphony Concerts, too, were decidedly interesting, more especially in virtue of the English note that was struck, works by Nicholas Gatty, Coleridge-Taylor, Norman O'Neill and others being brought forward. Busoni's curious pianoforte concerto—so-called—was done with considerable pomp, Mark Hambourg being the soloist, in Queen's Hall in June, and attracted a large audience, but it failed apparently to make a lasting impression, since it has not yet been repeated.

Rather curiously there arose a slight controversy at the end of the year as to the British position in the realms of chamber-music. If there is safety in numbers of concerts then surely is the British name for admiration of this class of music sufficiently safe, since concerts were given in London alone during the year by quartet parties bearing the titles "New," "Grimson," "Wessely," "Walenn," "Solly," and various quartet parties who came from abroad, Brussels, Vienna, Paris, and so on, and by the "New," the "London," and the "Russian" Trios.

The Promenade Concerts of course held their place as the prime educational medium of the kind in London, perhaps in England, (Sir) Henry Wood being again the conductor and Mr. Robert Newman the manager. New works by several British composers were included in the nine weeks' season, namely, by R. Vaughan Williams, Walford Davies, Arnold Bax, Percy Pitt, the late W. Y. Hurlstone and Ernest Austin. Among other concerts, recitals, etc., mention may be made of those given by Clara Butt, Melba, Donalds, Gerhardt, Ida Reman, Mrs. George Swinton, Jean Waterston, Maggie Teyte, who achieved a notable success on the concert platform as well as in the opera; Plunket Greene, Campbell M'Innes, Theodore Byard—singers; Moriz Rosenthal, Pachmann, Cortot, Schelling, Moisewitsch, Katherine Goodson, Percy Grainger, Frank Merrick, Pugno, Mania Seguel, Fanny Davies, Johanna Stockmarr, John Powell—pianists; Ysaye, Elman, May Harrison, Kathleen Parlow, Zimbalist, Szigeti—violinists; Pablo Casals, Jean Gerardy, Livio Boni, Hollman—violoncellists.

There remains only to mention the provincial festivals. Of these the general excellence was only average, not one single composition of importance, save perhaps one, was produced. The first of the festivals was that held at Brighton in February, Joseph Sainton being the conductor, and the

local municipal orchestra being employed. An unambitious but essentially sound affair this festival was, and successful artistically withal, yet later in the year the city fathers banished it from the scheme of popularising Brighton, to the genuine regret of many. At the festival Coleridge-Taylor's "Endymion," a cantata, and Arthur Hervey's symphonic poem "Life's Moods" were the chief novelties, and Sinding, the Norwegian composer, whose symphony in D minor was heard, was the principal visitor.

At York in July the ancient festival was revived after a sleep of three quarters of a century, Tertius Noble, organist of York Minster, being the conductor. Here Granville Bantock's suite of dramatic dances was the chief work produced, and the festival was a success. The Meeting of the Three Choirs was held in September at Gloucester and again Bantock was to the fore with his "Gethsemane," other new works being provided by Basil Harwood, an organ concerto, a wonderful short work by Vaughan Williams, founded on a theme by Tallis (which should be employed at all similar festivals throughout the kingdom), and a vocal suite by the conductor Dr. Herbert Brewer, was produced, and the rearranged Shire Hall with the organ presented by Sir Hubert Parry was used for the secular concert. At Cardiff later Dr. Frederic Cowen's setting of Buchanan's "The Veil" made a good impression; it was thought to be the best work of the composer (who is also the festival conductor). In addition Sir Alexander Mackenzie's "The Sun-God's Return," Hamilton Harty's "poem" "With the Wild Geese"—a fine thing; a choral work by David Thomas entitled "The Bard," and Dvorak's "Stabat Mater" were also heard. The exception to the general low level of newness referred to above is Dr. R. Vaughan Williams's "Sea Symphony" for chorus, orchestra, and solo voices, founded on poems by Walt Whitman, was the only profoundly interesting thing in the scheme of the Leeds Festival in October. Sir Charles Stanford was conductor, and contributed a series of "Songs of the Fleet," which, however, were not on the same level with his "Sea Songs," to which they formed a kind of sequel. Rachmaninoff's above-mentioned symphony and his second piano concerto were also done, as also Bach's "St. Matthew Passion," Brahms's "German Requiem," Parry's "Pied Piper" and Bath's "Wedding of Shon Maclean." The musical year was thus busy, if uneventful from the point of view of new things.

ROBIN H. LEGGE.

OBITUARY

OF

EMINENT PERSONS DECEASED IN 1910.

JANUARY.

Cardinal Francesco Satolli, Archpriest of St. John Lateran and Professor since 1880 of Dogmatic Theology in the Roman Propaganda, died on January 8, aged 70. He was born near Perugia, began his career as a Professor in its religious seminary, and had twice been sent by Leo XIII. on special missions to the United States. At the election of Pius X. he was one of his most prominent supporters, and was said to have had expectations of his Secretaryship of State. He was a leading authority on the philosophy of St. Thomas Aquinas.

Bishop Awdry.—The Right Rev. William Awdry, D.D., Bishop in South Tokio from 1898 to 1908, died, after a long and painful illness, at Winchester on January 4, aged 67. The s. of Sir J. W. Awdry of Notton, Wilts, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Bombay, by his second wife, he was educated at Winchester and Balliol; rowed in the University boat race; obtained first classes in Mods. and in Lit. Hum., and the Ellerton Theological Essay, and became Fellow of Queen's College, Oxford. He was Second Master of Winchester, 1868-73, Headmaster of St. John's College, Hurstpierpoint, 1873-9, and after being successively Principal of the Chichester

Theological College and Vicar of Amport St. Mary, Hants, he became Suffragan Bishop of Southampton. In 1896 he was appointed Bishop in the new diocese of Osaka and in 1898 was translated to South Tokio. He was a sincere friend of the Japanese and a fearless critic of their faults.

M. Edouard Rod, one of the most eminent French literary men of the period, died suddenly at Grasse, France, on January 30, aged 63. The s. of a French Swiss schoolmaster, he studied at Lausanne and in Germany, married young, came to Paris, and became an enthusiastic disciple of the "naturalist" school of Zola; but in 1885 he broke away by the publication of his chief work, the *Course à la Mort*, a sort of autobiographical romance, which was brilliantly successful. From 1887 to 1897 he was Professor of Comparative Literature at the University of Geneva, but then returned to Paris, and published critical studies on Dante, Leopardi, Stendhal, Lamartine, and several novels, avowedly written for edification. His theory of the novelist as moralist was set forth in his "Vie Privée de Michel Teissier" and a sequel.

On the 1st, aged 81, **Sir Edward Leader Williams**, designer and chief engineer of the Manchester Ship Canal; knighted on its completion in 1904. On the 3rd, aged 84, **Sir Spenser Buckingham St. John, G.C.M.G.**, successively Consul-General in Siam, Borneo and Hayti, and Minister in Hayti, Peru, Mexico, and Sweden; had written a valuable work on Hayti and a life of Rajah Brooke. On the 4th, aged 84, **Ogden Mills**, a prominent American banker, millionaire and philanthropist; a pioneer in California, and in later life a leading financier in New York. On the 4th, aged 79, the

Right Hon. Sir Frederick Matthew Darley, P.C., G.O.M.G., Chief Justice of New South Wales since 1886, previously a leading barrister in the colony; born in Wicklow, educated at Trinity College, Dublin; emigrated to Australia in 1862; a member of the South African War Commission, 1902. On the 4th, aged 74, **Colonel George Earl Church, U.S.A., F.R.G.S.**; an eminent explorer of South and Central America; had served with distinction in the War of Secession, and been concerned with important railway engineering operations in South America. On the 6th, aged 64, **Sir Lloyd Wise**, founder of the Chartered Institute of Patent Agents, and an authority on the Patent Laws. On the 7th, aged 76, the **Rev. Michael Baxter**, a deacon of the Church of England, and for a short time a curate in Canada; from 1867 to his death, editor of the *Christian Herald*, which carried on the methods of Apocalyptic study familiarised a generation earlier by Dr. Cumming, connecting the Apocalypse with current or expected political events; a sincere, if indiscreet, evangelist and philanthropist. About the 8th, aged 77, **Surgeon-Major-General Charles Dodgson Madden, C.B.**, Hon. Surgeon to the King; had served in the Crimea and the Mutiny, and distinguished himself in the Abyssinian Campaign; had also held high appointments in India, Malta and Netley Hospital. On the 9th, aged 83, **Colonel Sir James Hayes Sadler, K.C.M.G., F.R.G.S.**, Consul-General at Valparaiso from 1895 to 1897; previously Vice-Consul at Caen and La Rochelle and Consul at Panama and Chicago. On the 10th, aged 84, **Major-General William Sidney Smith Mulcaster**, Indian Army; had served with distinction in the Indian Mutiny, afterwards in the Madras Staff Corps. On the 10th, at Algiers, from an accident, aged 58, **Thomas Dixon Saville, M.D.**, an eminent authority on nervous diseases. About the 10th, aged nearly 90, **Lieut.-Colonel Samuel Denholm Young**, late 43rd Madras N.I.; had served in the Indian Mutiny. On the 12th, aged 80, **Admiral Robert Gordon Douglas, R.N.**, sometime Admiral Superintendent of Malta Dockyard; had served with distinction in the Russian War of 1853-5, and twice in his career had jumped overboard in attempting to save life. On the 12th, aged 91, **George Skene Keith, M.D., Edin.**, author of "A Plea for a Simpler Life" and long a prominent Edinburgh physician. On the 13th, aged 53, the **Rev. Mosse Macdonald**, Newdigate prizeman at Oxford in 1879; Vicar of West Malvern since 1908. On the 14th, aged 85, **Lewin Bentham Bowring, C.S.I.**, third s. of Sir John Bowring, for many years in the East India Company's and Indian Civil Service; sometime private secretary to Lord Canning, and Chief Commissioner of Mysore and Coorg 1862-70; author of several works on Indian subjects. On the 14th, aged 86, the **Rev. Charles Faulkner**, for nearly fifty years incumbent of the English Church at Croix, near Lille; an active promoter of English Church work on the Continent. On the 16th, aged 73, **Lieut.-Colonel Edward William Evans**, sometime 19th Foot; had served in the Crimea and distinguished himself in Indian frontier warfare. On the 17th, aged 86, **Cecilia Frances, Countess of Iddeleigh**, sister of the first Lord Farrer and widow of the first Earl, best known as Sir Stafford Northcote, whose literary remains she had edited. On the 17th, aged 73, **Sir Charles Henry Firth**, sometime Lieut.-Colonel of the 1st West Riding Volunteer Artillery, an energetic promoter of the Volunteer Movement; J.P. and D.L. for the West Riding; knighted 1868. On the 18th, aged 62, **M. Nicholas Deliyannis**, Greek Minister in Paris since 1885, except for a short period in 1887 when he was Premier and Foreign Minister of the Greek Kingdom; younger brother of M. Theodore Deliyannis, the better known Chauvinist statesman. About the 18th, **Professor Ludovico Nocenti** of Rome, author of valuable books on the Far East. On the 18th, aged 36, **Stanley Bean Atkinson, M.B., B.Sc.**, author of "Golden Rules of Medical Evidence," and other works; a rising progressive politician in London. On the 18th, aged 84, **General Sir Thomas Wright**, Indian Army; had served in the Sikh War, the Indian Mutiny, and several border expeditions, distinguishing himself in the Ambela expedition of 1863. On the 19th, aged 64, **Arthur Greenwood**, a prominent Leeds engineer and contractor; had contested West Leeds as a Unionist against Mr. Herbert Gladstone in 1902. On the 19th, **William Page May, M.D., D.Sc.**, a prominent London nerve specialist. On the 20th, aged 50, **Sir Henry George Burke**, fourth baronet, High Sheriff of Galway 1883; m. Catherine, dau. of Major-General James Burke, R.E.; succeeded by his brother. On the 21st, aged 83, **General de Gealin**, formerly of the French Infantry; had served in the Crimea and the War of 1870; retired in 1898 owing to a difference with the Government when Commandant of Paris. About the 22nd, aged 83, the **Rev. Percy Rogers**, Hon. Canon of Durham and sometime Proctor in the Convocation of York; had distinguished himself in the Crimea and in the Chinese War of 1859. On the 23rd, aged 67, **William Henry Jocelyn, 6th Earl of Roden**; for many years in the Navy; succeeded his cousin, 1897; unmarried; succeeded by his brother. On the 23rd, aged 76, the **Right Rev. Richard Frederick Lefevre Blunt**, Bishop Suffragan of Hull since 1891; also Vicar of Scarborough from 1864 to 1905, where he did much to extend Church work, and since 1905 Vicar of Hessele; for many years Arch-

deacon of the West Riding of Yorkshire; author of "Doctrina Pastoralis" and other theological works. On the 23rd, at Constantinople, aged 86, Lieut.-Colonel **George Lionel Bonham**, Grenadier Guards; had distinguished himself in the South African War; had also served in the Turkish *gendarmérie* in Macedonia, and since 1909 had been reorganising the force in Asia Minor. On the 23rd, **Mary, Lady Lawson**, widow of Sir Wilfrid Lawson, and dau. of J. Pooklington Senhouse of Netherhall, Cumberland; active in temperance and social causes. About the 24th, aged 65, Colonel **Reginald Garnett, C.B.**, late Seaforth Highlanders; had distinguished himself in the Afghan War of 1878-80 and the Egyptian Campaign of 1883. On the 25th, aged 69, **Professor Friedrich Kohlrausch**, Curator of Charlottenburg Technical Institute; an eminent physicist. On the 26th, aged 77, the **Rev. William Elliot**, Hon. Canon of Worcester, from 1891 to 1906 Vicar of Holy Trinity, Bournemouth, a prominent Evangelical. About the 26th, **Professor Jakob Volhard** of Halle, a distinguished chemist. On the 27th, aged 54, **William Hillhouse**, Professor of Botany at Birmingham University, 1882-1909, previously Lecturer in Botany at Cambridge University. On the 29th, aged 53, **Professor Shinzokuro Miyooki**, a distinguished Japanese naval architect. On the 29th, aged 81, **Arthur Joseph Munby**, author of a number of volumes of attractive verse marked by appreciation of nature and rural life. On the 29th, aged 70, **Frederick Purser**, Professor of Natural Philosophy in Trinity College, Dublin; since 1902 a member of the Royal Irish Academy and an eminent physicist; elected to a Fellowship in Trinity College in 1872, and declined as a Nonconformist to submit to the tests; elected again in 1879 after their abolition; a generous benefactor to his College and University. On the 30th, aged 69, the **Right Rev. John Dowden, D.D., LL.D.**, Bishop of Edinburgh in the Scottish Episcopal Church since 1886; by birth an Irishman, and long a clergyman in the Irish Protestant Episcopal Church; a strong High Churchman and able administrator and an authority on the history of the Prayer Book. On the 31st, aged 80, **Sir Charles Todd**, Government Astronomer from South Australia from 1855 to 1907, and superintendent of telegraphs in the State; previously at Cambridge and Greenwich Observatories; had helped to establish the Trans-Australian telegraph and done much for his science. On the 31st, aged 86, **Sir Edward Leigh Pemberton, K.C.B.**, Legal Assistant Under-Secretary to the Home Office from 1885 to 1894; previously Conservative member for East Kent 1869-85. At the end of January, aged 85, **Professor August Meitzen**, Professor of Economics at Berlin; distinguished as a statistician.

FEBRUARY.

The Right Hon. John Gilbert Talbot, since 1878 Conservative M.P. for Oxford University and from 1868 to 1878 M.P. for West Kent, died after a week's illness from pneumonia on February 1, aged nearly 75. Educated at Charterhouse and Christ Church, he succeeded to his estate near Edenbridge while still a minor, and, after ten years in Parliament, beat Professor Henry Smith for Oxford University (obtaining an absolute majority of the constituency) during the Near Eastern crisis in 1878. He was Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Trade in 1878-80, was Chairman of the West Kent Quarter Sessions, and a member of the Kent County Council and Education Committee. A strong Churchman and Tory, and Treasurer of the National Society, he was deeply interested in social questions, and one of the last speeches he delivered in the House of Commons was on a temperance measure, in opposition to his own party. His younger brother was Bishop of Southwark and sometime Warden of Keble; both married daughters of the fourth Lord Lytton.

The Hon. Sir George Drummond, K.C.M.G., C.V.O., member of the Canadian Senate, died on February 2, aged 80. Born and educated in Edinburgh, he emigrated to Canada in 1854, to take charge of a sugar refinery, and attained prominence in finance and commerce, being a Director of the Canadian Pacific Railway, President of the Canadian Manufacturers' Association and the Montreal Board of Trade, and Chairman of the Senate Committee on Banking and Commerce. He was President also of the Mexican Light and Power Company. He had a fine collection of modern pictures, and was a liberal benefactor to Canada. He m. (1) 1857, Helen, dau. of John Redpath; (2) 1884, Grace, widow of George Hammond and dau. of A. Davidson Parker.

Boutros Pasha Ghali, Prime Minister of Egypt since March, 1910, and the only native-born Egyptian who had ever held that office, died on February 21, at Cairo, aged 64, having been shot the day before by Ibrahim Wardani, a student. A Christian Copt, he was educated by

American missionaries and in Switzerland, had spent his life in the Civil Service, and became Minister of Finance in 1893, Foreign Minister in 1905, and Premier on the retirement of Mustapha Fehmy in 1910. After his death the Earl of Cromer described him as the

most capable of contemporary Egyptian Ministers, and as an Egyptian patriot in the truest sense; and his biographer in *The Times* credited him with possessing consummate tact and suppleness, coupled with more frankness and firmness than is usual in Orientals.

On the 1st, aged 86, **Sir Edward Leigh Pemberton, K.C.B.**, Conservative M.P. for East Kent from 1869 to 1885; Legal Assistant Under-Secretary at the Home Office from 1885 to 1894. On the 1st, aged 69, **Hans Blum**, the historian of the German revolution of 1848-9; at first a Liberal, then a Bismarckian; long editor of the *Grensböten*. On the 2nd, aged 83, **Mary Southey**, niece of the poet, and dau. of H. H. Southey, M.D., F.R.S. On the 3rd, **Rear-Admiral Richard Frederick Britten**; had served in the Chinese War of 1858 and was prominent in Worcester-shire county affairs; High Sheriff of the county 1897-8. On the 3rd, aged 66, **John Blencowe Cookson, C.B.**, Hon. Colonel of the Northumberland Yeomanry and prominent in the county; the Wansbeck division of which he had contested unsuccessfully in 1885. On the 4th, aged 77, the **Rev. John Allanson Picton, M.A.**, for many years a Congregational Minister at Leicester, and Liberal M.P. for the borough 1885-94; had written many books, some expressing advanced theological views, and a life of Oliver Cromwell; s. of Sir James Picton of Liverpool. On the 5th, aged 64, **Robert Forrest**, High Sheriff of Glamorgan in 1898; for many years agent in South Wales for the Earl of Plymouth, and one of the chief creators of Penarth and Barry; prominent in the public life of South Wales. On the 5th, aged 73, **Captain John Joseph Dunne**; had served in the New Zealand War of 1863-4, and been Secretary to Isaac Butt at the inception of the Home Rule movement; subsequently Governor of Castlebar Jail; an active traveller and writer on sport. On the 7th, while under remand in Brixton prison on a charge of sending bombs by post to persons in Sweden, **Martin Ekenberg, Ph.D.**, an inventor and scientific investigator who was developing a new process for utilising peat as fuel. About the 7th, aged 44, **Otto Julius Bierbaum**, an eminent German novelist. About the 7th, aged 82, **Professor Josef Bayer** of Vienna, an authority on aesthetics. On the 7th, aged 77, **Josef Schoeffel**, for many years Burgomaster of Moedling, near Vienna, the preserver of the Wiener Wald. About the 7th, aged 60, **Professor Benedictus Niese** of Halle, an authority on the History of Greece. On the 8th, aged 88, the **Rev. Andrew Robert Fausset, D.D.**, Canon of York; had distinguished himself at Dublin University, and published editions of classical works and an English version of Bengel's "Gnomon"; for fifty years Rector of St. Cuthbert, York. About the 8th, aged 48, **James Flatt, Jr.**, a philologist of some distinction and a contributor to Dr. Murray's *New English Dictionary*. On the 8th, aged 64, **Dr. Richard Wilker**, Professor of English at Leipzig University; an authority on Anglo-Saxon, and founder of the philological review *Anglia*. About the 8th, aged 73, **Gustave Raulin**, a prominent French architect; had restored Angers and Le Mans Cathedrals, and taken part in building the Trocadero and Paris Opera. On the 9th, aged 76, the **Hon. George Barnard Baker**, a Canadian Senator since 1896, previously a Conservative member of the Canadian House of Commons; descended from a family of United Empire Loyalists. On the 9th, aged 89, **Edward Wells**, High Steward of the borough of Wallingford, and M.P. for that constituency from 1872 to 1880. On the 10th, aged 64, at Madrid, **Count Christian Friedrich Tattenbach**, German Ambassador to Spain since 1909; had been Minister at Tangier 1890-6, at Berne 1896-8, at Lisbon 1898-1909, but had done much work in Morocco and been the chief promoter of German influence there in opposition to France; had sat at Algeciras Conference; a Bavarian by birth. On the 10th, aged 84, **Thomas Summerbell**, Labour M.P. for Sunderland 1906-9, a printer by trade, and a valued member of the party. On the 10th, aged 62, **Robert William Llewellyn**, a prominent country gentleman of Glamorganshire; had built Pencaif Church, according to *The Times* one of the most beautiful and expensive in Wales. On the 11th, aged 84, **Roger Bate**, a County Councillor for Cheshire; unsuccessful Liberal candidate for the Eddisbury Division in 1895. On the 11th, aged about 79, **Major-General Charles Benn Lude-Smith**, late Madras Staff Corps; distinguished himself in the Indian Mutiny, and discovered and was instrumental in opening up the Waora coalfield. On the 12th, **Jules Guérin**, founder of the Anti-Semitic League of France in 1889 and one of the chief personages in the "siege of Fort Chabrol" in Paris during the Dreyfus agitation ten years later. About the 13th, aged 76, **Professor Wilhelm Krause**, Professor of Anatomy at Berlin since 1892. On the 13th, aged 89, **Lieut.-Colonel William Campbell Mollans, C.B.**, sometime Commander of the 96th Regiment; had served with distinction in the Indian Mutiny. About the 13th, aged 74, **M. Emile Cheysson**, Professor at the Ecole

des Sciences Politiques, a great promoter of sanitary and housing reform. On the 14th, aged 76, **Sir Charles Marriott, M.D., D.L.**, for Leicestershire, for many years a prominent medical practitioner in Leicester, and an able surgeon. On the 14th, aged 64, the **Rev. George Ferris Whiddorne, F.G.S.**, sometime Vicar of St. George's, Battersea; a prominent Evangelical and author of important geological memoirs. On the 14th, aged 50, **Peter Francis ("Pete") Curran**, Labour member for Jarrow 1907-9; of Irish extraction; in early life connected with the Social Democratic Federation, and one of the founders of the Independent Labour party; organiser of the Gasworkers and General Labourers' Union, and a prominent Trade Unionist; a Roman Catholic. Many thousands of persons attended his public funeral at Leytonstone. On the 14th, aged over 50, **John Macallan Swan, R.A.**, a singularly able and distinguished painter and sculptor of animal subjects. On the 15th, aged 78, **Captain Devereux Herbert Mytton**, sometime 85th Foot; High Sheriff of Montgomeryshire 1873, and prominent in county affairs; Unionist candidate for the county in 1886 and 1892. On the 15th, aged 71, **Rear-Admiral Uvedale Corbet Singleton, C.B.**; had distinguished himself in the Chinese War of 1857 in Malaysia, and in the Eastern Soudan expedition of 1884. On the 15th, aged 73, at Victoria, B.C., the **Hon. Clement Francis Cornwall**, sometime Lieut.-Governor of British Columbia, to which he had emigrated from England in 1862; sometime a member of the Legislative Council of the Colony and of the Dominion Senate. On the 16th, aged 62, **Colonel Claude Reignier Conder, R.E.**; had long been associated with the survey of Palestine, of which he was in command in 1885-95; had written numerous books on the topography and antiquities of the Holy Land and Jerusalem. On the 16th, aged 87, **Major Southwell Greville, H.M. Indian Army**; had served in the Sikh War and distinguished himself in the Indian Mutiny. On the 17th, aged 47, **Alderman Sir Francis Hanson**, Sheriff of London in 1909, a representative of the City in the London County Council 1907-10. On the 17th, aged 64, the **Rev. Robert Culley**, "Book Steward" of the Wesleyan Methodist Church; had done much to stimulate religious work among the children of his Church. On the 17th, aged 80, **Thomas Earp**, Liberal M.P. for Newark 1874-85, thrice Mayor of that town. On the 17th, aged 66, **Charles Mylne Barker**, President of the Law Society 1905-6. On the 17th, aged 56, the **Rev. Frederick Arthur Clarke**, Prebendary of Wells and Vicar of Cheddar, sometime Fellow of Corpus Christi College and Lecturer at St. John's College, Oxford; Examining Chaplain to the Bishop of Bath and Wells; author of a work on Bishop Ken. On the 17th, aged 79, **Admiral William Henry Edey**; had distinguished himself in the first Burmese War. On the 17th, in North Nigeria, aged 59, **Lieut.-Colonel Arthur Mackenzie Nutt Mackenzie, R.A.**; had distinguished himself in the campaigns in Nigeria of 1901, 1902 and 1908. On the 19th, aged 69, **Count Udo zu Stolberg Wernigerode**, President of the German Reichstag since 1907; wounded at Königgrätz; Ober-Präsident of East Prussia 1891-5; a member of the Prussian Upper House. On the 20th, aged 67, **Sir Robert William Arbuthnot Holmes, K.C.**, late Treasury Remembrancer and Deputy Paymaster for Ireland. On the 20th, aged 77, **Charles William**, fourth Duc de Talleyrand and third Duc de Sagan, a leader in the Parisian world of sport. On the 20th, aged 78, **Francis Davy Longe**, a prominent cricketer while at Harrow and Oxford; subsequently an Inspector of the Local Government Board; author of various scientific and economic works. About the 20th, aged 68, **Professor Erik Haupt** of Halle, an Evangelical theologian of repute. On the 21st, aged about 77, **Lieut.-Colonel Trevenan James Holland, C.B.**, sometime 10th Hussars; had served with distinction as Assistant Quartermaster-General in the Persian Campaign of 1856, the Indian Mutiny, and the Abyssinian Expedition. On the 21st, aged nearly 81, **Vincent Joseph Robinson, C.I.E.**, a high authority on Oriental art. On the 21st, aged 68, **Sir Richard Byam Martin**, fifth baronet; succeeded his father 1895; m., 1869, Catherine, dau. of Captain Knipe, 15th Dragoon Guards; left daughters only; the title is extinct. On the 22nd, aged 63, **Arthur Fraser Walter**, Chairman of *The Times* Publishing Company and from 1894 to 1908 manager and chief proprietor of the paper; became at an early age associated with his father in the management, through the accidental drowning of his elder brother in 1870; had played in the Eton and Harrow and Oxford and Cambridge cricket matches; a County Councillor and for many years an active Volunteer. On the 23rd, aged 69, the **Rev. Charles Martin**, sometime Senior Student and Tutor of Christ Church, Oxford, Warden of St. Peter's College, Radley, from 1871 to 1879. On the 23rd, his 64th birthday, **Major-General Ralph Edward Allen, C.B.**, sometime 15th Foot; had distinguished himself as a Staff Officer in the Bechuanaland Expedition of 1884 and commanded a brigade with distinction in South Africa. About the 24th, aged 67, **Osman Hamdi Bey**, Director of the Imperial Museums at Constantinople, an archaeologist of eminence. On the 26th, aged 65, **Arthur John Butler**, a leading English student and editor of Dante, and author of *Memoirs of Generals Marbot and Thiebault*; had also edited some volumes of the *Calendar of Foreign State Papers*; educated

at Bradfield, Eton, and Trinity College, Cambridge, where he was Eighth Classic and Bell Scholar; afterwards in the Education Department and then engaged in publishing; a keen Alpine climber and a man of wide knowledge and genial character. About the 26th, aged 83, **M. Henri M. d'Arbois de Jubainville**, Professor of Celtic at the Collège de France and Member of the Institut; editor for nearly thirty years of the *Revue Celtique* and author of *Les Premiers Habitants de l'Europe*; member of many learned societies; had also written important works on byeways of French history. On the 26th, aged 72, **Colonel John Greenlaw Forbes, C.B.**, sometime Royal Bengal Engineers; had served with distinction in the Indian Mutiny. About the 26th, aged 77, **Surgeon-Major-General George Langford Hinde, C.B.**, late Army Medical Service; had served in the Crimea and Boer War of 1881; distinguished in the Soudan Campaign. On the 26th, aged 82, **Lieut.-Colonel Sir Richard Harcourt Robinson, Bart.**, sometime 60th Rifles; succeeded his nephew as fifth Baronet in 1909; the title is extinct. On the 27th, aged 66, **Ludwig Hevesi**, a prominent Hungarian journalist; for many years on the *Pester Lloyd* and Vienna *Fremdenblatt*; wrote novels in German, and also in Magyar, a feuilletonist and critic. On the 28th, aged 88, **Sir William Eames, K.C.B.**, Chief Inspector of Machinery, R.N.; had distinguished himself in the Russian War in 1854-5 and had been Principal Engineer at Chatham Dockyard 1869-81. On the 28th, **John Fleming**, High Sheriff for Devon 1877, Conservative candidate for Devonport 1885.

MARCH.

The Bishop of Lincoln.—The Right Rev. Edward King, Lord Bishop of Lincoln since 1885, died at the Old Palace, Lincoln, his Episcopal residence, on March 8, aged 80. The younger s. of the Ven. Walker King, Archdeacon of Rochester, and grandson of the Right Rev. Walker King, Lord Bishop of that diocese, he was educated privately and at Oriel College, Oxford, taking his B.A. degree in 1851. On his ordination he became curate of Wheatley, and subsequently Chaplain of Cuddesdon Theological College, the great High Church stronghold. From 1863 to 1873 he was its Principal, and in that year was appointed Canon of Christ Church, and Professor of Pastoral Theology at Oxford, a post for which he was eminently fitted by his great personal influence over his pupils. After twelve years in this post, he was nominated by Mr. Gladstone to the See of Lincoln vacated by the resignation of Bishop Wordsworth, a choice which aroused some surprise and protest, as he had taken no University honours, written no important works, and was identified with the most advanced High Church views. He soon became popular in his diocese, restoring at his own cost the old Bishop's Palace in the cathedral city, and taking up his abode there. In 1888, however, he was cited before the Primate to answer charges of breaches of the ecclesiastical law of ritual. The case (*Read v. The Bishop of Lincoln*) was tried in February, 1890, before Archbishop Benson and one lay and several Episcopal assessors. The judgment (November 21, 1890; ANNUAL REGISTER, 1890, Chronicle, p. 63) exonerated him except on the making of the sign of the Cross in Absolution and Benediction, for

which he was admonished, and legalised various ceremonial practices of the High Church party. It did not affect his personal popularity with all parties in the diocese. He obtained the aid of a Suf-fragan in 1905, but went on with his work till the last, and published a touching farewell letter to his people a few days before his death. Alone among the Bishops, he voted against the Finance Bill on November 30, 1909. Few prelates have inspired more affection, or have obtained their influence by so exclusively personal and spiritual qualities.

The Vicomte Eugène Melchior de Vogüé, one of the first of contemporary French authors, and the chief introducer to the Western public of the great Russian writers of the latter part of the nineteenth century, died at Paris on March 24, aged 61. He belonged to the line of Vogüé-Gourdan, the younger branch of an ancient family of the Ardèche; and, after preparing for a diplomatic career, served in the Franco-German War of 1870-1, and then was Secretary to the French Embassy successively in Constantinople, Cairo and St. Petersburg; in the last-named city he married the sister of General Annenkof, by whom he had four sons. From 1883 onwards he contributed to the *Revue des deux Mondes*, writing accounts of his own travels in Palestine, Syria, Mount Athos, and elsewhere in the Near East, and articles on leading Russian authors of recent date, only a few of whom, such as Tur-guénéff and Gogol, were as yet appreciated in France. In 1886 he established his reputation by his work *Le Roman Russe*, and was elected member of the

French Academy in 1898. From 1898 to 1898 he sat in the Chamber, as an Independent Republican with Clerical tendencies, for Tournon, in the department of his birth. He wrote several successful novels. He was a member of the Imperial Academy of St. Petersburg.

Dr. Karl Lueger, Burgomaster of Vienna since 1896, and founder of the "Christian Socialist" party in Austria, died on March 10, aged 65. B. of humble Viennese lower-middle class parents—his father being a beadle—he was educated at a High School and at Vienna University and became a barrister, and in 1872 became secretary of a Viennese Liberal Club. The financial catastrophe of 1873 brought about a violent popular reaction against the Jews, who mainly controlled the German Liberal party—Liberal only in name—and who had largely immigrated into Vienna and obtained control of its trade and industry, proving themselves very hard masters. Dr. Lueger left the Liberal party and came forward as the assailant of Jewish monopoly and "capitalism," and, later, as the leader of a popular and Roman Catholic opposition to the Magyars, whom he termed *Judæo-Magyars*. They had assimilated and incorporated a large Jewish element, and were also largely Protestant, and their Ministries

tended in fact to control the foreign policy of Austria and to oppress the non-Magyar and Catholic peoples of Hungary. In 1882 he founded the "Christian Socialist" party, which embodied the resistance of the small tradesmen of Catholic Vienna to Jewish Liberalism and Catholicism. In 1885 he was elected to the Reichsrat, and ten years later Burgomaster of Vienna, but the Emperor refused to confirm his election; the Municipal Council was dissolved, but he was elected a second time in May, 1896, and eventually, in 1897, the confirmation took place. As Burgomaster he municipalised the gas, water, and tramway services, previously controlled largely by Jewish capitalists; he became the most popular man in Vienna, and his funeral was the occasion of a great popular demonstration of mourning. The Christian Socialist party under him became, under manhood suffrage, the most numerous in the Reichsrat. Of great stature and considerable presence and oratorical power, especially in invective, he had all the gifts of a popular leader. The movement he headed was really not theological, but directed against "capitalism" and Magyar control of Austria; and in the municipal elections of 1896 he received a considerable Jewish vote.

On the 1st, **Colonel Obaldia**, President of the Republic of Panama. On the 1st, the **Ven. David Evans**, Archdeacon and Canon of St. Asaph since 1897; an eloquent preacher in English and Welsh. On the 2nd, aged 80, the **Rev. George Tugwell**, Prebendary of Wells and Rector of Bathwick, Somerset; an advanced Ritualist and author of works on North Devon and on some departments of natural history. On the 2nd, aged 76, **Edward Percival Wright**, Professor of Botany at Dublin University from 1869 to 1904; also secretary from 1888 to 1899 of the Royal Irish Academy and an authority on archæology and biology; a follower of Isaac Butt on Home Rule. On the 3rd, aged 87, **Sir Ralph Smith Cusack**, Chairman from 1866 to 1904 of the Midland Great Western Railway of Ireland, which he had greatly developed; also a barrister and clerk of the Crown and Hanaper for Ireland 1858-81. On the 3rd, aged 63, **T. Napier Armit**, an eminent salvage engineer; had raised the first Tay Bridge after its collapse, the Anchor liner *Utopia* at Gibraltar, and many other wrecks. On the 4th, aged 94, **Mrs. Mary Ford**, dau. of Sir Arcott Molesworth, second wife and widow of Richard Ford, author of the well-known "Handbook of Spain"; had entertained many distinguished men at her residence at Pencarrow, Cornwall, among them Thackeray and many of the "philosophical Radical" group which included the Austins, Grote and J. S. Mill. On the 5th, aged 47, from an accident while hunting, **Major James Hugh Gwynne**, late Royal Welsh Fusiliers; distinguished in the Burma Expedition of 1885 and in that to Peking in 1900. About the 5th, aged 55, **Mme. Jeanne Marni**, at first on the stage, afterwards an able dramatist and writer of clever and pathetic sketches of humble life; her real name was Marnière. On the 6th, aged nearly 76, **Sir Edward Wingfield, K.C.B.**, sometime Fellow of New College, Oxford; Permanent Under-Secretary of State in the Colonial Office, 1897-1900, when he retired through paralysis due to overwork; from 1878 to 1897 a legal Assistant Under-Secretary in the Colonial Office; an able lawyer and hard worker. On the 6th, **Miss Iala Stewart**, for twenty-three years Matron and Superintendent of Nursing at St. Bartholomew's Hospital; belonged to an old Dumfriesshire family; her services were specially recognised both by the Queen Alexandra and by the Paris Assistance Publique, some of whose nurses she had trained in English methods. On the 7th, **Louis Klopsch**, proprietor of the (New York) *Christian Herald*; had raised through his paper over \$3,800,000 for charities, especially the relief of famine; had

been decorated for his services in Indian and Japanese famines by the Sovereigns of both countries. On the 7th, aged 67, **George Whale**, from 1909 to 1909 chief mechanical engineer of the London and North-Western Railway, and introducer of a new type of express engine. On the 8th, suddenly, in the street in Westminster, aged 62, **Sir Robert Harris Carnwath Dalsell, Bart.**, Earl of Carnwath, a representative Peer of Scotland; succeeded his uncle as twelfth Earl, 1887; m., 1873, Emily, dau. of Henry Hippisley; succeeded by his (second) s. On the 8th, aged 70, the **Rev. Ernest Grey Sandford**, Archdeacon of Exeter from 1888 to 1909; came of a Shropshire family; distinguished at Oxford in the Schools, and as a cricketer; a Rugby man, and Resident Chaplain of Bishop Temple when at Exeter; edited his biography; an active member of Convocation, and Precentor and sometime Chancellor of Exeter Cathedral. On the 8th, aged 73, **Hugh Colin Smith**, Governor of the Bank of England 1897-9; director of many companies; Prime Warden of the Fishmongers' Company; a man of wide culture and varied public activities. On the 8th, aged 76, **Thomas Collier Platt**, sometime United States Senator for New York State; had sat in both Houses of Congress; for many years he controlled the Republican party in the State. About the 8th, **Emil Philipp**, Professor of Geology at Jena University, Geologist to the Gauss Antarctic Expedition, 1901-3. On the 9th, **Arthur John Hughes, C.L.E.**, sometime Indian Public Works Department; had done much towards the drainage and water supply of Calcutta and other Indian cities. About the 10th, aged 58, the **Hon. Sir Malcolm Donald McEacharn**, partner in a prominent firm of Anglo-Australian ship-owners and merchants; emigrated at an early age from Islay, Scotland; was repeatedly Mayor of Melbourne and represented that city in the first Federal Parliament; founder of the Anglo-Australian frozen meat traffic. On the 10th, aged 85, **Professor Karl Reinecke**, long a teacher at the Leipzig Conservatoire, a well-known composer and conductor. On the 11th, aged 79, **Sir Alfred Hickman**, first baronet, Unionist M.P. for West Wolverhampton, 1892-1906; had won the seat as a Conservative in the 1885 Parliament; a prominent coal-owner and ironmaster; created baronet, 1908; m., 1850, Lucy, dau. of William Smith; succeeded by his grandson. On the 12th, aged 74, **James O'Connor**, Nationalist M.P. for West Wicklow; condemned to seven years' penal servitude in 1865 through his association with the Fenian conspiracy and the *Irish People* newspaper; after his release was on the staff of the *Irishman* and *United Ireland*; took sides against Parnell, and defeated a Parnellite candidate for his constituency in 1892, since which date he had sat for it unopposed. On the 12th, aged 58, **Timothy Charles Harrington**, Nationalist M.P. for Dublin (Harbour Division) since 1885; originated the *Kerry Sentinel*; was secretary of the Land League and National League; joined Parnell in the split of 1890; was Lord Mayor of Dublin 1901-4, and prominent in municipal affairs. On the 12th, aged 82, **General William Charles Robert Myles**, sometime Indian Army; had served with distinction in the Indian Mutiny and in the Afghan War of 1878. About the 12th, aged 71, **Sir Thomas Drew**, Professor of Architecture in the new Irish National University and President of the Royal Hibernian Academy; had designed important buildings in Dublin and the new Belfast Cathedral. On the 12th, aged 77, **Sir Reginald Howard Alexander Ogilvy**, of Inverquhar, tenth baronet, A.D.C. to King Edward VII., and J.P. and D.L. for Forfarshire; m., 1859, Olivia, dau. of the ninth Lord Kinnaird; succeeded by his grandson. On the 13th, aged 83, **Wyndham Slade**, from 1877 to 1901 a London Police Magistrate, previously Recorder of Penzance. On the 13th, aged 76, **Sir Edward Payson Wills, K.C.B.**, first baronet (created 1904), a member of a well-known Bristol family and munificent benefactor of local charities; m., 1858, Mary Ann, dau. of J. C. Pearce; succeeded by his s. On the 13th, **Walter Arthur Copinger, LL.D., F.S.A.**, Professor of Law in Manchester University since 1892; for many years a leading conveyancer in Manchester; an authority on the history of the law of real property. On the 14th, aged about 70, **James Campbell Brown, D.Sc., Lond.**, Grant Professor of Chemistry at the University of Liverpool; distinguished as a teacher and researcher; long public analyst for Liverpool, and author of important works. On the 14th, aged 71, **Sir Alan John Colquhoun, K.C.B.**, sixth baronet, of Luss, sometime 16th Lancers and Black Watch; Hon. Colonel of the Edinburgh Royal Field Artillery; succeeded his cousin, 1907; m. (1), 1884, Justine, dau. of John Kennedy; (2) Anna, dau. of Duncan MacRae; succeeded by his elders. On the 14th, aged 78, **Hans Liandolt**, Professor of Chemistry at Berlin, 1901-5; an eminent researcher in physical chemistry. On the 15th, aged 52, **Herbert Ralton**, an excellent illustrator of books and artist in black and white. On the 15th, aged 45, **Edward George Bootle-Wilbraham**, second Earl of Lathom, sometime Major, Royal Horse Guards; Unionist candidate in 1896 for the Southport division of Lancashire; a prominent Freemason and promoter of the Territorial movement; m., 1889, Lady Wilma Playdell-Bouverie, dau. of the fifth Earl of Radnor; succeeded by his s. About the 16th, aged 56, **Commodore Andreas Peter Hovgaard**, who took part in Baron Nordenskiöld's expedi-

tion round the north coast of Siberia, 1878-9, and commanded a Danish expedition to the North Pole, 1882. About the 16th, aged 52, **M. Maurice Hutin**, sometime Director of the Panama Canal Works, and President of the reorganised Panama Canal Company, which sold the undertaking to the United States. On the 16th, aged 37, **Tom Browne**, a very able comic draughtsman and also an admirable water-colour artist. On the 16th, in Vienna, aged 89, **Baron Joseph von Helfert**, the historian, from a Conservative standpoint, of the Austrian revolution of 1848; long active in Austrian politics. On the 16th, aged 67, **Vice-Admiral Sir George Thomas Henry Boyes, K.C.B.**, Director of Transports in the South African War; had served in the Crimea and the Egyptian War of 1882 and been Commodore at Hong-Kong. About the 17th, aged 74, **Adolf Tobler**, a Swiss by birth, Professor of Romance Philology in Berlin University since 1867; had written *in ter alia* on French prosody. On the 18th, in the Orange River Colony, aged 42, **Major Charles Otway Cole Bowen, D.S.O., R.E.**, distinguished in the South African War. On the 19th, aged 89, **Sir Frederick Thorpe Mappin**, first baronet, in early life head of a famous cutlery business, afterwards partner in a Sheffield firm of steelmakers; Master Cutler of Sheffield, 1855; Mayor of Sheffield, 1877, and Liberal M.P. for East Retford, 1890-5, and Liberal for the Hallamshire division of the West Riding of Yorkshire, 1885-1906; a munificent benefactor of Sheffield University and Chairman of its technical school; a well-known patron of Victorian Art; m., 1845, Mary, dau. of John Wilson; succeeded by his eldest s. On the 19th, aged 71, **Dr. Otto Hermes**, founder and first director of the Berlin Aquarium, and an authority on zoology; long a Liberal member of the Berlin Municipal Council and the Prussian Diet; a promoter of the improvement of Berlin. On the 19th, aged 70, **Henry Smith Wright**, Conservative M.P. for Nottingham, 1886-95, and sometime a Nottingham banker; had published translations of the "Æneid" and part of the "Iliad." On the 20th, **Felix Fournichon**, better known as **Nadar**, a veteran caricaturist, and for many years a photographer, but best remembered as one of the forerunners of the inventors of the aeroplane and the aeronaut of the huge balloon "Géant," in which he made an adventurous voyage from Paris to Hanover in 1863; left a volume of reminiscences of Baudelaire. On the 21st, aged 75, **Sir Edmund Buckley**, first baronet, Conservative M.P. for Newcastle-under-Lyme, 1865-78; m. (1) Sarah, dau. of William Rees; (2) 1885, Sara, widow of A. J. Burton of Chicago; originally named Peck; succeeded by his s. On the 23rd, aged 88, **Colonel Sir John Wallington, K.C.B.**, sometime 4th Light Dragoons, and for many years Colonel commanding the North Gloucester Militia. On the 23rd, aged 92, the **Rev. Richard Lea Allnut**, sometime Vicar of Underrier, Sevenoaks; an active Evangelical, and sometime Church Missionary Society Missionary in Tinnevely. On the 25th, aged 67, the **Most Rev. Andrew Boylan, R.C.**, Bishop of Kilmore since 1907; sometime Provincial of the Redemptorists in Ireland; a strong Nationalist. About the 25th, the **Rev. Thomas Waugh Belcher, M.D., M.S., D.D.**, Rector since 1886 of Frampton Cotterel, Bristol; sometime Editor of the *Church Review*, and a prominent and extreme High Churchman. On the 25th, aged 58, the **Very Rev. Mgr. Corbishley**, President since 1906 of St. Cuthbert's College, Ushaw, Durham, where he had for many years previously been Professor of Science. On the 25th, aged 74, **Walter Butler Cheadle, M.A. Cantab., F.R.G.S.**, who accompanied Viscount Milton (son of the sixth Earl Fitzwilliam) in 1884 in the adventurous journey from Canada to British Columbia described in their joint work, "The North-West Passage by Land." Subsequently he became a London consultant and a high authority on the diseases of children. On the 27th, aged 51, **Dr. George Carpenter**, also a high authority on the diseases of children. On the 27th, after a fall on the Fochlwyd, above Llyn Ogwen, **Charles Donald Robertson**, of the Treasury, grandson of the Rev. F. W. Robertson, the famous preacher; Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge; a promising public servant and keen Alpinist. On the 28th, on board the White Star liner *Adriatic*, aged 74, **Professor Alexander Agassiz**, s. of the famous Professor Louis Agassiz; curator of the Harvard Museum of Comparative Zoology, to which he had been a most munificent donor; had carried out at his own expense oceanographical expeditions over most of the oceans of the world, and published the results; had received the Victoria Research Medal of the Royal Geographical Society. On the 28th, aged 71, **Edouard Colonne**, an eminent Parisian concert director and conductor. On the 29th, aged 71, **Henry Joseph Loveday**, stage manager to Sir Henry Irving from 1877 till the latter's death. On the 29th, aged 72, **Justice David Josiah Brewer** of the United States Supreme Court since 1889, earlier in life a Judge of the State of Kansas; President of the Venezuela Boundary Commission, 1896; an able and impartial judge. On the 30th, after being knocked down by a motor car in London, the **Rev. Robert Sutton**, Vicar of Pevensy and Prebendary of Chichester, and from 1888 to 1898 Archdeacon of Lewes. On the 30th, aged 71, **Sir Frederick Richard Saunders, K.C.M.G.**, for over forty years in the Ceylon Civil Service, Treasurer of the Island 1890-9. On

the 30th, aged 53, **Jean Moréas**, a leading French contemporary poet; at first a symbolist, later an imitator of the Romance period and the Renaissance; by birth a Greek named Papadiamantopoulos; recently naturalised a French citizen; had written in Greek as well as French; his chief work was "Les Stances." On the 31st, aged 54, the **Rev. Harry Drew**, Canon of St. Asaph, and since 1904 Rector of Hawarden, where he had previously been a curate; son-in-law of W. E. Gladstone, and first Warden of St. Deiniol's Hostel; a moderate High Churchman. On the 31st, aged 68, **Thomas John Bellingham Brady, LL.D.**, Assistant Commissioner of Intermediate Education in Ireland, and for some years holder of a special Professorship of classical literature in Trinity College, Dublin; a Roman Catholic. On the 31st, aged 94, **Andreas Achenbach**, one of the chief modern landscape painters of Germany. In March, aged 80, **Professor Eduard Pfüger** of Bonn, an eminent physiologist. In March, aged 81, **Professor Johannes Schilling**, an eminent sculptor, who designed the colossal statue of "Germania" in the Niederwald.

APRIL

Bishop Barry.—The Right Rev. Alfred Barry, D.D., sometime Bishop of Sydney, Metropolitan of New South Wales and Primate of Australia, died at the Cloisters, Windsor Castle, on April 1, aged 84. The second s. of Sir Charles Barry, R.A., architect of the Houses of Parliament, he was b. in London in 1826 and educated at King's College, London, and Trinity College, Cambridge, where he was fourth wrangler, seventh classic, and Smith's Prizeman in 1848. After election to a Fellowship at his College, he was Warden of Trinity College, Glenalmond, from 1850 to 1854, Headmaster of Leeds Grammar School, 1854 to 1862, Principal of Cheltenham College, 1862-8, Principal of King's College, London, 1868-88, and Boyle Lecturer, 1876-8. He then accepted the Bishopric of Sydney, and was consecrated in Westminster Abbey on January 1, 1884, but resigned the See in 1889, and was Suffragan to the Bishop of Rochester in South London, 1889-91, when he was appointed Canon of Windsor. Subsequently he often took the work of other Bishops, and was Bampton Lecturer in 1892, Hulsean Lecturer in 1895, and Rector of St. James's, Piccadilly, 1895-1900. He acted as Suffragan to the Bishop of London from 1895 onwards. Besides his Bampton, Boyle, and Hulsean Lectures, he wrote the biography of his father, and numerous other works, including a "Teachers' Prayer Book," and "The Christian Sunday."

Sir Robert Giffen, K.C.B., F.R.S., the well-known economist, and a high permanent official of the Board of Trade from 1876 to 1897, died suddenly at a hotel at Fort Augustus on April 12, aged 78. B. in Glasgow and educated at its University, he became clerk to a solicitor, but migrated to London and joined the staff of the *Globe*, then a Liberal paper, became Assistant Editor of the *Fortnightly Review*, and from 1868 to 1876

held the same post on the *Economist*. He left that post for the Board of Trade, but in 1878 founded the *Statist*, and frequently contributed to the monthly reviews; many of his contributions were republished as "Essays on Finance." Other important works were "Stock Exchange Securities" (1877), "The Progress of the Working Classes in the Last Half Century" (1884), "The Growth of Capital" (1890), and "The Case against Bimetallism" (1892). He was for six years, 1876-82, chief of the Statistical Department of the Board of Trade, and then became one of the Assistant Secretaries, subsequently becoming Controller-General of the Commercial, Labour, and Statistical Departments. He was a strong Free Trader, but in later life advocated Imperialism, naval expansion, and "broadening the basis of taxation," especially as an alternative to the Budget of 1909, and supported the Unionists at the election of 1910. He had a marvellous mastery of economic facts and figures, and an astonishing memory for numbers. He was President of the Statistical Society, 1882-4.

Sir William Quiller Orchardson, R.A., died on April 13, aged 75. B. in Edinburgh of a father of Highland and a mother of Austrian extraction, he was trained as an artist in his native city under R. S. Lauder, and migrated to London in 1862. Thenceforward he steadily produced historical pictures, portraits, and dramatic scenes of social life. He was elected A.R.A. in 1868, and R.A. in 1877, the year of his great success with "The Queen of the Swords," which gained him a reputation on the Continent when exhibited in the Paris Exhibition of 1878. His best known and perhaps his best picture, "Napoleon on Board the *Belletrouon*," was exhibited in 1881. Other well-known works by him are "The Marriage de Convenance," "Her First Dance," "The

Salon of Madame Récamier." "The Young Duke," "Master Baby" (portraits of his wife and child) and portraits of Mrs. Joseph and Sir Samuel Montagu, "Hooch and Watteau," said the *Morning Post*, "would not have disdained the company of this Scottish *genre* painter." He m., 1870, Miss E. Moxon, and his s., Mr. C. Q. Orchardson, also obtained distinction as an artist.

Mark Twain.—Mr. Samuel Langhorne Clemens, the first of American humorists, died of angina pectoris at his home at Redding, Connecticut, on April 21, aged 74. B. in 1835 in the State of Missouri, where his father, a scion of an old Virginian family, owned slaves and land, he was brought up at Hannibal on the Mississippi, and has described some of his early experiences in "Tom Sawyer" and "Huckleberry Finn." In 1848 his father died poor, having lent money largely to friends, and the son began life as a printer's boy. A few years later he became apprentice to a pilot on a Mississippi steamer, and ultimately a pilot himself; served for a short time as a Southern soldier in the Civil War, and then became secretary to his brother Orion Clemens, Lieut.-Governor of Nevada, and afterwards a miner. He lost his claim, however, it was said through a misunderstanding, and joined the staff first of a Virginia city newspaper and then of the San Francisco *Call*. Some of the sketches he contributed to the latter, including the famous "Jumping Frog," were republished about 1867 and made his name known in Europe. His "Innocents Abroad," published in 1869, as the result of an ocean tour by a party travelling together in the *Quaker City* (one of the first of its kind), from New York to the Mediterranean, confirmed his reputation. In 1870 he moved to Buffalo, to become part proprietor of a paper there, and in 1871 to Connecticut, and in 1872 lectured in England. In 1873 he produced, with Charles Dudley Warner, a play, "The Gilded Age," also published as a novel, and in 1876, perhaps his best work, "Tom Sawyer." A sequel, "Huckleberry Finn," was published in 1885. "A Tramp Abroad," in 1880, and "Life on the Mississippi," in 1883. In 1870 he had m. Miss Langhorne, of Elmira, N.Y., whose fortune, with his own, he invested in the publishing firm of C. L. Webster and Co., which failed in 1896. Like Sir Walter Scott,

he set himself to pay off the firm's debts by writing and lecturing, and a lecture tour in the East and Australia helped to pay the creditors in full and made him a rich man again. Books written under these circumstances necessarily fell below the standard of his earliest work, but "Pudd'n'head Wilson" and "The Man that Corrupted Hadleyburg" may rank with the best. In later years he also attacked Christian Science and the abuses of the Congo State. A singularly keen and sympathetic observer of humanity, he possessed abundant humour, and a notable power of pathos.

Ejörnstjerne Björnson, the chief contemporary poet of Norway, died at Paris on April 26, aged 79. The s. of a pastor sprung from an old Norse family, he was b. on December 8, 1832, in Kvikne, Osterdalen, amid wild and grandiose scenery, and, after education at a grammar school and at a college—where he became acquainted with Jonas Lie, Ibsen, and Vinje—he entered Christiania University at twenty. He developed late; took to journalism on leaving the University, and wrote his first book in 1856. In 1857 he made a success with "Synnove Solbakken," and then turned to drama, became manager of the Christiania Theatre. In 1858 he produced "Arne," which established his fame outside Norway. After resuming journalism, in 1859, he travelled abroad (1860-3), writing, meanwhile, his dramas "King Sverre" and "Sigurd Slumbe," and from 1865 to 1867 he was again engaged in the management of the theatre at Christiania. The conflict with Sweden and the Danish-German War had drawn him into politics, and in 1867 he came forward as the champion of Norwegian independence. From 1868 to 1874 he travelled and spoke in public, visiting the United States, and then made his home at Aulestad, writing many novels and dramas, and travelling much. He gradually passed from Christianity into Spencerian agnosticism. In his own country he was an earnest patriot and a strong opponent of the plan of replacing the official and literary language by the reconstructed "Maal," supposed to represent a purer form of Norse. He was one of the first of contemporary orators, and, as a novelist, was credited with great skill in narrative and the portrayal of character. In translation his work lost greatly, especially his lyric poetry.

On the 1st, aged 70, **Frederick Wicks**, sometime proprietor of the *Glasgow News*, and inventor of the rotary type-casting machine. On the 2nd, aged 65, **William McTaggart**, E.S.A., a successful landscape artist. On the 2nd, killed by natives at Nyeri, Wadai, Africa, aged 37, **Boyd Alexander**, sometime Lieutenant, Rifle Brigade, a

distinguished African explorer and naturalist; had taken part in the expedition to Kumasi, 1900, and led the Alexander-Gosling expedition from the Niger to the Nile, 1904-7; gold medallist, Royal Geographical Society; left a valuable collection of birds to the Natural History Museum. On the 2nd, at Bielefeld, aged 79, **Pastor Frederick von Bodelschwingh**, for many years connected with a home for epileptics at Bielefeld and the originator of labour colonies for paupers; from 1904 to 1908 a member of the Prussian Diet. About the 2nd, **Charles Hill**, for fifty years secretary of the Working Men's Lord's Day Rest Association, and an active defender of the weekly Day of Rest. On the 3rd, at Adelaide, aged 84, **Catherine Spence**, a well-known South Australian novelist. About the 3rd, aged 70, the **Rev. Samuel Vincent**, President of the Baptist Union in 1898. About the 5th, at sea on his way from India, **William Leatham Harvey, C.I.E.**, a distinguished Indian Civil Servant; had done much to suppress plague as Municipal Commissioner in Bombay and to reform the Indian telegraphic service. On the 6th, aged nearly 79, **Lord M'Laren (John M'Laren)**, sometime Lord Advocate, a Judge of the Edinburgh Court of Session from 1881 to his death; s. of a well-known Lord Provost and Liberal M.P. for Edinburgh, whom he succeeded in that seat in 1881; an author of important legal works and an eminent Judge. On the 6th, aged 55, **Thomas Lorimer Corbett**, Unionist M.P. for North Down since 1900; had been an active Moderate member of the London County Council and its Deputy Chairman. On the 6th, aged 70, **George Henry Faber**, Liberal M.P. for Boston from 1906 to 1910, when he did not stand; a prominent member of Lloyd's. On the 6th, aged 60, **Richard Dacre Archer-Hind**, Fellow and for many years Lecturer of Trinity College, Cambridge, educated at Shrewsbury School; a brilliant writer in Greek prose and verse and an eminent Platonist; had published important editions of the "Phædo" and "Timæus." On the 6th, aged 88, **Sir William Francis Augustus Elliott**, eighth baronet, of Stobs, Roxburghshire, sometime 93rd Highlanders; succeeded his father 1864; m. (1), 1846, Charlotte, dau. of Robert Wood; (2) Hannah, dau. of H. T. Birkett and widow of H. Kellsall; succeeded by his nephew. On the 7th, aged 67, **Sir William Bousfield**, Chairman since 1896 of the Girls' Public Day School Company, and long associated with the higher education of women and the administration and improvement of the Poor Law; Master of the Clothworkers' Company, 1904-5; knighted in 1905. On the 7th, aged 88, the **Right Rev. John Cameron**, Roman Catholic Bishop of Antigonish (previously Arichat), Nova Scotia, since 1877. On the 8th, aged 88, **Sir Walter Scott**, first baronet, of Beaulere, Northumberland; had begun life as a mason; became a prominent railway and building contractor, and also head of a well-known publishing company bearing his name; was associated also with other industrial and colliery enterprises; created 1907; m. (1), 1858, Ann, dau. of John Brough; (2) 1892, Helen, widow of James Meikle; succeeded by his s. On the 8th, aged 60, **Lieut. T. H. James, R.N.**, for many years connected as European manager and otherwise with the leading Japanese Steamship Company; previously an instructor of the Japanese Navy. About the 8th, from a carriage accident, aged 54, the **Hon. Robert Garnett Tatlow**, Minister of Finance in British Columbia, 1908-9. On the 9th, aged 58, **Thomas F. Walsh**, a prominent Colorado mine-owner and mining engineer. On the 10th, aged 81, **Sir William Wilson-Todd**, first baronet, sometime Captain, 89th Regiment; M.P. for the Howdenshire Division of Yorkshire (E.R.) 1892-1906; m., 1855, Jane, only dau. of John Todd, of Halnaby Hall and Tranby Croft; succeeded by his s. On the 10th, aged 69, from a fall in the House of Commons steeplechase near Epping, the **Right Hon. James Tomkinson**, Liberal M.P. for Cheshire (Crewe Division) since 1900, a prominent country gentleman and sportsman, and director of Lloyd's Bank and various public companies. On the 10th, aged 72, **Sir William Whittall**, a prominent British merchant and banker at Constantinople. On the 11th, aged 67, **Charles Bird**, since 1875 Headmaster of the Rochester Mathematical School, which he had raised to a high position of efficiency. On the 11th, aged 69, **Sir Thomas Tancred**, a distinguished railway engineer; had constructed railways in Asia Minor, South Africa, Mexico, and the Yukon; m., 1866, Mary, dau. of Colonel Hemans; succeeded his father, 1880; succeeded by his s. About the 11th, aged 95, **Herrmann Kennemann**, a large landowner in Prussian Poland and co-founder with Herr Hansemann and Tiedemann of the "Hakattist" (H.K.T.) Society for Germanising that region. On the 11th, aged 87, **Lieut.-Colonel William Henry Snell, M.V.O.**, sometime Indian Army, reorganiser of the Honourable Artillery Company, and founder in 1847 of the first English Volunteer corps since the French Wars. On the 12th, aged 75, **William Ralph Douthwaite**, from 1867 to 1905 Librarian of Gray's Inn, and author of a standard work on its history. On the 13th, aged 88, **Sir John Forbes Clark**, second baronet; long in the diplomatic service; m., 1851, Charlotte, dau. of Sir Thomas Coltman; left no s.; the baronetcy is extinct. On the 13th, aged 68, **Count Maximilian Berchem**, Under-Secretary in the German Foreign Office from 1886 to 1890; originally in the Bavarian Service. On the 13th, aged 48, **Rear-Admiral Frederick Robert William Morgan, R.N.**;

had distinguished himself in the Egyptian Campaign of 1882, and the South African War, and had been Naval Attaché in Paris. On the 13th, aged 46, **Sir Charles George Hillersden Allen**, Chief Secretary to the Bengal Government, and Chairman of the Calcutta Corporation from 1904 to 1908; knighted 1908. On the 15th, aged 68, **Major-General Victor Edward Law**, sometime Indian Army, and Indian Foreign Department; resident at Jaipur, 1895-7. On the 15th, aged 68, the **Ven. Cecil Frederick Joseph Bourke**, Archdeacon of Buckingham since 1895, sometime Rector and Sub-Dean of Truro Cathedral. On the 15th, aged 68, the **Rev. Henry Charles Squires**, long a Church Missionary Society missionary in India, and subsequently Vicar of St. Peter-le-Bailey, Oxford, 1889-98, and of Holy Trinity, Richmond, 1898-1909. On the 16th, aged 82, **Señor Ignacio Mariscal**, Minister of Foreign Affairs in Mexico since 1884, in which capacity he had settled the difficulties with Guatemala in 1895; had been spoken of as a possible successor of President Diaz. On the 16th, aged 52, **Sir Walter Palmer**, first baronet, Unionist M.P. for Salisbury, 1901-6; a director of the firm of Huntly and Palmer; first Chairman of, and a generous donor to, University College, Reading; m., 1882, Jean, dau. of William Craig, M.P.; left a dau.; the baronetcy is extinct. About the 16th, aged 84, **Dr. Julius Kühn**, Professor of Agriculture at Halle since 1862; had had a large practical experience and had raised his subject to adequate University recognition. About the 16th, **Eduard Duboc** (pen-name Robert Wildmüller), a popular German poet and novelist. On the 17th, aged 74, the **Right Rev. John Dart, D.D.**, Bishop of New Westminster, British Columbia, since 1895; a Devonshire man; had been President of King's University, Windsor, Nova Scotia. On the 17th, aged 55, **Count Waldemar Orloa**, since 1893 a member of the Reichstag, for Freidberg Budingen in Hesse, and a National Liberal, though with agrarian tendencies, till he left the party during the dispute over the death duties of 1909. On the 17th, aged 65, **Major-General Edmund Smith Brook, C.B.**, sometime 94th Foot; distinguished himself in the Transvaal Wars of 1881 and 1902, and commanded the Cape Colony district 1904-7. On the 18th, aged 55, **Lewis Foreman Day, F.S.A.**, a distinguished decorative artist. On the 18th, aged 79, **Sir Samuel Black**, long associated with the Belfast Corporation first as a member, then as Town Clerk. On the 18th, **Helen**, wife of Dr. Paget Toynbee, Editress of the complete edition of Horace Walpole's "Letters," 1908-5. On the 19th, aged 81, **William Hind Smith**, for many years Secretary of the Young Men's Christian Association, and an active promoter of its progress. On the 19th, aged 61, **Donald Mackenzie Smeaton, C.S.I.**, Liberal M.P. for Stirlingshire, 1906-10, when he did not stand again; had distinguished himself in the Indian Civil Service in the N.W. Provinces and as Chief Commissioner of Upper Burma. On the 20th, aged 85, **Baron Sir John William Henry Schröder, C.V.O.**, first baronet, created 1892, head of an eminent firm of foreign bankers in London; an eminent horticulturist; his firm founded the Schröder Professorship of German at Cambridge; m., 1850, Dorothea Schliesser, who d. 1900; left no issue; the baronetcy is extinct. On the 22nd, aged 72, **Anthony Browne Herbert Story**, Treasurer and Clerk to the Legislative Council of the Isle of Man. About the 22nd, aged 63, **Lajos Munczy**, the most famous of the Tzigane violinists of Hungary; left a fortune of 90,000*l.* About the 23rd, aged 64, **William Boase Morcom, K.C.**, sometime Attorney-General for Natal, and subsequently its Minister of Justice and a member of its Legislative Council. About the 23rd, aged 68, **William Lindsay Boase**, a prominent Dundee manufacturer; Conservative candidate for East Perthshire in 1889, 1892 and 1895. On the 24th, aged 64, **Edward William O'Sullivan**, sometime Minister of Lands in New South Wales, and previously Minister for Works. On the 25th, **Maitre Henri Barbour**, of the French Bar; had been counsel for M.M. F. and Charles de Lesseps in the Panama affair, and a member of the Academy since 1907. On the 25th, **John Stewart Stewart Wallace**, Liberal M.P. for Limehouse, 1892-5. On the 25th, from an accident, **Miss Geraldine Fitzgerald (Francois Gerard)**, authoress of a life of Angelica Kauffmann and other biographical and historical works. On the 26th, aged 98, the **Rev. Charles Holland**, sometime Prebendary of Chichester Cathedral and Rector of Petworth, 1859-95. About the 26th, **Charles Bagge Flowright**, a Norfolk physician, Professor of Comparative Anatomy and Physiology at the Royal College of Surgeons, 1890-4; an authority on Mycology. About the 26th, **Baron Melvil van Lynden**, Foreign Minister of the Netherlands, 1901-5, and sometime Secretary-General of the Hague Tribunal. On the 27th, aged 73, **Sir Owen Randal Slacke, C.B.**, sometime Divisional Commissioner for Ireland. On the 27th, aged 65, **Judge James Johnston Shaw, K.C.**, Recorder of Belfast since 1909; Professor of Political Economy in Dublin University, 1878-82; Commissioner of National Education in Ireland and a Pro-Chancellor of Belfast University. On the 27th, aged 54, **Sir Morton Edward Manningham-Buller**, second baronet; m., 1888, Mary, dau. of William Davenport; left daughters only; succeeded by his nephew. On the 27th, aged 74, **Arthur Gunn**, Comptroller of the London County Council from its establishment to 1892, previously Accountant to the Metropolitan

Board of Works since 1869. On the 29th, aged 63, **Charles John Maude**, Assistant Paymaster-General since 1892. On the 29th, aged 66, **Major-General Arthur Fitzroy Hart-Synnott, C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O.**; had served with distinction in the Ashanti War of 1873, the Zulu and Boer Wars, and the Egyptian Campaign of 1882, and had commanded the Irish Brigade under Sir Redvers Buller in Natal; took the name of Synnot (that of his wife's family) in 1902. On the 30th, aged 63, **General Sir William Purvis Wright**, Royal Marines; had held the highest staff appointments in the corps and seen much sea service. On the 30th, aged 88, the **Rev. James Godley**, sometime Rector of Carrigallen, Ireland; uncle of Lord Kilbracken (Sir Arthur Godley) and father of the Public Orator at Oxford.

MAY.

King Edward VII. died after four days' illness, of heart failure following bronchitis and broncho-pneumonia, at 11.50 p.m. on Friday, May 6. The eldest s. of Queen Victoria and Prince Albert of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, he was b. November 9, 1841, christened Albert Edward, and created Prince of Wales December 4, 1841. He was educated under the supervision successively of Lady Lyttleton, dau. of the second Earl Spencer, of the Rev. H. M. Birch, a master at Eton, and of Mr. F. W. Gibbes, Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, and his whole development was most sedulously watched over by his parents. He went up in 1857 to Edinburgh University, and in 1858 to Christ Church, Oxford, and then travelled to Berlin and Rome, where he was received by Pius IX., and on to Spain and Portugal. In 1860 he visited Canada to open the Victoria Bridge at Montreal and lay the foundation-stone of the Ottawa Parliament House; he was received there with enthusiasm, and also in the United States, which he visited on President Buchanan's invitation, being entertained at Chicago, Washington and New York. He then went up to Trinity College, Cambridge, residing, however, at Madingley, some miles off. In 1861 he visited Palestine with Dean Stanley, returning by Constantinople and Athens. In September, 1862, he became engaged to Princess Alexandra, dau. of King Christian IX. of Denmark. The marriage took place in St. George's Chapel, Windsor, on March 10, 1863, after a reception of the pair in London comparable with the pageants of the Victorian jubilees and his own coronation. Sandringham was bought for the young couple, and on February 5, 1863, he took his seat in the House of Lords. Thenceforward for thirty-eight years he had to do the chief part of the Sovereign's work in attending public functions and celebrations, which he did with marked success. An attack of typhoid in 1871-2 caught on a visit to Lord Londesborough at Scarborough, brought him to death's door; he was saved only by the

devoted nursing of his wife and Princess Alice, and by the skill of his medical attendants, Drs. Gull and Jenner (who afterwards received baronetcies). His recovery was celebrated by a national thanksgiving in St. Paul's Cathedral, February 27, 1872. Of the rest of his life as Prince of Wales only a few visits can be mentioned—to India in 1875, in preparation for the Queen's assumption of the title of Empress; to Ireland in 1886; to Russia in 1894, for the funeral of the Tsar Alexander III. and the wedding of Nicholas II.; and to Aberystwith in 1896, for the opening of the University of Wales. Mention must also be made of his interest in social work, as evidenced by his membership of Sir Charles Dilke's Housing Commission in 1894 and of the Old Age Pension Commission later, and of his founding in 1897 of the Hospital Fund known by his name. It must be added that he twice had the unusual experience, for a Prince, of appearing as a witness in connexion with "Society" *causes célèbres*—in the Divorce Court in the Mordaunt case in 1874, and in the Queen's Bench in the Gordon-Cumming *baccarat* case in 1891.

He succeeded to the throne as Edward VII. on January 22, 1901, dropping the name Albert as sacred to his father's memory; and, after narrowly escaping death through the attack of perityphlitis which was only announced on June 25, 1892, the day before that fixed for the coronation, he was crowned with splendid ceremony in Westminster Abbey on August 9. As King he at once, without any breach of constitutional tradition, transformed British relations with other Powers (on which see Part I., English History, p. 114), and gave the Monarchy a new prominence in social and political life. He invariably opened Parliament in person, delivered, and probably recast, his Speech from the Throne, gave a new splendour to Court functions, which he really enjoyed, and entered greatly into society. He had a minute and particular interest in Court etiquette, possibly inherited from his

German ancestry, but was nevertheless among the most popular and genial Kings in British history. Otherwise he was an English country gentleman, with the best traditions of his class, keenly interested in farming and all kinds of sport (except possibly fishing), and with cosmopolitan tastes exhibited in his delight in Paris life. On the one hand, he won the Derby and the St. Leger with Persimmon in 1896, and with Diamond Jubilee in 1900, and the Derby again with Minoru (leased from Colonel Hall Walker, M.P.) in 1909; on the other, he was keenly interested in the work of the Salvation Army and the Church Army; he founded the Edward Medal for courage in civil life, and the Order of Merit for the highest distinction in war, literature, science, and social service. He was an excellent shot and keen yachtsman, and was once nearly killed by falling spars while on Sir Thomas Lipton's yacht during a race in Southampton Water (May 22, 1901). In foreign affairs he was credited by jealous Continental critics with a desire to "isolate" Germany by diplomatic combinations; it would be truer to say that he strove to be the peacemaker of Europe. No King was ever more revered throughout the Empire, and none has worked harder or more conscientiously till the day of his death. It was only then made known that he had suffered for some years from bronchitis and emphysema, from glycosuria, and from after-results of the operation which saved his life in 1901. But in facing his sufferings he always showed great physical courage, and almost his last words were, "I will work till the end." He completed the revival of the credit and popularity of the Monarchy which his mother had begun.

Sir William Huggins, F.R.S., K.C.B., O.M., the eminent astronomer, and one of the chief developers of solar physics and stellar photography, died after a day's illness in London on May 12, aged 86. Possessing private means, he had devoted himself in early life to scientific study, and in 1856 had built an observatory for himself at Tulse Hill. In 1859-63, in conjunction with Professor Allen Miller, he extended the newly discovered method of spectrum analysis to the stars, publishing his first results in 1863. In 1864 he applied his researches to nebulae and in 1868 to comets, and in 1897 he showed the existence of calcium in the sun. He was a pioneer in photography of stellar spectra. He held the Copley, Royal, and Rumford medals of the Royal Society, and had been president of the Royal Society, the Royal

Astronomical Society, the British Association, and held many University and scientific distinctions. His wife, a dau. of Mr. John Murray of Dublin, shared in his later discoveries.

The Rev. Alexander McLaren, D.D., the last survivor of the famous Nonconformist preachers of the Victorian era, died at Edinburgh on May 5, aged 84. Educated at Stepney (afterwards Regent's Park) Baptist College, he became Minister in 1846 of Portland Chapel, Southampton, and in 1858 was called to Union Chapel, Manchester, where he continued until his retirement from the Ministry in 1910. Classed by some admirers with Spurgeon and Parker, he far surpassed both in his scholarship and literary power. He inspired many religious and social enterprises, and his sermons and expository volumes were of high and permanent value.

Dr. Elizabeth Blackwell, the first fully qualified woman medical practitioner, died at Hastings on May 31, aged 89. B. at Bristol on February 3, 1821, she was taken by her father, with the rest of his large family, to the United States in childhood, and at the age of seventeen, when he died, she with her elder sisters supported the family for a time by teaching in a school in Kentucky; she afterwards taught in North and South Carolina. Later, on the suggestion of a woman friend, she determined to study medicine, and in 1847 was admitted, with the students' consent, to the medical school at Geneva, N.Y. At a heavy cost to her own feelings, she persevered in her studies and graduated, and pursued her studies by the favour of Dr. (afterwards Sir James) Paget, at St. Bartholomew's Hospital, and at the Hôtel Dieu and at La Maternité Hospital, Paris. Here she contracted ophthalmia from a patient, lost the sight of an eye, and therefore gave up the hope of specialising in surgery; but returning to New York, in 1851, she worked as a physician in partnership with her sister Emily; established a dispensary, from which grew up the New York Infirmary for Women, and in 1859 returned to London, and was registered in England as a physician. She did excellent work in organising the supply of nurses to the Northern Army in the War of Secession and in establishing a women's medical school in New York. After 1869 she practised in London and Hastings, and helped to found the National Health Society and London School of Medicine for Women, in which she held the chair of Gynecology. She did much to promote medical education for women, and other forms of the

women movement, including that for the suffrage; and she wrote on the Physical Education of Girls, and on other subjects, including Scientific Method in Biology.

Professor Robert Koch, the famous bacteriologist, died at Baden-Baden on May 28, aged 66. The s. of an official in the Prussian Forestry Department, he was educated at Göttingen and began life as a medical practitioner at Wallstein, in Hanover, devoting his leisure to bacteriology. In 1876 he identified the bacillus of anthrax, and received an appointment in the Prussian Sanitary Service; in 1882 he identified the tubercle bacillus, and in 1888 the "comma bacillus" of Asiatic cholera, having been sent on a special mission to the East to study this disease. In 1885 he was made a Professor of the University of Berlin and Director of a Hygienic Institute established in connexion with it. In 1890 it was announced, possibly against his will, that

he had discovered a "vaccine" against tuberculosis; there was an immediate rush of consumptives to Berlin, but the treatment, which had been the subject of unauthorised and exaggerated statements, was not successful. The extension of the anti-toxin treatment of other diseases, however, received a great impulse from his work. In 1896 and 1897 he investigated, unsuccessfully, the ætiology of sleeping sickness and plague; in 1901 he started the International Conference on tuberculosis by declaring that human and bovine tuberculosis were different, and that the human variety could not be caught from the meat or milk of animals suffering from the bovine kind. This led to the appointment of the Royal Commission on Tuberculosis, which virtually negatived his conclusion. He was one of the chief agents in the advance of bacteriology and its application to the cure and prevention of disease. He was a Fellow of the Royal Society, and held many Prussian and foreign decorations.

On the 1st, aged 71, **Rear-Admiral Philip Hichborn, U.S.N.**, Chief Constructor of the United States Navy from 1898 to 1901. On the 1st, **General Nord Alexis**, President of Hayti from 1902 to 1908, when he was overthrown (see ANNUAL REGISTER, 1908, p. 468). On the 2nd, aged 72, the **Rev. Thomas Gentles, D.D.**, Minister of the first charge of Paisley Abbey; had actively promoted its restoration and been prominent in local affairs. On the 3rd, aged 89, **Sir John Hollams**, partner for many years in a leading firm of London solicitors, and an active member of the Judicature Commission of 1867 which resulted in the fusion of the Courts of Law and Equity; knighted in 1902. About the 3rd, **Commander Vladimir Semenov** of the Russian Navy, author of well-known works on the battle of Tsushima and the voyage of Admiral Kosh-desventsky's fleet to it; an earnest advocate of Russian naval reform. On the 4th, aged 74, **Cornell Price**, for twenty years first Headmaster of the United Services College, Westward Ho (since closed); associated with the Pre-Raphaelite set when at Oxford; an extremely able organiser and teacher; one of his pupils was Rudyard Kipling. On the 6th, aged 63, **Dr. Heinrich Ourschmann**, Professor of Pathology and Therapeutics at Leipzig University, and an authority on hospital management. About the 6th, aged 65, **Rear-Admiral Bowman Hendry McCalla, U.S.A.**; had served with distinction in the Spanish American War and the relief of the Legations at Peking in 1900. About the 6th, aged 60, **Signor Girolamo Rovetta**, a popular Italian novelist and dramatist. About the 6th, **Professor Emil Schürer**, Professor of New Testament Exegesis at Göttingen. On the 8th, aged 72, **Sir Edmund Verney**, third baronet; his father, originally Calvert, assumed the name and arms of Verney on succeeding to the Verney estates; had served with distinction in the Indian Mutiny; had been Liberal M.P. for North Bucks, 1889-91, and had represented Brixton on the London County Council. On the 9th, aged 69, the **Rev. Charles Henry Waller, D.D. Oxon.**, Principal of St. John's Hall, Highbury—a well-known evangelical theological college—from 1884 to 1898. On the 9th, aged 85, **Charles Bernard Hodgson**, Clerk of the Peace and of the County Council for Cumberland; held various other county offices, and was prominent in county life. On the 9th, aged 82, **Karl von Hofmann**, Prime Minister of Hesse, 1872-6, subsequently Prussian Minister of Commerce and Imperial Secretary of State for Elsass-Lothringen, 1880-7. On the 10th, aged 68, **Sir William Gerald Seymour Vesey Fitzgerald, K.C.I.E., A.D.C.** to successive Secretaries of State for India from 1874 to 1901; knighted 1887. On the 10th, aged 47, **Leo von Savigny**, Professor of Law at the University of Münster; grandson of the famous jurist Friedrich Karl von Savigny; representative of the University in the Bavarian Upper House. On the 10th, at Rome, aged 83, **Stanislas Canissaro**, sometime Professor of Chemistry and Director of the Chemical Institute at Rome, and Vice-President of the Italian Senate; had done much to establish and forward the atomic theory; a native of Palermo. On the 10th, aged nearly 70, **William Gordon-Stables, M.D., B.N.**, a popular and prolific writer of boys' books; had written 150

volumes; had done much to popularise "caravanning" in England as a recreation. On the 12th, aged 78, **Sir John Robert Heron-Maxwell**, seventh baronet; succeeded his father 1835; m., 1866, Caroline, dau. of Richard Brooke; succeeded by his s., Master of the Merchant Taylors' Company, 1905-6. On the 14th, aged 56, **Ernest Bruce Iwan-Müller**, a well-known Unionist journalist; one of the authors of the "Shotover Papers" at Oxford; sometime editor of the *Manchester Courier*, subsequently on the *Pall Mall Gazette* and *Daily Telegraph*; partly of Russian extraction; had taken an important place in Unionist councils and was one of Lord Salisbury's trusted advisers. On the 14th, aged 79, the **Rev. William Adamson, D.D.**, a prominent Scottish Congregationalist; had written a biography of Dr. Parker and various theological works. On the 16th, aged 84, **George Aitchison, E.A.**, President of the Royal Institution of British Architects, 1896-9, and Professor of Architecture at the Royal Academy, 1887-1905; had designed many buildings in London, among them Lord Leighton's house at Kensington and the Royal Exchange Assurance offices in Pall-Mall; had written much and edited Vitruvius. On the 16th, aged 92, **Admiral David Robertson-Macdonald, E.N.**; had served with distinction in New Zealand in 1845, and taken an active part in the work of the National Lifeboat Institution, both as inspector and in actual life-saving. About the 17th, aged 89, **Mme. Pauline Viardot**, sister of Manuel Garcia and Maria Malibran, a famous prima donna between 1840 and 1868. On the 17th, aged 58, **Major Philip Cardew, E.E.**, a high authority on electrical engineering; electrical adviser to the Board of Trade, 1888-99. On the 17th, aged 81, **Major John Frederick Adolphus McNair, C.M.G.**, sometime Royal Madras Artillery; had been controller of Indian Convicts, and Chief Commissioner to Perak 1875-6. On the 18th, aged 37, **Gaude Champion de Crepigny, D.S.O.**, Captain 2nd Life Guards; had served with distinction in the South African War and was distinguished as a polo player. On the 18th, aged 61, **Frans Skarbina**, founder of "the Berlin Secession" movement in German Art. On the 19th, from a carriage accident, aged 90, **Admiral Sir William Garnham Luard, K.C.B., E.N.**; had served with distinction in the China and Burmese Wars of the middle of the nineteenth century, and as Superintendent of Malta Dockyard and President of the Royal Naval College, Greenwich. On the 19th, aged 74, **Sir Henry Aubrey-Fletcher**, fourth baronet, Unionist M.P. for the Lewes division of Sussex since 1885, and for Horsham 1880-5; succeeded to the Aubrey estates and took the name and arms in 1903, and to the baronetcy in 1851; m., 1859, Agnes, dau. of Sir John Wilson; succeeded by his brother. On the 20th, aged 61, **Sir John George Smyth Kinloch**, second baronet, Liberal M.P. for East Perthshire, 1889-1903; succeeded his father, 1881; m., 1878, Jessie, dau. of George Lumsden; succeeded by his s. About the 20th, aged 87, **M. de Gavardie**, one of the four members of the French National Assembly who voted against the Treaty of Peace with Germany in 1871; Bonapartist Senator for the Landes, 1876-88. On the 20th, aged 86, **Professor Gottlieb Planck**, of Göttingen University, one of the founders of the National Liberal party; had taken a leading part in the formation of the German Civil Code. About the 21st, at Cape Town, on his way to England, aged 45, **James Price**, recently Public Works Minister in Western Australia. On the 21st, accidentally drowned near Melun, France, aged 53, **Alfred Nutt**, a well-known London foreign bookseller and publisher, and an authority on folklore and Celtic literature. On the 22nd, aged 43, **Jules Renard**, one of the most remarkable of contemporary French poets; had been an elementary schoolmaster and shop assistant; distinguished by his observation of rural life and his concise and polished style. On the 23rd, aged 80, **John Baboneau Nickterlieu Hennessey, C.I.E., P.E.S.**; had taken an important part in the Trigonometrical Survey of India. On the 23rd, **John Hutchison, E.S.A.**, a Scottish sculptor of some note, sometime Librarian and afterwards Treasurer, R.S.A. About the 23rd, aged 56, **James Dennistoun Mitchell**, Convener of the Lanark County Council, and twice Unionist Parliamentary candidate for South Lanarkshire. On the 24th, aged 60, the **Right Hon. William Grey**, ninth Earl of Stamford; had begun life as a public schoolmaster and been Professor at Odrington College, Barbadoes; b. remote from the title, he succeeded his uncle who himself succeeded a distant cousin in the title, in 1890; had taken an active part in promoting missionary and charitable work; m., 1895, Elizabeth, dau. of Rev. C. Théobald; succeeded by his s., b. 1896. On the 24th, aged 83, **George Fownes Luttrell**, of Dunster Castle, Minehead; a master of foxhounds, and a Liberal in politics; m., 1852, Anne, dau. of Sir Alexander Hood, Bart.; succeeded by his s. On the 24th, aged 68, **John Shires-Will, K.C.**, Liberal member for the Montrose Burghs, 1885-95, when he gave up his seat to Mr. John Morley; long a prominent member of the Parliamentary Bar; a County Court Judge since 1906. On the 23rd, aged 84, **Richard Peyton**, a prominent chemical manufacturer of Birmingham; founder of the Professorship of Music at Birmingham University, and an active promoter of the Birmingham Musical Festival. On the 25th, aged 86, **Henry Tennant**, Vice-Chairman of the North-Eastern Railway, and

general manager of the company's system, 1871-91; had taken a leading part in its formation in 1853 and in its subsequent development and consolidation. On the 25th, aged 88, **John Colam**, for forty-five years Secretary of the Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals; had helped to abolish cock-fighting and stopped an attempt to introduce bull-fighting into England by his courageous interposition at the Agricultural Hall in 1870; had helped also to found the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children and the Battersea Dogs' Home. On the 26th, aged 78, the **Rev. Charles Greig M'Grie, D.D.**, Moderator of the United Free Church Assembly, 1907-8; author of important works on Free Church History. On the 28th, aged 61, **Emil Zuckerkandl**, Professor of Anatomy at Vienna University, an authority on the physiology of the glands, and an eminent teacher. On the 28th, aged 57, **Georg von Hutterot**, head of a great shipbuilding establishment, the *Stabilimento Tecnico*, at Trieste, and a life member of the Austrian Upper House. On the 28th, at Budapest, aged 61, **Kalman de Mikszath**, the most celebrated, after Jokai, of Hungarian novelists; excelled in description of peasant life; a prominent journalist, and at his death a Ministerial candidate for the Reichstag; the fortieth anniversary of his entrance into literature had just been celebrated. On the 29th, aged 66, **William Edward Knollys, C.B.**, Assistant Secretary to the Local Government Board, 1891-1905. On the 30th, aged 68, **Michael Cartelghe**, President of the Pharmaceutical Society of Great Britain, 1892-96; had made important researches and worked actively to improve the education of druggists and to raise their status. On the 31st, aged 78, **Lieut.-General Sir Roger William Henry Palmer**, fifth baronet, Colonel 20th Hussars, the last surviving officer but one (Lord Tredegar) from the "Charge of the Light Brigade" at Balaklava; Conservative M.P. for Mayo, 1857-65; a large landowner in Mayo and North Wales; m. Millicent, dau. of Rev. P. Rooper; the baronetcy is extinct. On the 31st, aged 70, **Sir William Brampton Gurdon, K.C.M.G.**, Liberal M.P. for North Norfolk, 1899-1909; came of an old Norfolk family; began life in the Treasury; had been private secretary to Mr. Gladstone during the Russell Ministry of 1865-6 and again during the Gladstone Ministry of 1868-74 and had served on special missions to South Africa; Lord-Lieutenant of Suffolk since 1897. On the 31st, aged 62, **Lieut.-Colonel Sydney G. F. Selfe, B.A.** (retired); served with distinction in the Burmese War of 1887-8 and afterwards engaged in philanthropic work; had written on the history of Rugby School. At the end of May, aged 62, **William Rose**, Emeritus Professor of Surgery at King's College, London, and joint author of an important manual of surgical science.

JUNE.

Goldwin Smith, one of the most brilliant scholars of one generation in England, and the most conspicuous publicist of the next in Canada, died at his home at Toronto on June 7. The s. of Richard Smith, M.D., a physician and director of the Great Western Railway, he was b. about 1823, and educated at Eton and Oxford. Entering at Christ Church, he won the Hertford Scholarship, a demyship at Magdalen, the Ireland Scholarship, the Latin Verse Prize, a First Class in Lit. Hum., the Latin and English Essay Prizes, and a Fellowship at University College. He became tutor of this College, and was one of the small band of University Liberals and reformers in the late 'forties, and served as Secretary of the first University Commission. From 1858 to 1866 he was Regius Professor of Modern History. Unlike such successors in this office as Stubbs and Freeman, he was not so much a specialised historian as a brilliant teacher and essayist; and his lectures ranged from the statesmen of the Roman Republic to those of the English Revolution. He was active in

politics, and vigorously took up the cause of the North in the United States War of Secession; he also wrote for the *Daily News* a series of articles on "The Empire" which were the antithesis of twentieth century "Imperialism." He was one of the staff of the *Saturday Review* at its best, and also published a criticism on Mansel's famous Bampton Lectures on the Limits of Religious Thought. Partly for reasons of a private and family nature, he decided in 1868 to accept a Professorship at Cornell University, Ithaca, N.Y., an institution designed originally to give liberal culture to resident working men. In 1871 he migrated to Toronto, and in 1875 m. the widow of William Boulton, of that city. He took a prominent part in University and educational work in his new home, and, with his pen, in Canadian politics. But he advocated the union of the Dominion with the United States, and Canadian Liberalism diverged more and more from him. His experience of Irish and Roman Catholic influence in Canada made him a strong opponent of Home Rule, and he also

'passed from Christianity to Agnosticism. "Politically," said the *Manchester Guardian*, whose valued correspondent he was for many years, "he was an old Radical with a great body of culture"; but in later life he became more tolerant, though likewise more Conservative. To the last he was devoted to Oxford, which he revisited in later life, and where he had left a reputation as the most brilliant conversationalist of his time. He left 140,000*l.* to Cornell University.

General the Right Hon. Sir William Francis Butler, G.C.B., died at his residence, Bansa Castle, co. Tipperary, on June 7, aged 71. B. at Suirville, co. Tipperary, and educated at a Jesuit college at Tullabeg, he entered the 69th Regiment, in 1858, serving in the East and then in Canada. In 1870 he induced Colonel (afterwards Lord) Wolseley, who had been favourably impressed by his survey work, to employ him as Intelligence Officer in the Red River Expedition. He also served with great distinction in the Ashanti War, the Zulu War, the Egyptian campaign of 1882, and the Gordon Relief Expedition to Khartoum in 1884, where he organised the boat service. In 1898-1900 he was in command in South Africa, and fruitlessly warned the home Government of the Boer strength and preparations; and, as temporary High Commissioner, he was unfavourable to the Uitlanders, and was recalled. After the war he was made Chairman of a War Office Committee on the supply of stores, and his Report, which was vigorous and eminently unofficial in style, caused the appointment of the South African War Commission under the Duke of Norfolk. He commanded the Western District at Devonport, and temporarily held the Aldershot command. He retired in 1905. He was a strong Nationalist, and was keenly interested in the Keltic revival. In 1877 he m. Miss Elizabeth Thompson, painter of "The Roll Call." He wrote several books, among them "The Great Lone Land," and Lives of General Gordon, Sir Charles Napier, and Sir George Colley.

On the 2nd, aged 7, **Edward George John Humphrey Cadogan, Lord Chelsea**, grandson of the Earl of Cadogan and heir to the earldom and estates. On the 2nd, aged 61, the **Rev. John Thomas Bell**, sometime Fellow of St. Catharine's College, Cambridge, and since 1880 Headmaster of Christ's Hospital, Hertford. On the 3rd, aged 75, **Julius Wolf**, a popular German patriotic and romantic poet and novelist; won the Iron Cross in the Franco-German War. On the 3rd, at Sydney, N.S.W., aged 61, the **Hon. Mr. Justice William Gregory Walker**, late of the Supreme Court of that State. On the 4th, aged 71, **Edward Jenkins**, Liberal M.P. for Dundee, 1874-80, but best known in the 'seventies by his clever and successful satires, "Ginx's Baby" and "Lord Bantam," in aid of social reform; also a zealous Imperialist, and latterly a Tariff Reformer; first Agent-General for Canada in London, 1875-7; had also advocated the cause of the rural labourer and the Demerara coolie; had stood as a

Sir Francis Seymour Haden, F.R.C.S., who was eminent alike as a surgeon and as an artist, d. at Bramdean, Hants, on June 1, aged 81. The s. of a M.D. of Edinburgh, he was educated for the medical profession in London and Paris, and did much good work in connection with obstetrics and in helping to found the Royal Hospital for Incurables. He had a large and important practice, and made himself conspicuous as an opponent both of old-fashioned methods of interment and of cremation, and as an advocate of "earth to earth burial" in light wickerwork or papier-mâché coffins—a method, however, negated by the establishment of the germ-theory of disease. As an aid to his anatomical studies he practised drawing, which was required by the School of Medicine at Paris, and later he took up etching, in which he attained eminence. In 1890 he founded the Society of Painter-Etchers and was President of it until his death. He m. in 1847, Dasha, dau. of Major Whistler, U.S.A., the half-sister of James McNeill Whistler, the painter; she died in 1908. His publications included "Rembrandt, True and False," "About Etching," and the "Etched Work of Rembrandt," and several works in favour of earth to earth burial.

The Duc d'Alençon.—Ferdinand Philippe Marie Duc d'Alençon, second s. of the Duc de Nemours and Victoria, Princess of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, died at his house at Wimbledon on June 29. He was one of the chief advocates of the reconciliation of the Bourbon-Orleans line with the main branch represented by the Comte de Chambord, but took no part, openly at any rate, in politics. B. July 12, 1844, he m. in 1868 Princess Sophie of Bavaria (sister of the ill-fated Empress of Austria), who died a heroic death at the Charity Bazaar fire in Paris in 1897. He left one s. and two daughters. The Duke several times represented the House of Orleans on ceremonial occasions, notably at the beatification of Joan of Arc in 1909.

Conservative for Dundee unsuccessfully in 1885 and 1896. About the 4th, aged 59, **James Startin**, F.R.C.P., an authority on dermatology. About the 4th, aged 81, **Georg Freiherr von Oertzen**, German writer of poems, satires and aphorisms. About the 5th, aged 84, **Professor Hermann Joris**, a rising histologist, Professor at the Université Libre of Brussels. On the 6th, aged 62, **Sir Archibald Hamilton Dunbar**, seventh baronet; succeeded his father, 1898; m., 1865, Isabella, dau. of Charles Eyre; succeeded by his half-brother, sometime Archdeacon of Grenada. On the 7th, aged 75, **Richard Glynn Vivian**, brother of the first Lord Swansea, and an active art collector; presented an Art Gallery to Swansea; had written verse. On the 7th, aged 61, **Charles Dibdin**, F.R.G.S., Secretary of the Royal National Lifeboat Institution since 1888. On the 7th, aged 64, **Philip Wroughton**, of Woolley Park, near Wantage, Conservative M.P. for Berks, 1876-85, and for the Abingdon division, 1885-95. On the 7th, **William Edward Windus**, long partner in the publishing firm of Chatto & Windus, an artist and author of some volumes of verse. On the 8th, aged about 55, **Rear-Admiral John Casement**, R.N.; had served with distinction on the Niger in 1876, and in the Eira Arctic Expedition, 1882. On the 9th, aged 59, **Sir George Newnes**, first baronet; founder of the *Westminster Gazette* on the transfer in 1892 of the *Pall Mall Gazette* to Mr. W. W. Astor, and also in 1881 of *Tit-Bits*, and later of other popular magazines, which made a new and commercially very successful departure in publishing. The s. of a Nonconformist Minister, he began life as a warehouseman; m., 1875, Prisoilla, dau. of Rev. J. Hillyard; Liberal M.P. for Cambridge (Newmarket), 1885-95, and for Swansea, 1895-1910; created baronet, 1895; succeeded by his s.; lived at Lynton and promoted its development. On the 9th, aged 75, **Lieut.-General Stephen Henry Edward Chamber**, C.B., R.A. (retired); had served with distinction in the Indian Mutiny. On the 10th, aged 39, **Violet Brooke-Hunt**, founder and organiser of the Women's Unionist and Tariff Reform Association, and an energetic and brilliant public speaker; an enthusiastic Imperialist. About the 11th, aged 81, **Ludwig Rapp**, a writer on Tyrolean history. On the 12th, aged 81, **Hermann Vein**, a Philadelphian of French extraction, and for the last half of the nineteenth century one of the most prominent and versatile of English actors, alike in tragedy and comedy. On the 13th, aged 58, **Sir Robert Kyffin Thomas**, proprietor of the *Adelaide Register*, and a prominent South Australian; knighted, 1910, for services at the Imperial Press Conference, of which he was Chairman. On the 14th, **Lieut.-Colonel William Benjamin Aislabie**, late Indian Army; had served with distinction in the Afghan War of 1878-9, and in various Indian frontier campaigns. On the 17th, aged 75, **Major-General William de Wilton Roche Thackwell**, C.B.; had served with distinction in the Crimea and in the Egyptian Campaign of 1882. On the 17th, at sea, aged 36, **Charles Ralph Keyser**, F.R.C.S., a skilled surgeon and authority on cancer. On the 18th, aged 80, the **Right Hon. Charles Stuart Parker**, Liberal M.P. for Perthshire, 1868-74, and for Perth, 1878-92; an Etonian, and sometime Scholar and Fellow of University College, Oxford; Chairman of the Public Schools Commission and the Scottish Endowed Schools Commission; private secretary to Mr., afterwards Lord, Cardwell; one of the founders of the Oxford University Volunteer Corps; the biographer of Sir Robert Peel and Sir James Graham. On the 19th, aged 73, **Henry Neville**, for nearly fifty years a prominent and popular comedian; had the curious distinction of being the twentieth child of a twentieth child. On the 21st, aged 36, **Princess Feodora of Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Augustenburg**, youngest sister of the German Empress; never m.; had written novels of peasant life under the pseudonym of "F. Hugin," and was something of an artist. On the 21st, aged 75, the **Rev. Henry Grattan Guinness**, D.D., F.R.A.S., F.R.G.S.; founder of the "Regions Beyond Missionary Union," and one of the agitators against the Congo atrocities; also a writer on Prophecy. On the 22nd, aged 68, **Princess Marie of Wied**, widow of Prince William of Wied, dau. of Prince Frederick of the Netherlands, and sister-in-law of the Queen of Roumania ("Carmen Sylva"). On the 22nd, aged 80, **Sir Alfred George Marten**, K.C., County Court Judge, 1893-1909; Conservative M.P. for Cambridge, 1874-80. On the 22nd, aged 70, **Lieut.-General Sir Alexander George Ross**, K.C.B., Colonel 51st Sikhs; had served with distinction in Abyssinia in 1868 and in various frontier wars. On the 23rd, aged 66, **James Gibb**, Liberal M.P. for Harrow, 1906-10, and a descendant of the founder of the *Economist*. On the 23rd, aged 75, **General Max Edler von der Planitz**, sometime Inspector-General of Garrison Artillery in the German Army; had won the Iron Cross at Mars-la-Tour in 1870. On the 25th, aged 84, **Lorina Liddell**, *née* Reeve, widow of Dean Liddell of Christ Church, Oxford, for many years a leader in Oxford society and an active promoter of nursing in the University and City. On the 25th, aged 78, the **Right Rev. Field Flowers Goe**, Bishop of Melbourne 1886-1902, and previously Rector of St. George's, Bloomsbury; a prominent Evangelical and active in promoting foreign missions. About the 27th, aged 78, **Samuel Douglas McEnery**, United States Senator for Louisiana since 1896; had fought in the Confederate Army and been Lieutenant-Governor of his State. On

the 28th, aged 64, **Thomas Shephard Little**, Stipendiary Magistrate for Liverpool since October, 1908, and Liberal M.P. for Whitehaven, 1892-5. On the 28th, aged 80, **Frank Harrison Hill**, editor of the *Daily News* during its most brilliant period, and himself a brilliant writer; subsequently his work became more Conservative in tone. On the 29th, aged 67, **John Warwick Daniel**, United States Senator for Virginia since 1887; had served in the Confederate army and written standard books on law. On the 29th, **Donald Ferguson**, sometime editor of the *Ceylon Observer* and an authority on the history of the island. Early in June, **Dr. Edward Locher-Freuler**, an eminent Swiss Engineer, who constructed the Pilatus Railway, and in the face of great difficulties from subterranean springs completed the Simplon tunnel. At the end of June, aged 58, **Professor Julius Jung**, a historian of Roman civilisation in the Danubian lands.

JULY.

Giovanni Virginio Schiaparelli, the eminent Italian astronomer, died at Milan, July 4, aged 73. B. at Savigliano, Piedmont, on March 14, 1837, he studied at Turin University, took up astronomy, and, after study at Berlin under Encke, and St. Petersburg under Struve, was appointed assistant at Milan Observatory in 1859 and Director in 1862. He made considerable contributions to the knowledge of the relation of meteors and comets, based largely on his observations of the great meteoric shower of 1866; to that of double stars, of the planets Mercury and Venus, and of ancient Babylonian astronomy, and he discovered in 1877 the planetoid Hesperia and the "canals" on Mars. In 1889 he was raised to the Italian Senate. He was director of Milan Observatory until 1900, when his sight failed. In the last years of his life he was blind.

Dr. Johann Galle, the eminent astronomer and the first person who identified the planet Neptune, died at Potsdam on July 10, aged 98. B. at Pabsthaus, near Wittenberg, on June 9, 1812, he became an assistant in the Berlin Observatory in 1835, and three years later discovered the innermost or dark ring of Saturn, and subsequently four comets; and on September 28, 1846, at the request of Leverrier, who had calculated the position of Neptune, he looked for and found it. It had, however, been seen a month earlier by Challis of Cambridge, but was not yet successfully identified. Galle also did much work on comets, the sun, meteorology, and minor planets and on the connection of comets and meteors.

Dr. Frederick James Furnivall, one of the chief promoters of English philology and Shakespearean scholarship, died at his house at Primrose Hill, London, on July 2, aged 85. The s. of a surgeon who knew and attended Shelley, he was educated at University College, London, and Trinity College, Cambridge, was called to the Bar, and became associated

with J. M. Ludlow and F. D. Maurice in the foundation of the Working Men's College, of which throughout life he was an active supporter. He also became Assistant Secretary of the Philological Society; and in the early 'sixties he established the Early English Text Society, which may be said to have created modern knowledge of most of mediæval English literature. In 1868 he founded the Chaucer and the Ballad Society, in 1873 the new Shakespeare Society, and in 1882 the Wyclif Society, all of which did a similar service for their own special subjects by making practically unknown matter accessible to students. The Browning Society (1881), and Shelley Society (1885), of which he was also a founder, combined this kind of work with exposition. He himself did admirable work as an editor for these and other similar societies or for the Roll Series, throwing much light notably on social life by his reprints and prefaces touching mediæval English education and life in Elizabethan England. Unlike many scholars he possessed strong feelings and a vivid imagination. A blunt and vigorous controversialist with a singularly downright style and power of hard hitting, he was also among the most genial of men; an earnest Volunteer and vigorous oarsman, and an ardent champion of sculling. He had been President of the Rowing Club at the Working Men's College, had founded the National Amateur Rowing Association, and also the Furnivall Sculling Club, which extended to women the advantages of an admirable exercise. He was a strict vegetarian, teetotaler, and non-smoker. He was Hon. Fellow of Trinity Hall, Cambridge, and a member of the British Academy.

Chief Justice Fuller.—Melville Weston Fuller, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States since 1888, died suddenly at Bar Harbor, Maine, on July 4, aged 77. Starting in law practice in his native State of Maine, he moved to Chicago in 1856, and ob-

tained a large practice, becoming also prominent in State and Federal politics as a Union Democrat. In 1880 he retired from politics, and in 1888 was nominated by President Cleveland to

the Chief Justiceship of the Supreme Court *vice* Waite, deceased. Though not a great jurist, he was regarded as a sound and able lawyer, making few mistakes and winning universal respect.

On the 1st, accidentally burnt to death, aged 41, the Hon. **Maurice Raymond Gifford, C.M.G.**; had raised a troop of horse in the Matabele rebellion, 1896, and served in the South African War. On the 1st, aged 62, **Major Martin Sharp Hume**, sometime 3rd battalion Essex Regiment; had stood for various constituencies as a Liberal; a high authority on Spanish history and literature, and a writer of numerous books. On the 1st, aged 47, **Captain Robert Marshall**, sometime West Riding Regiment, a successful author of light comedy. On the 1st, aged 67, **Max Honsell**, Minister of Finance in the Grand Duchy of Baden since 1907, an engineer and authority on the regulation of rivers. About the 2nd, aged 67, **Lieut.-Colonel Walter Charles Farwell**, sometime 26th Punjabi Regiment; distinguished in the Afghan War of 1879. On the 3rd, aged 66, **Charles McArthur**, Unionist M.P. for Liverpool (Kirkdale) since 1907, and for the Exchange division, 1900-6; an authority on marine insurance. On the 4th, aged 67, **Robert Russell, I.S.O.**, author of a book on Natal, and to a great extent founder of its system of primary education. About the 4th, **Colonel Leslie Ogilvie Patterson**, Army Medical Service; distinguished in the Indian Mutiny. On the 7th, at Ventnor, aged 68, **George Clunies Ross**, Governor or Superintendent of the Cocos and Keeling Islands, grandson of John Clunies Ross, a scion of an ancient Jacobite family; the grandfather founded a colony in them and built up the coconut trade; the islands are a sort of hereditary monarchy under the Colonial Office. About the 7th, aged 73, **Thomas Hamilton Core**, Professor of Physics at Owens College, Manchester, 1870-1905. On the 8th, aged 99, the **Rev. William Hutchinson**, Prebendary of Lichfield, Vicar of Blurton since 1865. About the 8th, aged 57, **Francis Ernest Colenso**, s. of Bishop Colenso; legal adviser to Cetewayo, and an ardent protector of the Zulus, of whose character he had a profound knowledge. On the 8th, aged 81, **General William Earle Gascoyne Lytton Bulwer, C.B.**, High Sheriff of Norfolk, 1888; had served in the Crimea. On the 9th, aged 46, **Harry W. Cox**, one of the earliest experimenters with the Röntgen Rays, and a martyr to the resultant dermatitis. On the 9th, aged 59, **Ignazio Marsengo Bastia**, Italian Deputy for Vigone, Minister of Posts and Telegraphs in the second Fortes Ministry, 1906. On the 9th, aged 77, **Colonel Ernest Le Pelley**, sometime 5th Fusiliers, an Indian Mutiny veteran. On the 12th, killed while alighting at the Bournemouth aviation meeting, aged 82, the **Hon. Charles Stewart Rolls**, youngest s. of Lord Llangatock; one of the earliest British motorists and aviators; had made numerous ascents, driven in many motor races, and broken speed records; had written much on motoring, and flown across the Channel and back on June 2, 1910. On the 13th, aged 83, the **Rev. George Pruen Griffiths**, Hon. Canon of Gloucester and Vicar of St. Mark's, Cheltenham, which he had largely helped to build. On the 13th, **Richard Fennington**, President of the Law Society in 1892-3, and for many years active in its work. On the 13th, aged about 65, the **Rev. George Ensor**, the first Church of England (Church Missionary Society) Missionary in Japan (1869-72), from 1897 to 1909 Vicar of Heywood, Wilts. About the 13th, aged 68, **Dr. Robert Grant, C.E., E.N.**; had distinguished himself in the Kaffir Wars of 1877-9 and the Egyptian Campaign in 1882. On the 14th, aged 87, the **Ven. Charles Thomas Wilkinson, D.D.**, Prebendary of Exeter, since 1888 Archdeacon of Totnes; Vicar of St. Andrew's, Plymouth, 1870-1901; Chaplain in Ordinary to Queen Victoria, 1899-1901. On the 14th, aged 78, **Colonel Percy William Powlett, C.B., C.S.I.**, late Indian Army, sometime President of Western Rajputana, which he did much to improve; distinguished in the Indian Mutiny. On the 14th, aged 93, **Admiral Charles Wright Bonham, R.N.**; had served at the sieges of Oporto and Tripoli, under Captain (later Admiral) Rous in his famous voyage in H.M.S. *Pique*, and at the capture of Lagos in 1852. On the 17th, aged 41, **John Bennett Carruthers, F.R.S.E.**, Assistant-Director of Agriculture at Trinidad; had held scientific posts under the Governments of Ceylon and the Malay States. On the 19th, aged 81, **Mme. Delphine Ugalde**, a famous Parisian comic opera singer under the Second Empire. On the 20th, aged 62, **Sir Charles Lewis Tupper, K.C.I.E.**; a distinguished member of the Indian Civil Service; had served on the Viceroy's Legislative Council, and written on Indian law and history; retired, 1907. On the 21st, aged 84, **Léopold Delisle**, an eminent and scholarly writer on mediæval history; Chief Librarian of the Bibliothèque Nationale, 1874-1905, and subsequently a Curator of the Condé Museum at Chantilly. On the 22nd, aged 80, **Sir Augustus Cholmondeley Gough-Calthorpe**, sixth Baron Calthorpe; had stood as Conservative candidate for Birmingham in 1880; succeeded his brother, 1898; m., 1869, Maud, dau. of the Hon. Octavius Duncombe; succeeded by his

brother; was an eminent breeder of Shorthorns. On the 22nd, aged 78, **William James Money, C.S.I.**, private secretary to Sir James Outram throughout the Mutiny; was thanked by the Governor-General in Council, and mentioned in despatches; retired 1879. On the 25th, **Baron Albert d'Anethan**, Belgian Minister to Japan since 1893. On the 25th, aged 65, the **Hon. Robert Torrens O'Neill**, Unionist Member for Mid Antrim from 1885 to 1909. On the 26th, aged 78, **Hawes Craven**, scenic artist to Sir Henry Irving at the Lyceum Theatre. On the 26th, aged 82, the **Rev. Robert Harley, F.R.S.**, sometime Principal of Mill-Hill School; a prominent Congregational Minister, and distinguished in mathematics and symbolic logic. On the 26th, aged 72, **Henry Weston Eve**, sometime Headmaster of University College School, and previously a master at Wellington College; had written excellent school books; Dean of the College of Preceptors. On the 27th, aged 44, **Sir Henry Doughty Tichborne**, twelfth baronet; the baronet on whose behalf the claim of Arthur Orton was resisted by the trustees of the estate in 1871-4; m., 1867, **Mary**, dau. of Edward Henry Petre; succeeded by his s. On the 27th, aged over 70, the **Rev. John James Horatio Septimus Pennington** (originally Sparrow), Rector of St. Clement Danes since 1889; had placed stained windows in it commemorating Dr. Johnson and other former parishioners, and a statue of Dr. Johnson. On the 27th, aged 66, **Alderman Andrew Peter Andersen** of Newcastle-on-Tyne; a Dane by birth; Mayor of Newcastle, 1903-4. About the 28th, aged 77, **Lieut.-General Sir James Clerk-Rattray**, sometime 90th Regiment; distinguished in the Crimes and Indian Mutiny. About the 30th, aged 68, **Archip Knindsaki**, a Russian painter of distinction; described as "the Russian Turner." On the 30th, aged 79, the **Rev. William Benham, D.D.**, Rector of St. Edmund, Lombard Street, and Hon. Canon of Canterbury; had begun life as an elementary schoolmaster; Vicar of Addington, 1867-73, and of Margate, 1873-80; author or editor of many volumes, including a Dictionary of Religion; Boyle Lecturer, 1897. On the 30th, aged 45, **William Marcus de la Poer Horeley-Beresford**, fourth Baron Decies; well known as an owner of racehorses; m., 1901, **Maria**, dau. of Sir John Willoughby; succeeded by his brother. On the 30th, aged 64, **Colonel the Hon. Lewis Dawnay**, sometime Coldstream Guards; Conservative M.P. for Thirsk, 1880-4, and for the Thirsk Division of the North Riding, 1885-92. About the 31st, aged 75, **John G. Carlisle** of Kentucky, Secretary of the United States Treasury under President Cleveland, 1892-8; an eminent lawyer; had been in the Kentucky Legislature and Lieut.-Governor of the State, Speaker of the Lower House of Congress, and a member of the Senate. In July, at Nagpur, India, **Major George Murray Rolland, V.C.**, Indian Army; had served with distinction in the Somaliland Expedition of 1903.

AUGUST.

Earl Spencer.—The Right Hon. John Poyntz Spencer, fifth Earl Spencer, K.G., and a prominent Liberal ex-minister, died on August 18 at his seat at Althorp, Northants, aged 74. He came of an old Northamptonshire family, and was the eldest s. of Frederick, the fourth Earl, by his first wife Elizabeth, dau. of William Poyntz, M.P., of Cowdray Park, Sussex, and was nephew of the famous Viscount Althorp who was Chancellor of the Exchequer and Leader of the House of Commons at the time of the first Reform Bill. Educated at Harrow and Trinity College, Cambridge, he became Liberal member for South Northants in 1857, but succeeded his father in the earldom at the close of the year, and m., 8 July, 1858, **Charlotte**, dau. of Frederick Seymour, a lady of great beauty and charm; she died without issue October 31, 1903. After holding various posts at Court, he was appointed Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland in Mr. Gladstone's first Administration, which covered the difficult period marked by Irish Disestab-

lishment, the Land Act and the Peace Preservation Act of 1870. Retiring with the Government in 1874, he was appointed Lord President of the Council in Mr. Gladstone's Cabinet of 1880, but after the "Kilmainham Treaty," in 1882, succeeded Earl Cowper as Lord-Lieutenant. On the day he was sworn in Mr. Burke and the new Chief Secretary, Lord Frederick Cavendish, were murdered in Phoenix Park, and the Government was compelled, while making concessions, to pass and enforce a new and stringent Crimes Act. For this Earl Spencer was furiously attacked by the Nationalists, and his action in supporting, after inquiry, the verdict and sentence in the Maamtrasna case was assailed in the House of Commons by Lord Randolph Churchill and the Fourth Party. In 1886, having become a convert to Home Rule, he joined Mr. Gladstone's Ministry as President of the Council; and in 1892 he became First Lord of the Admiralty. Here he was a most efficient administrator, his term being marked by the introduction of

the "destroyer" type, and by the increased shipbuilding programme of 1894. He would have been Mr. Gladstone's own choice as the next Prime Minister, and was spoken of subsequently in that connection, and he was prominent in Liberal councils till attacked by a serious cerebral seizure in 1905, which compelled him to retire from political life. He was Lord-Lieutenant of Northamptonshire from 1892 to 1908, and was thrice Master of the famous Pytchley Hounds. He was known as the "Red Earl" from the colour of his beard, but the term was applied in another sense by his Irish assailants in 1882-5. He was succeeded by his half-brother, who was summoned to the House of Lords as Viscount Althorp in 1905, and was previously, as the Right Hon. C. R. Spencer, Liberal member for North Northants.

Florence Nightingale, the originator of the Crimean War Nursing Service and of modern military nursing, died at her house in South Street, Park Lane, London, on August 13, aged 90. The daughter of Mr. W. E. Nightingale, a country gentleman, she was born at (and called after) Florence on May 12, 1820, and brought up at Lea Hurst, Derbyshire. She was well educated at home in classics, mathematics, and modern languages, and, as the Squire's daughter, she visited the villager in sickness from her childhood. Seeking instruction in nursing, she visited the principal hospitals in London, Dublin, Edinburgh, and various Continental towns, and was trained as a nurse among the Protestant sisters of Kaiserwerth, near Düsseldorf. In 1850 she successfully reorganised the Home for Sick Governesses in Harley Street; and in 1854, when *The Times* had revealed the sufferings of the wounded in the Crimea, she volunteered to go out to nurse them. Her letter to the Secretary of War (afterwards Lord Herbert of Lea) was crossed by one from him inviting her to take the superintendence of a body of trained nurses, and within a week she set out with thirty-eight. She organised matters admirably at Scutari, in the face of great difficulties and some opposition and calumny, and inspired the utmost devotion among the troops. She did much for the men in other ways, organising reading and recreation rooms and a money order office, and, in spite of an attack of fever, remained in the Crimea until the evacuation. A national testimonial fund was started in her honour, which ultimately exceeded 45,000*l.*, and was applied to establishing the Nightingale Home for Training Nurses con-

nected with St. Thomas's Hospital, as she refused all public recognition for herself. Her exertions broke down her health, and for the rest of her life she was a confirmed invalid, but she wrote valuable books on nursing, and was consulted by the British Government, and during the American War of Secession and the Franco-German War of 1870. Of her books, "Notes on Nursing" (1860) was circulated very widely, and she also wrote "Life or Death in India" and various works on hospitals and military hygiene. She also did much for midwifery nursing. She received the Order of Merit in 1907, being the only woman in the Order, and the freedom of the City of London in 1908, an honour conferred on only one other woman, Baroness Burdett-Coutts.

The Very Rev. Edward Charles Wickham, Dean of Lincoln since 1893, died of pneumonia at Sierre, Switzerland, on August 18, aged 75. The son of a successful private schoolmaster at Hammersmith, he was sent to Winchester as "Founder's Kin," and in due course became a scholar of New College, Oxford, where he took his degree in 1856, and gained the Latin Verse and Chancellor's Latin Essay Prizes, as well as First Classes in Moderations and Literæ Humaniores. After holding a mastership at Winchester, he returned to New College as Fellow, and was Tutor from 1859 to 1873. He initiated, or helped to initiate, great changes; tutors were appointed from outside, and allowed to marry; open scholarships were awarded, so that the College ceased to be purely a community of Winchester men; and all undergraduate members of it were required to read for honours. In 1873 he was appointed Headmaster of Wellington College in succession to Dr. Benson, afterwards Primate. He proved a capable administrator, and greatly advanced the College. In 1893 Mr. Gladstone, whose eldest daughter, Agnes he had married twenty years earlier, appointed him to the Deanery of Lincoln, and he took an active part in the life of the diocese. He was an earnest and thoughtful preacher, and a finished scholar; and he had edited and translated Horace successfully.

Mr. Justice Walton.—Sir Joseph Walton, a Justice of the King's Bench since 1901, died suddenly at his country house in Suffolk on August 12, aged 65. The son of Mr. Joseph Walton of Fazakerley, Lancs, he was educated at Stonyhurst, took first class honours in mental and moral science, 1865, and was called to the Bar in 1868. He went the

Northern Circuit and practised in Liverpool for a time, and "took silk" in 1892. He became a Bencher of Lincoln's Inn in 1896, and Chairman of the General Council of the Bar in 1899; he had been made Recorder of Wigan in 1895. As a mercantile lawyer he had long held a leading position before his elevation to the Bench. He was an excellent Judge, and was much interested in the charitable work of his Church, the Roman Catholic. His chief recreation was yachting. He m., 1871, Teresa, dau. of N. D'Arcy, and left a family.

Professor William James, of Harvard University, one of the foremost psychologists and most brilliant and original philosophers of his time, died on August 27, aged 63. The s. of the Rev. Henry James, an American minister of religion with a strong bent towards mysticism and great independence of thought, and the elder brother of Henry James, the well-known novelist, he studied at the Lawrence Scientific School and at Harvard, eventually graduating in medicine in 1870. In 1872 he became a teacher of physiology and comparative anatomy in his University, but his main interest soon came to lie in the physiological departments of mental science, and after 1878 he taught psychology and philosophy, becoming Professor of the former subject in 1880, and eventually exchanging it for the Chair in the latter, which he held till 1907. In the 'eighties he made many contributions to *Mind*, and in 1890 published his "Principles of Psychology," which at once established his reputation. In 1892 he published a "Textbook of Psychology," and in 1895 "The Will to Believe" and other Essays; in 1901-2 he delivered the Gifford Lectures in Edinburgh University, afterwards published under the title of "Varieties of Religious Experience"; and he was the chief prophet, though not the originator, of the philosophical creed known as Pragmatism, which may be most compendiously characterised as bearing much the same relation to the philosophy of the Hegelians as the attitude of Protagoras did to that of Plato. He himself, however, would probably have repudiated this descrip-

tion, for his exposition of Pragmatism, given in his Hibbert Lectures delivered at Oxford in 1907, and published under the title "A Pluralistic Universe," contains an eloquent protest against the customary connection of modern theories with the supposed anticipations of them in the history of philosophy, and against "professionalism" in the study. His education and attitude, indeed, were scientific rather than historical or scholarly, and his style was marked by a brilliancy and freshness rare among professed students of metaphysic. He had done excellent work in experimental psychology, and was one of the most suggestive and stimulating of contemporary writers. "He could not write the shortest note," said the *Athenæum*, "without flashing out a memorable phrase." He had a singular power of intuition, and was, therefore, an admirable teacher. The *Temps* described him as "the greatest American philosopher since Emerson," and his work was well known and appreciated in Europe. He was profoundly interested in hysteria, hypnotism, and the phenomena of spiritualism, and his careful investigation of the last-named had led him to more affirmative conclusions than are reached by most investigators.

Edward Linley Sambourne, the *Punch* cartoonist, died in London, on August 3, aged 65. The s. of a City merchant, he was educated at the City of London School and Chester College, and was for some years an engineer student at the famous works of Messrs. Penn at Greenwich. In 1867 he sent a drawing to *Punch*, and thereafter was a regular contributor until his death, being associated with Sir John Tenniel as cartoonist until the latter retired in 1901, when Sambourne became the leading cartoonist. He was a versatile, careful and ingenious draughtsman, and a genial caricaturist. Besides his work for *Punch*, he illustrated several books, notably Kingsley's "Water Babies," and designed the diploma for the Fisheries Exhibition. He m., 1874, Marion, dau. of Spencer Herapath, F.R.S., and left a s. and dau.

On the 1st, aged 75, the Rev. Herbert Kynaston, D.D. (originally Snow), Canon of Durham and Professor of Greek in Durham University; from 1874 to 1888 Principal of Cheltenham College; distinguished in his career at Cambridge alike as a scholar and as a oarman; had been stroke of the University Eight in 1886; and edited Theocritus. On the 2nd, aged 68, the Right Rev. John Baptist Cahill, Roman Catholic Bishop of Portsmouth since 1900. On the 3rd, aged 65, Oscar Guttmann, M.I.C.E., a high authority on the chemistry of explosives. On the 4th, aged 73, the Rev. Sir George Boughey, fifth baronet, sometime Rector of Forton, Newport; succeeded his brother in 1906; m., 1875, Theodosia, dau. of the Rev. Charles Royds; succeeded by his s. On the 4th, aged 83, Sir Lytton Holyoake Bayley, sometime Attorney-

General of New South Wales, and from 1869 to 1895 a Judge of the High Court of Bombay; long Commander of the Bombay Rifle Volunteers. On the 5th, aged 63, **George Danford Thomas, M.D.**, Senior Coroner for the Counties of London and Middlesex; Unionist candidate for West Islington at the election of 1885. On the 6th, aged 49, **Henry Paul Todd-Naylor, C.S.I., C.I.E.**, Commissioner in Burma and member of the Lieut.-Governor's Executive Council. On the 7th, aged 79, the **Rev. the Hon. Robert Henley**, for forty-five years Vicar of Putney; nephew of the Premier, Sir Robert Peel. On the 7th, aged 94, the **Rev. Hay Sweet-Escott**, Headmaster of Somersetshire College, Bath (since discontinued), from 1858 to 1873. On the 7th, aged 57, **Johannes Fussangel**, member of the German Reichstag for Arnberg-Olpe-Meschede, 1893-7; a militant member of the Catholic Centre. On the 8th, aged 64, the **Rev. Frederick Alfred John Hervey**, Canon of Norwich, and from 1878 to 1907 Rector of Sandringham. On the 8th, aged 60, **Captain George Henry Dean**, 12th Lancers, Chief Constable of the Metropolitan Police. On the 9th, aged 66, **Sir William Neville Abdy**, second baronet; succeeded his father, 1877; High Sheriff of Essex, 1884; m. (1), 1883, **Marie Theresa Petritz**, of Prague; (2), 1902, **Eliza**, dau. of Oscar Beech, whom he divorced; (3), 1909, **Fanny**, dau. of L. Cohn and widow of General G. P. Robinson; succeeded by his brother. On the 9th, aged 82, **Archibald Peel**, s. of General Peel, Secretary for War in Lord Derby's Cabinet, 1866-7; had stood for Parliament as a Peelite in 1869 for Devonport; prominent in Denbighshire County affairs. On the 9th, aged 82, the **Very Rev. William Conyngham Greene**, Dean of Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin, from 1887 to 1907. On the 11th, aged 64, **Sir Augustus Arthur Perceval**, eighth Earl of Egmont; succeeded his cousin in 1897; had previously been a second mate in the merchant service, a London fireman, the Keeper of Chelsea Town Hall, and a cement manufacturer; m., 1881, **Kate**, dau. of Warwick Howell of South Carolina; succeeded by his brother. On the 12th, aged 74, **Robert Treat Paine**, President of the Peace Society of America and a prominent philanthropist. About the 12th, aged 75, **Adolf Michaelis**, Professor of Classical Archaeology at Strassburg from 1892 to 1909; nephew and collaborator of the great scholar Otto Jahn; author of standard works on the Parthenon (1871), the Nereid Monument at the British Museum (1874), and a work translated under the title of "A Century of Archaeological Discovery." On the 14th, aged 74, **William Archer Amherst**, third Earl Amherst; had served in the Coldstream Guards in the Crimea, and represented, as a Conservative, West Kent 1859-63, Mid Kent 1868-80; was summoned to the House of Lords as Baron Amherst in 1880; succeeded his father, 1886; m. (1), 1862, **Julia**, dau. of the last Earl Cornwallis; (2), 1889, **Alice**, dau. of Edmund Probyn, and widow of the eighth Earl of Lisburne; succeeded by his brother. On the 14th, aged 68, **Lieut.-Colonel Sir Fleetwood Isham Edwards, E.G., G.C.V.O.**, Keeper of Queen Victoria's Privy Purse from 1895 to her death, and one of her Executors; Sergeant-at-Arms in the House of Lords 1901-10, afterwards Paymaster-General. On the 14th, aged 54, found drowned in a pool near Malvern, **Frank Podmore**, a well-known writer on spiritualism, telepathy, and psychical research. On the 14th, one day before completing his hundredth year, the **Rev. Charles Michael Turner**, Hon. Canon of Chester, and from 1862 to 1896 Rector of Aldford, Cheshire. On the 14th, **Lady Guendolen Ramsden**, wife of Sir John Ramsden, fifth baronet, dau. of the twelfth Duke of Somerset, and editor of the correspondence of the eleventh duke with his brother (pub. 1909). On the 15th, aged 67, **Sir Charles Pearson**, Judge of the Scottish Court of Session (with the title of Lord Pearson) 1896-1909; previously Conservative M.P. for Edinburgh and St. Andrews Universities; Lord Advocate, 1891-2 and 1895-6. On the 15th, aged 100, **Richard Peter**, Mayor of Launceston, 1864-5; the oldest magistrate who took the oath to King George V.; an antiquary of some local distinction. On the 16th, aged 59, **Lieut.-General Frederick George Slade, C.B., E.A.** (retired); had served with distinction in the Zulu, Boer, and Egyptian Wars, the Soudan Expedition of 1884, and that up the Nile in 1888. About the 16th, aged 75, **Professor Friedrich Julius von Neumann** of Tübingen, a distinguished political economist. On the 16th, aged 70, **Charles Ferdinand Leneveu**, a French operatic composer. On the 17th, suddenly, in Bremen, aged 62, **Señor Pedro Montt**, President of the Republic of Chile since 1906; had been prominent for over forty years in the public life of his country, and had successfully promoted peace with Argentina, railway development, and a sound currency and financial policy. On the 17th, **Robert Grenshaw Dunville**, a prominent Belfast distiller and benefactor of the town and the University. On the 18th, aged 81, **Sir Constantine Holman**, Vice-President of the British Medical Association, and an eminent physician. On the 18th, aged 61, **Henry Andrade Harben**, chairman of the Prudential Assurance Company, and for many years a Municipal Reform member for South Paddington in the London County Council. On the 20th, aged 87, **Sir James Langrishe**, fourth baronet; prominent in Kilkenny County affairs; succeeded his father, 1862; m., 1857, **Adela**, dau. of Thomas de Blois Ecoles; succeeded by his s. On the 21st

aged 51, Colonel **Reginald George McQueen McLeod, D.S.O., E.A.** (retired); had served with distinction in the South African War. About the 21st, **Arthur Cocquard**, a French orchestral and operatic composer of some note. On the 22nd, aged 84, **Gustave Moynier**, President of the International Red Cross Committee. On the 22nd, aged 56, **Laurence Morton Brown**, Stipendiary Magistrate of Birmingham, 1905; previously Recorder of Tewkesbury and Gloucester. On the 23rd, aged 61, **Sir George Robson Palmer**, second baronet, s. of the founder of the Palmer Works at Jarrow; succeeded his father, 1907; long settled in business at Genoa; unmarried; succeeded by his brother. On the 24th, aged 82, the **Very Rev. George Oakley Vance, D.D.**, Dean of Melbourne since 1894, first Headmaster of Geelong Grammar School, and prominent in the Church life of the Commonwealth. On the 24th, **General José Galvez**, Minister of the Interior in Argentina. On the 26th, aged 72, **George Watson Smyth, C.B.**, Assistant Secretary of the General Post Office from 1888 to 1908. About the 26th, aged 79, **Admiral Alfred John Chatfield, C.B.**; had served with distinction in the Russian and Ashanti Wars, and in the engagement between the *Shah* and the *Huascar* in 1877. On the 27th, aged 77, the **Rev. Francis Charles Hingeston-Randolph**, Prebendary of Exeter, and since 1860 Rector of Ringmore, Devon; an authority on architecture, and editor in the *Rolls Series*; had edited the Episcopal Registers of the mediæval Bishops of Exeter. On the 28th, aged 78, **Professor Paolo Mantegazza**, of Pavia; one of the most eminent of Italian physicians and authorities on hygiene; sometime Deputy for Monza in the Italian Parliament; a member of the Italian Senate, and author of many popular works. On the 27th, aged 59, the **Very Rev. Vincent Lewis Rorison, D.D.**, Dean of St. Andrews since 1890, and Provost of St. Ninian's Cathedral, Perth; active in the work of the Scottish Episcopal Church. On the 29th, aged 97, the **Rev. Robert Frew, D.D.**, of the United Free Church; the oldest Presbyterian Minister in Scotland. On the 30th, aged 91, the **Right Hon. Hedges Eyre Chatterton**, Vice-Chancellor of Ireland from 1868 to 1904, and previously Solicitor-General and Attorney-General for Ireland in Lord Derby's Ministry of 1866; an eloquent advocate and prominent yachtsman. On the 30th, aged 68, **Colonel Sir Charles Bean Euan-Smith, K.C.B.**, sometime Indian Army; had served in the Abyssinian Expedition and the Afghan War of 1879-80, Agent and Consul-General at Zanzibar, 1889-91; Minister in Morocco, 1891-3. On the 30th, aged 66, **General Sir Frederick William Edward Forestier Forestier-Walker, G.C.M.G., K.C.B.**, Colonel King's Own Borderers; had served with distinction in South Africa, 1878-9; succeeded General Butler in the command in that country in 1899, and been in charge of the lines of communication during the Boer War; Governor of Gibraltar since 1905; had commanded in Egypt, 1890-5. On the 31st, aged 57, **M. Albert Vandal**, of the Académie Française, an authority on French diplomatic history, especially on the position of France in the Near East and the relations of Napoleon and Alexander I. of Russia. The following deaths were also among those recorded: **Seyid Mohamed Rahim**, Khan of Khiva since 1865, aged 66, converted actually as well as nominally into a vassal of Russia in 1872; **Dr. Heinrich Julius Holtmann**, aged 78, Professor of Theology at Strassburg, an eminent theologian of liberal views; **Dr. Friedrich Giesebrecht**, Professor of Theology at Königsberg, an Old Testament scholar; and **Albert Masey**, editor of the (London) *Outlook* since 1900.

SEPTEMBER.

William Holman Hunt, O.M., one of the original "Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood" of painters, died at his house in Kensington on September 7, aged 83. B. April 2, 1827, in the City of London, the s. of a warehouse manager, he begun life as an auctioneer's clerk; but he took up painting when sixteen, supporting himself by portraiture and studying at the Royal Academy Schools. His first picture exhibited at the Royal Academy (1844) was "Hark!" a portrait of a child. At these schools he made friends with Millais and Rossetti. The trio read Ruskin's "Modern Painters," described Raphael's "Transfiguration" as marking a decline in art, and so were termed "Pre-Raphaelites" by their fellow-students. They adopted the title for the

"Brotherhood" (of seven) whose aspirations were expressed in the famous periodical *The Germ*. Leaving convention and tradition, they sought to paint nature as it is. Hunt's early pictures found little favour; and he could only continue his career through a loan from Millais's parents. His first distinctly Pre-Raphaelite picture was "The Vow of Rienzi" (1849); "The Hireling Shepherd" (1852) was more successful, and marks a period in his art; then followed "Strayed Sheep," "The Awakening Conscience," and, in 1854, the famous "Light of the World," painted (for 400*l.*) for Mr. Combe of the Oxford University Press, and left by him to Keble College. This sum enabled the artist to visit Palestine, where, camped

by the Dead Sea, he painted his "Scapegoat" (exhibited 1856)—which was some time in finding a purchaser—and "The Finding of Jesus in the Temple" (finished in England). This established his fame; it was sold for 5,500 guineas, then the "record" price for a British contemporary picture. Of his many other paintings mention can only here be made of "Isabella and the Pot of Basil" (1866), a return to his earlier subjects; "London Bridge on the night of the Prince of Wales's Marriage" (1867), now at Oxford; "The Afterglow," "The Festival of St. Swithin" (1868), and "The Shadow of Death" (1873), the most famous of his later pictures, and a return to his religious sphere of work. Of a widely different type is his "Lady of Shalott" (1889). "The list of his works," wrote a fellow-member of the Brotherhood, F. C. Stephens, "is a record of primitive Pre-Raphaelitism slightly modified by a larger experience"; but his painting was usually elaborately symbolic and didactic, and penetrated by religious or moral feeling. In its execution, each colour is painted precisely as it was in nature, without the subjective harmony imposed by the observer (*cf.* sketch of his art by Williamson, 1902), and so the picture is, as it were, a mosaic. His later works were exhibited at the Grosvenor and New Galleries. He published an account of Pre-Raphaelitism in 1905, and received the Order of Merit on G. F. Watts's death in that year. His second marriage was with his deceased wife's sister, and he actively supported the Act passed in 1907.

The ex-Archbishop of York.—**The Most Rev. William Dalrymple MacLagan**, Archbishop of York from 1891 to 1909, died of pneumonia at his house in London on September 19, aged 84. The s. of an officer of the Army Medical Service, he was b. in Edinburgh on June 18, 1826, was educated at the Edinburgh High School and entered the Madras Cavalry, retiring as lieutenant in 1852. He went up to Peterhouse, Cambridge, was eighteenth Junior Optime in 1856, and, though his family had been Presbyterian, he was ordained in the Church of England, and became curate first of St. Saviour, Paddington, and then of St. Stephen's, Marylebone. From 1860 to 1865 he was secretary of the London Diocesan Church Building Society, and was afterwards Curate of Enfield and then Rector of St. Mary, Newington. From 1875 to 1878 he was Vicar of St. Mary Abbots, Kensington, where he showed great organising ability and attracted large congregations. He was

made Bishop of Lichfield in 1878, and worked indefatigably in his diocese, and in 1891 was offered and accepted the Archbishopric of York. Here he visited all his parishes as soon as possible, established a theological college, and worked in harmony with the Nonconformists of his diocese. He was a decided disciplinarian and a High Churchman, though opposed to the extremists. One of his regulations limited the preaching of deacons; and he established a guild of youths contemplating ordination. He joined Archbishop Benson and, later, Archbishop Temple, in defending Anglican Orders in a letter to the Pope, and he paid a private visit to the Orthodox Church in Russia. He m. (1), 1860, Sarah, dau. of George Olapham, who died 1862; (2), 1878, the Hon. Augusta, fifth dau. of the sixth Viscount Barrington, and left three sons and a dau.

M. Alexander Nelidoff, Russian Ambassador in Paris, died there on September 18, aged 73. B. at Kischineff in Bessarabia, he entered the Russian Foreign Office in 1857, and specialised on the Eastern Question, and in 1877 was Councillor of the Russian Embassy at Constantinople under General Ignatieff, during the Russo-Turkish War. He joined the Tsar's diplomatic staff when the Russian Army was marching on Constantinople, assisted in negotiating the armistice and settling the peace preliminaries in January, 1878, and was one of the Russian signatories of the Treaty of San Stefano, which he prepared and signed. From 1883 to 1897 he was Russian Ambassador at Constantinople; in 1897 he was transferred to Rome, in 1903 to Paris. He was believed to disapprove strongly the Russo-Japanese War, but he loyally resisted the temptation to lay stress on the feeling against it in France—which to some extent imperilled the Franco-Russian alliance—and dwelt in his despatches on the efforts of the French Government to limit the area of hostilities and to avert a conflict with Great Britain over the Doggerbank incident in 1904, and on the hospitality shown to Admiral Roshdestvensky's fleet in Russia and China. He strenuously exerted himself to compose the quarrel arising out of the Doggerbank incident, and for this and other reasons was made President of the Second Hague Congress in 1907, over which he presided with great dignity and skill. *The Times* described him as a "typical Russian gentleman of the old school," and as devoted to the Orthodox Church.

Hormuzd Rassam, a well-known travel-

ler and explorer in the East, died at Hove on September 16, aged 84. B. at Mosul on the Tigris, in 1826, and the brother of the British Vice-Consul at that place, he assisted Mr., later Sir Henry, Layard in his Assyrian researches, and carried on similar work afterwards till 1854, when he was appointed to a post at Aden, and subsequently held various posts in the Consular Service. In 1864 he was sent to Abyssinia by the British Government to obtain the release of the Europeans imprisoned by King Theodore; he succeeded, but a few months after their release they were again imprisoned, and so was he, and they were only released on the arrival

of the British force in 1868. Mr. Rassam later made other explorations in Assyria, and inquired, for the Foreign Office, into the condition of the Westorian Christians in Asia Minor in 1877. In 1893 he brought an action against a British Museum official for libel in connection with his researches and recovered 50l. damages. He was singularly successful in his discovery of antiquities, among them that of the Royal library of Assurbani-pal at Nineveh and the bronze decoration of the palace gates of Shalmaneser. He m., in 1877, Anne, dau. of Captain Spencer Price, and left a family.

On the 2nd, aged 76, **Hector Fabre, C.M.G.**, Commissioner-General for Canada in France since 1882, in early life a French-Canadian journalist. About the 2nd, at Cintra, **Professor Pedrosa**, President of the Lisbon Geographical Society. On the 3rd, aged 82, **Alexander Sinclair**, one of the proprietors of the *Glasgow Herald*, author of "Fifty Years of Newspaper Life." On the 3rd, aged 43, the **Right Hon. Algernon William Yelverton**, sixth Viscount Avonmore; succeeded 1885; m., 1890, Mabel, dau. of George Evans; left one dau.; the title became extinct. On the 4th, **Henri Rousseau**, an eccentric French painter, known as "le primitif moderne," and a leader of the "Post-Impressionists." On the 5th, aged 79, **Sir Thomas Ekins Fuller, K.C.M.G.**, Agent-General in London for Cape Colony, 1902-7; originally a Baptist Minister; sometime editor of the *Cape Argus*; member of the Cape Parliament, 1878-92. On the 6th, aged 65, **William Thomas Law, M.D.**, a pioneer in the open-air treatment of phthisis; interested in the case of *Foreythe v. Law* in February, 1902, in which he was victorious. On the 6th, aged 82, the **Rev. Charles Maurice Davies, D.D. Durham**; a classical scholar of repute, a Press correspondent in the Franco-German War, and interested in psychical phenomena; had edited the series of classical translations made for Cecil Rhodes. On the 8th, aged 84, **Dr. Emily Blackwell**, sister of Dr. Elizabeth Blackwell (p. 128), and one of the earliest women physicians in America. On the 8th, aged 61, **George John Courthope**, a Kentish landowner, Chairman of the Kent County Council, and father of the M.P. for Rye. On the 8th, aged 65, **Major Moseley Mayne**, sometime Bombay Staff Corps; had served with distinction in the Afghan War of 1878. On the 8th, aged 73, **Professor Emil Friedberg** of Leipzig University, a distinguished authority on ecclesiastical law. About the 8th, aged about 75, **Captain John Charles Francis Ramesden**, sometime R.H.A., had served at the relief of Lucknow; a Surrey County alderman. On the 9th, at Boston, U.S., aged 51, **Lloyd Bowers**, Solicitor-General of the United States since March, 1909. On the 10th, aged 58, the **Rev. Herbert Charles Pollock**, Vice-Dean and Canon Missioner of Rochester, long Warden of St. Mary's Home, Stone; had conducted missions in South Africa and New Zealand; an earnest worker and preacher. On the 10th, aged 79, **Sir Charles Elphinstone Stirling**, eighth baronet; succeeded his brother, 1861; m., 1867, Anne, dau. of James Murray; succeeded by his s. About the 10th, aged 67, **Professor Hermann Breymann** of Munich University, an authority on Romance Philology. On the 11th, aged 86, **Emmanuel Frémiet**, an eminent French sculptor, especially of animals; best known by his equestrian statue of Joan of Arc. On the 11th, aged 70, **John Langton, F.R.C.S.**, sometime Hunterian Professor of Pathology and Surgery in the College of Surgeons, and for many years on the Staff of St. Bartholomew's Hospital. On the 12th, aged 64, **Jason Rigby**, director of several Argentine railway companies, sometime general manager of the Buenos Ayres and Rosario Railway; an engineer by profession; had served in youth on a bold surveying expedition in almost unexplored regions of Brazil. On the 12th, aged 59, **Cuthbert Arthur Erereton, M.I.C.E.**; had been concerned in the construction of the Barry, Middlesborough, and Surrey Commercial Docks, and part of the London underground railway system. On the 12th, aged 67, the **Right Rev. Nathaniel Dawes, D.D.**, St. Alban Hall, Oxford, Bishop of Rockhampton from 1892 to 1908, previously Coadjutor Bishop of Brisbane, and the first Bishop actually consecrated in Australia. About the 12th, aged 68, **Admiral Morin** of the Italian Navy; a Genoese; Minister of Marine under Crispi, 1893-6, under Saracco in 1900, and under Zanardelli in 1901; Foreign Minister in the last-named Cabinet in 1893; a Senator. On the 12th, aged about 75, the **Rev. William Henry Mann**, for many years a leading Congregational Minister in South Africa. About the

12th, aged 61, **Arasukke Sone** (Viscount Sone), Japanese Resident-General in Korea since 1909; Japanese Ambassador in Paris, 1893-7; subsequently held various Cabinet posts, including the Ministry of Finance during the Russo-Japanese War. On the 13th, aged 68, **Sir George Christopher Trout Bartley, K.C.B.**, Unionist M.P. for North Islington, 1885-1906, one of the founders of the National Penny Bank, and for many years its managing director. On the 14th, aged 84, **Lombe Atthill, M.D.**, a prominent Dublin practitioner and eminent gynaecologist. On the 14th, aged 61, **William Clark Cowie**, Chairman of the British North Borneo Company; originally an engineer in the mercantile marine; went out in a steam launch of fourteen tons to Singapore, and entered the service of the Sultan of Linga; then secured the cession of North Borneo to himself to save it from conquest by Spain during the Sulu War and afterwards transferred it to the British North Borneo Company, in whose management he took an active part; one of the latest of the series of great British adventurers. On the 14th, at Qudshania, Turkey in Asia, through an accident, the **Rev. William Henry Browne, L.L.M.**, since 1886 connected with the Assyrian Mission and Resident at the Court of the Patriarch of the East Syrian Christians. On the 15th, aged 7 months, **Prince Maurice Francis George of Teck**, youngest s. of Prince and Princess Alexander of Teck, and nephew of the Queen. On the 16th, aged 77, **George Howell**, Liberal-Labour M.P. for Bethnal Green, N.E., 1885-95; in early life a Chartist; engaged in the Reform League agitation, 1866; Secretary of the Trade Union Congress, 1860-76; served on the Gold and Silver Commission, 1886-8; wrote "The Conflict of Capital and Labour," and other works; withdrawn from political life for some years by failing sight. On the 16th, aged 74, **Lewis Rundle Starkey**, Conservative M.P. for the West Riding of Yorkshire (Southern Division), 1874-80, High Sheriff of Notts, 1891. On the 16th, aged 57, **Miss Augusta Mary Wakefield**, founder of the Westmorland Competitive Musical Festival, the first of many of its kind in England. On the 17th, aged 63, **Professor Theobald Fischer** of Marburg University, an authority on geography and explorer of the Atlas Mountains. On the 19th, aged 59, **Sir John Pickersgill Rodger, K.C.M.G.**, Governor of the Gold Coast since 1903; had previously served in various Malay States as British Resident; had done much to develop the Gold Coast. On the 19th, aged 75, **Père Ollivier**, an eminent French Dominican preacher at Notre Dame. On the 20th, at Vienna, aged 53, **Josef Kalnz**, of the Vienna Burgtheater, one of the best known of German actors. About the 20th, **James Cove Jones** of Loxley Hall, Stratford-on-Avon, High Sheriff of Warwickshire in 1878 and prominent in county affairs. On the 21st, aged 50, **Emilius Alexander Young**, for some twenty-five years manager of Lord Penrhyn's slate quarries, in which capacity he resisted the great strike of 1899. On the 22nd, aged 89, **Louisa, Lady Rothschild, née Montefiore**; m., 1840, Anthony de Rothschild, who was created a baronet in 1847 and died in 1876; alluded to by Thackeray in "Pendennis"; the friend and hostess of many distinguished men. About the 22nd, aged 70, **General Charles B. Brayton, U.S.A.**, a Civil War hero and a prominent Rhode Island Republican. On the 23rd, aged 59, **William Leatham Bright**, second s. of John Bright, and Liberal member for Stoke-on-Trent, 1886-90. On the 23rd, aged 83, the **Rev. Frederick Bathurst**, Archdeacon of Bedford, 1873-1910, and Hon. Canon of Ely Cathedral, for over forty years Proctor in Convocation for the diocese of Ely. On the 24th, **Wilhelm Von Pittler**, inventor of the Pittler lathe and other ingenious machines. On the 24th, aged 73, **Professor Louis Jacobi**, an eminent German architect, who had restored the Roman fort on the Saalburg near Homburg. On the 25th, aged 84, **Mme. Pasteur, née Laurent**, widow and coadjutor of the famous bacteriologist. On the 25th, aged 72, **Lieut.-Colonel J. Bramley Ridout**, late 80th Regiment; by birth a Canadian, he had served in India; had done much for musketry training when instructor at Hythe, and had helped to found the Army and Navy Veterans' Association. On the 26th, **John Fell, D.L.** of Plan How, Ulverston, chairman of the Lancaster Quarter Sessions, 1886-1903, Mayor of Barrow, 1882-5, and actively connected with the industries of that town and the local affairs of North Lancashire. About the 26th, aged 65, **Duncan Cameron Fraser**, Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia, and from 1904 to 1906 Judge of the Supreme Court; previously a Liberal member of the Dominion Parliament, and in earlier life a Minister of the province. About the 26th, **E. Dawson Rogers**, founder of the National Press Agency, and first editor of the *Eastern Daily Press* of Norwich; long editor also of the Spiritualist paper *Light*. On the 29th, **Virginia, Countess Somers**, widow of the third Earl Somers; commemorated by Thackeray in a paper in *Punch* in 1850; painted by Watts; and in youth one of the most beautiful women of her day. About the 29th, **Professor Fulgence Raymond** of the Saltpêtrière Hospital, Paris, one of the highest contemporary authorities on nervous diseases. On the 29th, **Harry Smith**, Liberal M.P. for Falkirk Burghs, 1892-5. On the 30th, aged 74, **Winslow Homer**, an eminent American painter, largely of military scenes and negro and maritime life. On the 30th, aged 72, **M. Maurice Lévy**, an eminent engineer in

the French Government service and a high authority on hydraulics and hydrodynamics. On the 30th, aged 49, Colonel Claude de Courcy Hamilton, E.A., C.B.; had served with distinction in two Indian campaigns and in the Boer War. On the 30th, aged 77, General Julius von Verdy du Vernois, Prussian War Minister in 1889-90; had served on Moltke's staff in the Franco-German War, and was an eminent authority on strategy. Among the deaths recorded during the month were also those of Dr. Karl Dändliker, a leading Swiss historian; of M. J. A. Emmanuel Chauvet, Professor of Philosophy at Caen, 1870-89, author of a work on the early history of medicine; and of M. Emile Raymond Blavet, sometime of the *Figaro*, a French novelist and journalist of note.

OCTOBER.

Prince Francis of Teck.—Prince Francis Joseph Leopold Frederick of Teck, K.C.V.O., D.S.O., died at a nursing home in London on October 22, aged 40. The second s. of the Duke and Duchess of Teck (Princess Mary of Cambridge) and brother of the Queen, he was born January 9, 1870, educated at Wellington and Cheltenham, entered the 1st Dragoon Guards and later the Egyptian army, and served in the Nile expeditions of 1897 and 1898, and eventually in the South African War, where he was mentioned in despatches. He was a keen soldier, thorough in all he did, and with marked ability; he was very popular with a large circle of friends, and in his later years he was Chairman of the Board of Management of the Middlesex Hospital, and actively devoted himself to promoting its financial and general welfare.

The Master of Christ's College, Cambridge, Dr. John Fells, Litt.D., Cambridge, Fellow of the British Academy, died at his official residence on October 9, aged 72. B. at Whitehaven on April 24, 1838, and educated at Repton and St. Bees, he became scholar of Christ's College, Cambridge, in 1859, and was bracketed senior in the Classical Tripos and also for the Chancellor's Medals in 1860. In 1869 he published an excellent "Introduction to Greek and Latin Etymology" (partly superseded by the advance of the science some ten or fifteen years later), and from 1884 to 1891 he was University Reader in Philology. He was elected Master of the College in 1887, was Vice-Chancellor in 1891, and was active both in promoting the growth and welfare of his College and University reform, including the higher education of women.

Mr. John Willis Clark, Registry of Cambridge University from 1891 to September 30, 1910, and noted alike as a zoologist and an antiquary, died at Cambridge on October 10, aged 77. The s. of the Rev. W. Clark, Professor of Anatomy in the University from 1817 to 1866, he was born in Cambridge, and

passed his working life there. Educated at Eton and Trinity College, he was bracketed twelfth in the First Class of the Classical Tripos in 1856 and was elected Fellow of his College. After travelling much on the Continent, he was made Superintendent of the University Zoological Museum at its formation in 1866, and he did much to promote its usefulness and to forward zoological study in the University. His own speciality was the department of marine mammals, on which he wrote several memoirs; but he wrote also a number of architectural, bibliographical and other works, the best known being an architectural history of the University, based on a MS. left by his uncle, Professor Willis. He zealously promoted the interests of the other Museums of the University and of its Library, collecting 20,000*l.* for the last-named institution. He was active in the management of the Amateur Dramatic Society, and initiated the performance of Greek plays by it in 1882. He m. in 1873 Frances, daughter of Sir A. Buchanan, G.C.B., sometime Ambassador to St. Petersburg and Vienna; and his son, Mr. W. H. Clark, was appointed Commercial Member of the Viceroy of India's Council in 1910. Few members of the University have been more popular or have displayed more activity in so many divergent provinces of study.

Mrs. Julia Ward Howe, the authoress of the "Battle Hymn of the Republic," died at her home at Middletown, Rhode Island, on October 17, aged 91. Born in New York City on May 27, 1819, she was the daughter of a New York banker of strict Evangelical views; her paternal grandfather had been Governor of Rhode Island; one of her sisters was the mother of the novelist, F. Marion Crawford; a brother was "Sam" Ward, a well-known figure in New York Society. She was carefully educated, and early developed literary tastes. In 1843 she m. Dr. Samuel Howe, the educator of Laura Bridgman; he died in 1876. She was associated with the "Brook Farm" reformers of 1840; travelled widely after

her marriage on the Continent and in England; meeting Sydney Smith, Carlyle, Rogers, Landseer, and Dickens; published a volume of verse, "Passion Flowers," in 1858, and later a drama, "The World's Own"; wrote essays and gave addresses on ethics, and became an ardent follower of Theodore Parker, the Transcendentalist, and a conspicuous figure in Boston literary society. She was associated with Charles Sumner and the Abolitionists in combating slavery, and later in life with the famous Boston Radical Club. An ardent advocate of universal peace and women's suffrage, she presided at a Woman's Congress in Paris in 1877, and assisted in the English movement which led to the foundation of Girls' High Schools. Her literary fame rests mainly on the "Battle Hymn," "Mine eyes have seen the glory of the coming of the Lord," written after a review near Washington to provide fitting words for the popular tune of "John Brown's Body." She was interested to the last in women's suffrage, and a letter from her on the subject appeared in *The Times* together with the notice of her death.

King Chulalongkorn of Siam, died at Bangkok on October 23, aged 57. The favourite s. of King Mongkut Pra Chom Klao, he succeeded to the throne on his father's death in 1868, when only fifteen.

He had been educated partly by an American lady, whose son had initiated him into European forms of exercise; and he exhibited considerable energy both in bodily and in literary exercises. He and his brothers—with whom, unlike Oriental rulers generally, he was on the best of terms—resolved to instruct themselves by travel; he visited India in 1870, and did his best to organise his country on a European pattern, to bring it into relations with European Powers, and to promote its internal development. He freed himself from the influence of the Regent, and conferred all the chief offices of State on his brothers; and in 1887 he secured the perpetuity of the system he had established by appointing one of his sons as Crown Prince. Unfortunately he relaxed his hold on the Ministers after they had been combined into a Cabinet in 1891, and allowed the country two years later to drift to the verge of a war with France which would have involved Great Britain. This danger was averted, and its recurrence precluded by the Anglo-French agreement of 1904, and the King, after a period of ill-health, recovered his powers, though he practically left the control to his Ministers. His sons and nephews were educated in Europe, and he left the country well organised, well governed and progressive. In his later years he paid several visits to Europe.

On the 1st, aged 67, **Professor Rudolf Chrobak** of Vienna University, a gynecologist of repute. On the 2nd, aged 76, **Philip Pennant Pennant**, of Bodfari, Flintshire; originally named Pearson, he succeeded to the Pennant estates in default of male descendants of the well-known naturalist and traveller, Thomas Pennant; High Sheriff of Flint, 1862. On the 2nd, aged 85, **Alfred Benham-Carter**, C.B., Referee of Private Bills in the House of Commons, 1886-1908; joint-editor with Sir R. Palgrave of May's "Parliamentary Practice." On the 2nd, aged 55, **Prince Henry XXIV. of Reuss-Köstritz**; m., 1887, Princess Elizabeth of Reuss-Köstritz; was a musical composer of some distinction. On the 3rd, aged 58, **Melchior Treub**, a native of Holland; director 1880-1909 of the Government Botanical Gardens at Buitenzorg, Java: greatly developed the study of tropical agriculture and the cultivation of tobacco and rubber in Java. On the 4th, aged 74, **Sir Pattenon Nickalls**, head of a leading firm of stockjobbers; had been Liberal candidate for the Sevenoaks division of Kent in 1885, and for the Dartford division in 1895. On the 4th, aged 48, **Archibald Patrick Thomas Borthwick**, seventeenth Lord Borthwick in the peerage of Scotland; succeeded his father, 1885; m., 1901, Susanna, dau. of Sir Mark John MacTaggart Stewart, Bart.; a representative Peer for Scotland; left one dau. On the 5th, aged 77, **Professor Ernst von Leyden** of Berlin, an eminent physician and authority on the diseases of the spinal cord. On the 5th, aged about 49, **Cecil Huntington Leaf**, F.R.C.S., a senior surgeon at the Cancer Hospital and an authority on the disease. On the 7th, aged 60, **Sir Joseph Thomas Firbank**, member of a well-known firm of contractors and Unionist M.P. for East Hull, 1895-1906. On the 7th, aged 76, **Gilbert Wray Elliot**, an Indian civilian who had served during the Mutiny and aided in the settlement of the succession to the dignity of Gaekwar of Baroda in 1875. On the 7th, aged 76, **Mrs. Isabel Thorne**, a qualified medical practitioner; had seen the need of medical women for the East while living in China, and had taken a principal part in founding the London School of Medicine for Women. On the 10th, aged 101, **Lieut.-Colonel John Bower**, sometime Indian Army, and the oldest British officer; had served as a county magistrate for Hants till nearly 100. On the 10th, aged 68, **Alfred H. Stokes**, Chief Inspector of Mines in the Midland district, 1887-1909; had twice effected rescues of

miners at great personal risk; held the Albert Medal of the first class. On the 10th, aged 70, **Dr. John Anderson, C.I.E.**, late Army Medical Service, Lecturer on Tropical Diseases in St. Mary's Hospital; was on the Marquess of Ripon's staff during his Viceroyalty. On the 10th, aged 67, **William Maris**, one of a family of three eminent Dutch painters, a landscapist of note. On the 12th, aged 87, **George William Bell**, for many years connected with the Law Fire Insurance Company, founder of the Boys' Home in Regent Park Road, and an active philanthropist. On the 13th, aged 89, **Joseph John Henley, C.B.**, general inspector of the Local Government Board, 1867-91; s. of the Right Hon. J. W. Henley, M.P., sometime President of the Board of Trade; had served on various Royal Commissions. On the 14th, aged 65, **Alexander Low (Lord Low)**, one of the Lords of Session from 1890 to 1910, previously Sheriff of Ross and Cromarty and Sutherland; had tried in the first instance the case between the Free and United Free Churches, finally decided by the House of Lords in 1904. On the 14th, aged 69, **Vice-Admiral Comte Marie-Edgard de Maigret** of the French Navy; had served with distinction in Tonkin in 1883, and held high office in the naval administration. On the 14th, aged 76, **Sydney Einger, M.D., F.R.S.**, Emeritus Professor of Medicine at University College, an authority on materia medica and other departments of medicine; had made important researches in connection with the heart. On the 14th, aged 60, **Alfred Henry Huth**, a well-known bibliophile, and biographer of Buckle the historian. On the 14th, aged 92, the **Rev. Robert Godolphin Petre**, sometime Fellow and Tutor of Jesus College, Cambridge, for many years Rector of Cavendish, Suffolk. On the 14th, aged 80, **Eudolf Lindau**, sometime Secretary of the German Embassy at Paris, and German member of the Ottoman Debt Administration; had written various novels and short stories. On the 15th, aged 65, **Jameson John Macan, M.D., Camb.**, an eminent gynaecologist. On the 15th, aged 75, **Dr. Richard Koch**, President of the German Imperial Bank from 1890 to 1907, and a member of the Prussian Upper House; had been prominent in codifying German commercial law and building up the German banking system. On the 16th, aged 52, **Jonathan Prentiss Dolliver**, U.S. Senator for Iowa since 1900; a native of West Virginia, and Congressman for Iowa, 1891-1900; one of the best speakers in the Senate and a leader of the Republican "Insurgents." About the 16th, aged 68, **Colonel Edward Pilon Ommanney**, Indian Staff Corps; had served with distinction in the Chinese War of 1860 and in various Indian frontier campaigns. On the 17th, aged 60, **Sergius Andreevitch Mourontseff**, President of the First Russian Duma, a Constitutional Democrat and for many years an active reformer; a jurist, and member of an old Moscow family. On the 18th, aged 93, **Richard Robbins**, a prominent citizen of Launceston and an active Liberal; wrote the well-known letter "The Hungry Forties," widely circulated as a leaflet during the fiscal controversy. About the 19th, aged 70, **Colonel George Baker, C.B.**, sometime 67th Regiment; had served with distinction in the Chinese, Afghan, and Burmese Wars. On the 20th, aged 85, **General Thomas Thompson Eckert, U.S.A.**, sometime Assistant Secretary for War; had served with distinction in the War of Secession and afterwards had been prominent in telegraph management. On the 20th, at Vienna, aged 66, **Count Rudolf Khevenhüller-Metsch**, Austro-Hungarian Ambassador at Paris since 1908; had served in the Paris Embassy during the Franco-German War and the Commune (when the Duchesse de Galliera entrusted him with 40,000,000 francs for safe-keeping); afterwards successively Consul-General at Sofia, Minister at Belgrade—where he stopped the advance of the victorious Bulgarian army in 1885 by the authority of his Government—and Minister at Brussels; a very energetic and somewhat brusque diplomatist but with great social abilities. On the 20th, aged 67, **David B. Hill**, Governor of New York State, 1884-8, United States Senator, 1891-7, and a prominent candidate for the Democratic nomination to the Presidency in 1902. On the 20th, aged 56, **David Pearce Penhallow**, an American by birth, Professor of Botany at the McGill University, Montreal; had done much biological research. On the 22nd, aged 79, **Major-General William Edward Warrand, R.E.**; had been wounded in the Indian Mutiny; prominent in Notts county affairs. On the 22nd, aged 70, **Benjamin Traill Finch, C.I.E.**, Director in chief of the Indo-European Telegraph department, 1893-1902. On the 23rd, **Carlo Malagola**, an eminent Italian archivist, sometime keeper of the Archives at Venice. On the 24th, aged 75, **Mrs. Sorabji**, widow of the **Rev. Sorabji Kharsedji**; had taken a large part in promoting education in India. On the 24th, aged 65, **Ralph Glasenger**, Sheriff of London, 1909-10; Master of the Needle-makers' Company and prominent in civic affairs. On the 24th, aged 83, **Theodore Aston, K.C.**, a Bencher of Lincoln's Inn and an eminent authority on patent law. On the 24th, aged 78, **George Henry Maxwell Batten**, sometime Commissioner of Inland Customs in India; private secretary to Lord Lytton when Viceroy. On the 26th, aged 51, **Leonard Robert West**, stroke of the Oxford University Eight in 1880, 1881, and 1883; an Eton and Christ Church man. On the 28th, aged 48, the **Right Rev. Arthur Beresford Turner, D.D.**,

Keble College, Oxford, Anglican Bishop in Korea since 1906. On the 28th, aged 79, **John Adams-Acton**, a sculptor of eminence; among his works were the Wesley memorial in Westminster Abbey, the monument of Cardinal Manning in Westminster Cathedral, and busts of George Cruikshank (in St. Paul's) and Lord Brougham. On the 28th, aged 73, **Victor Masséna**, Prince d'Essling and Duc de Rivoli; had distinguished himself in the Franco-Austrian War of 1859, and been a member of the Corps Législatif under the Second Empire; had written various works. On the 28th, **Henrietta Labouchere nee Hodson**, wife of Mr. Henry Labouchere, M.P., and editor of *Truth*, and in the 'sixties an eminent actress. On the 28th, aged 49, **Colonel Percy John Tonson Lewis, C.M.G.**; Army Service Corps, distinguished in the Egyptian, Gambia, and Boer Wars. On the 29th, aged 75, **William James Harris**, Conservative M.P. for Poole, 1884-5; a "Fair Trader" and an active Cornish and Dorsetshire landlord. On the 30th, aged 68, **Colonel Outbert Larking**, late Colonel 4th Royal West Kent Regiment; gentleman usher of the Privy Chamber to Queen Victoria and King Edward. On the 31st, aged 85, **Sir William Agnew, Bart.**, Liberal M.P. for South-East Lancs., 1880-5, and for Stretford, 1885-6, one of the famous firm of picture dealers. On the 31st, aged 76, **Professor Desiré Gernes**, an eminent bacteriologist. On the 31st, aged 54, **Major Richard Eyre Gould-Adams**, sometime Highland Light Infantry, subsequently secretary to the Royal Military College, Sandhurst; served in the Afghan War, 1879, and was distinguished in the Egyptian campaign, 1882. In October, aged 67, **Charles van der Stappen**, a Belgian sculptor of distinction, director of the Brussels Académie Royale des Beaux-Arts. In October, **Dr. Johannes Strickler**, a Swiss historian and archivist.

NOVEMBER.

Count Leo Nicolaevitch Tolstoy, perhaps the most characteristic figure in Russian nineteenth century literary history, died at the little railway station of Astapovo in the Government of Riazan, Russia, on November 20, aged 83. He had left home with the knowledge (it was stated) of his children, but not of his wife, in consequence of a difference with the latter over his refusal of the Nobel peace prize and of an offer of 100,000*l.* from a firm of publishers for the copyright of his works, and, accompanied by his medical attendant, had proposed to end his life as a resident in a monastery, but had finally decided to take refuge in the Caucasus, when he was seized with bronchitis *en route*. The s. of a nobleman and cavalry officer, he was born on August 28, 1828 (O.S.) near Tula, about 130 miles south of Moscow. He lost his mother at the age of three, his father at nine; he was educated by an aunt, and later at the University of Kazan. A solitary, thoughtful boy, he, like many other Russians, got rid of his traditional religious creed in boyhood; and, after failing to pass his examination, settled on the paternal estate of Yasnaya Polana ("Fairfield"). He lived like other young men of his rank, visited the Caucasus in order to save money and pay off debts of honour; entered the army and saw service against the native tribes, and in 1854 served in the Crimean War, where he showed conspicuous bravery. He then settled in St. Petersburg, and continued the literary career which he had begun in the Caucasus,

but, face to face with the problem of the meaning and aim of life, retired to his estate, and tried to improve the condition of the serfs and give them education. As the result of his contact with them, he wrote stories of peasant life; and, after his marriage in 1862 to Miss Behrs, the daughter of a military officer at Tula, he made his fame by two novels, "War" and "Peace" (1863-5), and, ten years later, "Anna Karénina" (1875-6). But his meditations on the problem of life continued, and led him to the conclusion that science had no answer, that the answer of the Church was fettered by its dogmas, and that the simplest and most perfect expression of life was in the Gospels, and the nearest approach to it was achieved by the Russian peasantry. He handed over his property to his family, became a strict vegetarian and non-smoker, lived, dressed, and laboured as a peasant, and devoted himself to good works. His creed may be summarised as requiring the avoidance of dogma and ceremonial, of violence, of luxury and the exploitation of others, and of devotion to self; his effort was to live by the purely ethical part of the Sermon on the Mount (embodied in "My Confession" and other works). He was an ardent educational reformer, insisting on the inviolability of the liberty of the child and the use of moral influence only; and a convinced opponent of war. Two of his later novels must be mentioned, "The Kreutzer Sonata" and "Resurrection"—respectively embodying his ideas on the existing degradation of marriage and

on the possibilities of punishment. In the famine of 1891-2 he did admirable relief work. In his later years Yasnaya Polana was a place of pilgrimage for disciples, of whom his creed gained many in Western Europe as in Russia. He was, of course, an object of suspicion to the Russian Government; but they dared not make a martyr of him, and he was formally excommunicated by the Holy Synod only in 1901. But no evil consequence to himself followed either his appeal to the Tsar for reforms or his repeated protests against the Russo-Japanese War. A great artist, he sacrificed his art to his ethics; and the latter represented one side of the Russian peasant character, so that an English admirer has described him as "the Grand Old Mujik."

Admiral Sir Harry Holdsworth Rawson, G.C.B., Governor of New South Wales from 1902 to 1909, died in London, after an operation, on November 3, aged 67. S. of Christopher Rawson, J.P. for Surrey, he was born in Lancashire in 1843; educated at Marlborough College; had joined the Navy in 1867. As a Midshipman he served in the Chinese War of 1858-60 with considerable distinction, and as a lieutenant was one of the officers who took to Japan the gun-boat *Empress*, presented by Queen Victoria to the Mikado in 1868, and the nucleus of the Japanese Navy. Later, when a captain, he was principal transport officer in the Egyptian Campaign of 1882, and as a Rear-Admiral commanded the Cape of Good Hope station, in which capacity he carried out a punitive expedition against the Arab Chief Mourah in 1895, the bombardment of Zanzibar in 1896, and the capture of Benin in 1897. He was in command of the Channel Fleet at the death of Queen Victoria in 1901. He was extremely popular as Governor of New South Wales, and his term was lengthened by a year. In his earlier career he twice rescued men from drowning; and, amongst other valuable services to his country, he reported on the defences of the Suez Canal, and assisted in reviving the code of naval signals. He m. in 1871, Florence, dau. of John Shaw, Esq., of Arrowe Park, Cheshire, and had a family.

The Rev. Robert Flint, Professor of Divinity in the University of Edinburgh from 1876 to 1903, and previously Professor of Philosophy at the University of St. Andrews, died at Edinburgh on November 25, aged 72. B. in Dumfriesshire and educated at Glasgow University, he became Minister of the Church of Scotland at Killoonquhar in Fifeshire in 1862, and succeeded Ferrier in the St. Andrews Chair of Philosophy in 1864. Ten years later he published "The Philosophy of History in France and Germany," intended as the first of a series preparatory to an independent study of the subject, but his election to the Edinburgh Chair of Divinity in 1876 frustrated this plan, and he devoted himself to philosophical theology. His lectures on "Theism" and "Anti-Theistic Theories" were published in 1877 and 1879, after delivery as courses of lectures, and among his other works were a volume on Socialism (1894) and another on Agnosticism (1902). He began to expand his first work into a "History of the Philosophy of History," but only the volume on France, Belgium and Switzerland was published, though in 1884 he had produced a treatise on the work of the Italian Vicco. Among other works were a "History of Classifications of the Sciences" and a volume on "Philosophy as Scientia Scientiarum," 1904. He was a man of vast learning, an orthodox but liberal theologian, and a loyal supporter of the Scottish Establishment. He was never married.

M. J. Henri Dunant, founder of the International Red Cross Association, died at Heiden, Appenzell, on October 30, aged 82. B. at Geneva in May, 1828, he early advocated the cause of suffering humanity, writing on the slave systems of Mohammedan countries and the United States; and, being present as a spectator at the battle of Solferino, he was moved to organise aid for the wounded in war. His "Souvenir of Solferino" ultimately brought about the Geneva Conference of 1863 and the Congress of the following year which signed the Geneva Convention. His life subsequently was clouded owing to private pecuniary losses, and he was latterly supported by a fund raised by sympathisers.

On the 1st, aged 62, **Robert Walker Macbeth**, R.A., an able landscape artist and etcher. On the 1st, aged 64, **Melton Prior**, long the leading war artist of the *Illustrated London News*; from 1873 to 1904 was professionally engaged in almost every year in some war, including the Ashanti Expedition, the Russo-Turkish Wars, the Egyptian Campaign of 1882, and all the wars in South Africa. On the 1st, aged 66, **Sir George Sutherland Mackenzie**, K.C.M.G., C.B., Administrator of the Imperial British South Africa Company's territories, 1888-91, previously engaged in Persia, where he tried to open up the Karun River trade route. On the 3rd, aged 57, **H.S.H. Prince Francis**

Hatsfeldt-Wildenburg, well known on the turf; won the Grand National in 1906. On the 4th, at Antwerp, aged 75, **Edouard Coremans**, Clerical deputy for that city, 1868-1910, leader of the Flemish Nationalists. On the 5th, aged 74, **Theodore Cooke, C.I.E.**, Principal of the Poona College of Science and Director of the Botanical Survey of Western India, 1865-93, an eminent engineer and botanist. On the 6th, aged 70, **Frederick Platt-Higgins**, Conservative M.P. for North Salford, 1895-1906. On the 6th, suddenly, in New York, aged 62, **Sir Clifton Robinson**, long managing director of the London United Tramways Company, and a leading tramway engineer. On the 6th, **General Rougier**, a French Engineer officer; had presided over the completion of the French Soudan railway, 1900-4. About the 6th, **General von der Burg**, Chief of General Manteuffel's staff before Metz in the Franco-German War; said to have done much previously towards the discovery of French military secrets for his Government. On the 6th, aged 72, **Giuseppe Cesare Abba**, one of Garibaldi's Thousand; a poet who celebrated his leader's deeds in verse and prose, and an Italian Senator. On the 9th, aged 80, the Rev. **David MacEwan, D.D.**, for thirty-five years Minister of Trinity Presbyterian Church, Clapham Road, Hon. Sec. of the Evangelical Alliance. On the 11th, aged 63, **Sir Thomas Higham, K.C.I.E.**, Secretary to the Indian Public Works Department, 1897-1909, a high authority on irrigation. On the 12th, aged 72, **Lieut.-General Sir Charles Pennington, K.C.B.**; had served with distinction in the Indian Mutiny, the Afghan War, and the Egyptian Campaign of 1882. On the 13th, aged 85, the Rev. **William Ince, D.D.**, since 1878 Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford and Canon of Christ Church; sometime Scholar of Lincoln, and for many years Sub-Rector of Exeter College, Oxford; a moderate High Churchman. On the 13th, aged 64, **William Rogers Fisher**, head of the School of Forestry at Oxford, sometime of the Bengal Forest Department; a very high authority on his subject. On the 14th, aged 75, **John La Farge**, chief of contemporary American artists; eminent mainly in decoration and stained glass; had also painted Japanese and Samoan landscape; a distinguished author. On the 14th, aged 58, **Sir Alfred Edward Fairlie-Cunningham**, twelfth baronet; succeeded his brother 1897; m., 1885, Arabella, dau. of Frederick Church, R.N.; succeeded by a remote cousin. On the 15th, aged 92, **W. B. Horner**, one of the founders of the *Chicago Tribune*, and among the pioneers in cheap popular literature. On the 15th, aged 85, **Professor Julius Exner**, a well-known Danish painter. On the 15th, aged 79, **James Millican Goldie**, for many years of H.M. Customs, one of the founders of the Civil Service Co-operative Supply movement. On the 16th, aged 100, **John Randall, F.G.S.**, a Shropshire local historian and antiquary of merit. On the 16th, aged 70, **Joseph Frank Payne, M.D.** Oxon, for thirty years connected with St. Thomas's Hospital, long Harveian Librarian of the College of Physicians; Hon. Fellow and sometime Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford; a Fellow of various medical societies, and author of numerous and valuable medical treatises and memoirs. On the 17th, aged 79, **Wilhelm Raabe** ("Jakob Corvinus"), in the 'sixties a very popular German humorist and novelist; among his works were "Der Sperrlingasse," "Der Hungerpastor," and "Abu Telfan." About the 17th, the Rev. **E. Petavel, D.D.**, sometime pastor of the Swiss Protestant Church in London; author *inter alia* of a defence of the doctrine of conditional immortality. About the 20th, aged 73, **Gustave Worms**, a well-known French actor and teacher of acting, a member of the Comédie Française and Professor at the Conservatoire. On the 21st, **Surgeon-Major-General James Sinclair, M.D.**; had served with distinction in the Abyssinian Expedition of 1868. On the 21st, **David Dyce Brown, M.D.**, sometime an Assistant Professor in Aberdeen University, and a leading homœopathic practitioner in London. About the 21st, aged 69, **William Cheeseman**, a landscape artist of repute. On the 22nd, aged 84, **Mitchell Henry**, formerly of Kylesmore Castle, Galway; M.P. for Galway County, 1871-85; s. of Alexander Henry, sometime M.P. for East Lancashire and brother of J. S. Henry, M.P. for South-East Lancashire; originally a medical man, afterwards partner in a mercantile firm; an early Home Ruler of the type of Isaac Butt. On the 22nd, aged 88, **Walter Scott Seton-Karr**, Judge of the Bengal High Court, 1862-8, Foreign Secretary to the Indian Government, 1868-70; author of "Lord Cornwallis" in the "Rulers of India" series; had thrice been an unsuccessful (Conservative) Parliamentary candidate; active since his retirement in 1870 in public and charitable work. On the 22nd, aged 85, **Joseph Magnin**, a life member since 1875 of the French Senate; a Republican Deputy under the Empire, a member of the Government of National Defence, Finance Minister in M. de Freycinet's Cabinet of 1879, and from 1881 to 1897 Governor of the Bank of France. On the 22nd, aged about 78, the Rev. **Arthur Henry Faber**, Canon of York, Headmaster of Malvern College, 1865-80; sometime Fellow and Tutor of New College, Oxford. On the 23rd, aged 73, **Derabji Pestonji Cama**, an eminent Parsi merchant long settled in England; one of the founders of the Parsi Association of Europe; a generous benefactor and devoted Freemason. On the 24th, aged 64,

Angelo Mosso, Professor of Physiology at Turin University, and a member of the Italian Senate; eminent in his science, and inventor of the plethysmograph and other ingenious instruments. On the 24th, aged 67, **James Liddell Purves, K.C.**, a prominent barrister in Victoria and ex-member of the Legislative Assembly; one of the founders of the Australian Natives' Association. On the 25th, aged 78, the **Very Rev. James MacGregor, D.D.**, Chaplain-in-Ordinary to Queen Victoria and both her successors; Moderator of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland in 1891, and one of the most eloquent of Scottish Presbyterian Ministers. On the 25th, aged 69, **Thomas Humber**, one of the earliest promoters of the cycle industry. On the 27th, aged 80, the **Hon. Richard Oliver**, sometime Postmaster-General and Public Works Minister of New Zealand, and a life member of the Legislative Council; a native of Penseance; had done much to develop the Dominion. About the 27th, aged 69, **Michael Oudahn**, head of one of the leading meat packing firms of the United States; a native of Kilkenny Co. On the 27th, aged 87, **Miss Angelina Fraser**; had done much religious and social work for the tailors of London. On the 28th, aged 46, **Jessie Moore** (Mrs. Cairns James), well known as a member of the Savoy operatic company in the 'nineties of the last century; lady superintendent of the School of Musical and Dramatic Art. On the 29th, aged 62, **Henry Miller**, secretary of the Church Association, and connected with it ever since its foundation; a vigorous and fair fighter. On the 29th, aged 80, the **Rev. William John Hall**, for many years Minor Canon of St. Paul's and Rector of St. Clement, Eastcheap; editor of the "New Mitre Hymnal." On the 29th, aged about 60, **Señor Florencio Dominguez**, Argentine Minister in London since 1898; succeeded his father in the post. About the 29th, aged 72, **M. Berns Bellecour**, a well-known French painter of military scenes. On the 30th, aged 64, **Sir John Yarde Buller, Bart.**, second Baron Churston; succeeded his grandfather, 1871; m., 1872, **Barbara**, dau. of Admiral Sir Hastings Yelverton and the Marchioness of Hastings; succeeded by his s. On the 30th, aged 60, the **Rev. Benjamin Whitefoord, D.D.**, Prebendary of Salisbury, Principal of Salisbury Theological College, 1883-1907. On the 30th, aged 77, **Joseph Henry Houldsworth**, a well-known Scottish owner of racehorses. On the 30th, aged 80, **Thomas Nadauld Bruahfield, M.D., F.S.A.**, a well-known Devonshire antiquary.

DECEMBER.

The Duc de Chartres.—Robert Philippe Louis Eugène Ferdinand d'Orléans, Duc de Chartres, second s. of the Duc d'Orléans (s. of Louis Philippe) and of Princess Helena of Mecklenburg-Schwerin, died at the Château of Vineuil, St. Firmin, near Chantilly, on December 5, aged 71. He entered the Italian Cavalry and fought in it against Austria in 1859, and afterwards served on General McClellan's staff in the War of Secession, and—enlisting as a private soldier—in the Franco-German War of 1870-1. In 1883, for political reasons, he was placed on the retired list. He m., in 1863, his cousin, Princess Françoise, dau. of the Prince de Joinville, and left one s., the Duc de Guise, and two daughters, Princess Valdemar of Denmark (who died Dec. 4, 1909), and the Duchesse de Magenta.

Professor John Edward Bickersteth Mayor, President of St. John's College, and Regius Professor of Latin at Cambridge, editor of a well-known edition of Juvenal, and one of the most widely read and learned classical scholars of his time in Great Britain, died suddenly at Cambridge on December 1, aged 85. B. at Ceylon in 1825, the s. of a missionary,

and descended on his mother's side from the Bickersteth family, he was educated at Christ's Hospital, and subsequently at Shrewsbury under the famous Dr. Kennedy, proceeded to St. John's College, Cambridge, as a scholar, and was third Classic in 1848. After four years spent as a form master at Marlborough, he returned to take work at St. John's; edited classical works and a chronicle—the "Speculum Historiale" of the so-called Richard of Cirencester—for the Rolls Series, and served as University Librarian from 1864 to 1867. He was appointed Regius Professor of Latin in 1872. He was a man of extraordinarily wide and minute learning and great energy. He had for twenty-eight years been President of the Vegetarian Society.

Mr. Samuel Henry Butcher, since 1906 one of the members of Parliament for Cambridge University, and an eminent classical scholar, died after a long illness in London on December 29, aged 60. The eldest s. of the Protestant Episcopal Bishop of Meath, he was educated at Marlborough and Trinity College, Cambridge, where he obtained the Chancellor's medal and was Senior Classic in

1878. He was elected Fellow of his College, but vacated his Fellowship by marriage to Julia, dau. of Archbishop Trench of Dublin, and was elected Tutorial Fellow of University College, Oxford, in 1874. In 1882 he was elected Professor of Greek in Edinburgh University, a post he resigned in 1903 after the death of his wife in the preceding year. He published a brilliant work on "Some Aspects of the Greek Genius" (1891), collaborated with Andrew Lang in translating the "Odyssey," and produced also a treatise on Aristotle's "Theory of Poetry and Art," and critical texts of Aristotle's "Poetics and Demosthenes," and lectured at Harvard on Greek literature. He served on several Royal Commissions on University education, and in Parliament actively supported the Unionist cause. He was a brilliant man of letters as well as a scholar, and *inter alia* was a President of the British Academy and a Trustee of the British Museum.

Canon Emery.—The Rev. William Emery, B.D., Canon Residentiary of Ely and founder of the Church Congress, died at Ely on December 14, aged 85. Educated at the City of London School and Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, he was fifth Wrangler in 1847, and became Fellow, Tutor and Bursar of his College. In 1861 he was appointed Cambridge Preacher at the Chapel Royal, Whitehall, and when Senior Proctor at Cambridge he actively promoted the meeting in that town of the Cambridge Church Defence Association, which subsequently became the Church Congress. From 1864 to 1907 he was Archdeacon of Ely, and in 1890 was appointed Canon. His illness unfortunately kept him from the Jubilee meeting of the Church Congress. He was an active promoter of Church education.

Sir Charles Scotter, Chairman since 1904 of the London and South-Western Railway Company, died at his house at Kingston-on-Thames on December 13, aged 75. Beginning life as a clerk in the Manchester, Sheffield and Lincolnshire Railway Company at Hull, his birthplace, he rose in 1860 to be passenger superintendent, and in 1873 to be goods manager; from 1885 to 1897 he was general manager of the London and South-Western Railway, and subsequently a director, deputy chairman, and chairman of that line. Under his management it rose from a comparatively inferior position and became one of the best managed and most progressive of English railways, acquiring and

greatly improving the Southampton Docks and developing the express traffic. He promoted the construction of the Waterloo and City Tube Railway and did much for the staff of his line. He served on the Royal Commission on Accidents to Railway Servants in 1899, and was chairman of the Viceroyal Commission on Irish Railways, 1907-9. Created a baronet in 1907, he had m., 1856, Annie, dau. of William Watkinson and was succeeded by his s.

Mr. Frederick William Walker, Head Master of Manchester Grammar School, 1859-76, and of St. Paul's School, London, 1876-1905, died in London on December 13, aged 80. Educated at St. Saviour's School, Southwark, and at Rugby (as a day boy) under Dr. Tait, he won a scholarship at Corpus Christi College, Oxford, took first classes in Classical and second in Mathematical Moderations and Final Schools, and was Boden (Sanskrit) and Vinerian (Law) Scholar, and Fellow and Tutor of his College. He was called to the Bar, but turned to schoolwork, and proved an admirable organiser and stimulating teacher, making St. Paul's, which had just moved to Hammersmith, the leading nursery of classical scholars in England. He was a keen athlete and a man of great social gifts. He declined the Corpus Professorship of Latin at Oxford on Conington's death. He left one s., also a scholar of distinction.

Mrs. Mary Baker Eddy, the founder of the "Christian Science" Church, died at her house at Commonwealth Avenue, Boston, on December 4, aged 89. The daughter of a farmer, she was born at Bow, New Hampshire, on July 16, 1821; m. (1), 1843, George Washington Glover, a bricklayer; (2), 1853, Dr. Daniel Patterson, a dentist, from whom she was divorced in 1873; and (3), 1877, Asa G. Eddy, who died in 1883. She was said to have had some instruction in science, and some knowledge of ancient languages, and about 1866 discovered, or developed, her theory of "mind-healing," which was founded on—or had been anticipated by—the teaching of Phineas P. Quimby, a New Hampshire prophet, and that of Andrew Jackson Davis, "the Poughkeepsie Seer." She cured herself by it from a disease which the doctors had pronounced mortal in 1866, after her pastor had bidden her a final farewell. She then became known as a "mind-healer," and in 1867 started a school for the teaching of her method at Lynn, Mass., acquiring a large fortune by it and by the sale of her "Science and Health" (1875), which passed

through over 220 editions, and winning hosts of followers, largely among highly educated women, in the United States and the British Empire. The avowed principle of her creed was "Those who live Christ's life can do His works especially in healing." Though it can

hardly be said that the healers have realised this ideal, the creed is at least so far in accord with medical science as to recognise the power of mind and mental suggestion over bodily ailments and functions.

On the 1st, at Pietermaritzburg, aged 56, **Sir Henry Bale**, Chief Justice of Natal since 1901; knighted for legal services during the Transvaal War; Attorney-General and Minister of Education, 1897-1901; had twice refused the Premiership of his Colony. On the 1st, aged 44, **Count Adolf Gotzen**, Prussian Minister at Hamburg since 1908, sometime Governor of German East Africa; had explored the Rumida district of Central Africa and Lake Kion in 1893-4. On the 1st, aged 69, the **Right Hon. John Edward Ellis**, Liberal M.P. for Notts (Rushcliffe) since 1886, retiring through ill-health at the dissolution in December, 1910; Under Secretary for India, 1906, retired through ill-health early in 1907; a member of the Society of Friends, a benefactor of Nottingham, and a respected member of the House of Commons. On the 3rd, aged 79, the **Rev. William Monro Wollaston**, Canon of Gibraltar, sometime Fellow and Tutor of Exeter College; from 1874 to 1904 incumbent of St. Paul's English Church, Cannes, and prominent in English Church work on the Riviera. On the 4th, aged 88, the **Rev. Henry Earle Tweed**, Prebendary of Lincoln Cathedral, sometime Fellow and Tutor of Oriol College; from 1863 to 1890 Vicar of Coleby, Lincs. On the 4th, aged 72, the **Rev. Nicholas Kelynack**, author of a number of books on Cornish life. On the 6th, aged 77, **Michael Friedländer**, Ph.D., Principal of the Jews' College, London, 1856-1907; a profound Talmudist and Old Testament scholar, and a man of authority in the Anglo-Jewish world. On the 6th, aged 87, **General Sir James Frankfort Manners Browne**, K.C.B., Colonel-Commandant R.E.; had served with distinction in the Crimea and held numerous staff and other appointments, among them the Governorship of the Royal Military Academy, Woolwich, 1880-7. On the 6th, aged 91, **Francis Alfred Hawker**, for many years in the Exchequer and Audit Department, one of the founders of the Civil Service Co-operative Society, and the first member and ultimately Colonel of the Civil Service Volunteer Corps. On the 7th, aged 81, **Professor Ludwig Knaus**, of the Berlin Academy of Arts; a leading German painter, eminent as a colourist. On the 8th, aged 80, **General Sir Edward Gascoigne Bulwer**, sometime Royal Welsh Fusiliers; had served in the Crimea, distinguished himself in the Indian Mutiny, and among other important appointments had been Inspector-General of Recruiting (1880-5), and Lieutenant-Governor of Guernsey (1889-94). About the 8th, aged 70, **Captain George Ernest Shelley**, sometime Grenadier Guards, nephew of the poet Shelley; an eminent ornithologist; wrote a monumental work on the Birds of Africa, and another on the Sunbirds. On the 10th, aged 81, **Sir John Lawson**, of Brough Hall, Catterick, second Baronet; succeeded his father in 1865; m. (1), 1856, Mary Anne, dau. of F. S. Gerard; (2) 1870, Agnes, dau. of E. M. Seel; succeeded by his only s. On the 11th, aged 56, **Dr. Emil Reich**, by birth a Hungarian; had lived in the United States and France, and written many works in English; a man of extraordinarily wide learning, especially in history, an efficient teacher and extensive lecturer, and the author of many books containing novel and paradoxical views, notably "The Foundations of Modern Europe." On the 11th, aged 77, **Major-General Robert Children Whitehead**, C.B., sometime 97th Foot; had served with distinction in the Crimea and in the Zulu War of 1879; High Sheriff of Radnorshire, 1908. On the 12th, aged 86, **Eyre Crowe**, A.R.A., the oldest Royal Academician; brother of the well-known joint-author of the "History of Painting in Italy." On the 12th, aged 58, **Sir Robert Dundas**, of Arniston, second Baronet; sometime Scots Guards; distinguished himself as Major 3rd battalion Royal Scots in the South African War; succeeded 1909; m., 1898, Evelyn, dau. of Sir Graham Graham-Montgomery, third Baronet; succeeded by his brother. On the 12th, aged 78, **Professor Franz König**, Professor of Surgery at Berlin, 1895-1904; an authority on articular tuberculosis. On the 14th, aged 70, **Charles Hodgson Fowler**, an eminent ecclesiastical architect; long engaged on the restoration of Durham Cathedral; had designed or restored many churches, especially in the Eastern Midlands and the North of England. On the 15th, aged 72, the **Rev. Hereford Brooke George**, for many years Fellow and History Tutor of New College, Oxford; an authority on military history, and a well-known Alpinist; active in University work, and in the Volunteer movement. On the 15th, **Joel Cook**, since 1907 a representative of Pennsylvania in the United States Congress, and for many years financial editor of the *Philadelphia Ledger*; in the 'seventies and 'eighties Philadelphia correspondent of *The Times*. On the 15th, aged 57, the **Rev. Edward Bickersteth Ottley**, sometime

Prebendary of St. Paul's and since 1907 Canon Residentiary of Rochester Cathedral, sometime Principal of Salisbury Theological College. On the 15th, aged 47, **William Henry Charles Staveley**, F.R.C.S., a high authority on the diseases of children and a well-known fencer. On the 16th, aged 40, **M. Eugène Boverie**, a French sculptor of some celebrity. On the 17th, aged 75, **Lieut.-Colonel the Hon. Henry Walter Campbell**, sometime Coldstream Guards; served with distinction in the Crimea, and was Chairman of the London and South-Western Railway from 1899 to 1904. On the 17th, aged 80, **Sir Peter Spokes**, Mayor of Reading in 1869-70. On the 18th, aged 71, **Captain Alfred Hutton**, sometime King's Dragoon Guards, a high authority on fencing, on which he had written several works. On the 18th, aged 76, **John Martineau**, J.P. for Hants, biographer of Sir Bartle Frere and the Duke of Newcastle, and very active in charitable work. On the 19th, aged 56, **Colonel Henry Parry Carden**, late Duke of Cornwall's Light Infantry; had served with distinction in the Egyptian Campaigns of 1882 and 1884-5. On the 19th, aged 69, **Fitzherbert Wright**, High Sheriff of Derbyshire in 1902, and prominent in county affairs. On the 20th, **Valerie Susie, née Langdon**, widow of Sir Henry Meux, third and last baronet; a benevolent and immensely wealthy lady; under the name of "Mr. Theobalds" she won the Derby with Volodyovski in 1901. On the 20th, aged 54, **Sir Walter Orlando Corbet**, fourth Baronet, sometime Coldstream Guards; served with distinction in the Egyptian expedition of 1882; High Sheriff of Shropshire, 1888; succeeded his father, 1891; m., 1888, **Caroline**, dau. of Captain James Stewart; succeeded by his s. On the 20th, aged 72, **Herr Angelo Neumann**, Director of the German Provincial Theatre at Prague; previously at Leipzig; produced the Wagner cycle of operas there and in London. On the 21st, aged 55, **Sir Neil James Menzies of Menzies**, eighth Baronet, sometime Scots Guards, a large landowner in Perthshire; his estates were about to be sold; the title became extinct. On the 22nd, aged 72, **Major-General Charles Sheppey Sturt**, sometime Bombay Infantry, distinguished in the Abyssinian and Burmese Campaigns, a s. of the famous Australian explorer. On the 23rd, aged 56, **Joseph Pratt**, a noted mezzotint engraver. On the 23rd, aged 67, **Hussain Pasha Fakhri**, Minister of Public Works and Instruction in Egypt, 1894-1906, in which capacity he had rendered valuable service. On the 23rd, aged 76, **Count Franz Ballestrem**, President of the Reichstag, 1898-1906, a leader of the Centre party and representative of Lublinitz-Tost-Gleiwitz in Silesia. On the 24th, aged 80, **Gilbert Henry Heathcote Drummond Willoughby**, first Earl of Ancaster, twenty-fourth Lord Willoughby de Eresby (by his mother's side) and second Lord Aveland (succeeded 1867), joint Hereditary Great Chamberlain of England, M.P. for Rutland, 1856-67; a large landlord in Perthshire, Lincolnshire and Rutland; President of the National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children. On the 25th, aged 68, **Robert Mackenzie Smeaton**, LL.D., a distinguished Indian Civil servant. On the 25th, aged 87, the **Rev. William Edward Dickson**, Canon of Ely, and for thirty-seven years precentor of the Ely Cathedral; had written on organ building and Church music. On the 26th, aged 74, **Frederick Adolphus Philbrick**, K.C., County Court Judge of a Dorsetshire Circuit, and at various times a special commissioner of assize; an eminent philatelist. About the 27th, aged 43, **Lieut.-Colonel Richard Wharton Boger**, E.A., British Military Attaché at Tokyo; distinguished in the South African War; attached to the Japanese Army in Manchuria in 1895. On the 28th, aged 86, **Arthur**, third Lord Wrottesley; active in charitable work in Wolverhampton, and Lord-Lieutenant of Staffordshire, 1871-87; succeeded his father, 1867; m., 1861, **Augusta**, dau. of Lord Londesborough; succeeded by his s. On the 29th, aged 60, **John Johnson**, Liberal-Labour M.P. for Gateshead, 1904-10; a leading official of the Durham Miners' Association. On the 29th, aged 86, **Reginald Frank Doherty**, long lawn-tennis champion of England. On the 29th, aged 69, the **Rev. William Baker**, D.D., Headmaster of Merchant Taylors' School, 1870-1900, Prebendary of St. Paul's, Hon. Fellow of St. John's College, and sometime Fellow and Tutor; an able classical scholar and headmaster. On the 30th, aged 82, **Gustave Colin**, a prominent French landscape and marine painter. On the 31st, aged 83, **William George Probyn**, late Bengal Civil Service; had escaped with great difficulty with his wife and family from Futehgur during the Mutiny. In December, **Ludwig von Loeffts**, a Professor at the Munich Academy of Art, and a painter of historical and *genre* subjects. In December, **Albert Hartshorne**, an antiquary of eminence.

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