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*THE*  
ANNUAL REGISTER

A REVIEW OF PUBLIC EVENTS  
AT HOME AND ABROAD

FOR THE YEAR

1927

EDITED BY

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

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PREFATORY NOTE.

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



# MR BALDWIN'S SECOND CONSERVATIVE MINISTRY.

(TOOK OFFICE NOVEMBER 7, 1924.)

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<i>Lord Chancellor</i>	<b>Viscount Cave.</b>
<i>Lord Privy Seal, and Leader of the House of Lords</i>	<b>The Marquess of Salisbury.</b>
<i>Chancellor of the Exchequer</i>	<b>Mr. Winston Churchill.</b>
<i>Secretaries of State :—</i>	
<i>Home</i>	<b>Sir William Joynson-Hicks.</b>
<i>Foreign (and Deputy Leader of the House)</i>	<b>Sir Austen Chamberlain.</b>
<i>Dominions and Colonies</i>	<b>Mr. L. C. M. S. Amery.</b>
<i>War.</i>	<b>Sir L. Worthington-Evans.</b>
<i>India</i>	<b>The Earl of Birkenhead.</b>
<i>Air.</i>	<b>Sir Samuel Hoare.</b>
<i>Scotland</i>	<b>Sir J. Gilmour.</b>
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<i>Board of Education</i>	<b>Lord Eustace Percy.</b>
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<i>Minister of Labour</i>	<b>Sir Arthur Steel-Maitland.</b>
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<i>First Commissioner of Works</i>	<b>Viscount Peel.</b>
<i>Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster.</i>	<b>Viscount Cecil of Chelwood (till Oct. 20). <u>Lord</u> Cushendun (from Oct. 20).</b>

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<i>Civil Lord of the Admiralty</i>	<b>Earl Stanhope.</b>
<i>Financial Secretary to A. Treasury</i> {Mr. Ronald McNeil (till Oct. 20). Mr. A. M. Samuel (from Nov. 2).	
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<i>Secretary for Mines</i>	<b>Lt. Col. G. R. Lane-Fox.</b>
<i>Under-Secretaries of State :—</i>	
<i>Air</i>	<b>Sir Philip Sassoon.</b>
<i>Colonies</i>	<b>Hon. W. Ormsby-Gore.</b>
<i>Dominion Affairs</i>	<b>Lord Lovat.</b>
<i>Foreign</i>	<b>Mr. G. Locker-Lampson.</b>
<i>Home</i>	<b>Captain Douglas Hacking (till Nov. 10).</b>
<i>India</i>	<b>Sir Vivian Henderson (from Nov. 10).</b>
<i>Scotland</i>	<b>Earl Winterton.</b>
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Mr. Alexander M. MacRobert.

# ANNUAL REGISTER

FOR THE YEAR

1927.

PART I.

ENGLISH HISTORY.

CHAPTER I.

PEACE IN INDUSTRY.

THE year 1927 began in an atmosphere of industrial calm such as England had not known for several years. For the nonce there was no talk either of strikes on the part of the workers or of wage reductions on the part of the employers. An equilibrium had been established which both sides were unwilling to disturb, though neither was satisfied with conditions as they were. Both sides recognised that the immediate task before them was to repair the economic ravages caused by the great industrial upheavals of the previous year. Merchants had to recover lost markets and the working classes had to replenish their trade union funds. Neither side could afford the luxury of quarrelling.

The overseas trade returns published early in the year showed the precise extent to which British commerce had suffered during 1926. Imports for the year had been 77,852,000*l.* less than in 1925, and exports about 150,000,000*l.* less. The adverse trade balance was 465,406,000*2.*—the largest since 1919. During the seven months June-December inclusive, the value of coal imported amounted to 43,010,000*2.* against 11,000*2.* in the same period in 1925 (20,032,000 tons against 6,000 tons). The exports of coal in 1926 fell from 50,817,118 tons, valued at 50,477,211*2.*, to 20,596,571 tons, valued at 19,137,901*2.* Heavy decreases were also shown in the exports of cotton yarns and manufactures and of iron and steel and woollen and worsted goods.

A lurid light on the position to which the events of 1926 had reduced the working classes was thrown by a message issued at the end of the year by Mr. J. H. Thomas to his fellow-members

of the National Railway Union. The year, said Mr. Thomas, was one to which all of them would gladly bid adieu, and would long live in history for its disasters rather than its triumphs. He confessed himself "almost overwhelmed with pessimism" when he attempted to review the events of the year and their consequences. Even the N.U.R., which he had been accustomed to regard with pride as almost unbreakable, had only emerged from the ordeal "badly battered." He saw the best hope for the future in a spirit of loyal co-operation, to promote which he urged both the railway companies and the men to banish all vindictiveness.

It did not take long after the termination of the coal stoppage for the economic life of the country to return to a relatively normal condition. After being for several months a coal-importing country, England already by the end of 1926 had resumed her old position of a country exporting coal on a large scale. The revival of the coal industry brought with it a corresponding revival in those industries which had suffered with it. Before 1927 was far advanced, the number of unemployed had sunk once more to the neighbourhood of a million, in spite of the fact that there were still over a hundred thousand miners whom the industry had not been able to reabsorb.

The peace which reigned in industry was largely a peace of exhaustion, based on the fear of disturbing the existing equilibrium. That it should and could be placed on a more secure basis was an idea which could not fail to strike all who had the welfare of their country at heart. Two years previously Mr. Baldwin, almost alone, had preached the need of goodwill in industry in order to avoid an economic catastrophe. His warning had been unheeded and the catastrophe had occurred. Now voices were raised on all sides proclaiming the need of goodwill between employers and employed as an indispensable condition for restoring British trade to its former pre-eminence and bringing back prosperity to the country. In the early days of the year, while there was a lull in the political arena, this was the main topic of public discussion, both on the platform, and in the press. The note was first struck in the New Year's message sent by the Mayor of London to the King and in His Majesty's reply, which expressed the hope that "with united efforts and a spirit of mutual confidence and goodwill in our widespread industries we shall see a gradual but sure restoration of the trade of the country." Speaking on January 6 at Burnley, Mr. A. Henderson could say with much truth that the most important question of the moment was how all this talk about a new spirit in industry could be translated into concrete proposals such as would command the favour and confidence of men and women of the highest type in all classes. The movement culminated in a demonstration to foster the will to peace in industry held on January 16 at Derby,

at which Lord Burnham, the proprietor of the *Daily Telegraph* and Mr. Pugh, the late President of the Trade Union Council, were the principal speakers.

Unquestionably all these recommendations to cultivate a "better spirit" were taken to heart by large numbers both of employers and workpeople who might otherwise have given the rein to class antipathies. But if they sufficed to set bounds to the spread of class warfare, they could not exorcise it altogether from British industrial relations. If one section of the industrial world emphasised the importance of goodwill, there was another section, equally influential, which recked little of the idea. Mr. A. J. Cook, fresh from a visit to Moscow, resumed his preaching of the class war with all his old violence, and his appeals fell on not unwilling ears, for he was still *persona grata* with the miners. On the other side, the Federation of British Industries showed how little it cared for the friendship of the working class by petitioning the Government not to proceed with its Factory Inspection Bill, for which the workers were anxiously waiting. And the Trade Union Council, in spite of its breach with Mr. Tomsy, was still coquetting with the Russian trade unions, and attempting to obtain their affiliation to the Second International.

The cleft between the advocates and the opponents of goodwill in the industrial world had its political counterpart in a cleft between the moderate and the extremist sections in both the Conservative and the Labour Parties. The moderate elements—the "New Conservatives" on the one side and the "Right Wing" on the other—while they may not have been enamoured of the equilibrium which had been established in industry, were anxious not to disturb it by any political move until the country should have recovered from the exhausting conflicts of the previous year. But the more extreme elements on both sides paid no heed to such considerations. Those on the Conservative side, flushed with the Government's victory over the trade unions in the previous year, wished to follow it up by introducing legislation which would effectually cripple the power of those bodies to organise resistance, whether political or industrial, against the employing class; and those on the Labour side, weary of a policy of "gradualness" as a method of achieving Socialist ideals, were eager to resort to more drastic and less Parliamentary methods for securing their ends.

The leaders of the two parties, in deciding where to throw their weight among the conflicting sections of their followers, made their choice somewhat differently. Mr. MacDonald remained true to his principles, and in his public speeches at this juncture strongly upheld the policy of the "Right Wing" of the Labour Party, at the imminent risk of alienating the more advanced section. How restive these had become in the face of his attitude was shown by the fact that at its Conference in



January the Scottish Independent Labour Party—the very body which had originally secured the election of Mr. MacDonald to the leadership of the Labour Party—rejected a motion expressing disapproval of his recent utterances on the political and industrial situation only by a very narrow majority—61 votes to 57. Mr. Baldwin, on his side, made no attempt to revert to his standpoint of an earlier period, when he was still professing to model himself on Disraeli. It was significant that in a speech delivered at Bewdley on January 8, in which he reviewed the whole political situation, he had nothing to say on the subject of goodwill in industry of which he had been the apostle among the employing class two years previously. Apparently he had ceased to offer effective resistance to the extremer section in the party, and tended to place the Government more and more at their disposal. The "New Conservatives" watched this process with alarm, and at first made some timid protests; but, abandoned by their whilom leader, they soon relapsed into silence, and meekly submitted to the requirements of party discipline.

Party feeling at this juncture, having no bone of contention at home, found a somewhat curious battleground in the question of British relations with China. At the beginning of the year events took place in that country which completely undid the good work effected by Sir Miles Lampson during his stay in Hankow in December. Soon after his departure from that city the anti-British feeling flamed up again there. On January 4 a Chinese mob stormed the British and other foreign Concessions, and the bulk of the British residents found it advisable to retire with all speed to Shanghai, as did also those in all the other settlements in the Yangtze valley. The Government was at first of the opinion that the outbreak was a mere incident, and that the Nationalist authorities in Hankow would be able to restore and keep order, and to guarantee the security of the British residents. Before long, however, it came to the conclusion that the affair was serious and, in fact, symptomatic of anti-British feeling all over China, and that even in Shanghai the British residents would not be safe without additional protection. On January 16 the First Cruiser Squadron in the Mediterranean was ordered to stand by in readiness to proceed to China if required; and at a Cabinet meeting on January 21 it was decided to send there a Royal Marine battalion from Portsmouth along with a number of naval ratings and a contingent of the Royal Air Force. In making public these dispositions the Foreign Secretary stated that their sole object was to afford protection to British subjects who were in danger, and that there had been no modification in the conciliatory attitude of the Government towards Chinese Nationalism laid down in the Memorandum of December 18 (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1926, p. 136); on the contrary, conversations for placing British relations with **China**

on an equitable basis were still in progress at Peking and Hankow.

On January 24 the marines left Portsmouth amid scenes of great popular enthusiasm, and on the same day it was announced that four battalions had been put under orders to proceed from England to China. Yet while grasping the sword with one hand the Government continued with the other to hold out the olive branch. On January 27 it laid before the Chinese authorities, both in the North and the South, a statement setting forth the steps which it proposed to take without revision of treaties to meet the aspirations of the Chinese people. They included among other things the transfer to Chinese authority of the British Concessions at various Chinese ports, and were described by the Foreign Secretary as implying "an immediate and radical modification of the old Treaty position," and as being "an earnest of further modifications as soon as circumstances would permit." Further, in a speech delivered at Birmingham on January 29, Sir A. Chamberlain again insisted that the sending of troops to China was purely a precautionary measure, intended to safeguard the British population of Shanghai against the possibility of military or mob violence; that the sentiments of the British Government to Chinese national aspirations remained unaltered, and that Britain was only waiting to give effect to those sentiments in negotiations with a Government which could speak for the whole of China.

In spite of the assurances of the Foreign Secretary, the magnitude of the forces set in motion and the parade and circumstance which had accompanied the despatch of the first contingent aroused in the Labour Party the suspicion that the Government was embarking on, or at least drifting into, a policy of war. This was a prospect which it could not view with indifference, and both on national and party grounds it felt bound to intervene. The question was considered by a meeting of the National Joint Council—representing the Trade Union Council and the Executives of the National and the Parliamentary Labour Parties—held on January 26, as a result of which a deputation, led by Mr. George Hicks, the President of the Trade Union Congress, waited on the same day on the Foreign Secretary to obtain more precise information on the Government's intentions. After hearing his explanation, the National Council published a manifesto which amounted to a strong condemnation of the Government's action. The Labour movement, it said, deplored the flaunted military demonstration against the Canton Government, as being likely to make inevitable the misfortunes which it pretended to prevent, and to thwart the policy of negotiation and amicable settlement which the Foreign Office had appeared to pursue so far, and to substitute for it one of threats and defiance. The movement therefore called **for** a patient and honest pursuit of negotiations

with China, free **from** the menace of armed force, for the ultimate abrogation of inequitable treaties, and it also sent to the Chinese workers its most sincere sympathies and support in their endeavours to improve their economic conditions. The Council further telegraphed the terms of its resolution to Mr. Chen, the Chinese Nationalist Foreign Minister, with a covering letter in which it stated that it would do everything to procure such a settlement as would place China on a footing of national independence in the fullest sense of the term.

On the need for preventing war and for securing fair treatment **for** China there were no two minds in the Labour Party. But on the question of the despatch of troops to Shanghai, viewed purely as a defensive measure, opinion within the party was acutely divided. One section, of which the chief spokesman was Mr. J. H. Thomas, whole-heartedly supported the Government's action. Another section, in which Mr. Wheatley was conspicuous, as strongly condemned it. Mr. MacDonald showed some vacillation on the matter. At first, in an article in the *Forward*, he had commended the Government's action. But in a speech delivered at Daventry on January 29, he took up the standpoint of the Labour memorandum, and condemned the despatch of troops on the ground that it would foster anti-British feeling in China and render less secure the lives and property of British residents in the interior of the country.

On February 1 the Foreign Office at Peking formally protested against the despatch of British troops to China as being, in view of the friendly relations between China and Great Britain, a "most extraordinary action," and further as contrary to the Washington Agreement and the spirit of the Covenant of the League of Nations. The Government, of course, paid no attention to the protest, nor was it moved from its purpose by representations made by the Joint Labour Council in an interview with the Foreign Secretary on February 3. The Council received from Mr. Chen a message stating that its telegram of January 26 had alone rendered possible the continuance of negotiations, and it sent him a further telegram on February 4 assuring him that the British Labour Party stood firmly by its previous attitude. On the next day Mr. Chen delivered a speech in Hankow in which he declared that Sir A. Chamberlain's Birmingham speech was fundamentally unacceptable because it placed the feudal regime of Peking on a par with the Nationalist movement of Canton—a step which the latter could not tolerate.

Labour opposition to the Government's policy culminated in a great demonstration held in the Albert Hall on February 6 to demand the maintenance of peace with China. The Chairman, Mr. Hicks, expressed apprehensions that there was a war party in the Cabinet, supporting his view with a reference to a fighting speech made the day before by Mr. Churchill in which he had

said : " Last year we had Mr. Cook, this year we have Mr. Chen," The principal speaker was Mr. MacDonald, who again deplored the sending of the troops as a mistake and urged that they should be turned back before landing.

On January 21, eight months after the conclusion of the general strike, members of the Executives of the trade unions of the country to the number of twelve hundred met at the Central Hall, Westminster, to hold the " inquest " over that event which had been originally fixed for the preceding June 25 (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1926, p. 78) and postponed till the coal stoppage should be over. Passions had in the interval cooled down, and though there was some plain speaking at the Conference, tempers were kept well under control, and the breach between the Miners' Federation and the Trade Union Council, if it was not healed, was at least not widened. The Conference had before it two reports drawn up by the General Council and the Miners' Federation respectively, setting forth the motives and ideas under which each party had acted both before and during the strike. The Council maintained that its conduct had throughout been consistent, and that the Miners' Federation, after delegating it to full authority, had refused in the end to accept its decisions, and had adopted a line of its own which it knew beforehand the Council could not approve. The Federation retorted that the Council had gone back on certain pledges which it originally gave to the miners, and so left the latter no alternative except to take their own course. Between these two views the Conference had to decide. It endorsed that of the General Council by accepting its report on a card vote by 2,840,000 votes against 1,095,000—a majority of 1,745,000. Of the minority, nearly four-fifths (800,000) was made up by the votes of the Miners' Federation. Their chief supporters were the Woodworkers' Society, the Furnishing Trades Association, and the Distributive Workers' Union ; all the great unions were against them. The Chairman, Mr. Hicks, in closing the Conference, urged the delegates, on returning to their unions, to pay heed to the eloquent appeals of various speakers to put the past away and to address themselves to the task of building up the strength of the movement in order to resist all attacks upon it. The appeal was taken to heart, and with this meeting the strike finally became a matter of history.

In the trade union world itself the disposition to fraternise with Russia had not been entirely exorcised by the provocations of Mr. Tomsy on the occasion of the Congress in September (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1926, p. 104). The decision taken at that Congress to make another attempt to reconcile the second and the third Labour Internationals was not allowed to remain a dead letter. At the meeting of the Council of the International Federation of Trade Unions held in Amsterdam on January 13, Mr. Hicks, on behalf of the British Trades Union Congress, moved

that the Council should agree to convene an unconditional Conference between representatives of the I.F.T.U. and the Russian Council of Trade Unions. He supported the motion with the familiar arguments and apparently in all sincerity; but when the Council once more rejected it without so much as discussing it, no protest was raised by the Trade Union Council in England.

During this vacation Mr. Lloyd George succeeded in securing for himself a dominant position within the Liberal Party and making his opponents appear in the light of secessionists. Finding himself more favourably placed than he had been for a long time owing to the failure of the attack upon him and the popularity he had won by his speeches during the coal strike, he now followed up his advantage by making an offer to the Liberal Administrative Committee to finance a large number of candidates at the next General Election out of the fund which was still at his disposal from Coalition days. Mr. George's opponents on the Committee were averse to accepting any financial assistance from him, more especially as he attached to his offer certain conditions which would have given him a measure of control over the choice of candidates. However, on January 20, Mr. Lloyd George, at a meeting of the Committee, offered to place a very substantial sum in its hands for purposes of the next election without any conditions, and this offer was finally accepted by 17 votes to 8.

This step brought the schism in the Liberal Party to a head. The decision of the Committee was immediately followed by the resignation of Mr. Vivian Phillips from his post of Chairman of the Organisation Committee, and of Lord Grey, Sir W. Plender, and Lady Violet Bonham-Carter (Lord Oxford's daughter), the trustees of the Liberal Million Fund; also by the formation of a new body to be known as the Liberal Council, with Lord Grey as Chairman, which should be entirely independent of the party funds to which Mr. Lloyd George had promised to contribute.

The new body was formed under the impression that it would rally to itself all that was most sound in the Liberal Party, and that it would be the representative Liberal organ. This calculation proved to be mistaken. The bulk of the party in the country continued to regard the Liberal Party Organisation as its legitimate headquarters, and cold-shouldered the new body, which was practically still-born. The Party Organisation remained faithful to Mr. Lloyd George, and it was to that statesman rather than to the others that the Liberal rank and file looked for an authoritative statement of Liberal policy. The secessionist movement of Lord Grey and his supporters seemed at first to strike the death-knell of the Liberal Party, especially as it was followed at no long interval by the defection of Captain Benn—the most stalwart Radical on the Liberal benches—to the Labour Party. In the end, however, the separation of the two sections proved a benefit to the party. It gave the supporters

of Mr. Lloyd George an opportunity to reorganise themselves more efficiently and to build up the party on a new foundation, with results which soon became strikingly apparent.

The new session of Parliament—the third of the present Government—opened on February 9. The King's Speech gave prominence to the announcement that at the end of the previous month Allied military control in Germany had ceased, and questions affecting the military clauses in the Treaty of Versailles had been handed over to the League of Nations. It described the international position as satisfactory except in China. The legislative programme outlined by the Speech was unusually meagre. It contained only two definite measures of any importance—one, which had been more or less expected, for amending the law with regard to industrial disputes, and one, which was quite unexpected, for amending the law of leasehold. It was announced that the King's title would be brought into conformity with the new status of Ireland; and vague references were made to agriculture, unemployment insurance, and British films.

The debate on the Address turned chiefly on the subjects of trade union legislation and China. The example was set by the mover and seconder, who did their best to disarm in advance criticism of the Government's policy in these two matters. Opposition speakers—not without support from one or two of the more progressive Conservatives—made great play with the glaring omissions in the Government's legislative programme—the absence of a Factory Bill, which had been definitely promised for this session by the Home Secretary in the previous March, of a Women's Franchise Bill, to which the Government was almost equally pledged, of Bills for Poor Law and rating reform, and of comprehensive schemes for dealing with agriculture and unemployment. The Prime Minister met these strictures with an ingenious, if unconvincing explanation. He had, he said, long felt that the best way of dividing the Parliamentary year would be to begin the new session in the autumn. In order to give the House an opportunity of trying that experiment, they had put into the Speech only such legislation as they thought there was a reasonable prospect of passing by August 1. For this reason the Government would deal neither with factory legislation nor with Poor Law reform, a subject in which it was equally interested and which was equally intricate, in the present session, but would leave them for the next, which would probably commence in October. As for agriculture, though each of the Bills introduced by the Government was small in itself, yet taken together he thought they made a solid contribution to the improvement of the industry.

In regard to China, most of the Opposition speakers warmly commended the Memorandum of December 18 and the Foreign

Secretary's speech of January 22. They found, however, that the military preparations of the Government were hardly in the spirit of these declarations, and explained the discrepancy by assuming that there were opposing influences at work within the Cabinet itself. In support of this theory, Mr. Thomas pointed to speeches which had been made in the previous few days by the Colonial Secretary and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, breathing an unconciliatory spirit towards the Chinese nationalists. The Prime Minister denied that there was any division in the Ministry on the subject, but neither he nor any subsequent speaker explained away the awkward speeches of his colleagues. He defended the sending of a comparatively large force to Shanghai on the ground that they had to protect the British nationals there against the danger not only of mob violence, but of the incursion of a hostile army. He read to the House a resolution passed by the Cabinet on the preceding day, stating that the only object of the Government in sending troops out to the Far East was to safeguard British lives in China, and particularly in Shanghai; that it would depend on the advice they received from their representatives on the spot whether the troops sent out should be disembarked immediately at Shanghai or kept in readiness at Hong-Kong; and that there could be no question of entering into arrangements with Mr. Chen or anyone else in connexion with the movement of the troops.

At the same time that the Cabinet took this decision, the Foreign Secretary forwarded to the Secretary-General of the League of Nations, for the information of members of the League, a statement on the British policy in China designed to show that that policy was completely in accord with the letter and the spirit of the Covenant. The Government, it was further stated, deeply regretted that there did not appear to be any way in which the assistance of the League could be sought at present for settling the difficulties in China, but it would gladly avail itself of any opportunity that might arise of invoking the good offices of the League.

The announcement in the King's Speech of the Government's intention to amend trade union legislation was couched in somewhat milder terms than the Labour Party had been led to expect, but it was none the less received by them with great hostility. Mr. MacDonald asked how the Government reconciled its pious reference to industrial peace with a proposal which could not fail to arouse the most bitter controversy in industrial circles. Without yet knowing in the least what would be the contents of the proposed Bill, he denounced it beforehand as a continuation of the Eight-Hours Act. The Government, he said, had no moral or political authority for introducing such a measure, and he promised them that it would be opposed uncompromisingly, even if ineffectively, by his party.

In the House of Lords, Lord Haldane expressed relief that the King's Speech contained no mention of reform of the House of Lords. Whatever its faults, the House at present acted moderately and did not interfere with popular decisions, and was therefore best left as it was. This, however, was precisely its defect in the eyes of Conservative speakers, who therefore expressed disappointment at this omission from the Government's programme. Lord Salisbury, the leader of the House, stated that the pledge of the Prime Minister to deal with the subject in the lifetime of the present Parliament still held good, and he expressed the hope that there would be a preliminary discussion of the subject in the current session. Earl Beauchamp complained of the omission from the Speech of any reference to the need for public economy which had been so strongly emphasised in the King's Speech of 1924, though expenditure then was considerably less than now. Lord Salisbury could make no promise on the subject, but he agreed that economy should be practised in every Department.

After a prolonged altercation between its conflicting sections, the Labour Party decided to move an amendment to the Address, deploring the despatch of troops to China, and demanding their immediate recall. Mr. Trevelyan, in moving the amendment, on February 10, again stated that Sir A. Chamberlain's offers to the Cantonese Government had the whole-hearted approval of British Labour, but added that in its opinion their effect was nullified by the despatch of troops to Shanghai. He thought that the Chinese authorities themselves could guarantee the safety of all the British in China, and maintained that the presence of British troops in Shanghai would of itself render less secure the 6,000 British in other parts of China. Sir A. Chamberlain, in reply, complained strongly that Mr. Trevelyan's speech had not made his task in China any easier, as he was afraid it would encourage the Chinese authorities to adopt an uncompromising attitude. He defended the despatch of the troops on the ground that this step had been taken in accordance with requests made by the Consul-General in Shanghai, by Mr. O'Malley, and by other responsible Englishmen on the spot who were best qualified to know what was needed. He protested that the measure was purely a defensive one, and to prove that the Government had no ulterior designs on the integrity of China, he promised that only so many troops would be landed at Shanghai as were necessary to protect the settlement, and that they would not be moved outside except in case of grave emergency; further, that if an agreement was signed between Mr. Chen and Mr. O'Malley, only the Indian troops would be landed at Shanghai, and those which had been sent from England would be kept at Hong-Kong.

Although Mr. MacDonald immediately characterised this statement of the Foreign Secretary as being " of great importance,"



it failed to mollify the Labour Party. Appeals were made to them by Conservative members to let the House present a "united front" on the Chinese question, and these were reinforced by a striking speech from one of their own members, Mr. Haden Guest, who told them that it would be a grave disaster to give to the outside world an impression that there was any serious division of opinion in the House, when in fact there was very little difference between the two sides. Nevertheless, Labour members persisted in continuing the debate on purely party lines, and even Mr. MacDonald, in spite of the fact that the motion, as Sir A. Chamberlain had pointed out, was contrary to the tenor of some of his own recent speeches, now managed to support it on the somewhat specious grounds that the National Union of Conservative Associations had distributed leaflets which were not in the same tone and spirit as the speeches made by responsible members of the Government, and that the British in China outside of Shanghai were being exposed to additional danger by the Government's action. A division was taken, and the amendment was defeated by 320 votes to 113, most Liberal members supporting the Government.

In the growing anxiety caused by the situation in Shanghai, it was a relief to the British public to learn, on February 20, that Mr. Chen had at length signed an agreement defining the British position in Hankow. On the next day Sir A. Chamberlain read to the House of Commons a number of telegrams which he had received from Mr. O'Malley, and from which it appeared that the former British concession in Hankow would be constituted into a Chinese municipal area in which British residents would have equal rights with all others, with full security for life and property guaranteed by the Chinese authorities. Mr. Chen had tried to lay it down in the course of the negotiations that changes in the status of concessions or international settlements in China should be negotiated by Foreign Powers only with the Nationalist Government, but to this Mr. O'Malley had demurred, stating that the British Government reserved to itself the right to negotiate with any Chinese officials in areas where they were exercising *de facto* authority. Mr. Chen had also stated that he had only been induced to sign the agreement, after at first refusing, by the modification in the original British plan for the concentration of troops at Shanghai announced on February 10, but he still protested against even such landing of troops at Shanghai as had actually taken place, as being without legal justification. Mr. O'Malley, however, had been instructed to inform him that the British Government reserved to itself the right to dispose troops in any way it thought necessary. The Foreign Minister's statement was received with great satisfaction by the House, which fully endorsed his renewed assurance of the Government's confidence in Mr. O'Malley and Sir Miles Lampson.

On February 14 Mr. Clynes moved the second amendment to the Address, regretting the reference to proposals for amending and defining the law with regard to industrial disputes as indicating the intention of the Government to continue the partisan policy pursued by them in recent industrial disputes. It also called on the House to declare that legislation to restrict the service of the trade unions would not be in the national interest. Mr. Clynes, and the Labour speakers who followed him, took it for granted that the Government was "out to smash the trade unions," but the only definite evidence adduced by any of them in support of this view was a reference to a leading article in *The Times* of January 17, which stated that loud calls on the Conservative side urging the Government to take drastic action gave colour to the fears of the Labour Party in this matter. Some of the Conservative "back bench" speakers in the debate showed this disposition clearly enough, but the Prime Minister and the Attorney-General were careful to keep such an idea out of sight, and gave it to be understood that their views on the proposed legislation were still somewhat fluid, and that they would do their best to make it as little obnoxious as possible to the Opposition.

The best reply to the amendment, and the outstanding speech of the debate, was made by Sir John Simon, who again, as at the time of the general strike, found himself aligned with the Government in the interests of law and order. On purely legal grounds he pointed out that the laws relating to trade unions needed clarifying, as they did not give clear guidance to lawyers, and left room for difference of opinion on matters of practical importance. With regard to the political issue involved, he said for the Government what it had not ventured to say for itself, that legislation was necessary to save the country from the menace of another general strike. He admitted that the leaders of the Labour Party had definitely set their faces against such a policy, but he pointed out that men of great influence in the trade union movement—among them the President for the current year of the Trade Union Congress—had declared that the general strike of 1926 was merely a trial of strength, and that the same weapon would be used again with more effect when opportunity offered. It was, therefore, he thought, advisable to place beyond doubt the illegality of a general strike. On this occasion Sir John Simon failed to carry with him the majority of his Liberal colleagues, and several of those who had supported the Government at the time of the general strike voted for the Labour amendment, which was defeated by 313 votes to 135.

A third amendment, moved by the Liberal Party, criticised the omission from the Address of any proposals for relieving the burden of local rates, and advocated the Liberal remedy of placing a greater burden on monopoly values in urban districts

which had been created by the communities. The Minister of Health criticised this proposal on the ground that it introduced a fundamental change in the principle on which the system of rating was based, substituting for ability to pay and benefit from the expenditure incurred the benefit derived by the individual not from his own efforts but from the growth of the community. He doubted if such a change would bring about the desired result, and, in any case, it was a bigger one than the Government was prepared to make. The amendment received only a moderate amount of Labour support, and was defeated by 244 votes to 88.

Immediately after disposing of the Address, the House of Commons was presented with supplementary Estimates to the amount of over 2,000,000*l.*, bringing the total for the year up to nearly 10,800,000*l.* The largest of the new Estimates and the first to be considered was a vote of 450,000*l.* to complete the subsidy on British-grown beet sugar and molasses, bringing the total for the year up to 3,200,000*l.*, of which about 1,000,000*l.* was returned as Excise. It was pointed out that the need for the addition arose from the fact that the yield of beet per acre was higher than had been forecasted; but opinions differed as to whether this could be taken as a sign that the industry would eventually be able to stand on its own feet or not. Complaints were also made that the production of British sugar had an adverse effect on the British sugar-refining industry, but against this could be set the undoubted fact that it saved some of the land from going out of cultivation. The vote was agreed to without a division.

A request for 7,000*l.* as a grant-in-aid for the mission of the Duke and Duchess of York to Australia and New Zealand, on which they had just set out, was not allowed to pass unchallenged by a section of the Labour Party, headed by Mr. Kirkwood, who spoke slightly of the mission as a "joy ride" for which the Royal party should pay their own expenses. They received a dignified rebuke from one of their colleagues, Dr. Shiels, of Edinburgh, who pointed out that members of the Labour movement all over Australia were looking forward to their Royal Highnesses' visit, because they regarded the Royal Family as the symbol of Empire. As long, therefore, as the Labour Party accepted the Royal Family as the symbol of Empire they ought not to indulge in pettifogging criticisms as to the conditions under which they did this work, which, so far from being a "joy ride," involved considerable personal inconvenience to the Duke and Duchess. The vote was eventually allowed to pass without a division.

Further supplementary Estimates included 420,600*l.* for the Ministry of Pensions, 322,295*l.* for the Scottish Board of Health, and 220,000*l.* for the Ministry of Health. The extra vote for pensions was due to the fact that the Ministry had over-estimated by about 1 per cent, the mortality of pensioners. Of the Scottish vote, 115,000*l.* was required for building an additional thousand

steel houses in Scotland, the first 2,000 having proved a success. The extra expenditure of the Board of Health had been caused by an increase in the claims made on certain approved societies in the past year, especially in the coal-mining areas. Labour members ascribed this to "malnutrition resulting from the coal stoppage," but the Minister of Health adduced evidence to show that it was due in large part, if not entirely, to greater laxity on the part of the doctors in granting certificates.

The financial aftermath of the coal stoppage was further considered in the House of Commons the next day (Feb. 22), when the Lord Advocate brought forward a Bill for legalising expenditure incurred by Scottish Parish Councils in relief to miners' dependents in the previous year. This expenditure, though legal in England, had, strangely enough, been declared illegal by the courts in Scotland; but as the Government had itself advised the councils to spend the money, it now sought not only to legalise the act, but to obtain permission to refund to the councils up to 40 per cent, of their outlay on this object. Labour members found fault with the proposed limitation of the expenditure, and their objections were successful to the extent of extorting from the Government an undertaking to make the figure of 40 per cent, the standard and not a maximum. Soon afterwards (March 1) a motion was brought forward by a Labour member urging the Government "to come to the relief of necessitous areas in England." Sir K. Wood informed the House that there had already been an improvement in the position of many of these areas since the end of the coal stoppage, and he asked it to wait till the Government brought forward its new system of local government. The motion was thereupon rejected by 221 votes to 128.

On February 15 the Government received a reminder, in the shape of a private member's motion, that a large section of its followers was anxious for legislation which should make the House of Lords a more effective political body. The Labour Party put down an amendment declaring that such legislation was not required, and that the Government had no mandate for it. The Home Secretary reminded the Opposition that the preamble of the Parliament Act of 1911 placed it as an obligation on the House of Commons to define the powers of the House of Lords, and Lord Oxford, who was Prime Minister at that time, had often said that it was an obligation which would brook no delay. The Government, he added, was glad that a debate on the subject had taken place, as it intended to carry out fully the pledges which it had given to the country, since it appreciated the gravity of the situation and the desirability of restoring to the other Chamber some of the powers of which it was deprived in 1911.

A debate arose on the next day (Feb. 16) on the Report just

issued by the Consultative Committee of the Board of Education, which recommended that the school age should be raised to fifteen. A Labour motion was brought forward urging the Government to act on this recommendation without delay; but the Minister of Education declared that this was impossible, owing to dearth of accommodation. The supporters of the Government treated the matter with so much indifference that they allowed its majority to sink to eighteen.

In their impatience to come to grips with the trade unions, the more extreme section of the Conservative Party were not content to wait for the legislation on the subject promised by the Government, and one of their number, Mr. Marshall Banks, having been lucky in the private members' ballot, on February 18, moved the second reading of a Bill to make it illegal for trade unions or their members to invite, accept, or use funds from foreign sources for the furtherance or maintenance of industrial disputes in Great Britain. The Government left the proposal to a free vote of the House, but the Home Secretary, speaking on their behalf, opposed it no less vigorously than the Labour Party. He pointed out that in the previous year, in the exercise of the discretion allowed him by the Emergency Regulations, he had prohibited the entry of money sent from foreign sources in aid of the general strike, but had laid no embargo on that sent to the coal miners. The reason was that he drew a sharp distinction between a strike for political and a strike for industrial purposes. He put it to his fellow-Conservatives—much as the Prime Minister had done two years previously in dealing with Mr. Macquisten's Bill—whether, if they passed this proposal, they would not justify the accusation brought by the Labour Party against the Government, that in spite of its professions it was the enemy of the trade unions and meant to strike a blow at their existence; and he emphasised the necessity of adhering to the declaration of the Conservative Party, that it would always distinguish between industrial and revolutionary action, and would do nothing to harm the industrial development of the trade unions. In spite of this appeal the motion was carried to a division, and 75 voted for it to 193 against.

On February 22 the Government threw over the report of the Committee which it had appointed in the autumn to inquire into the advisability of forming co-operative agencies for the selling of coal, and which had strongly recommended such a step in the interests of the coal industry. A Labour motion was now brought forward calling upon the Mines Department to take steps to promote a system of co-operative agencies for the sale of coal, but the President of the Board of Trade set his face against it on various grounds, the chief of which was that the Government could not bring pressure to bear on the coal-owners. In consequence, the cut-throat competition between the coal-owners,

especially in the export trade, went on unrestricted, and, as had been predicted, soon led to a heavy fall in the price of British coal, with consequent loss of profits and reduction of wages.

One untoward result of the trouble in China had been to strain to breaking-point the none too friendly relations of the British Government with Russia. The part played by Russians in fomenting anti-British feeling in China was well known and perhaps exaggerated in England, and was seized on by a section of the Conservative Party as a decisive reason for breaking off Anglo-Russian relations. Their demand at length became so insistent that the Government could no longer ignore it. In deference, therefore, to the clamour of its supporters, the Foreign Secretary on February 23 addressed a lengthy Note to the Russian Charge d'Affaires in London, M. Rosengolsz, complaining that the Soviet Government was systematically violating the clause of the Trade Agreement of 1923, providing that each side should abstain from hostile propaganda against the other. The Note cited passages from speeches of Russian Ministers and Ambassadors, and from articles in the official Soviet organ, the *Isvestiya*, on the one hand glorifying the British miners' strike and the Chinese Nationalist victories as harbingers of the coming world revolution, and on the other hand, accusing Britain, without any foundation, of working to create an anti-Bolshevist orientation in Persia and the Baltic States. The Note demanded peremptorily that such language should cease, under penalty of the Trade Agreement being rescinded, or even of relations between Britain and Russia being broken off altogether.

The Government's Note did not produce the slightest change, either for better or for worse, in the attitude of the Soviet Government towards England. On February 26 a Note was received in London from M. Litvinoff, the Soviet Commissioner for Foreign Affairs, pointing out that all the speeches and articles of which complaint was made in the British Note were delivered or written in Russia, and therefore did not constitute a breach of the Trade Agreement, which only forbade hostile propaganda in foreign countries. M. Litvinoff pointed out that the language habitually used about Russia by some of the organs and some of the responsible leaders of the Conservative Party in England—especially Lord Birkenhead and Mr. Churchill—was at least as bad as anything said in Russia about England, and he made no promise to interfere with freedom of expression in his own country. He deplored the fact that relations between the two countries were unsatisfactory, and warned England not to make them worse by abrogating the Trade Agreement.

On the publication of the Russian Note, the Foreign Secretary had announced that the Government intended to take no notice of it. There was, however, a widespread feeling in Parliament that matters could not be allowed to rest where they were ; both the

Labour Party and the Conservative "die-hards" desired to see a change, though in opposite directions. The initiative in raising the question was, however, taken by neither of these, but by the Liberal Party, one of whose members, Sir A. Sinclair, opened a debate on the subject on March 3. While on the whole expressing approval of the British Note and condemnation of the Russian, Sir A. Sinclair, on the practical issue, took up the Labour standpoint, and urged the Government to treat as sincere the desire expressed by the Soviet Government at the end of its Note of establishing more friendly relations with Britain, and to meet it in a similar spirit. Sir R. Home advocated the diametrically opposite course, and while welcoming the British Note, said that it would have been better for it not to have been written unless it was going to be followed up by practical steps, the first of which would, of course, be to terminate the Trade Agreement. Speaking as the author of the original Trade Agreement of 1921, he was now of opinion that that experiment had been a failure, and that it was useless to continue it, or to try the experiment again in a new form. Mr. MacDonald supported the first speaker, and urged specifically that a further conference should be held between representatives of Britain and Russia in order to thrash out all matters of complaint between the two countries.

Thus pulled in two directions, the Foreign Secretary failed to maintain his footing, and moved decidedly to the side of the "die-hards," though not yet as far as they desired. He said that he would have sent his Note long before, only he was restrained by the fear that it might have international repercussions which would be dangerous to the peace of Europe. He therefore felt impelled to wait till the whole world should be able to see what was the provocation, and so place the responsibility on the right shoulders. Now, however, he thought the evidence was clear, and he warned the Soviet Government that the limit of Britain's patience had been reached. The Government reserved to itself the right to take further action, but before proceeding to extremity it thought it right to call the world to witness the serious nature of its complaints, and to give the Soviet Government one more opportunity to conform its conduct to the ordinary rules of international life and comity.

In the further course of the debate, Mr. Lloyd George and Mr. Snowden urged the Government to enter into fresh negotiations with the Soviet Government, while Commander Locker-Lampson, the leader of the anti-Russian section in the Conservative Party, confessed himself to be deeply disappointed with the Note, which, in his opinion, had announced to the world the degree of humiliation which the British Empire was ready to swallow. But although in the debate the Government received the highest commendation from its opponents and the severest censure from its supporters, the voting followed strictly party

lines, and the Government's action was upheld by 271 votes to 146.

In the House of Lords the question was raised by a Conservative peer, Lord Newton, who urged the Government to break off relations with Russia on the ground that " it had been returned to power more for the purpose of ridding the country of Russian interference than for any other reason." The Liberal peers, Lord Reading and Lord Grey, while agreeing that England had every justification for taking such a step, gave weighty reasons for thinking that it would be inexpedient at the present juncture. Lord Salisbury, speaking on behalf of the Government, on the whole agreed with them. He did not rate very high the consideration of trade with Russia, but to break off diplomatic relations with that country was a step which might have serious consequences for the peace of Europe, and which therefore should not be undertaken out of pique or on the ground of offended dignity. At the same time, he joined with the Foreign Secretary in warning Russia that the limit of their patience had been reached.

While attending the League of Nations meeting at Geneva, Sir Austen Chamberlain, on March 8, made a statement to the press with the object of dispelling the belief, which was somewhat widely held on the Continent, that Great Britain was engaged in engineering some kind of coalition against the Soviet Government. He declared that British policy had remained unchanged since Locarno, and could be summed up in one word—peace. It aimed at making real the peace which had only been partially secured by the treaties. The British Government had never sought to promote its own interests by making trouble between other countries ; it had encouraged every movement towards a better understanding between conflicting countries, and had always assured them that, so long as they sought peace, they could count on British sympathy and goodwill. He denied specifically that he had ever tried to form an anti-Soviet League, or that he had interfered with any efforts of the Soviet Government to form a pact of non-aggression with Latvia.

At the same time that it disappointed the " die-hards " among its followers, the Government gave equal cause of complaint, though in an opposite sense, to the more progressive section of the Conservative Party. In a debate on the Civil Service Estimates on February 28, a Labour member moved a reduction in the vote on the ground that the Government had not yet ratified the Washington Convention on hours of labour. He was strongly supported by some Conservative speakers, who held that England should have been the first country to take such a step, instead of waiting on all the others. The Minister of Labour excused the Government's delay on the ground that it was unsafe for one country to ratify unless it were sure that all the rest would follow suit. This reason entirely failed to satisfy his Conservative critics,



but they were pacified by the Minister's Under-Secretary, who informed them that the Government was really studying the matter and earnestly considering what to do for the best.

The Civil Estimates and Estimates for the Revenue Departments for 1927-28 were issued on February 25, showing a total amount required of 305,374,678*l.*—a reduction of over 6 millions on the previous year. The reduction was due chiefly to the practical elimination of items for the importation of coal and for the Coal Mining Subvention, and a decrease of 4,000,000*l.* for unemployment relief. The Beet Sugar Subsidy was increased from 3,200,000*l.* to 4,500,000*l.* One million was estimated for Empire marketing, against half a million in the previous year, and about a million and a half instead of a million for oversea settlement. The Middle Eastern Services showed a decrease of a million, but the Ministry of Health asked for an increase of about the same amount. The Ministry of Pensions required two and a half millions less, but old-age pensions over two millions more. The estimate for the Board of Education—44,307,020*l.*—was slightly more than in the previous year, and for the Ministry of Labour, slightly less.

The Army Estimate for the year amounted to 41,565,000*l.*, a decrease of 935,000*l.* on that of the previous year. In introducing it in the House of Commons on March 7, the Minister for War explained that the saving was not due to reductions in the personnel of the Army—though some were being made amounting in all to 4000 men—but that it was a balance figure, resulting from a great many smaller increases and decreases in the various votes. It was intended in that year to reorganise the cavalry, with a reduction in its number of 47 officers and 1294 other ranks. This step was being taken on the advice of a committee of military experts, which pointed out that the efficiency of the cavalry could be increased by the mechanisation of the first line transport and the carriage of the machine-guns. There was a responsible body of opinion which held that in principle the day of the horse in war was over, and that the duties of the cavalry could be better performed by means of aeroplanes and swift-moving vehicles. He himself thought that they did not yet possess the data on which to decide finally what was the best kind of military force to do the work hitherto performed by cavalry. For the present, therefore, the best solution appeared to be the combination of cavalry with mechanical transport. In other directions great attention was being paid to the mechanisation of the Army, and they were estimating to spend that year 238,000*l.* on new mechanical vehicles, besides setting aside 125,000*l.* for research and experiments; and in order to gain practical experience of the effect of mechanisation on tactics, an experimental force was being formed composed of completely mechanised units.

In the discussion which followed, the War Office was congratu-

lated on having kept its expenditure for the sixth year running within its estimate, and was held up as a model to other departments in this respect. A number of Conservative and Liberal members expressed their great regret that one of the economies of the new Estimates consisted in abolishing the bounty to members of the Territorial force, which already in 1922 had been reduced from 5*l.* to 3*l.* Opinions were divided as to whether this would adversely affect recruiting for the force, but there was general agreement that the force deserved to be treated with more generosity. Labour members who spoke left this subject severely alone, but instead called attention to the international aspect of military preparations, and brought forward a motion calling on the Government, in the forthcoming Disarmament Conference, to initiate proposals to secure international agreement on reductions in land forces. Captain King, the Financial Secretary to the War Office, pointed out to them that Russia, one of the most powerful if not the most powerful, of military nations, was not represented at the conference, and he urged them to address their representations to the Government of that country, with which some of them were so friendly; and the motion was defeated by 223 votes to 108.

The money which was saved on the Army Vote was immediately required by the Government to pay for the sending of troops to Shanghai. When a Supplementary Estimate of 950,000*l.* for this purpose was introduced on March 8, the Labour Party took the opportunity of once more affirming its conviction that the sending of troops to Shanghai was a mistake. The Government's action was defended with vigour both by Conservative and Liberal members, and the Labour Party was itself put on the defensive against charges of indifference to the fate of Englishmen abroad, and of siding with one party in China. The Government had the satisfaction of hearing from Mr. Clynes that no one authorised to speak on behalf of the Opposition, either in the House or the country, had ever criticised the policy of the Government so far as it rested upon negotiation, and other Labour speakers were not less emphatic in support of the Government's policy of negotiation than in condemnation of its military steps. The arguments of the Government spokesmen failed to convince them, and they carried matters to a division in which they were defeated by 303 votes to 124.

In opening the discussion on the Air Estimates on March 10, the Air Minister, Sir S. Hoare, first drew attention to the fact that they provided for an increase of nearly 10 per cent, in the strength of the Air Force with a sum (15,550,000*Z.*) nearly 3 per cent, less than that voted in 1926. This was chiefly due to the large reduction, amounting to 680,000*Z.*, in the expenditure on defence in the Middle East. In justifying the continued expansion of the Air Force, the Minister this year adopted a new line. He made no

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mention of the need for protecting England against any foreign force—and, indeed, the disparity between the British and French Air forces had already practically disappeared—but dwelt solely on the value of aviation for linking together the Empire and protecting its outlying districts. Of the utility of the aeroplane as a means of inter-Imperial communication he was able to speak with experience, having in the course of the preceding year made a journey by air, in company with his wife, to India and back without the slightest mishap and with strict adherence to scheduled time throughout. He referred to the recommendations made by the Imperial Conference in the preceding year for the development of inter-Imperial services both of aeroplanes and airships, and laid stress on the value of a highly mobile military air force for defending outlying districts with the minimum of expense. He paid a tribute to the British pilots, both civil and military, who, he was more than ever convinced, were the best in the world, and gave instances of the progress which had been made in the last couple of years in the construction of machines.

In the course of the debate the Prime Minister made a statement on the subject of accidents in the Air Force, the frequency of which was a cause of public uneasiness. He had, he said, by agreement with the Air Minister, made a personal investigation into this subject, as a result of which he had come to the conclusion that very few accidents were due to faults in the machines; the great majority were traceable to errors of judgment on the part of the aviators. In this matter there was a great difference between civil and military flying. In the former it was possible to make "safety first" the motto, but the training for the latter involved to some extent the courting of danger which in fact accorded with the adventurous spirit of those who took up this branch—a spirit which he thought was one of the marvels of the time. From his observation he thought that in the interests of economy, the ground staff of flying stations had been cut down too far; this did not affect the number of accidents, but it restricted the number of flights. He was still of opinion, as he always had been, that reports on flying accidents in the force should not be published; the inspector could not speak his mind freely unless he knew that his remarks were confidential.

While the Premier's statement was generally accepted as satisfactory, it was followed by suggestions in certain quarters that indulgence in alcoholic drinks was a frequent cause of accident in the Flying Force. To silence these rumours, Mr. Baldwin stated a few days later (March 23), that as a result of careful inquiries he had satisfied himself that the consumption of alcohol amongst Royal Air Force men in general, and officers in particular, was very small, and that there was no evidence to show that indulgence in strong drink had caused or indeed contributed to any accidents.

A Labour amendment was put forward urging the Government

to propose a limitation of air armaments in the Preparatory Commission on Disarmament sitting at Geneva. The Under-Secretary for Air, Sir P. Sassoon stated that any action of Britain in regard to air service must be conditioned by two factors—the development of aerial transport as a means of Empire communication, and the need of providing protection to vital spots of the Empire from attack from the air. The Government, however, would welcome any practical plans for air disarmament, and Lord Cecil would, at the Geneva Conference, put forward proposals to this end on their behalf. On a vote being taken, the amendment was lost by 225 votes to 111.

The Navy Estimate this year was for 58,100,100*l.*, which was 100,000*l.* less than last year. The First Lord of the Admiralty, in introducing the Vote (Mar. 14), admitted that the economies of the past two or three years in naval expenditure had been effected chiefly at the expense of the dockyard workers, the dismissal of whom he regretted, but regarded as inevitable if economies were to be achieved. The Admiralty was also fortunate this year in having to spend only 43,500*l.* on the Singapore base, owing to a munificent contribution from Malaya. Referring to the Note recently issued by President Coolidge, inviting the Powers which participated in the Washington Agreement to a further conference for the limitation of naval armaments, he repudiated the suggestion often made by critics of the Admiralty that they desired to encourage competition in shipbuilding and would be likely to oppose further limitation of armaments. On the contrary, they welcomed such a conference, provided that other nations would consent to consider their special requirements in the same way that they would consider the requirements of others. Their obligation was to maintain a fleet equal in naval strength to that of any other Power, and provide reasonable security for their trade communications ; and if the House of Commons should reject that formula, he for one would not take the responsibility of occupying the post he did.

As the question of the naval construction programme had been thrashed out in the previous year, it was not raised on this occasion, and the severest strictures on the First Lord's statement came from some Conservative representatives of dockyard constituencies. Having little to criticise in the Minister's statement, Mr. Ammon, who spoke for the Labour Party, fell foul of Mr. Churchill for having, in the recently published third volume of his book on the War, utilised the knowledge he obtained as First Lord of the Admiralty in 1917 to frame a severe condemnation of Admiral Jellicoe's conduct at the Battle of Jutland. Mr. Churchill found several defenders, who pointed out that Lord Jellicoe had already given his version of the battle in two books.

While the figures of the Estimates were accepted by the Commons without demur, they stirred the Lords to a vigorous if

ineffective protest on behalf of national economy. On March 16 Earl Beauchamp moved that the need for drastic economies in the national expenditure and for reduction in taxation was even more imperative than in 1924, and that the House regretted that the promises of retrenchment held out by the Government had not been kept, and deplored the continued growth of extravagance in armaments and in the other spending departments. The mover's plea for a reduction of armaments found no support with subsequent speakers, and the Earl of Midleton, while endorsing the call for economy, moved as an amendment that the Government should be urged to reduce the staffs of the Public Departments. A number of speakers thought that these offered a promising field for economy, especially the Admiralty and War Office staffs, which were much larger than in pre-war days, while the personnel of the forces had been reduced. The Marquess of Salisbury, on behalf of the Government, welcomed the debate as likely to influence public opinion in favour of economy, and so strengthen the Government's hands in its endeavours to cut down expenditure. He threw the blame for the great increase in departmental staffs on the House of Commons, which, instead of being the guardian of the public purse, was always exerting pressure in the other direction. A committee of investigation had reported that the increase in Civil Service staff since 1914 was fully accounted for by the extra work which had been thrown on the Civil Service. The real remedy could only come from the country. The British were an extravagant people, and did not like to economise, and for that reason the debate might do good. Subsequent speakers pointed out that it was not quite fair for the Government to shelter itself behind the House of Commons, since the Government led the Commons, and Lord Midleton's amendment was carried by 68 votes to 28.

On March 9 the House of Commons gave a second reading to two Bills, the object of which was to adjust certain official titles to changes which had recently taken place in the constitution of the Empire. One dealt with the titles of the King and of Parliament, introducing the alterations necessitated by the creation of the Irish Free State. The change in the King's title was accepted without demur, but some Unionists could not witness without a pang the disappearance from the title of Parliament of the term "United Kingdom." The other Bill, which met with opposition from Labour speakers, nominally constituted a Royal Indian Navy; but the Under-Secretary for India explained that this meant chiefly re-naming the existing Royal Indian Marine, as a recognition of each Dominion's responsibility for its local defence.

On March 11 the House of Commons, on a free vote, gave a second reading to a private Bill introduced by a Conservative member for strengthening the law against blasphemous and seditious teaching in schools. Some of the Conservative speakers

betrayed a desire to apply the epithets " blasphemous " and " seditious " to the teaching not only of the Communist schools, of which there were only a handful in the country, but also of the much more numerous Socialist Sunday Schools ; but the Home Secretary drew a marked distinction between the two, and admitted that the latter were in the matter of doctrine quite unexceptionable.

An event of considerable importance for the Labour world was the presentation on March 10 of a unanimous report by the Committee appointed by the Ministry of Labour, with Lord Blanesburgh as chairman, to consider what changes, if any, ought to be made in the Unemployment Insurance Scheme. The principal changes recommended by the Committee were that equal contributions should be made by employers, work-people, and the State (instead of the State contributing two-sevenths); that normal contributions should be reduced to 5*d.* a week in respect of men and 3½*d.* a week in respect of women ; that a single man's weekly benefit should be 17*s.* instead of 18*s.*, but that the allowance for an adult dependent should be raised from 5*s.* to 7*s.*, so that a married man would receive 24*s.* instead of 23*s.* ; that a new grade of contributions and benefits, resulting in a reduction of both, should be prescribed for young persons between 18 and 21 ; and that extended benefit should disappear. For the purpose of extinguishing the fund's present debt of 21,000,000*l.*, the Committee proposed that an additional contribution should be levied of a penny a week in respect of a man and a halfpenny in respect of a woman.

On March 16 the Prime Minister made in Parliament a statement on the subject of new bridges across the Thames in London—a matter which had for some time been engaging public attention owing to the announcement by engineers that Waterloo Bridge was becoming unsafe for heavy traffic. The Government had appointed a Royal Commission to consider the question, and on the strength of its recommendations now offered to defray from 50 to 75 per cent, of the cost of various new bridges and improvements suggested by the Commission, and to expend a sum not exceeding 1,000,000*l.* for a number of years for this purpose.

On March 16 the Government introduced its first measure of major importance during the session in the shape of a Cinematograph Films Bill. The Imperial Conference of the previous year had deplored the failure of Britain and the Dominions to make sufficient use of the film for trade propaganda purposes, and the Bill was an attempt to remedy the evil. The President of the Board of Trade stated that the Government would have preferred the desired result to be attained by a combined voluntary effort on the part of all sections of the trade—producers, renters, and exhibitors ; but as an attempt had been made by them and failed, the Government felt bound to take action to encourage the



production of British films which would give to British goods the same advertisement as foreign films gave to the goods of their country. With this object in view, it was proposed to abolish " blind booking " and put a time limit on " block booking ; " and, further, to impose on both renters and exhibitors a compulsory quota of British films, commencing with 7½ per cent, and rising by yearly additions of 2½ per cent, to 25 per cent.

There was general agreement that the object of the Bill was a good one, but the method which it proposed for attaining its end was severely criticised. The chief ground of objection was that it did not take into account the requirements of the public, who were entitled to be shown the best quality of films, from whatever source; and one speaker who had practical experience of the business stated categorically that good films could not be produced in England in any quantity owing to the lack of sunshine. Critics of the Bill, however, failed to suggest any alternative scheme by which the required object might be secured, and the Bill was duly sent into Committee.

On March 23 the House of Commons agreed without a division to a motion brought forward by a Conservative member urging the Government to spare no effort in co-operating with the Dominions for the purpose of sending them British emigrants. It was agreed by all speakers that an increase in the British population of the Dominions would be advantageous for British trade, but Labour members warned the Government against thinking that the problem of unemployment could be solved by migration. The Secretary for the Dominions sought to reassure them by stating emphatically that the Government was not trying by its policy of Empire development to rid itself of its responsibility towards a single citizen of this country, and that they had no right to think they could get rid of that responsibility by pushing them oversea. He remarked that the debate had been full of encouragement, but he had little new to tell of the activities of the Government in this matter, and did not hold out any hope that the rate of migration would be quickened in the near future.

At a meeting of the Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference of the League of Nations, which opened at Geneva on March 21, Lord Cecil, on behalf of the British Government, presented a Draft Convention for discussion. The main stipulations of the Draft were that each of the High Contracting Parties undertook to limit its land, naval, and air armaments to figures agreed on (though this was not to prevent them from increasing their armaments if engaged in a war or faced with a rebellion or other emergency, or if the increase was effected with the concurrence of the Council of the League); and that each of the High Contracting Parties should furnish the Secretary-General of the League each year with a statement of the amount proposed

to be expended in the current year, and of the amount actually so expended in the preceding year. Lord Cecil, in opening the discussion, said that there would be profound disappointment throughout the world if it did not end with the prospect of a concrete reduction in armaments, and expressed himself as optimistic on the matter. His optimism was, however, not justified, and the Commission soon after separated without having accepted the British Draft Convention or come to any other agreement.

The Committee stage of the Annual Army and Air Force Bill (March 20) gave the Labour Party an opportunity of again urging the abolition of the death penalty in the Army. This time the motion brought forward to that effect contained the important reservation that the death penalty should still be retained for treachery and desertion. This compromise, however, did not satisfy either the bulk of the members of other parties or the Government, which based itself on the report of the Committee of 1924, and the motion was defeated by 259 votes to 134.

In the debate on the second reading of the Consolidated Fund Bill (March 24), the President of the Board of Education had to meet the complaint of his predecessor and other members of the Opposition that he was restricting progress in education in the interests of economy. In reply he was able to point to the fact that this year up to March 19 the provision of 64,139 additional places in elementary schools had been approved, and in 1925-26, 71,392 places, against 45,964 in 1924-25, when the Labour Government was in office. In regard to additional secondary school places, the numbers were : 1924-25, 15,622 ; 1925-26, 16,283 ; 1926-27, 15,274. He held that this did not look like reaction, or even marking time.

In the third reading debate of the Consolidated Fund Bill, an attempt was made by Liberal and Labour members to stimulate the Government into a more vigorous policy for assisting agriculture, but without success. Mr. Runciman found new proof of the parlous state of the industry in the report just issued of a partial survey conducted by an official of the Ministry of Agriculture, which showed that tillage was gradually giving way to pasturage. Conservative members expressed the view that if the Government could not assist the industry with a subsidy or protection, it would do best to leave it alone, and the Minister of Agriculture inclined to this opinion. The Government, he said, was driven to giving indirect assistance to agriculture (through the sugar subsidy) by the attitude of the Opposition, which precluded any agreed policy of direct assistance. It would therefore adhere to the modest programme laid down in the White Paper of last year, under which, however, it expected to grant 2000 small holdings a year, which was more than the Liberals had achieved before the war.

On the next day (March 30) the Labour Party sought to arraign

the conduct of the Minister of Health for having superseded, on August 30 last, the Guardians of Chester-le-Street, a Durham mining town, in accordance with the then recently passed Board of Guardians' Default Act (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1926, p. 90). A motion was brought forward charging him with administering the Act in a partisan and bureaucratic spirit, and some speakers in the debate attempted to make out that the only offence of the superseded Guardians was that they were not stingy enough in giving relief. Mr. Chamberlain, in reply, made a spirited defence of his action. He pointed out that in the previous July and August he had warned the Guardians of Chester-le-Street repeatedly that they were breaking the law, and the only reason why he had waited as long as he did before superseding them was that he was extremely reluctant to avail himself of the powers of the Act, which he regarded as something to be used only in the last extremity. The Labour Party had said nothing for seven months about the supersession, and they would have remained silent had it not been that a report had lately been published bringing against the old Guardians of Chester-le-Street charges which they were unable to deny. The Minister went on to make some remark about the secretiveness of the Labour Party, which so irritated Labour members that they created an uproar and rendered the conclusion of his speech inaudible.

The relations between the Trade Union Congress and the Russian trade unions, which had become strained owing to the events of the previous September, were—at least in outward appearance—restored to a footing of friendship by a meeting of the Anglo-Russian Committee held in Berlin at the end of March and beginning of April, at which both Mr. Hicks and Mr. Tomskey were present. The proceedings, according to the official report, "were marked by an appreciation of the need for maintaining and still further strengthening the fraternal ties between the trade union movements of Great Britain and the U.S.S.R." With this end in view the Russians deferred completely to the views of the British delegates, and accepted resolutions postponing any action on the union question which would involve dissension in the Amsterdam International, and ruling out any interference by the unions of one country in the domestic concerns of those of another. The resolutions were endorsed by the General Council of the Trade Union Congress a fortnight later.

Replying to a question in the House of Commons at this time, the Premier stated that, apart from certain minor and consequential amendments in the electoral machinery, it was not the intention of the Government to undertake any reform of the electoral system. The defects in the existing system were strongly criticised in a debate in the House of Lords on March 30, but it was pointed out on the other side, that the systems of second ballot and proportional representation had proved far from satisfactory in the

countries where they had been tried. The remedy for the unrepresentative character of Parliament, it was held, was to get back to the two party system, and this seemed to be the real desire of those Conservative peers who complained of the existing system, in spite of the advantage which it gave their own party. In the course of the debate complaints were made of the persistent rowdiness to which Conservative and Liberal candidates were subjected at elections, but the Government did not see fit to take any steps in the matter.

In one of the debates on the Estimates (April 4) the Labour Party once more raised the question of unemployment, and once more Parliament had to confess itself helpless in face of the problem. The Minister of Labour did not pretend to have a solution, and Labour speakers also were less concerned to make constructive, even if impracticable, suggestions than to criticise the Minister for his administration of the Unemployment Insurance Fund and other shortcomings. The Minister maintained that the administration was humane, denying that refusals of extended benefit were more numerous than they had been in the period before the Ministerial discretion was restored in 1925.

On March 25 grave news arrived from China, where in the preceding weeks the Southern Nationalists had continued their triumphant advance. Having effected the capture of Shanghai, on March 24 they entered Nanking as it was being evacuated by Chang Tso-lin's troops, and on the same day the British residents in that city were subjected to severe mishandling, their property being plundered, and at least two of their number being killed, while the rest were only saved from the same fate by the timely action of British warships in shelling the district where the rioting was taking place. In giving an account of these events in the House of Commons on March 28, Sir A. Chamberlain stated that according to the information derived from British and American sources, the outrages were the work of the Cantonese troops, and not of the Northern Chinese troops, as asserted by the Cantonese leader. Questioned as to the future policy of the Government in China, he stated that no negotiations were in progress in regard to the international settlement in Shanghai, and that it was not possible to negotiate fruitfully in the anarchical conditions prevailing. The situation at Hankow, where the Chinese authorities had failed to provide adequate protection for British residents, did not encourage them to make a similar surrender of British rights and property at Shanghai.

Two days later (Mar. 30) Sir A. Chamberlain gave, in the House of Commons, a detailed account of the outrages in Nanking based on sworn statements of the British and American Consuls and of the wife of the British Consul, which seemed to place it beyond doubt that the offenders belonged to the incoming Cantonese troops and not to the retiring Northerners. In answer to a question, he gave

it to be understood that the Cabinet would not allow the injuries done to British subjects and the outrage on the British flag to go unredressed. Acting on this statement, the Government approached the American and Japanese Governments with a request to join it in presenting a Note to the Cantonese Government demanding reparation for the outrage at Nanking. The American and Japanese Governments, however, declined, preferring to present separate, though identic, Notes. Undeterred by this failure, the British Government persisted in its design of presenting to the Cantonese a demand for reparations, to be followed by the application of sanctions in case of refusal.

The policy of the Government at this juncture was not allowed to pass unchallenged by the Labour Party. At their instigation a debate on the subject took place on April 6, before the Government had yet sent its Note to the Cantonese Government. The debate again revealed the existence of sharp differences of opinion within the Labour Party. Mr. MacDonalld exhorted the Government to adhere to the policy of the Christmas Note, but while warning them against the danger of being drawn into a war which they had not intended, did not suggest that the troops which had been sent to China should be brought back. Mr. Wheatley, on the other hand, speaking for the Left Wing of the party, gave it as his solution of the problem that all the British should leave Shanghai, asserting that they were there not to foster British trade but to exploit Chinese labour. On the Conservative side also there were two voices—one, uttered by Mr. Mitchell Banks, breathing contempt of the Chinese and readiness to resort to armed force ; the other, of which the Foreign Secretary was the sponsor, expressing friendship for China, but withal a determination to defend British honour and rights. Sir Austen adduced further confirmation of his version of the Nanking outrages in the shape of a letter from the British Vice-Consul, which stated categorically that they were the work of Cantonese soldiers organised for the purpose, and he mentioned several incidents showing that in all parts of China anti-foreign outbreaks followed in the wake of the Cantonese advance. He declined on this ground to accede to the request of the Labour speakers for a joint inquiry into the Nanking affair. He said that his Christmas memorandum, with its policy of conciliation and adjustment to new conditions, was still the groundwork on which he hoped to build their future relations with China, but they were not prepared to hustle out of China, to withdraw their nationals from Shanghai, or to be treated as if they had no treaty rights or as if the lives of their people were of no account to them.

On March 30 Lord Birkenhead discussed, in the House of Lords, the position of affairs in India. He expressed satisfaction at the decline of Swaraj influence in the country, but anxiety at the continued antagonism between Hindus and Moslems. With

regard to the immediate outlook, he adopted, on the whole, an attitude of very cautious optimism, based on the result of the last elections and the fortunate outcome of the recent negotiations between representatives of the South African and Indian Governments. Indian politics, he said, were still largely an affair of personalities, but he thought that they would soon have from a wider area that responsive co-operation between British and Indian without which he could see no solid hope of progress. Commenting on the Minister's speech, the ex-Viceroy, Lord Reading, maintained that it was a complete answer to the view expressed earlier in the debate by Lord Olivier, that the Indian Constitution was a failure, and said that everything pointed to the peaceful development of constitutional government. In the field of finance, especially, he thought that the Constitution had worked remarkably well, and he commended the study of affairs in India to the advocates of economy in Great Britain.

On April 4 the Government issued to members of Parliament the text of its long-awaited Trade Disputes and Trade Unions Bill. As was expected, the Bill had for its first object the prevention of a general strike. It declared illegal any strike which fulfilled two conditions—that it had any object in addition to the furtherance of a trade dispute within the trade concerned, and that it was calculated to coerce the Government or to intimidate the community or any substantial portion of it. The last phrase of this clause, which seemed to be aimed at the sympathetic strike, caused general surprise, and in certain other respects also the Bill was drafted somewhat more stringently than had been expected. Regulations against intimidation were made stricter, and picketing at the home of a worker was made a criminal offence. "Contracting out" in respect of the political levy was replaced by "contracting in," that is to say, no member of a union could be required to contribute to its political fund unless he had signified his willingness to do so. Trade unions of civil servants were forbidden to belong to any outside federation of trade unions, or to be associated directly or indirectly with any political party. Finally, the Attorney-General, or any person interested, was given power to apply for an injunction to restrain any application of the funds of a trade union in contravention of the provisions of the Bill.

The Trade Union Council immediately made strenuous preparations for opposing the Bill. On April 6 it issued a manifesto in which it described the Bill as "a violent attack on the workers' rights," and as "striking at the living spirit of trade unionism," and declared that it would be fought line by line in Parliament and outside, and that every trade unionist and every adherent of the Labour movement must be made aware of its significance. The Labour Party gave its active co-operation, and besides arranging for a large number of Labour members of Parliament

to address meetings in the country against the Bill, organised a new plan for fighting it in the House, making various individuals responsible for conducting the opposition to each of the clauses. The Liberal Party also drew up an amendment deprecating the introduction of the Bill as being against the interests of industrial peace, but decided to make the best of it on the Committee stage by introducing carefully considered amendments drafted under the best legal advice.

## CHAPTER II.

### THE TRADE UNION BILL.

THE financial year 1926-27 closed on March 31 with a deficit of 36,693,794*l.* in place of the surplus of over 4,000,000*l.* originally anticipated. Revenue at 805,701,233*l.* was some 19,000,000*l.* less than was budgeted for, and expenditure, at 842,395,027*l.* nearly 22,000,000*l.* more. The deficiency in revenue was attributable chiefly to the fact that property and income tax receipts were some 20,000,000*l.* below expectation, and excise duties also fell considerably short of the estimate. The excess of expenditure was due chiefly to the heavier charge for debt, but in part also to the outlays necessitated by the coal stoppage. Thus the industrial troubles of 1926 did not fail to leave their mark on the national finances for the year, though less rudely than had been feared.

Soon after the publication of the Civil Service Estimates (March 8) a deputation from the Association of British Chambers of Commerce had waited on the Chancellor of the Exchequer to express to him their disappointment that there was to be no reduction in the expenditure on the civil services, and to impress upon him the inability of trade and industry to endure the strain of any addition to direct taxation. A few days later the Federation of British Industries addressed to him a similar plea. Mr. Churchill made no promises at the moment, but he found means in preparing his Budget to meet the wishes of the deputations in the matter of direct taxation.

The Budget for 1927-28 was introduced on April 11, before the Easter recess, which this year fell very late. Mr. Churchill's speech, which lasted two and a half hours, was on his best oratorical level, and won general admiration for its lucidity, its comprehensiveness, and its illuminating asides. On its purely financial side also it was immediately allowed by Opposition critics to have at least the attractions of ingenuity and audacity. It was audacious, too, in its optimism; Mr. Churchill's review of the financial situation of the country was anything but the jeremiad which was generally

expected. His first step was to explain exactly how far his calculations of the previous year had been upset by the industrial troubles of 1926. He traced to this cause a fall of about 8,000,000*l.* in Customs and Excise Revenue, principally on beer and spirits, and a diminution of 1,500,000*l.* in receipts from stamp duties. In the field of income tax also the loss was very considerable. Apart from other miscalculations, 3,250,000*l.* was completely lost through the Government having to remit or repay income tax on account of trading losses, and the collection of 4,250,000*l.* was deferred for the same reason. Altogether the revenue receipts had fallen 17,500,000*l.* below the estimates. On the other hand, the disturbed state of the country had caused expenditure to be considerably higher than had been anticipated. More Treasury bills had had to be raised at a higher rate of interest, and this had meant a payment of nearly 6,000,000*l.* extra in interest. There had been also a larger encashment of War Savings Certificates owing to the diminution in the public's earnings, and this had cost the Exchequer 5,000,000*l.* Relief of unemployment and distress with the emergency Vote for dealing with the general strike had cost nearly 5,000,000*l.*, so that altogether there had been an excess in expenditure over the estimate of 14,000,000*l.* Thus the deficit in the year's working on the Budget estimate was some 32,000,000*l.*, which supplementary estimates brought up to a total of over 36,500,000*l.*; this quite apart from the serious effects which the trade depression of 1926 was bound to have on the finances of 1927, and also of 1928 and 1929.

At this point the Chancellor paused in his Budget statement to point out, not without some show of pride, how little the strength and resources of the nation had been affected by the last year's "shocking breakdown in our island's civilisation," as he called it. The revenue, though mauled and wounded, had in the main survived. The immense number of miscellaneous and secondary businesses established of recent years, mostly in the South of England, the profits of banking, broking, and insurance, and the interest on British investments abroad had enabled them almost to keep the even tenor of their way even when the basic industries were in a state of collapse. If the revenue had in the main survived, the exchange had stood as firm as a rock, so much so that they had never used the large precautionary credits which were brought into existence to safeguard the return to the gold standard, and they did not propose to renew them when they expired next month. The consuming power of the masses also, as far as could be judged from the Treasury standpoint, had suffered little from the troubles of last year. Tea only showed a trifling decrease during the coal stoppage, and the consumption of sugar and even tobacco actually increased, though not in the districts particularly affected. Only beer and spirits reflected to the Exchequer the social and industrial dislocation. Even trade



had, except in the matter of coal exports, closely rivalled through many months that of the preceding year. The country had continued to augment its capital and was still the greatest creditor nation and the financial centre of the world. Its economic and financial vitality had been cruelly and needlessly strained, but was still intact.

Turning to the future, the Chancellor analysed the total of 397,900,000l. for the Consolidated Fund Services for the coming year as follows: Debt Interest, 305,000,000l. ; Sinking Fund (for the moment), 50,000,000l.; Road Fund, 19,500,000l. ; Local Taxation Account, 14,300,000l.; Northern Ireland Residuary Share, 5,400,000l.; other services, 3,700,000l. Along with the other services, this brought the total estimated expenditure for the year up to 818,390,000l. This was 28,000,000l. more than was estimated in Mr. Snowden's Budget of 1924, a fact which seemed to be in strong contradiction with the Government's pledges of economy. In anticipation of this criticism Mr. Churchill here pointed out that the increase could be wholly accounted for by the automatic effects of decisions of previous Parliaments and Governments—the increase of the Sinking Fund, of old age and other pensions, of unemployment benefit and health insurance, and so forth. The present Government had also been responsible for an addition of 17,000,000l., chiefly through widows' pensions and the beet-sugar subsidy, but they had effected counterbalancing economies. He was, he said, still aiming at the annual reduction of 10,000,000l. in expenditure which he had declared to be possible in his first Budget, but without any present prospect of achieving it. Surveying the field of expenditure he pointed out to his critics that there was no part of it in which a reduction of 40,000,000l. or 50,000,000l. could be made without causing a convulsion in the country and without the setting up of a financial dictatorship. However, he comforted his hearers with the information that the automatic increases in expenditure had practically come to an end, and that in 1928 an automatic decrease would set in, provided no new commitments were entered into. He further stated that the Government would attempt to effect some economy at once by abolishing the Ministry of Transport, the Department of Mines, and the Overseas Trade Department, three offices which could now be dispensed with. They also had a programme of economies which he hoped would save over 8,000,000l. in 1928; but, warned by experience, he would give no promises.

Coming to revenue, the Chancellor estimated the yield from Customs and Excise at 247,000,000l. and from the betting tax at his original figure of 6,000,000l. The income tax estimate he reduced from 254,750,000l. to 232,000,000l. This with 67,500,000l. death duties, 25,700,000l. stamps, and 62,000,000l. supertax, would, with other taxes, bring up the total of Inland Revenue duties

for 1927 to 393,700,000l. An addition of 24,100,000l. for motor licences would bring the total tax revenue up to 664,800,000l. This with a total non-tax revenue of 132,050,000l. would yield a total revenue on the existing basis of 796,850,000l., which was 2,500,000l. more than in Mr. Snowden's Budget. Mr. Churchill pointed out that since that time there had been an actual increase in the country's revenue from various sources of about 73,000,000l., the chief items in which were 16,000,000l. from luxury, McKenna, and safeguarding duties, 18,000,000l. additional from the Road Fund and the Post Office, 13,000,000l. additional from reparations and debt settlement, 11,000,000l. from supertax, and 15,000,000l. from other sources, but that this had been nearly balanced by the decrease due to remissions of direct taxation made by himself and of indirect taxation made by his predecessors, and by diminution of special receipts from war stores.

The National Debt had been reduced during the preceding year by only 23,500,000l. instead of the 60,000,000l. which had been intended. With a prospective deficit of 21,000,000l. in front of him, the Chancellor admitted that there was a strong temptation to reduce the Sinking Fund for the coming year by that amount, but he refused emphatically to entertain such an idea on account of the injury which might thus be inflicted on the national credit; the maintenance of this credit was all the more important in view of the opportunities for conversion on a large scale which would present themselves in the coming years. So far, therefore, from reducing the Sinking Fund below the accepted figure of 50,000,000l., he intended to increase it by part at least of the arrears of the year just passed, at the cost of raising his prospective deficit from 21,000,000l. to between 35,000,000l. and 40,000,000l.

The whole of this sum, he admitted, could be covered by an addition of sixpence to the income tax. But from such an heroic remedy he shrank, and direct taxation was left at its existing level. All that was to be done with the income tax was to take certain measures for simplifying it, chiefly by including income tax and supertax in one graduated scale, and by a rewriting of the Income Tax Acts in more modern and intelligible language. Nor was indirect taxation laid under very large contribution to supply the Chancellor's needs. The duties on wine and tobacco were to be increased so as to bring in about 4,350,000l. in the current year, and 4,900,000l. in a full year, and safeguarding duties bringing in nearly a million were to be laid on imported tyres and translucent pottery. But for by far the greater part of the money he required the Chancellor had recourse to devices which were in effect nothing but an anticipating of the revenue of the succeeding year. Following the precedent set a couple of years previously, 5,000,000l. were to be procured by reducing the credit period of the beer excise from two months to one; 14,800,000l. was to be raised by the collection of Schedule A. taxes in one instalment

in January instead of two, in January and July, and 12,000,000*l.* by transferring the reserve of the Road Fund to the National Exchequer, which would in turn assume the responsibility for financing the expenditure of the Road Fund. By these means the Chancellor brought the total estimated revenue of the year up to 834,800,000*l.* against an expenditure of 833,400,000*l.*, leaving himself a surplus of 1,400,000*l.*, which he admitted was none too large and required to be fortified by current savings from the estimates of the year.

In opening the debate on the Budget next day, Mr. Snowden criticised its makeshift character, and caustically remarked that the Chancellor of the Exchequer, so far from coming before the House as a criminal about to receive sentence, had himself assumed the pose of the executioner. The fact that Mr. Churchill had now drifted into two deficits and was heading for a third was held by the Opposition to be proof of his failure as a financier; but Ministerial speakers, while lamenting the continued frustration of their hopes of economy, were inclined to congratulate the Chancellor on having extricated himself from a difficult position much more successfully than they had dared to expect. Both Sir Robert Home, as representing the Conservative point of view, and Mr. Lloyd George, as representing the Liberal, insisted on the capital need for public economy in the interests of the nation's trade and industry, but with the typical difference that the former saw the best field for effecting savings in the restriction of social services, and the latter in the reduction of armaments. Regret was expressed by a number of speakers, including some Conservatives, at the proposed abolition of the Ministry of Transport, an office which seemed more than ever necessary in view of the growing complexity of traffic problems. Mr. Churchill replied to his critics with his usual vigour, and the reception of his remarks on the Ministerial benches showed that his Budget had not as yet alienated support from the Government in that quarter.

Before Parliament adjourned for the Easter recess, the Prime Minister, on April 13, announced that a Bill would be brought in during the next session to equalise the franchise as between men and women at the age of 21. It was calculated that this would mean an addition of about 5,000,000 new voters to the register. The announcement was hailed with delight by the Labour Party, which had long pressed for such a measure, but was received with misgiving and even bitter hostility by sections of the Conservative Party. The opinion was expressed in many quarters that it would have been better to make the age limit both for male and female voters 25 instead of 21, but no organised efforts were made to deflect the Government from its intention.

The annual Conference of the Independent Labour Party held in the Easter recess brought into relief once more both the unpopularity of Mr. MacDonald with a section of the Labour

Party and his indispensability as the party leader. Contrary to a custom of many years' standing, the I.L.P. decided that it would not nominate Mr. MacDonald for the post of treasurer of the National Labour Party at the annual election. This decision made no difference to Mr. MacDonald's position, as it was certain that he would be nominated from other quarters and elected; but it attracted considerable attention as a mark of want of confidence in Mr. MacDonald on the part of a body which, if it was no longer the soul of the Labour Party, as it once had been, still played an important part in its councils, and in which Mr. MacDonald himself had for so many years been a leading figure. The immediate effect of this attack was to strengthen rather than weaken Mr. MacDonald's hold on the party as a whole. A large number of members of Parliament took the opportunity of expressing their confidence in him by protesting against the action of the I.L.P.; and Mr. Henderson delivered a speech in which he vigorously called them to account in the name of party discipline. The I.L.P. in answer adopted an apologetic tone, and, while not withdrawing its decision, declared its high esteem for Mr. MacDonald, and repudiated any notion of questioning his authority as leader of the Labour Party.

Parliament reassembled after the Easter recess on April 26, and the fight over the Budget immediately began in earnest. The Labour Party opened the attack with their proposal to reduce the tea duty to a penny. Mr. Churchill replied that owing to the general strike and the coal stoppage, any reduction of the tea duty in the lifetime of the present Parliament was out of the question. He went on to point out that the Opposition amendments, proposing the abolition of the duties on tea, sugar, silk, and betting, and of the McKenna and Safeguarding Industries duties, would involve a loss of about 20,000,000*l.* to the Treasury. Mr. Snowden retorted that even if the loss amounted to 40,000,000*l.* it could easily be made good by restoring the income tax and the super-tax to the point at which Mr. Churchill had found them. This was not an agreement to carry weight with the Conservative benches, and the existing duty on tea was confirmed by a large majority.

The extension of the McKenna duties to include motor tyres was noted by Liberal speakers as another step in the direction of Protection. The same complaint was brought with even greater force against the proposal to impose a tax of 285. per cwt. on imported translucent pottery. There was hardly a pretence on the Government side that the tax fulfilled the conditions laid down in the White Paper on the safeguarding of industries; the President of the Board of Trade (to whom the Chancellor of the Exchequer left the task of defending it) could not deny that the proposed duty would in many cases be equivalent to a tax of from 50 to 100 per cent, on the value of the imported article,

instead of the  $33\frac{1}{3}$  per cent, allowed by the White Paper ; nor did he make any attempt to deal with the objections raised in a minority report presented by one of the three members of the Committee which had examined the application. In answer to Sir John Simon, who brought to light a whole list of irregularities in the proceedings of the Committee, he threatened that if the Opposition were not satisfied with the findings of these Committees of inquiry, the Government would propose such duties as it thought fit without going through the formality of holding an inquiry. Conservative members showed by their applause that they were not displeased with such a prospect, and the resolution was eventually carried by 245 votes to 143.

The discussion of the Trade Union Bill in Parliament was preceded and accompanied by a vigorous campaign in the country both for and against the measure. The Conservatives commenced before Parliament reassembled, sending speakers up and down the country to persuade the public that the main purpose of the Bill, apart from making a general strike impossible, was to protect the peace-loving minority in the trade unions against the tyranny of the majority. A week later the Labour Party opened an equally vigorous campaign, in which the Bill was denounced as an instrument for crippling the trade unions and depriving the working classes of rights which they had won through long years of toil and struggle. For financing the Labour campaign, the National Committee representing the various Labour bodies opened a Trade Union Defence Fund, on behalf of which an appeal was issued by Mr. Citrine and Mr. Henderson, calling not only on trade unionists, but on all who cared for industrial freedom to help to ward off the danger which threatened the working classes.

The attitude of the Trade Union Council to the Bill was defined at a special Conference of Executives of Unions affiliated to that body held in London on April 29—the anniversary of the historic meeting of the similar body which twelve months before had decided on the general strike. A resolution was introduced endorsing the steps already taken with the object of organising the most strenuous resistance possible to this "dangerously reactionary measure" as it was called, and pledging the Conference to continue the campaign against the Bill with the utmost vigour, with the object not merely of frustrating it, but of driving its authors from power. The President, Mr. Hicks, in introducing the resolution, described the Government as the most bitter, relentless, and reactionary capitalist Government they had had for four generations, a class-conscious Government serving as the instrument of the meanest and most brutal class interests. Mr. Citrine, the General Secretary of the Trade Union Council, subjected the Bill to a searching analysis, in which he pointed out that, in view of the time and care which had been spent on the preparation of the Bill, the vagueness of its drafting must be regarded as deliberate, and

as designed to put weapons in the hands of the judges for depriving the trade unions of their rights. He also considered that the omission from the Bill of employers' combinations was deliberate.

A significant episode at the meeting showed how deeply the trade union world had taken to heart the lesson of the general strike and its failure. After Mr. Henderson, speaking on behalf of the Parliamentary Labour Party, had assured the Conference that the political and industrial sides of labour were completely at one in their opposition to the Bill, a "Left Wing" member, Mr. Gossip, was allowed to introduce an amendment calling on the Parliamentary Labour Party to obstruct the whole business of Government in the House of Commons, and on the General Council of the T.U.C. to make all preparations to use the industrial weapon, by a general strike if necessary. The present attack on the trade unions was certainly far more provocative to them than the miners' lock-out had been a year previously; yet the Conference now by an overwhelming majority refused to listen to the proposal, and Mr. Bevin denounced the Communists as being no less the enemies of the working classes than the Tories. The resolution was then carried with a few dissentients.

At the same time that one national conference of trade union representatives was considering the Government's Trade Union Bill, another was considering the Blanesburgh Committee's report on Unemployment Insurance, a subject which also was of vital importance to the Labour world. The chief object of the Committee had been to make the Unemployment Insurance Fund solvent, and for this purpose it had recommended certain reductions in benefit. A memorandum had been drawn up by the National Joint Council of the Trade Union Congress and the Labour Party, stating that the report contained many good features, and that if its recommendations were embodied in a Government Bill, the Labour Party should use its efforts to get it amended so as to harmonise with Labour policy. At the Conference on April 28, Mr. Wheatley and Mr. Cook moved that the Labour Party should reject the report *in toto*, at the same time strongly attacking the Labour members on the Committee who had signed it. The Conference, however, by a two to one majority, decided to follow the course recommended in the memorandum of the National Joint Council, and Miss Bondfield, as one of the Labour members who had signed the report, defended her action on the ground that it would have been useless to draw up a minority report, and that it was better for the Committee to draw up a scale of benefits than to leave it to the Government to introduce what it pleased.

By the end of April events in China had taken a new turn which effectually removed them from the arena of British party politics. Mr. Chen had replied to the British Government's Note demanding reparation for the Nanking outrages, with an offer to submit the events in question to an impartial inquiry. The

Labour Party in England regarded this offer as eminently reasonable, and urged the Foreign Secretary to accept it. The Government, however, considered the Chinese reply thoroughly unsatisfactory, and began to cast about for means of applying the sanctions of which it had spoken. It found most of the other Powers concerned, especially the United States, exceedingly unwilling to join it in such a step, and was thus faced with the unpleasant alternative of acting alone or allowing its threat to remain a *brutum fulmen*. From this embarrassing situation it was rescued by the development of events in China itself. A few days after the despatch of Mr. Chen's Note the quarrel between the Communist and the Nationalist sections within the Kuomintang Party came to a head. General Chiang Kai-shek, as head of the Nationalist section, began to put down Communism with an iron hand in the districts under his control, and in Nanking he visited with condign punishment the perpetrators of the anti-foreign outrages of March, dealing with them, as Sir A. Chamberlain subsequently put it, "with a severity and effectiveness of which no foreign Power was capable." On this head, therefore, as the Foreign Secretary informed Parliament on May 9, Britain could consider her demands satisfied. There remained the question of reparation for damage done. In regard to this, he said that whatever Government finally emerged from the confusion then prevailing in China would be held responsible for outrages on British subjects resulting from the civil war, and compensation and reparation would be demanded of it by the British Government. The events at Nanking, he added, would make no difference to the agreement about Hankow. They had ample justification for reoccupying the Concession there and regarding the Agreement as cancelled; but they refrained from doing so in order to show once more their friendship for China.

For the first time for many months the Secretary for Foreign Affairs, on May 2, made a statement on European affairs other than Russian. The occasion was a question asked in the House of Commons on the connexion of England with the Treaty of Tirana concluded in the previous November between Italy and Yugoslavia, which had subsequently become a source of serious friction between Italy and France. It had recently been asserted in the French Press that Britain had abetted Italy in the conclusion of the Treaty, and public opinion in England was uneasy over the matter. Sir A. Chamberlain set at rest the fears that British relations with France had been in any way compromised. He denied that the British Government had had anything to do either with the inception, negotiation, or terms of the Treaty. Britain was not directly concerned in the tension which had arisen between Italy and Yugoslavia as a result of the Treaty, but being on friendly terms with both Powers, it had done its best to allay suspicion and to promote direct conversations between them. The

Government had no other interest in the question than the preservation of peace, and it had no intention of taking sides for or against either party.

In the House of Commons about this time attention was called to certain statements made by Mr. Mellon, Secretary of the United States Treasury, in a letter to the President of Princeton University, belittling the sacrifice which England was making in the payment of the American war debt. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, in answer to questions, forthwith denied the correctness of Mr. Mellon's statements. Considering, however, that they required a more formal and complete refutation, the Government instructed the British Ambassador at Washington, on May 2, to hand to the United States Government a Note on the subject, the text of which was issued by the Foreign Office to the Press a couple of days later. The chief object of the Note was to show by figures and quotations that Mr. Mellon had quite underestimated the burden which the British taxpayer was bearing, and would continue to bear, in respect of war debt repayments, in spite of the increased amounts which Britain might expect to receive from Germany in the way of reparations and from other countries in payment of war debts. The Note concluded by stating that the Government viewed with great misgiving the divergence of opinion and the estrangement of sentiment which was growing up in regard to these war obligations. It regretted that there should have been issued under the authority of the Secretary of the United States Treasury a series of statements which seemed to it to misrepresent the facts, and trusted that the United States Government would take steps to remove the unfortunate impression which had been created.

The discussion of the Trade Union Bill in the House of Commons opened on May 2—just a twelvemonth after the commencement of the general strike of which it was the rebound. Public interest in the Bill was shown by the crowded attendance on the floor and in the galleries of the House, and the Government marked its sense of the importance and controversial character of the measure by setting aside practically a whole week for the debate on the second reading. The mover was the Attorney-General, Sir Douglas Hogg, who had been chiefly responsible for drafting the Bill. In a speech of over two hours' duration, which was subjected to constant interruption from the Labour benches—the Speaker had finally to ask one member to leave the House—he presented the case for the Bill in its general outline with great persuasiveness. He summarised the general effect of the Bill in four propositions: first, that a general strike was illegal, and no man should be penalised for refusing to take part in it; secondly, that intimidation was illegal, and no man should be coerced by threats to abstain from work; thirdly, that no man should be compelled to subscribe to any political party unless he so desired;



fourthly, that anyone entering the established Civil Service must give his undivided allegiance to the State. Was there, he asked, any member of the House who was prepared to assert that any one of these propositions was wrong? Because, if not, the Government was surely justified in claiming that the Bill was in effect a Bill to vindicate the authority of the State and to protect the liberties of the citizens. Dealing with the propositions in detail, he asserted that a general strike differed not in degree but in character from an industrial or a genuine strike, in the fact that it was a blow not struck by one combatant against another, but directed, whether in intention or not, at the vitals of the whole community. He quoted the language used by several of the more moderate Labour leaders in condemnation of the whole idea of the general strike, and said that if they represented the views of the whole Socialist Party, then, indeed, it might be held that there was no necessity for the first clause of the Bill. But unfortunately there were other influential members of the party who used quite different language—for instance, the President of the Trade Union Congress, who had declared his opinion that general strikes of a more intense and formidable character were inevitable. In face of that challenge, it was the bounden duty of a Government which believed a general strike to be a wicked crime against the State, to make it clear beyond the shadow of a doubt that the general strike was illegal, and that any man who took part in it committed a crime against the community at large. This was the purpose of the first clause of the Bill. The speaker admitted that, logically, the clause ought to include a general lock-out also. He justified the omission on two grounds—one, that there was little likelihood of the general lock-out being used in the same way as a general strike—to coerce the Government; the other, that if such a thing was attempted, the Government, acting under the Emergency Powers Act, could simply take possession of the works and run them until the employers came to reason. Dealing with the other clauses of the Bill, the Attorney-General maintained that intimidation would be made illegal by it, but not picketing; that the clause relating to the political levy was necessary to prevent abuses within the trade unions; and that while the regulations regarding the Civil Service could have been made by the Government without the Bill, they thought it better to obtain the approval of Parliament for such steps.

The Attorney-General's defence of the Bill made little impression on the Opposition. Mr. Clynes, in moving its rejection, stigmatised it as a calculated and deliberate act of class hostility. The main objection of the Labour Party to the first clause of the Bill was that it would erect a great, if not insuperable, barrier of doubt in the minds of trade union leaders and executives as to when it was legal for them to take any action,

^ Sir H. Slesser, looking at the Bill from a legal standpoint, said

that it went far beyond the general strike, and would make it unsafe for men to take part in any sympathetic strike whatever. In regard to intimidation also, the Government had veiled its intentions in evasive and doubtful language. On the other hand, Captain MacMillan, one of the most prominent of the "new Conservatives," gave the Bill his blessing in principle, though he thought it should be altered in details, and Mr. Spencer, the miners' representative who had been recently expelled from the Labour Party, also supported it cordially.

Continuing his speech on the second day, Mr. Spencer drew a powerful picture from his own experience of the intimidation which went on inside the trade unions, to the no small discomfiture of "his late friends," as he called the Labour members, and the huge delight of the Conservatives, who gave him an ovation at the conclusion of his speech. He was followed by Mr. Henderson, who pointed out that the Bill struck at the long-established rights of trade unions, and, in fact, represented such an invasion of their rights as had not been attempted since the repeal of the Combination Laws. Sir L. Worthington-Evans, who rose to answer certain questions raised in the debate, was, like Sir D. Hogg on the previous day, subjected to a good deal of interruption from the Labour benches, which once or twice rose to tumult.

The chief speeches on the third day were delivered by Sir John Simon and the Prime Minister. The former, as might have been expected from his utterances on the general strike, took up a more detached attitude than the great majority of the speakers, and found something to support and something to condemn in the views of both sides. He agreed that the four objects of the Bill, as set forth by the Attorney-General, were highly commendable, and he put it to the Labour members that if the Bill really fulfilled these objects, they would find it difficult to go to the country with a proposal to repeal it. But there was much to take objection to in the method and language used by the Government to attain its ends. He would have wished that the Labour Party would frankly recognise the illegality of the general strike; but since, on the whole, it did not, he would have liked to see the Government introduce a short one-clause Bill declaring that any combination, whether of employers or employed, to coerce the Government or Parliament by a simultaneous refusal to continue employment or work was an unlawful conspiracy. Since, however, the Government had not thought fit to proceed in this way, he saw nothing for it but that they should do their best to amend the Bill in such a way as to make it fulfil the declarations laid down by the Attorney-General. Some interjections with which this remark was greeted drew from him the retort that there were Labour members who even yet did not understand the difference between intimidation and peaceful persuasion.

The Prime Minister gave what was in effect an explanation of

his own *volte-face* in the matter of trade union legislation. He had, he said, long held that the Act of 1906 concerning trade unions had opened the way to grave abuses which ought to be corrected by legislation. In 1925, however, when Mr. Macquisten introduced a Bill to suppress the political levy, he had induced him to withdraw it, as he did not wish the Conservative Party to fire the first shot in the struggle with the trade unions. Three months later he advised the Government to avert a general strike by giving a subsidy to the coal-mining industry, because he had sufficient faith in the democratic instincts of the people to believe that if they had some months to consider the question they would refrain from bringing the country face to face with a general strike. That faith had not been justified; the extremists had gained control, and the general strike weapon had been brought into operation. The mandate for the Bill was thus to be found in the events of the past year. He had been pressed to introduce such a Bill during the strike and immediately afterwards, but he had refrained, because a Bill introduced at such a time would have been vindictive. The present Bill was intended to lay down and pass into law the four propositions mentioned by the Attorney-General, and he invited the House to co-operate in making it as effective as possible for that purpose.

Mr. Baldwin's speech was the occasion for renewed disorderly scenes in the House. Speaking of the changes which had taken place in the character of the trade unions since 1906, he remarked that in some of them the power was gradually passing into the hands of what was known as the Minority Movement. He was asked by a Labour member to mention an instance, and in answer said that he would not quote names, neither would he withdraw. This was the signal for an uproar on the Labour benches, as a sequel to which one member was "named" by the Deputy Speaker, and suspended from the House, by 321 votes to 88. Mr. Baldwin, in reply to further questions, mentioned the Miners' Federation as a union which, in his opinion, had come under the influence of the Minority Movement. This was at once denied by a miners' member, but the Premier held to his opinion.

The last day produced the most effective speech of the whole debate on the Labour side from Mr. Snowden, who trenchantly exposed the Government pretence that the first clause of the Bill was necessary to protect the community against the menace of a general strike. In his opinion, the true argument against a general strike was not that it was morally wrong, but that it was foolish and ineffective. There was nothing wrong in trying to coerce the Government—Governments were made to be coerced. But a general strike could only be effective if it had the support of the mass of the population. Further, they would not stop a general strike by declaring it illegal; if the workers were determined to have it, they would care neither for Acts of Parliament nor for

judges. And if they did break the law, how were they to be proceeded against? Were five million men to be put in prison? They might say that only the leaders would be punished; but there was no talk of discrimination in the Bill. The Bill was more likely to produce than to prevent another general strike; it made the position of moderate men like himself, who had never advocated strikes, exceedingly difficult. Mr. Snowden's point of view was shared by his fellow-moderate, Mr. J. H. Thomas, who declared that no man on his side resented the Bill more than he did. Mr. Thomas's remarks, however, that the Bill would destroy all hope of industrial peace, and that the Government was striking a blow at those who desired peace, were simply greeted with laughter from the Conservative benches.

Mr. Lloyd George explained the ground of the Liberal opposition to the Bill, namely, that apart from its intrinsic merits or demerits, it was inopportune at the present juncture. It was a challenging and provocative measure introduced at a time when it was essential that there should be the best relations between capital and labour with a view to the recovery of their lost trade. What the country wanted was not Bills to declare general strikes illegal—most people thought they were so already—but new machinery of conciliation. It was a Bill not for trade recovery, but for Tory recovery.

The debate was summed up on behalf of the Government by the Solicitor-General, who repeated all the claims made on behalf of the Bill by Conservative speakers, and curtly dismissed the objections raised by its opponents. In the division the second reading was carried by 386 votes to 171—majority, 215. One Conservative, Lord Cavendish-Bentinck, voted against the Bill. Of the Liberals, the majority voted or were paired against the Bill, but Sir John Simon abstained from voting, and eight members of the party supported the Government.

Having given the Bill its second reading, the House of Commons proceeded without delay to discuss it in Committee. The task promised to be an arduous one, as this was the stage in which the Labour Party had an opportunity of putting into effect its threat of contesting every clause and line of the Bill; and it had, indeed, put down a host of amendments. Nothing daunted, the Government began to tackle these one by one, rejecting them all, but substituting one or two of its own to meet objections which it thought well founded.

Scarcely had Parliament settled down to the detailed discussion of the Trade Union Bill when an incident occurred which again threw the public into violent agitation, at the same time providing it with all the excitement of a first-class detective story. On May 12, about 4 o'clock in the afternoon, a large force of policemen in plain clothes drove up to the premises of Arcos, the Russian State trading agency, in Moorgate Street, London, and entering the

building, proceeded to search all the employees, both British and Russian, and to seize and collect all the documents in the place. No arrests were made, but the Scotland Yard authorities remained in possession of the premises for some days, rummaging in safes and going through documents. They did not confine their attention to the Arcos premises, but entered some rooms in the same building belonging to the Russian Trade Delegation, and demanded the keys of the safes. The head of the Delegation refused on the ground that the premises were protected by diplomatic immunity. The police thereupon had the safes, some of which were strongly embedded in the walls, blown open.

Immediately on hearing of the raid, on May 12, the Russian *chargé d'affaires*, M. Rosengolsz, lodged a protest at the Foreign Office. The Secretary for Foreign Affairs replied that the raid was no concern of his, being an action taken by the police purely on their own initiative. On the next day, May 13, Mr. Henderson asked the Home Secretary if he could give an explanation of the affair. The latter professed complete ignorance in his official capacity, but promised to supply information on the following Monday, May 16. Meanwhile, an influential section of the Press, headed by the *Daily Mail*, sought by means of a violent propaganda to inflame popular feeling against the Soviet Government and its agents, though the search in the Arcos building had not yet brought to light anything incriminating. It also endeavoured to involve the Labour Party in the odium, making much of the fact that Mr. Rosengolsz, after failing to receive satisfaction from the Foreign Office, had interviewed Mr. Henderson and sought his assistance.

The search came to an end at midnight on Sunday, May 15, after having lasted four full days. On the next day, May 16, the Home Secretary in the House of Commons satisfied the curiosity of members in part. It had, he said, come to his knowledge on the previous Wednesday that an important and strictly confidential document belonging to the War Office was in possession of persons employed in the premises occupied by Arcos Ltd. Accordingly, after consultation with the Prime Minister and the Foreign Secretary, he had obtained a warrant for the search of the premises under the Official Secrets Act. The missing document had not been found, but a number of other documents had been seized, and were still being examined. He promised further information when the examination should have been completed, and the Opposition resolved before taking any steps to await his next statement.

On May 17 the British *charge d'affaires* in Moscow received from the Soviet Government a Note upholding and elaborating the protest already made by M. Rosengolsz. The Note insisted that the Russian Trade Delegation in England, as in all foreign countries, enjoyed full diplomatic immunity, and that the seizure

of its cipher correspondence was contrary to the express stipulations of the Trade Agreement. The raid on Arcos also—a registered British firm with an annual turnover of ten millions—though it might be technically justifiable, was something unprecedented in the history of the City of London. The campaign of hate which culminated in this raid and which lately had been meeting with growing encouragement from members of the British Government, compelled the Soviet Government to ask that Government frankly whether it desired the further preservation and development of Anglo-Soviet trade relations, which would only be possible on condition of the strict observance by it of the Trade Agreement. At the same time, the Soviet Government reserved to itself the right to present demands for satisfaction for the violation of treaty rights, and for insults and material damage suffered.

When May 19 came round, the Home Secretary asked for another postponement till May 24, on the ground that the examination of the seized documents was not yet complete. The Labour Party gave vent to their impatience at the delay by demanding facilities for discussing the Home Secretary's conduct if they so desired—a request which was readily granted. On May 23 the Cabinet met to consider the whole question of Britain's relations with Russia; and fateful decisions were taken which the Premier himself announced the next day to a House of Commons crowded to its utmost capacity.

Dealing first with the actual raid on the Arcos premises, Mr. Baldwin informed the House that it was undertaken in order to recover an official and highly confidential document relating to the armed forces of Great Britain, which was known on good evidence to have been conveyed to Soviet House and there reproduced by means of a photostatic apparatus. Although the document was not recovered, a photostat room was unearthed exactly corresponding to the description given to the police, and at work in it a man known to be a secret service agent of the Soviet Government. Search in this room and in others brought to light documents which to the mind of the Government proved that Soviet House was being used for the carrying out of military espionage and subversive activities throughout the British Empire and North and South America, and that no effective differentiation of rooms and duties was observed as between the members of the Trade Delegation and the employees of Arcos. It was evident, therefore, that the Trade Delegation had broken the Trade Agreement. But the Soviet Mission had been equally guilty. The Government had in its possession a telegram dated November 12 from the Commissariat for Foreign Affairs in Moscow to the Soviet representative in Peking, which showed conclusively that Borodin was an agent of the Moscow Government, in spite of the denials made by the Soviet authorities in Moscow and in London; further a telegram from the Soviet *charge d'affaires* in London to the

Commissariat for Foreign Affairs in Moscow, dated April 1, soliciting information about China for the purposes of a political campaign in this country, and suggesting the terms of a reply which would be useful for that purpose. From these breaches of the Trade Agreement and of international comity it was clear that the protest and the warning uttered by the Government to Russia three months previously had had no effect. Diplomatic relations thus deliberately and systematically abused were themselves a danger to peace, and the Government had therefore decided that, unless the House expressed its disapproval in the debate of which the Labour Party had given notice, it would terminate the Trade Agreement, require the withdrawal of the Trade Delegation and the Soviet Mission from London, and recall the British Mission from Moscow.

This announcement was received with loud Ministerial cheers. The Labour Party was somewhat taken aback to find that the Government had now nerved itself to venture on the step from which it had shrunk less than three months previously. For the moment it held its peace, reserving its comments to the debate which was to take place in a couple of days' time. Mr. Clynes simply asked the Prime Minister a few questions, the chief of which was whether the Government before coming to its decision had made any representations to the Soviet Government with a view to discussion and conference—a question which Mr. Baldwin answered in the negative.

The Russian *charge d'affaires*, M. Rosengolsz, lost no time in making a spirited reply to Mr. Baldwin's charges. On the next day (May 25) an official statement was issued from the Russian Embassy, pointing out that no particle of evidence had been adduced to show either that the missing document had found its way to Soviet House, or that the Trade Delegation, or Arcos, or any of their employees had ever engaged in military espionage or any work of a similar nature. The facts on the strength of which the Premier had sought to raise prejudice against the Delegation, such as the existence of a subterranean photostatic room, and the burning of certain documents on the arrival of the police, were shown to admit of perfectly simple explanations. If one of the employees had been proved by documents found on his person to be engaged in illicit activities, this was his own private concern, and the Delegation could not be held responsible. With regard to the telegrams alleged to have been sent or received by the *charge d'affaires* himself, M. Rosengolsz denied that either he or anyone else from the staff of the Embassy had either sent or received such telegrams; the telegram alleged to have been sent **from** the Soviet Commissariat for Foreign Affairs to the Soviet representative in Peking bore on it the signs of an invention. The statement went on to point out that the rupture of diplomatic relations could not fail to have a disastrous effect on Anglo-

Russian trade ; for instance, it would nullify an arrangement which had just been made with the Midland Bank for financing credits on orders from the U.S.S.R. for 10,000,000l. M. Rosengolsz complained strongly that, contrary to the stipulations of the Trade Agreement, no opportunity had ever been given to him of explaining or remedying any matters of complaint, although he had stated repeatedly that he would be only too glad to co-operate in examining and settling such matters. The decision of the British Government to abrogate immediately the 1921 Agreement was not only a violation of the Agreement itself, but an arbitrary act without precedent in international relations, due only to a blind hatred of the U.S.S.R.

After considering the Premier's statement, the Parliamentary Labour Party decided that the best way to challenge the Government's action would be to bring forward a motion calling for an examination of the documents and an inquiry into the facts before a rupture was declared. The resolution was moved on May 26 by Mr. Clynes, as Mr. MacDonald, though he was now recovering from the illness with which he had been seized during his visit to America in the Easter recess, did not yet feel equal to the task. Mr. Clynes called attention to a statement which had appeared in the newspapers that morning from the representative of Arcos, and maintained that it did constitute some kind of reply to the Premier's charges, and that attention should be paid to it. The Labour Party accepted the view of the Government in this matter that Russia was in the dock, but it demanded that Russia should not be condemned without trial. Mr. Clynes dilated on the injury which would result to British trade from the rupture of the Trade Agreement, and gave a detailed list of the orders which were to have been placed on the strength of the promised ten millions credit; these, he said, would have kept 56,000 men in work for a year. The Labour Party, therefore, pressed for an inquiry, convinced that no good results could accrue to the country's interests from the carrying out of the Government's decision.

The defence of the Government's policy was made by Sir A. Chamberlain. He first belittled Mr. Clynes's fears of its effect on Anglo-Russian trade, professing to know from experience that Russian orders vanished into thin air when they were no longer needed as an instrument of policy, and stated that the Government would still give all necessary facilities for legitimate trade, only it would no longer allow Russian representatives special privileges. The Government, he said, was not prepared to accept the proposal for a Committee of Inquiry; it regarded it as a vote of censure, and if it was carried it would know how to act. The Foreign Secretary then gave the House a long list of offences committed by the Russian Government and its agents against the **Trade** Agreement, showing that the Government had had ample



ground for years past for taking the step which it was now contemplating. In his Note of February 23 he had given the Russian Government warning that British patience was well-nigh exhausted. But the practices complained of had continued just the same. The Government therefore could no longer take the responsibility of maintaining diplomatic relations which were conducted in such a way as to be not an instrument of peace but a fresh and continued source of irritation and danger.

After the Foreign Secretary had spoken, Mr. Lloyd George, who could speak with some authority on the subject of diplomatic intercourse with Russia, made a strenuous effort to deflect the Government from its course. He declared himself unable to support the motion, because it did not unmistakably express reprobation of the continuous breaches by the Soviet Government of their honourable agreement with this country—breaches about which there could be no shadow of doubt. But he condemned in unsparing terms the action of the Government in forcing a rupture at the present juncture and on the strength of the very flimsy evidence produced by the raid. They had, he said, gained much from diplomatic relations; they could gain nothing from a rupture. He recalled the warning uttered by Lord Balfour in 1926, when it was proposed to take exactly the same step and on evidence just as convincing. He pointed out that one day they would want to resume relations with Russia, and he asked the Government if they had considered how it was going to be done. The Government, he said, had taken a leap in the dark, a leap into a whirlpool.

Mr. George's speech created a deep impression both in Parliament and outside, but his warning was not heeded by the Government or its supporters. At the close of the debate the Home Secretary drew a picture of Soviet headquarters in London as a dangerous nest of spies and agitators of which the country would be well rid; and this was the view which found favour with the majority. A Conservative amendment was moved applauding the decision of the Government to withdraw the diplomatic privileges enjoyed by the Russian agents, while at the same time putting no obstacles in the way of legitimate trading relations with Russia, and this was eventually carried by 357 votes to 111, and ordered to be entered as a resolution of the House.

The next day the Foreign Secretary despatched to the Soviet *charge d'affaires* a Note stating that in view of the breaches of the Trade Agreement which had been committed since the Note of February 23, in particular of his own telegram of April, the Government had decided to cancel the Trade Agreement, to terminate the privileges conferred on M. Khinchuk and his assistants, and to suspend existing relations between Russia and Great Britain. They would, however, raise no objection to the continuance of the legitimate commercial activities of Arcos, and would allow a

reasonable number of the Russian employees of the company to remain in the country. M. Khinchuk and M. Rosengolsz, and their staffs, were given ten days in which to leave the country, and at the same time the British representatives were withdrawn from Moscow and Leningrad.

Before leaving England, M. Rosengolsz addressed to the Foreign Secretary a request that Soviet citizens who were directors of Arcos and other trading organisations in England should be allowed to remain, with their necessary staff, in order to liquidate their affairs. Permission was readily granted, and in consequence only about seventy Russian officials left out of a total of some 400. M. Rosengolsz and his entourage left England on June 3 ; among those who saw them off at the station was Mr. Henderson, as official representative of the Labour Party. A few days previously M. Rosengolsz and members of his party had been informally entertained at lunch at the House of Commons by a group of Labour members—a fact which greatly scandalised certain Conservative members, and which was adversely commented on by Sir Herbert Samuel and other Liberals.

Lord Balfour was given an early opportunity of explaining his change of attitude in answer to a speech of Lord Parmoor criticising the action of the Government in the House of Lords (May 31). Lord Balfour justified the step, as Sir A. Chamberlain had done, on the ground that there was a limit to the Government's patience, and that that limit had at length been reached. He characterised the conduct of the Russians throughout their dealings with England as one of "deliberate and organised perfidy," which was intolerable in international relations. He thought there was no danger of the rupture of relations leading to war; the step had been taken at a time when, so far as they could judge, no international ill consequences were likely to follow, and when the state of Europe was better than when the Labour Party was in power.

The termination of the Anglo-Russian Trade Agreement did in fact produce no immediate repercussions in the political sphere, but it had a curious sequel in the trade union world. After the Arcos raid the Executive of the Russian trade unions became obsessed with the idea that England was engineering a war against Russia, and it sent repeated telegrams to the Council of the Trade Union Congress in England urging it to arrange a meeting of the Anglo-Russian Committee in Berlin in order to take steps for averting the danger of war from Russia. The Council, not regarding the danger of war as serious, for some time paid no attention to these requests, but at length yielded to the insistency of the Russians so far as to send Messrs. Hicks and Citrine to Berlin to meet the Russian representatives on June 18 and 19 and discuss the question of calling a meeting of the Anglo-Russian Committee. The British delegates showed themselves so unresponsive to the representations of the Russians that the latter came to the conclusion

that the Anglo-Russian Committee itself was not worth preserving, and announced their intention of dissolving it.

A Colonial Conference, attended by representatives of twenty-five colonies, protectorates, and mandated territories of the British Empire, was opened in London on May 10. The first act of the Conference was to send a message to the King assuring the King and Queen of the loyalty and devotion " of the many peoples and races throughout the world whom we represent." The Minister of the Colonies presided, and in his opening speech pointed out that the reason for holding the Conference was that there was a certain unity of problems in the Colonial Empire along with great diversity of administration and structure in its various parts. This diversity had its advantages, as it allowed of greater adaptability to local needs, but it also had its drawbacks, as the self-sufficiency of the various units fostered in them a narrow and unprogressive spirit. The danger was especially great with those aspects of administration into which scientific method and research entered—problems of agriculture, veterinary science, health, and transport. In all these matters closer co-operation and a more effective interchange both of information and ideas was needed. He did not think that the problem was to be solved by administrative reconstruction of the Colonial Empire as a whole, or, except in rare cases, by larger federal schemes, but rather by the development of the system of consultation by conference, for the furtherance of which he advocated the holding of such conferences every three years.

On May 16 M. Doumergue, the President of the French Republic, paid a State visit of three days to England, during which he was entertained by the King and Queen at Buckingham Palace. Greetings of the most cordial character were exchanged between the two rulers, and the London public gave an effusive welcome to the head of the French State. The President was accompanied by M. Briand, who did not fail to have a long discussion on political matters with Sir A. Chamberlain. The official report of the interview, though consisting of but three sentences, showed clearly that British foreign policy had once more entered on a new orientation, or, rather, returned to an old one. The two Foreign Ministers, it stated, "were able to recognise once again the solidity of the *entente cordiale* between France and Great Britain, and the necessity of strengthening that *entente* as being the surest foundation for the peace of Europe."

At the same time that the Foreign Office broke with Russia, it removed from the scene a potential source of friction with America. In 1926 Senator Borah had proposed that the British Government should be invited to pay compensation to those American citizens who had suffered losses from the blockade operations of the British Navy during the war. The United States Government brought the matter to the notice of the British Government,

which acknowledged the claims, but put forward counter-claims on account of certain services performed on behalf of American ships in 1914-17 which had not yet been paid for. Negotiations on the matter went on for a considerable time, until at last an agreement was signed at Washington on May 19 by which Britain waived her claims, and the United States in return undertook to make no further war claims whatever on Great Britain.

Close upon the heels of the breach with Russia came the danger of a rupture with Egypt. The War Committee of the Egyptian Parliament, in publishing its financial statement towards the end of May, recommended the cancellation of the budgetary credit for the Sirdarate. This was tantamount to an attempt to remove the control of the Egyptian army from the Sirdar, who was a British officer, to the Egyptian Minister of War. Lord Lloyd, the British High Commissioner in Egypt, called the attention of the British Government to the situation, and the Government immediately instructed him to deliver a Note to the Egyptian Government (May 30) insisting on the maintenance of the *status quo*, as fixed by the Agreement of February, 1922, until a more permanent agreement could be reached. At the same time three British warships were despatched to Egyptian waters "to exercise a restraining influence," as the Foreign Secretary subsequently said, on those who were trying to foment political excitement in Egypt. The steps taken by the British Government produced the desired result. Negotiations still went on for some little time, but at length the Egyptian Government presented to Lord Lloyd a Note which gave complete satisfaction to the British Government, and amicable relations between the two countries were restored. Shortly afterwards Anglo-Egyptian friendship was cemented by the visit to England of King Fuad, who was entertained by the King and given a very cordial reception by the public.

After a week's discussion of the Trade Union Bill in Committee, the Government found that progress was too slow for their requirements, and they decided to quicken matters by applying the so-called "guillotine" process, which had become such a by-word in the period of Liberal domination after 1906, but had now been in abeyance for over six years. On May 16 the Prime Minister introduced a motion allocating a fixed time for the discussion of each clause of the Bill. He pointed out that after devoting to the Bill three and a half days on the second reading, and about eighteen hours in Committee, they had disposed of six amendments and passed seven words. At that rate they would not have got through the first clause before the end of August or the middle of September, even if they took no other business, and the Government was anxious that they should finish with the Bill by the end of July. They proposed, therefore, to allow in all twenty-one days for the discussion of the Bill, which they thought was ample.

Mr. Clynes, on behalf of the Opposition, rejected the Premier's proposal with scorn. The Opposition, he said, was prepared to give any amount of time to discuss the details of the Bill fully and fairly ; but there was no urgency for the Bill and no demand for it, and if it was necessary to save Parliamentary time, the best way to do so would be by withdrawing the Bill altogether. The amendments already proposed by the Government itself virtually constituted a new Bill, so that if ever the application of the guillotine was justified, this was not a time for it. The motion was a gross abuse of the power of numbers ; it would reduce Parliamentary business to a mockery, and his followers would be no party to it.

On concluding his speech Mr. Clynes, in accordance with a decision taken shortly before the debate by the Executive of the Labour Party, walked out of the House, followed by all the occupants of the Labour benches. After their departure Mr. Lloyd George pleaded with the Prime Minister at least to allow more time for the discussion of clause 1 of the Bill, but Mr. Baldwin refused, and the motion was carried by 259 votes to 13.

The Labour Party overnight thought better of its decision, and, to the general surprise, on the next day (May 17) attended the House of Commons in full force for the continuation of the Committee stage of the Trade Union Bill, and treated the debate with the utmost seriousness. The subject discussed was the amended version put forward by the Government of the first sub-section of the first clause, dealing with the general strike. The Attorney-General explained that in re-drafting this and other sections, the Government was endeavouring to meet four criticisms that had been brought against the original version in the debate on the second reading—that lock-outs were not included, that the word "intimidate" and the phrase "substantial portion of the community" were ambiguous, and that it was difficult to define what was the same trade or industry. When the amendments introduced by the Government were carried, the Bill would make it clear that two conditions would have to be fulfilled before a strike could be illegal—first, that it must have an object other than, or in addition to, the furtherance of a trade dispute within the trade or industry ; and, secondly, that it must be designed or calculated to coerce the Government, either directly or by inflicting hardships on the community.

Labour speakers did not deny that their objections in regard to the vagueness of the sub-section had been largely met by the new drafting ; but they were less satisfied than ever that the Government's intention was not to prohibit sympathetic as well as general strikes. By means of hypothetical cases they tried hard to draw from the Attorney-General an admission to that effect. The latter, however, though he conceded that the new Bill would make illegal certain strikes which were not at present

regarded as such, continued to maintain that under the Bill a strike, sympathetic or otherwise, would become illegal only when its object, or, at any rate, its necessary effect, was to bring pressure to bear on the Government as distinguished from the employers. Conservative speakers were, on the whole, confident that a clear line could be drawn between the two kinds of strike ; Opposition speakers were equally certain that it could not. The voting followed strictly party lines, and the Government amendments were carried by large majorities. The " guillotine " fell at the close of the debate, wiping out eleven pages of amendments.

The Bill as drafted left the decision as to whether a strike was legal or illegal in the first instance, either to the magistrates or to the High Court. This was from the Labour point of view one of its most objectionable features ; but it was left to a Conservative member, Sir E. Hume Williams, to propose an amendment transferring the decision to the Court of Appeal (May 18). Labour spokesmen welcomed the proposal effusively, but the Attorney-General would have none of it, chiefly on the ground that it would defeat one of the main objects of the Bill, which was to enable an illegal strike to be nipped in the bud before it had actually commenced. The mover, after hearing the Attorney-General, asked leave to withdraw his amendment, but the Labour Party insisted on a division being taken. The amendment was negatived by 266 votes to 141, and the first clause of the Bill was then declared carried.

On May 20 the House, with the assistance of the guillotine, got through the second clause of the Bill, the object of which was to safeguard those members of trade unions who refused to take part in an illegal strike by allowing them to claim damages for expulsion on account of such refusal. This provision was the logical corollary of the first clause, but it was one at which Labour members stood aghast, surmising as they did that it would render the trade unions powerless to protect themselves against " black-legging." Their indignation was heightened by the fact that the clause was made retroactive, so as to cover those trade unionists who had been expelled in consequence of their action during the general strike of 1926, though that strike had never been declared illegal.

On May 23 and 24 the third clause of the Bill, dealing with intimidation, was discussed in Committee. The original definition put forward by the Government was pruned of the words " exposure to hatred, ridicule, or contempt," but it was still made to include not only the threat of actual violence but the causing of " a reasonable apprehension of injury," which might be other than physical or material. Opposition speakers protested that this would make picketing impossible, as it would render illegal the most ordinary manifestations of resentment. Conservative members, however, were satisfied that the new powers given to

magistrates were not more than were required for the protection of non-strikers, and carried the various sections of the clause by large majorities.

On May 25 the House carried the clause substituting "contracting-in" for "contracting-out" in regard to the political levy. The Government accepted two Labour amendments providing that the enrolment of trade unionists who "contracted-in" could commence as soon as the Bill passed instead of waiting for an alteration of the rules ; the other that the "contracting-in" was final until expressly cancelled, and did not need to be repeated periodically.

The concluding sections of the Bill were discussed in the Committee stage in an atmosphere of great calm which contrasted strongly with the excitement evinced on the second reading. In the debate on the fifth clause (May 30), which forbade trade unions of established civil servants from affiliating to organisations of other trade unionists, or from having any political objects or activities, Mr. Churchill was at pains to explain why it was sought to place these new restrictions on the Civil Service. There was no doubt, he said, that on general political principles Civil Service trade unions ought not to be affiliated to outside unions. For years, however, this had gone on, and nobody had troubled much about it. But the increasing politicalisation of the trade unions had made the practice dangerous, as it would be fatal to the service if it were allowed to be drawn into the party ring. In the great strike, it was true, only about forty established civil servants had been disloyal out of a total of 120,000, and there was no doubt that if their associations had been called upon to strike they would have refused, so that the evil against which they were providing was not yet actual. Nevertheless, he thought it was well to legislate in time, before a situation arose in which each party had its friends and favourites in the Civil Service. Both this clause and that relating to the Attorney-General's right of injunction were passed substantially without alteration.

On the twelfth and last day of the Committee stage of the Bill (June 14), a group of Conservatives belonging to the progressive wing of the party endeavoured to bring in, under the guise of an amendment to the last clause, what was practically a new Bill expressing their genuine desire to promote peace in the industrial world. They proposed that a strike or a lock-out in any essential service should be prohibited before or during an inquiry by a Board of Conciliation consisting of a representative of each side and a chairman. The mover described the clause as "an attempt to add something constructive" to the provisions of the Bill. As such it was cordially welcomed by Labour speakers, but they were too astute to support it without endeavouring to exploit the tactical advantage which the new proposal gave them in their fight against the Bill. Its spirit, as Mr. Clynes pointed out, was

irreconcilable with that of the Bill, and therefore they could not vote for it unless the Government withdrew the Bill first. If the Government wished to display a sympathetic attitude towards this new clause, let it not be a hypocritical one, but one which would genuinely tend towards producing peace in industry by the exercise of fairness and equity.

Being thus called upon to choose between the Bill and the clause, the Government, as was to be expected, preferred the former and threw over its followers. Speaking on its behalf, the Minister of Labour declined to accept the amendment on the ground that it would unduly complicate the Bill by adding a new category of possible offences, and also because he was not convinced of its efficacy for the purpose it had in view, of improving the machinery for industrial conciliation. With this purpose, however, he declared himself so much in sympathy that he undertook to have a committee set up to investigate the possibilities of improvement. Conservative speakers snatched at this offer, but Labour members would have none of it, Mr. Thomas declaring that no trade union would allow any of its officials to sit on such a committee while this Bill was hanging over its head. Thus the belated effort of the "New Conservatives" to mitigate the repressive tendencies of the Government's labour legislation came to nought, and the Bill passed its Committee stage much in the form in which it had been introduced.

As a kind of pendant to the Trade Unions Bill, the Minister of Health at this time (June 15) introduced a Bill empowering him to disqualify for a period of five years members of local authorities who had been surcharged by a district auditor to an amount exceeding £500. He thought that this would protect the ratepayers better than the existing law, which made councillors and guardians who squandered their money liable to be sent to prison—a provision which was, of course, practically never enforced—but did not prevent them from resuming the same practices as soon as they were free. The Labour Party strongly opposed the Bill on the ground that it gave excessive powers to district auditors, and would prevent local authorities from carrying out the will of the community. After passing its second reading the Bill was referred to a Standing Committee, where it had a stormy passage, Labour members complaining repeatedly of unfairness on the part of the Chairman.

On the motion for the Whitsuntide adjournment (June 2), Labour members made a half-hearted attempt to induce the Government to ratify the Washington Hours Convention. The Minister of Labour again justified delay on the ground that it had not yet been found possible to secure uniformity of interpretation of the terms used in the Convention. Things which were supposed to have been cleared up at the London Conference (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1926, p. 25), such as the question of intermittent labour,



did not seem so clear when closely examined; the French notion of intermittent work, for instance, was one which would not be tolerated in England. Time, therefore, was still needed, and he could not hold out any prospect of speedy ratification.

Shortly before the Whitsuntide recess a by-election had taken place which showed in a striking manner how imperfectly party grouping in Parliament corresponded to feeling in the country. The member for Bosworth, in Leicestershire, Captain Gee, a Conservative, had migrated to Australia twelve months previously, leaving his resignation in the hands of the party Whip. The Government had deferred declaring a vacancy month after month until the delay became a scandal, but finally a writ for a new election was issued early in May. The contest was three-cornered, and the Liberal came out head of the poll with a slight majority over the Labour candidate, the Conservative being several thousand votes behind. This was the culmination of a series of Conservative setbacks at by-elections since the beginning of the year, and clearly showed how far was the Government from being popular in the country, in spite of its huge majority in Parliament.

Still greater significance attached to this result as a sign of the revival of Liberalism in the country. With the split in its ranks which took place in January, Liberalism had reached its nadir; almost from that moment it began mysteriously to recover strength. Liberal candidates at by-elections ceased to forfeit their deposits; nay, in two cases they were actually successful.

At Leith, on March 24, the majority of the electorate refused to follow Captain Benn in his desertion of the Liberal cause. A week later at Southwark, where a by-election was caused by the resignation of Dr. Guest after his quarrel with the Labour Party, the Liberal candidate defeated both the Conservative and Dr. Guest himself, who stood as an Independent. These two results were generally regarded as curiosities, and Labour publicists did not cease to commiserate the Liberal Party on its approaching end. When, however, at Bosworth the Liberal candidate rose from the bottom to the top of the poll, the reality of the Liberal revival was universally recognised, and the result was regarded on all sides as a portent for the next General Election.

The return of Liberalism to popular favour was in the main a direct result of the politico-industrial conflicts of the previous year. One fact which these had brought clearly into view was that both the Conservatives and the Labour Parties contained within themselves influential sections which were prepared to accept the "class war" as a permanent feature of English industrial and political life, and which in times of emergency were likely to become dominant in the councils of the party. The Liberal Party was free from this taint; and this advantage, though in itself merely negative, sufficed to attract to it a large body of moderate opinion which held the "class war" in pious

abhorrence. If the need of a party which should stand midway between Toryism and Socialism was before recognised by many as desirable, it was now felt by them to be absolutely necessary for the welfare of the nation.

The revival of the Liberal Party in the country was powerfully aided by the appointment, on February 16, of Sir Herbert Samuel as Chairman of the Liberal Party Organisation. Sir Herbert had not for several years taken any share in the party's affairs—since he had gone to Palestine as High Commissioner in 1920—nor was his name in any way connected with the dissensions which had rent the party subsequently to that date; consequently, his resumption of activity was equivalent to the infusion of new blood into the party. Certainly its healing effect became apparent almost immediately. Sir Herbert set an example of loyal and whole-hearted co-operation with Mr. Lloyd George, which reduced the opponents of that leader to silence. There was no question henceforth where the centre of gravity of Liberalism lay. From this time the party had the appearance, if not yet the reality of unity; and this itself was sufficient to stop the dry-rot which was threatening it with extinction.

In the course of the next few months Mr. Lloyd George and Sir Herbert Samuel displayed great activity in addressing public meetings up and down the country, painting the virtues of Liberalism as a golden mean between Toryism and Socialism. Their efforts were highly beneficial both to the Liberal cause and to Mr. George's personal position. On May 3, and the succeeding days, the Women's National Liberal Federation held a successful Conference at Blackpool at which Mr. Lloyd George was welcomed with great enthusiasm. The annual Conference of the National Liberal Federation at Margate on May 26 and 27, at which again Mr. Lloyd George was the hero of the occasion, was pervaded by an atmosphere of confidence and optimism which contrasted strongly with the depression displayed at the previous year's Conference. This was the fiftieth Conference of the Federation, and speakers drew a happy augury from the fact that in 1877 also the fortunes of the party were at a low ebb and soon after revived.

The general inference to be drawn from the by-elections of this period, especially that of Bosworth, was that the Liberal Party was recovering lost ground in the country at the expense of the Conservatives, while the Labour Party was more or less stationary. A further indication that the last-named had nearly reached the limits of its expansion was furnished by another event which happened at this time. There had always been within the Co-operative movement a section which desired closer connexion between the movement and the Labour Party. Owing to the agitation of this section, a national Committee was appointed early in the year to consider the question. The recommendations of the Committee were laid before the Co-operative Congress which

met early in June, and were found to involve little change in the existing relations between the two bodies, which were already very cordial. They practically aimed at nothing more than eliminating the possibility of friction or overlapping between the two bodies at General Elections in places where there was substantial agreement between them on general policy. It was explained that local societies in the movement would retain their complete political independence, but even so non-Labour members took the alarm, and the resolution was carried only by a narrow majority ; nor did the agitation within the movement die down for some little time.

While controversy was still raging both inside and outside of Parliament round the Trade Union Bill, the Government went out of its way to bring into the arena of public discussion a still more highly contentious subject—the reform of the House of Lords. The Cabinet Committee appointed to consider the subject had reported some little time before, and the Government had by now framed a fairly definite scheme. This was made public in the form not of a Bill, but of a preliminary announcement in a debate in the House of Lords on June 20, initiated by a motion of a type by now familiar inviting the Government to introduce a measure for reforming the Upper House. This time the invitation, somewhat to the general surprise, procured a response, and after a few speakers had expressed their views on the desirability or otherwise of amending the House, the Lord Chancellor stated the Government's views and plans. There could be no question, he said, of repealing the Parliament Act of 1910; on the other hand, it was both possible and desirable to amend that measure in two important particulars. One was to give the Second Chamber the power to force an appeal to the country in cases where it differed with the Lower House. The other was to transfer the power of certifying money bills from the Speaker to a committee composed of members of both Houses. A Second Chamber thus strengthened could, of course, not retain the composition of the present House of Lords. The idea of the Government was that it should consist altogether of about 350 peers ; that these, with the exception of peers of the Blood Royal, Lords Spiritual, and the Law Lords, should be partly elected by their own order and partly nominated by the Crown, the proportion between the two sections to be determined by statute ; and that with the exception of peers of the Blood Royal and the Law Lords, every member of the reconstituted House should hold his seat for a term of years, and be eligible for re-election, those not elected to the House of Lords being eligible for election to the House of Commons. It was further intended that the reformed House of Lords should have the power of rejecting any Bill passed by the Commons affecting its own constitution.

While the Lord Chancellor merely laid these proposals before

the House with a view to eliciting their Lordships' opinions, the **Earl of Birkenhead**, at a later stage of the debate, affirmed that the mind of the Government was fully made up, and that it intended to pass these proposals into law in the lifetime of the present Parliament. The course of the debate in the House, which lasted for three days, was on the whole calculated to confirm it in this purpose. Liberal and Labour peers naturally denounced the scheme uncompromisingly as being designed to keep the Conservative Party permanently in power, whether in office or not. Conservative peers were torn between their attachment to the hereditary principle and their desire to make the Upper House a stronger bulwark against socialistic and revolutionary tendencies. With most of the speakers the latter sentiment prevailed, and they welcomed the scheme cordially, if without enthusiasm. One Conservative peer, the Earl of Arran, moved an amendment deprecating the introduction of such a measure until after the electorate had had an opportunity of expressing its views. This was defeated by 208 votes to 54, and the original motion of Lord Fitzalan was then agreed to without a division (June 23).

In the House of Commons on June 23 Mr. Clynes asked the Government if it was really its intention to "reform" the House of Lords on the lines it had indicated without consulting the electorate, and Mr. Churchill, in reply, referred him to the statement made by Lord Birkenhead on the previous day. Taking this as an affirmative answer, the Labour Party requested and obtained leave from the Government to bring the matter before the House in the form of a vote of censure at an early date. Meanwhile, Liberal and Labour speakers in the country, having got over their first sense of stupefaction at what they called the "impudence" of the Government's proposals, set themselves to stir up public opinion against them, and to exploit to the utmost the opportunity so unexpectedly presented to them of bringing the Government into discredit.

Even Conservatives outside the House of Lords were taken aback by the far-reaching character of the Government's proposals, and some of them were unsparing in their criticism. Mr. J. L. Garvin, the editor of the *Observer*, and the most prominent of Conservative publicists, in his issue of June 26, stigmatised the step taken by the Government as a crime against the Constitution, and an act of madness calculated to bring disaster on the Conservative Party. Many members of that party in the House of Commons shared Mr. Garvin's opinions, though they eschewed the vigour of his language, and they soon showed themselves to be less docile followers of the Government than their fellows in the other House. It so happened that the meeting of the National Council of Conservative and Unionist Associations fell on June 28. Sir J. Marriott took the opportunity to introduce a motion pledging the meeting to offer whole-hearted support to

the Government in giving legislative effect to its House of Lords proposals in the session of 1928. A considerable minority supported an amendment urging that no definite proposals for the reform of the Second Chamber should be made until the matter had been fully considered by the Conservative and Unionist members of Parliament. Nor was the motion itself carried before the members present gave themselves a freer hand by substituting the word "sympathetic" for "whole-hearted."

The debate in the House of Commons took place on July 6. Mr. MacDonald moved a resolution declaring that it would be an outrage on the Constitution to force the Government proposals through Parliament without a mandate from the people. He criticised the Government severely for not having presented its proposals in the first instance to the House of Commons, and for having forced the Opposition to resort to the device of a vote of censure in order to procure a discussion upon them. He put in a very few words the main objection of his party to them. The Government scheme, he said, was one under which, whatever party was in office, the Tories would be in power. No man of self-respect in his party would take office under such conditions, because he would feel that he was in a false position and that he was condemned to failure before he began his work. The proposal of the Government to take away from the House of Commons the sole control of money bills was also wholly unacceptable. He characterised the act contemplated by the Government as revolutionary, as one aimed at destroying the balance of the Constitution. He challenged the Prime Minister to point to a single case in other countries of a Constitution being made by a party majority or imposed on a nation without an election or a referendum.

The Government's defence was made by the Prime Minister in a speech which conveyed the impression that he cared little what the ultimate fate of the proposals would be. Mr. Baldwin descanted at length on the need for a Second Chamber, and conceded without reservation the chief claims of the Opposition on the matter of principle—that the Second Chamber could on no account become an effective rival to the House of Commons, that it could have no power to make and unmake Ministries, and that it could have no equal rights in finance. But he made no attempt whatever to answer the charges of his critics that the Government proposals offended violently against all these principles, and his only defence of them was that they bore a close resemblance to the proposals made by Mr. Lloyd George's Government in 1921. The Government's proposals, he said, were a genuine attempt to implement the pledges not only of this Government but also of previous Governments. They were offered for criticism and ventilation both in Parliament and outside, and they would be guided in framing legislation by the results of the criticism and the ventilation. Mr. Baldwin pleaded for the "greatest common

measure of agreement," adding that if this Government failed to solve the problem, he doubted whether any further attempt would be made in the near future.

Almost the first breath of ventilation which the Government proposals received was a freezing draught from the Conservative benches themselves. Mr. John Buchan, the latest recruit to those benches, whose return by a large majority for the Scottish Universities had been the one redeeming feature to the Conservative Party in a long series of by-election reverses, in a brilliant maiden speech voiced the objections of a large number of his fellow-Conservatives against the Government's proposals. He expressed himself against making any change in the Parliament Act. That measure, though begotten in haste and born in confusion, had turned out better than its supporters had dared to hope or its opponents had imagined possible, and far better than could be expected of any scheme of internal reform designed to supplement it. By a happy chance that crude measure had chimed in with the national evolutionary process of British institutions, and had actually increased the powers of the Lords by removing from them a certain atmosphere of popular suspicion. Before any serious reform could be undertaken he thought the Lord Chancellor's scheme must be got out of the road. He and those who thought with him—and they were not a few—regarded it as definitely wrong and dangerous in principle, and a contradiction of the fundamentals of the Conservative creed. The argument used in support of so startling a change—the fear of some revolutionary intention on the part of some future Government—seemed to him mere cant; the true barrier against foolish and perilous change was the inherited and inbred political integrity of the British people.

In the remainder of the debate very few of the speakers had a good word to say for the Government proposals. Mr. Churchill, who closed for the Government, said that the object of the Government was to enable the House of Lords, if it chose, to form itself into an assembly which could better and more thoroughly discharge the functions remaining to it under the Parliament Act. If after a fair and free discussion their proposals failed, they would bear the disappointment with what fortitude they could. Conservative members, having expressed their views sufficiently clearly in the course of the debate, refrained from embarrassing the Government further by pressing a couple of amendments which they had drafted, in terms hardly less damning than the vote of censure itself, and this was rejected by 362 votes to 167.

Mr. Churchill's speech was generally understood as an intimation that the Government would take no further steps in the matter unless strong influence was brought to bear upon it. This impression was confirmed when, a few days afterwards, in reply to a question in Parliament as to what were the Government's

intentions in regard to the House of Lords, Mr. Baldwin gave an evasive reply, referring to Mr. Churchill's speech. The Lords themselves, however, were not satisfied to leave matters in that stage. On July 18 those peers who had initiated the recent debate in the House of Lords issued a manifesto designed to reopen the question, or prevent it from being closed. They dissociated themselves and the large body of peers whom they represented from the proposals of the Government, which, they said, did not at all represent their intentions. They had no desire to bolster up hereditary privilege as a counterblast to the popular will. On the other hand, they could not acquiesce in the House of Lords being permitted to drag on an inglorious existence on condition of its effacing itself and obliterating the traditions of the past. They therefore appealed to all Conservatives who did not wish to hand over Second Chamber reform to Socialist hands for support in further action to replace by a reliable body what had been justly styled "the weakest Second Chamber in the world." The question of the Government's intentions was again raised in the House of Lords a few days later, and Lord Salisbury then stated that the proposals made by the Lord Chancellor remained the proposals of the Government, though they were only offered as a sketch, the details of which had to be filled in.

While the House of Lords was discussing its own "reform," the House of Commons was disposing of the final stages of the Trade Union Bill. The amendments introduced in Committee were duly ratified in the Report stage. In moving the third reading on June 23, the Solicitor-General paid a tribute to the Opposition for the part they had taken in helping the public to understand the Bill. He claimed for the Bill that it was a modest assertion of the sovereignty of Parliament against the threat of the Trade Union Congress to usurp the place of Parliament. The Bill received the blessing of Sir John Simon, who thought it was now clear enough to cover ordinary cases, though he would still have preferred his own version of the first clause. He devoted a great part of his speech to a warm defence of British judges and juries against allegations of bias and class prejudice that had been freely brought against them by Labour speakers in the House, and to a much greater extent outside; there was, he thought, no ground for assuming that if the law was fairly framed it would not be fairly administered. Mr. Thomas and Mr. Snowden again denounced the Bill as a piece of class legislation, and stated once more that the Labour Party would repeal it as soon as it came into power. The motion for rejecting the Bill on the third reading was defeated by 354 votes to 139.

The Trade Union Bill was debated in the House of Lords altogether for eight days. It was vigorously opposed by a band of Labour and Liberal peers, among whom the lead was taken by Lord Reading. As the result of their criticism, which often was

very searching, some minor amendments were introduced into the Bill, but one alteration of consequence, which was accepted by the Government in Committee, was thrown out again in the Report stage. In moving the rejection of the third reading (July 25), Lord Gorell and Lord Reading once more warned the Government that it was embittering industrial relations by this measure. The Lord Chancellor replied that the Government had to respond to the challenge of the general strike of the previous year, and he did not think any better way of meeting such an attack on the State could be devised than the legislation proposed in clause 1 of the Bill. He joined, however, in the hope that the Bill would be wisely and moderately used, being confident that in that case the measure would in years to come be looked upon by the workers of the country as being indeed their charter. The Lords' amendments were accepted by the Commons on July 28, and the Bill duly became law.

Speaking to a gathering of women Unionists on May 27, Mr. Baldwin had asserted that the Trade Union Bill was thoroughly popular in the country. Among certain select classes it may have been so ; these assuredly did not include the trade unionists. At a number of trade union gatherings held about this time, motions of protest against the Bill were carried unanimously. The Conferences of the National Union of Railwaymen (July 5), of the Transport and General Workers' Union (July 18), of the United Textile Factory Workers' Association (July 25), and of the Miners' Federation (July 26), all condemned the Bill in vigorous language, and announced their intention of resisting it by all legal means. As soon, however, as it became law, most of the unions, acting on the advice of Mr. Thomas, took steps to bring their rules into conformity with its provisions, and though the resentment against it continued, the active agitation for its repeal soon faded away.

The commotion aroused by the House of Lords reform debate also soon died down, leaving the Government apparently no weaker for the fiasco which it had perpetrated. The affair, however, had not been without its effect on the political situation, having given a powerful fillip to the Liberal cause. In face of the attack on the supremacy of the House of Commons, the disunion in the Liberal ranks vanished, and at a meeting held in the National Liberal Club on July 5, Mr. Lloyd George and Lord Grey spoke from the same platform in denunciation of the Government's scheme, and Lord Oxford was only prevented by ill-health from joining them. From this point the consolidation of the Liberal Party went on apace. At a luncheon given on July 19 in honour of Sir William Edge, the victor of Bosworth, Mr. Lloyd George boasted that the party was "back in the ring," and Sir Herbert Samuel informed the company that there would be at least 500 Liberal candidates at the next General Election.



On June 27 the House of Commons began the detailed discussion of the Finance Bill in Committee, the second reading having been passed with little discussion on May 19. In connexion with the Vote for the Treasury, Mr. Graham called the attention of the Chancellor of the Exchequer to a suggestion recently made by Mr. McKenna, the ex-Chancellor, and now head of one of the great banking concerns, that an official inquiry should be held into the comparative merits of the British and American credit and currency systems, and urged him to adopt it. Mr. Graham's request was supported by a number of financial experts on both sides of the House. Mr. Churchill, in reply, said that the re-establishment of the gold standard had been undertaken by the Government deliberately and on the recommendation of committees of experts. Mr. McKenna on this matter represented only a heterodox opinion, and the Government did not think that his speech was a sufficient reason for re-opening the question.

The Supply Estimates for the Ministry of Health, which were introduced on June 29, showed an increase over those of the previous year of more than 1,100,000l., of which nearly nine-tenths was accounted for by an increase in the number of houses on which subsidy was paid. The Minister of Health informed the House that the number of new houses built in the country in the year ending March 31, 1927, was 217,000 against 173,000 in the previous twelvemonths, and an average of 61,000 in the five years preceding the war. Mr. Chamberlain characterised this fact as an astonishing and prodigious effort on the part of the country, which he did not think could be paralleled anywhere else in the world; and he claimed for the Government the credit of having created such conditions as provided the most efficient stimulus possible for the building industry. It could not be said, however, that the housing problem was yet completely solved. The cost of the new houses was far too high, and the rents of the smallest of them were prohibitive to the poorest classes. The question of slum-clearance had also not been touched. Mr. Chamberlain did not suggest any method of dealing with this, the most urgent and difficult part of the problem, nor did the debate offer him any assistance.

On July 4 the Chancellor of the Exchequer had to face a heavy attack by members of his own party on a clause in the Finance Bill which was intended to prevent tax evasion by private companies controlled by not more than five persons. The complaint against the clause was that it would interfere with the legitimate building up of reserves out of profits. An amendment to leave out part of the clause led to an animated debate, and a Labour speaker grimly remarked that the only occasion on which the House had been crowded for a financial debate was when super-tax was being discussed. Mr. Churchill refused to make any substantial alteration in the clause, but promised that the new law should be administered as leniently as possible. On the strength

of this promise Mr. Herbert withdrew his amendment, and a threatened Tory revolt was thus smothered.

On the next day (July 5) the Chancellor had little difficulty in securing the assent of the House to two of the most contentious items in the Finance Bill—the raid on the Road Fund and the Betting Tax. A Conservative amendment was brought forward for postponing the transference of any money from the Road Fund to the Exchequer till January 1, 1928, but it was not pressed, and the supporters of the Government were satisfied with an assurance from the Chancellor that the raid would not be repeated in the lifetime of the present Parliament, and with the promise of some small additional sums for rural roads. The Betting Tax also, which at its inception had caused an angry outcry in certain Conservative quarters, now met with no opposition from the Conservative benches. Mr. Churchill admitted that it had not been so productive as he had anticipated; its yield for a full year was likely to be under four millions instead of the six millions estimated. Experience, however, had proved that it was not at all difficult to collect, and that it did no harm to the betting industry or to horse-breeding; and as the objections to the tax on moral grounds did not appeal to him, the Chancellor thought he could take credit for having opened up a very useful source of revenue.

In moving the India Vote (July 8), the Under-Secretary for India, Lord Winterton, devoted his speech to proving that the population of that country had really made moral and material progress during the 150 years of British rule, and was continuing to do so. He admitted that progress was slow, but he thought it could not be otherwise in face of the difficulties caused by Indian religious prejudices and the whole Indian outlook on life. His speech did not satisfy Labour critics, who complained that it did not contain one word about freedom; they demanded that the Royal Statutory Commission which had been promised for dealing with Indian reforms should be set up without delay. The debate closed amid a violent altercation between the Under-Secretary and Mr. T. Shaw, who asserted that when in Madras he had seen a British officer severely beating a native manservant. Earl Winterton asked why Mr. Shaw had not at the time lodged a complaint with the proper quarters, and in the end refused to accept the story as casting an undeserved slur on a British official.

On the Vote for the Foreign Office being brought up on July 11, the Labour Party took the opportunity to raise a general discussion on foreign affairs. Although the international situation had admittedly changed for the worse since the admission of Germany into the League of Nations, and had for some time been viewed with anxiety by students of the subject, the House of Commons showed very little interest in the question, and was at one point in danger of being "counted out" during the debate. In moving

a reduction in the Vote, Mr. Ponsonby complained of the Foreign Secretary's conduct of affairs in general as not being calculated to dispel the war atmosphere in Europe or to strengthen the League of Nations, but could find nothing more positive to bring against him than that he was too partial to Signor Mussolini, and that he had had private conversations at Geneva with other Foreign Ministers. Sir Austen Chamberlain, in reply, rallied Mr. Ponsonby on his absurdly pessimistic view of the state of Europe, and protested the entire harmlessness of his conversations with Signor Mussolini and M. Briand. He assured the House that his diplomacy was as open as it possibly could be, and that the first desire of the British Government in foreign policy was to preserve peace. He also maintained, in opposition to Labour critics, that the League of Nations was actually gaining in power and influence. He expressed himself as hopeful of good results from the Naval Conference then being held at Geneva. On the question of the evacuation of the Rhineland, which at the moment was the most delicate question in European politics, the Foreign Secretary said nothing; but the Under-Secretary subsequently stated that the Government would do its best to secure the early completion of the expectations raised by the resolution of the Ambassadors' Conference.

The next day (July 12), on the Vote for the Mines Department, the Labour Party moved a reduction in the Vote in order to call attention to the state of affairs in the coal-fields, but partly also, as it seemed, to give themselves the satisfaction of saying to the Government "we told you so." The mover, Mr. Varley, said that their prophecy that the extension of hours in the mines would intensify competition, reduce prices, and lower the standard of life of the miners had been fulfilled even more speedily than they expected. Another mining member wanted to know what the Government now thought of their legislation of the previous year. Defenders of the Government could only say that matters would have been even worse without the Eight-Hours Act, and that there was a prospect of prices rising in the autumn, though in face of the shrinkage in the world's demand for coal and the increased output of foreign countries, it was difficult to see the grounds of this optimism. Labour speakers were agreed that the industry was drifting to a crisis similar to that of the previous year, though they thought it would not occur in the near future owing to the economic exhaustion of the miners. The Minister of Mines greatly irritated the Opposition by abstaining from making any statement on behalf of the Government till quite late in the evening, in fact, till a formal protest had been raised against his silence. When he did speak, it was chiefly to give the coal-owners a friendly warning that the Government was watching them and expected them to put their house in order. No response was made to this hint by the coal-owners present, and the House was

left to understand that the industry would continue to be carried on as at present.

In the debate on the Home Office Vote (July 14), the Home Secretary was criticised for displaying a certain antipathy to aliens. He admitted in reply that the laws against aliens were administered with considerable strictness, though he denied that there was any harshness or injustice. He stated that the number admitted into the country in the previous year was 367,000, and that slightly more went out. Most of them, he admitted, came for the benefit of the country. Every alien who came was ticketed and docketed, and care was taken that he left when his time was up. There were 53,000 resident aliens in the country. In 1926, 1,345 aliens had been naturalised, against 1,074 in 1925 and 935 in 1924. This increase, he thought, absolved him from any charge of bias against aliens who were fit for naturalisation. But he had no intention of making naturalisation easier, and he would not naturalise anyone unless he was satisfied that that man had become a real Englishman at heart.

During this time a storm was working up against the Government in Conservative circles over the sections of the Finance Act dealing with the payment of super-tax by corporations. Mr. Churchill for a long time failed to take any steps for carrying out his promise to amend the clauses to which objection was taken, and many of the Government's supporters showed their resentment by abstaining from certain divisions on the Committee stage of the Finance Act, and allowing the Government's majority on one or two occasions to fall ominously low. At length, on July 16, two days before the Report stage of the Finance Bill was due, Mr. Churchill gave notice of certain amendments designed to meet the wishes of his critics. The latter were not yet satisfied, as no time was allowed them to consider whether the amendments were satisfactory; but when the debate took place on July 18, Mr. Churchill succeeded in pacifying them, and the threatened storm blew over.

On the same day (July 18) certain of the safeguarding duties came in for severe criticism, not only from the Opposition but from Conservative members as well. The chief attack of the Opposition was made on the lace duties, which, according to them, had dealt a severe blow at the export and re-export trade in lace, without greatly increasing the home trade. Mr. Snowden even went so far as to maintain that they were ruining the lace industry. The Government reply was left in the hands of the Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Trade, and proved the reverse of effective. Nevertheless, the proposal to drop the duties was negatived by a large majority. The other duty on which Opposition speakers poured out their wrath was that on pottery, which was singled out by them as a glaring instance of jobbery. In regard to the duties on wrapping paper, which were found to be

injurious to the export trade of Lancashire, certain Conservative members from that county found themselves at one with the Free Traders, but to them also the President of the Board of Trade refused to make any concession.

The debate on the Vote for the Office of Works and Public Buildings gave occasion for a curious display of national susceptibility on the part of certain Scottish members who cherished Home Rule aspirations. Through the generosity of a private donor, St. Stephen's Hall had recently been adorned with a number of paintings representing notable scenes from British history. One of the pictures showed the English and Scottish Commissioners presenting to Queen Anne the Articles of Agreement for the Parliamentary union of the two countries. The sight of the picture unexpectedly awoke bitter recollections in the minds of many of the Scottish members, and to express his resentment Mr. Johnston, a Labour member for Dundee, moved a reduction in the Vote for the Office of Works and Public Buildings. He referred to the Act of Union as a humiliation for Scotland, and maintained that some fitter subject could have been found for illustrating what Scotland had done for the building of Britain. Other speakers—notably Mr. Buchan, the member for the Scottish Universities—pointed to the great benefits which had resulted to Scotland from the Union, but the Nationalists were not to be pacified, and they carried the matter to a division, in which they were defeated by 239 votes to 71.

In the debate on the Vote for the Colonial Office (July 19), Mr. Thomas called attention to the fact that in a White Paper recently issued the Government had stated that the claim of the white settlers in East Africa to share the responsibilities of government could not be ignored, and he asked whether this was not a departure from the policy laid down in the White Paper of 1923, according to which England without the intervention of any other authority on the spot was to be a direct trustee of the native races. The Secretary for the Colonies, in reply, said that East Africa would naturally make progress towards self-government, and this did in fact mean the association of the white community with the British Government in trusteeship for the weaker and more numerous part of the population; but there was no question of this country's surrendering its trusteeship. He promised that the commission which was soon going out to report on the question of the union or federation of the East African colonies would also consider how in the future the foundation could be laid among the natives of a responsibility for their own lives in the political as well as in the economic sphere.

On the Vote for the Fishery Board for Scotland (July 20), a strong appeal was made to the Government by some Scottish Liberal members, supported by Mr. Lloyd George, to come to the Jelp of the Scotch herring fishing industry, which was in a terribly

depressed condition, worse even than coal and agriculture. The decline in the industry was attributed chiefly to the falling off in the demand for herrings from Russia, and on that ground, if no other, the Government was urged to try to improve relations with that country. The Secretary for Scotland replied that the Government had done nothing to prevent Russia from purchasing these herrings if she so desired, and laid the blame for the loss of trade on the disorganisation of communications in Russia. For the rest, he could give no definite promise of assistance to the industry, though he recognised the great debt which the country owed to the fishermen for their services during the war.

On the same day (July 20), Mr. W. Runciman called the attention of the House to the proceedings of the International Economic Conference recently held at Geneva, to which he had been a delegate, particularly to its condemnation of the policy of increasing tariffs and strengthening trade barriers. He expressed regret that the British Government, so far from taking the lead in this movement, had appeared to hesitate in approving the work of the Conference while other maritime nations had endorsed it. The Conference, he said, had shown a general recognition of the fact that every country was dependent on the trade of every other as well as on its own, and he asked for an assurance from the Government that they, too, recognised this interdependence and intended to act as the leaders of economic thought. The President of the Board of Trade, in reply, expressed approval of the work of the Conference, and pointed complacently to the fact that the bulk of the recommendations of the Conference were based on the experience of Great Britain and on the action taken by that country in the past. With regard to the present and future he was more reserved. They had, he said, to face certain facts, one of which was that France had recently placed an embargo on the import of coal which was contrary both to the spirit and the precise recommendations of the Conference. The Government was anxious to see progress made by treaties and through the machinery of the League of Nations, which had begun on sound lines. On the question of reducing British tariffs the Minister was silent.

The House of Commons took leave of the Finance Bill on July 22, when its rejection was formally moved by a Labour member on the third reading. A couple of Conservative speakers gave strong expression to the feeling of disappointment prevalent in their party at the Government's continued failure to redeem its promises of economy; one warned the Government that there was a "veiled insurrection" among the back benchers, and that terrible things would happen if there was not a reduction of expenditure in the next twelve months. The Secretary for the Treasury, who was left to reply for the Government, ignoring the critics of his own party, said that the Government had every reason to be satisfied with the reception accorded to the Budget

proposals; after the warning given by the Chancellor twelve months before that additional taxation might have to be imposed, the country had heard them not only with surprise but with a considerable measure of relief. He singled out as the two distinguishing features of the Budget the system designed for the simplification of the income tax, and the provisions for checking evasions of super-tax. The Conservative malcontents did not carry their rebellious spirit into the lobby, and the third reading was carried by 338 votes to 86.

Before Parliament rose on July 30 it disposed of the remaining departmental votes, some of which gave rise to discussions of general interest. The debate on the Vote for the Board of Trade (July 25) gave members of the House of Commons, as usual, an opportunity of expressing their views on the state of trade. Mr. Lloyd George complained of the small attendance during debates on trade and industry, and impressed on the House of Commons its duty to give a lead to the public in this matter and wake it from its apathy. He adopted a somewhat alarmist attitude regarding the state of trade, pointing out that there was a decrease of between 100,000 and 200,000 in the number of those employed in productive industries as compared with 1923, not to mention the numbers who were on short time in the cotton and other industries. In addition, their favourable trade balance had all but disappeared, and they had become a debtor nation to a very large extent. Mr. Alexander spoke in a similar strain, pointing to the great decline in exports since 1924. The President of the Board of Trade, on the other hand, would not commit himself either to an optimistic or a pessimistic view, while Sir R. Home expressed the opinion that the capacity of Great Britain to meet the situation was undoubted, though it could not long stand such shocks as those of the previous year. Mr. Sidney Webb, while admitting that the situation was on the whole gloomy, said it was a mistake to suppose that there had been no resilience in British trade in the adverse circumstances of the last few years; there had been a remarkable increase in the development of new industries producing for the home rather than the foreign market. It was, however, unfortunate that the home market was limited by the penury of the wage-earners and by the fact that the people spent some 300,000,000*l.* a year on alcoholic drink.

In the debate on the Board of Education Vote (July 26), the President of the Board again disappointed educational reformers by refusing to pledge the Government to raise the school-leaving age from 14 to 15 within the next five years, as recommended by the Hadow Committee. All he would promise was that local authorities which desired to raise the school age compulsorily should be allowed to do so, provided their school accommodation and their teaching arrangements were adequate. Lord Percy had again to listen to complaints that he was sacrificing educational

progress to economy. This time his bitterest critic was a member of his own party; Lady Astor, as a Conservative who took social reform seriously, naively confessed that she sometimes wondered whether she was in the right party, and warned the President of the Board of Education against the reactionary influence which was becoming too strong in the party.

In a debate on the Ministry of Labour Estimates on July 26, Mr. T. Shaw painted the unemployment position in the darkest colours, but the official view, as expounded by the Parliamentary Secretary, was unusually optimistic. Mr. Betterton pointed out that the number on the "live" register had remained at the same level for some time, while the number of insured persons had risen by over 700,000 between 1922 and 1927. There were now 1,150,000 more persons in employment in the country than in 1921. While there had been a fall in wages over industry as a whole since 1921, the reduction in the cost of living had been at least as considerable. It was true that the first half of the present year had been helped to a considerable extent by arrears of orders from the previous year, but even allowing for that, he thought that the volume of trade and the state of employment as a whole were probably more satisfactory than in recent years. As showing the comparatively peaceful conditions which had prevailed in industry during the year, he mentioned that the number of disputes reported to the Ministry during 1927, and the number of workmen involved, were only half those for the corresponding period of 1925, and the number of working days lost little more than one-tenth.

Besides the Budget and the Trade Union Bill, Parliament had during the summer passed a number of minor Bills, of which the most important was probably the Moneylenders' Bill (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1926, p. 124), which this year came safely into port. Two important measures—the Cinema Bill and the Local Audit Bill—had not yet emerged from Committee, where they had been the subject of much wrangling. The Premier was consequently unable to carry out his intention of closing the session in the summer and commencing a new Parliamentary year in the autumn; Parliament, on July 29, merely adjourned as usual till November 8. The closing debates of the session in the House of Commons had been very poorly attended, and a profound calm in the political world had succeeded the turmoil caused by the proposals for reforming the House of Lords. That body had during the session shown its reactionary character by passing, in addition to the Government's scheme of reforming the Upper House, an Aliens Bill which rendered permanent the restrictions imposed as a temporary measure on alien immigration and residence just after the war.

The references made in Parliament during the discussion of the Finance Bill to the depressed state of agriculture and coal-



mining found a counterpart in various public utterances outside. After waiting for over two years, agriculturists began to grow impatient at the Government's delay in carrying out its election promise of not merely preserving agriculture, but restoring it to its former prosperity. Mr. Baldwin was expected to give them some message of encouragement in an address which he was to deliver in Cornwall on June 24, but although speaking in an essentially rural district, he had little to say about agriculture except to condemn the Liberal and Labour schemes of land tenure and stabilisation of prices. The National Union of Farmers thereupon issued a statement bitterly complaining of the omission from his speech of any constructive proposals for improving the condition of the industry, and for implementing the pledges he had given in his election address.

The Prime Minister dealt with the complaints of the National Farmers' Union in an address which he delivered in Lincolnshire on July 21 to an audience of 20,000 people. He laid stress on the fact that agriculture was in a depressed state in nearly all countries in the world, and that many other Governments had tried to solve the problem and failed. He confessed that it was not possible for his Government to find such a solution of the problem as would convert depression into prosperity, any more than it was possible in the case of coal, steel, or many other industries. Other parties might promise to do this, but none would be able; and the Conservatives alone had the honesty to say so. Nevertheless, he claimed that in the short time at their disposal they had done more than other previous Governments. He regretted that two years previously they had not been able to secure an agreement between all parties on the solution of the agricultural problem, owing to the refusal of one section of the industry to co-operate; now it was too late. He dwelt on the pledges which the Government had fulfilled—the reduction of agricultural rates, the combating of pests and diseases, and the establishment of the sugar-beet industry; and he gave a definite promise to draw up a scheme for the provision of agricultural credit. He declared a subsidy to be out of the question, and advised the farmers to seek salvation in an improved system of marketing.

The Premier's speech, so far from mollifying the National Farmers' Union, added fuel to its wrath. It immediately issued a rejoinder in which it stated that his speech had been received by the farming community with "feelings of amazement," and stigmatised him as a "political cheap jack" who made no attempt to carry out his election promises, chief of which it reckoned the application to agriculture of the methods of "safeguarding." This clear hint that the farmers desired some form of Protection was lost on the Premier. The Minister of Agriculture and other Conservative members were equally unresponsive to similar representations; and discontent both with the Government and

the Conservative Party became rife among the agricultural community.

Equally with agriculture, the coal industry seemed unable to raise itself by its own efforts from the slough into which it had fallen. In spite of the longer working day and the consequent lessened cost of production, the industry as a whole ceased to pay its way after March. Nearly all the large coal-fields in April registered a loss averaging from  $3\frac{1}{2}d.$  a ton in Yorkshire to *Is. 6d.* in Scotland. Before the summer was far advanced both miners and owners seemed to be making preparations for renewing the duel of the preceding year. The Miners' Federation on June 24 issued a statement containing reports on the trading results of the most important coal-fields, and drawing the conclusion that their unsatisfactory character was due to "unregulated production, unmitigated competition, and unrestrained price-cutting," and that the need for reorganisation was imperative. As a counterblast to this and to warnings that had been uttered from public platforms by Sir Herbert Samuel and Mr. Lloyd George, the coal-owners at the same time issued a statement denying that any coal "crisis" was at hand, and asserting that the period of depression through which the industry was passing had been foreseen and was inevitable, and would have been worse but for the Eight-Hours Act. They deprecated, as usual, the making of the coal industry a party political issue, and denied that any changes in its organisation were needed other than those which they could make, or actually were making, themselves.

The annual Conference of the Miners' Federation, which opened at Southport on July 25, afforded a good opportunity of judging how the political views of the miners had been affected by the events of the previous year. A considerable group of miners was unrepresented at the Conference, having joined the "non-political" unions formed by Mr. Spencer and others in various coal-fields. Many also had dropped out of the Federation owing to inability to keep up their subscriptions. Nevertheless, the Federation still represented the great mass of the miners, and was still the most important single trade union in the country. It had been battered, but not yet broken by the events of the previous twelvemonths. The report of the Executive Committee was a sober document which treated the condition of the industry in a very objective fashion. It pointed out that the root of the trouble in the coal industry both in England and in other countries was an excess of supply over demand due to natural causes, which tended to operate with increasing force. In England the trouble had been aggravated by the stupid policy of the coal-owners, who had tried to overcome natural causes by unnatural means. The report reiterated the main lines of the policy laid by the miners' representatives before the Coal Commission of 1925, and added two more recommendations—the restriction of

the recruitment of adult labour from outside sources, and the provision of a superannuation fund for aged mine-workers. It concluded with an appeal to miners to remain loyal to the old Federation, and to preserve their unity till the advent of a Labour Government which would realise their hopes.

The presidential address of Mr. Herbert Smith was also marked by great restraint, and gave no countenance to the idea that the miners were contemplating an early resort to drastic action of any kind. He complained bitterly of the condition to which the miners had been reduced, laying the blame largely on the "mad competition" of the coal-owners. He also maintained that accidents in mines had increased as a result of the Eight-Hours Act. He appealed to the British public to assist the mine-workers to reduce their hours of labour at least to the scale which prevailed before 1926, and also to raise the standard of living without having to resort to the weapon of a strike. He thought the time had come when they should use to the full extent their political machine, and he also looked for greater help in the future from the Miners' International. In spite of the Government's repressive legislation, which had culminated in the Trade Union Bill, he was confident that the miners would eventually secure their aims. He advocated the use of purely constitutional methods and deprecated any resort to force. But he warned the Government that if they tried to stifle the expression of the popular will by making the House of Lords paramount, the miners would accept boldly and at all hazards even unconstitutional methods of preserving their liberties.

A debate on the second day of the Conference on the Trade Union Bill revealed the existence among the delegates of a strongly militant "Left Wing" section. This section was in a decided minority at the Conference, and was severely lectured by speakers of the other side. One delegate asked them if they spoke for the Welsh miners or for Russia. Mr. Hartshorn said he hoped the Miners' Federation would never accept their theory that the miners' problems could be solved by world-wide revolution. Mr. Smith charged them with having only one object—to cause disorganisation and disunity—and said that they were doing as much harm to the movement as Mr. Spencer. A number of speakers laid stress on the necessity of loyalty to the Labour Party, and spoke in the highest terms of Mr. MacDonald's leadership. In the voting on various resolutions on the next day the "Left Wing" was somewhat heavily defeated. A proposal that the Federation should "work and vote in favour of the Communist Party being allowed to affiliate to the Labour Party" was rejected by 420,000 to 220,000, and a proposal for the formation of an Anglo-Russian Miners' Committee was not allowed to go to the vote. Nevertheless, the "Left Wing," though held in check, was far from being suppressed; it obtained three new members on the National

Executive, and Mr. Cook, who was still secretary of the Federation, was nominated for election to the General Council of the Trade Union Congress.

In the course of a debate on disarmament and foreign policy on July 28, Labour members had inquired whether there was any change in the Government's policy towards China and Russia. Sir A. Chamberlain informed them that Britain's policy towards the former country was still what it had been defined to be in December and February, while to Russia the door was still open for a resumption of relations, provided she would undertake not to abuse the privileges granted to her. In the course of his remarks the Foreign Secretary characterised as utterly false and absurd a report which had appeared in a French newspaper, and to which attention was drawn in the debate, that the British Ambassador in Paris had secretly conferred with the heads of a non-existent Ukrainian State. He suggested that the rumour had been set on foot by the Soviet Government to bolster up its own position.

In July some voices were raised within the Labour ranks advocating a working agreement between the Labour and Liberal parties for the purpose of ensuring the defeat of the Conservatives at the next General Election. Prominent among those who recommended this course was Mr. A. M. Thompson, who, as a founder of the *Clarion* newspaper in 1891, might be regarded as one of the "fathers" of the Parliamentary Labour Party. Mr. Thompson pointed out that the Labour Party had now fully established its independence, and that a policy of isolation was no longer beneficial to it. His proposals for a Liberal-Labour alliance were strongly endorsed by the influential Liberal daily, the *Manchester Guardian*. They were, however, ignored by the Labour leaders, and rejected by the Liberals.

At the Liberal Summer School, which opened on July 28, Sir Herbert Samuel indicated that the Liberal Party, so far from co-operating with the Labour Party, would itself make a bold bid for the working-class vote. Sir Herbert selected for the subject of his opening address to the School, "Liberalism and the Labour Movement," and he impressed on his hearers the necessity of framing an alternative policy to Socialism for dealing with social evils. He pointed out that the Liberal Party had during a great part of the nineteenth century been regarded by the working classes as the guardian of their interests, but had forfeited that position to the Labour Party at the beginning of the twentieth century. One reason for this loss of working-class confidence was its adherence to the policy of *laissez-faire* after that policy had become discredited among the workers. Nevertheless, the essential purposes of the Labour movement had always been included in the aims of Liberalism, and the Liberal Party was equally with the Labour Party an agency for attaining them.

Liberalism had now given up *laissez-faire*. Why, then, it might be asked, should not Liberals throw in their lot with the Labour Party ? The chief reason was that the Labour Party had adopted as the instrument for achieving its aims, Socialism, that is, the socialisation or nationalisation of most branches of industry. This, in Sir Herbert's opinion, was a fundamentally wrong method which, if put into execution, was likely to prove detrimental to all sections of the community. Liberals, therefore, had the duty not to surrender the guardianship of the cause of progress into the hands of politicians whose basic theory was wrong, and who in consequence could only bring that cause to disaster. The right policy for Liberalism to adopt in relation to the Labour movement was to continue the policy that it would have adopted if a separate Labour Party had never come into existence. *Laissez-faire* and Socialism being both recognised as false guides, the obligation rested upon them to develop a policy of Social Liberalism which would divide into its several parts the problem with which they were confronted, and devise the particular means by which the solution of each could be approached. They should take up the work of Liberalism at the point at which it was laid down in 1914 ; and the first step in this endeavour was to frame a series of measures for dealing with the questions that were now ripe for solution.

A few days later (August 1), Mr. Lloyd George, approaching the question of Liberal policy from the purely practical standpoint of party tactics, arrived at a conclusion analogous to that of his colleague. Affirming the necessity of coming before the public with a definite programme and not merely with vague principles, he staked the success or failure of the Liberal Party at the next election on its ability to evolve an industrial policy suited to the needs of the time in the same way as it had evolved a land policy and a coal policy ; and he announced that a committee of inquiry had been appointed to deal with the question and draw up a report.

### CHAPTER III.

#### THE GENEVA NAVAL CONFERENCE.

IN the debate on foreign affairs initiated by the Labour Party on July 28, Mr. Trevelyan had emphasised the need for international disarmament, and had urged that Britain should come forward with some "great, dramatic, and challenging proposal" for furthering this object. Sir A. Chamberlain had received the suggestion coldly, expressing his belief that the end could not be attained by a single sudden stroke, and that progress was much more likely to be effected by a succession of conferences each making some small step forward.

Acting on this principle, the Government had early in the year accepted an invitation from the President of the United States to take part in a conversation at Washington on the limitation of naval armaments, not without entering a caveat that the special requirements of the British Empire in the way of communications and food supply must be taken into account. The proposed conversation finally took place not at Washington but at Geneva, where on June 20 a Conference on Naval Disarmament was opened between representatives of Britain, the United States, and Japan, with representatives of France and Italy as interested onlookers.

The British delegates were Mr. Bridgeman, the First Lord of the Admiralty, and Lord Cecil. The main proposals of Great Britain as presented by Mr. Bridgeman were the extension of the life of existing capital ships from 20 to 26 years, and corresponding fixing of the life of other vessels; the reduction in the size of any battleships to be built in the future from the present limit of 35,000 tons to something under 30,000 tons; reduction in the size of guns on battleships from the present limit of 16 in. to 13.5 in.; maintenance of the existing ratio between England, America, and Japan of 5-5-3 for cruisers of 10,000 tons displacement, carrying 8-in. guns, and a limitation of 7,000 tons and 6-in. guns to be placed on all future light cruisers after the number of 10,000 ton cruisers had been decided on. In regard to submarines, Great Britain, it was stated, would still, as at the Washington Conference, prefer to see them discontinued, but failing that she suggested that the tonnage of the larger type of submarine should be limited to 1,600 and of the smaller to 600, and the armament of each to 5-in. guns.

In the matter of destroyers and submarines it was soon found that there were no great differences between the three parties to the Conference, and an agreement imposing certain limitations on construction was reached without much difficulty. In regard to capital ships also a spirit of accommodation was manifested, and after long parleying some definite, if slight, progress was made towards reduction.

But on the question of cruisers Britain and America soon found themselves to be hopelessly divided. Britain insisted that she must have "security," and America was equally insistent in demanding "parity"; and though each side in theory conceded the claim of the other, in practice it long proved impossible to evolve a scheme which should satisfy both. By "security" Britain meant a force sufficient to protect her maritime trade routes, which she calculated at 70 cruisers of 7,500 tons. By "parity" America meant liberty to build up to the same total tonnage as Britain distributed in cruisers of what size and armament she pleased. Britain demurred to this, as she considered that her security would be threatened if America built more than a very limited number of cruisers of 10,000 tons or armed with'

8-in. guns. America would not give way on this point, and consequently a deadlock ensued.

After three weeks of discussion between the experts, Mr. Bridgeman came to the conclusion that a plenary session would be of advantage for surveying the position and clearing the air. The delegates accordingly met on July 14, and Mr. Bridgeman laid before them a full statement of the British point of view in regard to cruisers.

He drew particular attention to the fact that one of the main features of the proposals put by Great Britain before the Conference was the prevention of competition in offensive armament by laying down definite maximums for individual ships in each separate category both in tonnage and armament. He reminded the chief American delegate, Mr. Gibson, that at the meeting of the Preparatory Commission on April 5, he also had laid stress on the necessity of dealing with tangible and visible characteristics rather than with those that were not openly visible. This, according to Mr. Bridgeman, was an argument against dealing in terms of total tonnage. Mere fixation of total tonnage or ratio was useless unless it was accompanied by individual limits in each class. If the British proposals were accepted, a definite reduction in the offensive power of every type of vessel would be established for the future. The initial cost of each capital ship would be reduced by a million pounds and of each cruiser by half a million. If on the other hand they could not agree on the lowest maximum sizes in their scheme, the only agreement they could reach was one which would not decrease but might actually increase the offensive strength now prevailing. The American proposal for fixing a maximum of tonnage for cruisers without specifying the maximum numbers of any particular size of cruiser would allow America to build, say, twenty-five cruisers of 10,000 tons with 8-in. guns—a prospect which Great Britain could not view without alarm. He suggested, therefore, that there should be a ratio for large cruisers as for capital ships.

The chief American delegate in reply denied that America had any intention of building twenty-five 10,000 ton cruisers. He continued, however, to insist on the demand for a global tonnage of from 450,000 to 550,000, without restrictions as to types of cruisers, and from this position he would not budge. The Japanese delegate, on the other hand, expressed cordial approval of the British proposals; and the British delegates took advantage of this fact to draft with the Japanese an agreement for fixing the naval armaments of their respective countries as between themselves. The draft was shown to the Americans, but they declined to come into it, on the ground that it restricted unduly the building of cruisers with 8-in. guns, and that it permitted England to keep a certain number of large cruisers which she regarded as obsolete but useful for coast defence.

The British delegates now found themselves at the end of their resources, and on July 19 they returned to London to consult with the Government as to their next step.

The Cabinet found the situation created by the American demands highly perplexing, and held several meetings before it could finally decide what attitude to adopt. It was not till July 27—more than a week after their arrival in London—that the British delegates were able to return to Geneva with fresh instructions. On the same day Sir A. Chamberlain made in the House of Commons a statement which gave some indication how far England was prepared to go in an endeavour to reach an agreement. The Government, he said, had accepted President Coolidge's invitation to take part in a disarmament conference on the understanding that his desire was to develop the policy of the Washington Conference by diminishing yet further naval expenditure while maintaining national security. It was on this principle that they had proposed to limit the size and armament of battleships while leaving unaltered the numbers fixed at Washington. It was for that reason also that they suggested limitation in the number and armament of large fighting cruisers on principles similar to those adopted at Washington for battleships. In regard to cruisers it was a matter of supreme importance how the tonnage was distributed among vessels of various sizes. The country which for any reason was obliged to distribute its available tonnage among smaller vessels would be at a permanent disadvantage compared with one which was able to adopt a different scheme. There would be nominal parity but real inequality. Consequently, in the opinion of the Government, no provisions open to this kind of criticism should be given the international authority already possessed by those parts of the Treaty of Washington which dealt with strength and numbers. At the same time the Government thought that there need be no difficulty in arriving at a temporary arrangement about the immediate future of cruiser building. But the British Empire could not be asked to give to any such temporary arrangement the appearance of an immutable principle which might be treated as a precedent, as this might be interpreted in the future as involving the formal surrender by the British Empire of maritime equality, a consummation which the Government was well assured was no part of the President's policy.

Although the somewhat cryptic character of the Minister's concluding remarks was calculated rather to whet than to allay curiosity, the House recognised the impropriety of pressing for further details while the Conference was still proceeding, and contented itself with the Minister's assurance that a full opportunity for discussion would be provided after the summer vacation. Sir A. Chamberlain's speech was published by the Foreign Office ; and in order to reinforce his argument on the vital need of the British Empire for small cruisers to protect her trade routes, an,



**extract** was added from a speech **delivered** by **Lord Balfour at the Washington Conference of 1921-22** in which he had explained to the American public the difference between American and British requirements for the protection of sea communications.

Before leaving London Mr. Bridgeman had stated to a press representative that the British proposals were "fundamentally unchanged." This description proved to be correct in respect of the small cruisers and the determination of Great Britain not to be exceeded by the United States in other types, but it left room for an important modification in the earlier proposals. Britain now suggested that the number of large cruisers of 10,000 tons for herself and America should be fixed at twelve, the number which she herself possessed, and that she should hold her hand from further construction while the United States—which at present possessed only two—should build up to this number.

The new British proposals were immediately declared by the American delegation and by Mr. Coolidge himself to be wholly unacceptable. The British Government was gravely perturbed at this announcement, and made desperate efforts to find a way out of the impasse. Ministers were detained in London when on the very point of leaving for their holidays in order to attend a special Cabinet meeting on July 30. The meeting came to no decision, but it persuaded the Conference to postpone the plenary session which had been fixed for Monday, August 1, till the following Thursday, August 4, in order to allow further time for discussion and consultation. On August 3 the Cabinet held two meetings, but again it was unable to arrive at any decision. The delegates at the Conference also in their informal discussions in the interval had been unable to find any new basis of agreement on the cruiser question. The American delegates would not even assent to a British proposal to embody in a formal document those points on which agreement had actually been reached, such as the limitation of the number of destroyers and submarines; and at the plenary session on August 4 the Conference was duly wound up without having made the slightest progress towards achieving the objects for which it had been called.

In their speeches at the final meeting on August 4, Mr. Bridgeman and Mr. Gibson each endeavoured to shift the blame for the failure of the Conference from the shoulders of his own country on to that of the other. According to the British representative, the cause of the breakdown was that America wanted too many large cruisers; according to the American representative, it was that Britain wanted too many small ones. Mr. Bridgeman again justified on grounds of national security Britain's demand for 70 small cruisers, and declared himself unable to understand America's reasons for demanding so many large cruisers, or so many cruisers with such high offensive weapons as the 8-in. gun. Mr. Gibson retorted by asking why Britain, after having at the

Washington Conference declared a total tonnage of 450,000 for vessels of the auxiliary class to be acceptable and reasonable, now asked for a tonnage of 647,000; and he justified the United States' demand for large cruisers on the ground that these were more economical to build and maintain than the same tonnage in small ones. He further asked why it was that if, as Sir A. Chamberlain had recently said in Parliament, war between Britain and America was already outlawed in the hearts of both nations, Britain should refuse to recognise America's right to build a limited number of the type of ship she should desire. However, both Mr. Bridgeman and Mr. Gibson concurred in the opinion that the failure of the Conference would not affect the friendly relations between the two countries, and would not necessarily lead to a competition in armaments between them.

Mr. Gibson's statement that at Washington Britain had only asked for 450,000 tons in auxiliary vessels was promptly controverted by the highest authority. Addressing a public meeting on August 6, Lord Balfour pointed out that the figure of 450,000 tons which he had mentioned at Washington referred only—as he had made perfectly clear to the American delegates at the time—to cruisers auxiliary to the battle fleet, and did not include those which might in addition be required to protect British sea-borne commerce and trade routes. He found cause for serious misgiving in the fact that Mr. Gibson, in quoting his statement on this subject, should have omitted words which modified the whole sense of the passage. Lord Balfour went on to complain gravely of the high-handed way in which the American delegates had conducted their case at the Conference. Great Britain, he said, had made proposals for limiting armament and size of battleships which, if accepted by all nations, would have rendered possible a marked economy in naval expenditure. In both cases the United States representatives had replied curtly that the proposals were unacceptable, without giving any reason on which their objection was based.

On the same day (August 6), Mr. Churchill, speaking at Haslemere, endeavoured on behalf of the Government to reassure public opinion as to the effect of the failure of the Conference on Anglo-American relations. He first made it clear that there could be no question of Britain's accepting the American definition of parity, or receding from her own view of what constituted real naval equality. But he did not see in this any cause for alarm; because people could not agree about some theory or doctrine, and could not be got to subscribe to any paper formula about it, that was no reason why the practical steps which they might take from year to year should not be perfectly harmonious, and be recognised by both as reasonable and fair. Britain had said again and again that she would take no offence because the United States built the cruisers which she considered herself to require.

The building of such ships would not cause them any alarm or anger, and they could not conceive that any circumstances would arise in any period of time which would lead to a deplorable race in armaments between the two countries. Indeed, it might well be that some of the purposes which President Coolidge had in view would be achieved in the next few years in practice, though not on paper.

In spite of the assurances of Government spokesmen, the friends of peace and disarmament in England were far from satisfied with the way in which the British case had been conducted at the Conference. They asked, as Mr. Gibson had asked, why it was that, if war between Britain and America was "unthinkable," Britain should concern herself with the United States naval programme. The most damaging criticism of the Government came from one of its own representatives at the Conference, Lord Robert Cecil. Lord Robert had co-operated loyally with Mr. Bridgeman in all the proceedings of the Conference. But he did not at all share his colleague's opinion of the righteousness of Britain's cause, and as soon as the Conference was over he showed in an emphatic manner his disapproval of the Government's policy. Early in August he sent in a letter of resignation from his post in the Government as Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster and Britain's representative on the League of Nations. Mr. Baldwin was then in Canada, whither he had gone at the end of July with the Prince of Wales and the Duke of York to take part in the celebrations in honour of the sixtieth anniversary of Canada's acquisition of Dominion status. Lord Robert, in consequence, received no answer to his letter, but immediately on the Premier's return he again (August 26) placed his resignation in his hands, and insisted on its acceptance.

Lord Robert accompanied his resignation with an explanatory minute which contained a scathing indictment of the Government's foreign policy, and which the Cabinet only with a good deal of hesitation allowed to be made public (August 29). The fundamental reason for his resignation was, he said, the fact that on the broad policy of disarmament the majority of the Cabinet and he were not really agreed. Much that had happened during the session in the spring of the Preparatory Commission for the reduction and limitation of armaments had for him been of a disquieting nature. Over and over again he had been compelled by his instructions to maintain propositions which he found difficult to reconcile with any serious desire for the success of its labours. Though these instructions turned for the most part on smaller points, their cumulative effect on the minds of the Commission was unfortunate, and was largely responsible for its comparative ill-success. In the recent Naval Conference also he found himself out of sympathy with the instructions he received; it was, in his opinion, possible to reach an agree-

ment on terms which would have sacrificed no essential British interest. He retailed the occasions on which the Government had failed to seize an opportunity of making an advance in the direction of security, arbitration, and disarmament—the refusal to accept the Treaty of Mutual Assistance, the unconditional rejection of the Protocol, the Ministerial declaration against compulsory arbitration, the partial failure of the Preparatory Commission, and now the breakdown of the Three Power Conference. In each case the policy he had advocated had been more or less overruled. As it had been in the past, so it would be in the future; the same causes would produce similar effects, for, however unwilling he was to recognise it, the truth was that in these matters his colleagues did not agree with him.

Later in the evening of the same day (August 29) the Prime Minister issued a reply to Lord Robert Cecil's charges, maintaining that he had exaggerated the differences between himself and the rest of the Government. He recalled the speech made by the Foreign Secretary at Geneva on the subject of the Protocol soon after the Government came into office, in the course of which he had stated that on the subjects of arbitration, disarmament, and security the British Empire had shown by deeds as well as by words that it was in the fullest accord with the ideals which had animated the Fifth Assembly of the League. Britain, he held, had since that time pursued the policy then laid down with results on the peace of the world and on disarmament which were not inconsiderable. He instanced the progress which had been made in the direction of disarmament as a result of the Washington Conference, the Locarno Treaty, and the settlement with Turkey. He refused to share Lord Cecil's pessimism, and expressed the hope that even the Three Powers Conference, in spite of its apparent failure, might result both in a reduction of armaments and in a better understanding by the nations concerned of each other's problems and difficulties.

Lord Cecil's resignation was a severe moral blow to the Government, but it produced no immediate reactions in the political world. Its chief effect was to call public attention forcibly to the dangers of the international situation and to give a great impetus to the movement for general disarmament and the prevention of war.

Early in August an agreement was reached between the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the Minister of the Serb-Croat-Slovenian State for funding the War Debt of that country, amounting to approximately 25.5 million pounds. Repayment was to be made in sixty-two yearly instalments rising from 150,000*l.* in 1927 to 600,000*l.* in 1942 and onwards to 1988. At the same time an agreement was also made for the settlement of the Serbo-Croat-Slovene Relief Debt to Great Britain amounting to a little over 2 million pounds. Payment was to be made in full with interest

at 5 per cent, by annual instalments extending over fifteen years. The annuities in respect of the War Debt were purposely scaled **down** during the years to 1942 to facilitate the payment of the Relief Debt.

In England, as in most other countries, popular feeling was deeply stirred by the announcement early in August that the death penalty was to be actually inflicted on the two prisoners, Sacco and Vanzetti, who six years before had been condemned by a Court in the State of Massachusetts. Prior to the date fixed for the execution a number of public protests were made, culminating in a great demonstration held on the night of August 10 in Hyde Park and the neighbourhood, in which over 10,000 persons took part. Owing to the threatening attitude of the crowd, large forces of police were employed to keep it in order, and the approaches to the American Embassy were strongly guarded. Other demonstrations almost on a similar scale took place before the prisoners were finally executed.

In August the British Government was reminded by the German Government of the undertaking given at Locarno to bring about the evacuation of the Rhineland by the occupying forces. Britain was willing to withdraw her troops provided France and Belgium made proportionate withdrawals. France at first was averse to withdrawing any of her troops. The Foreign Secretary accordingly addressed to the French Government a couple of stiff notes, as a result of which the latter at the end of August consented to withdraw 8,000 French troops while Belgium and Britain withdrew 1,000 each.

Mr. Baldwin had returned from Canada on August 25 full of admiration for that country but as proud as ever of his own. In a speech which he gave in Scotland on August 27 he described Canada as a land of good wages and unlimited possibilities, built up primarily by British capital, by private enterprise, British brains and British skill, the secret of its success being British character. Dealing with the economic situation in England, he said that he regarded it as considerably better than two years ago, and he saw no cause for pessimism, provided that there were no widespread stoppages of work. He concluded his speech by appealing to the trade union leaders to use their influence to promote industrial peace, and urged them to give a lead in that direction to their followers at the Congress to be held in the coming week—an uncalled-for piece of advice which, as the sequel showed, was bitterly resented by those to whom it was addressed.

The Trade Union Congress of 1927, which was opened at Edinburgh on September 5 revealed a distinctly pacific temper in the British working class, contrasting strongly with the militant spirit which had been displayed at the Congress preceding the **general** strike.

- At a demonstration preliminary to the Congress itself (Sep-

tember 3), Mr. Citrine, the Secretary of the T.U.C., reproved those in the movement—chiefly the younger people—who talked of the unions as if they were simply fighting machines, and preached a programme of industrial action, which meant using the power of the unions recklessly and destructively. Mr. Hicks, the chairman of the Congress, declared at the same meeting in the name of the trade union movement that they would do anything to achieve and maintain industrial peace, provided it was not a peace which made it impossible for the workers to live decent lives. In his opening address to the Congress two days later, Mr. Hicks spoke with restraint of the grievances of the workers, and threw out a suggestion that the General Council of the Trade Union Congress should confer directly on economic problems with the National Confederation of Employers' Organisations, the largest body of organised employers. The idea had been considered for some time by the Trade Union Council, and was received with favour by the Congress.

The chief work of the Congress was to complete the breach with Moscow which had been opened at the preceding Congress, and had gradually widened in the course of the year. The General Council of the T.U.C. had already, on July 27, sent to Moscow a carefully worded statement declaring that co-operation between the British and the Russian Trade Unions was impossible unless the latter changed their methods and their language. This, however, did not prevent it from issuing an invitation to Mr. Tomsky to attend the Congress as a fraternal delegate. As in the previous year, the Home Secretary refused Mr. Tomsky permission to land in England, and that gentleman again despatched by cable a message which, under the cover of fraternal greetings to the British workers, heaped abuse and insult on the British trade union leaders, and dictated to the Congress the policy it ought to pursue.

Mr. Tomsky's screed was already in the hands of the delegates when they came to consider the recommendation of the General Council that negotiations with the Russian trade unions should be broken off. The reasons for this step were explained by Mr. Citrine. Two years of earnest striving to bring about an understanding between the British and Russian trade union movements had, he said, convinced the Trade Union Council that it was impossible to go on under present conditions. When the negotiations began, some of them had believed that the differences which separated them from the Russians were superficial, and that contact between them would remove their difficulties; but experience had made them realise that the differences went much deeper than they imagined. There were three main differences. One was that the Russians desired their revolutionary principles to be adopted by all trade unions, whereas the British movement was built up on the principle of autonomy for its units to decide their

own line of progress. The second difference was in the conception of what the Anglo-Russian Council was designed to do. The British had sought to restrict it to its primary function, which was to establish a close link between the British and Russian workers, whereas the Russians had regarded it as the nucleus of a new International. The third difference was in the method of conducting discussions. The Russians believed more in declamation than in calm statement and argument. He had been told that terms like "traitor," "renegade," and so on were so common in the Russian movement that no one took any notice of them, but their effect on an English audience was deplorable. So long, therefore, as the Russians maintained their present attitude, they would have to go on separately.

The behaviour of the Russian trade unions since the Arcos raid, and their obvious intention to force a breach with the British unions, placed those who still desired to maintain the Anglo-Russian Council in a quandary. Nevertheless a number of speakers urged the rejection of the Council's recommendation on the ground that to dissolve the Committee at the present juncture would encourage the Government in its hostile attitude towards Russia and would remove a check on the possibility of war with that country. The British unions, it was urged, should suffer any indignity rather than take such a step. This view was expressed not only by extremists, but even by a man of such moderate views as Mr. Cramp, the railwaymen's leader. The other moderates, however, would have none of it. Mr. Bevin clinched Mr. Citrine's description of the differences between the British and Russian trade unions by declaring that they had two distinct moral standards; the British standard was to hammer out their differences and when a decision was arrived at honourably to abide by it, but the Russian was apparently that the end justified the means. Mr. Clynes expressed his surprise that the decision of the Council had not come long before, and Mr. Thomas explained that they had actually been on the verge of breaking with Russia six months before, but on that occasion rather than play the Tory game they had agreed to eat their own words. The motion for referring the recommendation back was ultimately defeated by 2,550,000 votes to 620,000.

Lest this vote might be interpreted as a sign that the trade unions had come round to the Government view of the proper way to deal with Russia, the Congress immediately afterwards passed without discussion a resolution deploring the diplomatic breach with that country as likely to increase unemployment, injure trade, and imperil peace. The fact remained, however, that in its own sphere the Congress had followed the example of the Government, and supporters of the Government did not fail to draw the moral.

As a corollary to the dissolution of the Anglo-Russian committee, the Congress accepted a recommendation of the Council that the

latter should have power to review the whole question of the international relationships of Congress in the light of the events that had taken place since the Hull Congress of two years previously. The Congress had chiefly in mind a meeting of the International Federation of Trade Unions (the Second International) held in Paris at the beginning of August, at which Mr. Purcell, who presided, had scandalised the delegates by making a frankly Communistic speech, and had charged the secretary with carrying on underhand intrigues against the Russian trade unions. By a two to one majority the Congress refused to commit itself to a declaration in favour of a single International and of a world conference of the two Internationals and unaffiliated movements.

The pacific spirit of the Congress was further illustrated by the emphatic manner in which the majority dissociated itself from the "Minority Movement" which stood for a policy of militant trade unionism. A decision of the Council that trades councils connected with the Minority Movement should not be accorded recognition by the T.U.C. was challenged by certain speakers who tried to represent the Minority Movement as the representative of progress and new ideas within the trade unions, comparing its work to that of Keir Hardie in a previous generation. This view was not accepted by the supporters of the Council, who charged the Minority Movement with seeking directly to wreck the trade unions and with taking its orders from Moscow.

The attitude of the trade union world to the question of industrial peace was defined with some precision in a long resolution moved on the second day by Mr. Bevin on behalf of the General Council. The Congress, it said, had noted the repeated appeals of the Prime Minister to the leaders of Labour on the subject of collaboration for industrial peace, and could assure him that no section of the community was more desirous of industrial peace than the workers. It was compelled, however, to inform Mr. Baldwin that the greatest hindrance to a response to those appeals was the legislative and industrial policy pursued by him and his Government, especially their attacks on the wage standards and liberties of the workers such as those contained in the Miners' Eight-Hours Act and the Trade Disputes Act. The immediate repeal of such repressive legislation would be the best evidence of the sincerity and honesty of Mr. Baldwin and his Government, failing which the country should be given an immediate opportunity of pronouncing a verdict upon the present Government's policy. Mr. Bevin, in introducing the resolution, underlined the charges of insincerity which it brought against Mr. Baldwin, and accused the Premier of having, as Mr. Facing-Both-Ways, been responsible for much of the industrial trouble of the past three or four years. Mr. Thomas also declared that all talk of industrial peace was idle until the most crying wrongs of the working population were remedied. The resolution was then carried unanimously.



The desire of the Congress for industrial peace was brought out in the most unmistakable manner in its closing debate on September 10. The occasion was a motion brought forward by the Furnishing Trades Association condemning in so many words the propaganda of industrial peace, bidding the workers to rely not on any new spirit in industry but on the consolidation and improvement of the trade union movement itself, and calling on it to organise the workers for the struggle against capitalism. The sentiments of the resolution and the tirades against the trade union leaders indulged in by its supporters—among whom Mr. Cook was prominent—found little sympathy in the audience. The great mass of the delegates concurred with Mr. Ben Turner, one of the veterans of the movement, when he declared that the workers were hoping and praying for industrial peace and were tired of strikes and struggles and strife. The motion was lost by an overwhelming majority.

An interesting discussion took place on the second day of the Congress on the question whether trade unions should be organised strictly by industries, instead of in the present somewhat haphazard fashion. The General Council reported that as the result of an inquiry which had been prosecuted for three years it had been forced to the conclusion that as it was impossible to define any fixed boundaries of industry, it was impracticable to formulate a scheme of organisation by industry which could be made applicable to all industries. Several speakers maintained that it was not so impossible to define an industry as the Council would have them believe, but they were somewhat unkindly reminded that this contention had been one of the main grounds of Labour opposition to the Trade Union Bill. Mr. Bevin said that to define industry would be to paralyse trade union development, and he criticised the miners for confining their industry to the pit-head. The motion to refer the report back was finally defeated by 2,062,000 votes to 1,809,000.

On the fifth day a resolution was unanimously carried protesting against the passage of the Trade Union Act without inquiry or mandate, expressing appreciation of the Labour Party's resistance to it, declaring the determination of the Congress to maintain the rights and liberties that organised workers had secured, including the full right of combination and the application of the strike, and pledging Congress to work for the repeal of the measure and the defeat of the Government.

In his presidential address Mr. Hicks had stated that the trade unions centred their hopes in the return to power of a Labour Government, and this note was struck on various occasions at the Congress. On the fourth day (September 8) Mr. Ramsay MacDonald addressed the Congress as a fraternal delegate from the Labour Party, and aroused great enthusiasm. Referring to the exchange of delegates between the T.U.C. and the approaching

Labour Party Conference, he said he hoped they would hear no more about divisions between the industrial side and the political side of the Labour movement. The non-political trade union was no new thing; twenty-five years ago a great many of the trade unions had lived under the delusion that they could be non-political, and had been content to send deputations to the outer lobbies of the House of Commons without seeking to enter the Chamber itself, but experience had shown them their mistake. The best way—usually the only way—of destroying bad law was to get hold of the power that enabled a bad Government to pass bad law. The Congress showed by its reception of Mr. MacDonald's remarks that it had no intention of becoming non-political or of ceasing to support the Labour Party.

At the beginning of September two events took place in the industrial world which showed in a striking manner that the hopes of a trade revival entertained at the beginning of the year had not yet been fulfilled. On the first of the month the bulk of the firms in the heavy steel industry introduced a system of rebate to consumers of steel who agreed to purchase solely from British manufacturers over a stated period, giving as their reason the fact that imports of foreign steel were increasing at an alarming rate, and that only by this means could they hope to hold their own in the home market, as their request for safeguarding had been refused. The American cotton-spinners of Lancashire soon afterwards proclaimed themselves to be *in extremis*, and as a last resort formed what was called a "price ring" in order to prevent a total collapse of their industry. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, it is true, in a speech at this time dealing with his Budget prospects, airily described British industry as being "in full swing"; but for this remark he was severely taken to task a few days later by Sir Herbert Samuel, who had no difficulty in showing how far it was removed from the truth, as far at least as the staple industries were concerned.

There was little question that, as the President of the Association of Chambers of Commerce told that body a little later, England was still selling too little and buying too much. On the exact significance of this fact for the economic life of the nation opinions differed widely. The bulk of the business world refused to be unduly disquieted by it, and in spite of repeated disappointments was still looking forward to an early turn of the tide. The opposite view was strikingly expressed by Mr. Lloyd George in a speech (September 21) in which he reiterated the appeal he had previously made more than once to the public and to Parliament to realise the gravity of the trade situation and to take proper measures to cope with it. There was, he said, too much indulgence in cheap and shallow optimistic talk in order to beguile the public that all was now well and soon would be better. He compared the attitude of the public in this matter to that which prevailed

in the early months of the war, when it was continually deluded by pernicious forecasts of speedy victory, when every bit of good news was exaggerated, and all real difficulties suppressed or ignored. He urged that Parliament should on reassembling suspend all minor issues, and devote its whole thought and energy to the consideration of this one overwhelming question, just as political controversy had been postponed in face of the menace of war.

Whatever obstacles stood at this time in the way of a trade revival, the fear of trade disputes could not be reckoned among them. The employing class at this juncture showed that it was no whit behind the working class in its desire for industrial peace. At the meeting of the Association of Chambers of Commerce on September 29, Mr. Vyle, the President, said that they welcomed the declaration of the President of the Trade Union Congress in favour of co-operation between the workers and employers in a common endeavour to improve the efficiency of industry and to raise the workers' standard of life ; and he assured the workers that they could rely on the cordial co-operation of the Chambers of Commerce to secure those ends. Mr. Vyle deprecated the holding of large round-table conferences of employers and employed representing all industries, and favoured discussion by employers and employed in each individual industry ; and he held up to the admiration of the meeting the decision recently taken by the London, Midland, and Scottish Railway to organise conferences between the heads of departments and the staffs of all grades in various centres not only for the purpose of removing grievances but also for the purpose of securing from the staff their suggestions and views on the working of the railway.

In the course of the next few weeks various trade union leaders repeated in one form or another the suggestion which had been made by Mr. Hicks at the Trade Union Congress that organisations representing both sides of industry should meet to confer on industrial problems. For a long time the employers made no reply. An indirect attempt to bring the two sides together was made by the Lord Mayor who, on October 18, convened a meeting at the Mansion House of Labour leaders, prominent employers and officials of the Brotherhood movement to discuss the basis of industrial peace. By this time the trade unionists were becoming impatient at the employers' silence, and on October 19 Mr. Citrine, the Secretary of the Trade Union Council, called on them to express their willingness to co-operate. Speaking at Birmingham the next day, the Minister of Labour made a similar appeal.

The Minister apparently did not know that on the previous day (October 19) the National Confederation of Employers' Associations had in fact considered the proposal of the trade union leaders, and passed a resolution on the subject, which they did not make public till the following day. The resolution met the advances of the trade unionists, but only up to a point. While

welcoming the sentiments expressed at the Trade Union Congress in furtherance of the promotion of industrial peace, the Confederation without in so many words declining to meet the Trade Union Council, practically rejected their overtures by placing on record its opinion that it was in the individual industries—in their organisations and in the day-to-day contact in the works—that the most ready and effective means presented themselves for developing and applying the spirit of industrial goodwill.

Sir Austen Chamberlain again attended the meeting of the League of Nations in September as chief British delegate. While stopping in Paris on his way to Geneva he was presented, as representative of the British Empire, with a "Golden Book" provided by public subscription. In acknowledging the presentation he naively declared that he loved France as one loves a woman—for her defects as well as her qualities. He hastened, however, to qualify the remark and allay the apprehensions which it might have aroused by adding that in politics one could not be guided by the heart; and indeed he had shown by his recent action in the matter of the Rhineland evacuation that there was a limit to his complaisance even towards France.

At Geneva Sir Austen Chamberlain found that Great Britain was in ill repute among the mass of the delegates as "the obstacle to disarmament." He made a vigorous and outspoken defence against the charge in a speech delivered before the Assembly on September 10, in closing the discussion on the Polish proposal for a new security guarantee—a proposal in the drafting of which Sir Cecil Hurst, the British legal representative, had had a considerable share. Sir Austen said that he welcomed the motion of the delegate for Poland, not because it said anything new, but because it invited them to join once again in a solemn resolution to pursue the ways of peace and eschew the path of war. Britain, he proceeded, yielded to no country in its desire to see a real and large restriction in armaments. It had proved its interest in disarmament by deeds—by reducing its army to the barest minimum and its navy to a level greatly below its pre-war strength. He asked what other country carrying the load of responsibility for so many and such scattered territories would have done as much. Two days before he had offered to accept, in the name of his Government, the Finnish proposal for constituting a fund for giving financial assistance to a State which was the victim of aggression. Those who were urging them to do more might at least first do as much themselves. In the matter of arbitration he admitted that their attitude might be criticised, but he asked them to bear in mind the special conditions of the British Empire, which could not always easily accept the same obligations as a homogeneous and compact State with a single Government. And if England had not signed more arbitration treaties than other countries, she had probably arbitrated more grave problems than

any other country, the latest instance being the agreement with Turkey over the Iraq frontier. In regard to security, Great Britain having accepted all the obligations of the Covenant and undertaken at Locarno a guarantee for the frontiers of the West, was now asked to do more, and to undertake a similar guarantee for every country and every frontier. This, he said, was impossible ; it was beyond their strength and would mean the disruption of the British Empire. In conclusion Sir Austen declined firmly and somewhat bluntly the invitation of the Dutch delegate to reopen the consideration of the Protocol. He expressed his strong disbelief in the utility of such an instrument, at any rate in present conditions, and maintained that the path of direct reconciliation chosen by Germany and France could effect as much as any amendment of the Covenant, or addition of a protocol, or heaping up of sanctions.

Sir Austen Chamberlain's speech made a painful impression on many of his hearers, but it produced, on the whole, the effect which he had intended, of bringing the Assembly face to face with realities. His "tu quoque" silenced those delegates who accused England of unwillingness to make sacrifices in the cause of international peace, and after hearing his defence the Assembly wasted no time in carping criticism and devoted itself to a serious consideration of the problems before it. In England the speech was welcomed by Conservatives as a complete vindication of Britain's policy. For the Opposition parties, however, the Government was not moving fast enough in the direction of disarmament. Letters were sent to the Press at this time by Lord Grey, Lord Parmoor, Mr. MacDonald, Mr. Snowden, and Prof. Gilbert Murray (President of the League of Nations Union) emphasising the need for Britain to declare herself more unequivocally in favour of the movement for general disarmament. The Liberal Press supported the Foreign Secretary in his rejection of the Protocol, but it was not satisfied with his references to arbitration and his attempt to defend Britain's record in that matter. The National Committee of the No More War movement, which by this time had become fairly widespread, went further, and in a letter addressed to the Prime Minister on September 19 stated that the Foreign Secretary's speech had aroused misgivings in the minds of many, and in particular criticised him for putting the cohesion of the British Empire before the cause of disarmament.

After leaving Geneva Sir Austen Chamberlain went for a cruise in the Mediterranean, in the course of which he took the opportunity to see General Primo de Rivera, the Spanish Premier, in the island of Majorca, and discuss with him the problem of Tangier. On his way home he stopped at Paris (October 7) and had a conversation with M. Briand, finding once more that, as he expressed it, "they had pretty well the same ideas in their heads off all questions, not only present but those to come." To a

gathering of journalists he declared himself highly satisfied with the recent League of Nations Conference, which had opened in an atmosphere of malaise and closed in one of confidence. He praised Germany for adopting more and more a "League of Nations" policy, and asserted emphatically that the Treaties of Locarno were in their effects the basis of European peace.

The annual report of the Ministry of Health for 1926-27 issued in September threw an interesting light on a vexed question of poor relief administration which was a frequent source of wrangling between the Government and the Labour Party—the connexion between pauperism and unemployment. The coal stoppage had unquestionably caused an enormous increase in the number of applicants for poor relief; the number had doubled within six weeks of the commencement of the stoppage, only to fall again to its previous figure by the end of the financial year. Apart, however, from such exceptional cases the evidence, according to the report, seemed to show that the amount of pauperism in any union depended mainly not on the amount of local unemployment but on the policy of the guardians and the inherited customs and tradition of the population. Some Boards, it was suggested, even allowed young men to marry and bring up families in dependence on relief—a position to which it was necessary to go back to 1834 to find a parallel. The scales of relief were also too high in many places; cases were not uncommon in which a man with a family of moderate size received more in relief than a labourer normally earned in wages. This practice was criticised as tending to remove the stigma which formerly attached and should attach to the receipt of poor relief; various inspectors pointed out that public sentiment was changing in this respect, and that there was much less reluctance on the part of the working classes to accept relief from the guardians than there had formerly been.

The text was issued on September 30 of the Government's new Unemployment Insurance Bill, which had to be introduced before the end of the year, when the existing Act expired. The Government was unable to adopt entirely the recommendations of the Blanesburgh report, although it had been unanimous, because some of them were based on the assumption that the number of unemployed would sink to 800,000; in fact it had remained obstinately above a million, and showed no signs of falling below that figure. The new Bill provided among other things for the payment of lower contributions and a lower rate of benefit for persons between 18 and 21; a reduced allowance for men without adult dependants, but an increase of the dependants' allowance; and a reduced allowance for boys and girls under 18. The principal innovation of the Bill was to sweep away the distinction between standard and extended benefit, substituting for the latter, which was given at the discretion of the Minister of Labour, *bf*

form of benefit to be received as of right, subject to compliance with certain conditions.

The twenty-seventh annual Conference of the Labour Party, which opened at Blackpool on October 3, passed a number of resolutions of far-reaching importance for the future of the party. The agenda, which had been drawn up for it by the National Executive and issued some weeks previously, was of an unusually practical character, and was professedly framed with a view to fixing the policy of the party for the next General Election. Its two chief resolutions were of a highly novel character. One asked the Conference to instruct the National Executive, in consultation with the Executive of the Parliamentary Labour Party, to prepare a statement for submission to the next annual Conference, setting forth the broad proposals which had from time to time been approved by the Party Conference in such a way as to constitute a programme of legislation and administrative action for a Labour Government. The other called for the imposition of a special surtax on incomes of over 500*l.* a year derived from property and investment. This proposal had already been made in the Minority Report drawn up by the Labour members on the Colwyn Committee on economy, and was now formally adopted by the Party Executive in place of the capital levy, as a means of reducing taxes on necessities, developing social services, and reducing the National Debt. In a " memorandum on financial policy " attached to the agenda, it was explained that owing to the continued fall in the prices of commodities and in the wages of labour, it would be much less advantageous to-day than it was five years ago to pay off half the debt at one stroke. As the nation had " missed the tide " for a massive redemption of debt and had preferred a sinking fund, there were advantages in getting the " capital levy " not in a single payment but in an annual income for the State. In the light of information obtained by the Colwyn Committee and from other sources, it was found that the best way to accomplish this was by placing a special surtax averaging about 2*s.* in the pound on all unearned income with the exemption of the first 500*l.* Broadly, this would mean that the new tax would be paid by the same people who would have paid the capital levy in the original form in which it was proposed. The new tax would involve no fresh valuation and could be collected by the ordinary existing machinery of the income tax. It was estimated that the surtax would yield about 85,000,000*l.* a year, an amount at least equal to the net annual yield which would have been extracted from the capital levy.

The opening address of the Chairman, Mr. T. O. Roberts, M.P., was, like the agenda, intended to fix the attention of the delegates on the coming General Election. The greater part of it consisted of what the speaker called " a review of the tragedy of Britain under Toryism," closing with a bitter reproach against

the Conservative Party for having frittered away the magnificent spirit of the first post-war year during the almost uninterrupted spell of power which they had enjoyed since that date. Mr. Roberts repeated the remark made by Mr. Hicks at the Trade Union Congress, that it was the duty of the workers to devote their whole strength and energy to securing the return of a Labour Government. He contrasted with the present Government's record that of the Labour Government of 1924, handicapped as it had been by its lack of a Parliamentary majority; and he claimed for their programme that it would prove the Labour Party alone to have a policy sufficiently courageous, comprehensive, and far-seeing to grapple successfully with the complex problems of the day. The speech was significant even more for what it omitted than for what it said. It contained no mention of Socialism and no attack on the Liberal Party, two features which had loomed large in the addresses given at the public demonstrations held on the day before the Conference opened.

In moving the first motion on the agenda—instructing the Executive to prepare a programme for the next Labour Government—Mr. MacDonald stated that he was on principle opposed to being tied down to a programme, and the only reason why he had been induced to consent to the issue of an authorised programme this time was in order to counteract the mischief done by unauthorised programmes; he obviously had in mind the one issued by the Independent Labour Party some time previously based on the principle of "Socialism in our time." The debate which followed brought into clear relief the cleavage between the realistic Executive, with its eyes fixed on the General Election, and the idealistic "left wing," with its eyes fixed on the millennium. A number of speakers from the latter section raised the alarm lest Socialism should be omitted from the proposed programme. Mr. Lansbury urged that the proposals should embody at least the beginnings of "Socialism in our time." Miss Wilkinson, while admitting that the construction of the new programme must be left to the Executive, appealed to the delegates to set the tone and create the atmosphere in which the new programme should be laid down. Mr. Pollitt insisted that the programme should be of a kind which neither of the two capitalist parties could support. Mr. Maxton called for a programme based on the assumption that they would get a majority at the next General Election for Socialism. These appeals were very coldly received by the spokesmen of the Executive. Mr. Henderson remarked that experience had shown that Socialist catch-words would not carry them very far, and said that what the resolution aimed at giving them was an immediate programme for the next General Election and the immediate work upon which any Labour Government should concentrate its attention and efforts. Mr. Bevin accused the Independent Labour Party of preventing trade union



branches from affiliating with the Labour Party by their aggressive Socialism. What the party required, he said, was a short programme of immediate objects which could unite all of them, and not merely the most advanced of them. Mr. Thomas also pleaded for a programme which should be capable of actual execution. Mr. MacDonald sought to pacify his critics by pointing out that, however little they might talk of Socialism in the House of Commons, it was in the background of all their programmes and its realisation was the objective of all their efforts. The resolution was thereupon carried practically unanimously.

Another important matter in which Socialism was relegated from the foreground to the background of Labour policy was the reorganisation of the mining industry. A resolution on the subject brought forward on the third day of the Conference (Oct. 5) substituted for the scheme laid before the Coal Commission—which still remained nominally the policy of the Party—an immediate programme for the amelioration of existing conditions. Practically all the points contained in this programme had already been recommended by the Samuel Commission, and it made no reference to nationalisation save to declare that this was still an "article of faith" with the Labour Party. Mr. MacDonald, in moving the resolution, said among other things, that if a Labour Government came into office, it would take upon itself the duty of nationalising the mines. Mr. Herbert Smith, who seconded, interpreted this remark, amid applause from the audience, as a definite pledge. Mr. Shinwell asked what in that case was the purpose of the interim programme, which seemed to be based on the report of the Samuel Commission; but the Conference did not scrutinise too narrowly the apparent inconsistency, and passed the resolution with only a few dissentients.

From this point the Executive was able to impose its will on the Conference without great difficulty. On the subjects of education, unemployment, and poor law reform its proposals were carried without opposition. In the debate on foreign affairs some Communist delegates (who had managed to creep in despite express prohibition) tried to elicit from the Conference a declaration of sympathy with Russia in her struggle against capitalistic Governments, but they were heavily defeated.

The Conference adopted without dissent the proposal of the Executive to substitute a surtax for the capital levy; significantly enough, however, neither Mr. Snowden, who had been Chancellor of the Exchequer in the Labour Government, nor Mr. Graham, who had been Secretary to the Treasury, was present at the debate. Some I.L.P. speakers proposed that the proceeds of the tax should be devoted wholly to social services and not at all to sinking fund, but the Executive were averse to tying the hands of a future Labour Government in this way, and the Conference supported them in this also.

The Labour Party Conference was followed immediately by **the** Conservative Party Conference, which was held at Cardiff, on October 6 and 7. It concerned itself mainly with two questions—the extension of the franchise to all women over 21 and the reform of the House of Lords. On the former a strong agitation had been for some time carried on against the Government by the *Daily Mail* and the rest of the Rothermere Press, which scornfully referred to the proposed extension of the franchise as "votes for flappers." Contrary to expectation, the Conference showed itself to be of a totally different mind from Lord Rothermere on this matter, and by a large majority it approved of the decision of the Government to carry out its election pledges. In its attitude to House of Lords reform the Conference equally belied expectation. In effect it called upon the Government imperatively to proceed with its plans for reforming the House of Lords in the lifetime of the present Parliament, and not to let the matter sleep, as it seemed inclined to do. The actual motion before the meeting merely congratulated the Government on its declared intentions in the matter, but the speeches in the debate left no doubt as to the strength of the delegates' feeling on the subject; one delegate, Lord Londonderry, who ventured to warn the Conference that it was urging the Government to disaster, was listened to with impatience, and was finally forced by interruptions to sit down without concluding his speech.

In the course of an address delivered on the same evening in connexion with the Conference, the Prime Minister stated that the Government had no idea of appealing to the country for a twelvemonth at least. He said that he would like personally to accept the challenge thrown down by the Trade Union Congress to an immediate General Election, but in the interests of the stability of the country such a course was inadvisable. He joined issue with Mr. Lloyd George on the state of the country's trade, pointing out that the exports for August had been distinctly better than those for the same month in 1925. He further pointed out that the much-decried return to the gold standard had already produced an appreciable decline in the cost of living, and he expressed the opinion that this measure was the key to an ultimate revival of trade. He seized on a statement made recently by the labour leader, Mr. Cramp, to the effect that goodwill in the ranks of industry should arise directly between the trade unions and the employers, without the intervention of the Government, and said that that was just the principle on which he was trying to act, though he was always ready to help if called upon. He did not take too seriously the resolution passed earlier in the day by the Conservative Conference urging the Government to proceed with the "reform" of the House of Lords, merely stating that they would carefully consider the "interesting discussion" which **had taken** place on it, and announce their decision later in the year..

The next day's proceedings at the Conservative Conference provided an ironical comment on the Premier's view of the trade situation. Mr. Baldwin had mentioned specifically the woollen manufacture and the steel industry as two trades which were not nearly so badly off as they were painted by the critics of the Government. In the following day's debate on safeguarding duties, the speakers, in estimating the state of trade, completely ignored their leader's comforting assurances, and singled out the woollen and steel manufactures in particular as two industries which were doomed to speedy ruin if they were not saved in time by the process of safeguarding—a view which the Conference endorsed with acclamation.

The advocates of disarmament at this time, not content with criticising the Government, began to exert themselves more actively than ever before to rouse public opinion in the matter. On October 17 the Executives of the National Liberal Party, the Women's National Liberal Federation, and the National League of Young Liberals issued a manifesto in which they sought to pledge the Liberal Party to a policy of complete suppression of war to be prosecuted by means of a whole-hearted support of the League of Nations along with the acceptance of arbitration wherever possible and the reduction of armaments. The manifesto was not immediately endorsed by the Party leaders, but its signatures lent it a weight which they could not disregard.

At the same time the League of Nations Union organised a great campaign for educating public opinion. The first speaker to whom it turned for an address was naturally Lord Robert Cecil, and a great meeting of delegates from all parts of the country assembled at the Caxton Hall to hear him on October 21. Prof. Gilbert Murray, the President of the Union, in introducing Lord Robert said that the stir caused by his resignation from the Government had sent a thrill through League circles in every country. He warned him, however, that he could only justify that step if he utilised his freedom to influence the country and the Government more as a private member of Parliament than he could have done as a member of the Cabinet. With such a leader he thought that members of the Union had a splendid prospect as workers for the League. Prof. Murray concluded with a motion welcoming the resolutions passed by the Eighth Assembly of the League on behalf of arbitration, disarmament, and security, and noting with satisfaction the share taken by the British Government in bringing about the unanimous adoption of the resolutions.

Lord Cecil stated the case for disarmament temperately, and with a cogency born of conviction and knowledge of his subject. He first endeavoured to controvert the opinion somewhat widely held in the country that disarmament was of importance chiefly to Continental Europe, that the British Empire could afford to **regard** the troubles and dangers of Continental States with an

Olympian detachment, nay, that there might even be an antithesis between the interests of the British Empire and those of the League of Nations. Such a view he regarded as utterly contrary to the truth ; it was difficult to imagine any considerable disturbance of the peace of Europe which would not affect more or less the whole Continent with England as well. England too was far more vulnerable owing to the development of aerial warfare than she used to be. When to these factors was added the pressing necessity for national economy, he thought that the case for disarmament by international agreement was complete, and he expressed impatience at the raising of difficulties based on the remote possibility of some future risk when the present dangers that actually threatened them were so overwhelming.

Coming to the practical steps to be taken, Lord Cecil recommended first that they should urge the Government to support the efforts of the Preparatory Commission of the League of Nations unequivocally—that is, without allowing technical prejudices or traditional feelings to interfere with the success of those efforts. The next thing was that they should encourage by every means in their power the practice of resorting to arbitration for the settlement of disputes. England, it was true, had been ready enough in the past to resort to arbitration in disputes in which she was concerned, but more was required of her if she was going to strike a blow at international suspicion. She should sign the optional clause pledging her to accept the jurisdiction of the Permanent Court of International Justice in all justiciable disputes, nay, she should go further, and consider the possibility of entering into arbitration treaties with various States for settling all disputes whatsoever without recourse to war. On the question how far Britain should pledge her resources to guarantee security to any other State, Lord Cecil spoke with reserve, but he urged the Government not to be afraid of taking risks if by doing so they could make war a much more improbable contingency. Finally, it was necessary for the carrying out of this policy that the League's authority should be maintained. The Union recognised that the present Foreign Minister had done much to increase the prestige of the League, especially by setting up the precedent for Foreign Ministers to attend the meetings of the Council and the Assembly. They therefore begged him and the Government not to weary in well-doing, and, above all, not to allow bureaucrats at home or abroad to undermine the organs of procedure of the League by substituting agencies based on the less desirable practices of the old diplomacy. They desired to see the disarmament policy of the last Assembly carried out in the spirit as well as the letter, and they had every ground for hoping that it would be so.

Lord Robert was followed at no long interval by Mr. Lloyd George (October 24), who attacked the problem from a somewhat different angle. After recalling the part taken by Britain in the

creation of the League of Nations while the war was still in process, he said that although the argument for the League no longer reverberated from the cannon's mouth, yet the world was still under the shadow of a dark apprehension, and unless some rational steps were taken in time the sanguinary struggle of 1914 might be renewed on an even more terrible scale. There were many and grave dangers threatening the peace of Europe, about which there was too great a reticence and complacency in this country. The Treaty of Versailles had left some "ragged ends" on the boundaries of States, which would be a serious source of irritation if they were not smoothed out. A still graver peril arose from the too harsh interpretation of the treaties, from failure to give honest effect to clauses in the treaties which imposed obligations on victorious nations. He referred particularly to the treatment of minorities in certain countries and to the continued occupation of the Rhineland. But the worst cause of disturbance was the flagrant disregard of the promises given in reference to disarmament. There could be no peace in Europe until there was disarmament all round. Another and more terrible war was inevitable unless the nations of the world made up their minds to seek justice and protection from established right and not from force. It was necessary that they should refer all their disputes to arbitration under the auspices of the League of Nations with as few reservations as possible, and that they should reduce their swollen armaments to the dimensions of police forces. Mr. George cited the Geneva Naval Conference as an example of the course to avoid, and pointedly asked why Lord Balfour had not been sent as head of the British deputation, as he could have been trusted to state the British case in the right manner.

A few days later (October 27) Sir A. Chamberlain, speaking at a luncheon given in his honour at the Aldwych Club, took occasion to reply to the criticisms which had been evoked, directly or indirectly, both at home and abroad by his speech on disarmament at the Assembly of the League of Nations. Dealing first with his foreign critics, he acknowledged that the exposition which he gave of British policy was not popular with the League, but he maintained that there were many there who felt that for their own nations the same conditions applied, and who were glad in their hearts to find some country which could be the spokesman of their innermost thoughts, without being subject to the suspicion which their own declaration might have given rise to in other quarters. If he had not won popularity for Great Britain, he had at least sought to maintain the respect which British policy and the British Government had earned and enjoyed in the past. Turning to critics at home, he asserted that he had tried to pursue a genuinely national policy, so that even if there was a change of Government there might still be continuity in foreign policy. Referring to the speeches recently delivered by Lord Robert Cecil

and Mr. Lloyd George before the League of Nations Union, he said that he could see no difference between himself and the former, or if there was a difference, it was not in aim or purpose or spirit, but only in the method by which the purpose was to be achieved. On the other hand, he could not regard Mr. Lloyd George as a true friend of peace. While it was true that the world was still troubled, it was that day a world of goodwill trying to resolve its problems peaceably, and it was not helped by the language of exaggeration and thoughtless distribution of praise and blame such as Mr. George had used. Coming next to the advocates of the Protocol—which, he remarked, had had hardly any friends in this country until the Government refused to ratify it—he called upon them to decide in their own minds and publicly declare exactly what commitments they were ready to undertake, and what means they required in order to fulfil them ; for it was useless to undertake obligations which they could not fulfil in the hope that they would never be called upon to fulfil them. In his opinion England had done her part in the guarantee which she gave at Locarno, in the share she took in the framing of the Eastern treaties, and in lending the weight of her counsel and influence to spread the same spirit of reconciliation elsewhere. He believed that it was in following that policy that they best served not only the interests of their country and Empire, but also the peace and welfare of the world.

Mr. Lloyd George replied to Sir A. Chamberlain's charges in a speech likewise delivered at the Aldwych Club on November 7. Reiterating his assertion that the Powers victorious in the war were gravely to blame for not reducing their armaments and that since the war there had been cases of forcible annexations of territory in Europe, he said that Sir A. Chamberlain took the view that these were delicate matters which were not to be discussed too openly. He himself, however, was of opinion that complete frankness in discussing them was essential to peace ; the " hush-hush " policy which prevailed before the war whenever they came to discuss foreign policy was responsible for the death of millions. He further criticised the Foreign Secretary for habitually speaking as if Locarno were both a first step and a final step. He pointed out that in fact the conquerors and conquered had already met on an equal footing at Geneva ; and in regard to the future, it was important that Locarno should be regarded merely as one of a series of steps to be taken in the same direction ; if Europe did not advance beyond it, war was inevitable.

In a speech which he delivered to the Scottish Unionist Association at Edinburgh on November 2, the Prime Minister made some references to the League of Nations which showed the " reaction " of the head of the Government to the campaign for disarmament. He said that the great virtue of the League, in his opinion, was that it promoted the habit of conference and<sup>1</sup>

discussion among the representatives of European States, and was thus instrumental in enabling them to compose their differences. It was for this reason that during the past three years the Government had sent the Secretary for Foreign Affairs himself to represent Britain at the meetings of the League Assembly. He thought that the British people hardly realised yet what Sir Austen Chamberlain had done for the League of Nations in Europe. He had had, it was true, to utter words of warning and restraint. But he had done so in the best interests of the League itself; it was the part of a true friend to call attention to facts and to reconcile the ideal and the practical. The recent meeting of the Assembly, though it had done nothing spectacular, had made a contribution towards the building up of a greater sense of security in Europe. He hoped that the frank exchange of views which had taken place there had brought to everyone a realisation that, while maintaining ideals, the League must keep its immediate activities within the limits of what was possible at the present moment. Locarno had done much to allay the fears and suspicions which were an obstacle to disarmament and European peace, but much remained to be done. He himself thought that before they could get disarmament they would have to agree on a limitation of armaments. The ground was being explored by the Preparatory Committee on Disarmament, and though there was a certain amount of dispute on important points—points of principle—there was no need to despair of agreement; at any rate, it was far better that these points should be brought out at an early stage than that, in a moment of enthusiasm, they should try to do something which was bound to be wrecked for want of proper exploration and agreement beforehand.

Up to this point pronouncements in favour of disarmament had come mainly from Labour and Liberal speakers, and there was a danger of an impression being created that the movement was the special preserve of these parties. A number of Conservatives were rendered uneasy by the fact that the League of Nations Union, in organising its campaign, had selected its speakers almost exclusively from the Labour and Liberal Parties, and they made representations to it to allow them to share in the work, and so prove that their party was not behind the others in the matter. Undoubtedly the Conservative Party contained many who sympathised with the disarmament movement; but it also contained the bulk of those who were opposed to any reduction of the British forces.

Speaking at Nottingham on October 25, Mr. Snowden found a new indictment to bring against the Government—that it had damaged the national credit. He based his charge on the fact that the Chancellor of the Exchequer had been unable to convert a short-term loan at less than 5 per cent, and in some recent cases had had to increase the interest on the converted debt by no less

than 1 per cent. ; also that he was paying over 4.7l. per cent, for the weekly renewal of Treasury bills against an average of 3l. 7s. *Id.* paid by the Labour Government when in office. Mr. Churchill replied to the charge the next day, putting quite a different construction on the facts. Dealing with the latter count first, he pointed out that the price paid for the renewal of the Treasury bills was no index to the national credit, as it depended chiefly on the state of trade and industry. In 1919 it had averaged 4¾ per cent., in 1920, 6 per cent. ; yet there was no deterioration of national credit in that year. As to the conversion of loans, he stated that the Government had so far during the year converted 133,000,000l. out of 178,000,000l. maturing, but every loan placed in the market in conversion had been so placed as to show a slight improvement in the Government position as a borrower over any previous loan. The only exception was the 3½ per cent. War Loan, and the reason why a higher interest had had to be offered on this was that it had been raised at the very beginning of the war on terms which even then did not attract the general investor, and which had never since been attained by any Government issue.

Towards the end of October the Home Secretary appointed a Committee to inquire into the law and practice regarding solicitation, prostitution, and other offences against public decency, and to report what changes, if any, they considered desirable. The Committee owed its origin chiefly to the interest shown in the subject by members of Parliament, some of whom had recently drafted private Bills on the matter, and to the representations made to the Minister by a number of bodies interested in social reform. It so happened that just before the Committee met two cases had taken place in the police courts in which men of excellent character had been wrongfully convicted of misconduct in the streets on the uncorroborated evidence of the police. The quashing of the verdicts in a higher court caused public confidence in the police to be somewhat shaken, and the Home Secretary asked the Committee to inquire into cases of this kind also. The public outcry, however, caused magistrates immediately to be more careful in relying on the unsupported testimony of the police.

Shortly before Parliament met, the position in the Cabinet vacated by Lord Robert Cecil, in his dual capacity of Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster and British representative at the League of Nations, was filled by Mr. R. McNeill, the Under-Secretary to the Treasury, who at the same time was raised to the peerage with the title of Lord Cushendun. His place at the Treasury was taken by Mr. A. M. Samuel, from the Department of Overseas Trade. In spite of its announcement earlier in the year, the Government had not yet abolished this Department—nor indeed the two other threatened Ministries—and it now showed that it had no immediate intention of doing so by



filling the place vacated by Mr. Samuel with Captain D. Hacking, Parliamentary Under-Secretary to the Home Office, whose place was in turn taken by Sir V. Henderson.

Shortly after his promotion (November 4), Mr. McNeill made a speech at Canterbury in which he defined his attitude towards the League of Nations. He said his new duties in connexion with the League, which were the most important of his office, would involve a heavy responsibility, but on the other hand they might enable him to contribute in however small a degree to banishing the menace of war and making peace more durable and secure—the most useful and honourable work he could imagine. He was conscious of the difficulty of following Lord Cecil, of whom there was no more sincere admirer than himself. He believed, however, that the English people of all parties were quite as convinced as Lord Cecil himself of the necessity of the limitation of armaments by international agreement. He had, he said, not often spoken on the subject of the League of Nations for a definite reason—namely, that he held that the interests of the League and its work were not promoted by making them the theme of oratory at public meetings. There was no party in the country opposed to the League; public opinion had accepted and supported the League from the first and required no persuasion. On the other hand, there was a danger of reaction being caused by an excessive output of rhetorical eulogy. It would be his aim to the best of his ability to enhance the prestige of the League of Nations and increase its usefulness, but he would not forget that for a British Minister the first duty was to maintain British interests, though he did not believe that those interests ought ever to be at variance with the League of Nations, if they were supported in a reasonable and conciliatory spirit.

In his fifth consecutive speech at the annual Guildhall banquet on November 9, Mr. Baldwin gave an encouraging review of the international situation. He declared himself to be an optimist because he was a realist. When he compared the state of Europe to-day with what it was at the time of the fall of the Coalition, or at the time when he succeeded Mr. Bonar Law as Prime Minister, he noted a profound change for the better. In this work he claimed some share for his own country, but the greatest credit was due to the leaders in France and Germany who had rendered the *rapprochement* possible. He called on statesmen in the Balkans, in Central and Eastern Europe to follow the example of M. Briand and Herr Stresemann. Of Russia he could not speak so hopefully, but he could say that whenever the Russians were prepared to observe the ordinary decencies of international intercourse they would find England ready to meet them in that spirit of liberality and goodwill which inspired her whole foreign policy.

## CHAPTER IV.

## CLOSE OF THE SESSION.

PARLIAMENT reassembled on November 8 to take up the thread of legislation at the point at which it had been dropped more than three months earlier. The interval had produced no material change in the political situation. The resignation of Lord Cecil had forced the Government to define more clearly its attitude to disarmament, but had not produced any kind of Cabinet crisis. The National Farmers' Union had continued its sniping at the Government with ever-growing bitterness, but the revolt which was unquestionably commencing among Conservative agricultural voters had not, so far, spread to members of Parliament. The Economy Group within the Conservative Party had occasionally harried the Premier and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, but on the whole had been satisfied with their assurances. In his speech at Edinburgh the Prime Minister had reviewed the position of the Government with his habitual complacency; and he had all the more justification for doing so as the seasonal rise in the unemployment figures which usually set in towards the end of August had so far not manifested itself.

The programme for the session was a heavy one, as it included the new Unemployment Bill in all its stages and the report and third reading of the Films Bill, the Landlord and Tenant Bill, and the Local Authorities Bill—all measures which might be expected to give rise to much controversy. At the beginning of the proceedings Mr. Baldwin, in accordance with the usual custom, moved a resolution claiming practically the whole time of the House for Government business. The Opposition leaders demurred to this; Mr. MacDonald said that the Labour Party was anxious to raise debates on unemployment, the coal position, foreign policy, and the Washington Eight Hours Convention, and Mr. Lloyd George added agriculture as a subject that urgently required to be discussed. The Prime Minister admitted that these subjects merited discussion, but could only promise that the Government would do its best to find time for them; and the motion was then carried by a large majority.

The legislative work of the session was preceded by an announcement of the first importance from the Imperial point of view. At question time the Prime Minister informed the House that, for reasons which he would not then specify, the Government had decided to anticipate the provision of the Indian Reforms Act of 1919 which required, at the expiration of ten years from the passing of the Act, the appointment of a Royal Commission to inquire into its working, and to appoint the Commission forthwith, some eighteen months before the statutory date. He also

gave the names of the members of the proposed Commission. The announcement lacked the charm of novelty, as the Government's intentions, much to its own annoyance and that of Parliament, had already leaked out and been published in the Press. As the Secretary for India said, however, in his statement in the House of Lords, the leakage, though regrettable, was not calamitous.

As the ante-dating of the Commission involved an amendment to the Indian Reforms Act, a Bill to that end was introduced immediately, and members reserved their comments till its second reading. This was first taken in the House of Lords on November 15. Lord Birkenhead, in moving that the Act be amended so as to allow of the appointment forthwith of a Commission to study the Indian Constitution, informed the House that since his accession to office three years before, he had been often pressed from many quarters to accelerate the appointment of the Commission before the expiration of the statutory period of ten years—a period which was not at all sacrosanct. He had so far resisted the appeals, as the atmosphere had not hitherto appeared favourable, but he had noticed a distinct, if slight change of tone and temper in India in the last two or three years, and he thought that the hour had come when the appointment of the Commission might properly and without danger to the public be made. Lord Birkenhead was preaching to the converted, as all parties were agreed that the Commission should be set up without delay; Lord Reading, in fact, urged him to press all the stages of the Bill through the House with the utmost speed, in order that they might get, as soon as possible, to the general debate on Indian policy which, in his opinion, was urgently required to enlighten Indian public opinion on the true nature and purpose of the Commission, and counteract the prejudice which was being created in India against that body.

After passing through the House of Lords without further discussion, the Bill came before the Commons on November 21. Some opposition was offered to it by certain extremists on the Labour benches, led by the Indian member, Mr. Saklatvala, but the Opposition leaders supported it, and it soon became law.

It remained for Parliament to approve the *personnel* and scope of the Commission, as fixed by the Government. It was proposed by the latter that the Commission should consist of seven members drawn from both Houses of Parliament, including Sir John Simon as Chairman. A great outcry had already been raised in India against the omission of Indians from the Commission, and this fact lent a peculiar importance to the debates in Parliament on its appointment. The Secretary for India made his promised statement on the subject on November 24. It was the object of the Government, he said, to obtain an impartial report on the working of the Indian Constitution, and it seemed to them that

a Parliamentary committee consisting of members without any preconceived prejudices on the subject was the best body for the purpose. Theoretically, no doubt, it would be advisable to have Indians on the Commission, but there were overwhelming difficulties in the way of such a course, partly on account of the fact that nearly all prominent Indians had already committed themselves to definite views on the subject, partly on account of the great number of sections of Indian opinion, each of which would want to be represented ; and this could not be done without making the Commission unwieldy. It was intended that the Commission, when it visited India, should establish contact with a committee established by the Central Legislature there to confer with the Commission. The latter would in due course report to Parliament, but they would take no step which would lead to the risk of their having two reports proceeding from two Commissions. After a brief debate, in which Lord Reading expressed regret that the Minister's speech had not been made earlier to allay feeling in India, the House gave its unanimous approval to the appointment of the Commission.

The debate in the House of Commons on the appointment of the Commission took place on the next day (November 25), and like that in the House of Lords was marked by appeals from all sides to Indian opinion not to boycott the Commission. The Under-Secretary of India, in introducing the resolution, laid stress on the fact that the Commission for India would have a free hand, and said that its composition warranted the belief that it would meet the Indian Committee in a highly sympathetic spirit. In order further to placate Indian opinion, he pointed out that the Indian Central Legislature would be given an opportunity, after the Commission had presented its report, to send a deputation to England to discuss matters with the Parliamentary Committee which was to draw up a scheme of reform. Mr. MacDonald, on behalf of the Labour Party, supported the resolution, but expressed regret that there had not been more previous consultation between the Government and representative Indians for the purpose of clearing away misunderstandings ; in this respect the mistake of the Geneva Naval Conference had been repeated. He urged the Commission with the utmost solemnity to treat the Indian Committee on a footing of perfect equality, as being like itself the representative of a national Parliament. Constitutionally and historically, he admitted, there could be no doubt that, as the Under-Secretary for India had pointed out, the sole responsibility for deciding upon the issues to be raised by the inquiry rested upon Great Britain ; but he thought the less that aspect of the case was emphasised the better. What should be emphasised was the fact that this Parliament was sincerely determined that there should be no sense of inferiority and no relationship of inferiority imposed upon the Indian Committee. **The**

attitude they should adopt was that one Parliament was honestly and sincerely desirous of consulting another Parliament as to the best course to adopt, and was sending forth a Commission of Inquiry in a spirit of good-fellowship and co-operation to get the facts and the reflections of the best Indians, so that it might be able to produce the best report possible.

Strangely enough, Mr. MacDonald did not press a proposal which had been adopted by his party at a meeting on the previous day, that the Indian Commission should also be asked to present a report to the Joint Parliamentary Committee which was ultimately to draft a scheme of reform ; nor was it brought forward by any subsequent speaker on the Labour benches. One or two Labour members demurred to the purely British character of the Commission, but the bulk of their own party was against them on this matter ; Mr. MacDonald had fully concurred in the Government view that a mixed Commission in this case was quite impracticable.

The Prime Minister, in closing the debate, responded to Mr. MacDonald's appeal by stating that the Indians could dismiss from their minds any thought of inferiority, and that they would be approached as friends and as equals. The Government, he said, regarded their scheme as the most effective means of satisfying the proper ambition of statesmen in India who had hitherto worked and co-operated with the Government, of taking part in the settlement of the constitutional future of India. Referring to certain points which had been raised in the debate, he said they had shown the extreme difficulty of deciding how the Indian question could best be brought into focus for the consideration of Parliament. The Government was entering upon an unprecedented path, the like of which had never been explored by any Government or body of men before. He relied for whatever success might be attained on the instinctive sense of justice implanted in the heart of every Briton, and expressed his confidence that the Commission would discharge their task with courage and due sense of responsibility.

The legislative work of the session began with the discussion of the Government's new Unemployment Insurance Bill which was to take the place of the Act expiring at the end of the year. Although the Labour Party had earlier in the year signified its acceptance of the Blanesburgh report, it had already declared itself totally dissatisfied with this Bill, which professed to be based on the report. It was joined in opposition by a number of Liberals and a small group of Conservatives, who criticised the Bill for its faults, not of commission, but of omission. The Government had not aimed at anything more than putting unemployment insurance on a sound actuarial basis and separating insurance sharply from charity. The Opposition, however, insisted on opening up the whole unemployment problem, and in

consequence the measure proved much more contentious, and occupied far more time than had been expected.

The Minister of Labour, in introducing the second reading (November 9), laid stress on the fact that the new measure would do away with extended benefit, commonly known as "the dole," and, with it, the discretionary power of the Minister, a relief for which he personally would be deeply grateful. The unemployed person would now have a statutory right to benefit on fulfilling two conditions—one, that he should have made thirty contributions in the preceding two years, the other that he should be genuinely seeking work. The Blanesburgh Committee had recommended the insertion in the Bill of a short definition of the words "genuinely seeking work." Amid the laughter of the House the Minister remarked that he had cudgelled his own brains and asked his officials to cudgel theirs to produce such a definition, but without success. He explained the financial reasons which had led the Government to depart from the recommendations of the Blanesburgh Committee in one particular. The Committee had come to the conclusion that, given a cycle of average trade, and taking the normal average of unemployment as 6 per cent., the present benefits could be given for an average of 15*d.* per man, which could be divided in equal contributions of 5*d.* each from the employer, the workman, and the State. The Committee, however, had also taken into consideration the debt on the Fund, which now stood at 22,000,000*l.*, and in order to provide a sinking fund they recommended that the 6*d.* should be increased to 6*d.*, which would still mean a reduction of 2*d.* from the employer and 1*d.* from the workman. The Government regretfully found itself unable to follow this course, as the future of trade was still uncertain and an immediate reduction to 1*s.* 6*d.* would mean that instead of reducing the debt they would start the scheme by increasing the debt by 3,500,000*l.*

The rejection of the Bill was moved on behalf of the Labour Party on the several grounds that it failed to effect a fairer distribution of the burden of maintaining the Unemployment Insurance Fund, that it would further increase charges on the rates, that it reduced the already inadequate scales of unemployment benefit, and that it imposed conditions for the receipt of benefit which, in many cases, it would be impossible to fulfil. But the real grievance of the Labour Party against the Government went deeper; it was, as was stated with much force on the second day of the debate by Mr. Greenwood, that instead of tinkering with unemployment insurance, they ought to be directing their energy to increasing the volume of available employment. That was the major problem, which the Government had deliberately ignored. The Blanesburgh Committee was not to blame, as it had itself protested against the limitation put on its activities in its terms of reference. He did not think any member of the'

Committee would take responsibility for the Bill, which had picked out the worst features of the report and ignored those for which something could be said. This last remark was corroborated by Miss Bondfield, speaking for herself as the one member of the Committee then in the House of Commons. She defended her own action in signing the report of the Committee on the ground that, so long as any permanent scheme of unemployment insurance was based on the contributory principle, the recommendations of the report marked an advance on anything that had preceded. These, however, provided only for the man in industry, but gave no hope to the man who was not in industry. It was the Government's duty to take up this matter; the proposals of the Committee were not put forward as a solution of the difficulties of the present day and should not be interpreted as such.

From the Conservative benches a telling criticism of the Bill was made by Captain MacMillan. He complained first that the Government, so far as could be gathered from the Minister's statement, was not going to carry out certain preliminary recommendations of the Committee which were essential to the success of the new scheme, such as improved registration of vacancies, extension of juvenile unemployment and training centres, etc. But, apart from that, he thought that the Committee had missed a great opportunity of considering the whole basis of social insurance. The Government, too, should have taken a wider and more generous view of their social responsibilities; no provision, for instance, was being made for the able-bodied unemployed who were disqualified for benefit. Lady Astor also pleaded for a broader and more constructive policy—"something," as she said, "with which they could fight Socialism."

In replying for the Government, Mr. Betterton, the Parliamentary Under-Secretary, ignored his Conservative critics, and, dealing with the Labour speakers, said that their objections to the Bill left him cold, as they would object to any Bill based on a contributory system. The Government, however, stood for such a system, and were therefore under obligation to see that the scheme was actuarially sound and did not increase the debt of the Fund. The second reading was eventually carried by 296 votes to 143.

The Committee stage of the Unemployment Insurance Bill began on November 21. Before it opened, the Government had announced a concession to the Labour Party in the shape of an increase in the benefits of young persons under 21. The objections of the Opposition to the Bill went, however, much deeper than this; they were based on the fear that, owing to the abolition of extended benefit while unemployment still remained at its present level, large numbers of unemployed—perhaps hundreds of thousands—would be deprived of benefit and thrown on the 'rates. The Minister of Labour himself estimated that by April,

1929, the number would not be more than 30,000, but this figure was scouted by the critics as absurdly low. In the further discussion of the Bill, certain "left wing" members of the Labour Party developed a tendency to obstruction, and the Chairman of Committees, Mr. Hope, applied the closure rather drastically. This caused some of the Labour members—who had an old-standing grievance against the Chairman—to indulge in unparliamentary language, with the result that four of them were suspended—not until they had considerably delayed the proceedings of the House.

The Bill took longer in Committee than had been anticipated. The Labour Party, led by Mr. Shaw, found fault with it in nearly every detail, and dragged out the discussion by endless amendments. The proposal to abolish extended benefit also displeased a number of Conservatives, who were afraid that this provision might have the effect of throwing more men on the rates, and a small group of the malcontents, mostly representatives of "necessitous areas," carried their opposition to the point of voting against the Government. To meet the reproach that he was doing nothing for the unemployed juveniles, the Minister of Labour added a clause to the Bill authorising the payment of a small grant from the Unemployment Fund towards the cost of approved courses of instruction for boys and girls between 16 and 18 years of age. On examination, it turned out that he was aiming, not at giving the juveniles a genuine industrial training, but merely at preserving in them the "industrial habit;" but this also was regarded by his critics as better than nothing, and with much grumbling they accepted the clause.

Progress with the Bill was so slow that after a few days the Government sought to quicken matters by introducing the guillotine, thus adding fuel to the ire of the Opposition. Even so the Committee stage took nine days, without, however, producing any substantial change in the Bill. In the third reading debate, which took place on December 9, Mr. Betterton made it clear once more that the Bill was nothing more than its name implied, a measure for putting unemployment insurance on a sound basis actuarially and administratively; it was not a measure for solving the problem of unemployment, so that most of the Opposition criticisms were wide of the mark. It meant, in plain English, that if a man had some insured work on an average of only 15 weeks in a year and was genuinely in search of work he would obtain benefit as of right, nor would this benefit be limited to 26 weeks, as at present. Sir J. Simon complained strongly of the obscure language in which the Bill was couched, and its numerous references to previous statutes, and pleaded for a presentation of the law of Unemployment Insurance in a single pamphlet. Labour speakers in the debate frankly declared for the principle of work or maintenance, irrespective of the cost to the State; and even Unionist speakers who supported the Bill



did not profess to be satisfied with it, and warned the Government that some more comprehensive measure was needed to deal with the problems which it left untouched. The Minister of Labour replied that the Bill was intended to provide a permanent scheme for normal times ; the present black spots in industry were abnormal features which should be dealt with by special means. The third reading was eventually carried by 233 votes to 124.

The awakened interest in the disarmament question was reflected in the manner in which Armistice Day was celebrated this year. Public participation in the proceedings was more active than ever, but it was prompted this time in large measure, not only by remembrance of the past, but also by thought for the future. The general feeling was well expressed by the Prince of Wales when, addressing a great gathering of ex-Service men and women in the Albert Hall in the evening, he said that if they were to save themselves and those that came after them from a renewal in an even more frightful form of what they had suffered in the Great War, they must by their every action, their everyday conversation, and even their very thoughts seek peace and ensue it.

By this time conditions of employment in the coal-mining industry had become so bad that the miners felt an immediate change to be imperatively necessary. As a first step to this end, the Executive Committee of the Miners' Federation waited on the Minister of Labour on November 11 to lay before him proposals for mitigating and relieving the acute unemployment in the coal-mining areas. The deputation stated that not only was unemployment already great in the industry, but that it was increasing and assuming a permanent character. The proposals of the Federation were the repeal of the Eight Hours Act, compulsory amalgamation of collieries in certain areas, further restriction of recruiting of mining labour, more rapid development of by-product industries, and the appointment of a Government Committee to consider ways of carrying out these measures. The Executive further complained that thousands of miners were being deprived of unemployment benefit by a too strict application of the Insurance Act, and suggested that its administration should be somewhat relaxed and that the South Wales and Durham coal-fields, where the distress was most acute, should be treated as necessitous areas and receive assistance from the national Exchequer. The Minister could not promise more than that the representations would receive very careful attention.

Considering that this reply merely shelved the miners' demands, the Labour Party in Parliament, on November 16, brought forward a vote of censure on the Government for neglecting its responsibilities to the mining industry. Mr. MacDonald, who moved the vote, drew a black picture of the conditions of the mining population, largely due, as he insisted, to the cut-throat competition among the colliery owners. All the Government

was doing at present was to put the unemployed miners off insurance on to the rates, and then put them off the Poor Law and allow them to sink into poverty and destitution. He insisted that the Government should produce a positive policy, and not merely act as the tool of the coal-owners.

In the course of his speech, Mr. MacDonald had pointedly remarked that he expected an answer to his questions, not from the President of the Board of Trade, but from the Premier in person. In spite of this, it was the former Minister who rose after Mr. MacDonald to make the Government reply. The Labour members present chose to regard this as a studied affront to themselves, and refused to give Sir P. Cunliffe-Lister a hearing, calling vociferously for Mr. Baldwin. One of them asserted that they were merely following the example of the Liberals who, in 1905, shouted down the then Foreign Secretary when he rose to reply to a debate on Chinese slavery instead of the Premier, Mr. Balfour. After vainly trying for some time to quell the disturbance, the Speaker adjourned the House for an hour. During this interval the Labour members satisfied themselves that the Prime Minister had no intention of speaking at any point in the debate, and when the sitting was resumed they again prevented the President of the Board of Trade from making his speech. After some unavailing efforts to secure silence, the Speaker adjourned the House.

On the next day Mr. MacDonald asked the Prime Minister whether, in view of the grave importance of the situation in the coal industry, he would take an early opportunity of making a statement himself on the general intentions of the Government. Mr. Baldwin replied to the effect that the Labour Party had only themselves to thank for not having learnt the Government's intentions on the day before, and he declined to promise any further opportunity for a Parliamentary discussion. Mr. MacDonald thereupon, acting on a decision taken by his party in the interval, announced his intention of asking leave to bring forward a vote of censure on the Prime Minister personally for evading his responsibility by refusing to speak to the debate on November 16—an act of which even a large part of the Conservative Press expressed disapproval.

Before any further steps could be taken in the matter, the House entered on the consideration of the Unemployment Insurance Bill in Committee, and this business, owing to the tactics of Labour members, occupied so much of its time that it was long doubtful whether the Government would be able to spare a day for the vote of censure. However, after the Committee stage of the Bill had been expedited by the guillotine, the Government found itself at length in a position to set aside December 7 for this purpose.

The behaviour of Labour members in the debate on November 10

had exposed the party to a counter-attack; this was duly made by Conservative members in an amendment of which they had given notice. Mr. MacDonald, in moving the vote of censure, dealt with this first, and attempted to excuse his colleagues by pointing out that in the past the Tory members had been the worst offenders against order in the House. He stigmatised the Premier's refusal to speak to the coal debate as nothing less than a violation of the decencies of Parliamentary conduct. In reply to the attack on his party, Mr. Baldwin retorted that two wrongs did not make one right, and he warned members that they did themselves no good with the country by creating disorder in Parliament. With regard to his own conduct, he maintained, in opposition to Mr. MacDonald, that the motion brought forward on November 16 was not one which absolutely demanded his intervention in the debate, and he denied the right of the Opposition to dictate to him when he should speak. The House eventually exonerated him by a large majority.

The wordy duel between the two party leaders having been concluded, the debate on the coal situation was resumed at the point at which the thread had been broken on November 16. The President of the Board of Trade made a purely departmental speech on the Government's attitude towards the coal situation. While admitting that the plight of the industry was bad, he gave figures to show that it was at least not worse than in October, 1925 (apart from the subsidies), and that there were prospects of improvement in the near future. He maintained that the Government was doing all that could be reasonably expected of it to assist the industry, by promoting research, by encouraging amalgamations, by transferring unemployed workers to other districts, and so forth; but he was still of opinion that in the main the industry should, and could, work out its own salvation.

Opposition speakers were loud in their demands that the Government should do something more both to assist the industry and to relieve the distress of the mining population, and they were supported from the Conservative benches by Sir Alfred Mond. The answer of the Minister of Mines was that pensions of 10s. for miners at 60 would cost 3,000,000l. a year, and no one would suggest that 10s. a week was enough. The debate left the Labour Party and the miners with the conviction that the Government was still as completely in the pocket of the mine-owners as it had been twelve months previously.

The question of the Government's attitude to disarmament received considerable ventilation in a debate in the House of Lords initiated by Lord Parmoor on November 16. In view of the approaching meeting of the Preparatory Commission for Disarmament at Geneva, Lord Parmoor asked the Government point-blank, first, whether it was prepared to adopt the optional clause of the International Court of The Hague; and secondly, whether

it was prepared to press forward the system of all-inclusive arbitration. Lord Cushendun replied that the Government had not yet decided on the exact line it would take up regarding these questions at the forthcoming meeting at Geneva, but he pointed out in advance that a refusal on its part to follow the line indicated by Lord Parmoor would not necessarily mean that it was out of sympathy with his aims. By signing Articles 13 and 15 of the Covenant, this country had already undertaken practically all the obligations which would be entailed by accepting the optional clause, save for the reservation touching the vital interest, honour, and independence of nations. Then, as to arbitration, the maintenance of peace was so vital to this country that he did not believe there was, in practice, any real danger of a dispute arising which it would not bring to arbitration; but he doubted whether public opinion would tolerate the laying down in advance by the Government of the principle that under no conceivable circumstances could a dispute arise which they were not willing to submit to arbitration.

Lord Cecil now took the opportunity to give a full account of the reasons which had led him to resign from the Government after the breakdown of the Three-Power Naval Conference. His statement contained much that was new to the public, revealing as it did what had gone on behind the scenes, both of the Conference and of the International Commission on Disarmament which met earlier in the year. He said it was true that the Draft Convention placed before the latter body had been drawn up by a sub-committee of which he was Chairman. He was, however, so little satisfied with it that before he left for Geneva on that occasion he circulated a minute to the Cabinet setting forth his objections to the Convention, and describing it as "a compromise between the views of the fighting services and those who believe that an international agreement for the reduction of armaments is essential for the safety of European civilisation and the existence of the British Empire." Nevertheless, he accepted the Convention on the ground that it did represent a step in advance, albeit a very small one. In the Commission itself the representatives of the Admiralty scarcely concealed their indifference, if not their hostility, to the whole proceedings. He did not say that of the Cabinet as a whole, but he did charge them with not taking a sufficiently strong line with their technical advisers, and with allowing minor technical difficulties to stand in the way of the success of the Commission. He had come back from Geneva at that time feeling that the Cabinet as a whole were not opposed to the reduction and limitation of armaments, but that they did not think it mattered very much.

For the breakdown of the Three-Power Naval Conference Lord Cecil threw the chief blame on the Chancellor of the Exchequer. According to his statement, when the delegates at

Geneva had agreed on the principle of mathematical parity in cruisers as between America and Britain, that Minister began to press on his colleagues the necessity of avoiding the consequences of what he regarded as a disastrous concession. The result of his agitation was that a majority of the Cabinet, and finally of his own colleagues on the delegation, also insisted that the Americans should be allowed to place 8-inch guns only on a limited number of cruisers, and should be restricted in the rest to 6-inch, or at the most, 7-inch guns. Although he himself believed that the American attitude on this question was quite indefensible, he would not have allowed the negotiations to break down on this point, and he thought that the Government, in doing so, had made a mistake, and one which seemed likely to threaten the whole course of reduction of armaments by international agreement.

Lord Balfour, in replying for the Government, did not question the accuracy of Lord Cecil's statements, but he again maintained that the stand taken by Britain on the cruiser question was perfectly legitimate, and he refused to believe with Lord Cecil that it "banged, barred, and bolted" the door to a future agreement with America on naval armaments. Nor could he agree that Lord Cecil's reasons for resigning from the Government had been adequate, as the Government was no less sincerely interested than he was in the cause of peace and disarmament. Lord Balfour did not go into the question how much of this interest was due precisely to Lord Cecil's action. Significantly enough, on the very day of this debate (November 16), the First Lord of the Admiralty announced in the House of Commons that in the light of the situation disclosed at the Geneva Naval Conference, the Government would not proceed this year with the laying down of two out of the three cruisers which were on its programme for the year.

The House of Commons considered the Films Bill in its Report stage on November 14, 15, and 17. The Labour Party, led by Colonel Wedge wood, continued to offer strenuous opposition to the practical prohibition by the Bill of "blind booking" and "block booking," alleging that the provisions to this effect were in the interest, not of the trade as a whole nor of the public, but only of a small but influential section of producers. The President of the Board of Trade made one important concession to his critics, in addition to several of a minor character, by consenting to limit the operation of the whole of this part of the Bill to ten years in the first instance. Criticisms offered in the subsequent course of the debate brought out clearly the extreme difficulty of ensuring that a film should be British both in production and ownership. After the Bill had been somewhat amended on the Report stage, its rejection was moved on the third reading by the Labour Party, but it was carried by 223 votes to 125.

On November 18 the Landlord and Tenant Bill passed its third reading. The object of the Bill, as explained by the new Under-Secretary for the Home Office, was to remedy certain specific grievances of tenants in the matter of leasehold without doing injustice to landlords. The Labour Party accepted the Bill as being "the very thin end of a sound wedge," and claimed credit for helping it through Committee; while a Liberal speaker described it as "a leaf out of the Liberal book." The only members who opposed it outright were a small band of Conservatives.

Supporters of the Government at this time evinced a good deal of discontent with the War Office and its Minister on a number of grounds. One was that during the vacation the Secretary for War, without having previously informed Parliament of his intention, had sanctioned changes of somewhat far-reaching importance in the Army administration. A second was that he had arranged to pay a visit to India in November for no pressing reason, as it appeared. A third was that the War Office, for military purposes, was seriously threatening to encroach on the Surrey commons, a favourite haunt of pedestrians. The last-named matter was brought up in the House of Lords on November 21. The Earl of Onslow, who replied on behalf of the War Office, pointed out that the increased range of modern weapons and the increased mobility of all arms, resulting from mechanisation, had made the existing training ground at Aldershot inadequate, and the adjoining commons seemed to supply the most suitable ground to meet the deficiency. He promised, however, on behalf of the War Office, that the commons would be used in such a manner as not to destroy their natural amenities, and that the public would have access to them when they were not being used for military purposes.

The Labour Party devoted November 24, the first of the four days allotted to them by the Prime Minister, to a vote of censure on the Government for its lukewarmness in the cause of international peace and disarmament. Mr. MacDonald found fault with the Foreign Secretary for having, at Geneva, procured the substitution of the term "war of aggression" for "war" in a resolution of the Assembly denouncing war as an international crime; the intention obviously was, according to Mr. MacDonald, to secure for Britain a loophole through which to escape from her obligations. He also asked once more why Britain had not signed the Optional Clause. Sir Austen Chamberlain, in replying, refused to be drawn into a definition of the word "aggression." He thought it would not be impossible, or even difficult, for the League to decide who was the aggressor in any given case, but if a test was laid down it would be easier for the aggressor to escape his liability. In regard to the Optional Clause, he quoted, with approval, a passage from a paper written by Lord Haldane which

pointed out that England was not in the same position as small States with unitary Constitutions. The constitution of the British Empire was not unitary, and it would be dangerous for the Imperial Government to proceed as if it were. The assent of the Dominions and India had to be procured at every step, and if it failed them at any moment, disputes might be aggravated instead of settled by compulsory arbitration. On one point, however, Sir Austen gave his critic right—that the Government had gone into the Geneva Naval Conference without sufficient diplomatic preparation; and he said this would be a lesson to them in all future conferences.

In the further course of the debate, the First Lord of the Admiralty made a spirited reply to those who blamed the Government for the breakdown of the Naval Conference. Referring to Lord Cecil's attacks on the Cabinet, he questioned the propriety of his exposing what went on within that body, and therefore did not deal with them directly, but he summed up his difference with his colleague by saying that the latter thought the question of 8-inch guns of secondary importance, while he himself, with the Government, thought it of primary importance. From this point of view he had little difficulty in showing that the stand he had taken against the American demands was justified. While regretting the failure of the Conference, he did not think it had done the great harm that many people feared. There had been a frank exchange of views, and the delegates had parted good friends. If there was no will to peace, a formula would not help them; if there was a will to peace, a formula was not absolutely essential.

At the Preparatory Conference on Disarmament, which was held at Geneva at the end of November, Britain was represented by Lord Cushendun. The proposal for complete and universal disarmament which M. Litvinoff, as head of the Russian delegates, sprang upon the Conference, was not taken seriously by the British Government or the bulk of the British public. Lord Cecil described it as "impracticable," and Mr. Baldwin declined the request of a Labour member to discuss it in the House of Commons on the ground that the Geneva Committee had not regarded it as a practical and helpful contribution to the solution of the problem.

Before M. Litvinoff left Geneva, Sir A. Chamberlain arrived to take part in the League of Nations Winter session. M. Litvinoff asked for an interview, which was granted, and the two statesmen conferred for an hour on December 5. According to the communique subsequently issued, there was a frank exchange of views between them, but it was not found possible to reach any basis of agreement. It was understood that the stumbling-block was the refusal of M. Litvinoff to give any assurance with regard to the activities of the Third International and other revolutionary organisations having their headquarters in Moscow.

At the meeting of the Parliamentary Labour Party on December 6, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald was again appointed Chairman of the party for the ensuing session. His acceptance of the office disposed of a crop of rumours which had been circulating for some little time previously to the effect that he intended to retire from the leadership of the party owing to ill-health. It was true that he had never completely recovered from the breakdown which he suffered during his visit to America in May; but, according to a statement issued by the party Executive, there was no reason on grounds of health why he should not continue to lead the party during the Parliamentary sessions, provided he allowed himself sufficient rest during the vacations.

On December 10, Mr. Snowden, speaking in Lancashire, at length broke his silence regarding the surtax proposal which had been adopted by the Labour Party Conference two months before. He declared himself in favour of it, but with such qualifications as rendered his acceptance of very little value for party purposes. As a prospective Chancellor of the Exchequer, he told his party openly that he must reserve full liberty to himself to frame his Budgets according to the requirements of the moment, and refused to allow his hands to be tied beforehand by Conference resolutions. He did not conceal his scepticism regarding the sum which the new tax was expected to yield. And he announced his firm intention of devoting the whole of that yield, whatever it might be, to debt reduction pure and simple. Mr. Snowden's cold douche on the extravagant expectations of his party hugely delighted the Conservative and Liberal Press, but in spite of this it did not alienate from him his own colleagues; immediately after the delivery of his speech he headed the poll in the election of the party Executive. It brought to a head, however, his long-standing differences with the Independent Labour Party, and at the end of the year he resigned from that body, after a membership of thirty-four years.

In the House of Lords on November 17 no fewer than four lawyers of eminence—Lords Buckmaster, Haldane, Carson, and Phillimore—protested against the action of Rumania in refusing to submit to arbitration certain questions in dispute between herself and Hungary, and indirectly against the conduct of the Foreign Secretary in supporting Rumania in this course at the last League of Nations meeting. Lord Newton, who had raised the question, declared himself dissatisfied with the Government replies, but took comfort in the thought that, as debates in the House of Lords were followed with great attention on the Continent, the views that had been expressed might have some effect on the League of Nations.

Before the close of the session, Parliament found time for the consideration of a matter of very great importance for the religious life of the nation. The subject was one which belonged more



properly to an ecclesiastical than a political assembly, and only came before Parliament in virtue of the connexion of Church and State in England; nevertheless, it was debated with more animation than any which had been raised during the year, with the possible exception of the Trade Union Bill. At the beginning of the year the English Bishops, after deliberations lasting over several years, had produced a new Prayer Book, the use of which was to be optional in all churches as an alternative to the old; and in February the Church Assembly had by a considerable majority given its approval to this step. As the use of the old Prayer Book was ordained by statute, the new one could not be introduced alongside of it without the special permission of Parliament, which was now sought.

The decision of the Assembly in February had caused a great ferment in Church of England circles. Most of the changes found in the new book were, it is true, of minor importance, and many of them commanded universal assent. But two of them proved to be highly contentious. Alterations were made in the Holy Communion and the Reservation of the Sacraments in such a way as to bring these two rites perceptibly nearer to the form used by the Church of Rome. The strict evangelicals, including a few of the Bishops themselves, took the alarm, fearing that the door was being opened to the introduction of Romish practices—or, as they termed it, idolatry—into the Church. A violent agitation against the new Prayer Book was carried on by methods and in language which seemed to smack rather of the seventeenth than the twentieth century.

The Prayer Book Measure, as the decision of the Church Assembly was called, after being the subject of heated public discussion for months, was laid before the House of Lords for its approval by the Archbishop of Canterbury on December 11. Interest in the matter had not abated, and the attendance was such as was seen only on rare occasions in the Upper House. The Archbishop explained clearly the reasons which had induced the great majority of the Bishops to support the Measure. Their paramount object in doing so was to put a stop to the indiscipline which had prevailed in the Church for thirty years past, and was steadily growing worse. A considerable section of the clergy, in spite of their vows, deliberately departed from the prescriptions of the authorised Prayer Book, and were not to be brought back to the old path by the moral suasion of the Bishops. As this state of affairs was detrimental to the good order of the Church, the best course seemed to be to legalise their actions, so far as this could be done without any change of doctrine or any injury to the principles of the Reformation. He himself, and most of his colleagues were confident that no such change or injury was entailed by the new Prayer Book, even in those portions which were most assailed; and he thought that the concession to the

demands of the age would be purely beneficial to the Church by retaining for it the services of many valuable elements.

The discussion lasted for three days, and brought out the various points of view among those directly interested in the subject—the evangelical, the broad Church, and the Anglo-Catholic. The evangelicals found themselves united with some of the Anglo-Catholics in opposition to the Measure, but for opposite reasons—the former because it allowed too much liberty, the latter because it allowed too little. For the Broad Churchmen—those who valued chiefly "comprehensiveness" in the Church—the only question was whether the new Prayer Book would indeed promote peace and order. Most, though not quite all, of them were content to take the word of the Bishops on the point.

The Archbishop, in his opening speech, had been careful to skim very lightly over purely theological points, as not being suitable for the consideration of Parliament, but many of the subsequent speakers were not so scrupulous, and freely expressed their views on transubstantiation and similar recondite matters. The strongest denunciation of the new Prayer Book came from two Irish Peers, Lord Carson and Lord Cushendun, whose speeches betrayed the fierce anti-Roman feeling characteristic of the Protestantism of their native country. Even they, however, did not fail to treat their opponents with a courtesy befitting the Assembly in which they were speaking. It was brought out in the course of the debate that a number of Bishops had somewhat changed their standpoint within recent years, having become more complaisant towards the new practices; and this fact in itself filled the opponents of the Measure with sinister forebodings. In the end, however, the Measure was approved by an unexpectedly large majority—241 to 88.

In the House of Commons, owing to the exigencies of Parliamentary time, only one day—December 15—was allowed for the discussion of the Measure. The interest displayed in the affair was no less keen than in the Upper House, but the members did not exercise the same self-restraint, and many of the speeches were subjected to unseemly interruptions. The task of proposing the acceptance of the Measure was perforce entrusted to a layman, Mr. Bridgeman, who spoke as the representative of the "man in the pew." His arguments all came back to a plea to "trust the Bishops;" but naturally this appeal came with much less force from a layman than it had from the Archbishops and Bishops themselves in the other House. Of the speakers who supported the motion, only two were able to strike a deeper note. Sir Henry Slessor, as an Anglo-Catholic, disclaimed all idea of drawing nearer to Rome, and pleaded that Catholic-minded members of the Church of England should be allowed liberty for the development of their views. Mr. Baldwin urged the acceptance of the Measure for the sake of the religious life of the nation. The

rejection of the Measure might lead to the disestablishment of the Church, and the Church, if disestablished, would inevitably lose that comprehensiveness which was a valuable asset, not to the Church itself, but to the nation.

While the supporters of the motion were able to advocate the Measure only at second hand, so to speak, its opponents expressed their own sentiments with conviction and even passion. Sir William Joynson-Hicks, who made the first speech for the Opposition, deeply impressed the House with the evident sincerity and the fervour of his No-Popery appeal. He would have no truck with the Anglo-Catholics, and he blamed the Bishops severely for allowing matters to come to the present pass. They had, he said, repeatedly disregarded his warning not to give promotion in their dioceses to clergymen with Romanising tendencies, and now he absolutely refused to trust them. Sir Douglas Hogg, speaking on the same side, said he knew that the rejection of the Measure would be a disaster, but its acceptance would be an even greater disaster. The resolute tone of the opponents of the Measure carried the day with a number of members of undecided views, and to the general surprise, secured the rejection of the motion ; the voting was 205 for and 238 (at first erroneously announced as 247) against.

The decision of the House of Commons made the Deposited Prayer Book (as the new form was called) invalid, and seemed to render nugatory the ecclesiastical labours of twenty years. The Archbishop of Canterbury, however, did not lose heart. He issued a message stating that he refused to take the decision of the House of Commons as final. The Bishops, he said, would give further consideration to the revised Prayer Book, and re-introduce the Measure with certain alterations calculated to remove misapprehensions which the debate in Parliament had shown still to exist. Meanwhile, he made an earnest appeal to all members of the Church not to avail themselves of the provisions of the new Prayer Book until such time as it should have been authorised, and at all events not to practise usages which it would forbid.

In spite of its desire to economise, the Government was forced, before the end of the session (December 14), to ask for Supplementary Estimates to the amount of nearly 4,000,000l. —3,000,000l. for the British Defence Force at Shanghai, and 900,000l. for the sugar-beet subsidy. Labour speakers expressed impatience with the Government for not hastening the withdrawal of troops from China, but it was pointed out to them that the situation in that country had become, if anything, more confused in the course of the year, and that there was still no responsible Chinese authority to which Shanghai could be entrusted or with which further negotiations on the position of foreigners in China could be conducted. The sugar-beet subsidy was opposed

by Liberal members, who complained that it was a drain on the taxpayer, and that the competition of the beet-sugar factories was ruining the sugar refineries in Greenock. No protest, however, was raised by the Economy group in the Unionist Party, and the vote was duly agreed to.

The Labour Party supplemented its criticism of the Unemployment Insurance Bill by a motion on December 19 calling for "the adoption of a comprehensive national policy" to deal with the unemployment evil. Mr. Johnston, the mover, insisted that the Government policy of throwing the burden of unemployment on to the parish areas, though it might succeed to a certain extent, was fundamentally wrong. The most distressed areas were those in which the heavy industries were chiefly located, and if these industries were to be subjected to ever-increasing local rating, it would be impossible for them to recover, and there would be an expansion, instead of a diminution, of unemployment. Mr. Johnston made a number of suggestions for improving the situation, to which the Government proved even less responsive than usual. The Minister of Labour based considerable hopes on the continuance of peace in industry as a panacea for industrial evils, and pointed with satisfaction to the fact that there were actually more persons employed in Britain at that day than there had ever been before. The President of the Board of Trade added the further comforting information that the month of November had been the best month for British trade for many years. It was evident that the Government saw the problem in an entirely different perspective from the Labour Party, and was less than ever inclined to resort to heroic remedies.

A debate on the plight of agriculture initiated by the Liberals at the end of the session (December 20) gave the Minister of Agriculture an opportunity of telling the National Farmers' Union once more that it was out of the question for the Government to safeguard agriculture by imposing a tariff. Apart from that, he did not think the Government could do more than it was doing for the industry, and he spoke very slightly of the Liberal plan for controlling cultivation. He agreed with Opposition speakers that the position was very serious, but he would not admit that there was waste and under-cultivation on a large scale, pointing out that, if the arable area had diminished since 1913, there was a corresponding increase in other branches of production, such as fruit-growing, market gardening, and rearing of live-stock. The depression in Great Britain did not seem to be worse than in France and the United States, and was certainly not to be put down to inefficiency on the part of the farmer.

Just before the end of the session the House of Commons passed an amendment to its Standing Orders which made an important alteration in the order of business. The new rule provided that one whole day, a Wednesday, should be set aside

in each week up to Easter for private members' motions, instead of two evenings and one evening between Easter and Whitsun, as at present, and two extra Fridays after Whitsun for the remaining stages of private members' Bills. The alteration was made in response to a memorial signed by a large number of members from all parties, with the object of securing fuller consideration for private members' Bills.

The House of Lords, before the end of the session, completed the passage of the Unemployment Insurance Bill, the Films Bill, the Landlord and Tenant Bill, and the Audit Bill, not without complaints of the inadequate time allowed to them for the discussion of such important measures. In the debate on the Unemployment Insurance Bill Lord Carson repeated Sir J. Simon's complaint against the drafting of the measure, which he described as "legislation by reference run mad." The Landlord and Tenant Bill was sent back to the House of Commons with one amendment of some importance, which the lower House duly accepted. The obnoxious Aliens Restriction Bill which the Lords had passed in the summer was one of the measures which had to be dropped owing to lack of time.

The session, which even supporters of the Government sadly admitted had been extremely dull, ended on December 22, when Parliament was prorogued till February 8. The King's Speech mentioned that a new Treaty had been signed between Britain and Iraq, to replace the existing treaties, also that in the course of the year Agreements had been concluded with the Greek and Serb-Croat-Slovene Governments for the settlement of their respective war debts to Great Britain. It was pointed out that funding Agreements had now been signed in respect of all the Allied War Debts to Great Britain, except that of Russia.

On December 21 a deputation of members of Parliament of all parties, headed by Mr. J. H. Thomas, waited on the Home Secretary to urge him to take steps for dealing with the evils attendant on the sport of greyhound racing. Introduced early in the year, this practice had soon become amazingly popular, and new tracks were continually being opened. The popularity of the entertainment was confessedly due, not to its merits as a sport, but to the facilities it afforded for gambling, and many people were afraid that it was developing into a social evil of the first magnitude. Mr. Thomas laid especial stress on the urgent need of preventing betting by children. The Home Secretary replied that he was already examining the question with a view to introducing legislation if necessary, and he warned those who thought of investing money in this form of sport that its extension might possibly be stopped in the near future. As a result of this statement, investors immediately became more careful.

In furtherance of the campaign for disarmament, Mr. Ponsonby, acting on behalf of the No More War Movement, had, on December 8,

presented to the Prime Minister a letter with about 128,000 signatures calling for the abolition by Great Britain of all her armed forces. Mr. Baldwin replied on December 20, pointing out that if Britain disarmed herself, she would be unable to carry out her obligations under the League of Nations Covenant, which required her to use armed force in certain contingencies. He stigmatised the proposal contained in the letter as tantamount to an incitement to war, and the most likely method of provoking the evil which it was desired to avoid.

The year did not close before an important move had been taken for promoting the cause of peace in industry, of which so much had been talked at its beginning. After the employers' organisations had declared themselves unable to adopt the suggestion for a joint meeting with trade union representatives made by the President of the T.U.C. in October (*vide* page 87), Sir Alfred Mond had taken the matter up, and had induced a number of representative employers to join with him in making approaches to the Trade Union Council. The group consisted of some twenty-four highly influential leaders of industry, representing at least 1,000,000,000l. of capital, and having seats on the boards of 159 public limited liability companies. Although, therefore, self-appointed, it was sufficiently representative of the employing class in virtue of its personnel. On November 23 a letter, signed by all the members of the group, was addressed to the General Council of the Trade Union Congress, inviting it to a meeting to consider questions relating to industrial reorganisation and industrial relations. Realising that industrial reconstruction could be undertaken only in conjunction with, and with the co-operation of, those entitled and empowered to speak for organised labour, the signatories pressed for the immediate co-operation of those who were as vitally interested in the subject as themselves. They therefore proposed direct negotiation with the twin objects of the restoration of industrial prosperity and the corresponding improvement of the standard of living of the population.

The Trade Union Council considered this letter on December 20. Mr. Cook declaimed against it as being an attempt to induce trade unionists to bolster up capitalist industry, but he found little sympathy in his audience. After a discussion lasting four hours, the Council passed a resolution accepting the invitation of the employers to discuss, "without prejudice," the industrial problems facing the country, and appointing a sub-committee to make the necessary arrangements for a full meeting of the General Council with those sending the invitation. Thus, by the end of 1927, the forces working for conciliation in industry had definitely gained the upper hand of those working for discord, and the "new spirit" which had so long been held up as an ideal seemed to have become a reality.

# FOREIGN AND IMPERIAL HISTORY.

## CHAPTER I.

### THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

THIS has been a quiet year, a year of consolidation and solid but inconspicuous progress. It was the first year of Germany's membership, and as such largely devoted to a mutual process of adaptation and getting acquainted between the new member and its colleagues. The lines of German League policy have been gradually growing clearer in this year and reveal, above all, a tendency to persistent activity in the questions of disarmament and the development of economic solidarity; 1927 also marked the first instances of wider co-operation by the Soviet Union through the League, a co-operation which has been artificially delayed by the quarrel between Switzerland and the Union, and which is still tentative and made difficult by suspicion and hostility, as well as by the abnormal relations between Great Britain and the Union.

American co-operation with the League has continued and increased in 1927, in spite of this year marking the abandonment of the American proposal to adhere to the statute of the Permanent Court. The United States were officially represented at the sessions of the Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference and sent strong delegations to the Economic and Transit Conferences. They continue to be semi-officially represented on the Opium and Health Committees and the Committee on the Traffic in Women and Protection of Young Persons; a prominent American is on the Committee for the progressive codification of international law; and the American Press took an active part in the Press Conference. Mr. Jeremiah Smith, of Boston, formerly the League's High Commissioner in Budapest, was appointed to the League's Financial Committee. The American representative at the Transit Conference announced that "the entire American delegation is going home to recommend and urge, with all the power and influence that it possesses, that the United States, from now on, be represented at these commercial conferences of the League of Nations."

Turkey attended the Economic Conference of the League, and Mexico sent a delegation as observers. This was the first

appearance of Mexico at any League meeting ; the co-operation of Turkey is gradually increasing.

*Arbitration, Security, Disarmament.*—There were no definite steps to a solution of the disarmament problem in 1927, but progress may be noted in three directions :—

(1) In the first place, the problem has become a living and first-class issue in the politics of the chief countries concerned, and a process of education and awakening of interest is at work that is bound to produce results, particularly under the pressure of financial necessities.

(2) The Soviet Union has taken its place as a member of the Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference. The first result of this has been a Soviet proposal for complete disarmament, including the scrapping of chemical industries and air fleets, which, though generally looked upon as neither practicable nor sincere, has yet changed the tone of discussions about disarmament. Moreover, although the presence of Russia adds to the immediate difficulties of the work on disarmament, it also gives greater reality to the proceedings, since Russia is as capital a factor in the land armaments of Europe as are the United States in the naval armaments of the world. For the first time both these countries, which are not on speaking terms with each other, are meeting with the members of the League (including disarmed Germany, which has a point of view of her own for this reason) in the Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference.

(3) Attempts to draw up a draft convention on the methods of disarmament by land, sea, and air, as well as on publicity and limitation for armament budgets and development on purely business, as distinguished from military, lines of chemical industries and civil aviation, while they have not succeeded, did at any rate reach agreement on some important points and reveal in a more precise and concrete manner than has been the case hitherto what are the remaining difficulties to be overcome.

Against this must be set the failure of the Three-Power Naval Conference, which has led to a certain amount of feeling in both the United States and Great Britain, and launched the former country on a vast naval programme the like of which has never been known since the famous Navy Bill introduced in Germany, and which it did not seem unreasonable to hope would have been impossible eight years after the World War. The Naval Conference, it may be said, contributed to the failure to reach agreement on naval armaments in the Preparatory Commission before it met, just as its failure has made the prospect of subsequent agreement in the League Commission more remote.

For the rest, as regards disarmament the increasing influence of Germany, Russia, and the United States has led to the official adoption by the League of the view that it is possible to tackle



the problem of disarmament on the basis of the security already enjoyed by the states of the world. At the same time, a special Arbitration and Security Committee has been set up parallel with the Preparatory Commission, to consider the possibility of framing a treaty or treaties for the final peaceful settlement of all disputes, to examine how to give effect to the clauses of the Covenant concerning arbitration and security and to study the general question of security and peaceful settlement of disputes.

*Progressive Codification of International Law.*—The Committee of Jurists appointed to recommend what questions were ripe for codification by international agreements suggested, in 1927, a number of subjects of which three, namely, the limits of territorial waters, the question of nationality, and the responsibility of governments for incidents taking place on their territory, have been selected by the Council and Assembly for an international conference that is to take place in 1928, and is being prepared by a strong preparatory committee appointed by the Council. This work, together with that on arbitration, on the one hand, and the international conventions being concluded through the technical organisations on the other, is building up a solid core of international law with a wider and firmer basis in the Covenant than can be found in the sovereignty of isolated nations, and with methods, machinery, and obligations for settling disputes as to its interpretation.

*The Economic Conference.*—The outstanding event in the activities of the League and, indeed, in international affairs, during 1927 was the great Economic Conference, held in May and attended by some fifty nations, including not only all the members of the League, but Egypt, Mexico, the Soviet Union, Turkey, and the United States. The Conference was carefully prepared by a strong committee, which has issued a great number of valuable reports and included representatives of every branch of economic life, commercial, industrial, and agricultural, Government officials, representatives of labour and employers, of banks, chambers of commerce, co-operative societies and trade unions, as well as professional economists. The Conference fully served its purpose of giving a review of the economic situation of the world in 1927, as authoritative as the review of world finances by the Brussels Financial Conference in 1920. The recommendations of the Conference laid down certain doctrines concerning the lowering of tariffs, extension and stabilisation of the most favoured nation treatment, uniformity of customs nomenclature, the collection and distribution of commercial and industrial statistics, with special reference to monopolies and combines. In view of the additional work which will fall on the Economic Organisation as a result of these recommendations, the Economic Committee of the League has been enlarged and strengthened, and is now a body of fifty-five members, representing all the main economic interests, The Con-

ference means that the League has now resolutely taken up the question of economic solidarity, which in the minds of many underlies most of the political problems of arbitration, peaceful change of the *status quo*, moral disarmament, etc.

*Political and Minority Questions.*—The quietness of 1927 is shown by the fact that only three political and one minority questions came before the League throughout the year. The long-standing dispute between Hungary and Rumania concerning the property rights of Hungarian optants in Rumania under the Trianon Treaty, complicated by a dispute whether or not the Mixed Arbitral Tribunal set up under this Treaty had exceeded its powers and, if so, whether the Council was competent to pass on this matter or should simply appoint an arbiter as stipulated in the Peace Treaty in place of the Rumanian whom his Government had withdrawn, came before the Council several times in 1927. The questions involved raised very large issues as to the right of a Government to treat foreigners and nationals alike under national legislation involving confiscation or practical confiscation of property, the rights of arbitral tribunals and their relations to the Council, the position of Hungarian nationals in Rumania under the Peace Treaty, etc. A Committee of the Council proposed a solution which the Council adopted, and recommended to the two parties in a modified form. The Rumanian Government accepted the recommendation in the original form put forward by the Council Committee, while the Hungarians maintained their refusal and the demand for an advisory opinion from the Court on the legal issues involved. By the end of 1927 the chance of the two parties arriving at a compromise solution by direct negotiation seemed good.

The Lithuanian Government brought a complaint before the Council in December as to the treatment of Lithuanians in Poland, and further alleged aggressive plans by the Polish Government threatening Lithuanian independence. The Poles denied the charges, asserted their desire to establish good relations with Lithuania, and complained of the "state of war" maintained by that country with regard to Poland. After considerable negotiation, in which M. Litvinov, who was present in Geneva, took a view similar to that of the members of the Council, a resolution was agreed to by the two parties and passed by the Council which noted that (1) peace prevailed between Poland and Lithuania, and that a state of war between two members of the League was incompatible with the Covenant. (2) This was without prejudice to the political claims of either party, and notably the Lithuanian claim to Vilna. (3) Poland renewed her assurances of friendship and respect for the territorial integrity and political independence of Lithuania. (4) The Lithuanian complaint about minorities would be investigated by the ordinary minorities procedure. (5) The two parties would negotiate for

the resumption of normal relations, with the help if required of the League technical organisations.

The third question concerned the right of the German Government under the Peace Treaty to export the cruiser *Salamis*, which was on the docks in 1914, and the obligation of the Greek Government to receive and pay for this cruiser if delivered, the Greeks having ordered it before the war and now refusing to accept delivery. Here, too, several issues were involved, and the report of a Committee of Jurists adopted by the Council laid down the doctrine that the Council was in no sense the heir or the executor of the Ambassadors' Conference, and therefore not bound (as was the contention of the Greeks) in this case to adopt its view of Germany's rights under the Peace Treaty, nor called upon to put forward any view on this subject. Moreover, the Council could not consider itself as a court of appeal from arbitral tribunals at the request of only one party, and would not ask the Court for an advisory opinion on the verdict of a tribunal, alleged to have exceeded its competence or otherwise objected to on legal grounds by a party, except at the request of the Arbitral Tribunal itself. This ruling, said the Council, was necessary to avoid confusion and the lowering of the authority of arbitral tribunals.

The minority question concerned the admittance of children to the German minority schools in Upper Silesia. The Council, with the agreement of the Polish and German Governments, appointed a Swiss expert to ascertain whether children whose parents had entered them for the German schools really knew enough German to profit by such schooling. This the German Government subsequently contended was an exceptional arrangement to cover the particular problems of 1927 and not to apply to future school years. The Poles, on the other hand, with the consent of the *rapporteur* of the Council, had interpreted the decision as setting up a permanent system. The Council asked the Court for an advisory opinion on this subject. The result may be to lay down a definite ruling as to whether the citizens of a country are entitled to decide for themselves whether or not they belong to a minority group, just as freely and individually as people decide to what religious sect they may or may not belong.

*Mandates ; the Saar and Danzig.*—The Mandates Commission and the Saar Governing Commission continued their activities in 1927, as did the Danzig High Commissioner. The usual crop of minor disputes were referred to the Council by Poland or Danzig or both. It is expected, however, that with the change of Government from the Nationalists to a Left-Centre Coalition in the Danzig Senate conditions with Poland will become easier.

*Economic and Financial Organisation.*—In addition to the Economic Conference, the Economic Organisation has accomplished a good deal of technical work resulting in various con-

ventions on the execution of foreign arbitral awards in commercial matters, prohibition of import and export restrictions, the treatment of foreign commercial or industrial enterprises, etc.

The technical advice of the Financial Committee to Estonia resulted in that country reorganising its finances and raising a loan of 1,350,000l. Danzig was helped to carry out its financial reconstruction, raise a loan of forty million gulden, and put its currency on a gold basis. A refugee settlement scheme and four million pound loan, following the precedent of what had been done in Greece in 1927, was carried out in Bulgaria, and preparations made for a fresh loan for Greece. At the end of the year the Portuguese Government requested help of the same nature. A good deal of purely technical work was done, and conventions drafted on double taxation and fiscal evasion, against the counterfeiting of currency and on the standardisation of letters and bills of exchange.

*Transit Organisation.*—The third biennial Conference of the Transit Organisation, held in August, 1927, overhauled the working of the whole organisation and strengthened its machinery. It resulted notably in the establishment of a centre for the collection and distribution of information on transit matters, which will enable the organisation to extend its activities beyond Europe and particularly to Latin America.

*Health Organisation.*—The Health Organisation has long been world-wide and not merely European, and this was clearly revealed during 1927 in its three principal activities, namely, epidemiological intelligence and public health statistics (collection, distribution, preparation), *liaison* between National Health Administrations (study tours of public health officers, individual missions and scholarships, and international health courses), and inquiries and investigations (*e.g.*, into the methods of combating malaria, co-ordination of scientific and administrative measures against sleeping-sickness and cancer, inquiry into child welfare and infant mortality, public health education, standardisation of sera and biological products, relations between health insurance organisations and public health services, etc.). The Health Committee has members from the Argentine, Brazil, Chile, the United States, the Soviet Union, Australia, and Japan, as well as from European countries, and all its activities extend to the five continents. In 1927 it was particularly active in Latin America, the Far East and Africa; at the invitation of the Australian Government it undertook to carry out a health survey in the Pacific Islands; and it organised an interchange or study tour in India. The Health Committee also accepted the Indian Government's invitation to hold a meeting of the Advisory Council of the Singapore Intelligence Bureau in that country, and to extend to India the investigations of the Malaria Commission.

*Traffic in Women and Children.*—The report of the committee

that inquired into the traffic in women and children attracted widespread attention, and the revelations it made regarding the existence and nature of this traffic will, it is hoped, lead to drastic action in a number of countries.

*Opium and Dangerous Drugs.*—The Opium Committee has been endeavouring to speed up the ratifications to the Geneva Conventions of 1925 which will make it possible to tighten up control of the manufacture and distribution of narcotics, now being produced and distributed illicitly in enormous quantities.

*Press Conference.*—In August, 1927, a World Press Conference was held at Geneva attended by representatives of newspaper proprietors, editors, and correspondents from the chief papers and agencies of all countries. The Conference investigated the problem of the collecting and distributing of news, and made a number of technical recommendations concerning Press rates and facilities for telephone, telegraph, and wireless messages, and the distribution of newspapers.

## CHAPTER II.

### IRELAND.

#### NORTHERN IRELAND.

THE outstanding political event of the year in Northern Ireland was the appearance in Parliament during the Autumn Session of the four Nationalist members for Fermanagh and Tyrone. Their decision to take their seats means that abstention as a policy has definitely broken down. It is true that Mr. de Valera, who was elected for Co. Down—he is now the only member with a seat in both Parliaments—and one of the Armagh representatives, Mr. E. Donnelly, also a Republican, declined to enter the House ; but the fact that ten of the twelve Nationalists swore the oath is a sufficient indication that minority opinion in the Six Counties no longer favours the scheme of withholding recognition from the Northern Government.

Contrary to expectation the Nationalists, though the strongest minority group, did not replace Labour as the official Opposition. Mr. Joseph Devlin, their ablest Parliamentarian, announced that he had no ambition to lead anyone, and while the ten members voted together on all questions during the session, apparently they have not formally organised themselves as a party. Working in conjunction with Labour and the Independents, the Nationalists put up a stiff resistance to Government legislation, and in several divisions, particularly on the Intoxicating Liquor Bill, which was designed to amend certain provisions of the 1923 Liquor Act, they had the satisfaction of reducing Lord Craigavon's majority as low as eight and nine. During the debates on this

measure the Northern Parliament had its first all-night sitting (November 17).

Spirited opposition, in which Labour took the lead, was also offered to the Trades Disputes and Trades Union Bill (October 18), framed on the lines of the British measure, directed against the general strike. Labour protested that as the general strike had not extended to Northern Ireland there was no justification for the Bill. As against this, the Government contended that as forty of the sixty unions operating in the Six Counties had their headquarters in Great Britain it was desirable that the same limitations should be enforced on both sides of the Channel. Ultimately the Bill was passed through all its stages without any vital amendment.

On December 8 the various Opposition groups united in moving a vote of censure on the Government on the ground that it had failed to deal effectively with unemployment and social problems. After a long debate an amendment expressing confidence in Ministers was passed by 25 votes to 11.

Minor legislation during the year included a Milk Bill, a Rent and Mortgage Interest Restriction Bill, and a Housing Bill to enable local authorities to grant loans free of interest repayable over a period of twenty-five years.

The return of revenue and expenditure for the financial year ended March 31, 1927, showed a surplus of 35,253L, after providing for sinking fund charges and a contribution of 1,217,879l. to the cost of Imperial services. The total Exchequer receipts were 11,159,450l. In his Budget Mr. Pollock announced a modification of the entertainment tax in relation to certain forms of outdoor sport, including football, and the abolition of the tax on admission tickets not exceeding sixpence, to cinemas.

Supporters of local option, who include a large section of the Protestant clergy, continued to conduct a vigorous campaign with the object of bringing pressure to bear on the Government to introduce a measure of this kind in the next Parliament. The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, at its meeting in June, while endorsing the principle of local option, made it clear that it would not support the plan favoured by some temperance advocates of running candidates in opposition to official Unionists. In his Budget speech Mr. Pollock pointed out that since 1914 the consumption of alcoholic liquor in Northern Ireland had decreased by two-thirds, and he estimated that the reduction in the expenditure on drink during the year amounted to more than 600,000l.

In addition to the local option controversy, the General Assembly had the novel experience of conducting a trial for heresy (June 9). Charges on five counts of teaching doctrines contrary to the Word of God and the standards of the Church were lodged against Rev. J. G. Davey, a Professor of Biblical Literature at the Assembly's College, Belfast. After a hearing

lasting over two days all the charges were dismissed by overwhelming majorities, and the Fundamentalists, who had been campaigning on a big scale in the Six Counties, suffered a bad set-back.

The affairs of the Belfast Corporation, the most important municipal body in Northern Ireland, continued to provoke a large amount of criticism. Following the revelations of the housing scandal, as exposed by the Megaw Commission, an investigation by a committee of the Council into the working of its administrative departments resulted in grave charges of extravagance and inefficiency in many of the services. On the publication of this report in August the demand was strongly pressed that the Corporation should be superseded by paid Commissioners on the model adopted by the Free State Government in Dublin and Cork. So far this course does not find favour with Ministers. A Departmental Commission which had been investigating the local government system in its report issued in October stated that sufficient evidence had not been laid before it to enable it to say whether the appointment of Commissioners was necessary in Belfast. The report condemned the existing system of corporation control as cumbersome and uneconomic, and advocated a reduction of the number of committees and the strengthening of the authority of the chief executive officers.

Unfortunately, the economic outlook in the Six Counties was by no means satisfactory. It was hoped that the linen trade had seen its worst days, but while production increased during the year, the scarcity and dearness of raw material imposed a heavy handicap upon manufacturers. The most serious feature of the situation was the invasion by Belgian, Swiss, and Czechoslovakian firms of the American market where Ulster houses had for so long enjoyed a practical monopoly. Whereas in pre-war days the United States took over 60 per cent, of the linen piece goods exported from Great Britain the figure has now dropped to 34. Competition in the home market led to a demand by the linen trade for protection against "dumping," but the tribunal appointed under the Safeguarding of Industries Act declined to entertain the case presented by Irish and Scottish manufacturers.

The shipyards were busier than in 1926, and the total tonnage output showed an increase of 20 per cent. While Messrs. Harland & Wolff have been lucky in securing orders which will keep most of their building slips occupied, the other great Belfast yard, that of Messrs. Workman, Clark, which had doubled its output of new tonnage during 1927, ended the year with no work either on the stocks or afloat, and the future of the firm gave rise to grave anxiety.

In spite of an abundant harvest, farmers were hard hit by poor agricultural prices, though as an offset to these the export trade in horses and pigs showed a remarkable increase.

## IRISH FREE STATE.

When the Dail met early in January, it was faced with a formidable legislative programme, the object of the Government being to clear the decks as far as possible in view of the approaching General Elections. Ministers could not be accused of framing their measures in the hope of catching votes, for with the exception of the scheme to buy out over 100 proprietary creameries for re-sale to co-operative societies, all their Bills provoked violent controversy, not only in the House, but in the country.

The stiffest fight raged over the Intoxicating Liquor Bill introduced on February 8, and not only did the licensed trade swing strongly against Ministers on the proposal that compensation for the closing down of redundant public houses should be paid by the remaining licence holders, but there were sharp divisions inside the Government Party, though in the end discipline was strong enough to secure the adoption of this clause.

The Electricity Supply Bill (March 9), providing for the creation of a Board on the Swedish model to control the Shannon scheme, antagonised strong interests in the towns by empowering the new body to take over all existing electric undertakings within the next five years.

By reducing the income tax from 4s. to 3s. in the pound, Mr. Blythe's Budget (April 21) did something to improve the prospects of the Government Party. The total net expenditure for 1927-28 was estimated at 23,181,103l., and the net estimated revenue at 23,809,200l. According to the Minister, the national debt stood at 16,854,400l., and he claimed that during his term of office he had reduced taxation by 3,000,000l. a year.

Following the Budget electioneering began in earnest. Mr. de Valera, who decided to fight on the question of the abolition of the oath of allegiance, was successful in obtaining a large campaign fund from the Irish in America. Largely as a result of this, Fianna Fail was enabled to swamp the Sinn Fein Republicans who, at the polls (July 9), lost 18 of the 23 seats previously held by them. Mr. de Valera exactly doubled his 22 members in the old Dail; but while the combined anti-Treatyite representation was increased by 5, its total vote was 350,277, as against 797,079 cast for candidates who supported the Anglo-Irish settlement. The Government lost 12 seats, which reduced their strength to 46; while Labour gained 7, and Captain Redmond's National League 6. The Farmers dropped from 14 to 11, the Independents returned 14 instead of 15, and Clann Eireann's 8 candidates all drew blanks, 7 of them forfeiting their election deposits.

There was some doubt whether the Government, which could no longer command a majority, would resume office. Mr. Cosgrave decided that it was his duty to carry on, and when the Dail met on June 23, he was re-elected President of the Executive Council



by 68 votes to 22, the Labour Party alone opposing. The defeat, in the election, of the Minister for Defence (Mr. Peter Hughes) led to the transfer of this portfolio to Mr. Desmond Fitzgerald, formerly Minister for External Affairs, whose Department was taken over by Mr. O'Higgins, in addition to the Ministry of Justice. General Richard Mulcahy succeeded Mr. Seumas Burke as Minister for Local Government.

Fianna Fail members, led by Mr. de Valera, marched in procession through the streets to Leinster House on the day of the opening of the Dail, and demanded admission without taking the oath, which, under the Standing Orders of the Dail, must be sworn before deputies enter the Chamber. The demonstration produced no results, and it was announced by Mr. de Valera that steps would be taken to test the validity of the oath in the Courts, and also to give effect to the article in the Constitution, which provides for the initiative in legislation in order to secure a referendum on the pledge.

In the thick of the oath controversy the country was horrified by a terrible tragedy. On the morning of July 10, Mr. Kevin O'Higgins, Vice-President of the Executive Council, and by general consent the ablest member of the Cabinet, was waylaid on his way to Mass at Booterstown, outside Dublin, by three armed men, who fired shot after shot into his body at close range. Wounded in seven places, he died a few hours later, almost his last words being, "We have done good work." The murderers, who succeeded in making good their escape, were believed to have been the agents of some unknown secret society. All the anti-Treatyite organisations, including the so-called Republican Army, repudiated the deed and denounced the criminals.

The Government lost no time in framing measures to meet the crisis. On July 22 three Bills were introduced in the Dail. By the first of these, drastic powers were demanded to deal with political crime, including deportation for suspects, the death penalty for carrying arms, and in certain circumstances the trial of prisoners by military courts. The other measures, which were aimed directly at Fianna Fail, provided that every candidate should swear an affidavit on nomination that, if elected, he would take the oath of allegiance, and also, though this Bill was ultimately deferred, the Oireachtas was asked to delete the provision relating to Initiation from the Constitution.

Labour offered strenuous resistance to the Public Safety Bill, and on the second reading debate (July 27), after a series of heated exchanges, its members, led by Mr. Johnson, walked out of the Dail as a protest against the action of the Government.

Meanwhile, the position of Fianna Fail was becoming impossible. By the passage of the Bills into law all anti-Treatyite seats would be vacated, and the movement, if not extinguished, would be driven underground, a prospect which had few attractions for

its leaders or, indeed, for the bulk of its followers. One Republican deputy, Mr. Patrick Belton, repudiated his party pledge and entered the Dail, and it was known that others were anxious to follow. Mr. de Valera, however, still hung in the wind, and the emergency legislation had passed through all its stages in the Dail before Fianna Fail members, after prolonged discussions *in camera* issued, on August 11, an extraordinary document, in which they announced that as it was "not uncommonly believed," the oath was "merely an empty political formula" they had unanimously decided to sign the declaration and take their seats.

While these conferences were in progress negotiations were also entered into with Labour and the National League, whose members had opposed the Public Safety Bill. An agreement was arrived at that Mr. Johnson and Captain Redmond should form a Coalition Government, which would have the support of Mr. de Valera, though neither he nor any of his colleagues would be included in the Cabinet. Accordingly, on August 16, Mr. Johnson moved a vote of no confidence, but the hopes of the Coalitionists were dashed by the defection of one of the Redmondites, Mr. John Jinks, who abstained from voting, with the result that parties were evenly divided, 71 to 71, and the Speaker gave his casting vote in favour of the Government.

Encouraged by the success of his candidates in two Dublin by-elections, Mr. Cosgrave sprang a surprise on friends and foes by dissolving the Dail (August 25) in order that the country might pronounce judgment on the new state of affairs created by the entrance of Fianna Fail to the Chamber.

The election was vigorously contested, and the result of the poll (September 15) was to strengthen the two main parties at the expense of minor groups. The Government gained 12 seats, which left it with 4 votes more than Fianna Fail, whose strength had increased from 44 to 57. In addition to diminished numbers, Labour and the Farmers returned to the House without their leaders, Mr. Johnson and Mr. Baxter, two exceptionally able parliamentarians. Captain Redmond held his seat but lost his party, and can now muster only a single follower. One Communist, Mr. James Larkin, was successful in a Dublin constituency, but he failed to take his seat; and Sinn Feinn put forward no candidates.

Mr. J. J. Walsh, who held the office of Minister for Posts and Telegraphs, broke with the Government on the eve of election on the ground that its tariff policy was inadequate. In re-arranging his Cabinet, Mr. Cosgrave attached Mr. Walsh's Department to the Ministry of Finance, and in the same way External Affairs was transferred to Mr. McGilligan, who also controlled Industry and Commerce. The only new Cabinet appointment was that of Mr. Fitzgerald-Kenney, K.C., to the Department of Justice in succession to Kevin O'Higgins. The half-dozen members of the

Farmers Group agreed to accept Government Whips, and their leader, Mr. Heffernan, was given the post of Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Finance. Even with the aid of the Farmers, the Government could not muster a majority over Fianna Fail and Labour unless they were backed by Independent votes.

Mr. de Valera, as leader of the Opposition, concentrated on a series of full-dress debates with the object of expounding his social and economic programme. Labour generally voted with him in the divisions, but the Independents supported the Government in sufficient strength to ensure a safe, if small, majority.

With the approval of all groups in the House the Government, on December 4, floated a new 5 per cent. Loan for 7,000,000l., which was issued at 97. The Loan was anchored to the dollar, and 3,000,000l. was issued in New York, where the total amount was oversubscribed in a few hours. It was announced that another 8,000,000l. would be required inside the next two years.

On December 15 Mr. T. M. Healy, who had completed his term of five years as Governor-General, resigned, and was succeeded by Mr. James McNeill, a former member of the Indian Civil Service, who for some time had acted as Free State High Commissioner in London.

### CHAPTER III.

#### FRANCE AND ITALY.

##### FRANCE.

THE year opened with the Senatorial elections and closed with the preparations for the General Elections of the Chamber. 1927 may indeed be regarded, politically, financially, and diplomatically, as a year of consolidation in France. Stability was sought in every domain, so that the deputies might face the constituencies with a sound record. After the frequent upheavals of previous years, they settled down to solid work under Raymond Poincare as Prime Minister.

At no time was the Government in real danger. The constant changes which had marked a large part of the 1924-28 Parliamentary period ceased, and M. Poincare, acting as his own Finance Minister, proceeded with the task he had so well begun in 1926 of restoring the franc to a fairly satisfactory figure, of rendering the floating debt less dangerous, and of balancing the Budget.

The Senatorial elections took place on January 16. In accordance with practice, about a third of the seats were renewable—namely 109. The majority, slightly to the Left, though the

complexion of the Senate is Conservative, remained unchanged. Nevertheless, it is to be noted that at Paris and at Lyons the Socialists and the Radicals gained. Ten Socialists now sit in the Senate and two Senators are nominally Communist. M. de Selves, the President of the Senate, was defeated, as was M. Francois-Albert, a former Minister of Education. M. Millerand, the ex-President of the Republic, was also defeated, though he found another seat in the month of October. On the other hand, M. Raoul P6ret, the President of the Chamber, was elected to the Senate. When the Chamber met, on January 18, it elected M. Fernand Bouisson, a Socialist, as its President.

The Treaty between France and Rumania was published on January 20. Immediately the Government of Moscow recalled that it had already protested against the Treaty, which promised Rumania the aid of France in the event of war, and proclaimed the common interests of the two countries, without making any reservation respecting Bessarabia. Therefore, Russia held the Franco-Rumanian Treaty to be unfriendly.

M. Poincare dealt with short-term bonds which were falling due by arranging for the issue of fifteen-year bonds to cover them. These new bonds were offered as payment of four and a half milliard francs of loan redeemable in the course of the year. In addition, three milliard francs of short-term bonds were exchanged in February for ten-year bonds. The committee of an autonomous sinking fund at the same time suppressed six-month bonds. These and similar measures throughout the year greatly improved the financial situation.

Economic readjustment did not proceed smoothly. There was a considerable increase of prices as expressed in real values, and the Chamber insisted on administrative machinery which should control to some extent the cost of commodities. It cannot be said that these efforts produced noticeable results. Moreover, there was unemployment. M. Poincar6, on February 4, declared the crisis to be mild and salutary. Owing to the inflation France had been able to sell abroad under world prices. Now that the engines were reversed, it was inevitable that commerce should be momentarily embarrassed. But the unemployed in the month of February numbered only 56,000, as compared with 1,700,000 unemployed in Germany and a million permanently unemployed in Great Britain. Before the war France had always a minimum of 100,000 unemployed. Therefore, the situation was relatively favourable. France, indeed, had been obliged to encourage the immigration of foreign labourers. As the year wore on these economic problems solved themselves and nothing more was heard of them.

France replied, on February 16, to the American Government, which had invited the Naval Powers to participate in a Conference for the limitation of maritime armaments, to be held at Geneva,

though not under the auspices of the League of Nations. This reply of France was a polite refusal. The French thesis was that armaments could only be treated as a whole, that naval forces could not be separated from terrestrial and aerial forces. Further, France, virtually without modern large vessels, relied upon smaller ships and submarines, and could not allow them to be limited. On March 14 President Coolidge, in a note handed to the French Government by Ambassador Herrick, again appealed to France to send a representative to the Naval Disarmament Conference. He made it clear that there was no intention of hindering the League of Nations' work. But France was too deeply committed to the procedure of the League to acquiesce in the American proposal. The Naval Conference, which was subsequently held, was therefore restricted to the United States, Great Britain, and Japan.

The French attitude on disarmament was peculiar. While it was admitted that the actual number of men under arms should be reduced to the lowest possible proportions compatible with the safety of the nation, and that, as early as possible, conscripts should be made to serve only twelve months or less under the colours instead of eighteen months, yet in considering the problem every circumstance should be ascertained. Notably the industrial organisation of the different countries concerned, their geographical positions, their strategic advantages, and so forth, should be examined as forming part of their *potentiel de guerre*. M. Paul-Boncour was the chief French exponent at Paris and at Geneva, where he was sent to represent the Government, of this theory of the *potentiel de guerre*, which necessitated protracted inquiries into national capacity and provoked the criticism that the subject, since it was inexhaustible, would provide matter for debate till the end of time. A still more interesting development was the introduction in the Chamber of a Bill by M. Paul-Boncour which called upon all French citizens, without distinction of age or sex, to join as combatants or as non-combatants in the defence of the country should it be attacked. In the event of aggression there would be universal mobilisation; the whole resources of the country, industrial and financial, would come under State control. These clauses were passed by the Chamber in the month of March, though without any precise organisation they can only have a platonic import. The professed purpose is to eliminate profits in war-time, and to prevent sections of the community evading their duties. It is argued that this comprehensive mobilisation, though useful for defence, will make a war of aggression unthinkable.

The question of disarmament was prominent in the succeeding months. On March 17 France was surprised by a memorandum from the United States Government repudiating many of the suggestions of the Mixed Disarmament Commission, including

the proposals of M. Paul-Boncour for the consideration of war " potentials " and the use of the Defence Budgets as a basis for comparing armaments. The United States could not regard favourably any proposition for international control of essential national industries. Nor could States engage themselves to regard as a common law crime, drill or training on the part of soldiers or civilians in the use of poisons or bacteria. The general effect of the French view, which is supported by the majority of Continental countries, is to postpone any practical steps being taken. In the December meeting of the League of Nations Preparatory Commission, where Russia produced a sensational scheme for instant disarmament, and Germany hinted that if France and other countries did not reduce their armaments Germany must be allowed to increase her armaments to the same level, it was simply resolved to await the report of a committee on security. In all these discussions France has consistently affirmed that security must come before disarmament.

On March 9 the Poincaré method of dealing with inter-allied debts was approved in the Chamber by a vote of 339 to 175—the minority including the Communists, the Socialists, and a fraction of the Radical Party. The position was curious. France had entered into an agreement with Great Britain (the Caillaux-Churchill accord) and with the United States (the Mellon-Brenner accord) by which she undertook to make annual payments. But the Government believed that it was impossible to find a majority for their ratification. To reject them would have caused the most undesirable financial complications. To fail to pay the annuities as they became due might have had equally unpleasant consequences. The Prime Minister, anxious that he should not be disturbed in his difficult task, hit upon an expedient. He proposed to pay the annuities without submitting the accords to the Chamber. This resolve was held to be illegal as well as evasive by the Socialist deputy, M. Vincent Auriol. He tabled a motion which would have involved the discussion of the entire question of inter-allied debts. M. Poincaré opposed such discussion. He asked for a definite substantial vote. Abstainers would be considered to be voting against his Government, and if he did not obtain a clear majority he would resign. M. Auriol argued that the making of payments equalling the annuities provided for in the debt settlements implied the legitimacy of the debts, and he contended that no provisional payments should be sanctioned pending Parliamentary ratification of the agreements. M. Poincaré recalled that provisional payments had already been decided upon by M. Raoul Peret when he was Minister of Finance. They were not then challenged. He easily carried his point.

At the same time, M. Poincaré provided for the conversion of Treasury bonds maturing in 1929 into 6 per cent, bonds maturing in fifty years. Other operations of a similar character, absorbing

part of the floating debt, were decided upon and successfully carried out. It may be well to give here a brief review, obtained **from** official sources, of the situation in July, a year after M. Poincare had taken office. In July of 1926 the paper franc hovered between 240 and 250- to the pound sterling. To all intents and purposes it was stabilised in July, 1927, at 124. There were technical reasons why it should not be legally stabilised until the experiment had been prolonged—and, it must be admitted, there were also political reasons. In 1926 the fiduciary issue of the Banque de France had been increased by 17,000,000,000 paper francs. In the coffers of the Treasury was a sum equivalent only to 300,000l. There was a run on the Treasury, and France stood on the brink of bankruptcy. M. Poincaré immediately caused to be voted heavy extra taxation, and removed the charge of the short-term debt from the Government to a special body, which was solemnly given Constitutional guarantees in a National Assembly at Versailles. Then M. Poincare began to repay advances of the Banque de France and arranged for the methodical obliteration of the Treasury debt. The Treasury was provided with ample funds, and M. Poincare piled up vast quantities of reserves in gold currencies. The Banque also bought gold until it had larger stocks than any other institution outside America. The only short-term Treasury bonds issued were for two years—formerly there had been one-month, three-month, and six-month Treasury bonds—and yet more money was offered at 5 per cent, to the Treasury than at any time within the past few years.

In May began the series of trans-Atlantic flights. On the 8th two French airmen, Nungesser and Coli, set off from Le Bourget in the "Oiseau Blanc." There were contradictory reports, but never again was there authentic news of these daring pioneers. The French were greatly disappointed and grieved. It was known that the Americans were preparing flights from the United States to France—and it was held by some experts that the eastward flight was perhaps better favoured by the prevailing winds than the westward flight. Foolish reports were sent to America pleading for the postponement of all attempts until French chagrin had disappeared. Captain—afterwards Colonel—Charles A. Lindbergh ignored these warnings and, forestalling his rivals, who had been preparing in the full blaze of publicity to cross the Atlantic by air, he set off unheralded, without notice, in his "Spirit of Saint Louis," and after a solitary thirty-three-hour journey over the ocean, arrived safely at his destination, Le Bourget, 3,600 miles away from his starting-point at Roosevelt Field, near New York, on Saturday evening, May 21. Lindbergh's performance was extraordinarily spectacular, and the quiet demeanour of the flier won the hearts of the French. From the moment of his arrival to his departure he was the hero of a

hundred fetes. Ambassador Myron T. Herrick gave him the hospitality of the American Embassy, and he was received by the authorities, from the President of the Republic to the Municipal Council. It is not too much to say that his feat, which was hailed with such enthusiasm, accomplished more for the good relations of the two Republics than any diplomatic demarche. Later, the greatest interest was taken in the flight of Chamberlin and Levine, who landed in Germany ; while on July 1, Commander Byrd, with his companions Noville, Acosta, and Balchen, traversing the Atlantic safely, lost their way over France, and alighted in the sea off the coast at Ver-sur-mer. They, too, were well received, as was Ruth Elder and Captain Haldeman, who, though they had failed and were rescued by a ship in mid-Atlantic, came on to Paris.

Franco-British relations were also improved by the visit which President Doumergue paid to London, where he was entertained by the Court on May 16.

The Government at this time began a campaign against the Communists. The Communists in France had been extremely active. They were alleged not merely to have indulged in subversive propaganda, but to have conspired against the State. " Le Communisme, voila l'ennemi ! " cried the Minister of the Interior, M. Albert Sarraut; and the Government sought to raise the Parliamentary immunity which protected M. Doriot, who had been in China, and who had preached insurrection in Annam. Parliament, however, jealous of its prerogatives, declined to permit prosecution at that moment. At a later date, when Parliament was in recess, proceedings were taken, and several of the leaders of the Communist Party were convicted on various counts. When Parliament was in session the Communist deputies were released in order that they might fulfil their mandate, but when Parliament was again in recess they were arrested to serve their sentences.

The Royalists, too, came into conflict with the authorities. M. Leon Daudet (and M. Delest, the responsible editor of the *Action Frangaise*) had been sentenced to a term of imprisonment for a libel on a taxi-cab driver in connexion with the mysterious death of Daudet's son, Philippe, who was found shot in the taxi-cab. M. Daudet had made accusations against the police, as well as against the driver. It was scarcely thought that he would be called upon to surrender, but when it was decided that the law must be respected, he and M. Delest barricaded themselves (on June 11) in the offices of his newspaper. A thousand supporters promised to defend him, but when, two days later, important police forces were brought up, M. Daudet decided to give himself up " in order to avoid bloodshed." On June 25 the Royalist leader was released from the Sant6 prison by a simple trick. A telephone call came to the Governor. He was instructed,



in the name of M. Sarraut, to set free, with the utmost secrecy, M. Daudet and other political prisoners, in accordance with a decision of a special Cabinet meeting. It is a long time since France laughed so heartily as at this escape. M. Daudet, after hiding from the police for some time in France, went to Belgium and to Holland, where he remained until the end of the year.

In June a good deal began to be heard of a proposal for a treaty of perpetual peace between France and America. It was on April 6, the tenth anniversary of the entry of the United States into the World War, that M. Briand had suggested such a pact to "outlaw" war, but his message was apparently regarded at first as a mere rhetorical flourish. Not until it was taken up in the middle of the year by a number of prominent Americans did it come into the realm of practical politics. There existed, however, the Root Arbitration Treaty, concluded in 1908; and the Bryan Conciliation Treaty, concluded in 1914. When the subject was seriously discussed towards the end of the year, these Treaties, it was urged, should be renewed with a preamble extolling peace. But, in addition, a letter from Mr. Kellogg (December 28) proposed, not a Franco-American pact outlawing war, but a multilateral pact with the same object. This destroyed France's hopes of establishing a special link with America; and besides objections were taken to a too comprehensive denunciation of war. By war France meant a war of aggression. A defensive war was, of course, justifiable; while the Covenant of the League of Nations, and the many pacts elaborated among European nations, are built upon the principle of mutual assistance and of the application of sanctions. To renounce all war was to rule out not only alliances, but also to rule out punitive and suppressive expeditions which, in theory at least, may be organised by the League of Nations, and are, indeed, nominally part of that body's duties.

The Parliamentary session ended on July 13. Its last act was to pass a Bill of electoral reform. The deputies had been preoccupied for a long time with this measure, which would determine the conditions of the 1928 elections. The existing system was a complicated and unsatisfactory form of proportional representation. It was known as the *Scrutin de Liste*. The electoral areas were large, possessing, perhaps, half a dozen representatives. The candidates presented themselves on "tickets." The personal element was thus supposed to be reduced; it was upon programmes that the electorate pronounced. If the whole of the members of a given list had an absolute majority over the members of a rival list, they were elected; but if—as was almost inevitable when three or more lists were in presence—there were only relative majorities, then an arithmetical operation of averages and quotients was required to ascertain the results. There were many anomalies, and men who had received a minority of votes might well be victorious. Never-

theless, the Socialists were pledged to some such system. Yet they voted with the Radicals for a reversion to the simpler *Scrutin d'Arrondissement*. The *Scrutin d'Arrondissement* implied small electoral areas, so that candidate would be pitted personally against candidate. In the past this system had been condemned as encouraging a policy of the parish pump, that is to say, of communal bribery. Stagnant pools, M. Briand had called the little localities which elected a member because he had promised them a new railway-line, a new school-house, or a new bridge. The *Scrutin de Liste* in 1919, with its unexpected and often unfair results, had favoured the Bloc National. In 1924 it had favoured the Cartel des Gauches. Now Socialists and Radicals thought that it would again favour their adversaries. Therefore they plumped for the *Scrutin d'Arrondissement*. Attached to this uninominal method of voting, however, is the second ballot. That means that to be victorious a candidate must secure an absolute majority. If no candidate has more than a relative majority there is a second appeal to the ballot. On the second day of voting the least-favoured candidates will presumably retire, advising their followers to cast their votes for the candidate whose ideas most closely correspond to their own. Thus, if, on the first ballot, a Socialist leads, a Moderate comes next, and a Radical third, the Radical in withdrawing from the second ballot might counsel the voters to support either the Socialist or the Moderate. That, expressed briefly, is the whole problem of the elections in France. On the second ballot, should Radicals support Socialists or Moderates? Should Socialists support Radicals or Communists? Neither the Radical Party nor the Socialist Party in their annual congresses clearly answered this question. The Radicals, however, elected as their President M. Daladier, a former Minister who has Socialistic leanings.

On August 17 a Franco-German commercial accord was signed, after long pourparlers. Germany obtained what is tantamount to a "most-favoured-nation" clause. At the same time a new French tariff system went into effect, providing a general schedule of rates considerably higher than those which formerly applied. Thereupon the United States Embassy strenuously protested. It was pointed out that German goods entering France would pay lower tolls than similar American goods. This was discrimination that America would not tolerate. On September 15 the French Government declared itself happy to negotiate a Commercial Treaty with America, but demanded reciprocity. The United States could not admit reciprocity. Its tariffs are not for bargaining purposes, but are the same for all nations. It deprecated the French practice of treating different nations differently, and demanded every advantage possessed by Germany. If these advantages were not accorded—without question of a *quid pro quo*—then the United States would use retaliatory measures.

Several notes were exchanged, but eventually a somewhat bitter controversy was brought to an end by mutual concessions. The French lowered their tariffs for the United States to the level which applied to Germany, in return for American removal of certain sanitary and other vexatious regulations, and the lowering of rates under Article 315 of the Fordney-MacCumber Tariff Act.

France was deeply stirred by the execution of Sacco and Vanzetti, the two Italian anarchists condemned by the American Courts. On August 23 there were violent disturbances on some of the Paris boulevards. It was thought that feeling, which ran high, would interfere with the great parade of the American Legion on September 19, but the agitation had by this time subsided, and the authorities took special precautions. On October 8 France demanded the recall of the Russian Ambassador, Mr. Rakovski, who had, on August 9, signed a declaration calling on the proletariat in the event of war to revolt against the Governments, and advising soldiers to desert to the Red Army. Other undiplomatic acts were charged against Mr. Rakovski, and in view of the outspoken expression of French sentiments, Mr. Rakovski was compelled to leave Paris. On November 10 M. Briand and M. Markinovitch signed a Treaty of friendship between France and Yugoslavia which aroused much comment because it promised French aid to Yugoslavia, which had strained relations with Italy on account of Italian control, consecrated by Treaty, of Albania.

Finally, in an Extraordinary Session of Parliament, the 1928 Budget was passed on December 26. It is the ninth time since the founding of the Third Republic, and the second time since the war, that the Budget was passed before the opening of the financial year. The receipts are estimated at 42,496,000,000 francs, leaving a balance over expenditure of 51,000,000 francs. There were doubts as to whether taxation does not weigh too heavily on the country's resources and is not a burden on normal industrial expansion. Certainly there is need of considerable readjustment, but the important thing for the moment is to present a balanced Budget punctually, and in this, as in 1926, M. Poincare succeeded.

#### ITALY.

The year 1927 was inaugurated in Italy by the publication, on January 5, of Signor Mussolini's Circular to the Prefects—a document the importance of which from the standpoint of the future orientation of the machinery of government in Italy can hardly be exaggerated. The Circular gave clear and unmistakable expression to that movement towards the centralisation of power in the Government and its representatives which had been for a considerable period consistently apparent, and which is, indeed, one of the fundamental principles of the Fascist Revolu-

tion, although the fact may not always have been appreciated even by members of the Fascist party itself. The Circular "solemnly re-affirms that the highest State authority in the province is the Prefect . . . to whom all citizens, and especially those who have the signal honour to be Fascists, owe respect and obedience. . . , The party and its hierarchies, from the highest to the lowest, are—now that the Revolution is an accomplished fact—only a conscious instrument of the will of the State." The Prime Minister then went on to speak of certain manifestations which he urged should now disappear ; in particular the violent reprisals (known in Italy as "squadristo") which of late had occurred sporadically in periods of public excitement, and which had become "anachronistic." In general, all petty forms of illegality which "damage the regime and are useless and even dangerous sources of rancour" were to be eschewed. It must be understood once and for all that "the period of reprisals, devastations, and violence is over." Speaking of the functions of the Prefect, the Circular called attention to the fact that the Prefect of to-day is not as in demo-liberal days, merely an electoral agent; the initiative in the solution of problems arising in the province must be found by the Prefect who is responsible for "augmenting the power and prestige of the regime both in the social and intellectual spheres."

In the field of finance the most important event of the year occurred in its closing days when Signor Mussolini announced, at a Council of Ministers held on December 21, the return of Italian currency to a gold basis with the stabilisation of the lira at 19 to the dollar and 92.46 to the pound sterling. Within a remarkably short space of time the Prime Minister had thus redeemed his pledge, given at Pesaro in August, 1926, that the Government was determined to stave off the bankruptcy of the lira, "the symbol of the nation, the index of our wealth, of our labours, of our forces, and of our sacrifices." This speech had marked the beginning of a series of energetic measures (noted in the ANNUAL REGISTER for 1926) in the direction of a policy of deflation. By the beginning of the year this policy had been so far successful that the lira, which six months before had been quoted as low as 150 to the pound sterling and 30 to the dollar, now stood as high as 107.83 and 22.38 in London and New York respectively. That such a process of currency deflation could be pursued without subjecting business and industry to a certain amount of strain, could hardly be expected ; the difficulties experienced as a result of a revaluation policy in other countries did not fail to reveal themselves in Italy also, the position here being further complicated by the economic crisis general throughout Europe. The shortage of money resulted in a slump in industrial securities and the presentation for payment of short-term Treasury Bonds—a situation which the Government eased

by the floating of the "Lictor Loan." The proceeds of the loan, amounting to 3,150 million liras, were paid over to the Bank of Italy to be used as capital for financing sound business enterprise. At a meeting held in February the Council of Ministers announced its firm adherence to the financial policy announced at Pesaro, including the gradual revaluation of the lira, a progressive reduction in the currency, the increase of the gold reserve, the securing of a Budget surplus, and the encouragement of national production. Meanwhile the industrial situation, described by the Minister of National Economy in the speech in the Chamber of Deputies as "difficult but not serious," was causing anxiety, especially in the great producing centres of the north, where the policy of the Government was regarded as responsible for a situation due, in fact, to a protracted period of inflation and to the general economic crisis. The Minister reminded the nation once more of the advantages of a policy of revalorisation, and urged manufacturers to adopt improved and "rational" methods of production, such as would allow a reduction in cost without necessitating wage cuts. By the end of April the value of the lira had risen appreciably as the result of loans floated in London and New York, being quoted at 91-887 to the pound sterling and 19-25 to the dollar. This improvement led to a gradual reduction in wholesale prices. The drop in retail prices, on the other hand, was slight; the cost of living at Milan standing, in April, as high as 651 as compared with 602 during October—and actually 9 points higher than twelve months previously. At a meeting held on May 5 the Council of Ministers initiated energetic measures to bring retail prices into harmony with wholesale prices, and generally to reduce the cost of living. These measures included a 15 per cent, reduction in freight rates for goods intended for exportation, and other reductions in postage and telephone rates, and in the cost of living bonus paid to civil servants. As regards the further financial policy of the Government, Signor Mussolini, referring, on May 26, to the "90 quota"—the value of the lira in terms of the pound sterling—declared his intention of maintaining the position until the productive forces of the nation had adjusted themselves to that figure. Another important factor in the cost of living, namely rents, had already been considered by a Council of Ministers which prohibited any increase in rents after July 1, and provided for reductions ranging from 10 to 15 per cent, in rents paid for private houses, shops, and business premises. This measure was soon followed by a further effort on the part of the Government to ease the situation—this time in the field of taxation. The house, land, income, and registration taxes were reduced, the tax on agriculture—the industry suffering most from the money crisis—was lowered by as much as 50 per cent. The condition of agriculture had for some time been causing anxiety, the prices of agricultural products having fallen

considerably. In industry unemployment and business failures were general.

By October the situation had become distinctly easier ; money was less short and production costs showed a decided fall. Agriculture, however, had been further embarrassed by the unfavourable condition of the crops consequent upon the prolonged summer drought. Signor Mussolini, opening the Wheat Campaign Exhibition in October, referred to the Government's particular interest in encouraging agriculture and wheat-growing. The Prime Minister pointed to the Government's record in this connexion, and made special mention of the irrigation works carried out in Sardinia, Sicily, and Basilicata. A month later, as a result of the *de facto* stabilisation of the lira at the " 90 quota," the Prime Minister in his address to the Grand Council of the Fascist Party (November 10) was able to draw an encouraging picture of the financial situation. The condition of certain industries, it is true, continued to be depressed, but the acutest stage of the crisis was over, and prices and costs were slowly adjusting themselves to the new value. Six weeks later the Government published, with dramatic and effective suddenness, its decision to stabilise the lira definitely at this quota (December 27).

In home affairs perhaps the most important event, apart from the stabilisation of the lira, was the publication of the Labour Charter (April 21) [see under Public Documents]. Next to it may be placed the scheme for the reform of the Chamber, these two measures marking progressive stages towards the establishment of the Corporative State. The Labour Charter expressed the principles on which the labour policy of the Government would be based. The document showed throughout traces of the social and economic preparation of its framers and provided clear proof of the claim that Fascism is not another name for reactionary capitalism, but is a new labour ideology evolved by men who have passed through the various schools of socialism, syndicalism, and Marxian communism. The Charter was warmly welcomed by the labouring classes in Italy as affording solid guarantees for their economic and political rights.

Signor Mussolini's scheme of a Corporative State was brought considerably nearer realisation when the Fascist Grand Council, in a night session held on November 11, considered the question of Parliamentary reform. The Council laid down the lines along which the new Chamber will be constituted, and instructed Signor Rocco, the Minister for Justice, to embody these ideas in a Bill to be presented to the Council at its next session. The general principles of this reform consist in recognising the *de facto* situation implied by the existence of one single party in complete control of the Italian nation, and also the new syndical-corporative basis of the State. The Council was, however, of opinion that in

view of the relatively short period which has elapsed since the formation of these syndical organisations, it would be premature to substitute them as a source of power in place of the Fascist Party, and recommended the taking of "one first step" in this direction. Accordingly, the Council advocates a system by which the thirteen great organisations shall each propose a certain quota of candidates to the Grand Council; this list will be examined by the Council which will decide whether each candidate is of "proved Fascist convictions," and, further, whether he is a "suitable representative not only of the particular interests of the category by which he is proposed, but also of the general and higher interests of the nation." This list will be completed by the Grand Council "with other elements" and presented, one and indivisible, to the nation. Universal suffrage is abolished, the vote being given only to persons who, on the basis of syndical contributions, show themselves to be active elements in the national life, and to others who, though not contemplated in the collective labour contracts, are useful to the national collectivity. The number of members in the Chamber will be reduced from 560 to 400. This scheme, it is claimed, avoids on the one hand the risk of reverting to "the old system of purely political and suffragistic representation," and on the other hand, of creating a representation "based exclusively on interests which might split the economic, political, and spiritual unity of the nation."

The year 1927 was also notable for the steps taken to reform the penal code. The present code, which dates back to 1890, had long been felt to be somewhat of an anachronism—owing, not only to the time which had elapsed since its promulgation, but also to the profound divergence between the outlook in modern Fascist Italy and the liberal-democratic theories prevailing at the time of its original formulation.

A small Commission, presided over by Signor Rocco, Minister of Justice, was appointed in 1926 to draw up a plan for a new code; this project was submitted in December to an Inter-Parliamentary Consultative Commission for consideration and amendment. Signor Rocco, addressing the Commission, set out the seven objects which the new code had in view:—

1. To remove the divergences existing between the juridical and the anthropologico-social schools of thought;

1. To re-inforce the system of penalties for more serious crimes, experience having proved the penalties in force to be inadequate;

3. To afford added protection to the State;

4. To strengthen the tutelage of the family and public morals;

5. To protect the integrity and future of the race;

6. To protect religious sentiment, and in particular all manifestations of the Catholic religion; and

7. To improve the means for safeguarding public economy.

One important change in the administration of justice was the abolition of the jury system, and the substitution for it of the supreme power of the magistrate.

In considering the internal affairs in Italy during the year, a reference to the "Opera Nazionale Balilla" must not be omitted. The physical, intellectual, and moral education of the coming generation is receiving special attention at the hands of the Italian Government, which is supplementing the ordinary school curriculum by training in the Balilla and the Avanguardia corps—the Fascist Boys' and Lads' Brigades. These two corps have now enrolled about one million boys between the ages of twelve and eighteen years; when, in a few years' time, membership of these corps ceases to be voluntary, the number will rise to about four millions. The two organisations are run on military lines, the three hundred legions being commanded by officers of the Militia working side by side with school teachers. Signor Pietro Fedele, Minister of Instruction, in a recent circular invited the school authorities to collaborate with the "Opera Nazionale Balilla" in forming conscientious and industrious citizens trained in sentiments of devotion to the *patria* and imbued with a spirit of sacrifice.

In the sphere of foreign policy, the Adriatic question was again to the fore. Early in the year Italy sent to Berlin, Paris, and London a Note calling attention to alleged preparations on the part of Yugoslavia for an immediate invasion of Albanian territory. The crisis had arisen as the result of the arrest by the Albanian police of a certain Jurascovich, charged with espionage on behalf of the Yugoslav Government. Refusal to release the alleged spy led to the withdrawal of the Yugoslav Minister from Tirana, and to the Italian Note. The matter was, however, satisfactorily settled between Italy and Yugoslavia. Against France also feeling was for a time high in Italy, stirred by the publication, on November 11, of a treaty between France and Yugoslavia, and in particular by the anti-Italian jubilation of the Belgrade Press. These led to counter demonstrations in Italy, both against Yugoslavia and France, and a few days later (November 22) the Italian Government published the text of an Italo-Albanian Treaty of defensive alliance. But good sense soon triumphed. The first important step towards a policy of reconciliation with France was taken by M. Briand who, in a speech to the Chamber of Deputies on December 3, declared that he would be "willing to meet Signor Mussolini to-morrow if invited." The overture was well received in Italy, and Signor Mussolini, at a meeting of the Council of Ministers (December 15), stated that "a comprehensive, cordial, and lasting understanding between France and Italy is possible, desirable, and I would even say, necessary." The matter was taken up in the Press of both countries, and rumours were current of a personal exchange of



views between the two Foreign Ministers. Though an actual meeting did not take place, diplomatic negotiations were commenced for a settlement of all the outstanding causes of dissension between the two countries, and for arriving at a basis of agreement. These negotiations will undoubtedly be greatly facilitated by the appointment of M. de Beaumarchais as the new French Ambassador to Rome.

The following were the Treaties and Conventions concluded by Italy during the year :—

Treaty of Friendship, Conciliation, and Arbitration between Italy and Hungary.

General Convention for Aerial Navigation between Italy and Spain.

Treaty of Conciliation between Italy and Lithuania.

Commercial Convention between Italy and Lithuania,

Treaty of Defensive Alliance between Italy and Albania.

Steps are also being taken both by the Italian Government and by the Vatican for arriving at a solution of the ever-present Roman question. In the early autumn the discussion was brought to public notice in an exchange of articles between the *Osservatore Romano* and the *Popolo d'Italia*, the organ directed by Signor Mussolini's brother. The disparity between the two viewpoints seemed to be greater than was at first anticipated, and the matter temporarily dropped. That the relations between Church and State are much more cordial than they have been for many years is obvious from the tone of the Government and Catholic Press, and from the policy of the Government as reflected, for instance, in some of the more controversial proposals in the projected new penal code.

During the year great progress is claimed to have been made in public work. These include the completion of the new direct railway route between Rome and Naples, the reconstruction of the earthquake-stricken districts of Messina and Reggio, the building of important arterial roads in Calabria and Sicily, the development of the ports of Civitavecchia and Venice, the execution of hydraulic improvements involving about 875,000 acres of land, and the erection of agricultural villages in Sardinia, Sicily, and Calabria as a preliminary to the reclamation of vast zones of uncultivated and waste lands, a notable increase in the hydro-electric resources of the country, the irrigation of 75,000 acres of land, and finally, the completion of new aqueducts on a large scale, especially in the South. Progress has also been shown in civil and military aviation, as exemplified by De Pinedo's world flight and the breaking of the speed record by De Bernardi, shortly after Italy's defeat by Great Britain in the Schneider Cup race. Last, but not least, a special "Give wings to Italy" campaign was launched among the various cities in the Peninsula.

## CHAPTER IV.

## GERMANY AND AUSTRIA.

## GERMANY.

AT the beginning of 1927 the political situation was very confused, and there seemed to be every prospect of a prolonged Cabinet crisis. At the end of 1926 the Marx Government, which had been unable to secure the adhesion of either of the two larger Opposition parties, had, after long tottering, at length been overthrown by the combined vote of the German Nationals and the Social Democrats. Strenuous attempts had been made repeatedly in the preceding months to induce the Social Democrats to enter the Government, but without success. As a result, a growing desire manifested itself among the parties of the Right to form a majority Government. The German People's Party also declared itself in favour of a coalition of the Right parties, after receiving an assurance that the Centre, which held the balance, was not in principle opposed to such a step. Attempts were first made to form a Government on these lines by Herr Curtius, who was still Minister of National Economy, but these having failed, President Hindenburg again commissioned Herr Marx to form a Cabinet, adding an express request that he would aim at securing a majority Government of the bourgeois parties. Negotiations went on till the end of January, when at last it was found possible to form a Cabinet which could reckon on a majority in the Reichstag. Herr Marx (Centre), remained Chancellor; Herr Stresemann (German People's Party) at the Foreign Office; Herr Curtius (German People's Party), Minister of Economy; and Herr Brauns (Centre), Minister of Labour. Herr Kohler (Centre), hitherto Finance Minister of Baden, became Finance Minister instead of Herr Reinhold. The German National Party sent into the Cabinet Herren von Keudell (Interior); Hergt (Justice and Vice-Chancellor); Koch (Communications); and Schiele (Food and Agriculture). Posts and Telegraphs were taken over by Herr Schaetzel (Bavarian People's Party); Herr Gessler remained in charge of the Ministry of Defence, but in consequence of the attitude of the Democrats to the new Government he left the Democratic Party.

Although the German National Party had seceded from the Luther Cabinet in the autumn of 1925 as a protest against the Locarno Treaties, it had nevertheless in the interval frequently indicated more or less clearly its agreement with the foreign policy of Dr. Stresemann. In the statement of principles on which the new Coalition was based there was included an undertaking not only to accept the Locarno Treaties, but also to continue the efforts to arrive at a better understanding with France; further,

to accept the republican form of government and to uphold the Weimar constitution. The manifesto also made reference to the proposed new "schools law," with its "safeguarding of religious instruction," this being the chief inducement to the Centre to join the Coalition. How far the German Nationals were willing to go in the direction of pure denominationalism in order to satisfy the religious requirements of the Centre was shown by the fact that the German National Party openly declared its readiness to consider the possibility of a German Concordat with the Papacy. The Democrats opposed the Government, chiefly because they mistrusted the sincerity of the thoroughgoing conversion which the German Nationals must have undergone if they were really to accept the principles of the Coalition; also because of what they regarded as the unconstitutional character of the proposed schools law, and their strong objections to the financial and fiscal policy initiated by Reinhold.

On a vote of confidence the new Government received in the Reichstag 235 votes against 147. The minority was composed of the Democrats, the Social Democrats, the Communists, the majority of the Volkische (the Germanic race extremists), and one member of the Centre, Dr. Wirth. In view of the strict discipline prevailing in this party, Dr. Wirth's vote was remarkable; he repeated the offence several times in the course of the year. Dr. Wirth retained the leadership of the left wing of the Centre; this faction, however, exerted no decisive influence on the general policy of the Clerical Party. In Prussia the Centre continued to support the somewhat left-wing policy of the Braun Government, whereas in the Reich it was this same party which alone rendered the Coalition possible. Nevertheless, owing to the spirit of compromise exhibited by the various sections within the party, serious conflicts were avoided. In the autumn it was even found possible to lay the foundations for a reunion of the Centre with the Bavarian People's Party, which was likely to strengthen the party materially.

The lack of homogeneity in the Cabinet soon made itself persistently noticeable, and prevented any rapid progress being made with the legislative programme. In the matter of the schools law and the Concordat, the German People's Party, continuing the old Liberal tradition of freedom of conscience, inclined more to the standpoint of the Democrats than to that of the Centre; the latter again was supported by the German Nationals. Vehement conflicts both in and out of Parliament raged round the person of von Keudell, who was alleged to have been implicated in the Kapp Putsch against the Ebert Government. In the Reichsrat von Keudell had some unedifying passages of arms with the representatives of Prussia, from which he did not emerge entirely unscathed. In April von Keudell dismissed two high officials of his Ministry, State Secretary Schulz

and Chief of Department Dr. Brecht; this action was hardly calculated to pacify the Opposition. On the other hand, the Cabinet showed itself duly regardful of the Parliamentary situation, and also of the obligation which it had laid down in its guiding principles, to agree without delay to an extension of the Defence of the Republic Act, which included the so-called Kaiser clause, forbidding the ex-Kaiser to set foot on German soil.

The legislative work of the session included as its principal feature the Emergency Law on hours of labour, which, without going so far as to introduce the eight-hour day, imposed a number of restrictions on overtime. An extensive system of Labour Courts was introduced which offers a guarantee for the future peaceful solution of social questions relating to hours of labour, and will, it is hoped, exercise a beneficial influence on the general relations between employers and employed. A conflict which broke out towards the end of the year in the steel and iron industry of Western Germany, as also a strike of the brown coal miners of Central Germany gave the Reich Labour Ministry an opportunity of showing that the Government was thoroughly in earnest with the enforcement of the Hours of Labour Act, even in the teeth of energetic protests from the employers.

Another social problem, which had continually been growing more acute, was solved by the law on Labour Exchanges and Unemployment Insurance. To this insurance is now added for times of exceptional slackness in the labour market an emergency provision the amount of which depends on the need of the unemployed; although the labour situation was on the whole good there were some branches of industry in which this provision had to be granted during the whole of the year. The funds required for insurance and maintenance are furnished by employers and employed jointly. All the same, the unemployment laws entail burdens on the Reich and the States which considerably complicate the financial problem of both.

Two measures of great importance—the reform of the criminal code and of the schools law—were able to make only very little progress in the course of the year. The new Schools Bill was the subject of heated controversy in which the public also took part, chiefly on account of the threat which it contained to the joint Protestant and Catholic schools (*Simultanschulen*), which in Baden and other portions of the Reich have behind them a tradition reaching in some places to considerable antiquity. In October, 1927, the Reichsrat rejected the Schools Bill, and at the same time some 1,500 secondary and advanced teachers and numerous teachers' associations entered a protest against the menace to the liberty of instruction, which is guaranteed in the Constitution.

The flag question did not emerge from the embittered and dangerous atmosphere in which it had been enveloped in the

previous year. Important effects were produced by the mere discussion of an increase in the salaries of civil servants, which in December was passed into law. On September 17 the Reich Cabinet issued the draft of this Salaries Bill, which, while meeting the pressing need of an increase in the salaries of civil servants, gave rise to serious misgivings in view of the disturbing effect which it was likely to exercise on the Reich's finances.

The General Agent for Reparations, Mr. Parker Gilbert, made this the ostensible ground for delivering to the German Government on October 20 a Memorandum pointing out the dangers which threatened the national finances and the economic position of Germany. The correspondence between Mr. Gilbert and the German Government was for some time kept secret, but was eventually published in response to a strong demand from the public. Mr. Gilbert proceeded on the assumption that the German Government meant to do everything in its power to carry out its obligations under the Dawes plan. This being so, he felt it incumbent on him to call attention to the continual expansion of Government departmental programmes for expenditure and loans, and to the steady rise in public outlays which gave an artificial stimulus to industry at the cost of undermining the stability of German finances. He called for the immediate application of a rigorous system of economy, if serious crises were to be avoided, carefully marshalling all the facts which seemed to support his views.

The Finance Minister, Dr. Kohler, in his answer, which represented also the view of the Minister of Public Economy and the Minister for Foreign Affairs, recognised the justice of a part of Mr. Gilbert's criticism, which indeed was corroborated to some extent by the views of influential financial circles, but adduced a number of considerations which placed the matter as a whole in a somewhat different light. It was shown by figures that the growth of public expenditure, which had taken place since the stabilisation of the German currency, was due almost exclusively to the increase in internal and external war burdens (national debt of the Reich, reparations, care of unemployed and of disabled ex-soldiers and dependants of the fallen). Mr. Gilbert had indirectly found fault with the slow progress of the measures for simplifying the administration. This was excused by the German Government on the ground of the great cumbrousness of the German administrative system, due to its slow growth through the centuries.

Even among the German public opinions differed as to the rights and wrongs of the two sides to this discussion. All were agreed, however, that it had brought into the foreground the central problem of German internal affairs. In influential business and political circles the idea of a reform of the administration, and, as a necessary corollary, of a unified German State,

made great strides during 1927. In April the Prussian Prime Minister, Herr Braun, made a calculation which showed the disproportionately heavy expenses entailed on the eighteen States through their Governments, their Parliaments, and their representations in Berlin. In October a preliminary conversation took place between the Reich Government and the representatives of the States, as a result of which it was decided to initiate a thorough examination of the legal relations between the Reich and the States. A committee consisting of a number of Ministers and the Commissioner for Savings was appointed to investigate the possibilities of economising and the question of a reform of the administration. The movement for unification met with some opposition, in which the lead was taken by the Bavarian Prime Minister, Herr Held, who demanded the restoration of the complete financial sovereignty of the States. The German Nationals argued that the excessive expenditure of Germany was due to the dependence of the Government on the Parliaments, and they drew the conclusion that reform of the administration should start with an extension of the powers of the Governments and especially of the President of the Reich. In fact, what they had in view was rather an alteration in the constitution than in the administration.

Very different was the attitude of the economic organisations. In December some leading associations, including the Federation of German Industry, the German Industrial and Commercial Conference, and the National Association of German Wholesale and Export Trades, issued an emergency programme for German commerce and industry, containing the following proposals : (1) The most important object of all financial measures is the reduction of the expenditure of the Reich, the States, and the Municipalities; (2) the Reich Minister of Finance must be given the right of vetoing increases in the Budget and supplementary estimates voted by the Reichstag ; (3) the States and the Municipalities must supply the Reich Minister of Finance with all necessary information on the state of their finances ; (4) the Reich Minister of Finance shall have the power of vetoing the Budgets of the States ; (5) the reform of the administration must be taken in hand with all possible speed ; (6) the powers of the Reich Commissioner for Savings must be enlarged.

Several of the proposals for simplifying the administration involved far-reaching changes in the existing arrangements and became the theme of general discussion. One suggestion was to substitute Provinces of the Reich for States. In this way the Reich Ministry of Justice would be given the control of the administration of justice, the Reich Ministry of the Interior the control of internal administration and police ; the State Ministries of Commerce would be absorbed in the Reich Ministry of Economy, the State Finance Ministries in the Reich Finance Ministry, and

the Social Welfare Ministries in the Reich Ministry of Labour. State Governments and Parliaments would disappear. When South Germany continued to oppose this attractive scheme, the suggestion was made to form North Germany into a unified State, leaving the three South German States, Bavaria, Wurtemberg, and Baden, as independent administrative units in their present form. By the end of the year these proposals and others of the same nature had not yet emerged from the stage of theoretical discussion. Some highly significant figures have, however, been brought to light. Thus, in 1927, there was an increase in the number of civil servants and State employees in Prussia of 2,899 as compared with 1926, and of 71,766 as compared with 1913. These figures illustrate in a striking manner the expansion of the civil service.

That serious attempts were indeed made to improve the financial situation and to reform the administration was apparent from the report of the Agent for Reparations for the third annuity year, issued in the middle of December. In this document Mr. Gilbert admitted that in the interval since the publication of his Memorandum, the Reich Government had taken a number of steps in the direction indicated by him. He emphasised the fact that the Dawes plan and the delivery of reparations were being carried out loyally and punctually. He stated the transfer sums for the third reparations year as being 138 milliards of Reichsmarks, as against 117 milliards in the second year. He again called for a strict control of expenditure, but at the same time admitted that the Budgets, both of the Reich and of the States and Municipalities, were now better balanced than they had been. Mr. Gilbert further gave it as his opinion that the total amount of the German debt should be definitely fixed, and concluded his exhaustive report with the assertion that it was time that Germany should be left to act on her own responsibility, that is to say, without foreign supervision and without transfer control.

Arising out of the fundamental problems mentioned above, a heated controversy broke out towards the end of the year between the President of the Reichsbank, Dr. Schacht, on the one hand, and the municipal authorities on the other. The chief cause of dispute was the growth of the foreign loans, which were resorted to in ever-increasing measure, especially by the cities. Both States and Municipalities declared repeatedly in the course of the year that the sums accruing to them in virtue of the financial arrangement with the Reich did not suffice by far to meet their requirements. This, too, in spite of the fact that, at the extension in April of the financial arrangement (the former State Tax Law, which regulated the portion of taxes and levies accruing to the Reich, the States, and the towns), the Reich had declared its readiness to increase the guarantees for States and Municipalities.

Various authorities considered that this would cause considerable complications in the Reich Budget, and the Agent for Reparations had already called attention to these dangers. Apart from this, the financial arrangement accentuated the important and long-standing differences between the Reich and Prussia, which protested energetically against the preference shown to the South German States in the matter of the beer tax. A number of other complaints of Prussia against the Reich were brought together by the Prussian Prime Minister, Herr Braun, in a Memorandum; they related principally to Prussia's inadequate representation in the Reichsrat, its claim to a seat on the board of management of the German Railway, and a number of financial claims on the Reich arising for the most part out of the Peace Treaty and the transference of the Prussian State Railway to the Reich. In the way in which these claims were put forward, Prussia's support of a unified Germany came clearly into view.

About the same time that Mr. Parker Gilbert issued his Memorandum and Dr. Schacht his warnings, the economic situation of Germany, which hitherto had appeared to be not unfavourable, began gradually to change for the worse. The slump in trade was accentuated by the regular seasonal decline which took place at the end of the year. It was obvious that the task of balancing the 1928 Budget would be a very difficult one. The normal reparation payments commence in 1928, and to these will be added the extra burdens entailed by the new Salaries Law. The increase in the Estimates over those of 1927 was 367.5 million Reichsmarks, the total expenditure being 9.5 milliards of Reichsmarks. Of the excess over last year's figure, 325 million Reichsmarks represented the quotas of the States in virtue of the financial arrangement mentioned above. The requirements of the provision for unemployed were not estimated at too high a figure, as the number of those receiving support sank from about two million at the beginning of the year to about half a million at the end. For a time the number of unemployed was lower still. Nevertheless, the state of the national finances would seem to place out of question any continuation of the policy of reduction of taxation which was begun by Herr Reinhold, and which is energetically demanded by the business world.

In contrast to the unsatisfactory condition of the national finances during 1927, there was a considerable expansion in German trade and industry, which carried certain branches of production far beyond the level of the pre-war period. The output of goods in 1927 can be reckoned at 30 to 40 per cent, higher than in the last years before the war. The boom was brought to a standstill through a scarcity of capital, which was only temporarily overcome. Although there was a not inconsiderable formation of capital in Germany during the year, yet the great demand for capital made it necessary continually to supplement



the home supply from abroad. In view of this fact, it was doubtful whether the policy of the Reichsbank mentioned above, of choking off foreign loans in consonance, apparently, with the Memorandum of the Agent for Reparations, was altogether beneficial in its effects. Long-term loans being unprocurable, short-term credits increased very largely, and private persons in search of capital, owing to absence of public foreign loans, had to borrow all the more abroad. The question of the best way of utilising capital came up repeatedly, and this gave rise to differences of opinion, especially on the question whether outlay on the erection of dwellings and on providing accommodation for unemployed was productive expenditure or not.

The adverse trade balance in 1927 amounted to 3.3 milliards of Reichsmarks, as against a favourable balance of nearly a milliard in 1926. Seeing, however, that actual exports increased as compared with preceding years, the adverse balance need not in itself be regarded as an unhealthy symptom. A number of important commercial agreements were concluded in the course of the year, the negotiations being helped not a little by the tariff resolutions of the Geneva World Economic Conference. The way was prepared for a renewal of the customs arrangement with Poland, and, more important still, after three years of hard bargaining, a trade agreement was at last concluded with France.

Public opinion in Germany was greatly disturbed by the speech delivered by M. Poincaré at Luneville on June 20, which seemed to be intended to create ill-feeling in France against Germany. Dr. Stresemann dealt with the speech in giving his report of the League of Nations Council meeting on June 23. He showed that M. Poincaré's allegations of bad faith against Germany were groundless, and he asked point-blank what was the official policy of France : that of the Ruhr or that of Locarno. The slow progress of the " policy of understanding," of which the trade agreement was so far the sole fruit, was a great disappointment to German public opinion, which had expected tangible results much earlier from Locarno and Thoiry. Nevertheless, German foreign policy in 1927 scored one material gain. In pursuance of an agreement made at Geneva in December, 1926, the activities of the Inter-Allied Military Control Commission came to an end at the close of January, 1927. At the same time the Ambassadors' Conference declared that Germany had completely fulfilled all her disarmament obligations. The dismantling of certain fortifications which still remained in East Germany was carried out in the course of the year. In the occupied zone there were further partial evacuations and reductions of the foreign troops on German soil. At the September session of the Council of the League of Nations, the German Government signed the clause regarding the obligatory arbitration of the Permanent International Court at The Hague, and at the same time Germany

received a seat on the Mandates Commission of the League of Nations, which was filled by Herr Geheimrat Kastl, of the Federation of German Industries.

In contrast to the years immediately succeeding the war, home affairs during 1927 engaged the attention and interest of the German public in continually increasing measure. Regarding the main lines of foreign policy there are no longer any fundamental differences of opinion; especially are all parties agreed on the policy of European reconciliation. Internal politics, however, are still confused, and are likely to remain so till the elections of 1928.

#### AUSTRIA.

The year 1927 was for Austria one of steady, if not very remarkable improvement from all aspects except that of internal political consolidation.

In accordance with Austrian Parliamentary custom, a working programme of debates and legislation was fixed between the Cabinet of Dr. Seipel (which had been formed in October, 1926) and the Social-Democratic Opposition. Part of the agreement was that the Parliamentary Committee for Social Welfare should draft a law providing for old age pensions in Austria (which are not yet in existence), and that if it proved impossible to arrive at an agreement by March 15, 1927, Parliament, the legal life of which extended until November, 1927, should be at once dissolved.

Considerable difficulties arose over the question of old age pensions, as had been anticipated. The Social-Democrats insisted on some measure of old age provision for the indigent coming into force immediately, whereas the Government maintained that it was impossible to call upon employers to bear the burden of their contribution until the index of trade prosperity rose to a given figure. This principle was embodied in a Government Old Age Pensions Act, which was passed on April 1, despite the opposition of the Social-Democrats; it remains for the present inoperative.

The National Assembly, however, decided on March 4 to dissolve itself, in accordance with the agreement mentioned above, and General Elections were held on April 24. Simultaneously the elections to the Diets of Vienna, Lower Austria, Styria, Carinthia, Burgenland, and the Municipal Elections in a number of larger towns took place. The Christian Socialists and the Pan-Germans, the Government Coalition Parties, stood for election in a united list, dividing the seats secured according to a previous agreement. The result of the General Election was a gain of three seats for the Socialists, the actual figures being Christian Socialists, 73 (formerly 82); Pan-Germans, 12 (formerly 10); Landbund, 9 (formerly 5); Social-Democrats, 71 (formerly 68). The Chancellor succeeded in bringing the Landbund into the

Coalition, and on May 19 a new Cabinet was elected, with Dr. Seipel as Federal Chancellor for the fifth time. The only difference between it and its predecessor was that the Vice-Chancellor, Dr. Franz Dinghofer, became in the new Cabinet Minister without Portfolio, to make room for Herr Karl Hartleb (Landbund), who became Vice-Chancellor and Minister of Justice. Dr. Seipel's statement on foreign policy expressed Austria's determination to maintain existing good relations with all countries, to improve the position of industry and agriculture, and to revise the Rent Restriction Act. The Social-Democrats declared angrily that his only definite proposal—the last-named—ran counter to the verdict of the electorate. The bitterness between Government and Opposition continued to increase.

It was not this bitterness which caused the terrible riots of July 15, however, though it undoubtedly prepared the ground for them. On January 30 there had been a serious collision in Burgenland between the "Frontkämpfer" (Front-Line Fighters)—an irregular Fascist force—and the "Republikanische Schutzbund" (Republican Defence League)—the irregular body maintained by the Social-Democrats. Although the provocation came originally from the Socialists, the quarrel was at an end, when three Frontkämpfer fired a number of shots into a detachment of the Republikanische Schutzbund from the window of an inn at Schattendorf as the Socialists were marching off towards the station. The shots killed a boy of eight and a disabled ex-soldier. This increased the bitterness of the Socialists; their Press campaign and public speeches on the subject were directed rather towards increasing than allaying the sullen anger of the workers. On the night of July 14 a jury acquitted the three Frontkämpfer although the evidence showed that they were in no immediate peril when they fired. A demonstration by the workers was expected that night, and both police and the members of the P J-ublikanische Schutzbund stood by to prevent trouble, but when nothing occurred during the night, it was thought that danger was over and the police were dismissed to their homes.

On the morning of July 15, however, a spontaneous outburst occurred which no one had foreseen. The majority of the workers first learnt the news of the acquittal on their way to the factories, and, without the authority of the trades union leaders, decided to strike for one hour and to march to the Inner City to demonstrate outside Parliament. Such demonstrations were nothing new to Vienna, and thanks to the co-operation of the Schutzbund and the police, had always passed off without any serious incident. On this occasion, however, the Socialist leaders had not authorised any such demonstration, the Schutzbund was not in readiness, and the usual police reserves were not on duty. The leader of the Schutzbund promptly telephoned a warning to the police, who began to collect their men, but the spread of the strike to

the telephone service greatly increased the difficulty of reaching the men who had gone to bed after a night's standing-by. Before anything but a very inadequate police force had been got together, tens of thousands of workmen had marched on to the Ringstrasse, where they quickly came into collision with the police. The employment of force by an obviously weak body infuriated instead of intimidating the men and women, whose first intentions had been peaceful enough ; sabre charges proved insufficient, the police made use of their revolvers, to which the masses replied with showers of stones. They stormed a small police station and burnt it out, and then forced their way to the Palace of Justice, which they held responsible for the acquittal and set it alight. By midday the Palace was in flames, as the firemen were prevented from approaching the building ; the police, who had been roughly handled despite the use of pistols, were provided with rifles, and opened a deadly fire on the crowd. Before nightfall, over seventy persons, including several women, had been killed or mortally wounded by the bullets of the police, while four policemen were killed ; many hundreds were wounded. The Palace of Justice was completely burnt out, despite the appeals of the Social-Democratic leaders, who vainly risked their lives in the endeavour to calm the mob. The Socialist leaders, declaring that the police had acted with great brutality and had continued firing after the necessity had ceased, took command of the spontaneous general cessation of work and declared a twenty-four-hour general strike and a traffic and communications strike until further orders. On July 16 there were further conflicts in the suburbs, where many workmen were wounded and six killed.

The Social-Democrats demanded an immediate Parliamentary inquiry, but the Chancellor declined to summon the National Assembly until the strike in the telephone and postal services had come to an end. In the provinces, notably in Tyrol, the " Heimwehr " (anti-Socialist armed irregular forces), compelled the railway and postal servants to break off the strike and resume their duties. News reached the capital that suspicious movements of Hungarian troops were taking place near the frontier of Burgenland, which it was known Hungary desired to recover, and Italian intervention was also feared. The Socialists, alarmed, broke off the strike unconditionally at midnight on July 18. The municipality of Vienna gave a public funeral to fifty-seven of the eighty-five civilian victims of the riots on July 20. The six police victims were buried on the following day. The attempt of the Social-Democrats to pass a vote of " no confidence " in the Government on July 27 failed : a Parliamentary inquiry was refused by the Chancellor. On July 29 the Inter-Allied Organ of Liquidation (charged with supervising the disarmament of Austria) protested against the " Gemeindefschutzwache," or municipal special constables, whom the Mayor had recruited from

the ranks of the Socialists after July 15, and had armed with the usual police pistols. The municipal council decided next day to dissolve this body and replace it by a body of armed watchmen to do duty inside the municipal buildings only. The consequence of July 15 was the growth of strong feeling against the Socialist Party, especially among the Catholic peasantry of the remote provinces. The Socialists for their part endeavoured to recover credit with the masses by representing the Police President of Vienna, Herr Schober, as an official who delighted in wallowing in blood. As this virulent campaign died down, the more moderate Socialists, realising the danger to themselves and to the country of such extraordinary political bitterness as prevailed, made various discreet overtures to the majority parties with a view to learning on what terms a coalition might be brought into being. The Government, however, was in no mood to listen to these cautious suggestions, which were quickly disavowed by the Socialist Left Wing. Throughout the autumn, Heimwehr parades continued to be held, and were usually answered by Socialist Schutzbund parades in the same places a few weeks later. On November 26 a Prontkämpfer made a determined attempt to assassinate the Socialist Mayor of Vienna, Dr. Karl Seitz, with a revolver, but all the shots went astray. On December 12 Dr. Renner (Social-Democrat), the first Chancellor of the Republic, again spoke in favour of co-operation between the Christian-Socialist (Clerical) Party and the Socialists, but his words were given a hostile reception in the Press of the Right. The end of the year found the gulf between the Socialist and non-Socialist groups as wide as ever, and enrolling of peasants in the Heimwehr forces still in full swing.

Apart from this ill-omened picture of brooding political storms, the end of the year found Austria in a much better position than at the beginning. The economic and financial situation had improved. The winter "seasonal increase" in unemployment appeared one month later than usual, and tourist traffic greatly increased. The country vigorously pursued its policy of the open door to visitors. The passport *visa* was abolished between Austria and the following countries on the dates named: Holland, March 15; Portugal, May 1; Denmark and Iceland, June 15; Great Britain and Northern Ireland, and Finland, August 1; and Lettland, September 20. The Beethoven Centenary Festival of March 26-31 attracted a great many foreigners to the country.

On March 29 the Treaty of Arbitration with Sweden signed on May 28, 1926, was ratified, and entered immediately into force. On March 23 a "most-favoured-nation" commercial agreement with Abyssinia likewise became effective. On April 2 the Arbitration Treaty with Poland, signed on April 16, 1926, was ratified; it came into force on May 1. A provisional Trade Agreement concluded with Albania on April 14 came into force on July 1.

By Government Decree, the provisions concerning duties on cattle and flour governed by exchanges of Notes between Austria and Yugoslavia and Austria and Switzerland came into force on July 31. On the same day, another Decree established a supplementary Tariff Agreement with Czechoslovakia (signed on July 21) to the Commercial Treaty of May, 1921 ; it involved a number of mutual tariff concessions. On August 16 the Treaty was ratified by which Austria, as the result of a resolution of the League of Nations Assembly passed in December, 1920, became a member of the League.

On August 2 the Ministry of Justice was re-created by Act of Parliament, and on August 31 Dr. Dinghofer, the Minister without Portfolio, was temporarily appointed to fill the office. The Socialist motion for amnesty for the July rioters was rejected on November 3.

Though little was heard of the question of union with Germany during the year, the work of unifying the legal systems of the two countries continued. On September 1 a Bill setting up a common criminal code for the two countries was given a first reading in Parliament. There was an interesting joint session of the special Parliamentary Committees of the German Reichstag and the Austrian Nationalrat in Vienna to discuss the details of the proposed common criminal code. This was the first occasion since 1848 that Austrian and German Parliamentarians have co-operated in legislative work. Dr. Marx, the German Chancellor, and Dr. Stresemann, the Foreign Minister, took this opportunity of visiting Vienna. There were a number of private conferences, but in their public speeches, neither the German nor the Austrian statesmen made any direct allusion to the question of union.

Great satisfaction was caused in Austria when representatives of the Powers guaranteeing the League of Nations Reconstruction Loan to Austria, who met in London on October 11 and 12, gave their consent to the issue of an Austrian Government loan for productive investments not exceeding 725 million Austrian Schillings. Simultaneously, Austria's application to the Reparations Commission to waive its lien with respect to Reparation claims as far as this proposed loan was concerned, was referred by that body to its Financial Section. On November 29 the Vienna City Council accepted the terms of a Municipal Loan to be applied to the investment needs of the municipal undertakings to the amount of thirty million dollars bearing 6 per cent, interest which was floated through the National City Company of New York and heavily oversubscribed.

On October 28 outstanding questions arising out of the sequestration of Austrian property in Canada during the war were settled by Canada handing to Austria a cheque for 527,000 Canadian dollars, the proceeds of the sale of Austrian property in Canada, less Austrian debts to Canadians. The direct Vienna-London

telephone cable was opened on December 1. It was announced on December 16 that in view of the decreased cost of coal, the Federal Railways would not proceed for the moment with the programme of electrifying the lines, of which four hundred kilometres already carry electrically-driven trains.

## CHAPTER V.

UNION OF SOCIALIST SOVIET REPUBLICS—ESTONIA—LATVIA—  
LITHUANIA — POLAND — CZECHOSLOVAKIA — HUNGARY —  
RUMANIA — YUGOSLAVIA — TURKEY — GREECE — ALBANIA —  
BULGARIA.

### THE UNION OF SOCIALIST SOVIET REPUBLICS.

THE third session of the Central Executive Committee (Zik), which met on February 14, dealt with the State Budget, the situation in White Russia, and other topics of minor interest. The fourth session of the Congress of the Soviet Union, which was held April 16-26, was attended by 1,601 delegates with a full vote, and by 747 delegates with a consulting vote. Nearly a quarter of the delegates were non-party, and 8 per cent, were women. Nothing of importance was said at the Congress in the field of social legislation, but some striking declarations were made on questions of foreign policy. The Commissary for War, M. Voroshilov, drew a picture of war in the future, and demanded elementary military training for the whole nation, including the youths and women. He ended his speech amid loud applause with the words of Lenin: "Be on guard because you are surrounded by enemies." Stalin defended his Chinese policy against the criticisms of the Opposition, pointing out that the conditions in China were not yet favourable to the establishment of Soviets of workers, soldiers, and peasants. The national question in the Union was discussed at length. The General Secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party, M. Koganovitch, spoke on the relationship between the Union and the Ukraine, declaring that the hopes entertained by the international bourgeoisie of a severance of the Ukraine from the Union were vain. The Congress elected a new Central Executive Committee (Zik) of 585 members, a third of whom were non-party men, and also the Committee of Chairmen, consisting of 27 members. Kalinin was again elected as President of the Union of Soviet Republics. This post can, however, be alternatively occupied by the Presidents of the other five Republics of the Union, *i.e.*, Ukraine, White Russia, Transcaucasia, Usbekistan, and Turkmenia. Yenukidse was again elected Secretary of the Zik. The Central Executive Committee

confirmed the Council of People's Commissaries elected by the Congress. It consists of :—

President of the Council	M. Rykov.
Commissary for Foreign Affairs - - -	- M. Tchitcherin.
Commissary for War.	M. Voroshilov.
Commissary for Transport	M. Rudsutak.
Commissary for Posts and Telegraphs - - -	- M. Smirnov.
Commissary of the Workmen's and Peasants' Inspection.	M. Ordshonikidse.
Commissary of Labour - - - -	- M. Schmidt.
Commissary of Trade.	M. Mikoian.
Commissary of Finance.	M. Brjukhanov.
President of the Supreme Economic Council - -	- M. Kuybyshev.
Head of the Central Statistical Department - -	- M. Ossinski.

The Congress adopted a resolution ordaining that in view of the peaceful development of the Soviet Union its sessions should be held only every two years.

A serious development soon after took place in foreign affairs. Relations with Great Britain had already become strained during the first months of the year, and diplomatic Notes were exchanged which caused great alarm all over Europe. On May 12 the premises of the Arcos in London were searched by the English police. M. Litvinov vigorously protested against this act on May 18, and on May 26 the Trade Agreement of 1921 was denounced. M. Rykov declared before the general meeting of the Moscow Soviet that this rupture of relations would be the first step towards war. He accused Great Britain of espionage against Russia, and said that Russia would retaliate against England in the economic field. The Prime Minister of Canada also rescinded the Trade Agreement of 1921, but no other State followed the example of Great Britain.

The Anglo-Russian conflict was somewhat aggravated owing to an exchange of angry telegrams between M. Rykov and the British Labour leaders with regard to repressive measures taken by the Chief Political Department, the G.P.U., against Russian counter-revolutionaries. At the end of June the connexion between the Russian and English trade unions was dissolved.

The Anglo-Russian conflict did not affect the attitude of the Border States towards the Soviet Union. Russian relations with Poland passed through a crisis after the assassination of the Soviet Ambassador in Warsaw, M. Voikov, by a young Pole of Russian origin. M. Litvinov despatched strong Notes to Warsaw, to which the Polish Government replied in a conciliatory tone. The Russian Press attacked Poland, but after a time normal relations were resumed. On September 17 a new Ambassador was sent to Warsaw in the person of M. Bogomolov, a former first Secretary to the Russian Trade Mission in London. No progress was made in the negotiations with Poland for a pact of



non-aggression and also for a trade agreement, though the Polish Ambassador in Moscow, M. Patek, continued his efforts in both directions. On the other hand, the negotiations with Latvia were successful. A pact of non-aggression with that country was signed on March 9, and following it a trade agreement was concluded on June 2, to be valid for a term of five years.

Diplomatic relations with Italy were adversely affected by Signor Mussolini's ratification, on March 7, of the Treaty concluded by the Great Powers with Rumania on October 28, 1920, respecting Bessarabia. The Soviet Union protested against this step in a Note of March 19 which was despatched to the Italian Government. In this Note it asserted that it would never recognise the annexation of this former Russian province; the population of Bessarabia, it said, should decide on its own destiny.

Negotiations were continued during the year with France concerning the old Russian debts and the raising of a loan in France, but nothing had been effected by the end of the year. The Rakovski incident greatly aggravated the situation. M. Rakovski, who belonged to the Trotskist Opposition, signed a manifesto of that party on August 8 which proclaimed the urgency of a world-wide active revolutionary propaganda. The French Ministry for Foreign Affairs protested against the Head of a Diplomatic Mission associating himself with such a document. An exchange of Notes took place, and the Conservative organs of the French Press carried on a campaign against Rakovski. In the end the Russian Government recalled Rakovski from his post. His successor was M. Dovgalevski, who had been since February Ambassador in Tokio.

The political intervention of the Soviet Union in South China proved a failure, and M. Borodin, the Bolshevik adviser of the Canton Government, left for Russia in the autumn. In the Near East, however, some successes were achieved. On October 1 the Treaty with Persia of February 26, 1921, was renewed (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1921, p. 197). It was drawn up much on the lines of the Russo-German Treaty of Berlin of April 24, 1924. The fourth article, which includes a pact of non-aggression, goes even further than the corresponding provision of that Treaty. It stipulates that neither party shall tolerate in its country any organisations or factions which strive to overthrow by forcible means the Government of the other country. Since July a Trade Agreement with Turkey has been in operation; the Soviet Press represented this as a new step in the development of Russian commercial policy in the East.

In the course of the year the Soviet Union took part in two important International Conferences arranged by the League of Nations. At the end of 1926 the Soviet Union had been invited by the League of Nations to the World Economic Conference. The Soviet Government at first declined the invitation owing to

differences with Switzerland. On April 14, however, an exchange of Notes took place in Berlin between the Russian Ambassador there, M. Krestinski, and the Swiss representative, M. Rufenacht, which resulted in the settling of the conflict. The Swiss Government condemned the assassination of the Russian diplomatist, M. Vorovski, and declared itself prepared to enter into negotiations on all questions at issue, including compensation to the daughter of Vorovski. By this act the obstacle to Russia's attendance at the Geneva Conference was removed. It is worthy of note that the signing of the Russo-Swiss declaration coincided with the splitting of the South China Government into two camps, a Nationalist and a Communist. Losing ground in the Far East, the Soviet Union turned its eyes towards Europe, and decided to participate at the World Economic Conference in order to extricate itself from its position of isolation and to obtain access to the international capital market. The Soviet delegation included moderate men like MM. Ossinski and Sokolnikov, who were its two leading members. Towards the end of the year a Russian delegation, headed by M. Litvinov, went to Geneva to the Disarmament Conference. While there Litvinov had interviews with Sir Austen Chamberlain and M. Briand.

The outstanding feature in the internal history of the second half of the year was the decisive struggle between the Government and the Opposition. In spite of the complete victory obtained by the majority section of the Communist Party at the fourteenth Party Conference towards the close of 1926, the Opposition did not remain quiet during 1927. On the occasion of the fifteenth anniversary of the *Pravda*, M. Zinoviev vehemently attacked the party on account of its Chinese policy. The Soviet Press was indignant, and it was decided to summon Zinoviev before the party tribunal. At the session of the Executive of the Komintern (the Communist International) held in the second half of May, M. Trotsky vigorously criticised the official party policy and the Executive of the Komintern. In spite of this, however, he and his supporter, the Serbian Communist Vuyovitch, were not excluded from the Communist International, but were only warned that they would be excluded if they continued to attack the party. The views of the Opposition were formulated in a pamphlet compiled by MM. Smirnov and Saponov. They stigmatised the party leaders as Thermidorians, and asserted that the Communist Party was no longer a proletarian party, but that under the pressure of the petty bourgeois elements it had become opportunist both in foreign and in domestic policy. They charged the Communist International with having become a tool in the hands of Stalin.

On July 28 the Central Committee of the party opened its deliberations on the attitude to be adopted towards Trotsky and Zinoviev. While these were going on, the Opposition issued a declaration of the "eighty-three" in which all their arguments

against the policy of the majority were recapitulated. This declaration, which was signed by some five hundred Communists, was much discussed in the various party circles. Simultaneously various pamphlets were printed clandestinely and disseminated. On June 9 one of the leading members of the Opposition, M. Smilga, left Moscow for Siberia. On his friends going to the Yaroslav railway station to bid him farewell, a spontaneous demonstration in favour of the Opposition took place, at which Trotsky harangued a large audience. Rykov did not conceal the fact that the incident was of considerable significance. The Central Committee and the Central Control Commission of the party met again to consider the situation. It was obvious that the Opposition had scored a certain success, and Stalin hesitated to strike the decisive blow. A truce was accordingly made, and the resolution passed by the united session of the Central Committee and the Central Control Commission of the party, which met on August 9, studiously avoided threatening the Opposition with exclusion from the party. On the day before, thirteen members of the Opposition—among them Trotsky, Zinoviev, Kamenev, and Rakovski—had signed a declaration in which they disclaimed all idea of splitting the party into two factions. The majority on their side made some concessions to the Opposition, allowing them to print their theses in the *Pravda*, in a separate "debating section" of the paper. It was understood that this state of things should continue till December, when the fiftieth Congress of the party was to meet.

The Opposition, however, in the interval did not abstain from clandestine, illegal actions, and fourteen Communists were expelled from the party for having organised a printing press. Trotsky, Zinoviev, and Smilga defended them before the party tribunal, and Trotsky delivered a bitter attack on the party bureaucracy. The reply to this was the exclusion of Trotsky and Vuyovitch from the Executive Committee of the Komintern. On October 12 M. Preobrashenski, formerly a close friend of Lenin and an expert on financial questions, was expelled from the party along with Serebriakov and Sharov, and on October 23 Trotsky and Zinoviev were expelled from the Central Committee of the party, and shortly afterwards from the party itself. At the fiftieth Congress of the party in December the Opposition was finally crushed. The Congress decided that the theses of the Opposition drawn up by Trotsky were incompatible with his continued membership of the party. Stalin demanded complete acceptance of the policy and tactics of the party. Trotskyism was proclaimed an "anti-Soviet force," and Trotsky's followers a Menshevik faction. A Commission of Enquiry was set up to deal with the whole matter. On December 19 the Commission submitted its report to the Congress, recommending that altogether 98 leaders of the Opposition should be expelled from the party. The Congress unanimously adopted the report. Kamenev,

Rakovski, Radek, Piatakov, Smilga, Yevdokimov, Smirnov, Beloborodov, all well-known members of the party, were among those expelled. On December 20 eleven members of the Opposition, including Zinoviev and Kamenev, approached the Congress with a request to reconsider the resolution in view of the fact that they were willing to submit unreservedly to the will of the majority. The Congress replied that they should apply to the Control Commission, but it was announced that no decision would be taken before six months.

Nineteen-twenty-seven was a year of anniversaries, foremost among which was the tenth anniversary of the Bolshevik revolution. The Central Executive Committee held a special session in honour of the occasion (October 15-20) at the Tauric Palace in Leningrad. The "Manifesto of Leningrad," issued on October 15, included a whole series of promises to the working people, notably one to introduce the seven hours' working day without reduction of payment.

The Anglo-Russian conflict, the assassination of Voikov at Warsaw, and several terrorist acts by counter-revolutionaries in Leningrad and elsewhere in the Soviet Union led to a series of drastic measures being taken by the G.P.U. Twenty people, mostly ex-officers, including the old leader of the former Cadet Party, Prince Dolgoruki, were shot without trial. A manifesto was issued with the signature "Kremlin," threatening heavy punishment to all offenders against the Soviet rule. The G.P.U. was, on the whole, very active in the second half of the year.

The Synod of the Pan-Russian Orthodox Church published, on July 29, a declaration on its relation to the Soviet State, signed by the administrator of the patriarchate, the metropolitan Sergius, and seven archbishops. Sergius had become administrator of the patriarchate after the death of Krutitsky, the successor of the Patriarch Tikhon. The manifesto declared the complete loyalty of the Church to the Soviet Government, on the understanding that the Government would legalise the institutions of the Church and recognise the Synod as head of the Church. The new Patriarch thus sought to make his peace with the Soviet Government, but it was uncertain how far he spoke for the Church as a whole, and how far the Government would go to meet his wishes.

#### ESTONIA.

Early in the year the bases were laid for the establishment of a Customs Union between Estonia and Latvia, the negotiations for which were expected to last three years. Later in the year Estonia protested against the Commercial Treaty concluded by Latvia with Russia, on the ground that it would render nugatory the proposed Customs Union between Estonia and Latvia. In

**April** Estonia definitely refused to conclude with Moscow any pact that did not ensure for her complete freedom to observe her obligations under the Covenant of the League of Nations.

On December 9 the Temant Cabinet resigned and a new Cabinet was formed by M. Toenisson. Like his predecessor, M. Toenisson belongs to the Right, but he was also more acceptable to the Left, and owing to the active part he had taken in the Estonian liberation movement he was regarded as a more suitable Premier for the tenth anniversary of Estonian independence which was to be celebrated in February, 1928.

#### LATVIA.

The Coalition Government of Socialists and Democrats under M. Skujeneeks, which took office at the end of 1926, early showed distinct leanings towards Russia. In the spring it initialled several paragraphs of a draft pact of non-aggression with Russia—thus parting company with the Estonian Government, which refused to take a similar course—and in the summer it concluded a Commercial Agreement with the Soviet Government, although by so doing it endangered the prospects of a Customs Union with the other Baltic States. These steps met with strong opposition in the country itself. The proposal to ratify the Commercial Treaty gave rise to a very violent and disorderly debate in the Diet at the end of October, and was carried only by a small majority. The Democrats soon after this turned against the Government, which consequently was compelled to resign on December 13. The Cabinet crisis had not yet been solved by the end of the year.

#### LITHUANIA.

Early in the year the Valdemaras Government, which had obtained power by a *coup d'Etat* at the end of 1926 (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1926, p. 189), arrested a large number of Communists on the charge of plotting a conspiracy, and had several of them executed. The Government remained quasi-dictatorial in character, and modelled itself on the Fascist regime in Italy. Popular discontent with it found expression in a rising which took place in Tauroggen in September, but which was quickly suppressed.

The new Government showed itself at first not ill-disposed towards Poland, and for a time the tension between the two countries was somewhat relaxed, though the "state of war" still continued. Early in October public opinion in Lithuania was outraged by the action of the Polish authorities in closing the Lithuanian schools in the Vilna and Grodno districts and arresting many prominent Lithuanians there. The Polish Government

explained that these steps had been taken as reprisals for the closing of Polish schools and the arrest and internment of Polish teachers in Lithuania. The Lithuanian Government declared that the reports of these events circulating in Poland were entirely misleading, and that all that had happened was that certain Polish teachers in Lithuania who had failed to pass the prescribed State examination had been refused a certificate. On October 18 the Lithuanian Government formally protested to the Council of the League of Nations against Poland's action, and requested that the matter should be placed on the agenda of the next meeting of the Council. This request was granted. In the interval a political crisis took place in Lithuania, and M. Valdemaras's position was threatened, as part of the Army declared against him, but in the end he was allowed to go to Geneva in December as Lithuania's representative. At Geneva M. Valdemaras met M. Zaleski, the Polish Foreign Minister, and Marshal Pilsudski, the Polish Premier, and in response to representations from the Council of the League, he made a declaration on December 10 that Lithuania no longer considered herself " at war " with Poland, Marshal Pilsudski at the same time declaring that Poland had no designs on the political and territorial integrity of Lithuania.

During September M. Valdemaras visited Rome, and on September 17 he signed a Treaty of Arbitration with Italy, also a Commercial Agreement with a " most-favoured-nation " clause. In October M. Valdemaras visited Berlin, and there had conversations with Dr. Stresemann on the position of Germans in Memel, and soon afterwards there was formed in that city a Directorate which for the first time enjoyed the support of the German population.

#### **POLAND.**

In the course of 1927 Poland's relations with her three immediate neighbours showed certain signs of improvement. Throughout the year negotiations were carried on with Soviet Russia for a pact of non-aggression and a Commercial Treaty. Some delay in the negotiations occurred about the middle of the year through the assassination (on June 7) of the Soviet Envoy, M. Voikov, by a Russian student, Kowerda. This event gave rise to an exchange of Notes between the two Governments, but the tension between them was relaxed after the public trial of the assassin who, owing to his youth, was sentenced (on June 16) to ten years' penal servitude. Negotiations for the pact and commercial convention between Poland and Russia were then resumed and advanced a stage further.

The tariff war started by Germany on June 15 remained a source of friction between that country and Poland until the

latter part of 1927, when both parties recognised the necessity of an improvement in their commercial relations. On November 18 they succeeded in reaching a provisional understanding during a Conference held at Berlin. Negotiations were entered upon at once for the conclusion of a regular treaty of commerce, and had made considerable progress by the end of the year.

Relations with Lithuania long continued unsatisfactory owing to the refusal of the Kovno Government to come to any terms with Poland, and to its persistent assertion that it remained in a "state of war" with Poland. In the autumn Lithuania charged Poland with persecuting Lithuanian subjects in her territories, and Poland brought similar charges against Lithuania (*vide sub* "Lithuania"). Both countries denied the charges, and both appealed to the League of Nations. The Polish-Lithuanian dispute came before the Council on December 1. Marshal Pilsudski, the Prime Minister of Poland who, representing the latter country before the Council, succeeded, through his energetic intervention, in obtaining from M. Valdemaras, the Lithuanian Prime Minister, a declaration to the effect that the "state of war" between the two countries had come to an end, and that Lithuania was willing to open negotiations with Poland for the purpose of establishing normal relations between the two countries.

Relations with other countries were friendly, and a number of treaties were concluded. On January 12 ratifications of the Commercial Treaty with Bulgaria were exchanged in Warsaw; on February 9 a Polish-Rumanian Treaty of friendship was ratified; on March 28 a Treaty of conciliation and arbitration between Poland and Sweden was signed, while on April 2 and 4 respectively similar conciliation and arbitration treaties between Poland and Austria and Poland and Denmark were ratified.

In internal affairs the year 1927 was one of steady consolidation, both in the political and economic spheres. The administration was marked by a strong preponderance of the executive over the legislative authority. The Government, with Marshal Pilsudski at its head, took full advantage of the right to issue legislative acts conferred upon it by an unwilling Parliament. The Sejm, with its numerous contending factions, was unable to give the Government any lead, and on the whole remained inactive throughout the year until its term expired on November 28, when both the Sejm and the Senate were dissolved and General Elections for the new Parliament proclaimed to be held on March 4, 1928. A new alignment of parties was brought about by the active supporters of the Government who secured the accession of the most varying political elements to a "non-party Bloc of co-operation with the Government" for the purpose of maintaining in power the Government of Marshal Pilsudski. That Government won the confidence of wide masses of the population by its conduct of public affairs, which was particularly successful in the

sphere of national economy. The Budget continued to show a surplus of revenue over expenditure, which at the close of the year yielded a reserve of nearly four hundred million zlotys. The financial position of the country was well maintained, and the final stabilisation of Polish finances was assured by a foreign loan secured from a group of American bankers (October 13) which was successfully issued for public subscription (October 18) in New York, London, and other financial centres.

#### CZECHOSLOVAKIA.

Svehla's Cabinet, which was formed in October, 1926, continued in power throughout 1927, retaining for the most part its original composition. The predominance in it of members of the Czech and German parties and the abstention of Socialist parties, gave to it the character of a bourgeois Conservative Government. The secession of seven deputies (three Germans and four Magyars) from the club of German Agrarians reduced the Government majority in Parliament at the end of the year to 155. Of the two parties which had supported the Government since its inception, although not represented in the Cabinet, the Slovak Clerical Party (Hlinka's Party) decided, in the early part of 1927 (January 15), to send two of its representatives into the Cabinet (Dr. Gazik, Minister of Unification, and Dr. Tiso, Minister of Public Health). The National Democratic Party remained outside the Cabinet, but otherwise acted in Parliament along with the Government majority. The entry into the Government of Slovak clerical deputies who had hitherto constituted, together with the parties of the national minorities, the most resolute Opposition in the Czechoslovak Parliament, was the greatest asset to Svehla's Cabinet after the participation of the two largest German parties in the Government. A natural consequence of this attachment of Hlinka's autonomists to the Government was that their followers were able to make their influence felt to a greater extent in the administration of Slovakia. This caused a disappointment to the Magyar Irredentists there, but was accompanied by a general improvement of Slovak conditions.

In face of this consolidated and unified Government majority of Conservative parties, which on various occasions was expressly described by a number of its leading representatives as being anti-Socialist in character, the Socialist Opposition did not form a homogeneous entity either in its aims or in its methods of political warfare. The strong group of Communists adhered, on principle, to its negative attitude, and had no constructive policy. The Social-Democratic parties, Czechoslovak and German, continued to be separate, and in spite of their identity in outlook and programme, they could not bridge over the divergencies of their racial sentiments. The National Socialists, on the other hand,



made it clear that they would be willing to enter the Government ranks. Under these circumstances the Government felt sufficiently strong to pass a number of important laws. The Opposition, which *de facto* was led by the Czechoslovak Social-Democrats, could, at the most, only delay the decisions desired by the majority. Its criticisms in committees and at the plenary session, although often sound and well-informed, had very little effect on the course of legislation.

The entry of the Slovak autonomists into the Government was closely connected with the passing of a Bill for the reform of public administration. The new system, which is to come into force on July 1, 1928, supersedes the one which became law in 1920. It is partially a return to the old system of provincial administration in the historical territories (Bohemia, Moravia, Carpathian Ruthenia), where it again forms provincial units with representative bodies. In Slovakia, however, this constitutes an entirely new arrangement. The new system in its fundamentals retains the administrative principles of the system of 1920. The arrangement of public administration on a regional basis has, to a certain extent, disposed of Slovak autonomist aspirations, and has already led to the abolition of the special Ministry for Slovakia which hitherto had remained as a survival of the exceptional conditions prevailing when the Government was first established.

A further important Government success was the passing through Parliament of a group of military Bills, six in all. In addition to other matters, these provide for the retention, at least for the time being, of the 18 months' military service which was to have been reduced to 14 months, and also for the establishment of a second reserve. Parliamentary opposition chiefly centred on the clauses taking away the right of suffrage, not only from the rank and file, but also from regular officers and the *gendarmerie*. By this means the military authorities are endeavouring to prevent the spirit of politics from penetrating into the army.

In the economic domain the greatest legislative achievement of the year was the passing of the taxation reform, unifying and codifying direct taxes, and reducing them. The law represents a compromise between the demands of consumers and of manufacturers, especially as regards agricultural products. In connexion with this new adjustment of taxation, a Bill was passed regulating the financial administration of local authorities and prohibiting them from levying rates save such as were equitable and likely to be productive. With the taxation reform is associated another law dealing with the auditing of balance-sheets. Other important laws of an economic character passed during this period were those for the promotion of building and for the establishment of a road fund.

In 1927 President Masaryk's term of office expired, and his re-election, on May 27, formed the most important political event of the year. The Government coalition of bourgeois parties were not able to agree upon a single candidate. The majority of the Government parties, both Czechoslovak and German, emphasised their attachment to the existing President, and some of the Opposition Socialist parties also declared themselves in his favour, but the Slovak Clericals and the Czechoslovak National Democrats were against him. A comparatively short campaign against the re-election of Masaryk as President was conducted by the Press of a few Right Wing parties and also by the Fascists, but it met with no success, and no other candidate was proposed by the bourgeois parties.

President Masaryk himself was travelling abroad at this period. After a visit to the Council of the League of Nations at Geneva he proceeded to Egypt, Palestine, and Greece, and returned home shortly before the election. Of the 432 possible votes, 274 were recorded in his favour; he thus received a three-fifths majority and was re-elected. The parties who voted for him included, besides the greater part of those composing the Government majority, also the Czechoslovak National Socialists and the Czechoslovak and German Social-Democrats from among the Opposition parties. The Communist candidate received 54 votes, and 104 voting papers belonging to Hlinka's Slovak Clericals, the Czechoslovak National Democrats, the German Nationalists, and others, were left blank.

The Budget for 1928, which was sanctioned at the autumn Parliamentary session, was again somewhat lower than the previous one, and with a preliminary estimate of 9½ milliard crowns showed a slight surplus (26 million crowns). This reduction in the Budget was all the more noteworthy as several new demands were made upon the Exchequer—the new scheme of salaries for civil servants, more liberal subsidies for highways and waterways, reform of administration and taxation, the payment of the bank-note debt to the National Bank, and the increase of unemployment benefit. The increased expenditure for economic, social, and educational purposes was counterbalanced mainly by a saving in the service of the State debt, which was partially paid off and partially consolidated and converted; profits made by transactions on the money market were also applied mainly for the benefit of the State debt services. According to the Budget of 1928 the total State debt amounts to 34,385 million crowns (23,512 million crowns being internal debt, 6,393 million crowns foreign debt, and 4,400 million crowns representing the Czechoslovak share of the Austrian pre-war debt). The total sum assigned to sinking fund and interest on the State debt amounts to 2,354 million crowns, as compared with 2,573 million crowns in 1927.

The economic position of the country showed an improvement corresponding to that of the finances. In 1927 there was a fundamental improvement in employment in nearly all branches of industry, some of which reached their pre-war level. The number of applicants for employment reached its maximum in January, 1927 (83,271), and sank to 39,832 in the following July. With the general improvement in the state of European trade there has been a favourable development in the foreign trade of Czechoslovakia, notably from the second quarter of 1927.

The trade policy of the State contributed its share to these satisfactory economic conditions. In the course of 1927 Czechoslovakia succeeded in supplementing its series of commercial agreements, which now embrace all European countries; the last of them, the agreement signed on June 20 with Estonia, was to come into force at the beginning of 1928. The agreement with Switzerland was signed afresh on February 16, as was also an extensive definitive customs tariff agreement with Hungary on May 31. An agreement was reached with Austria on July 21, and negotiations are being continued for a customs tariff agreement with Germany. All these agreements are based on the "most-favoured-nation" principle. Preliminary arrangements were also settled for a customs tariff agreement with Yugoslavia. In its general tendency Czechoslovak trade policy followed the resolutions and recommendations of the World Economic Conference held in Geneva in May.

Apart from the adjustment of economic relations, the foreign policy of Czechoslovakia was devoted chiefly to the maintenance and strengthening of the Little Entente as the best guarantee of political stability in the Danubian area. The conferences of the Little Entente at Jachymov (in May) and at Geneva (during the session of the League of Nations in September) showed how firmly this organisation is established. The co-operation of Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia in economic and cultural matters was achieved also by the conferences which took place at Prague in February between delegates from the Belgrade Parliament and members of the Prague National Assembly.

The relationship of Czechoslovakia to Soviet Russia and the question of the *de jure* recognition of the Soviet Government still remain unsettled. On the other hand, there was a marked improvement in relations between Czechoslovakia and the Vatican, with which there has been a conflict since 1925 as a result of the official Hus celebrations at Prague. The direct negotiations of the Government with the Curia, which took place in August and September, led to a final settlement of the points at issue. A compromise was reached which settled the main questions affecting the interests of the Republic, *i.e.*, the appointment of bishops and the limitation of the dioceses.

The municipal elections, which were held in October, were

important as showing that no great shifting of political opinion had taken place since the General Election. In Slovakia and Carpathian Ruthenia, elections were rendered superfluous in nearly one-half of the electoral areas (6,000 out of 12,500) in consequence of an agreement between the parties involving a unified list of candidates. Where a contest took place there were certain re-groupings between cognate tendencies, which indicated no turnover in the electorate from right to left or *vice versa*. Among the working classes Social Democracy, both Czechoslovak and German, showed an increase at the expense of the Communists. As regards the National Socialists, the result of the elections, although involving a definite set-back for them, justified the policy entered upon by the party last year by the expulsion of its former leader, Mr. Stribny. In the capital of the Republic a National Socialist mayor was retained. Of the bourgeois parties the greatest increase of votes was obtained by the Agrarians, while the greatest losses were sustained by Hlinka's party, which thus forfeited its sway over public opinion in Slovakia. In German quarters the elections indicated that the voters approved of the active support given by the German parties to the Government. There were small groups, such as the Fascists, who failed to secure any seats at all.

#### HUNGARY.

In consequence of the sweeping majority obtained by the Governmental Party in the elections at the end of the previous year, Count Bethlen enjoyed during 1927 an almost autocratic authority, the House of Commons being reduced to a mere voting machine which automatically endorsed his decisions. The dictatorial powers thus secured by the Premier were still further reinforced by the elimination (January 8) of those of his personal adversaries who remained in the Upper House, *viz.*, Counts G. Pallavicini and J. Andrassy. The serenity which marked the reopening of both Houses of Parliament (January 29) was therefore hardly ruffled by the mild legitimist declaration of Count A. Desseffy, although it was in manifest contradiction with the solemn warnings of Count Bethlen (January 27) against any untimely Monarchist, and especially pro-Habsburg, activity. This activity, though still in evidence, was carried on with somewhat less violence than in the previous year, being reduced to the usual Press propaganda, banquets and mass meetings of the *Legitimists* (April 28, November 19 and 25), the *pro-Albrecht* party having been for the time being discredited by the imprisonment of its principal supporters for their participation in the French bank-note forgery affair, as well as by the categorical declaration of Count Apponyi (January 12) that Archduke Albrecht could never become King of Hungary. The by-elections (February 25)

**further** reduced the power of the Fascist extremists, almost all their seats (13) being won by the candidates of the Government; and at the same time the Democratic leader, J. Barczy, and five of his followers abandoned their party (February 5), and also came to strengthen the Liberal wing of Count Bethlen's partisans against the predominating Fascist influence.

As was natural in the circumstances, the Budget for the financial year 1927-28 introduced by the Minister of Finances, J. Bud (February 10), hardly met with any serious opposition. The legislative activity of the Government included modification of certain provisions of the Trianon Treaty (February 8); a law (February 12) for the safeguarding of public morality by means of censorship and police surveillance—much ridiculed by both the Hungarian and foreign Press; the important educational reforms contained in the almost universally approved programme of the Minister for Public Instruction (March 7); an increase of the currency value of the war loan bonds (March 19) judged utterly insufficient even by the former Ministers of Finance, Messrs. Teleszky and Kallay; the ratification of the long-pending Commercial Treaty with Czechoslovakia (March 20), and that of the Italo-Hungarian Treaty of arbitration and friendship (March 19) which, however, did not pass without evoking violent opposition from the side of the Socialist and Radical opposition. The preliminary discussion of a modification of the "numerus clausus" law announced by Count Bethlen (October 19) was not less tumultuous. The insurance law for workmen (June 21), the modification of the penal code (November 8) and that of the mortgage law (November 10) were also passed with the usual overwhelming majorities constituted by the Governmental Party.

While supreme in Parliament, outside its walls Count Bethlen was not so successful in directing events into the courses he desired. Thus on the occasion of his visit to Rome rumours were artfully spread by the Little Entente, and even by his adversaries at home (January 13-20), that he intended to settle the question of the Throne; and the prejudice thus created against him certainly retarded, and almost prevented, the great personal success which he eventually achieved by the conclusion of the Italo-Hungarian Treaty (April 5), and which was further set off by the pompous reception granted by the Duce to his Hungarian colleague. As to the diplomatic value of this convention, opinions are still divided in Hungary. The progressive elements fear that an impetus will be given to the recrudescence of Fascism in Hungary from its collaboration with Italy, and even some of the Conservative politicians are apprehensive lest the vigorous policy of Signor Mussolini in the Balkan States may involve Hungary in foreign complications and undo the results of its last year's *rapprochement* with Yugoslavia. On the other hand, it is not denied that the Treaty has at least the advantage

of having, for the first time since the war, broken through the diplomatic isolation of Hungary and of having opened for its trade the seaport of Fiume.

The Government was not so successful in its dealings with the Vatican. In spite of very long negotiations, the choice of a successor to Prince Archbishop Csernoch, Primate of Hungary (who died on July 25) fell upon Cardinal J. Seredi (nominated November 30), who was not one of the candidates put forward by the Government, it being the policy of the Holy See at present to exclude active politicians from the leading ecclesiastical offices.

Overpowering enthusiasm was evoked in Hungary by Lord Rothermere's appeal (June 20) in favour of a revision of the Trianon Peace Treaty, and there ensued a violent recrudescence of the Press campaign in Hungary against the unfair advantage taken of the Treaty by the neighbouring countries. The Hungarian Government was in full sympathy with these manifestations, though it found them embarrassing in certain of its diplomatic actions. Lord Rothermere became the idol of Hungary. Innumerable humble addresses from Parliament, public bodies and societies were published; gifts and honorary citizenships were offered to him; and the public prayers pronounced for him were ample proofs of the nation's gratitude. But there was smoke in the flame. The Fascist-extremist leader, Mr. Wolff, reproached Lord Rothermere for his advocacy of more liberal institutions, progressive legislation, and religious tolerance as the most immediate needs for Hungary's reconstruction; while many an experienced Conservative and Liberal politician gave expression to the fear that Lord Rothermere's action was premature and unconsidered, and therefore of little real effect.

The debate on the question of the expropriation of the Hungarian landowners in Rumania was renewed at the League of Nations on November 23, when Hungary maintained its refusal to accept the proposals of the legal commission constituted at the previous sitting of the Council of the League of Nations (September 16), and suggested instead an agreement based upon direct dealings with Rumania. In consequence, the decision of the League was again postponed (December 5).

Feeling in Hungary was high against Rumania in consequence, and soon after (December 4-7) rose to fever heat because of outrageous excesses which were committed in Transylvania by Rumanian students against the life and property of Hungarians and Jews. In the paroxysm of indignation into which the Hungarian public was thrown by these events, it was extremely difficult for the Government to keep its head. Count Bethlen made diplomatic declarations (December 16), in which he advised the public to maintain a waiting attitude until the promises' of exemplary punishment made by Rumania should have been

fulfilled, and these ultimately had a calming effect on public opinion.

While the failures of the Hungarian Government in foreign affairs may be pardoned on the ground that these were matters beyond its control, the same excuse cannot be offered for the unpardonable weakness which, according to Liberal public opinion, it showed during the renewed anti-Semitic excesses in the Adam case and following upon the announcement of the amendment of the " *numerus clausus* " Bill. In the former case the famous surgeon, Dr. Adam was prevented by the anti-Semitic professors and students of the Budapest University during several months from taking possession of the Chair to which he had been nominated ; and in the latter, Jewish students were again (October 24) driven by brute force out of all the Hungarian Universities and prevented for a long period from attending lectures, although the proposed amendments to the " *numerus clausus* " law were so slender and ambiguous that the Liberals and Jews did not feel justified in voting for them. This weakness on the part of an otherwise firm Government was explained by the Liberal Opposition as due to its desire to keep within the party those supporters of Count Bethlen who remain faithful to their Fascist principles. In fact, the excesses only ceased when the Minister of Public Instruction, Count Klebolsberg, having exhausted all his powers of persuasion, invoked the intercession of Mr. Gombos, the Fascist leader (November 12). This latter, however, also very soon after (December 6) had found reason to complain on account of the prohibition of a Fascist meeting, in protest against which his followers caused tumultuous scenes in Parliament. On the other hand, accusations of partiality were again brought against the Government by the Liberals of the Opposition regarding the application of the law in political cases. Thanks to the reiterated interpolations of the Socialists and Liberals in Parliament, an amnesty was granted (December 27) to 150 political offenders of minor importance. Yet the confiscation of the properties of Count M. Karolyi was nevertheless finally carried out (June 27), and the writer, Baron L. Hatvany, one of his partisans, on returning home after eight years' absence, was placed under arrest (December 9).

Some other judicial aberrations which gave rise to bitter criticism and invidious comparisons on the part of progressive and even legitimist writers were the condemnation of the Socialist Sz5ke to two years' imprisonment for a Press offence, while the Fascist-extremist, Kmetty, one of the authors of the atrocities committed in 1920, was sentenced only to two and a half years imprisonment; Vannay and Molnar, the Fascist assailants of the former Minister of Justice Vazsonyi, a Democrat, were punished with three days' imprisonment, while the Socialist Alice Videky, for a similar outrage against the person of the governmental chief

of police Andreka, was sentenced to one and a half years ; the bricklayer S. Horvat, for having offered a prayer for the Communist leader Bela Kun, and uttered insults against Mr. Horthy, the Governor, received one year's imprisonment, while J. Ciparik escaped with three weeks for insults against King Charles IV. The Communist agitators of the Rakosi group, whose trial caused such a sensation in the previous year, were finally condemned (January 15) to periods of from eight years to four months imprisonment, in spite of the menacing wireless message sent by the Russian Government to the head of the tribunal, while forty out of the sixty Communist plotters of the Szanto group received similar sentences (November 9).

The financial and economic situation of the country continued to improve, thanks to the good harvest: the production of wheat exceeded by two million metric quintals that of the previous year, and the total value of agricultural production increased by 276 million pengos. Industry and commerce were also able to register a marked improvement, one sign of which was a notable decrease in bankruptcy cases. The situation of the Bank of Hungary was judged to be excellent, although the forgery of the Hungarian bonds by the Vienna banker Blum, which caused such a scandal in Paris (November 8) on account of the participation of eminent French personalities, may perhaps entail on it some losses. The unfavourable trade balance also caused some anxiety in Governmental circles, and was put forward as a reason for the Government's refusal to reduce the taxes and imposts which continued to crush the population.

Commercial Treaties were made during the year with Czechoslovakia (March 20), France (July 6), Austria (July 9), Italy (November 3), Yugoslavia and Poland (December 2).

#### RUMANIA.

Rumania sustained two heavy losses during the year in the deaths of King Ferdinand and Ion Bratianu (see under Obituaries), but neither produced a trace of the anticipated political convulsions. It is nevertheless too early to speak of stable conditions, and the problem of the country's future remains to be solved in 1928.

On January 19 the text was published in Paris of the Franco-Rumanian Treaty which had been signed in June of the preceding year. It was found to include a Treaty of non-aggression and of alliance, consisting of nine articles to remain in force for ten years with the option of renewal at any time after the end of the ninth year, a protocol, and a convention providing for the reference of disputes to arbitration. The fact that the document guaranteed the territorial *status quo* to each country, and therefore committed France once again to approving of the Rumanian annexation of



Bessarabia attracted attention, especially in Soviet Russia. The Treaty contained no military clauses. The protocol bound Rumania, however, not to attack Russia with her regular forces nor to tolerate the formation on her territory of irregular forces to be used to attack that country.

At the beginning of April, the state of King Ferdinand's health caused fresh alarm. He had been suffering for many months from cancer, though this was never publicly admitted, and in April a chill so reduced his strength that the end appeared imminent. Dr. Sluys, the Belgian radium expert who had attended the King in January, was again summoned to Bucharest to treat the cancer. Alarming rumours as to a pending revolution were circulated abroad ; the action of General Averescu in cutting off telephone communication with foreign countries and imposing an illegal and very strict censorship on home newspapers and on telegrams sent abroad was largely responsible for the credence given to the malicious stories. A British journalist who mentioned in a telegram the fact that General Averescu was preparing in the event of the King's death to institute measures of a dictatorial nature was ordered to leave the country within twenty-four hours under pain of expulsion by gendarmes, despite the fact that the information was taken from a Rumanian newspaper. As the result of special intervention, the order was rescinded. Even after the fall of General Averescu, the censorship of news going abroad was continued under M. Bratianu by M. Duca, his Minister of the Interior, until in the winter the insistence of M. Titulescu, the Foreign Minister, backed up by the representations of British journalists concerning the damage done to Rumania's reputation by these methods, resulted in the announcement that preliminary censorship of foreign telegrams had been abolished.

It was because of the question of the succession that such importance was attached both at home and abroad to the state of King Ferdinand's health. From the first the National Tsaranist (Peasant) Party, headed by M. Julius Maniu, had declined to regard as final the Act of Renunciation of Prince Carol, and the arrangements made for instituting a Council of Regency in the event of the King's death. This Council was to govern the country during the minority of the five-year-old son of Prince Carol, Prince Michael, who was chosen to succeed King Ferdinand. They refused to commit themselves to a demand for the recall of Prince Carol, or to definite opposition to the arrangements made for the succession, confining themselves to the contention that in view of the open bribery, corruption, and intimidation employed by both M. Bratianu and by General Averescu in " making " their elections, all Acts of the Parliaments so elected were null and void. The succession question, along with various others, they declared, could only be settled by a freely elected Parliament. Since it was generally admitted, even by the supporters of General

Averescu and M. Bratianu, that "free" elections would have resulted in the return to power of the Tsaranists with a big majority, their refusal (despite all the pressure which was put upon them), to enter into a coalition with either General Averescu or the Liberals of M. Bratianu, or to recognise M. Bratianu's arrangements for the succession to the Throne was, and still is, a very serious matter.

On June 5 the world was startled to learn that General Averescu, the veiled dictator, had suddenly resigned the Premiership. In point of fact, M. Ion Bratianu, who had put in General Averescu as a place-holder for himself until some of the scandals surrounding the Liberal administration had died down, had become alarmed at the efforts of the latter to make himself independent of the Bratianu influence by seeking a coalition with the Tsaranists, and had persuaded the King to call upon him to resign. Prince Barbu Stirbey, the brother-in-law of M. Bratianu, and the trusted adviser of the Royal Family in many matters, formed a Cabinet consisting mainly of members of the Liberal Party. The new Cabinet proceeded to make arrangements for holding elections. The Tsaranists, however, declined to stand on the same list as the Liberals (the small group of Independent Tsaranists under Dr. Lupu were an exception), and prior to the elections Prince Stirbey resigned. A Liberal Cabinet with M. Bratianu at its head again took office and "made" the elections in the usual way. The Tsaranists absented themselves from the opening of the new Parliament on July 17 as a protest against the manner in which M. Bratianu had conducted his elections.

King Ferdinand, after months of suffering, died at the Royal Castle at Sinaia at 2 A.M. on July 20 in the presence of all the members of his family except the exiled Prince Carol. It was credibly stated in Bucharest that M. Bratianu had insisted that the Prince should not return, even to his father's death-bed. The five-year-old Prince Michael succeeded to the Throne under the law of January, 1926, and the three Regents, Prince Nicholas (the younger brother of Prince Carol), Mgr. Miron Cristea, the Patriarch of Rumania, and the President of the Court of Cassation, M. Buzdugan, took the oath of allegiance to the boy king. In his will, King Ferdinand revoked his bequest of castles and land to Prince Carol, declaring these to be necessary to the future King of the country, and directed that Prince Carol was to receive his share in money. He spoke of his exiled son in terms of great and sorrowful affection, but made it clear in this will and in a letter addressed to M. Bratianu that he desired the Prince to make no effort to change the succession. Among the masses of the people there was still much vague sympathy felt for Prince Carol, who was believed to be the victim of the personal enmity of M. Bratianu, and he had many supporters in the army. At the commemorative session of Parliament after King Ferdinand's funeral the National Peasant Party, through their leader,

M. Julius Maniu, once again protested against the electoral methods and the corrupt regime of M. Bratianu, giving their recognition of the Regency *de facto* only, but declining absolutely to recognise it *de jure*. Nevertheless, they declined to declare for Prince Carol, and there was no sign of any forward movement to secure his return. Through a Paris newspaper, the Prince declared that on no account would he plunge the country into strife, but would remain where he was unless the Rumanian people should call on him to return, when he was quite ready to do so. The declaration was not allowed to become known in Rumania, and all foreign newspapers which published it were, by M. Bratianu's orders, seized at the frontier.

On October 25 M. Manoliescu, a former Minister in General Averescu's Government, who had been visiting the Prince in Paris, was arrested on the train in which he was returning to Bucharest and lodged in a military prison. He had in his possession a number of letters from the Prince addressed to various political leaders, including M. Bratianu himself, and copies of the Prince's suppressed declaration. M. Bratianu had him tried by court-martial on a charge of conspiring against the State, but the formidable array of witnesses for the defence proved the prevalence of sympathy for Prince Carol, and the acquittal of M. Manoliescu on November 14, despite the most strenuous efforts of the Government to secure his conviction and the infliction of an exemplary sentence, showed the waning power of the Bratianus. Ten days later, on November 24, M. Ion Bratianu himself suddenly died as a result of septic poisoning supervening on a minor operation on the throat. So sudden was the calamity that he had no time to realise his condition or to make the faintest provision for the future government of the country. After a brief political truce over the funeral, M. Maniu declared that he would continue the most uncompromising opposition to M. Vintila Bratianu, the brother of the deceased statesman, who had stepped into his shoes. Every effort was made by M. Vintila Bratianu to effect a reconciliation, but M. Maniu declined even to enter into conversations until honest elections should have been held. His opposition did not take any very active form during the remainder of the year, because it was necessary that the Budget should be passed, but he made it clear that after this should have been done in January, 1928, matters would enter upon a different phase. He also made it clear that the "Carol question" was not an immediate one. The year ended with the two opposed parties, the Liberals and the National Tsaranists (Peasants), facing one another irreconcilably, awaiting the moment for joining battle. There was universal recognition of the loss that the country had sustained during the year in the death of a King who, if not gifted or strong, was a sincere hard-working ruler under whom the country had **grown** great, and of a statesman, who, if he had ruled with the

methods of an oriental despot, had at least been an efficient dictator, a tower of strength to the Royal Family, and a great Rumanian, especially in the field of foreign policy.

The dispute concerning the lands of Hungarians living in Rumania's new province of Transylvania which had been sequestered (as the Hungarians maintained, illegally) did not reach any conclusive stage. Sir Austen Chamberlain at Geneva in June, rebuked the intransigent attitude of the Hungarian claimants. The Hungarian Government rejected, and the Rumanian Government accepted, the recommendations of the League.

In December there were serious anti-semitic riots by Rumanian students at Cluj and Oradea Mare, in which many persons were injured and much property destroyed.

#### THE KINGDOM OF THE SERBS, CROATS, AND SLOVENES.

The fifth Coalition Cabinet of Radicals and Raditchists, under M. Ouzunovitch, which was formed on Christmas Eve, 1926, continued in the new year, notwithstanding the adverse attitude of the Radical Club ; but on January 28 a fresh crisis arose, as a result of the attacks of M. Raditch upon the Radical Minister of the Interior, in connexion with the Diet Elections, which had taken place on January 23. Moreover, the Raditch members of Parliament voted for the Opposition candidates on the Committee for War Indemnity, thus leaving the Government in a minority. M. Ouzunovitch therefore tendered his resignation, but the King again entrusted to him the formation of a new Cabinet. This was effected with the collaboration of the Slovene People's Party (Korošec's Party) on February 1.

The result of the first Diet Elections for the thirty-three administrative departments corresponded to the numerical strength of the various political parties in Parliament. The Radicals obtained the largest number of mandates in the Diets, with the Raditch Party in the second place.

The Skupstina, which reassembled on January 25, was largely occupied during February and March with discussions on the Budget. The Budgetary proposals for the financial year 1927-28 were accepted in principle on March 9, and passed on March 31 by 157 votes to 126.

After the Budget had been voted the Cabinet proposed the adjournment of the Skupstina until May, but opposition was raised to this suggestion, as in the meantime the Democrats had moved a vote of censure on the Minister of the Interior and asked for a debate. This was arranged to begin on April 19, immediately after the Easter holidays, but three days before that date M. Ouzunovitch presented the collective resignation of the Cabinet and expressed the need for a Cabinet on a broader and more stable basis.

This crisis was of very short duration as on April 17 a new Coalition Cabinet of Radicals and Democrats was formed by M. Vukicevitch, with Dr. Voja Marinkovitch as Foreign Minister, **but** not containing MM. Ouzunovitch and Maximovitch, nor the Pasitch Radicals. Five portfolios were placed *ad interim* in the charge of other Ministers. This was the first Radical-Democrat Coalition Government since the end of 1922, and after its formation the King prorogued the Skupstina until August.

From the very beginning the Government was considered as an election Government, and in the Press the question of the dissolution of the Skupstina was discussed. The postponement of the election was caused only by dissension in the Radical Club, as some Radical members of Parliament were opposed to new elections, but the Government nevertheless continued to take soundings for a General Election. On June 15 the Skupstina was dissolved and the elections fixed for September 11. On June 16 the vacant portfolios were allocated and the electoral campaign begun.

The results of the elections were announced on September 14 and showed the success of the Government parties, with a distribution of seats as follows :—

Radicals, 111 ; Democrats, 61 ; Raditchists, 60 ; Pribicevitch Independent Democrats, 23 ; Slovene People's Party, 20 ; Bosnian Moslems, 18 ; Agrarians, 9 ; Germans, 6 ; the remaining 7 seats were divided among various smaller parties. On the whole, therefore, the new Parliament which assembled on October 5 was of much the same character as the last.

Before the meeting of Parliament on September 21, the Cabinet was slightly reconstructed, and one additional Minister was appointed in the person of M. Gossar (Slovene Clerical), who became Minister of Social Politics. The Cabinet remained until the end of the year as follows

Prime Minister and Interior -	M. Velya Vukitchevitch (Radical).
Foreign Affairs -	Dr. Voyislav Marinkovitch (Democrat).
Social Politics -	M. Gossar (Slovene Clerical).
Public Works	Dr. Ilija Shumenkovitch (Democrat).
Education	Dr. Kosta Koumanoudi (Democrat).
Mines and Forests	Dr. Atza Miyevitch (Democrat).
Unification of Laws -	M. Angelinovic (Democrat).
Commerce	Mehmed Spaho (Bosnian Moslem).
Agrarian Reform	M. Vlada Andritch (Radical).
Health . . . . .	Dr. A. Savitch (Radical).
Agriculture	M. Svetozar Stankovitch (Radical).
Justice . . . . .	Dr. D. Subotitch (Radical).
Public Worship -	M. D. Obradovitch (Radical).
Finance . . . . .	Dr. Bogdan Markovitch (Radical).
War . . . . .	General Hajitch (non-Party).
Communications	M. Svetislav Milosavlyevitch (Radical).

When the Skupstina met in plenary session on October 20, **Dr. Ninko Peric** (Radical) was elected President by **188** votes to 100.

For the rest of the year the Skupstina held few plenary meetings, working principally in committees. Parliament was adjourned for an indefinite period on November 26 to enable the committees to prepare material for plenary discussion, but met again for two days on December 14-15, when it was adjourned for the Christmas vacation.

Relations between the Kingdom and some of its neighbours were less smooth than in the preceding year. Relations with Italy and Albania were disturbed at the end of 1926 by the first Tirana Treaty and became more strained in March, 1927, when the Italian Government addressed a Note to the Great Powers (Germany, Great Britain, and France) accusing Yugoslavia of military preparations against Albania. The Yugoslav Government declared itself ready to accept a commission of experts to inquire into the merits of the dispute, and several other suggestions were made for the settlement of the controversy, but as they were not accepted by Italy the dispute continued until July 26, when it was decided to renew direct relations with Rome.

In the meantime, a new controversy arose between the Kingdom and Albania, owing to the imprisonment, at the end of May, of the dragoman of the Yugoslav Legation at Tirana, on a charge of compromising acts. The Yugoslav *charge d'affaires* lodged a strong protest against the arrest of Juraskovitch, whom, however, the Albanian authorities refused to release. At the same time, the Albanian Government addressed a Note to the Secretary of the League of Nations explaining the arrest of Juraskovitch, and the Yugoslav Government addressed a similar Note to the League, refuting these arguments. Diplomatic relations were suspended on June 4, as the Yugoslav Government was not willing to withdraw the Note of protest lodged by the Yugoslav *chargé d'affaires* at Tirana, to parts of which the Albanian Government took exception. This dispute was settled on July 3, by the release of Juraskovitch simultaneously with the substitution of a new Note by the Yugoslav Government.

The relations between the Kingdom and Bulgaria, which at the beginning of the year were improving, were disturbed in the latter part of the year by the renewed activities of the Macedonian Revolutionary Organisation, which brought about the murder, on October 5, of General Kovacevitch at Stip, and other attacks in various parts of Southern Serbia. On this account, the Yugoslav Government presented a Note at Sofia on October 7, requesting the Bulgarian Government to prevent further activities by the organisation, and the Bulgarian Government declared a state of martial law in two border districts on October 9.

On November 11 a Franco-Yugoslav Treaty of friendship and arbitration was signed in Paris. The Treaty, it was claimed, is in complete accord with both the spirit and the letter of the League Covenant, and according to the statement of Dr.

Marinkovitch, Foreign Minister, merely declares anew the pacific relations between the two countries, and is not directed against any third party.

On November 23 Dr. Marinkovitch made a statement in Parliament, on his return from Paris, on the foreign policy of the Kingdom, in which he underlined the old friendship with France, the country's good relations with Great Britain, the increased solidarity of the Little Entente, the improved relations with Greece and Hungary, and the restoration of normal relations with Albania, and expressed the wish for better relations with Italy.

During the year Commercial Treaties were signed with Great Britain, Germany, and Belgium, and, on November 2, a Treaty of Commerce, Navigation, and Tariffs with Greece, as well as the settlement of the War and Relief Debt to Great Britain, on August 9.

### TURKEY.

At the outset of 1927 difficulties arose between Turkey and the United States of America on account of the failure of the United States Senate to ratify the Treaty of Lausanne. For a time there was a danger that, as a measure of retaliation, Turkey would refuse to renew the Commercial Treaty with the United States which expired on February 20. Admiral Bristol, the United States representative in Turkey, presented a Note expressing the regret of the United States Government at the failure to ratify and its desire to maintain normal relations with Turkey. As the outcome of long negotiations at Angora, it was announced on February 16 that a provisional arrangement had been arrived at prolonging for twelve months the existing Commercial Treaty, pending the conclusion during 1927 of a more permanent arrangement. Diplomatic relations were resumed between the two countries on the initiative of President Coolidge, who exercised his constitutional prerogative to this effect.

On March 7 the growth of the feeling that the Republic was consolidated found expression in the abolition of the two Extraordinary Tribunals which had been established during the Kurdish Insurrection of March, 1925, with the power of inflicting capital or any other punishment. The Law for the Maintenance of Order, a measure contemporaneous in origin with the two Tribunals, was nevertheless prolonged for two years. The Prime Minister, General Ismet Pasha, in a speech delivered in February recommending the change, spoke in terms of satisfaction both of the work of the Tribunals during the period of frequent plots against the life of the Ghazi Pasha and of the possibility of their abolition which had then arrived.

On March 12 a Commercial Agreement between Turkey and Soviet Russia was signed at Angora. The Treaty contained a

"most-favoured-nation" clause, limited Turkish exports to Soviet Russia to 750,000l. per annum, and conferred diplomatic status on three Russian commercial agents. On April 11 the Foreign Minister, Tewfik Rushdi Bey, alluded in Parliament to the fact that there was no Treaty of friendship in existence between Turkey and Yugoslavia, and hinted that one might be concluded if the Yugoslav Government would proceed to fulfil its promise to restore Turkish property seized in Yugoslavia during the war. Early in May the Yugoslav Government, influenced apparently by its fears of Italian aggression in the Balkans, sent a military mission to Turkey to discuss the possibility of co-operation in the event of war in the Balkans. The idea of this mission was at first very favourably received in Turkey, but this attitude underwent a change in consequence, it was believed, of Italian representations, and the Yugoslav mission stayed at Constantinople instead of going to Angora, as had been intended. Certain conversations between Yugoslav and Turkish staff officers took place, but the result was not made public. In June a contract was signed between the Turkish Government and the German firm of Julius Berger under which the firm undertook to build within six years two new railway lines, the one between Kutahia and Taushanli, the other from Kaisarie to Ulukishla. On July 1 the Ghazi Pasha arrived at Constantinople on the first visit which he had paid to that city since his departure in 1920. He was enthusiastically received. An agreement respecting the Ottoman Debt (no interest on which had been paid since the outbreak of war) between Turkey and the Allies was reached at the end of July, under which Turkey undertook amongst other liabilities to pay approximately 2,000,000l. a year to the bond-holders, provision being made for a gradual increase in the annuity.

On August 23 the Government newspaper announced that the General Election would be held early in September. There was no choice of parties before the people of Turkey; 315 Kemalists were put up for election; no member of the Progressive Party stood; in fact, there was no Opposition candidate of any kind. Immediately after the announcement had been issued concerning the pending elections, the Ghazi Pasha, although President of the Republic, spoke strongly in favour of the Popular (Kemalist Government) Party. The elections began on September 1. The Kemalists were, of course, returned *en bloc*; the only vote recorded which did not go to their credit was given for an Independent candidate at Stamboul.

Frontier troubles with Persia arose in August, the Teheran Press accusing Turkey of fomenting trouble on her side of the frontier by tolerating or encouraging brigandage. On August 2 there was a demonstration of Jews at Constantinople at the funeral of a Jewish girl who had been murdered by a prominent Turk, and nine Jews were arrested on charges of insulting



**behaviour.** Contrary to popular expectation, eight of the Jews were acquitted, one being sentenced to 35 days\* imprisonment for assault. The threatened difficulties with the large Jewish population of Turkey were thus averted. In the course of inquiries in September into the case of Haji Sami, a notorious brigand and one of the " Hundred and Fifty " (exiles forbidden under the Treaty of Lausanne to reside in Turkey) who had been killed in an affray during August, evidence was stated to have been discovered of a fresh plot to kill the Ghazi Pasha by means of a bomb placed on the line and timed to explode during the passage of his train from Constantinople to Angora. A certain amount of ill-feeling towards Greece was aroused by the fact that Haji Sami's band had been armed and equipped in Greece before crossing the frontier into Anatolia. On September 15 there was a battle between the police and a gang of Armenians who were at first stated to have intended raiding and robbing the gambling rooms at the Yildiz Casino ; subsequently, however, it was revealed that the Armenians had been involved in a serious political conspiracy having for its object the assassination of the Ghazi Pasha. On October 4 the troubles on the Persian frontier led to the Turkish Government sending a Note to Teheran. Persian bandits had crossed the frontier and reached the town of Bayezid, where they fought the Turkish police, capturing an officer and several men. The Turkish Press declared that these bandits were in reality reactionary Turks, and the Note warned Teheran that if such incidents continued, they would have serious consequences.

The Ghazi Pasha seized the opportunity afforded by the Congress of the Popular Party which was opened at Angora on October 15 to deliver himself of a speech which lasted for the greater part of six days. This speech, in addition to being propaganda for its maker, provided an interesting history of the transformation of the old into present-day Turkey. The Ghazi Pasha started with the situation in 1919 when Turkey stood defeated, isolated, torn with internal dissensions, the hostile force of the Allies occupying her capital, and the Greeks advancing towards Asia Minor, with Turkey herself apparently helpless. He described how he had organised his band of adherents and recruited an army which he finally led to triumph, driving the Greeks into the sea at Smyrna. Though it contained no attack on Great Britain, the speech indicated quite clearly that the Ghazi regarded that country as primarily responsible for the occupation of Constantinople and **for** all the misfortunes which had resulted. He spoke disparagingly of the Islamic religion, and ended with a description of the abolition of the Sultanate and the Caliphate, and the removal of the capital of the new Republic to Angora. The speech had a great effect in Turkey, where it was referred to as the grandest lesson in history ever given by a ruler to his people.

The judgment of the Hague Court in the *Lotus* case (see

ANNUAL REGISTER for 1926) in Turkey's favour became known early in September, and naturally aroused great satisfaction.

For the first time in Turkish history a census was taken on October 28 under extraordinary circumstances. The entire population, with the exception of the census officials, doctors, firemen, and a number of journalists, was confined within doors for twenty-four hours. The arrangements were made by a Belgian who had conducted two censuses in his own country. Even the vessels in port were affected by the census ordinance, and lay for twenty-four hours like ships of the dead. It was not until November 4 that it was known that the result had been to fix the population of the country at approximately 14,000,000.

The new National Assembly met after the General Election on November 1 and unanimously re-elected Kemal Pasha as President of the Republic on the expiration of his four years' term. On November 3 a new Cabinet was formed, with General Ismet Pasha again at the head; four Ministers of the old Cabinet did not join the new; two posts were left unfilled, and the other two—those of Minister of Finance and Minister of the Interior—were filled by Shukry Bey Sarajoghlu and Shukry Kaya Bey respectively.

In November some forty-seven persons, at whose head was Shefik Husni Bey, were arrested on charges of attempting to spread the tenets of Communism in Turkey. Shefik Husni Bey had been sentenced in 1926 to fifteen years' imprisonment for spreading Communist doctrines, but had fled to Russia. In the same month the Report of the Commission appointed under the Treaty of Angora to draw up the frontiers of Iraq with Turkey was published. The result was accepted in Turkey as satisfactory. There was an echo of the Haji Sami conspiracy when, on November 7, three members of his band were sentenced to death for plotting the assassination of the Ghazi Pasha. On December 6 Shukry Kaya Bey, Minister of the Interior, announced that martial law would be abolished and a civilian administration gradually introduced in the eastern vilayets, thus marking a further step in the consolidation of the new Turkey.

There was no occurrence of outstanding importance throughout the year. The relaxation of various emergency measures indicated the growing realisation that the time had passed for the display of an iron hand without any velvet glove, but as the conduct and result of the elections indicated better than anything else, the dictatorship of the Ghazi Pasha still constituted the Turkish political "system." As between Great Britain and Soviet Russia, Turkey maintained her detached position with considerable skill. While repressing with a firm hand any attempts to spread communist doctrines within her borders, she refused to break off commercial relations with Russia. She showed a desire to remain on good terms with Great Britain, though her attitude

towards this country is best described as watchful. It is still impossible to say what system will eventually take the place of the personal rule of the Ghazi Pasha, but the opposition to it seems to be decreasing with every year of its continuance, despite the two plots against his life said to have been discovered during 1927.

#### GREECE.

The task which confronted the new Greek Premier, M. Zaimis, at the outset of 1927 was an extremely difficult one. He took office at the end of a year of revolution, plotting, and counter-revolution with a broad Coalition Cabinet to endeavour to re-settle the country and clear up the financial muddle resulting from the extraordinary dictatorship of General Pangalos. From the outset his team of Royalists and Republicans was ill-assorted, and had been brought together less on account of the desire of the political leaders to co-operate than because of the insistence of the general public that in the interests of the country fighting for political spoils must cease. The financial situation was particularly pressing, and an opportunity to discuss one of the most important questions, that of the settlement of the debt to Great Britain, was afforded by the visit of the British Fleet to Phaleron with Mr. Winston Churchill, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, on board, on January 13. The capital sum owed by Greece to Great Britain amounted to 21,167,000l. ; the Greek attitude was that their country ought to be treated at least as favourably as Italy, having regard to their impoverishment after the Smyrna campaign, and to the fact that the service of existing loans used up one-third of the total revenues of the country. Nothing definite was settled during Mr. Churchill's visit, but the foundations of the subsequent agreement were laid. The biggest factor in bringing about the eventual settlement was the pressing need for a supplementary loan for the settlement of the refugees.

Political intrigues caused uneasiness from time to time. The first trouble arose over the publication on January 17 of two secret reports alleging that M. Tsaldaris, the Minister of the Interior and leader of the (Royalist) Popular Party and M. Merkouris, the Minister of National Economy were plotting to overthrow the Government in the Royalist interests. The reports were characterised by the two Ministers as absurd, and the ensuing crisis lasted a fortnight, M. Tsaldaris threatening to resign. In the end, General Manettas, commanding the First Army Corps, and two other officers concerned in the authorship and circulation of these army reports were temporarily suspended, and the quarrel with the Popular Party patched up for a time. In consequence of disturbing rumours of a plot to release the former dictator, General Pangalos, he was removed from the Averoff Prison on

January 26 and interned in the Idzeddin Prison, in Crete. On March 10 a proposed general strike of shopkeepers was abandoned at the last moment; a crowd, however, refused to accept the decision of the shopkeepers' union and came into conflict with the police, who fired, killing two demonstrators and wounding several others. Commander Laskos, who had been aide-de-camp to General Pangalos during the latter's dictatorship, seized the opportunity to broadcast from the Government wireless station a message stating that a revolution had broken out, and was arrested in consequence.

Negotiations on the subject of the Greek war debts to Great Britain continued throughout the Spring, both in London—where M. Diomedes and M. Venizelos discussed the matter with M. Caclamanos, the Greek Minister to Great Britain, and in Athens through the British Minister. They culminated on April 9 in an agreement signed by Mr. Churchill and M. Caclamanos. After deduction of arrears of interest and a sum for damage done by the British troops in Macedonia, the total debt was fixed at 21,444,000*l.* Greece bound herself to pay sixty-two annual instalments rising from 200,000*l.* in 1927 to 400,000*l.* from 1936-1987. The "Balfour Clause" (by which Great Britain undertakes not to demand more from her former Allies than sufficient, together with German Reparation payments, to meet her war debt to the United States) was included in this as in other war debt agreements. It was announced from Athens that the Greek Government would proceed to float three new loans in London—a supplementary Refugee Loan, another to cover the old Budget deficit, and a third to stabilise the drachma.

Hardly had this debt regulation been successfully carried through than there was a fresh blow to the Cabinet. Admiral Konduriotis, the President of the Republic, who had twice been Regent of Greece, and then President, until the conduct of General Pangalos forced him to resign that office, which he resumed on the disappearance of the Dictator, formally resigned as a protest against the failure of the Zaimis Cabinet after five months of office to secure the ratification of the Constitution—the first of the tasks for which it had received a mandate. He consented to continue to fulfil the duties of the office pending the election of a new President after the Constitution should have been passed. Admiral Konduriotis, however, sanctioned a statement by the Premier on May 16 that there was no longer any question of his resignation. He is still occupying the Presidential post. The Constitution was ratified on June 1.

The existence of further intrigues on behalf of General Pangalos was revealed by the publication on April 20 of several letters addressed by him to Army officers. Other difficulties arose over the question of the reinstatement of the dismissed Royalist officers. At the end of May, M. Venizelos (who had been allowed

to **return** to Greece) complicated the internal situation by proposing in a letter to a Cretan newspaper that a plebiscite should be held on the question of Monarchy or Republic. General Othanaïos at the same time declared that the publication of the lists of Royalist officers who were to be reinstated would endanger the existence of the Republic, and once again there were fears of a military *coup*, which ended in the removal of several officers of the Athens garrison. Further Pangalist plotting in the army and navy came to light in June, but in the middle of July it was stated that the situation had again become normal.

On July 31 a quarrel arose between M. Tsaldaris, Leader of the Popular Party and Minister of the Interior, and M. Kaphandaris, the Minister of Finance, whom the former considered to have exceeded his instructions in the financial negotiations at Geneva. The Minister of Communications and the Minister of Foreign Affairs threatened to resign if the discussions between the other two Ministers were protracted. After several attempts at reconciliation the trouble came to a head on August 12, when M. Tsaldaris, together with M. Argyrots and M. Merkouris, the Ministers for Education and National Economy, resigned from the Cabinet. The point in dispute was the gold cover for the notes issued by the National Bank of Greece. M. Kaphandaris proposed to transfer this to a new bank of issue, paying the equivalent in paper currency to the National Bank. M. Tsaldaris declared that by thus recognising the gold cover to be the property of the National Bank, the Government would place in the pockets of the shareholders of that institution an unrighteous profit. M. Zaimis reconstructed his Cabinet without resignation, the Popular Party with its 63 members going into Opposition.

In September further Pangalist plots came to light, and once again four agitators were arrested and deported to the *jiCgean* Islands. More arrests were effected during the following week, including that of the son and of the wife of General Pangalos, but ten of the twenty-eight persons concerned, including these two members of the General's family, were released within a few days. The Government seemed reluctant to bring the imprisoned dictator to trial, perhaps through fear of a *coup d'Etat*. Another danger to the Government throughout the year was the opposition of General Kondylis, who feared the effect of a Royalist *rapprochement* with the Republicans, but there was no reason to suspect that he contemplated at any time anything in the nature of a *coup d'etat*.

With the debt to Great Britain regulated, M. Kaphandaris found his task simplified at Geneva. On September 13 the Financial Committee of the League announced that it had been decided to recommend a loan to Greece under the auspices of the League of a sum not exceeding 9,000,00(M). The proceeds were to be devoted to the settlement of refugees, paying off budgetary

arrears and repayment of the State debt in three equal proportions. The loan was to be secured on the revenues already controlled by the International Financial Commission of 1898. In connexion with the repayment of debt, it was provided that an independent Bank, to be called the Bank of Greece, was to be established within six months of the issue of the Loan with a reserve of 50 per cent. The functions of the bank were to be the stabilisation of the currency, for which purpose it was to maintain a 40 per cent, reserve and was to deal with State revenues and expenditure. After these details had been settled by the League, however, difficulties arose in connexion with the war debt to France, M. Poincare insisting on a settlement before he would allow the French delegate on the Financial Commission to deal with the revenues assigned to the new Loan. Furthermore, the French, in order to put political pressure on Greece, refused to make the same concession as Great Britain had done and, in view of the burden imposed on the country by the refugee problem, remit the claim for armaments supplied in 1917 and 1918. Meantime, negotiations were in progress very quietly at Washington for the settlement of the Greek debt to the United States. During the first week in December an agreement was reached in Geneva by which Greece waived her right to the remainder of American pre-war loans, receiving in exchange a twenty-year Refugee Loan of 2,500,000l. at 4 per cent., repayment of the war debt of 4,036,000l. being arranged for sixty-two instalments. The important provision was made that if France still obstructed the service of the League Loan, the American Minister in Athens would undertake the necessary control of revenues for this American loan. The terms, which were made public on December 5, cut away the ground from beneath the feet of the French, and on December 7 they came to an agreement with the Greeks by which the question of payment for munitions was to be submitted to arbitration. The further amount required by Greece after deduction of the American loan amounted to only 6,500,000l. and arrangements were at once made for floating this in London and New York. This financial success greatly strengthened the position of the Zaimis Cabinet.

On October 30 an unsuccessful attempt was made on the life of the President of the Republic, Admiral Konduriotis, outside the Town Hall at Athens by an unemployed waiter named Zaphytios Gousios, who fired a revolver, wounding the President slightly in the head. The assailant was arrested, but no explanation of his motive in making the attempt was forthcoming.

There were no events of first-class importance connected with foreign politics during the year. Nothing occurred to justify the vaguely expressed French fears of a specific *rapprochement* with Fascist Italy. With Yugoslavia good relations were maintained, and there was less difficulty with Bulgaria over the *komitaji*

question than there has been in previous years. On September 27 three Bulgarian *komitajis* belonging to the terrorist group, the Macedonian Autonomists, were arrested near Salonica in possession of bombs and rifles, with which, as a fourth accomplice who betrayed them said, they had intended to blow up buildings in Salonica Free Harbour. The Greek Minister in Sofia was instructed to call the attention of the Bulgarian Government to the incident, but there was no disposition shown in Greece to attach undue importance to the incident or to suggest official Bulgarian complicity.

#### ALBANIA.

The foreign relations of Albania were dominated throughout 1927 by the Treaty of Tirana, concluded between Albania and Italy on November 26, 1926. From this time the President, Ahmed Zogu, drew continually closer to Rome. At the end of March, Italy accused Yugoslavia of making preparations to attack Albania, or at least of stirring up trouble on the frontier with the object of overthrowing the Government of Ahmed Zogu. Belgrade protested its innocence and demanded an international inquiry, at the same time proposing that the situation created in the Balkans by the Pact of Tirana should be examined by the Great Powers and the League of Nations.

In the midst of the excitement caused on both sides of the Adriatic by these proceedings, the arrest took place at Durazzo of one Vuko Juraskovitch (May 27) on a charge of espionage on behalf of Yugoslavia. The Yugoslavian legation at Tirana maintained that the said Juraskovitch was engaged as an interpreter at the legation at Durazzo. The Albanian authorities, however, refused to recognise in him any such capacity, and regarded him as a mere Albanian subject. Relations were for a time broken off between the two countries, and diplomatic and consular representatives were recalled. France, however, made representations both at Tirana and at Belgrade, and relations were resumed at the beginning of August.

Nevertheless the mistrust between Albania and Yugoslavia continued, being kept alive principally by the rivalry between the latter country and Italy. It was accentuated by the conclusion towards the end of the year (November 22) of an alliance between Rome and Tirana of a military character. This alliance, which contained seven articles, was for a duration of twenty years, and provided for military co-operation between the two countries for purposes of defence, if their efforts to maintain peace proved ineffective.

The immediate practical result of this alliance was to stimulate Italy to make further efforts to develop her economic enterprises in Albania, with the support of the two Italian institutions, the

Albanian National Bank and the Svea, a company which has advanced 50 million gold francs to Albania, and which practically holds all the concessions for business undertakings and public works.

In the course of the year Albania regulated her relations with Greece by means of a consular and commercial convention. Two questions, however, still remain as a source of friction between the two countries : (1) that of the property of Albanian subjects situated in Macedonia, Epirus, and Thessaly, which Greece claims the right to appropriate for merely trifling compensation ; (2) that of the Albanian minorities in Macedonia and Epirus which Greece has expelled or intends to expel over the Turkish border, since it considers them Turks, and therefore liable to the forcible exchange of populations laid down in the Greco-Turk Convention of 1922 at Lausanne.

Two other outstanding questions of foreign relations are those of the Albanian orthodox autocephalic Church, and of the attitude of the Vatican to the Catholics. The autocephalic Church has existed *de facto* and *de jure* since 1922, but relations with the Ecumenical Patriarch of Constantinople have not yet been placed on a proper footing, owing to a certain intransigence on the part of the Phanar. As regards the Concordat, a delegation left Tirana at the end of the year to inaugurate conversations with the Holy See.

In home affairs the most important event was the journey of the President of the Republic to Scutari in August, and, as a sequel to this journey, the proclamation, in September, of an amnesty for political offences. The persons concerned were the Malissors who had taken part in the insurrection of Dukajiu (November, 1926), and a section of the supporters of the Government which was overthrown by Ahmed Zogu in 1924. There were still a number of politicians, enemies of Ahmed Zogu, abroad, some of them not comprised in the amnesty, while others have refused to return, though figuring on the list.

An important internal reform was the suppression of the irregular militia and the organisation of an Albanian army with Italian officers, as also of a *gendarmerie*.

#### BULGARIA.

The past year was for Bulgaria one of peace and slow progress, marred only (after six months of comparative quietude) by a recurrence of serious outrages organised by the Macedonian Revolutionary Committee.

The Sobranje was summoned on January 26 to its final session, which came to an end on April 15 in accordance with the Constitution, Parliament having for almost the first time in Bulgarian history completed its full legal term. This fact was



**referred** to with great satisfaction by the King, in his speech closing the session on the date mentioned, as an indication of the growing political consolidation of the country. General Elections were held on May 29. Forty thousand candidates stood for the 273 seats, largely as the result of the fact that the Bulgarian deputy is a comparatively highly paid person, and that the only qualifications required of a candidate are that he should be thirty years of age and able to read and write. The number of seats had been increased by thirty as the result of the census taken on the preceding 31st of December. This census showed the population of Bulgaria to be 5,460,000, an increase of 12.8 per cent, on the figures of the 1920 census. Despite the large number of candidates and the abundance of "parties" which were taken seriously by no one, the Election issue was fairly clear. There was never much doubt as to the result, owing to the electoral law of Bulgaria, which gives an enormous advantage to the party in power. The Government Party Group, the Democratic Entente, headed by M. Liaptcheff, the retiring Prime Minister, was certain of victory, and interest settled around the question of how many seats he would take from his opponents, the Coalition, headed by a former Prime Minister, M. Malinoff, and the group of parties led by M. Pastokoff, which included the Extreme Agrarians. Professor Tsankoff, the late Prime Minister, who took office after the assassination of M. Stambulisky, stood as a supporter of the Government.

The conduct of the elections was described as "relatively free" from acts of intimidation and violence, although M. Sakizof, the Socialist leader, later interrupted the King's Speech at the opening of the Sobrane to protest against the electoral methods employed by the Government. At all events there was no comparison possible between the methods of M. Liaptcheff and those of his predecessor, Professor Tsankoff. In the result the Democratic Entente increased its representation from 141 to 175, and M. Malinoff's Coalition group dropped from 30 to 23 members. The Socialists and Extreme Agrarians, who had 40 seats in the old Sobrane, increased their representation to 54, taking General Mouravieff, a former Stambulisky Minister, as their leader. The Extreme Agrarians made their first appearance as a properly organised party at this election after being practically proscribed under the Tsankoff regime, and, like the Government group, did well. The moderates under M. Malinoff were the losers. The Macedonians elected 11 members, and 5 were obtained by Labour, the party with Communist tendencies. General Mouravieff was attacked and beaten by an organised gang of roughs two days before the election, but his opponent failed to secure election. The General is a nephew of the late M. Stambulisky, and had been released from prison only some twelve months earlier. Among the Democratic Entente were 40 followers of

Professor Tsankoff, who cannot be relied upon to support M. Liaptcheff in any moderate courses, and who openly desire to see him replaced by such a dictator as was Professor Tsankoff himself.

In his speech terminating the debate on the King's Speech, M. Liaptcheff declared that the new Sobranye would have a heavy task in restoring the economic and financial stability of the country. He referred in terms of appreciation to the effect which the Refugee Loan had had in restoring Bulgarian credit in foreign markets ; accused the Extreme Agrarians and the Labour Party of having been supported by Communist funds during the election ; declined to consider the question of amnesty to the remaining 350 political prisoners still serving sentences ; and mentioned that 570 prisoners had been pardoned. This speech, of course, was an indirect reply to the plea which had been put forward at the March sitting of the Council of the League of Nations for political prisoners of Bulgaria. M. Liaptcheff made an interesting declaration to the effect that it had been the misfortune of preceding Governments to have been under the influence of secret organisations, declaring that he was determined not to submit to this. The statement amounted to a declaration of war on the Macedonian Revolutionary Committee, which had influenced so strongly the whole policy of the Tsankoff Cabinet.

As in previous years, Bulgarian foreign policy was dominated by the question of Macedonia. From both the Bulgarian and the Yugoslav side, an effort was made to keep in the background the question of the Macedonian subjects of the latter country and the agitation and violence indulged in on their behalf by the Macedonian subjects of Bulgaria. At no time did the question of the Macedonian subjects of Greece, though also one of difficulty, ever become acute. In March M. Nechitch was appointed Yugoslav Minister in Sofia, and from the outset showed that he appreciated the sincere efforts of M. Liaptcheff to effect a *rapprochement* between the two countries. It was undoubtedly the very success of the Bulgarian and Yugoslav Governments in this direction which led to the revival of Macedonian terrorist activity in the latter half of the year. The Treaty of Tirana and the general tension between Italy and Yugoslavia certainly encouraged the Macedonians in their efforts to provoke trouble with the latter country; no evidence was ever forthcoming to substantiate the stories that the revival of Macedonian terrorism was encouraged by Italian agitators. In Bulgaria the charges against Yugoslavia of having tolerated subversive activities by Bulgarian Agrarian refugees were, of course, revived, but the Bulgarian Government made no attempt to exploit such charges in order to excuse the undoubted Macedonian terrorist actions.

The Macedonian Committee first became active in April in connexion with the decision of the Graeco-Bulgar Mixed

Commission to liquidate church and school property in those Macedonian villages acquired by Greece under the Treaty of Neuilly from which the majority of the inhabitants had emigrated to Bulgaria. The agitation had no effect, and revolutionary methods were not resorted to. On April 10 there was a minor frontier incident in the course of which a Bulgarian corporal was declared to have been killed by a Yugoslav soldier on Bulgarian soil. On May 16 a dozen Bulgarian *komitajis* were attacked on Yugoslav soil by Yugoslav gendarmes, three Bulgarians and one Yugoslav being killed. On June 19 Bulgarian bands attacked a Yugoslav customs post near Bosilovgrad, killing a customs officer ; the Yugoslavs in reply shelled the village of Izvor. An indication of the improvement in Grseeo-Bulgar relations was furnished in August, when it was decided by both countries not to renew the engagements of the two Swedish officers appointed at the suggestion of the League of Nations in 1925 to watch over possible frontier incidents. But in September there was serious trouble with Yugoslavia consequent on the placing of "bombs on the Guevgheli railway by Macedonian revolutionaries. Both Yugoslavia and Greece made a moderate *demarche* in Sofia on the subject of the peril to international relations resulting from Macedonian activities. The murder of General Kovatchevitch, the Yugoslav commander of the garrison at Ishtip (see under Yugoslavia) in October led to a renewal of tension, since the Yugoslav authorities were able to produce convincing evidence that this crime and the attack on a Yugoslav village which immediately followed it were the work of the Macedonian conspirators. It was soon evident at Sofia, however, that Belgrade realised that to embarrass the Liaptcheff Government would be to play into the hands of the Macedonian terrorists, who asked for nothing better than its dismissal. The cautious tone of the Yugoslav *demarche* which took place on this occasion enabled the Bulgarian to take firm action against the conspirators without humiliation in the eyes of their own supporters, and a crisis which gravely threatened the peace of Europe was averted. The French, British, and Italian Ministers successfully counselled moderation in Sofia and Belgrade. Martial law was proclaimed by Bulgaria and sternly enforced in the frontier districts of Kustendil and Petritch, despite the opposition of the Macedonians and of the Agrarians, who feared that the same weapon might, as in the past, be employed against themselves. In November there was a good deal of agitation against Rumania, on account of some shocking outrages of which Bulgarian subjects of Rumania were the victims (alleged to have occurred with Rumanian sanction) in the Dobruja.

During the year the Government pursued its policy of reduction of State expenditure, diminution of imports, and increase of exports with some success.

The foreign tour of King Boris in the summer and autumn

attracted great interest both at home and abroad ; it was generally supposed that it would conclude with the announcement that he had found a bride, but this proved not to be the case,

## CHAPTER VI.

BELGIUM — NETHERLANDS — SWITZERLAND — SPAIN — PORTUGAL — DENMARK—SWEDEN—NORWAY—FINLAND.

### BELGIUM.

THE year 1927 was politically one of the quietest since the war. The Jaspas Government was the fruit of a National Union Coalition, and could only maintain itself if, conformably to the decision adopted at its inception, all political questions were left in abeyance. Hence Parliament was not able to embark on any new legislation ; its activity was confined to the carrying through of the measures for restoring the finances inaugurated by the former Financial Minister, M. Francqui (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1926, p. 223). These proved entirely successful; in the course of the year the Financial Minister announced that the yield from taxes considerably exceeded the Budget estimate, and he even felt encouraged to contemplate a reduction in certain of the taxes.

In January the Premier, M. Henri Jaspas, took over the office of Minister of the Colonies which had become vacant by the death of M. Pecher, while the Ministry of the Interior was transferred to the Liberal senator, M. Maurice Vauthier. These ministerial rearrangements were not well received by the Christian Democrats, who were left without a representative in the Cabinet. Aided by a number of citizens of Socialist leanings, these carried on an agitation in the Press and in meetings against the Government, maintaining that, as the financial situation had been re-established, the national combination of M. Jaspas had no longer any *raison d'être*, and that a return should be made to a Government composed of Socialists and Christian Democrats. The agitation became strong enough to cause anxiety to the leaders of the Socialist Party, and accordingly the question of their continued participation in the Government was placed by the General Council of the Workers' Party before the various provincial federations. These, on a referendum being taken, gave an affirmative vote by a considerable majority, but with certain express qualifications. It was to be a *sine qua non* for the co-operation of Socialist Ministers that the Government should accept the essential points of the Socialist programme : six months' military service, and increase and extension of pensions for all workers. As against this the Financial Minister, Baron Houtart, supported by the Treasury Committee, formed to combat excessive expenditure, laid stress in his speeches on the

fact that it would be impossible to improve the situation of the civil servants, the State pensioners, and superannuated workers without upsetting the Budget, and that therefore he would oppose such outlay. At the beginning of March the Government was questioned in the Chamber on this matter, and also in regard to the protests raised against the methods used by the revenue officers in the collection of income tax and still more of the numerous luxury taxes.

Parliament was not completely inactive. It passed a number of Bills, but all of them dealing only with matters of detail, supplementing previous legislation and not constituting any complete programme. No important political problem was solved. The Chamber of Representatives discussed at length a Bill on rural leasehold. At the end of the first session, M. Wauters, the Socialist Minister of Public Welfare, succeeded in obtaining a provisional increase in the old-age pensions for workers, thus partially redeeming one of the election pledges of the Workers' Party. The salaries of members of Parliament, emoluments of Ministers, and the King's civil list were also increased, on account of the higher cost of living. The Minister of Finance on his side consented to bring in a Bill for slightly reducing the income tax ; this was immediately passed.

The "activists," i.e., the Flemish separatists, displayed a certain activity in the course of the year. Their deputies delivered in the Chamber anti-Belgian discourses, and, with the aid of some Socialist deputies, they succeeded in introducing into the Chamber a proposal to amnesty the activists who had been condemned for having given assistance to the enemy during the German occupation. Violent protests were immediately raised all over the country against such a project.

At the beginning of September the Government adopted the recommendations of a Commission appointed to draw up a programme of public works on a large scale for furthering the economic development of the country.

At the end of the year the military question came up for discussion in the Chamber. At the beginning of July M. de Brocqueville, the Minister of National Defence, had announced that on the re-assembling of the Chamber in November he would, in the name of the Government, introduce a Bill on the matter. Having, however, met with an obstinate resistance on the part of the Staff to any modification in the existing system of military service, he came before Parliament without the promised Bill. Finding themselves thus deluded, the Socialist Ministers announced their intention of voting for the Socialist scheme of military reform which provides for the reduction of the term of military service from ten to six months, and a thorough recasting of the system of national defence. This led to a Cabinet crisis. Taking into account their formal pledges to secure the six months' military

service, also the rising cost of necessities, and the possibility of a Communist attack on their Left Wing, the Socialists decided to go into Opposition, so as to prepare themselves for the elections of 1929.

The crisis was quickly settled. The King, after consulting with the chief political leaders, commissioned M. Jaspar to form a new Cabinet. The four Socialist Ministers were replaced by two Liberals and two Christian Democrats. The Liberal leader, M. Paul Hymans, took the portfolio of Foreign affairs and M. Paul-Emile Janson that of Justice. The Ministry of Industry and Labour was offered to the leader of the Christian Democrat Party, that of the Interior to M. Carnoy. The Liberal Senator Vauthier was transferred from the Interior to Arts and Sciences, and the former Governor-General of the Congo, M. Maurice Lippens, became Minister of Railways.

The ministerial declaration of policy announced that the investigation of the military question would be entrusted to a mixed Commission of military men and members of Parliament. The co-operation of Liberals in the Government was only obtained on condition that no linguistic or religious question should find a place on the Government programme. The Christian Democrats had made promises on this matter which it would be difficult for them to fulfil, while on the other hand their programme in many points, and especially on the question of military service, closely approached that of the Socialists. Consequently their position in the new Government was very precarious.

In August M. Vandervelde, in the course of a Note intended to refute the German allegations with regard to the Belgian *franc-tireurs* who were said to have fought against the German armies after the invasion of the country in 1914, recalled the fact that Belgium had lately offered to the Government of the Reich to submit the matter to an impartial inquiry, and that this invitation had produced no result. In replying to the Note Germany gave her belated consent to this old proposal. This put the Belgian Government in a dilemma, and M. Vandervelde's colleagues reproached him for having, without consulting them, reopened this important question which was already regarded as a *chose jugée*. A Cabinet Council was held at Brussels, and it decided that the Belgian Government should, for the present, oppose such an inquiry, as it could only prejudice the friendly relations between the two countries which had been gradually built up since the war. The incident was then closed.

#### THE NETHERLANDS.

Politically 1927 was a quiet year. The extra-parliamentary Cabinet of de Geer (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1926, p. 225), as

was expected, maintained itself without difficulty, since there was no prospect as yet of the formation of a majority party in Parliament. The Roman Catholics did not show any inclination to form such a majority by joining with the democratic groups of the Left, although on some occasions, especially during the discussions on the collective labour contract, nearly all the Roman Catholics co-operated with those groups. On the other hand, no reconciliation took place between the three parties who had been allied for so many years, *viz.*, the Roman Catholics, the anti-Revolutionaries, and the Christian Historicals. There would appear, however, to be among them an increasing desire to come to an agreement once more ; at any rate the Roman Catholics have shown themselves willing to consider the abolition of the Legation at the Vatican as a *fait accompli*, and not to look upon this any longer as an impediment to the re-establishing of the former Coalition. It is worthy of note that in the elections for the Provincial States, which took place in April, 1927, the dissenting Protestant parties which are against co-operation with the Roman Catholics again made headway at the expense of the anti-Revolutionaries and the Christian Historicals.

As against the tendency of the Roman Catholic and the great Protestant parties to come together again, Dr. Marchant, the leader of the Liberal Democrats, continued to plead for an alliance between the Democrats of the Right and of the Left. From a parliamentary point of view he deprecated the idea, which was propounded from the Right, of forming a Ministry after the elections, which would then draw up its programme. He held that the formation of a Ministry ought to be preceded by the framing of a programme. The political line of demarcation ought to run between the supporters and the opponents of a pure parliamentary system, of social legislation, of militarism, and of subjection to international jurisdiction. As it turned out, co-operation between the Right and the Left in regard to the military problem did not prove possible. When the Social Democrats brought forward a proposal for national disarmament, *i.e.*, for the reduction of the national forces to a police army with an annual contingent of 3,200 men, they were only supported by the Liberal Democrats and the one Communist member; the proposal was rejected by 53 votes to 31.

Owing to the absence of a Parliamentary majority, no legislative work of importance was accomplished. The Minister of War and of the Navy *ad interim* was able to carry his estimates, which were opposed only by the Social Democrats and the Liberal Democrats. He also succeeded in getting a Bill passed by a large majority for the amalgamation of the two Departments into a Department of National Defence, but only after making a declaration that this amalgamation would not prejudice the splitting up of the Navy into a Dutch and a Netherlands East

Indian fleet, to prevent which had at first been an essential object of the amalgamation of the two Departments.

Foreign politics were of greater interest than home politics. After the sanctioning of the Netherlands-Belgian Treaty by the Second Chamber with a majority of only 3 votes (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1926, pp. 228-229), the campaign against this Treaty grew even more active. Besides the objections which had been put forward before, doubts were raised as to whether the agreement regarding the Scheldt was in fact compatible with the supervision, invested in the Crown by the Constitution, of all matters concerning the " Waterstaat " (rivers, canals, dykes, etc.). Strong protests were also raised against the exceptional position which would be accorded to Belgian men-of-war. A declaration on this point by M. Vandervelde, the Belgian Minister of Foreign Affairs, in January, was not deemed satisfactory. In March the First Chamber began its discussion of the Treaty, to which it devoted special attention. Not less than 27 out of the 50 members took part in the discussions, which were followed with great interest throughout the country. The Treaty was finally rejected by 33 votes to 17, a result which was hailed with joy by public opinion, although general regret was expressed that Jonkheer van Karnebeek, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, who had honourably occupied his post for more than eight years, felt compelled to resign owing to the rejection. Jonkheer Dr. F. Beelaerts van Blokland, formerly Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in China, and lately chief of the section of Diplomatic Affairs at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, was appointed as his successor. The new Minister, on April 24, took occasion in the First Chamber to make a declaration regarding the relations with Belgium, in which he laid stress on the interdependency of the two countries. Good relations between the two countries, he said, were not only to their mutual interest, but were also a matter of general European interest. Holland had never failed in carrying out the obligations imposed on her by the Separation Treaty of 1839. If there were reasons now for Holland's consenting to co-operate in revising certain clauses of that Treaty, it should be thoroughly well understood that no juridical basis existed for requiring more from her than she had thus far been under obligation to give. But from that fact it did not at all follow that as a matter of principle Holland would refuse to consider Belgium's economic requirements resulting from her geographical position with regard to Holland. On the contrary, the recent discussions had confirmed the Government in its conviction that it could count on the approval of the States General for carrying on discussions with Belgium concerning what might be done to meet such requirements and for opening negotiations in order to arrive at arrangements calculated to serve the interests of both countries.



During 1927 no fresh negotiations with Belgium were carried on. The Government decided to study the question afresh in its entirety. At the end of the year the Minister of Foreign Affairs, in his Memorandum regarding the 1928 estimates, declared that the necessary basis for negotiations had not yet been found. As soon, however, as the inquiry which was on foot should be completed, he was of opinion that there was no reason to expect any hindrance to fresh negotiations with Belgium. The Minister considered it desirable to clear up the position with regard to Belgium as soon as possible.

With various countries provisional commercial treaties were prolonged. Although Holland fully approves of the conclusions of the Economic Conference of the League of Nations regarding Free Trade, the Government considered themselves obliged, for defending the ceramic industry against foreign exchange competition, to demand for the products of that industry, for a term of three years, an increase of the import duty from 8 to 15 per cent., with a minimum duty of fl. 3 per 100 kilos net. From the Speech from the Throne it also appeared that the Government was inclined to introduce double tariffs in order to obtain greater facilities for the conclusion of favourable commercial treaties. This tendency was vigorously opposed by the advocates of Free Trade.

The financial situation of the Netherlands at the end of 1927 was sound. The final figures for 1924 showed, instead of an estimated deficit of 62 millions on the Ordinary Budget, a surplus of 26 millions. The financial year 1925, for which a deficit of 19.5 millions had been estimated on the Ordinary Budget, ended with a surplus of 44.2 millions. The provisional results for 1926 pointed to a surplus of 56.5 millions, as against an estimated surplus of only 6.3 millions. The revenue yielded about 40 millions more than had been expected. With regard to the year 1927, a surplus of not more than 28 millions was anticipated, but this year also the yield of the ordinary revenue proved to be 30 millions in excess of anticipation, and 13 millions in excess of that of the preceding year.

In consequence of this favourable development, the Government relinquished their intention of introducing a tax on hotels and restaurants, which was already all that remained of the tax on luxuries originally contemplated, and which they had deemed necessary to introduce in place of the reduction of the income tax, the household tax and the death and donation duties. On the contrary, for 1928-29 a further reduction of the income tax by 20 per cent, all along the line was considered possible. An attempt from the Democratic side, to reduce the meat excise in lieu of this, or at all events to lessen the burden of the small incomes more than of the large ones, was opposed by the Government and rejected in December by the Second Chamber. The 1928 estimates were thereupon adopted as follows: ordinary

expenditure 591.8 millions, revenue 595.2 millions, surplus 3.4 millions; extraordinary expenditure 229.6 millions, revenue 56.3 millions, deficit 173.3 millions; the entire Budget providing for 821.4 millions expenditure and 651.5 millions revenue, deficit 169.9 millions.

On April 30, her eighteenth birthday, Princess Juliana attained her political majority, and became a member of the Council of State under Article 74 of the Constitution. She accompanied Queen Wilhelmina for the first time on the occasion of the opening of the ordinary session of the States General in September. For the further continuation of her studies the Princess was matriculated as a Law student at Leyden University.

#### SWITZERLAND.

In internal affairs the year 1927 was uneventful. The Cantonal and municipal elections brought gains to the Left. The Civil Servants Bill passed by the Nationalrat in 1926 (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1926, p. 234) was confirmed by the Standerat. The career of this Bill incidentally revealed the weakness of the Communists. They desired to submit it to a referendum, but in spite of the most strenuous efforts they were not able to collect the requisite 300,000 votes. The Socialists at first opposed the Bill, but afterwards, under pressure from the trade unions, supported it, and now they combated the Communists with genuinely Fascist methods. The referendum on the Automobile law passed by the Chambers in 1926 (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1926, p. 234) resulted on May 15 in its rejection. Immediately afterwards a memorial signed by 52,000 citizens demanded an alteration in Article 37 of the Constitution, for the purpose of establishing a Federal road control, by which a number of main roads would be transferred from the administration of the Cantons to that of the Confederation. The cost is to be defrayed by a tax on petrol. The Chambers adopted the amendment demanded by a popular initiative in the Article of the Constitution which totally prohibits games of chance, so that henceforth the kursaals will again be allowed to provide facilities for games of chance to a limited extent. The final decision will be made by the people in 1928.

The new military penal code was adopted by both Houses of Parliament after labours and discussions extending over many years, and is to come into force on January 1, 1928. On December 8, 1926, the people had rejected the new article of the Constitution intended to establish a corn monopoly (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1926, p. 233). Efforts were made to secure the indefinite continuance of the existing corn monopoly which had been created during the war by the Bundesrat in virtue of its extraordinary powers. These led to violent disputes, until at

length an urgent resolution of the Federal Council fixed the termination of the existing corn monopoly for June 30, 1928. In the course of the year increases were made in the Federal stamp and coupon taxes, and in the motor and malt and barley duties.

As the Socialists form the only Opposition party (apart from the quite insignificant Communists), they invariably profit by popular discontent. The existence of such discontent was shown by the popular vote on the article of the Constitution for allowing the Federation to grant subventions to Cantons which have to maintain alpine roads. The article was, indeed, adopted, since 344,206 votes were cast in its favour, but no less than 199,305 votes were registered against it. No opposition had been offered from any side against the clause ; the 200,000 or so who said " No " had nothing against the clause ; they merely wished to give expression to their discontent.

The wave of protest against the execution of Sacco and Vanzetti passed over Switzerland also. In Basle a Socialist demonstration in favour of the two Italians was accompanied by a bomb outrage which caused the loss of one life. The perpetrator (who was probably not a Socialist) was not discovered. In Geneva the mob tried to storm the American shops, and also the League of Nations buildings, in which, however, only a few window-panes were broken.

At the end of the year it was decided to organise a popular initiative for an amendment to the Constitution forbidding every Swiss, under penalty of losing his civic rights, to accept decorations or titles from a foreign Government. At present this prohibition applies under the Constitution only to members of the Federal Departments, to Federal civil and military officials, to members of Parliament, and all officers and private soldiers. During the last fifteen years the French Government has been very lavish in conferring the order of the Legion of Honour upon Swiss, especially those from the French-speaking Cantons, and in the past year also it has taken no notice of representations made inofficially by the Bundesrat. This practice was viewed with growing anxiety as likely to lead to a dangerous increase of foreign influence, and steps were at last taken to organise a popular demand for the total prohibition of the acceptance of such distinctions. Some newspapers in the western districts have vehemently attacked the movement as being directed against French-speaking Switzerland, but precisely in Geneva itself many prominent men have signed the appeal to the people.

In October the Rhine valley in Graubunden and in the Canton of St. Gallen, as well as parts of the Engadine and of the Canton of Ticino, were devastated by floods. The Principality of Liechtenstein, which has a postal and tariff union with Switzerland and is represented diplomatically by that country, was also visited by the catastrophe, the greater part of its tiny territory of 159 square

kilometres, with 11,500 inhabitants, being flooded. Assistance was rendered by Swiss and Austrian soldiers, and in the public collections made in Switzerland on behalf of the victims, the population of Liechtenstein was not forgotten.

The year 1927 brought a settlement of the conflict between Switzerland and the Soviet Republic, after the failure, for reasons which have not yet been sufficiently explained, of the French attempt at conciliation at the beginning of 1926 (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1926, p. 232). After the acquittal by the Swiss jury of the murderer of the chief Russian delegate to the second part of the Peace Conference at Lausanne (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1926, p. 238), the Soviet Government boycotted Swiss trade, and refused to attend conferences of the League of Nations on Swiss soil. It was principally regard for the League of Nations that induced the Bundesrat once more, on the suggestion of Russia, to enter into negotiations. These were conducted at the beginning of the year by the diplomatic representatives of both sides at Berlin, and ended in the Berlin Protocol of April 16, in which agreement was reached on the formula which the Bundesrat had been prepared to accept a year before (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1926, p. 232). The settlement of the dispute does not involve the *de jure* recognition of the Soviet Government by the Swiss Bundesrat. There is as yet little prospect of this, owing to the fear of intrigues by the Soviet Embassy. The settlement of the dispute was received with satisfaction in all foreign countries and in German Switzerland, but the Press of French Switzerland and its Parliamentary deputies bitterly reproached the Bundesrat with having lowered the dignity of the Federation. The General Assembly of the Bund, in its June session, approved of the policy of the Bundesrat. Soviet delegates were present at the World Economic Conference and at the Preliminary Conference on Disarmament in Geneva.

Friction with Italy diminished during the year. The strictness of the frontier control led, however, to certain excesses on the part of the frontier guards, and the fact that passports for foreign travel are granted to Italians only in exceptional cases injures the Swiss tourist industry. The attempt of some Italian papers to represent the Romance spoken in a part of the Canton of Graubünden as a dialect of Italian, and to base on this fact an Italian claim to this part of Switzerland, was energetically combated by the Swiss Press, and the claim was shown to be historically untenable.

It is noted not without anxiety in Switzerland, that the Italians living in the country (in 1920 there were 135,000) are, partly of their own free will, partly in obedience to a certain compulsion, joining the Fascist organisations in ever-increasing numbers. Every Swiss town of any size possesses its Fascist organisation. At the head of every Fascist organisation stands a delegate appointed from Italy, who in turn appoints the leaders of the

**local groups.** Although the Fascisti have so far kept within proper bounds, yet the fact remains that the Italian Government controls a network of organisations on Swiss soil—a network which is most compact in the border Canton of Ticino—and has thus created a well-disciplined instrument blindly obedient to its orders.

The dispute with France over the free Customs zones in the neighbourhood of Geneva (Article 435 of the Treaty of Versailles) is in the same position as in the previous year. The French Customs authorities, in contravention, as the Swiss claim, of international law, still keep the customs frontier at the spot to which it had been advanced on the political frontier of the Canton of Geneva (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1923, p. 238), and the arbitral award of October 30, 1924, by which the disputed interpretation of Article 435 of the Treaty of Versailles is to be referred to the Hague Court of Arbitration (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1924, p. 232) has not yet been ratified by France. The French Chamber of Deputies declared its acceptance of the arbitral award in the autumn of 1926, but in the summer of 1927 the Senate's Commission of Foreign Affairs made its acceptance conditional on Switzerland first ratifying its abandonment of the neutrality of the Haute Savoie and of the right of occupying it in case of war, as laid down in the same article of the Treaty of Versailles. (Since the tension between France and Italy, increased strategic importance attaches to the Haute Savoie.) After some opposition Switzerland consented, and the two Chambers gave the abandonment the force of a resolution of the Bund, but after negotiations with the French Government it was decided that the document of the abandonment should be handed over only simultaneously with and in exchange for the French document of the ratification of the arbitral award. The resolution of the Bund was subject to the optional referendum of the people, but the people allowed the period of the referendum to elapse without exercising their right, so that the abandonment has obtained the force of law. In spite of this concession, and in spite of repeated assurances on the part of the French Foreign Minister, the French Senate had not yet by the end of the year announced its acceptance of the arbitral award. France has for three years declined this practical application of the arbitral principle, and this fact, which would make it appear that she sets little store by the friendship of Switzerland, has created a great antipathy to France throughout the country.

Switzerland had equally to complain of the lack of cordiality shown on the French side in the conduct of the negotiations which were rendered necessary by the highly protective French tariff and the reactions of the Franco-German trade agreement. Between the two, Swiss exports to France were brought almost to a standstill. The turn which the negotiations took caused the Bundesrat in November to think seriously of denouncing the trade agreement and commencing a tariff war. This would have

injured the French trade more than the Swiss (in 1926 France exported to Switzerland goods to the value of 496.7 millions of Swiss francs, whereas the Swiss export to France in the same year was worth only 154.2 millions of Swiss francs). Thereupon the French Government changed its tone, the negotiations which had been broken off by the Swiss were resumed, and shortly before the end of the year a complete agreement was reached, so that there is a good prospect of the conclusion of a provisional trade agreement for the beginning of 1928.

Arbitration treaties were concluded with Belgium, Colombia, the Netherlands, and Spain. A trade agreement was concluded with Turkey, and in the spring one with Czechoslovakia.

### SPAIN.

The relief obtained by Spain from her troubles in Morocco found expression in two measures introduced early in the year—the Army reorganisation of January 2, establishing the infantry at 64 line regiments, 12 rifle battalions, and 3 naval garrison regiments; and the introduction, on January 3, of the first real Budget, after a long financial interregnum, providing for a deficit of only 2,000,000l on an estimated expenditure of over 100,000,000l. As a matter of fact, the year ended with a small surplus. The enhanced position of Spain was further reflected in the reassertment of her claims to Tangier by the official Note published on January 18, and in her support of Western policy in China by the despatch, on January 28, of the cruiser *Blas de Lezo*, the first ship to show the Spanish flag in Far Eastern waters for many years. The failure of the Tangier negotiations in Paris led to a minor Government crisis and the resignation of the Foreign Minister, Senor Yanguas, whose duties were assumed by the Dictator. At home, however, the Government scored an undoubted success in the conversion of over 5,000,000,000 pesetas of floating debt into 5 per cent, bonds redeemable in fifty years. The large Government contracts for new railway construction, also issued in February and all taken up by Spanish firms, were another sign of a new economic era.

That the political situation remained at bottom insecure was shown on the occasion of King Alfonso's illness in the second week of March. A short but sharp attack of influenza affecting the lungs, it was feared might develop into the dreaded pneumonia peculiar to the climate of Madrid in spring. The King recovered, but the incident had shown up the unstable state of equilibrium in which the well-being of the whole country depended on the health of two persons, and the urgent need of broadening the basis of government by convoking some sort of national Assembly was brought home to the Dictator.

**F**or the moment, however, attention was once more drawn to Morocco, where the last flames of revolt flickered up in an outbreak towards the end of March. Nor did the trial, in the first fortnight of April, of the high officers concerned in the conspiracy of the previous June, have any political consequences. The Marquis of Estella was able to leave for Alhucemas and Targuist, while Madrid prepared to receive the visit of the King of Sweden, followed by that of the Prince of Wales and Prince George, who on April 24 proceeded to Seville, accompanied by the King and Queen and the Head of the Government, back from an inspection of the advanced base of operations. The British Princes returned with the Court to Madrid on May 3, after visiting Cadiz and Granada, and left Spain on May 5.

On May 17, the date of his forty-first birthday, King Alfonso celebrated the silver jubilee of his assumption of the reins of government. By royal request the occasion was marked, in lieu of festivities, by public contributions towards the Ciudad Universitaria, a long-mooted scheme for removing the colleges of the University from their old and unsuitable buildings in the centre of Madrid to healthier surroundings in the outskirts of the city. This twenty-fifth anniversary of the day when King Alfonso first took the oath to uphold the Constitution of 1876 inevitably again brought into prominence the question of healing the recent breach of that Constitution by a return to a more legal system. Accordingly, after attempting to sound public opinion by a brief relaxation of the strict censorship of the Press, the Government issued an official statement on May 31, announcing the convocation in the autumn of a Consultative Assembly to prepare the return to a more constitutional regime. As the Assembly was to be composed mainly of Government nominees, the announcement fell flat in political circles, and the mass of the nation remained indifferent. Indeed, public attention was at the time concerned rather with the financial panic that threatened the country as a result of wide-spread forgeries of bank-notes which culminated in a run on the Bank of Spain on June 10 and the following days.

The King's visit to England early in July served to promote the good relations existing between the two countries. The occasion was marked by the opening of a tourist service from Southampton to Spain, in the first steamer of which the King returned to Santander, the summer residence of the Court, on July 18. The repatriation of the last units of the Expeditionary Force at the end of July, when the whole of the Spanish Zone of Morocco was occupied and pacified, produced an excellent impression upon the country, as was shown by the success of the Marquis of Estella's tour through Aragon in the first half-of August. The enthusiastic welcome accorded to the Dictator in this region proved that the country was grateful for the prosperity his regime

had brought at home. New roads and new railways were bringing new life to old towns and villages there, as in Old and New Castile, in Extremadura, in Andalusia, in Asturias and in Galicia. The conclusion, after twenty years of negotiation, of an agreement with Portugal for the utilisation of the water-power of the Douro, formed a fitting close to the fourth year of the Dictatorship.

On September 12, the anniversary of the *coup d'etat* of 1923, the Royal Decree convoking the National Assembly was published in Madrid. Consisting of 400 members, who were nominated by the Government rather than elected, and having merely consultative powers, the Assembly was regarded by the politicians as a mere tool of the Dictatorship and likely to delay rather than hasten a return to normal constitutional practice. Very few men of the old parties accepted nomination, and the action of Senor Sanchez Guerra, the leader of the Monarchical Conservatives, in carrying out his threat to leave the country on the day after publication of the Decree, was significant. The issue, on September 21, of the minute rules of procedure, whereby the Government showed its intention of maintaining complete control, and the refusal of all Liberals to accept designation, did not enhance the prestige of the proposed body. On September 22 the Government published a warning to plotters. On October 2 a revolutionary plot was discovered and some 200 persons arrested. But this was the only sign of active opposition. The mass of the nation appeared to be satisfied with the achievements of the Government in establishing peace abroad and progress at home, and with characteristic indifference to politics were content to give the Assembly a trial.

The royal visit to Morocco in the first week of October marked the complete change that had taken place in the relations between Spain and her Protectorate. The tribesmen gathered, not, as in former years, in arms, but to do homage to the King and Queen. Fresh from his brilliant reception over the water, King Alfonso returned on October 10 to Madrid to open the National Assembly in the building of the former Cortes. The date of the inauguration was well chosen, as it practically coincided with the national holiday of October 12, the anniversary of the discovery of America, which this year was celebrated throughout the country as the Feast of Peace.

For the remainder of the year political interest centred in the plenary sessions of the Assembly, which were held at rare intervals ; for, in accordance with its constitution as a purely consultative body, most of its work was done in committee. In the plenary meetings the Assembly early began to show its temper, and the Government, though protected by Draconian rules of procedure and the absence of any shade of Liberal or Radical opinion, was at times hard put to it to defend its past and present measures. The interpellations culminated at the fifth full meeting in a



demand for voting power, put forward by Senor Gabriel Maura, Conde de Mortera and son of the late statesman. Though the chairman of the first committee appointed to prepare the new Constitution, he did not hesitate to declare within the walls of the Assembly that he and his followers were, and would remain, opposed to the Dictatorship. Simultaneously came a revival of the Catalan question with the reappearance of Senor Cambó, after four years' abstention from politics, as spokesman of the Regionalists. The warm reception given to the royal family during their stay in Catalonia in the latter half of October had shown Catalan feeling to be less acute; and the very success of the royal visit may have prompted the Extremist conspiracy over the frontier at Perpignan, which failed to arouse any attention. The rebuff dealt towards the end of November by the Marquis of Estella to the overtures of Senor Cambó served to reopen the Catalan question.

Government action was not less drastic, though perhaps more successful, in the economic sphere. The Supplementary Anglo-Spanish Trade Agreement, concluded on April 5, did little to reduce the excessive tariff duties. The Decree of June 28, providing for a Petroleum Monopoly, roused adverse criticism. More welcome was the active policy pursued with regard to public works. With the proceeds of two loans, each exceeding 20,000,000l, the construction of over 1,000 kilometres of railway was begun; vast extensions were made to the system of roads, and improvements to the harbours; in addition, large hydraulic works were undertaken by the River Confederations. Though all of these schemes are not assured of ultimate success, the rapid execution of so large a programme gave a great stimulus to the economic life of the nation. The establishment, in December, of daily air services connecting Madrid with Seville, Lisbon and Barcelona enabled the Peninsula to be linked up by aeroplane with Central Europe. Finally, the issue on May 25 of a loan of 100,000,000 pesetas to the Argentine Republic, accompanied by the sale to that country of two large torpedo-boat destroyers, marked the first appearance of Spain as a naval contractor and lender to foreign countries.

#### PORTUGAL.

The new order of things, to all intents and purposes, a Military Dictatorship, though those in power do not wish to call it by that name, had become firmly established when 1927 opened. General Carmona and his Ministers had worked quietly and without ostentation to eradicate the many abuses which had crept into the administration during the regime of the Democrats under Senor Antonio Maria da Silva.

The Lisbon City Council had been dissolved, as had also all

the town and district councils throughout the country, and they had been supplanted by Administrative Councils nominated by the Government. Lisbon early showed the effect of the change in the schemes which were at once taken in hand to improve not only the appearance but the cleanliness of the city.

Frequently when important legislation was to be introduced copies of the projected decree were furnished to and published in the Press in order that the Government might in this way gauge public opinion, which in some cases, as in the Press laws, was the cause of alterations being made. By acts such as these the Government gradually drew, and is drawing, to itself the support of a great part of the thinking and non-political population.

But the disappointed politicians of the previous Republican regime, seeing their occupations gone, have made every effort to discredit the present governing powers. A small body of them who have been expelled or fled the country, has formed in Paris a society called the Republican League, headed by Dr. Afonso Costa. It has its own monthly, *A Revolta*, to which the late President, Dr. Bernardino Machado, also contributes. In January a document, signed by four of the old political chiefs, was delivered at the principal foreign Embassies and Legations in Lisbon, to the effect that should they ever return to power they would repudiate the War Debt arrangement and all else of a financial nature done by General Carmona and his colleagues in the Ministry.

The bitter and hostile feeling engendered by these opponents of General Carmona and his Cabinet culminated early in February in open revolt, and serious fighting occurred in the streets of Oporto. The Government, prepared for such eventualities, had its troops ready at a moment's notice to concentrate at any point where revolution threatened. The Minister of War, Col. Passos e Sousa, hurried to Oporto, and the rebels were bombarded from the Serra de Pilar, an eminence on the south side of the river Douro. They had very soon to capitulate. Many prisoners were taken, but the ringleaders managed to escape and many are now living in Paris and form part of the League to which reference has already been made.

No sooner had the revolt been suppressed in Oporto, than it broke out with still greater force in Lisbon. The worst elements of the Lisbon populace, joined by sections of the Republican Guard, the police, and the sailors from the men-of-war, marched through the Lisbon streets to the Rato, now called the Praca de Brazil, situated in the centre of the city, where troops faithful to the Government were concentrating. For three days and nights, without a moment's cessation, there was heard the roar of guns, the rattle of machine-guns, the crack of rifles, and the dull explosions of the bombs. Barricades were erected in the streets, and intense firing took place from house tops and street

corners. The rebels were ultimately driven to the Arsenal, of which they had previously gained possession, where, after being bombed by aeroplanes, they surrendered.

After the revolt had been suppressed, the partisans of the Government demanded the introduction of capital punishment, to which, however, Portuguese sentiment in its calmer moments is much averse, but the Minister of Justice firmly opposed such a measure. The prisoners are being gradually tried, the Government showing great clemency. On February 12 the Papal Nuncio, in the name of the diplomatic corps, cordially congratulated the Government on having suppressed the revolt and re-established order in Portugal.

On August 12 Lieut. Moraes Sarmiento, at the instigation, it was said, of a few discontents in the Oporto garrison, forced an entrance into the residence of General Carmona, now invested with the functions of Head of the State, at a time when a meeting of the Cabinet was being held, to demand its collective dismissal, and the nomination of Filomeno da Camara, a friend of General Gomes da Costa, as President and Dictator with all the portfolios. This was to have been the signal for a new *coup d'etat*, but it failed. The demand was refused, but it originated a violent discussion between the Lieutenant, General Carmona, and some of the Ministers, during which a hand-to-hand encounter took place and Lieut. Sarmiento fired five shots at General Carmona and the Ministers of War and Finance without, however, hurting them. Lieut. Sarmiento managed to escape and was still at liberty at the end of the year.

For the economic reconstruction of the country capital is needed, and towards the end of the year a committee, headed by the Minister of Finance, General Sinel de Cordes, visited Geneva in order to obtain a loan backed by the authority of the League of Nations. No decision was taken, but the Mission was sympathetically received.

In Colonial affairs, it is important to chronicle that Demarcation Treaties were concluded with the Union of South Africa regarding the southern boundaries of Angola, and with Belgium regarding the northern. On the other hand, Portugal abrogated the Convention between Mozambique and the Union with reference to the Lourenco Marques Railway and native recruiting for the Rand mines.

#### DENMARK.

The Madsen-Mygdal Liberal Cabinet, which had come into office in the middle of December, 1926, as a result of the General Election held in that month (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1926, p. 241), met Parliament with an appeal to the other parties to give it an opportunity of working out the ideas for which it had

fought during the election campaign. Although a single-party Government without a majority in Parliament, it was confident that these ideas in themselves were powerful enough to ensure success. The principal aim of the Government was to bring public expenditure, both national and local, more or less into conformity with the increased international value of the krone (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1926, p. 240). It sought to attain this end partly by means of a reduction of the number of Government employees and of Government salaries, and partly by means of a revision and reduction of expenditure on social measures, the amounts of which were still determined by laws dating from a time when the krone was only about half its par value.

In the course of a long and rather turbulent Parliamentary session the Government succeeded in carrying a number of laws for giving effect to this programme. It is estimated that through this policy economies have been effected on behalf of the State, the municipalities, and private institutions to the extent of about 60 million kroner for a normal year. When the session closed on July 16, members of the Government declared themselves well satisfied with having passed twelve economy Bills, effecting considerable reductions in the diplomatic and consular services, the Civil Service, the Police Force on the German frontier, the grants for improving farming stock, Old Age Pensions, Employment and Disablement Insurance, and salaries to Elementary School Teachers and the Clergy of the Established Church. Both the Conservatives and the Socialists bitterly reproached the Government for having done nothing of consequence to relieve the industrial situation and reduce unemployment. The Premier retorted by asking what the Socialists had done for these objects when they were in office. Unemployment continued to be rife throughout the year, but towards the end of the year there was an improvement in trade, and money was also easier than it had been twelve months previously.

The Government was frequently pressed during the year by the Conservatives and the Socialists to try experiments in Protection, but the Premier, while disclaiming any doctrinaire views on the subject, remained unconverted. His adherence to the Free Trade idea brought the Government Party nearer to the Radical-Liberal Party, which had formerly co-operated intimately with the Social-Democratic Party, whilst this same policy, on the other hand, created a certain tension between the Government Party and its former ally, the Conservative Party, which, however, on most points supported the Government in its work during the course of the year.

The Disarmament Bill of the late Social-Democratic Government, which had been carried in the Folketing in March, 1926, was rejected on its second reading by the Landsting on June 8 of this year by 29 Liberal Left and Conservative votes against

24 Social-Democrat and Radical. This meant the end of the project of total disarmament, but the problem of national defence still remained unsolved. In December the Government brought in a Bill for the re-organisation of the system of national defence, the aim of which was to make more effective the military machinery at present in use without adding to its expense, as measured in the enhanced value of the krone. The new proposals were warmly debated in the Press, which, on the whole, was hostile, though for different reasons, according to the political complexion of the organ. The contention of the Government is that Denmark ought to maintain a defence system of positive military value, adapted to the country's old policy of neutrality, according to its military and geographical position, and in accord with its membership of the League of Nations. On the Government's right in this question stands the Conservative Party, which, holding similar views, desires a rather stronger system of defence. On its left are the two parties, the Radical-Liberals and the Social-Democrats, who hold that, having regard to the size and geographical situation of the country, Denmark is unable, and therefore ought not to attempt, to conduct a defence with military means. Between the views of these two parties themselves, however, there is a not insignificant difference: Social Democracy alone stands for the policy of total disarmament.

Of the other proposals brought forward by the Government, the most important was a Bill for amending the law regarding elections to Parliament. The present system is one of proportional representation, with a rather complicated scheme of supplementary seats for those parties which have not obtained representation in proportion to the votes cast for them at the polls. The new Bill proposes, primarily for reasons of economy, to reduce the number of seats, and also to return to the system of single-seat constituencies, with the retention of supplementary seats.

In the sphere of foreign politics the year 1927 was uneventful. Trade relations were fostered by certain agreements with the German Republic, and also by a Commercial Treaty concluded just before the end of the year with Spain. The chief significance of the latter Treaty is that dried cod, which is the most important export from the Faroe Islands, where the quality produced is particularly good, will be placed under the same favourable tariff schedule as Spain has conceded to competing countries by means of Treaties, particularly Iceland, Norway, and England. Hitherto, in order to make it at all possible to place Faroese fish on the Spanish market, the Danish State has for years had to cover the difference between this tariff rate and the less favourable rate applied to Denmark.

Particularly close relations were, as in the previous year, maintained by Denmark with her Scandinavian kinsmen—Sweden, Norway, and Finland. On March 3 a Treaty of Conciliation and

Arbitration with Belgium, on the lines of that concluded in the previous year with the other Scandinavian countries, was signed at Brussels. It was for ten years, renewable for further periods of five years. In the relations with Iceland also, that independent kingdom which is joined to Denmark by a personal union, there has been a steady lessening of friction.

Relations with Germany, while friendly, were to some extent affected by a certain irredentist activity on the part of the German minority in South Jutland. At the election in December, 1926, it is, true, a so-called "Home-Rule Movement," which had arisen in certain Danish circles, and whose rather vague programme aimed at the administrative separation of South Jutland from the rest of Denmark, suffered a decisive defeat. The Danish Press, however, reported with alarm at the end of January the establishment of a German credit institution under the management of a lawyer named Vogelgesang, who operated with funds which had principally come from the districts south of the frontier, and whose methods gave the impression that an attempt was being made to exploit the bad state of trade in order to bring Danish soil into German hands. To counter this attempt, the Danes organised a counter movement, the "Land Defence Movement," with the object of assisting needy Danish farmers with loans from funds raised voluntarily. At the same time the Government took steps for dealing with the problem by introducing legislation for creating an Agricultural Credit Bank and a Slesvig Loan Fund, by means of which the farmers were rendered independent of German capital. The German minority continued to voice the demand for a return to the old frontier, although emphasising that this must take place with the free will of both parties. It was, however, the opinion of most competent judges that mutual toleration between the two elements of the population is on the increase.

*Iceland.*—On May 6 the Lower House of the Alting passed a Bill to amend the Constitution. Its main provision was to lower the franchise age for both sexes from 35 to 25 years. By another clause the meetings of the Alting are fixed for alternate years, unless convoked by the King for an extraordinary session.

On July 9 a General Election was held for the thirty-six members who are elected for four years by universal suffrage (the other six being elected by proportional representation for eight years). The Conservative Party lost three seats, and the Conservative Government thereupon resigned. A new Government was formed by Hr. Tryggvi Thorhallson, Leader of the Progressive Party. The new Premier announced his intention of stabilising the Icelandic currency at 81 or 82 per cent, of gold parity, this being the level at which it has stood for the last couple of years.

## SWEDEN.

The Ekman-Lofgren Liberal Ministry, though commanding only 31 out of 150 votes in the First Chamber and 33 out of 230 in the Second, maintained itself in office throughout the year by securing the support now of the Conservatives and now of the Social-Democrats, and successfully proceeded with the carrying out of its programme, without its existence being once seriously threatened.

On coming into office, the Government issued an official manifesto in which it declared that its programme would be based upon the ideas which the two progressive sections of the united Liberal Party—the Liberals proper and the People's Party—held in common ; implying that questions in regard to which the two sections differed (*e.g.*, prohibition) would be left alone. In the field of foreign politics the Government undertook to continue to work for peace and mutual understanding between the nations upon the lines which for a number of years had determined Sweden's position in these questions. The Government undertook also to carry out faithfully the decisions arrived at in 1925 regarding national defence and the framing of a new scheme for the Navy. These general undertakings were supplemented in the Speech from the Throne for 1927 by a more detailed programme of reform measures for the year, among which should be specially noted the Bills for the safeguarding of industrial peace, the reorganisation of the system of higher education, and the establishment of a new basis for communal taxation.

A Parliamentary Committee was formed to deal with the question of the Fleet. Before the close of the year the Committee presented a unanimous report recommending an enlargement of the Fleet. This unanimity was somewhat remarkable in view of the fact that the chairman of the Committee was Mr. P. A. Hansson, Minister for National Defence in the previous Social-Democratic Government. The Committee's proposal was laid by the Government, practically without modification, before the Riksdag. The Social-Democratic majority did not support its leaders, and opposed the measure on several points. While they adhered to their promise to co-operate in the carrying out of the measures of defence agreed to in 1925, they maintained that the new Navy programme would be too costly and would bind the Riksdag for too long a period. Nevertheless, the measure was carried without alteration, with the help of the parties of the Right and the Peasants' League.

The new naval programme affects only the so-called " coast fleet," *i.e.*, the actual war fleet; local needs are to be supplied in future, as they have been in the past, by the allocation of ships from the coast fleet. The measure provides for a building programme for the period 1928-33, and of a complementary programme for the years 1933-38.

The passing of this measure seems to have settled for a long time to come the question of the organisation of the national defences, and so to have removed what has been a source of sharp conflict in Swedish political life during the whole lifetime of the present generation.

The Ministerial measure which called forth the keenest interest and produced the liveliest debates in the Riksdag was that for the reform of the schools. This measure was, with the Government's consent, modified considerably in the course of its passage through the Riksdag, and it was passed finally with the support of the Social-Democrats and the Peasants' League against the energetic opposition of the Right. The essence of this reform, which was long under discussion and was the fruit of many years of deliberation, is a drastic revision of the system of secondary education for the purpose of giving it a more democratic character. On the basis of the popular elementary school, a system of educational institutions will be built up, the purpose of which is to provide for a theoretical and practical training for the various trades and professions under the same conditions for both sexes.

The Government's Bill in regard to the communal taxes was not passed by the Riksdag.

The most serious difficulties which the Government encountered in the course of the year were in connexion with their industrial peace policy. On personal grounds alone it was to be expected that the Social-Democrats would offer a sharp opposition to this policy from the start, as the head of the present Government was the ringleader in the attack which brought about the overthrow of the Social-Democratic Ministry on the question of its industrial peace policy. It looked, however, as though the bitter memories of that event were fading away when, towards the close of 1926, they were revived by the Government's plans for legal adjudication in regard to disputes between employers and workers as to hours of labour.

The Sandler Social-Democratic Government, at the instigation of the Riksdag, had set on foot an investigation as to the desirability of instituting legal steps for the safeguarding of industrial peace. The Riksdag of 1926 had urged that this inquiry should be prosecuted with all speed, and that as soon as the necessary data had been collected, the Government should without delay draft a measure dealing with the problem. As there was little likelihood that the investigation could be completed in time to enable a Bill dealing fully with the subject to be submitted to the Riksdag of 1927, the Government decided before the New Year to select from the whole complex of the problem those points regarding industrial disputes which have a juridical character, and to deal with them separately. This step called forth vigorous opposition in Labour circles, not because they entertained any hostility on grounds of principle against such a measure, but



because they held that the time was not ripe for it, and that in any case the question was not so urgent that the Government could not await the results of the inquiry. As a protest against the Government's action the workers withdrew their representatives from the Commission of Inquiry.

Before the end of January, 1927, the experts whom the Government had appointed to decide the special points for consideration drafted a Bill dealing with collective agreements and Industrial Courts, and this Bill was submitted to a committee so that it might be prepared for introduction in the Riksdag in 1928. In the summer a new committee was appointed to inquire what measures it might be desirable to take to prevent stoppage of work in disputes in which the State or a municipality was involved. The workmen's delegates withdrew after a time from this committee also.

In the field of foreign affairs Sweden persisted in her efforts in the cause of international peace and co-operation. Conciliation Treaties were made with the Netherlands and Colombia, and negotiations were set on foot for an Arbitration Treaty with France, while the Arbitration Treaties previously negotiated with Poland, Belgium, Norway, and Austria were ratified during 1927. At the close of the year Sweden sought to further the cause of the peaceful settlement of disputes between nations by a proposal, addressed to the General Secretary of the League of Nations, for a Treaty which should constitute an enlarged Locarno. In other ways also Sweden sought to develop and strengthen peaceful ties, especially in the case of neighbouring countries along the Baltic. The tendency to draw closer to these showed itself in the signing of a Commercial Treaty between Finland and Sweden, as well as in the decision of these two countries to unite their respective telephone systems by a submarine cable, which is expected to be completed in 1928, and will connect the Swedish telephone system by way of Helsingfors with Estonia and Latvia.

Economically the year 1927 proved on the whole favourable for Sweden, owing largely to a good supply of capital and a constant demand for Swedish exports. The increase in production caused a slight lessening of unemployment. Among the industries catering for the home market, textiles and leather and certain branches of the provision industries benefited by the increased employment. As regards the export industries, the exports from the saw mills were greater than in 1926, the wood-pulp and paper trades also had a good demand for their produce, but prices were not favourable. The year brought no change in the depression from which the iron industry has suffered for several years past. There was an increase in the foreign markets for Swedish machinery and electrical equipment. The shipbuilding wharves, which were kept busy during the first half of the year, were less busy towards its close. The crops, owing to unfavourable harvesting conditions, showed a falling-off as compared with 1926.

The Budget for 1927-28 balanced at 710 million kroner, expenditure being more than covered by income. At their last meeting of the year the Government, in response to a request from the Riksdag, decided to appoint a committee of experts to inquire into the working of the custom house system, with a view to ascertaining the net amount of duty levied upon various forms of produce and formulating proposals for the benefit of the productive industries. The questions of price-fixing by trusts and cartels, of the industrial ramification of certain trusts, cartels, etc., as well as the competition in dumping from such sources, are also to be closely examined in the course of the inquiry.

#### NORWAY.

The Conservative Government with Mr. Ivar Lykke as Premier remained in power throughout the year. The Storting was opened by the King on January 13, and elected Mr. C. J. Hambro (Conservative) President of the Storting in place of Mr. Jahren, who retired owing to ill-health. Mr. Johan Ludvig Mowinckel, the Radical ex-Premier, was elected Vice-President. In the Lagting (the Upper House), Mr. Flakstad (Conservative), and Mr. Thune of the Farmers' Party were elected President and Vice-President respectively, while in the Odelsting (the Lower House), Mr. Aarstad was re-elected President and Mr. Ameln Vice-President.

Perhaps the most important political event of the year was the reunion of the Labour Party (Independent Communist) and the Social-Democratic Party. After successful negotiations between their executives, each of these parties held a national congress at Oslo at the end of January. Both the congresses having unanimously accepted the proposed reunion, the united party was established at a joint congress attended by 700 representatives of the two parties. About 300 Moscow Communists who sought admittance to the congress were not allowed to participate. The united party elected Mr. Oscar Torp chairman and Mr. Magnus Nilssen and Professor Edvard Bull deputy chairmen. The Social-Democratic Party had existed as a separate body since 1921, when the schism in the Labour Party took place. While the Social-Democratic Party belonged to the Second International, the reunited party has no international affiliation.

The Storting, on January 25, rejected the disarmament proposal put forward by the Labour parties, which received only 33 votes. Another proposal made by the same parties to reduce the annual military expenditure to 25 million kroner, was rejected by 106 to 39 votes. Thereupon the Storting adopted the new plan drawn up for the defence of Norway, which follows mainly the majority report of the Parliamentary Military Committee. The military estimates will be about 50 million kroner yearly.

Considering the chief task of his Government to be the restoration of the public finances, Mr. Lykke continued his policy of retrenchment. The new estimates amounted to 384 million kroner, a net reduction of 50 millions on the expenditure of the previous financial year. Some of the Government's proposals for reducing national expenditure met with considerable opposition from the Radical and Labour parties, particularly the reductions in the grants to the elementary schools. Mr. Lykke succeeded, however, in obtaining the support of the Storting for the most vital items of his retrenchment programme, including reduction of salaries for all civil servants by 10 per cent. The reduction was strongly resented by the officials affected, and some of the largest associations of civil servants, considering the decision of the Storting illegal, took the rather unique step of bringing an action against the Government. The proceedings will take place in the course of 1928.

After a long debate the Storting, on February 23, ratified the unconditional Arbitration Treaties with Denmark, Sweden, and Finland signed in 1926. There had been considerable opposition to the Treaties, particularly to the Treaty with Denmark, on the ground that the disagreement between Norway and Denmark on the Greenland question had not yet been satisfactorily adjusted. The chief speakers in favour of the Treaties were the Premier and Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Ivar Lykke, and the Radical leader, Mr. Mowinckel, the ex-Premier; while Mr. Hambro, the President of the Storting and chairman of the Conservative group, was the principal speaker against them. The vote of the Storting was 92 for and 53 against ratification. The Opposition consisted of nearly half the members of the Conservative Party and practically the entire Farmers' Party, while the Left and the Labour parties voted solidly in favour of the Treaties.

A case that had agitated Norway for eight months was closed on March 25 by the acquittal of an ex-Premier, Mr. Abraham Berge, and his colleagues, by the High Court of the Realm. Mr. Berge was impeached by the Odelsting in 1926 for having, as Premier and Minister of Finance, in 1923 deposited 25 million kroner of public money with Norges Handelsbank, one of the biggest banks in Oslo, in order to prevent its collapse. This action was considered unconstitutional by the majority of the Odelsting, as Mr. Berge did not first obtain the consent of Parliament. The High Court, however, came to the conclusion that Berge was justified in acting as he did, his motive being to save the country from a financial catastrophe. The ex-Premier and his colleagues had no personal interest whatever in the bank. As some of the judges voted for acquittal only on the ground of prescription, the two Houses of the Storting shortly afterwards passed a Bill to the effect that the provisions of the penal code **concerning** prescription do not apply to political offences.

Another important political event was the passing of a Bill, in March, abolishing prohibition and reintroducing the system of local option. The Government scheme was considerably changed by the two Houses of the Storting, the result being a somewhat more stringent restriction of the liquor trade than that proposed by the Government. The new law regulating the sale of spirits took effect on April 5. The sale of spirits is only allowed in the towns where spirits were sold in 1916, that is, before the introduction of prohibition, *viz.*, in Oslo, DrObak, Hamar, Kongsvinger, Gjovik, Holmestrand, Aasgaardstrand, Tonsberg, Arendal, Bergen, Trondhjem, Bodo and Troms6. After June 30, 1929, the question whether the sale of spirits is to be allowed or not will be decided by a local vote. Only towns of more than 4,000 inhabitants will be entitled to allow the sale of spirits in their midst. The question may be raised afresh every sixth year. The number of shops and restaurants where the sale of spirits is to be allowed is decided by the municipal council. For passenger steamers between Norway and foreign countries or making tourist cruises in Norwegian waters of several days' duration the right to sell spirits is granted or withheld by the Government. The sale of spirits in the authorised shops must take place only between 11 A.M. and 5 P.M. The consumption of spirits in restaurants is limited to the hours between 3 P.M. and 11 P.M. On Sundays and holidays and on May 1 and May 17 (the national fete day of Norway) neither the sale of spirits nor the consumption of spirits in restaurants is allowed to take place. The sale of spirits is exclusively carried on by the Wine Monopoly, and the net profit goes to two funds administered by the Government.

As a result of the repeal of prohibition new Commercial Treaties were concluded with France and Spain. The most important change in the Treaties was that Norway is no longer obliged to buy fixed quantities of French and Spanish spirits for medicinal use.

A wage conflict in some of the leading industries in the spring necessitated the interference of the Government. The employers in the engineering, textile, and boot-making industries demanded a general reduction of wages of about 25 per cent., while the representatives of the trade unions were only willing to accept a 7 per cent. decrease. A lockout was proclaimed, and all efforts of the public mediator to settle the conflict proved fruitless. The lockout having lasted for several months, the Government submitted to the Storting a Bill instituting compulsory arbitration in labour disputes. The bourgeois parties voted unanimously for the Bill, while the Labour parties opposed it. The new law has only a provisional character, and will expire on August 1, 1929. During the debate in the Odelsting Mr. Lykke, the Premier, emphasised the fact that the introduction of this Bill did not imply any change in the attitude of the Conservative Party

towards compulsory arbitration. The party was still, on principle, opposed to compulsory arbitration, but a quite exceptional situation made it necessary to pass this provisional measure. Work was resumed in the affected industries on May 10, the workers accepting the awards of the arbitration court.

At the same time the Storting passed a Bill with the object of protecting volunteers during strikes. This Bill met with strong opposition from the Labour parties, but was carried by a large majority. Among the other Bills passed by the Storting during this last session before the General Election was the new customs tariff, which is of a slightly more protectionist character than the old tariff.

The General Election took place on October 17, and the result showed a considerable increase in the strength of the Labour Party and a corresponding decline of the Conservative Party. The Labour Party obtained 368,100 votes, the Conservative Party 240,476, the Radical Left 172,886, the Farmers' Party 148,874, the Communists 40,061, the Liberal Left 14,440, and the Radical People's Party, closely connected with the Radical Left, 12,681. The new Storting, with a total of 150 members, contains 59 Labour representatives, 30 of the Radical Left, 29 Conservatives, 26 of the Farmers' Party, 3 Communists, 2 of the Liberal Left, and 1 member of the Radical People's Party. The Liberal Left put up separate candidates only in three constituencies, co-operating with the Conservatives in the other constituencies.

In comparison with the position at the General Election in 1924 the Labour Party increased their poll by about 106,000 votes, and the Farmers' Party by about 17,000 votes. All the other parties lost votes—the Conservatives about 70,000, the Radical Left about 12,000, and the Communists about 20,000. In spite of the increase of the Labour Party representation, the bourgeois parties still command a large majority in the Storting, there being 88 bourgeois members against 62 of the Labour parties.

In December a national trade union congress was held at Oslo to decide the question of the international affiliation of the General Federation of Trade Unions of Norway. The Executive of the Federation had originally proposed that the Federation should belong to the Amsterdam International. This proposal met with strong opposition and was withdrawn, and eventually the congress decided to belong to no International. A resolution was passed recommending co-operation with the General Federations of Trade Unions in Finland and Russia, with the object of promoting the establishment of an International embracing the trade union federations of all countries. Mr. Halvard Olsen, the chief advocate of affiliation to the Amsterdam International, was re-elected chairman of the Executive of the General Federation, and the majority of that body was in favour of his policy.

## FINLAND.

The Socialist Government of Hr. Tanner, which had been formed in December, 1926 (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1926, p. 248), obtained a vote of confidence at the end of that month through the support of the Progressive and Swedish Parties. Its position was somewhat weakened a little later by the resignation, on April 11, of the Minister of the Interior, Hr. Itkonen, as the result of an attack made on him in the Diet for having spent 1,500l. on a fisheries protection ship in excess of the amount sanctioned. Even more serious was the trouble with which it had been threatened over the Amnesties Bill for the release of prisoners involved in the 1918 revolution. This was one of the chief items in the Socialist programme, and it met with vehement opposition from the Right Parties. However, it was eventually carried through the Diet on April 11 by 96 votes to 94, some members of the Swedish Party voting with the Government. On May 17 the Law received the Presidential confirmation. It conferred a complete amnesty on all persons who had been sentenced for participation in the revolution of 1918 or for crimes committed in connexion with it. Some 1,175 persons thus regained their civil rights and freedom.

The last session of the Diet ended on June 21, when Hr. Tanner, on behalf of President Relander, delivered an address in which he declared that the economic progress of the country was satisfactory and its international position well assured. He also dwelt with pleasure on the legislative work of the Diet during its three years of existence, no fewer than 323 Government Bills having been proposed, of which 264 had been accepted, while 26 remained over for further consideration. The General Election took place on July 1 and 2 with a complete absence of excitement, though there was a large poll. The results were as follows (the corresponding figures for 1924 being in brackets) :—Swedish Party, 24 (23) ; Finnish Coalition Party, 34 (38) ; Progressives, 10 (17) ; Agrarians, 52 (44) ; Social Democrats, 60 (60) ; and Communists, 20 (18).

The newly elected Diet met on September 1, and soon after proceeded to the consideration of the Budget. The Government before long found itself in difficulties over its financial proposals. It had intended to drop the subsidy to the Protection Corps, but in October the Diet passed a Law declaring that this body, though purely voluntary, was an integral part of the military forces of the country, and that the subsidy must be retained. The Army Estimates put forward by the Government were materially increased, and the Cabinet, OQ its own initiative, withdrew the double property tax which it had at first proposed. On December 9 the Government was defeated on the question of the rye import duties which it had desired to reduce, and it thereupon resigned.

A new Government was formed by the Agrarian Party, with **Hr. J. E. Sunila** as Premier, this being the first purely Agrarian Government in Finland.

In September Finland was elected to the Council of the League of Nations.

## CHAPTER VII.

### PERSIA—AFGHANISTAN—IRAQ—PALESTINE—SYRIA—ARABIA—INDIA.

#### PERSIA.

ON January 30 the Prime Minister, the Mostofi-ul-Mamalek, resigned, but he returned to office again on February 8. On May 28 he again resigned, and this time he was succeeded by Mehdigholi Khan Hadayat, the Mokhbar-es-Saltaneh, who had recently become Lord Chief Justice of Persia.

In May the Mejliss began to discuss with Dr. Millspaugh, the Financial Adviser, the question of the renewal of his contract, which was due to expire in September. The Mejliss wished to place certain restrictions on his powers, by making him responsible to the Minister of Finance. Dr. Millspaugh insisted on retaining his existing powers undiminished, and as the Mejliss would not consent, he refused to renew his contract, and left shortly before the expiration of his term at the end of July. During the five years of his tenure of the post of Financial Adviser to the Persian Government, Dr. Millspaugh had effected a complete transformation in the finances of Persia, producing order out of chaos, and securing the regular collection of the taxes, while saving the working classes from the worst oppression of the tax-gatherer. So successful had been his administration that for the last three years the public accounts had shown a surplus—a thing unprecedented in Persian history. The Mejliss at first commissioned the Prime Minister to act in Dr. Millspaugh's place temporarily ; later in the year a Bill was brought in to invite a Chief Inspector of Revenue and a Financial and Economic Expert from Germany, and a Treasurer-General and Chief Accountant from Switzerland.

In May the Mejliss voted an increase of 50 per cent, in the salaries of its members. Dr. Millspaugh vetoed this, as likely to cause a deficiency in the Budget. The Mejliss then sought to make up the deficiency by reducing the salaries of civil servants by 10 per cent. The latter thereupon went on strike, and the Mejliss immediately rescinded its decision.

In foreign affairs there was considerable friction during the year between Persia and two of her neighbours—Turkey and Iraq. In June the Persian Press accused Turkey of inciting the **Kurds** on the Turco-Persian frontier to commit acts of brigandage,

and of harbouring designs against the integrity of Persia. Later the Kurdish bands made inroads from Persian territory into Turkey, and towards the end of September fought two regular engagements with Turkish troops at Bayezid and Agridagh. The Turks now accused the Persian Government of not acting in accordance with the Treaties in force between Turkey and Persia, and charged the local Persian authorities with extending protection to the Kurdish bands. On October 1 the Turkish Government sent a Note to Persia intimating that unless Persia changed her attitude towards the marauding bands, Turkey would have to take the matter into her own hands. The Note stated that a detachment of Turkish troops marching through Turkish territory had been attacked by Kurds and lost forty-four men and several officers, who were taken to Persia as prisoners. It demanded the release of the prisoners with an indemnity and an apology, under pain of a severance of diplomatic relations. The Persian Government replied on October 6 stating that the real facts were quite different from the statements made in the Note. What had happened was that a Turkish officer escaped from the Kurds to a Persian post, where he was received kindly and restored to his Turkish post. The Note complained of Turkish violations of Persian territory, and suggested a mixed commission to make inquiries on the spot.

With Iraq also Persian relations were strained, chiefly owing to the continued refusal of Persia to recognise Iraq. On the other hand, relations with Afghanistan and Russia were friendly. On November 28 Persia and Afghanistan signed a security pact in Kabul. On October 1 a Security and a Commercial Treaty with Russia were signed in Moscow. The Security Treaty provided that neither party would attack the other or interfere in its internal affairs, or make a boycott or an alliance against it. The Commercial Treaty limited Persian exports into Soviet territory to 50 million roubles (5,000,000l.) a year, and Soviet exports into Persia to 90 per cent, of the exports from Persia.

In May the Mejliss notified its intention of abolishing the Capitulations in May, 1928. In December the French Legation expressed its acceptance of the principle of abolishing the French capitulations in Persia, and its readiness to sign new Treaties.

#### AFGHANISTAN.

The year 1927 was free from internal disturbances. During a tour in the Southern Provinces, King Amanullah Khan was loyally received by the same Mangals who had been in revolt against him a couple of years previously. Some restiveness shown by the Uzbeks of Afghan Turkestan was also calmed by a personal visit from the King in May.



In pursuance of his settled policy of modernising Afghan institutions, the King in May re-organised the arrangements for the Budget after a conference with his Ministers at Jellalabad. The revenue estimates were satisfactory, and not only were liberal allocations granted to various departments, but provision was made for opening twenty-seven new primary boys' schools and three girls' schools, also schools of agriculture and telegraphy. In order to gain new ideas for the improvement of his country, the King further planned an extended tour in foreign, especially European, countries. His preparations having been completed, he made a farewell speech to his officials at Kabul early in December, in which he stated that Afghanistan, in the shadow of freedom, had said good-bye for ever to her stationary position, and had joined the "social and living nations of the age." The farewell durbar was held at Kandahar—a place with which the King had close family connexions—and from there the King travelled via Quetta and Karachi to Bombay. He was accompanied by his Queen and by his Minister for Foreign Affairs, and other high officials. The Minister of War, Sirdar Mahomed Wali Khan, was left as Regent in his absence.

The royal party reached Bombay on December 14. They were received by the Governor—the Viceroy being confined to bed with malaria—and were given an enthusiastic popular welcome. King Amanullah during his stay visited the principal mosque, and delivered a sermon, in which he recommended to his Moslem hearers tolerance of other faiths. Leaving Bombay on December 18, the party sailed to Egypt, stopping on the way at Aden, where the King and Queen landed for a few hours and visited the Residency. Port Said was reached on December 26, and from there the party proceeded to Cairo, where they were entertained by King Fuad. They were to leave Egypt on January 7, proceeding by way of Italy and France to England. Brussels, Berlin, Moscow, and Angora were also on the King's itinerary.

#### IRAQ.

King Feisal (accompanied by his Prime Minister) visited England in October. The principal object of the visit was the negotiation of a Treaty to take the place of that of October, 1921. King Feisal was most anxious to secure the admission of his kingdom to the League of Nations and thus take a long step towards independence, but the British Government was disinclined to support the application as yet, partly on account of the knowledge that it would be opposed by France and Persia at Geneva. After a few hitches a new Treaty was finally arranged and published in December (for text, see under Public Documents). It formally recognised Iraq as a "sovereign independent state,"

thereby soothing Iraquian susceptibilities that had otherwise been a little ruffled. The friendly relations between the two powers were confirmed. The King of Iraq assured the execution of those international engagements which Britain had engaged to execute with regard to Iraq and undertook to safeguard the interests and rights of foreigners and of Iraquians, independent of race and creed. The British Government on its part undertook to support an application by Iraq in 1932 for admission to the League of Nations provided " the present rate of progress in Iraq is maintained and all goes well in the interval." Any difference as to interpretation of the Treaty that might arise should be referred to the Permanent Court of International Justice. The conclusion of the Treaty was immediately followed by the resignation of two members of the Cabinet, the Minister of the Interior and Acting Prime Minister and the Minister of Finance, presumably on account of disapproval of its terms.

There had been Cabinet troubles earlier in the year. The Cabinet had necessarily been recruited from among the more politically mature elements in the towns which also happened to represent the Sunni sect. This apparent over-representation aroused the jealousy of the tribes of the countryside who are moreover for the most part Shiahs. In July came a demand from Kerbela and Nejef, the headquarters of the Shiahs, for five seats in the Cabinet instead of the one hitherto allotted to them. Incidentally such a change must affect the prospects of the Conscription Bill to which the Shiahs almost to a man, as well as the Kurds of Northern Iraq, were opposed, and of which the British High Commissioner was notoriously not in favour. After protracted negotiations two new Shiah ministers were added to the Cabinet early in August, but this did not satisfy the objectors. Ultimately in October the principal Shiah newspaper was suspended. Its supporters immediately appealed to the Acting High Commissioner who advised the Government to reconsider its action. The reply of the Government was the resignation of the Acting Prime Minister as a protest against the High Commissioner's intervention in the domestic affairs of Iraq. He was succeeded by the Minister of the Interior. Parliament met two days later and was immediately prorogued and did not meet again before the end of the year. Nothing further was heard of the Conscription Bill.

Earlier in the year an Income Tax Bill had been adopted by Parliament after only three days' publicity. Even the Minister of Finance admitted that he did not understand it, and whoever has since learnt its real meaning has been most emphatic in his objections. It is anticipated that it will be impracticable to apply it to few but European merchants, and officials and companies.

The British forces were still further reduced, by the withdrawal

of the last British regiment in March ; a little later, after minor operations by the Air Force and Iraqi troops, Sheikh Mahmud, a Kurdish insurgent leader, who had previously caused much trouble in the North finally retired from his profession of brigand leader, so far as Iraq was concerned, and agreed to keep out of Iraqi territory. The report of the Turco-Iraqi boundary commission was finally approved, but frontier troubles in the South caused far more annoyance. They began in November, when an Iraqi frontier post was attacked by Wahabis and a number of native policemen and others killed. It was not quite clear whether or not this was merely an irresponsible border foray or was more of a political character, intended to support a claim to a local rearrangement of territory. At the same time Wahabi troops or warriors invaded the neighbouring Kowait territory. Other raids into Iraqi territory followed. These led to reprisals by the Royal Air Force.

The Turkish Petroleum Company while drilling near Kirkuk in Northern Iraq struck oil in great quantities, and thereby it is probable has made a considerable contribution to the future prosperity of the Kingdom.

#### PALESTINE.

The year 1927 in Palestine was overshadowed by the economic depression from which the entire country, and especially the Jewish section of the population, had been suffering for more than two years. The consequences of this depression—unemployment, commercial failures, scarcity of money, diminution of trade, fall in revenue—became more threatening month by month until towards the end of the year the Zionist Organisation, which at first seemed unable to cope with its difficulties, made a greater effort, and co-operating with the Government provided temporary employment for some two or three thousand unemployed Jews. At the same time, immigration came to a practical standstill and emigration rose until it reached a figure twice that of immigration. Thus the Jewish population, which had grown too rapidly for the capacity of the country to absorb it, remained stationary, possibly even suffered a reduction. A second misfortune, of less importance but far more sensational, was the earthquake which, on July 11, shook the country from Hebron to Nablus and from Amman to Ramleh. Two hundred and sixty-nine people were killed, a far larger number injured, and a very large number of buildings partially or entirely destroyed. In Palestine the towns of Nablus, Ramleh, and Lydda were very severely damaged, but no buildings of archaeological interest suffered seriously. Jerusalem escaped with relatively less harm, but Government House, on the Mount of Olives, was so affected

that it became uninhabitable. The Hebrew University suffered severely, one of the domes of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre has had to be rebuilt, and the historic wall of Jerusalem, as well as a few public institutions, had all to undergo repair.

At the beginning of the year municipal elections, the first for thirteen years, were held. Hitherto the municipal councils had been appointed by the Government, but the complexion of the elected councils did not differ appreciably from that of their nominated predecessors. The only noticeable feature was the stilling of the Inter-Jewish feuds throughout the country so that the Jewish candidates—a certain proportion of seats was allotted in every municipality to each of the three religious communities—could be elected without opposition or interference, and at the same time the Jewish vote influence the election of the non-Jewish candidates. A step was also taken in reforming the system of taxation which weighs so heavily on the agricultural section of the population. The view is general that the tithe system is under modern conditions unfair in its incidence and must be replaced by another at the first opportunity. But in the absence of a complete survey and the definition of the ownership of the land, the levying of a land tax is impossible. A commission which reported in the first month of the year recommended as a provisional measure the stabilisation of the tithe in certain selected districts, and the recommendation was put into force. In the economic sphere the only matters that call for mention are the beginning of the main work for the electrification of Palestine and the successful flotation of the first Palestinian loan. Preliminary examinations were undertaken with a view to the constitution of a harbour at Haifa, but the year ended without definite work being commenced. In November a Palestine currency, based on the pound sterling, was introduced, and displaced the Egyptian currency hitherto in use.

During the year it was possible to welcome Palestine legislation directed to the welfare of the workers as such. January saw a Workmen's Compensation Ordinance placed on the statute book, and December legislative provision for the protection of women and children in industry. Another ordinance of considerable interest, which was published towards the end of the year but had not become law at its close, was one for the greater Government influence over the schools of the country, private as well as public. That legislation of this character is necessary was shown by the unfortunate dispute between the Zionist Executive and its teachers which delayed the opening of the Zionist schools—the great majority of the Jewish schools of the country—after the summer vacation until the end of November. Among the most interesting offers of assistance from without must be mentioned the munificent gift to the Government of Palestine by Mr. J. D. Rockefeller, Junior, of two million dollars wherewith to build and

endow a museum of Palestinian archaeology in Jerusalem. On January 2 the whole of Jewry—outside of Palestine as well as within—was plunged into mourning by the death at Tel Aviv of Usher Ginzberg, better known as "Ahad Ha'am," "One of the People," the philosopher of Zionism and of modern Jewry and the greatest master of modern Hebrew style.

The Government duly reported to the Mandates Commission of the League of Nations, which expressed itself satisfied with the manner in which the Mandatory Power was meeting its responsibilities. In September the biennial Zionist Congress was held at Bale. This is the body which elects the governing committee of the Zionist Organisation, and to which that committee is responsible. The Congress was overshadowed by the depression in Palestine and the difficulties in which the Zionist Executive had, more or less in consequence, involved itself. The Congress resolved to use its utmost endeavour to support the responsibilities in which they found themselves involved and also to exercise far greater moderation in incurring liabilities in future. A homogeneous Executive, consisting of two English Jews (Colonel Kisch and Mr. H. Sacher) and one American Jewess (Miss Henrietta Szold), was selected to administer the affairs of the Organisation in Palestine. The main interest of the Zionist Congress, although it was for the most part unexpressed, was the hope that the non-Zionists, especially those of the United States, would come to the assistance of the Zionist Organisation, whose task is obviously beyond their powers. The question is crystalised into the term "Jewish Agency," all Palestine and much of Jewry waiting to learn whether, as a result of the report of the Committee of Investigation which visited Palestine towards the end of the year, the non-Zionist leaders of American Jewry will or will not be prepared to co-operate in the Zionist task, and if so, on what terms.

The year ended without a clear definition of the status of Transjordan, but it was known that such a definition was very near, and the prophecy that the Emirate of Transjordan would approximate to the Kingdom of Iraq was justified. That is to say, Transjordan is to be an hereditary monarchy with its own Government and Parliament, but its ministers are to continue to be assisted by British Advisers, who for some time to come must have very great influence over all matters of finance, justice, and police. The Emirate will be apart from Palestine, but under the same High Commissioner. In the meanwhile, while the political status remains undefined, the country is progressing. The revenues are growing without the imposition of additional taxation, security is increasing, the number of tourists grows year by year, and the provision for them of comforts and amenities at the same time improves.

## SYRIA.

The year 1927 saw not a formal end of the Druse and Syrian revolt, but its effective conclusion. The state of the country was still disturbed at the beginning of the year, and spasmodic outbursts of guerrilla warfare continued. But long before December tranquillity was completely restored, and the unhappy events of the two previous years were little more than a recollection. The last of the Druse insurgents had taken refuge in Qasr el Azraq, in Transjordan, but most of them were by June persuaded to make their submission and return to their homes, only a small remnant standing out and under the lead of Sultan Pasha el Atrash emigrating to the land of the Wahabis.

M. Ponsot, the High Commissioner, returned to Syria at the end of June, after a long visit to France, where he had examined at length, in co-operation with members of the French Government, projects for administrative reform. In his declaration of policy made at Beirut in July, M. Ponsot gave a general assurance that the main idea of the Mandatory Power was to give satisfaction to the interests of the various peoples of Syria in conformity with their wishes, so long as those wishes were expressed in a peaceful and orderly manner and respected the rights of minorities. Within the present framework the various Syrian states were in a position to protect their own interests, settle their own disputes with each other, and negotiate further agreements. France, as the arbiter in possible differences, would actively concern herself in encouraging general agreement.

One practical method of reform, promised in the statement, was a greater decentralisation of administration. This reduction and simplification of control was regarded as proof of the desire of the Mandatory Power to encourage the political evolution of the states in conformity with the aims of the League of Nations. The states of Syria were asked to bear a reasonable share in the cost of maintaining security. To compensate for the diminution of French effectives local forces at the charge of the various states were to be increased. Great stress was laid on the necessity for economic co-operation between the various states and the Mandatory Power. The statement contained a warning against a too narrow separatism, and suggested that the management of common interests would help to bring the states nearer together.

The affairs of Syria and Lebanon were in due course examined by the Mandates Commission of the League of Nations, which expressed its pleasure that the hostilities had ceased, that the production of silk had increased, and that in future the public accounts would be based on gold and not on a fluctuating local currency.

## ARABIA.

On May 20, 1927, there was signed at Jeddah a Treaty between Great Britain and the King of the Hedjaz and Nejd which had been negotiated by Sir Gilbert Clayton (see under Public Documents). By this agreement Great Britain recognised the independence of the Wahabi dominions and each Government pledged itself to prevent its territory being made the basis of aggression against the other. The King of the Hedjaz guaranteed the safety of British Moslem pilgrims to Mecca and promised to take all practicable steps towards the suppression of the slave trade and to maintain friendly relations with the Persian Gulf states whose special treaty relations with the British Government were recognised. Several notes were attached to the Treaty. In one the question of the Hedjazian-Transjordan frontier was deferred for future settlement, the King of the Hedjaz undertaking, in the meanwhile, to accept the *status quo*. At the same time, the embargo on the export of war material to the Hedjaz was raised. The previous year the pilgrimage to Mecca, which is so important an event in the annual history of the Hedjaz, had been more successful than its predecessor, but had been marred somewhat by the offence given to the Egyptian pilgrims and their Government. Efforts were made in this year also by Moslem politicians to harm the prospects of the pilgrimage, but nevertheless more than a quarter of a million pilgrims are said to have visited Mecca. The Wahabi King did much to secure their comfort. Special arrangements were made for their benefit, transport charges were reduced; the inhabitants of Nejd abstained from the pilgrimage to leave more room for others; and still further to minimise the possibility of trouble the carrying of arms in the Hedjaz was forbidden. Only the Egyptian part of the pilgrimage could be deemed a failure. Earlier in the year the Egyptian Government, mindful of previous experiences, inquired the conditions that would govern the pilgrimage this year. The Wahabi King replied that he could not permit the armed escort of the Mahmal to accompany it to Mecca for fear of provoking a repetition of last year's incidents, and that camels bearing the Mahmal would not be permitted to perambulate the Kaaba or the pilgrims to embrace the tombs. He did not, however, object to smoking, provided that it was indulged in unostentatiously.

In view of these restrictions the Egyptian Government decided to send neither the Holy Carpet nor the Mahmal to Mecca, and warned Egyptians that their safety while on pilgrimage could not be guaranteed, and that if they undertook the pilgrimage they would do so at their own risk.

Early in the year the Wahabi King had himself formally proclaimed King of the Hedjaz and of Nejd and its dependencies.

Hitherto he had been only Sultan in Nejd. Four months later, however, a conspiracy to assassinate him, in which some of his own subjects and even near relatives were involved, was discovered. After the Treaty with Great Britain had been concluded the Wahabi King endeavoured to come to an agreement with the Imam Yahya, of Sanaa in the south, and to that end sent a representative to negotiate with him. An agreement, however, proved impossible in view of the incompatibility of the territorial claims of the Imam, and the Idrissi who are under Wahabi protection. Negotiations of a different character were those supposed to have been conducted with Sultan Pasha el Atrash, the leader of the suppressed Druse rebellion, who it was believed was anxious to settle in the Hedjaz. A commercial mission sent by the Union of Soviet Republics to Jeddah and the other Red Sea ports led to the institution of a regular maritime service from Odessa to those ports. The service commenced in October.

The Treaty between the Wahabi King and the Idrisi Emir had been signed in October, 1926, but its terms were not published until the following February. By this Treaty the Idrissi Emir became, in fact, a vassal of the Wahabi King, who, on his part, guaranteed his protege against foreign aggression and internal revolt. A small portion of territory that the Wahabi forces had occupied were by the same instrument restored to the Emir. At the end of the year frontier incidents arose with the Government of Iraq and the Sultan of Koweit, who is also under British protection, but in neither instance were the friendly relations between Ibn Saud and the British disturbed.

Although the King of the Hedjaz, and also the British Government, were unsuccessful in their efforts to negotiate Treaties with the Imam Yahya of Sanaa, the Italians succeeded. The Treaty concluded between the two powers, it was officially announced at the beginning of the year, was not considered contrary to British interests. The relations between Britain and the Imam continued undefined throughout the year, the principal impediment in the way of a settlement being the occupation by the Imam's forces of a portion of the Aden hinterland, which was claimed as a British protectorate. A certain amount of interest was aroused by the progress in Italy in June of a mission, presumably of courtesy, from the Imam of Sanaa. Later in the year, after the return of the mission, a Cairo newspaper published the terms of what it described as a secret Treaty between Italy and the Imam. By this document Italy recognised the independence and present boundaries of the Imam's dominions and promised all possible assistance, including the supply of arms, to the latter. The Imam, who is designated King of the Yemen, on his part undertook to favour Italian subjects in commercial and economic matters and to co-operate with Italy in the suppression of the slave trade.



## INDIA.

The outstanding event of 1927 was the appointment announced in Parliament and by the Viceroy on November 8 of the Statutory Commission on Indian Reforms two years earlier than was provided for under the Government of India Act, 1919. A small amendment thereto, substituting "within" for "at the expiry" of ten years from the passing of the Act as the date of appointment received the royal assent on November 23. On the following day in the Lords, and on November 25 in the Commons, a resolution was passed without division concurring in the submission to the King of the names of the Commissioners, drawn exclusively from both Houses, *viz.*, Sir John Simon (Chairman), Viscount Burnham, Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal, Mr. E. C. G. Cadogan, Mr. Stephen Walsh, Colonel G. R. Lane-Fox, and Major C. R. Attlee. Subsequently one of the two Labour nominees, Mr. Walsh, withdrew from the Commission under medical orders, and his place was taken by Mr. V. Hartshorn.

The composition of the Commission had leaked out prematurely in India, and vehement objections were taken to "the exclusion of Indians" before there could be official exposition of the reasons for a Parliamentary Commission, and the methods of securing the fullest Indian co-operation. The statement of November 8 showed that the Indian Legislature would be invited to appoint a joint select committee, chosen from elected and nominated official members, which would draw up its views and proposals in writing and lay them before the Commission. The committee might remain in being for any consultation which the Commission might desire at subsequent stages of the inquiry, and similar procedure should be adopted in respect to the provincial Legislatures. When the Commission had reported Parliament would refer the proposals to consideration by a joint committee of both Houses prior to the second reading of any resulting Bill, and delegations from the Indian Legislature would be invited to confer with the joint committee, which would also be in a position to ascertain the views of other bodies.

Great pressure was brought to bear upon the Labour Party by leading Swarajists and their friends to secure withdrawal from the Commission of its two nominees. But in both Houses the resolution had the warm support of the front Opposition bench. At a Labour Parliamentary Party meeting on November 24 it had been suggested that the committee of the Indian Legislature should consult with the Commission on equal terms, and that the reports of both bodies should in due course be presented to the joint committee of the two Houses of Parliament. But in debate on November 25 Mr. Ramsay MacDonald said that Lord Birkenhead had convinced him that the committee appointed by the Indian Legislature could not be more than consultative, and he

recommended that it should report to its own Legislature. The Prime Minister declared that, with the single proviso that the British Parliament could not escape from its ultimate responsibility for legislation, the full equality of Indians was assured.

Many protest meetings were held in India, the Commission being declared unacceptable " as it most flagrantly denies the right of the Indian people to participate on equal terms in framing the future constitution of the country." (Meeting of Bombay citizens, November 19.) The sessions of the National Congress at Madras and the National Liberal Federation at Bombay in December passed resolutions of boycott. But both in Bengal and in Madras, strong Liberal elements were opposed to the policy of ignoring the Commission, and contented themselves with protests against its composition. Various Hindu parties, such as the non-Brahmins, refused to associate themselves with the boycott movement, and a conference of the Depressed Classes held at Allahabad at the end of the year welcomed the appointment of the Commission.

In the Moslem ranks there was sharp division of opinion. Some of the provincial organisations, notably those of Northern India, anxious to have the separate Mohammedan electorates maintained, favoured co-operation, while others were persuaded to approve of boycott. The dissidents, led by Mr. M. A. Jinnah, made every effort to reverse the initial favourable decision of the Council of the All-India Moslem League, and by methods which their opponents considered to be unconstitutional sought to change the scene of the winter session of the League from Lahore to Calcutta. These tactics resulted in a split in the League, and there were rival sessions with rival policies at the two centres.

These differences of opinion were, in some part, a reflection of the widespread existence of Hindu-Moslem strife. Lord Irwin, inaugurating the Simla session of the Indian Legislature on August 29, said that during the seventeen months he had been in India the toll taken by bloody encounters had been between 250 and 300 killed and over 2,500 injured. His offer to convene a conference with the object of frankly facing the causes of these miserable differences met with a mixed reception. A few days later the Hindu-Moslem Conference, afterwards known as the Unity Conference, opened at Simla under the presidency of Mr. Jinnah ; but it led to little or no ameliorative result, and communal riots with bloodshed continued in widely separated parts of the country.

Earlier in the year a judicial decision of the Punjab High Court in the so-called *Rangila Rasul* case, arising from a scurrilous attack on the founder of Islam, provoked a general outbreak in the province, and Lahore was the scene of savage rioting. The decision indicated a certain gap in the criminal law. In response to a request from some influential quarters, Government promoted

legislation in the Simla session, whereby a new section (295a) to the Indian Penal Code makes it punishable to insult the religion or intentionally outrage, or attempt to outrage, the religious feelings of any class of His Majesty's subjects. The debates revealed a complete cleavage of opinion between Hindu and Moslem members, the latter solidly supporting and the former solidly opposing the Bill.

The third Legislative Assembly elected at the close of 1926 began its work in a new home. On January 18 the Viceroy inaugurated the Council House at New Delhi, a great circular building providing chambers for the Assembly, the Council of State, and the Chamber of Princes respectively, and surmounted by a great central dome 90 feet in diameter, as a library for members of all three bodies.

The session was mainly occupied with economic and financial questions. The financial statement introduced on February 28 showed for the fourth year in succession a realised surplus, which was devoted to the remission of the remaining portion of the much-disliked provincial contributions to central revenues, the estimated surplus for 1927-28 being ear-marked for their abolition. Only minor changes were proposed in taxation. The import duty on motor cars was reduced from 30 to 20 per cent., and that on tyres from 30 to 15 per cent. With a view to the development of the banking habit the stamp duty on cheques and other bills of exchange, payable on demand, was abolished with effect from July 1.

Following on a statutory inquiry by the Tariff Board, the protective steel duties, first granted in 1924 for a period of three years, were renewed for seven years, but with substantial reductions and the abandonment of bounties. In the interests of the Indian consumer many items in the schedule were placed in two categories providing for (1) a basic duty, and (2) an additional duty on goods of non-British manufacture.

The report of the special Tariff Board to consider the depressed state of the cotton textile industry was published on June 7 with a Government resolution rejecting proposals of the majority for a bounty on the spinning of higher counts of yarn, and a general increase in the import duty on cotton piece goods. The only substantial change proposed by Government was the removal of the import duty on mill machinery and component parts and on dyes and other Indian millstores as part of a general policy of such exemption in the interests of industrial progress. The Bombay millowners took strong exception to the small measure of assistance given, and ultimately Government proposed a specific minimum of 1½ annas a lb. or 5 per cent, *ad valorem*, whichever is the higher, on cotton yarn, and to reduce from 15 to 7½ per cent, the duty on artificial silk yarn. The requisite legislation was passed in the Autumn session. An Act for the registration of trades unions also came into force.

The much-controverted Currency Bill, fixing the ratio of the rupee at Is. 6d., as recommended by the Hilton Young Commission, was passed in the Assembly on March 22 by a narrow majority, an amendment to make the rate Is. 4d. having been rejected on March 8 by 68 votes to 65. A Joint Select Committee of both Houses gave prolonged consideration to the Indian Reserve Bank Bill in the interval between the Delhi and Simla sessions, and decided by a majority that instead of a shareholders' bank, the capital should be subscribed by Government. Sir Basil Blackett raised strong objections, and in the autumn session a plan was propounded for a stockholders' scheme, with a territorial distribution of the capital, and power of the stockholders to elect trustees. On September 8 the Bill was withdrawn, owing to difference of view with Whitehall. In November Sir Basil Blackett came to London on a three weeks' visit on special duty to discuss with the India Office arrangements for a fresh Bill (drafted on his return to Delhi) for a shareholders' bank on lines of a territorial distribution of capital and limitation of individual holdings.

What is known as the Indian Sandhurst Committee, presided over by Sir Andrew Skeen, Chief of the General Staff in India, and consisting mainly of members of the Indian Legislature, signed a report on November 13, 1926, which was issued on April 1. The committee recommended a substantial and progressive employment of Indians in the higher ranks of the army in India, in order that by 1952 half the total cadre of officers should be Indians. The ten annual vacancies allotted to Indians at Sandhurst should be doubled, and thereafter should be increased progressively until a military college on the lines of Sandhurst was established in India. The report was accompanied by an intimation that neither Government had formed their conclusions, and that these would necessarily take account of certain factors of which it was not within the province of the committee to undertake a complete survey. The views of the Government of India were forwarded to Whitehall before the end of the year, and were considered by the Committee of Imperial Defence.

An Act of the Imperial Parliament provided for a Royal Indian Navy, to be used only for the purpose of the defence of India, save in grave emergency. As a beginning, the units will consist of four sloops, two patrol vessels, and two ships for surveying. The training of Indian cadets on the R.I.M. *Dufferin* at Bombay began at the end of the year.

In the autumn the Viceroy visited the States of Kathiawar, and at Rajkot on November 22 announced the decision of the Secretary of State to appoint a committee to report upon the relationship between the Paramount Power and the States with particular reference to the rights and obligations arising from treaties, engagements and sanads, and usage, sufferance and other

causes, and to inquire into the financial and economic relations between British India and the States, with a view to recommendations for their more satisfactory adjustment. On December 16 it was announced that the committee would be presided over by Sir Harcourt Butler (who a few days later completed his successful tenure as Governor of Burma, and handed over charge to Sir Charles Innes) with Professor W. S. Holdsworth, K.C., and Colonel the Hon. Sidney C. Peel (son of the first Viscount Peel) as members. The need for an inquiry of the kind had been indicated earlier in the year by acute differences between the Government and certain maritime States of Kathiawar in regard to Customs administration at their ports. A conference on the question held at Mount Abu in July broke down, and Government re-imposed the Customs cordon at Viramgam (where British India is entered) which had been abolished in 1917. In the summer a deputation from the Indian Princes, consisting of Mr. L. F. Rushbrook Williams (Foreign Secretary, Patiala State) and Colonel K. N. Haksar (Gwalior State Council), came to London to seek legal opinion on the constitutional position of the States.

The Bombay Back Bay Committee, presided over by Sir Grimwood Mears, signed the report at the close of 1926, and it was issued on January 17. It stated that the programme of reclamation had broken down, and if continued under present conditions could not be finished for many years to come. A very considerable reduction of the area to be reclaimed was proposed, and it was recommended that the work should be carried out, not departmentally as hitherto, but by direct agency.

The year was marked by great activity in other important public undertakings. During his autumn tour the Viceroy inaugurated a dozen sections of the Sutlej Valley irrigation project, and laid the foundation-stone of the Lloyd Barrage project at Sukkur in Sind—undertakings which, when completed, will irrigate close upon 12,000,000 acres, an area nearly twice the whole of cultivated Egypt. The further provision of railways went on apace, the mileage of new lines to be opened in 1927-28 being 914.

An Act of the Imperial Parliament, which received the royal assent on December 22, repealed the law under which the Bishop of Calcutta, as Metropolitan of India and Ceylon, has been subject for nearly a century to "the general superintendence and revision" of the Archbishop of Canterbury. Earlier in the session both Houses had assented to a complimentary Measure passed by the National Assembly of the Church of England in July to provide for the dissolution of the legal union between the two churches, and to make provisions consequential thereon. When the "date of severance" is reached in 1930 the Anglican Church in India will be a voluntary association entitled to manage its own affairs, like the sister churches in the self-governing dominion.

A satisfactory feature of the year was the mitigation of the Indian problem in South Africa by means of an agreement published on February 21 reached at the Round Table Conference held at Cape Town between an Indian delegation and members of the Union Government. (See under South Africa.) At the suggestion of Mr. Gandhi, the Government of India selected as its first agent in South Africa the Right Hon. Srinavasa Sastri, and it is generally agreed that an excellent beginning has been made in removing the problem of Indians in the Union from the category of acute inter-Imperial questions.

The work of removing the reproach of slavery under the British flag in the unadministered Kachin country in Burma was brought near to completion. Sir Harcourt Butler held a durbar at Myitkyina on January 10, and made it clear to the 120 chiefs or their representatives present that slavery must be abolished. The expedition into the "Triangle," in the upper reaches of the Irrawaddy, which followed, effected the release of some 4,000 slaves; but unhappily, on March 26, a party under Captain E. M. West, I.A., was ambushed, and he was killed. Arrangements were made for a final expedition early in 1928 for the release of the remaining slaves, estimated to number about 600.

On March 28 Sir Stanley Jackson succeeded Lord Lytton as Governor of Bengal. The reformed system of Government was already functioning again, and though the Ministry was defeated Sir Stanley Jackson was able to maintain "dyarchy" throughout the year. The question of persons interned under the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act continued to agitate the province, and the men released included, on grounds of health, Mr. Subbas Chandra Bose, a prominent politician. It was announced in March that Government was convinced that a terrorist conspiracy was still in active existence, and that consequently it was not possible to release those about whom there was no reasonable doubt that they would utilise their liberty to resume their previous activities. About fifty were still under detention at the end of the year, many of them having been transferred from gaol to less strict forms of supervision.

Heavy floods in July in various parts of the country, and notably in Gujarat, did serious damage to the cotton and other crops, and Ahmedabad and Baroda were among the towns which suffered; but on the whole the monsoon was satisfactory. The Royal Commission on Agriculture continued its Indian tour in the early part of the year, spent the summer in London in further investigation, and returned to India in the autumn to complete the taking of evidence and prepare the report.

## CHAPTER VIII.

## CHINA—JAPAN—THE DUTCH EAST INDIES.

## CHINA.

AT the beginning of the year, the Revolutionary army had occupied the greater part of Southern China. General Chinag Kai-shek was fighting against the Northern army under Marshal Sun Chuan-fang on the Kiukiang-Nanchang railway, and by the end of January had captured the provinces of Kangsi and Anhwei. In February his troops, under the command of General Ho Yin-ching, were marching from Foochow to Hangchow, and on March 10 they had occupied all the cities between Hangchow and Shanghai.

With the advance of these victorious troops, the opposition between the right and the left wings of the Kuomintang became accentuated. General Chiang Kai-shek and his lieutenants were moderates, but the Nationalist Government which had moved from Canton to Hankow was in the hands of Radicals directed by Bolshevik advisers. The object of the former was to complete the campaign and unite China under the Nationalists before taking steps to restore China's rights lost to foreign Powers, whereas that of the latter was to embroil the foreign Governments at once, so as to compel them to surrender their rights and privileges. On January 4 a mob attacked the British Concession at Hankow, and on the 7th had taken possession of the consular and municipal buildings. Two days later a similar riot had broken out at Kiukiang. Encouraged by the conciliatory attitude of the British Government, which resulted in a formal return of the concessions to China under the Chen-O'Malley agreement signed on February 19, the Government began to issue orders to generals not on good terms with Chiang Kai-shek to attack foreigners. On March 24, when the troops of General Cheng Chien entered Nanking, a systematic attack on foreigners was carried out. Foreigners were subjected to personal insult and violence and six of them were killed. Entry was forced into the different consulates, the missionary schools and the foreign business properties. The British and the Americans gathered at the Standard Oil Company plant, from whence they were taken to foreign warships on the river. As soon as the soldiers threatened to force their way into this compound, the warships commenced a barrage on the city which lasted for twenty minutes and killed six Chinese. The object of the attack was, indeed, not so much to kill foreigners as to provoke a foreign bombardment of Nanking, with the expectation that it would stir up a nation-wide anti-foreign feeling, overwhelm General Chiang Kai-shek and the

moderates, and so sweep the extreme Nationalists into complete control of the party. By this time the evacuation of foreigners from the territory under Nationalist control had begun, and a British expeditionary force of 20,000 men had arrived at Shanghai. The American, the French, the Italian, and the Japanese Governments had also strengthened their naval forces in Chinese waters. The situation was so tense that a break with the Powers seemed imminent, but the caution and restraint with which they handled the Nanking incident afforded the Chinese elements who were by no means anti-foreign the opportunity of asserting themselves. At the end of March, the Chambers of Commerce and many other public institutions had cabled the Governments concerned to apologise for the Nanking incident and ask for non-intervention in China's domestic affairs. At the same time, they showed their confidence in General Chiang Kai-shek by giving him financial and other aid.

General Chiang Kai-shek now proceeded to organise, with the support of the moderate members of the Kuomintang, a government of his own at Nanking. He suppressed Communist risings by summary executions and ordered the arrest of Mr. Borodin and other Soviet advisers responsible for intrigues and agitations. Further, he declared war on General Tang Shen-chi, a supporter of the Hankow regime. As it was beyond his power to carry on the anti-North and the anti-Hankow campaigns simultaneously, he concentrated the major portion of his forces on the Tientsin-Pukow railway for eventual attack on Peking, taking a defensive position on the Hankow front. He came to terms with Marshal Feng Yu-hsiang in Honan for a concerted attack on the Northern line on the Peking-Hankow and the Lunghai railways. By May 30 he had advanced as far north as Hsuehchow, the junction of the Tientsin-Pukow and the Lunghai railways, and threatened an invasion of the province of Shantung. General Tang Shen-chi, having now severed all connection with the Communists made plans with the Peking Government for military co-operation against General Chiang Kai-shek, and moved troops eastward as far as Wuhu with a view to cutting him off from his base of operations at Nanking. The Northern army, under Marshal Sun Chuan-fang, made desperate efforts to recapture Hsuehchow, and 50,000 men lost their lives in the siege. As a last attempt to defend the city, General Chiang Kai-shek reinforced himself by moving more troops from Wuhu to the Hsuehchow front, but the refusal on the part of his lieutenants to obey his orders made this step useless. He withdrew from Hsuehchow on July 24 and from Pengpu on July 30. On August 13 he resigned from the command and retired into private life. For a time there was confusion in Nanking, and his colleagues, Generals Li Tsung-jen and Ho Yin-ching, both refused to take over his duties. The advance of the Northern army on Pukow and its occupation of the outskirts



of Nanking compelled them, however, to sink their personal differences and commence a new offensive on the Tientsin-Pukow railway. They recaptured Pukow on September 7, Pengpu on November 16, and Hsuehchow on December 16. In the meantime, Generals Chen Chien and Pei Chung-hsi, both independent of Nanking, had occupied Hankow, whence General Tang Shen-chi had fled to Japan for refuge.

The Government in Peking had been under the influence of Marshal Chang Tso-lin, Governor of Mukden, ever since the latter part of 1926, but it was not till June 19 that he began to assume the title of *Tayuanshui* (Dictator or Generalissimo), and appoint his own Cabinet. Efforts had been made to maintain peace with General Yen Hsi-san, Governor of Shansi, and an adherent of the Nationalist cause. On June 5, however, the latter hoisted the Nationalist flag and adopted the Kuomintang committee system of government. On September 27 he cut the Peking-Suiyuan railway at a point near Kalgan and took prisoners many Mukden troops, including General Yu Chen, Governor of Chahar. On September 20 fighting broke out between Shansi and Mukden forces at Shihchiachwang on the Peking-Hankow railway. The plan of Yen Hsi-san was to attack Peking by surprise, but military preparedness enabled the Mukden authorities to check the effort and capture Shihchiachwang on October 17 and Tatungfu on November 10. They pushed their advance far into the interior of Shansi, but the mountain range and the isolated occupation of the strategical city of Chochow by Shansi troops made it difficult for them to overwhelm General Yen Hsi-san. In the meantime, Marshal Feng Yu-hsiang had begun his offensive against Peking by directing attacks towards Tsinanfu in the province of Shantung through Tsining and Tsaotchow, and towards Techow in the province of Chihli through Tsechow and Tamingfu. He was in alliance with Shansi as well as with Nanking, and had he cooperated with them sooner, they might have long been in Peking. He was, however, short of money and ammunition. Suspicious of those who worked with him, he was too cautious to run any risks. The Government at Peking was using all its available forces to deal with him, and at the end of the year the issue remained undecided.

With the whole country involved in war, constructive policy was impossible. Both the North and the South were in need of money, and all their administrative acts were directed towards obtaining it. In January the Nationalist Government enforced in Canton and Hankow the 2½ per cent, surtax on imports as authorised by the Conference at Washington in 1922 but not agreed to by the Customs Conference at Peking in 1925. Its example was followed by the Peking Government on February 1, which issued orders to collect the surtax in all ports under its jurisdiction. A hitch arose with the foreign Inspector-General of Customs, Sir

Francis Aglen, who refused to collect a tax not sanctioned by Treaty. It was eventually settled by relieving him of office and appointing a separate set of collecting officers. The South got 70 per cent, of this additional revenue, on the security of which it issued bonds to the total face value of 90,000,000 dollars. To satisfy the unlimited demands for the sinews of war, it attempted to impose an additional duty on all imports, ranging from 10 to 50 per cent., to take effect from September 1. But the protest from the Powers and the impracticability of collecting any tax on imports without their tacit consent nullified the proposal. The North was financially even worse off, and had to rely on what it could collect from five provinces out of twenty-one. The marvellous development of Manchuria in recent years, together with inconvertible notes (*Fengpiao*) forced on the three eastern provinces, had, however, yielded Marshal Chang Tso-lin sufficient revenue to enable him to conduct his campaign.

The Powers were very much concerned about China during the year, as evidenced by their despatch of military and naval contingents. But all of them strictly adhered to a policy of non-intervention, and their troops in China were never diverted from the sole purpose for which they had been sent—the protection of the life and property of their nationals. The Chinese constantly demanded the revision of the so-called unequal treaties now in force ; though divided in other respects, they were united in this claim. The attitude of the Powers was reflected in the words of Mr. Kellogg, American Secretary of State, who declared on January 27 that the United States were ready to enter into negotiations for new treaties with a Central Government, but failing a government to speak for the whole of China, it was difficult to know with whom to negotiate. The only exception to this general rule was Soviet Russia, which sided with the extreme Nationalists, providing them with arms and military leadership, after the closing of the Soviet Embassy in Peking on April 6 by direction of the Peking Government.

#### JAPAN.

The year 1927 was passed by Japan in national mourning for the late Emperor Taisho until December 25, when the anniversary of his death was solemnly observed. On the evening of February 7 the funeral service was held at the Funeral Hall erected in Shinjiku Imperial Garden, and at midnight the Emperor's remains were transferred to the beautiful hillside at Asagawa, some 30 miles west of Tokio, and laid to rest in a new imperial mausoleum called "Tama-No-Misasagi."

In pursuance of the resolution passed by the Imperial Diet, an Imperial Ordinance was issued on October 20 proclaiming the establishment on November 3 of a national holiday, besides the

three hitherto observed, under the name of Meiji-Setsu, in commemoration of the august virtue of the Emperor Meiji, father of the late sovereign.

In internal affairs the dominant event of the year was the financial crisis which occurred in March and April—the most serious ever known in the history of Japan. The crash was in reality a good deal overdue ; ever since the slump of 1921 the position of many Japanese banks and firms had been notoriously unsound, as they persisted in carrying old debts which they had no prospect of recovering. The Diet during its first session had before it a number of so-called " Earthquake Bills," the object of which was to assist businesses in the final liquidation of losses due to the great earthquake. Although these Bills were eventually carried in a somewhat amended form, the opposition offered to them delayed their passage, and in the meanwhile a number of concerns which were depending on the relief they would have afforded went under. The first to go was the Watanabe Bank of Tokio, which failed on March 16. Within a week eight more of the smaller banks had closed their doors. On April 6 the great firm of Suzuki announced suspension of business, with gross liabilities of some 50,000,000l., and this failure seriously affected the position of various banks, among them the Bank of Taiwan (Formosa), the Ohmi Bank of Osaka, and the Fifteenth Bank of Tokio.

The financial crisis had an important reaction on the political situation. At the beginning of the year the Kenseikwai Government, under Mr. Wakatsuki, had seemed to occupy a very strong position, chiefly owing to the inability of the two chief Opposition parties, the Seiyukwai and the Seiyuhonto, to unite. The Bill of Impeachment which the Opposition had framed against the Government was dropped, and the Budget was passed without alteration. The total expenditure was about 176,000,000l., of which 25,500,000l. went to the Navy Estimates and 21,200,000l. to the Army Estimates.

The most important feature of the Budget was the establishment of the new Sinking Fund, by which a sum equivalent to at least 25 per cent, of the net surplus of the year immediately before the preceding year was to be appropriated to the redemption of the national debt, and to this end a sum of somewhat above 44,500,000 yen was transferred, in addition to the amount of about 54,000,000 yen, representing the allocation for current year under the old Sinking Fund scheme. Thus the total amount available for the redemption of the national debt in the present financial year was somewhat above 98,500,000 yen, which was nearly double that applied in 1926-27 to the same purpose.

The 52nd Session of the Diet had closed on March 26 ; it had witnessed the usual scenes of disorder, culminating in a free fight

on March 24, as a result of which eleven members were eventually indicted for assault. When the financial crisis came, the Government proposed to guarantee an advance by the Bank of Japan to the Bank of Taiwan (Formosa) up to 50,000,000l. This plan was rejected by the Privy Council, and on April 17 the Government resigned.

Acting on the advice of Prince Saionji, the last of the Elder Statesmen, the Emperor instructed Baron Tanaka, the leader of the Seiyukwai, the second strongest party in the Diet, to form a Cabinet. By April 19 Baron Tanaka had succeeded in forming a ministry of which all the members, except the Ministers of War and Marine, were from his own party. He himself took charge of Foreign Affairs. On April 22 he made a statement of policy in which he declared his first task to be to clear the economic atmosphere. There had been more bank failures on April 18, and on April 21 a moratorium was declared for twenty-one days. A special session of the Diet was called on May 3 to deal with the financial situation. It sat till May 8, and passed two Bills submitted by the Minister of Finance: one permitting the Bank of Japan to advance 200,000,000 yen (20,000,000l.) for the Bank of Taiwan, and the other permitting it to advance 500,000,000 yen for the general support of Japanese banks. Thus, with the 200,000,000 yen guarantee voted by the last Diet for the renewal of the "earthquake relief Bills," the Bank of Japan had been furnished with resources up to 90,000,000l. for stabilising the position. The Opposition did not oppose these Bills, but they succeeded in carrying, by a majority of sixteen, a resolution condemning the action of the Privy Council, and thus by implication throwing upon that body the blame for the panic of April.

The moratorium period closed on May 12, and on the next day the banks re-opened. There was no special excitement, and it seemed that public confidence had been restored by the Government's measures. Mr. J. Inouye, who had been appointed Governor of the Bank of Japan on May 10, made a statement to the *Times* in which he said that the Government's two Bills had "closed a chapter in the most alarming story in Japan's financial annals." He denied that the crisis was due to any inherent defects in Japan's banking or industrial system, and traced it to the effects of the war boom and the earthquake, the recovery of the exchange being also a contributory cause. In spite of Mr. Inouye's assurances, the restoration of financial stability proved to be a very difficult task. On June 24 twenty-six banks were still closed, and the continued closing of the Fifteenth Bank caused in July the failure of the Kawasaki Dockyard Company, which, though a private company, did important work for the Government. The Japanese Navy agreed to take over and complete the warships under construction in the Kawasaki works, **but over 4,000** workmen were discharged,

to whom the municipality of Kobe paid 7,500l. in compensation. Later in the year the banks which had been closed began, with the help of the Bank of Japan, slowly to get on their feet again, and commenced to pay their smaller creditors in full. The Fifteenth Bank reduced its capital from 150,000,000 yen to 100,000,000 yen, augmented by payments from the private estates of the directors ; the Matsukata family practically surrendered their entire estates for this purpose.

On June 2 the veteran Viscount Takahashi, who had only joined the Ministry to inspire confidence during the crisis, resigned, and he was succeeded as Minister of Finance by Mr. C. Mitsuchi. Baron Tanaka's Government succeeded in maintaining itself throughout the year, although it did not command a majority in the Diet. The majority of the Seiyuhonto had formed a union with the Kenseikai under the name of the Shinto Club, which on June 1 was changed into " Rikken Minseito " (Constitutional Democratic Party). This party commanded 222 votes in the Diet against 188 of the Government Party.

Manhood suffrage came into operation for the first time in the Prefectural Elections, which took place in September. Half the new electors did not vote. The Government parties secured 818 seats against the Opposition's 573 ; 26 Labour candidates were elected out of a total of 376.

In foreign affairs Japan's chief concern was to protect her commercial interests in China. For this purpose she did her best to avoid taking any step which might irritate the Chinese masses ; but owing to the disturbed condition of the country this was not always possible. In his annual statement to the Imperial Diet on January 18, the Foreign Minister said that it was Japan's policy to respect the sovereignty and territorial integrity of China, and scrupulously to avoid all interference in her domestic strife, and at the same time to protect Japan's rights and interests by all reasonable means. This policy was on the whole faithfully adhered to, but there were occasions on which intervention could not be avoided. When the troubles began in Shanghai, Japan did not immediately land troops there, but kept them on board ships in the harbour. Later, however, over a thousand Japanese marines co-operated in defence of the Settlement and of Japanese property outside the Settlement. When the Japanese Consulate at Nanking was looted and burnt on March 24, no reprisals were committed by the Japanese forces on the spot; the naval officer commanding the Consulate guard committed suicide as a protest against the national humiliation. Japan joined with the other four Powers in presenting an identic Note on April 11, but declined to co-operate with Great Britain in the application of sanctions. Soon after becoming Premier, Baron Tanaka, on April 23, announced his intention of adopting a firmer policy for the protection of Japanese nationals and Japanese

interests in China. On May 11 Japan demanded the evacuation of the Japanese Consulate at Nanking, and on June 29 the Japanese Consul and his staff returned. On April 30 a force of 4,000 men from the Japanese garrison of Manchuria was landed at Tsing-tao, and in June it was sent on to Tsi-nan to protect the Japanese, estimated to number 30,000, in the Shantung province. The situation having improved, the troops were withdrawn on September 5.

In June the Foreign Minister summoned the Japanese Minister at Peking and the principal Consuls in China to attend a Conference in Tokio for the purpose of advising on the restoration of trade, the refugee problem, and future policy in China. The Conference sat from June 26 to July 7, and at its close Baron Tanaka stated that, pending the establishment of a central Government in China, Japan had no alternative except to keep in touch with the moderate elements and await developments. In August, Japan protested energetically against the surtaxes on imports imposed by the Nanking Government, and procured their withdrawal. In the same month Japan put forward certain demands in Manchuria, where she had very important interests, but as these gave rise to anti-Japanese demonstrations, they were withdrawn. Japan's "forward" policy in Manchuria received another check in December when, owing to a Chinese outcry, the South Manchurian Railway Company, a Japanese concern, was unable to bring off a loan of \$30,000,000 which it was negotiating with the firm of Morgan & Co.

At the beginning of April the Soviet Government granted to certain Japanese companies a six-year concession of 3,000,000 acres of forest on the shores of the Gulf of Tartary in the Maritime Province of Siberia. Japanese relations with Russia continued to be of the most friendly character, and at the beginning of December a Japanese mission under Mr. Kuhara, a prominent business man, visited Moscow with a view to studying the economic conditions in Soviet Russia. On July 20, after about three years of negotiation, a Commercial Treaty was signed with Germany on the basis of the "most-favoured-nation" clause.

Japan willingly acceded to President Coolidge's invitation in February to participate in a Conference for the reduction of naval armaments, only stipulating that the Conference should not take place till June, so as to allow adequate time for preparation. Admiral Viscount Saito (Governor-General of Korea) and Viscount Ishii (Ambassador at Paris) were appointed delegates. On leaving Tokio on April 25, Admiral Saito received an ovation which revealed the existence of an unsuspected fund of enthusiasm for the disarmament idea in Japan. At the Conference the policy of the Japanese delegates was to maintain the existing ratio of naval strength, and to effect economy in future building, and they were ready to accept any plan which would have secured these ends,

whether on the British or the American basis. When disagreements broke out between the British and the American delegates, they tried hard to effect a compromise, but without success. Japanese public opinion was not disturbed by the failure of the Conference. It was able to indulge in a certain display of self-righteousness by contrasting the moderation of the Japanese demands with the British and American grasping at naval supremacy, and it was not displeased to see a rivalry between the two Anglo-Saxon Powers. Admiral Saito, who returned to Japan on September 26, was given an excellent reception, and said he was prepared to recommend the Japanese Government to hold a second tripartite Conference at the earliest practicable date. When the proposed new United States cruiser policy was announced, the Japanese Press was unanimous in condemning it as extravagant and provocative.

The foreign trade of Japan, excluding Chosen and Formosa, in 1927 amounted to 1,992,302,000 yen exports and 2,179,043,000 yen imports, showing a decrease of 52,425,000 yen and 198,441,000 yen respectively on the corresponding figures of the preceding year. Thus the excess of imports over exports in 1927 was no more than 186,741,000 yen, which showed a decrease of 145,016,000 yen as compared with the figure for last year. The decrease in both export and import trades was mainly due to the inactivity of home industries and general decline of purchasing power caused by the financial uneasiness and to the disturbances in China and the depression of foreign markets in general. The foreign exchange on New York rose in the first part of March to the level of 49 dollars, but fell again until in October it reached 45 dollars. This drop in the foreign exchange, in spite of the improved state of the international balance, was attributable to the suspension by the present Government of shipment of gold, and was consequently viewed by the Government as nothing but a seasonal phenomenon, against which the adoption of any artificial measures was declared to be inadvisable.

The year was marked by two natural calamities. A destructive earthquake took place on March 7 in the country district round the Gulf of Wakasa, 100 miles north of Osaka. Over 3,000 persons were killed and nearly 7,000 injured, and the damage was estimated at over 10,000,000l. On September 13 a typhoon with a tidal wave wrecked the towns of Kojima and Nakamura near Nagasaki, causing 719 deaths and 2,313 lesser casualties, and destroying 1,850 houses.

On October 30, for the second time in Japanese history, the entire fleet, consisting now of 172 vessels, was drawn up for review before the Sovereign in Yokohama Bay. Since the previous occasion in 1919, the number of capital ships had declined from 21 to 10, but in every other class there was an increase—of light cruisers from 20 to 33, destroyers 69 to 100, and submarines

15 to 58. There were also now three aircraft carriers, a type of ship not represented in 1919.

In the naval manoeuvres at the end of August a collision occurred between two cruisers and two destroyers, causing 120 casualties. Admiral Kato, commanding the fleet, explained that the operation in the course of which the collision occurred formed a regular part of each year's manoeuvres, but owing to the increased speed of squadrons the exercises were becoming more and more dangerous.

At an Imperial review held at Nagoya on November 19, a private belonging to the "Eta," or pariah, class attempted to present a petition to the Emperor on a fixed bayonet for the purpose of calling attention to the grievances of his class. He was court-martialled and sentenced to a year's imprisonment, but meanwhile the Minister for War issued instructions to the troops to refrain from words or actions calculated to offend the Eta.

#### NETHERLANDS EAST INDIES.

When the "Law regarding the statute of Government of the Netherlands East Indies" was discussed in the Dutch States General (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1925, p. 264), the Government had proposed that the Volksraad (People's Council) should contain, besides the President, to be appointed by the Governor-General, at least 30 non-Hollander Dutch subjects (natives), 25 Dutch Hollander subjects, and not more than 5 nor less than 3 non-Hollanders of foreign origin (Chinese, etc.). An amendment was carried by which the proportion between natives and Hollanders was reversed, 30 Hollanders against 25 natives obtaining a seat in the Volksraad. This alteration had been the cause of considerable soreness in educated native circles, whose expectations had been disappointed, and who therefore, smarting under a sense of wrong, were in danger of losing faith in the good intentions of the Government regarding the gradual emancipation of the native population. The Government, therefore, deemed it advisable to introduce their original proposal in the Volksraad once more. Although this body had already in 1923 approved of the scheme, energetic opposition was now offered by the European population against its reintroduction, which, it was thought, showed weakness on the part of the Government in face of the spirit of unrest among the native population. It was considered by them bad policy now to create a native majority in the Volksraad. Against this it was pointed out that the President, being a nominee of the Governor-General, would always secure preponderance to the Dutch element over the native element, which, moreover, would hardly ever be homogeneous, since a part of it was elected, and another part appointed by the



Government. In any case, the Government looked upon their original proposal as one to which they were bound in equity.

At its December meeting the Volksraad sided with the Government. A motion inviting the Government to withdraw their proposal was rejected by 37 votes to 17. The Volksraad thereupon passed the Bill by 33 votes to 22, at the same time expressing its wish, by 33 votes to 19, that without alteration in the existing proportion, the number of members of the Volksraad should be increased so that not fewer Hollanders than up to the present should have seats. The Volksraad would then be composed as follows: 36 natives, 30 Hollanders, and 6 non-Hollanders of foreign origin. All the native and 10 European members, including the President, voted for the Bill, 17 European members against. A second proposal, for adding to the Council of India two members, with the intention of appointing duly qualified natives as such, met with little opposition. The alteration of the " Law regarding the Statute of Government of the Netherlands East Indies " now requires only the approval of the States General in Holland. From the tone of the discussions on the Netherlands East Indian Budget in the Second Chamber it appears likely that this approval will not be withheld.

While the Government did not allow themselves to be deflected from the course they had followed for many years, of working for the gradual emancipation of the Netherlands East Indies and the education of the native population for self-government under the ultimate supervision of Holland, they at the same time adopted strong measures for combating Communist disorders. For this purpose the police and the army were strengthened. Early in the year there were riots in Sumatra, and in July a plot was discovered among the military in Java. In both cases quick action was taken. On the occasion of the opening of the session of the Volksraad on May 14 the Governor-General had uttered a grave warning against the opinion that all danger of Communist plots was past. The outbreak only demonstrated how necessary the warning had been.

With regard to the defence of the Netherlands East Indies, the Government announced their intention in the Volksraad of proposing a Navy Bill providing for at least 2 cruisers, 8 destroyers, and 12 submarines. The port of Surabaya was to be adapted as a naval base, and its entrance would be protected by batteries of medium calibre guns. The Bill will further provide for floating material for local defence and blockade, a naval air force and naval establishments on shore. Tarakan and Balikpapan, being looked upon as particularly vulnerable points, were to be adequately garrisoned.

During 1927 some successful aeroplane flights strengthened the ties connecting the Netherlands East Indies with the mother country. An aeroplane for passenger traffic completed the round

trip from Amsterdam to Batavia and back in 30 days, comprising 177½ hours of flight. A postal aeroplane which left Amsterdam on October 1 reached Batavia in 9 days, returning in 10 days of flight. The Volksraad showed its interest in aviation by voting a credit of 300,000 florins for establishing air-lines in Java. A more intimate connexion was also established in another way with Holland. On June 2 Queen Wilhelmina and the Princess Juliana broadcasted from Philips' station at Eindhoven to the Netherlands East Indies. Since that date successful radio-telephonic conversations between the Netherlands East Indies and Holland have taken place repeatedly.

The proposal to grant to the Netherlands East Indies a representative on the League of Nations was negatived on constitutional grounds. The Volksraad, therefore, contented itself with voting a credit for an observer, provisionally for a term of two years, at Geneva.

The financial situation of the Netherlands East Indies was favourable, as indicated by the following returns : 1925, surplus ordinary service 104\*8 millions, surplus entire service, 66.8 millions ; 1926, surplus ordinary service, 89.2 millions (estimated deficit, 9.5), surplus entire service, 45.3 (estimated deficit, 57.3) millions. These favourable results were due, as to 66 millions, to the larger yield of taxation, the limited companies tax yielding 18 millions and the import duties 14.8 millions more than in the previous year, which shows a strong economic revival. Government produce yielded 28 millions over the estimates. For 1927 it is anticipated that the ordinary service will show a surplus of some 65 millions. The 1928 Budget, which was adopted by the Volksraad during the summer and in December by the Second Chamber, showed only a small surplus on the ordinary estimates (expenditure 741.5 millions, revenue 742.2 millions). On this account the reduction of the income and company tax desired by the Government was not effected.

## CHAPTER IX.

### THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA—SOUTH-WEST PROTECTORATE— SOUTHERN RHODESIA—MOZAMBIQUE—MOROCCO—EGYPT.

#### SOUTH AFRICA.

THE Flag and Nationality Bill controversy, which continued throughout the greater part of 1927, threatened on more than one occasion to precipitate a constitutional crisis. The Governor-General, in his Speech from the Throne at the opening of the January, 1926, session of the House of Assembly, had foreshadowed the introduction of a Bill which was to provide for a flag expressing

" our independent nationhood and a symbol of our accepted national status." A Select Committee, however, failed to agree on a design, and the Bill subsequently brought forward by the Government was withdrawn within a week of its introduction. The Government's well-intentioned desire had been to exclude from the design of the flag all reference to what was termed the unhappy past (see ANNUAL REGISTER, 1926, p. 282), but by eliminating the colours of the old Transvaal and Orange Free State republics it roused the hostility of the backveld, and estranged British sympathies by the non-inclusion of the Union Jack.

Thus once again the electorate became divided on racial lines, and although feeling was intense on both sides when Parliament reassembled in January, 1927, the beneficent influence exercised by the results of the Imperial Conference inspired the hope that the flag problem would be solved without creating a definite breach. In April the Government convened a round table conference between members of its Flag Commission and the various vigilance committees which had been formed in the provinces. This conference was urged by the Prime Minister to approach the task of selecting a distinctive flag for the Union " with sincerity of purpose in a mental atmosphere of mutual helpfulness and goodwill." From the outset of these deliberations, however, it was evident that the Premier's pious counsel would prove unavailing. Early in May the Government decided that their continuation could serve no useful purpose. It then reintroduced its Bill, the second reading of which was moved on May 23 by Dr. Malan, Minister of the Interior. As the debate proceeded, speeches became more and more bitter, and many Ministerial utterances, made under the attacks of an Opposition wrought to a state of impassioned protest by the Government's determination to force its project, were quoted far and wide as evidence of South Africa's serious disruption. On June 2, after one of the most protracted debates in the history of the House of Assembly, the Flag Bill was carried by 69 votes to 54 and immediately referred to a Select Committee. This body broke up a fortnight later without coming to an agreement, and as a consequence the Government remodelled its design, which it decided in the event of further disagreement to submit to a referendum. This new design consisted of a flag formed of broad horizontal stripes of orange, white, and blue, with a shield in the centre. This shield comprised the Union Jack in the top left corner, the Orange Free State Vierkleur in the top right, the Transvaal Vierkleur in the left bottom corner, and four stars, representing the four provinces of the Union, in the right bottom corner. A clause embodying the new design was added to the Bill by 71 votes to 51 on June 21, and two days later, on a rising tide of mistrust and suspicion—in Natal the policy of secession was openly debated—the measure passed its third reading by 69 votes to 46. In the Senate it was

subjected to amendment, which the Government refused to accept, and Parliament broke up in doubt and uncertainty with the prospect of a special session for October.

When the House reassembled on the 15th of that month the deadlock appeared hopeless. Dr. Malan headed the no-concession section of the Cabinet. His attitude threatened to split the Government, for Mr. Tielman Roos, Minister of Justice, and one of General Hertzog's ablest and most influential supporters, openly advocated a policy of agreement, in which he had enlisted the sympathy of the Premier. The ultimate settlement of the dispute was largely a personal victory for Mr. Roos. It was also highly creditable to the Governor-General, to General Hertzog and to General Smuts, leader of the Opposition. Early on the morning of October 25 the Nationalist and South African party caucuses reached complete agreement. The new design received the approval of both Houses, and was generally received by the electorate with feelings of relief.

The essential clause of the Bill as amended reads as follows :—

The flags of the Union shall be (1) the Union Jack to denote the association of the Union with the group of nations constituting the British Commonwealth of Nations ; (2) the national flag, the design of which is set out in Section 8 of the Flag Bill. The Union Jack shall be flown with the national flag from the Houses of Parliament, the principal Government buildings in the capitals of the Union and the provinces, in ports, on Government offices abroad, and such other places in the Union as the Government may decide. The Governor-General may by regulation fix the form in which the flags may be flown on ships on the high seas or for special purposes and occasions.

This last sentence means that the Union Jack shall continue to be flown on ships until a decision of an Imperial Conference to the contrary. Section 8 of the Flag Bill, referred to above, states :—

The design of the national flag shall be: Three horizontal stripes of equal width from top to bottom, orange, white, and blue; in the middle of the white stripe within a blue outer bordure and a white inner bordure a shield divided quarterly: (1) Union Jack; (2) Old Transvaal Vierkleur; (3) Old Orange Free State flag; (4) Four white stars on a blue field. Quarterly of four, party per cross argent: (1) Union Jack; (2) Old Orange Free State flag; (3) Old Transvaal Vierkleur; (4) Azure, four stars argent.

Speaking at Somerset Strand shortly afterwards, Dr. Malan declared that a peace had been made of which neither side need be ashamed. On October 31, in the House of Assembly, the Prime Minister, amidst loud cheers, read the following message from King George :—

I wish to express my heartfelt satisfaction at the solution of the flag question, and I earnestly trust that the spirit of tolerance, conciliation, and goodwill may continue to animate all parties and unite them for the common weal.

On February 15 the Government of India, in Delhi, laid on the table of both Houses of Legislature the South African Settlement Bill. The procedure marked what enlightened Indian opinion generally described as the "eminently satisfactory" settlement of the long dispute between the Governments of India and South Africa regarding the status of Indian settlers in the Union (see ANNUAL REGISTER, 1926, p. 279). The Union Government recognises that Indians domiciled in the Union who are prepared to conform to Western standards of life should be enabled to do so, and that others who so desire can avail themselves of the offer of assisted emigration, subject to the condition that a three years' absence ends their domicile. The Union Government also recognises the obligation of education for its Indian community, undertakes to appoint a Commission to investigate conditions, and agrees to drop the Class Areas Bill to enable the agreement to have a fair trial under the best auspices. A week later, when the Council of State unanimously passed a resolution giving effect to the agreement, Mr. Sethna, a member of the delegation to South Africa, said that what history would record as the Hertzog-Habibullah agreement would be productive of good results. Sir Mohammed Habibullah, the leader of the delegation, paid a handsome tribute to the wisdom, sagacity, and statesmanship of the Ministers of South Africa, who throughout had been animated by a desire to solve the problem.

In South Africa, on the other hand, the agreement was subjected to a certain amount of criticism. Natal opinion, as represented by Messrs. Nel and Collins, in the House of Assembly, was that the agreement was one-sided and a betrayal of European interests. Of the 161,000 Indians in the Union, 141,000 are domiciled in Natal, and the province viewed with alarm the failure of the settlement to give Europeans protection against encroachment. Mr. Srinivasa Sastri was appointed Agent-General of the Government of India in South Africa, and a few months after his arrival the Indian Government also deputed Mr. Kailas Prasad Kichlu, Deputy Director of the Education Department, to proceed to the Union to inquire into the education of Indians in Natal. On June 24 the House read for a second time the Bills implementing the agreement, and before the Parliamentary session came to an end Ministerial reference was made to the satisfactory inauguration of the settlement. Earl Birkenhead (Secretary of State for India), replying to a question in the House of Lords, on March 31, said the settlement was an honourable one to both parties, and marked the beginning of a period of cordial co-operation and more intimate and friendly relations between the two Governments.

General Hertzog's native policy, embodied in four Bills of which notice had been given in the previous session (see ANNUAL REGISTER, 1920, p. 280), came before Parliament on March 23,

when the proposed enactments were read a first time. Progress was interrupted, however, on a point of constitutional procedure. General Smuts, speaking for the Opposition, contended that under Sections 35 and 152 of the South Africa Act each Bill should be initialled in a joint session and dealt with only by a joint session, as the House of Assembly was incompetent to deal with two of them which concerned the "entrenched" clauses of the South Africa Act. The Government view was that only certain provisions of the Bills required a two-thirds majority of a joint session of both Houses, and that it would be most difficult to divide the two types of provisions; therefore the only safe course was to pass the Bills in their entirety and then to submit them to a joint session. The Speaker's ruling was that the Premier's motion referring the Bills to a select committee was quite in order, and that he need not decide the larger issue until their emergence from that stage.

In the meantime influential opinion in England and in South Africa viewed General Hertzog's legislative proposals with considerable misgiving. He was petitioned by many prominent public men in this country to modify his drastic intentions, which in the words of the petitioners "must prevent native people sharing in the development of industry and deter them benefiting economically by education and civilisation," and representative South African opinion also protested against the suggestion of harshness contained in the measures. A conference of the churches was "reluctantly compelled to the conclusion that there were elements in the Bills which were a denial of our common faith," and the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union endeavoured to stir up international opposition to the Bills.

#### SOUTH-WEST PROTECTORATE.

Owing to the circulation of statements regarded as inimical to the interests of the Union and of the South-West Protectorate, General Hertzog, in the House of Assembly, in April, vigorously repudiated the suggestion that the mandated territory was to be restored to Germany. "Nothing is to be more regretted than the dissemination of such rumours," said the Premier, "and I can give the assurance that there is no cause for anybody being at all alarmed."

There was an interesting sequel to this statement during the session of the Protectorate House of Assembly, at Windhoek, a few weeks later. Mr. Jooste, a member of the Executive Council, moved the following resolution: "Acknowledging that the German population of South-West Africa, by accepting South African citizenship, has cast in its lot with the South Africans for good, and accepting that together with the South Africans they are fully resolved to remain faithful subjects of His Majesty the

**King of South Africa**, and acknowledging that any propaganda, whether by the distribution of literature or otherwise and the adoption of measures for the return of this territory to Germany has the tendency (1) to sever the common bond of South African citizenship and propagate disloyalty towards His Majesty; and (2) to harm and retard the welfare and economical development of the territory very much; and having taken notice of the statement of the Hon. the Prime Minister of the Union of South Africa, General Hertzog, this House strongly deprecates and condemns the distribution of such literature and of such propaganda or measures above-mentioned, and at the same time desires to express its appreciation of, and to thank the Prime Minister for, his reassuring words relative to the matter." Mr. Jooste's motion was carried in the absence of the nine German members, who walked out of the House as he rose to address it.

In the Cape House, a week or so later, General Hertzog referred with regret to the Windhoek incident. From his experience of Germans as colonists, the Premier added, he felt they could not have a better element for the whole of South Africa.

The Permanent Mandates Commission, at Geneva, on June 27, discussed the report of the Union Government on the administration of the Protectorate, and questions were put to the Union delegate, Mr. Smit, the High Commissioner in London, regarding the meaning of the expression "possesses sovereignty," which is used in the Union Treaty with Portugal regulating the Angola frontier. The High Commissioner replied in terms of the interpretation already given by the Union Government with regard to the exercise of sovereignty by the administration of the mandated territory. The Commission, however, took exception to the use of the phrase "possesses sovereignty," and expressed "doubts whether it can be held to define correctly, having regard to the terms of the Covenant, the relations existing between a Mandatory Power and the territory placed under mandate."

At a subsequent sitting of the Commission a sub-committee was appointed to examine material concerning a petition from certain members of the Rehoboth tribe. This material included a report by Judge de Villiers, of the South African Supreme Court, who was appointed by the Union Government to conduct a special inquiry into the status of this tribe and the complaints made by certain of its members (see ANNUAL REGISTER, 1926, p. 284).

#### SOUTHERN RHODESIA.

Sir John Chancellor, the Governor, opened the sixth session of the first Parliament of Southern Rhodesia on May 1. One of the first actions of the Assembly was unanimously to adopt the Carter Land Commission Report, which recommended that out-

side existing native reserves and the land held by Europeans, areas should be set aside in which Europeans and natives respectively shall alone be permitted to acquire ownership of or interest in land. The Government has now set aside 48,000,000 additional acres for European occupation and 29,000,000 additional acres for native occupation, the 17,000,000 which the Carter Commission proposed to treat as "neutral areas" being held for ultimate disposal to Europeans or natives as circumstances require.

The first definite split in the constitution of the House of Assembly occurred in June, when Sir Ernest Montagu was elected leader of the newly-formed Opposition, known as the Progressive Party. The cleavage was stated to be the outcome of growing differences with the Government over the distribution of monies voted in 1924, the inadequacy of its land-settlement policy, the question of mineral concessions and the railway agreement.

References to the question of the amalgamation of Northern and Southern Rhodesia were frequent during the year. The project is linked up with the proposed unification of British territorial interests in East Africa. Mr. Moffat, then Minister of Mines, speaking at Gwelo in August, said that when Northern and Southern Rhodesia were joined there was no reason why Nyasaland should not be brought in as a third partner, and by that time "we ought to be able to take up the position of another dominion of the British Empire." Later in the year, Sir James Maxwell, Governor of Northern Rhodesia, at the opening of the Legislative Council, also mentioned the closer union question in connexion with the visit of the Hilton Young Commission. Sir James Maxwell was appointed Governor of Northern Rhodesia, following the appointment, in March, of Sir Herbert James Stanley as Governor of Ceylon.

On August 28 Southern Rhodesia suffered a serious loss by the death of Sir Charles Coghlan, its first Prime Minister. He was succeeded in office by Mr. Moffat.

#### MOZAMBIQUE.

Intermittent negotiations for the conclusion of a new Convention between the Union Government and the Government of the Portuguese colony of Mozambique have failed to reach definite conclusions. That part of the old convention which regulated the supply of native labour to the Rand mines from Mozambique territory continued in operation during the year (see ANNUAL REGISTER, 1925, p. 271), but the arrangement has now been denounced by the Mozambique Government. Negotiations have always broken down over the question of trade between Lourenco Marques and the Eastern Transvaal. The Union Government has long desired the creation of a board of control, on the lines of the Suez Canal Company, for the supervision of the port's



activities, but to this the Portuguese are opposed on the ground that the creation of such an authority would infringe their sovereign rights. Portugal has fixed June 1, 1928, as the date for the termination of the labour agreement.

#### MOROCCO.

The year 1927 saw the completion of the pacification of Morocco which had been begun after the surrender of Abd-el-Krim in the middle of 1926. By the end of that year the only tribes which had not yet surrendered were some of those in the Jabala district and at the western end of the Franco-Spanish frontier. Against these the Spaniards commenced operations at the end of April, in the Jabala by themselves, and on the frontier in conjunction with the French. Their efforts were rapidly crowned with success. Early in May the confederacy of the Sinhaja tribes was broken up, and the insurrection crushed in the Ghomara district, round Sheshuan. Later in the month the Spanish troops suffered a set-back, but at the beginning of June General Sanjurjo confidently announced that the military problem in Morocco would be settled in the next month, and the event did not belie his prediction. Early in July Abd-el-Krim's brother, Slitten el Khamlichi, surrendered at a French post, and on July 10 the complete occupation of the Spanish zone and the end of the military campaign was officially proclaimed at Madrid. There were still four minor chiefs at large, but the last of these surrendered in September.

The disarmament of the subdued population was carried out by the Spaniards with great thoroughness. Rifles had to be given up under penalty of death, and the only weapon allowed to be kept was a curved knife broken in two. In the course of the year no fewer than 45,000 rifles were collected, with 236 machine-guns and 130 cannon, besides an enormous amount of war material. By the end of the year it had been found possible to repatriate most of the Spanish troops.

Before the revolt was over, the Spaniards had already commenced the building of a motor road from Ceuta to Melilla, a distance of 300 miles. The road followed the coast as far as Rincon de Medik, near Tetuan, and after leaving the latter city, entered the mountains, keeping for the most part at a height of from 3,000 to 6,000 feet above the sea ; this rendered it both more picturesque and more valuable for strategic purposes. It was completed in September, and immediately afterwards a party of Spanish officers and journalists motored along it in a single journey from Ceuta to Melilla without arms and without escort, and with no worse mishap than a burst tyre, thus demonstrating the perfect tranquillity of the country.

On October 5 the King and Queen of Spain landed in Ceuta,

this being the first occasion since the sixteenth century on which a Spanish Queen had set foot in Morocco. They were met by the Khalifa of the Spanish zone at Dar Rifien, some way out of Ceuta, and here they received the homage of numerous Kaid's who had recently been fighting with Spain, along with many curious and valuable presents. On the next day they paid a return visit to the Khalifa at Tetuan, where they were welcomed with great enthusiasm by the native population and the Jabala tribesmen who had come into the town. While in Morocco the King of Spain paid a visit to Anual, the scene of the great Spanish military disaster in 1921.

On October 20 a French shooting party, which included M. Yves Steeg, the nephew of the Governor of the French zone, was captured by brigands in the Mount Atlas region, and was only ransomed after protracted negotiations. In consequence of this incident, the Governor issued a proclamation warning Europeans that certain areas were still unsafe, and forbidding entry to them without special permission.

In the French zone there was a famine in the spring owing to the drought of the previous season. In May refugees from the south poured northwards, and had to be kept in concentration camps to prevent the spread of typhus and cholera. A subscription list was opened for the sufferers at Casablanca.

The Sultan of Morocco died in November, and his third son was proclaimed as his successor.

*Tangier.*—Throughout 1927 the Spanish Government continued to agitate for a change in the administration of Tangier, but without securing any success. On February 9 representatives of Spain and France met at Paris to discuss the problem of the administration of Tangier. The Spaniards put forward demands which would have had the effect of placing Tangier practically under Spanish control. The French steadfastly refused to abolish the international status of Tangier as fixed by the Convention of 1923. They proposed certain modifications, but these did not satisfy the Spaniards, and negotiations dragged on throughout the greater part of the year without producing any result. On October 27 an Italian naval detachment, under the Prince of Udine, put in at Tangier expressly for the purpose of reminding the Powers, by an *acte de presence*, that Italy also considered herself to have interests in Tangier, and that she was not a party to the Convention of 1923.

#### EGYPT.

The outstanding event in the history of Egypt during the year 1927 was undoubtedly the almost sudden death of Saad Pasha Zaghoul, the most outstanding character and the dominating personality in Egyptian public life (see Obituary, under

Aug. 23). For some years he had practically ruled Egypt, making and unmaking Governments at his pleasure. As is so often the case with similar personalities in politics, he left no obvious successor, and it is practically certain that in his absence the party representative of 90 per cent, of the nation which he created will fall to pieces. For the time being, however, Egyptian politics became easier, perhaps by a coincidence, with the passing of Zaghoul, but in the last days of the year a ferment manifested itself within the Cabinet. In the earlier part of the year they had shown considerable stringency, and in April the Adly Cabinet had fallen under the pressure of Zaghoul's extremist followers. Although the overwhelming majority of the members of the Egyptian Parliament were members of the Wafd or Zaghoul's party, the Government was a coalition, for the Wafd was quite unable to produce sufficient men of experience and ability to form a Cabinet. The cause of the resignation was a matter of little consequence, but to the Prime Minister it was the last straw. The new Cabinet, which was formed with difficulty, was also a coalition, as in the case of its predecessor, of its ten members seven representing the Wafd. The Prime Minister was Sarwat Pasha, like his predecessor a member of the Liberal Party. The new Government was well received by the Press, but Parliament displayed no cordiality towards it on its debut.

A month later there was another political crisis. The in-subordinate attitude adopted by the majority of the deputies towards Adly was continued with regard to his successor. Matters came to a head when Parliament began to criticise the visit paid by the British High Commissioner, Lord Lloyd, to Minia, a cotton centre in Upper Egypt, at the invitation of the local notables. The cordial reception he obtained there annoyed the Wafdist extremists, and Parliament unanimously censured the Government and the Egyptian officials concerned with the visit. Other criticisms of the relations with Britain, as well as attacks on the Government on matters of domestic concern followed, and Sarwat apparently decided to resign. However, resignation of the Government and a possible dissolution of Parliament were by no means in accordance with the desire of the critics, and the threat sobered them. Next came a recommendation by the Parliamentary War Committee for the abolition of the Sirdarship, and with it the British control of the Egyptian army. At the same time the committee made other proposals for the increase of the army and on other matters, obviously directed against the British control. The abolition of the Egyptian contribution to the upkeep of the Sudan Defence Force was also recommended. At this point the British Government intervened and, to support its representations, warships were sent to Alexandria and Port Said. Sir Austen Chamberlain made it clear that the proposed reforms would not be accepted by the British Government with-

out modification. To the increase in personnel and changes in armament no objection would be taken, but it was essential that the head of the Egyptian army and his deputy should be British officers, and that the Frontier Districts and Coastguard should also remain under British control. The Egyptian Government did not accept these terms at once, and they were urged by their Press to reject them all. The Government was, however, wiser than their advisers, and on June 16 the House of Commons was informed that the explanations given by the Egyptian Foreign Minister were quite satisfactory and that the tension had been relieved. A few days later the Chamber voted all the credits required, including those for the Sirdar and the Sudan Defence Force. In the later aspects of this affair Zaghoul's influence counted for moderation.

The settlement of the difficulties laid the way open for the visit of King Fuad to London in July. He was accompanied by the Prime Minister. There had been difficulties between the two Governments on other matters besides those already mentioned, and above all the four points that were reserved when Egyptian independence was proclaimed in 1922 were still awaiting discussion. The extremist wing of the Wafd, which often seemed to comprise the majority of that party, was openly desirous of forcing the British completely to evacuate Egypt, and although they realised this could not be effected at one step they were determined to seize every opportunity for a move in that direction. Several such steps attempted during the year have already been indicated. Another was an attempt in April to secure control of the Mixed Courts, and in that way open wide the path towards the abolition of the Capitulations. This proposal was made by the Minister of Justice. Shortly afterwards the Press announced possible terms of agreement between the two Governments, and although the Egyptian Government and Zaghoul immediately denied their authenticity, it is not improbable that they were inspired. The suggested terms were: the withdrawal of the British garrison, apart from the Air Force, to the eastern bank of the Suez Canal; the retirement of practically all of the foreign, including British, officers and officials from the Egyptian Service; the abolition of the Capitulations; a Treaty of perpetual alliance between Britain and Egypt involving a British guarantee of Egypt's security and national integrity, but no obligation on Egypt to provide armed forces in the event of Britain being involved in war; an Anglo-Egyptian condominium in the Sudan; and the appointment by Egypt of officials to control the distribution of the Upper Nile waters.

King Fuad spent three weeks in England visiting the provinces as well as London, where he was the guest of King George. He then proceeded to Brussels, Paris, and Rome. Sarwat left England with the King, but returned later, when it was admitted that the

mutual relations of the two kingdoms were under discussion, but the year closed without any public announcement on the subject. Earlier in the year the constantly recurring question of British officials in the Egyptian Service was again temporarily settled, the retention for from one to three years of the principal British officers in the Ministries of Communications and Ports and Lights, and in the European Department of the Ministry of the Interior, in addition to the Financial and Judicial Advisers, being approved. In the last days of the year the question of the constitution of the Mixed Courts was raised by the Government.

The Governor-General of the Sudan reported to the League of Nations that slave-raiding in the Sudan had completely disappeared, and the various forms of "domestic slavery" had undergone such rapid adjustment to new ideas that the term was no longer justified. Slavery in the provinces north of Khartoum was moribund. The number of domestic slaves still living with their masters was insignificant. In Bahr-el-Ghazal, Mongalla, and Upper Nile provinces, slavery was also non-existent, no slave-owning communities existing there. In one or two of the central provinces, notably Kordofan and Kassala, the progress of manumission had not been so rapid as might have been desired. The matter of slavery in these two provinces has been taken up with the Governors concerned, and it was expected that the rate of manumission would be accelerated.

## CHAPTER X.

THE UNITED STATES—CANADA—ARGENTINA—BOLIVIA—BRAZIL—  
CHILE—MEXICO—NICARAGUA.

### THE UNITED STATES.

CURIOSLY enough, it was President Coolidge, symbol of national well-being, and Mr. Henry Ford, chief apostle of mass production, who between them shook the pillars of American prosperity in 1927. All through the mounting affluence of 1925 and 1926 thousands had begun to hope that it would be possible, despite the strong tradition against a "third term," to "conscript" Mr. Coolidge into becoming a candidate in 1928 and thus continuing him in office and with him the almost universal prosperity. But he was non-committal, and his attitude was disturbing. Finally, on August 2, he broke silence by handing out to the newspaper correspondents assembled in the "summer White House" at Rapid City, South Dakota, slips of paper on which he had typed the single statement: "I do not choose to run for President in 1928." Stocks on Wall Street fell the next day and industrial conditions became increasingly "spotty" for the

remainder of the year. Industry, it was perceived, must face the usual confusion and uncertainty of an American Presidential campaign.

Mr. Ford was the other prime disturbing factor. Finding that the demand for his old car was rapidly falling off, he stopped manufacturing cars on June 30 and permitted his immense plants to remain practically idle for six whole months while he and his engineers toiled to devise a new and "up-to-date" model. This threw thousands out of employment. Rival manufacturers of low and medium-priced cars hastened to take advantage of Mr. Ford's absence from the market, only to discover that the public refused to buy until time had disclosed what the "new Ford" was like. The result was a widespread stagnation throughout the motor industry, which is one of the major American industries, employing three and a half million people. This stagnation affected the production of iron and steel very directly and many other lines indirectly. John E. Edgerton, in his presidential address to the American Manufacturers' Association at Chattanooga on October 25, declared that less than half the manufacturers of the country were earning regular net profits. Some of the giant corporations, he declared, were doing well, but "the common run of manufacturers in America to-day are in about as unhappy a condition as their fellow-producers, the farmers." The year ended with credit as abundant as ever but with widespread uncertainty as to the future.

Mr. Coolidge's decision not to run again promptly quickened the boiling of the never-too-torpid political pot. The chief candidates disclosed for the Republican nomination were Mr. Hoover, who enjoys immense personal prestige but is not particularly popular with the professional politicians; Vice-President Charles G. Dawes, known for his part in the creation of the "Dawes Plan," and Mr. Frank G. Lowden, a millionaire farmer of Illinois. On the Democratic side only one name was mentioned, that of Governor "Al" Smith who, though a Tammany Hall Democrat and a Roman Catholic, has been four times elected Governor of Republican New York State. It was recognised that his candidacy would raise the religious issue. It did. A prominent New York lawyer and Episcopalian, writing in the *Atlantic Monthly* in April, declared that as a Catholic Mr. Smith would owe supreme obedience to the Pope, and could not as President give complete loyalty to the country. The attack created a sensation. On April 18 the Governor replied with a frank and dignified statement of his faith. "I recognise no power in the institutions of my Church to interfere with the operation of the Constitution, of the United States or the enforcement of the laws of the land." The controversy, incidentally, drew from a "qualified spokesman for the Vatican" on May 6 at Rome a carefully phrased disavowal of any desire to interfere

in American politics " which would only result in obvious damage to the Church's higher spiritual interests."

Growing dissatisfaction with the " realities " of the Washington Disarmament Treaty, due to the widespread belief that the theoretical parity of American and British naval strength was being seriously undermined by Great Britain's increasing strength in cruisers of the 10,000-ton class, forced Mr. Coolidge into raising anew the question of limiting naval expansion. The spirit of disillusionment was illustrated on January 5, during a discussion in the House Committee on Naval Affairs of the proposal, subsequently ratified by Congress, to elevate the guns on thirteen of the older battleships in order to give them a range equal to that of the British ships. Some one quoted the statement in 1924 of the then Secretary of State, Mr. Hughes, that to elevate the guns would be a violation of the spirit of the Washington Treaty. Mr. Butler, Chairman of the Committee, explained that inasmuch as the " spirit " of the Treaty was already dead " and the race is on," it was high time that the United States should go ahead. Mr. Coolidge, representing a more moderate position and the heir of the Harding disarmament policy, evidently felt that the " big navy " forces were fast getting out of hand. On February 10 he submitted identical Notes to Great Britain, France, Japan, and Italy suggesting that these Powers, with the United States, should facilitate the labours of the Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference by (a) setting to one side the complex questions of air and land defence ; and (b) endeavouring " to negotiate and conclude " an agreement for further reduction of naval armaments by applying the 5-5-3 ratio to all auxiliary vessels not included in the Washington Treaties, except that the ratio to be applied to France and Italy might be left to the Conference for discussion, with special consideration for the needs of those two countries. France replied on February 15 that she preferred to work through the League of Nations ; Italy similarly declined on February 21. But Great Britain accepted on March 10 and Japan on March 11. As the result a conference of the three Powers began at Geneva on June 20 and lasted until August 4 when it broke up in failure.

The failure did not improve Anglo-American relations. The " big navy " group in Congress and the Press pointed to the breakdown of the negotiations as proof that Great Britain was determined to maintain superiority at sea under the plea of her peculiar necessities. Since 1924, they declared, Great Britain had started the construction of thirteen 10,000-ton cruisers, some of them of most formidable design, while the United States, dwelling in a fools' paradise based on the atmosphere of the Washington Convention, had only two such cruisers. Further, they pointed out that the United States, too, has " peculiar necessities ; " she has few naval bases or coaling stations and must

therefore build large cruisers with long cruising range, and she needs 8-inch guns, because she must be able to out-range any theoretical opponent—say Great Britain—enjoying a vast merchant fleet of "ocean greyhounds" equipped with 6-inch guns.

Vice-President Dawes, at the dedication on August 7 of the International Peace Bridge connecting Buffalo and Fort Erie, Canada, addressing a distinguished audience which included the Prince of Wales, Prince George, Mr. Baldwin, the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, and other notables, said tactfully that the failure of the Three-Power Conference at Geneva had been partly due "to lack of preparation." But whatever the cause, the result left the "big navy" forces jubilant and full of plans for building eighteen or twenty big cruisers to achieve a real, as against what they called a specious, equality with Great Britain.

With this there grew up and spread a new doctrine, that in the "next war"—in which the highly pacific United States would, of course, be a neutral—it was imperative to have a navy sufficiently strong to defend the rights of Americans and other neutrals on the high seas. Those rights, the new doctrine asserts, were very shabbily disregarded by both sides in the Great War. American ships were stopped, searched, and detained; American "neutral and non-contraband" cargoes were confiscated; American mails were impudently searched. Two-thirds of the small nations who joined the Allies did so, it was asserted, not because they had any real grievance against Germany or Austria, but solely because as "neutrals" their commerce was cut off and their rights cavalierly treated. They were coerced into it. But that must never happen again; neutrals have rights under international law, and somebody must be strong enough to defend those rights against any Sea Power.

On December 14 the administration's naval budget was presented to Congress. It included a programme, to be carried out at leisure and to be altered or curtailed when the President saw fit, providing for twenty new cruisers, nine destroyer leaders, thirty-two submarines, and five aircraft carriers. The total cost was estimated at 700,000,000 dollars. At first the "big navy" forces demanded that the programme be definitely adopted and carried through, regardless of any possible intervention by the President, but they were defeated on this point. The programme, therefore, remains something with which to bargain in 1931, or sooner, whenever the Washington Treaty comes up for revision.

On April 13 Mr. Hugh Gibson at Geneva explained that the United States was unwilling to accept the supervision of the League in carrying out any treaties dealing with the limitation of armaments. On December 1 the United States declined an invitation to send an "observer" to the League's Preparatory Commission on Limitation of Armaments at Geneva.

When Great Britain, on February 9, informed the League



that it was unable to accept the United States' reservations as to the World Court (see ANNUAL REGISTER for 1926, p. 297), the Senate took up the question of rescinding its reservations but the proposal was defeated by 59 to 10.

In one way or another the issue of the war debts came up at various times throughout the year. In his message to Congress on December 6, 1926, Mr. Coolidge paid a graceful tribute to the countries which were paying their war debts to the United States :

. . . when we consider the real sacrifices which will be necessary on the part of other nations, considering all their circumstances, to meet their agreed payments, we ought to hold them in increased admiration and respect. It is true we have extended to them very generous treatment, but it is also true that they have agreed to repay us all we loaned them and some interest.

On February 9 the World War Foreign Debt Commission, of which Secretary Mellon had been chairman, passed out of official existence, after having made debt-funding agreements with thirteen of the twenty original borrowers. Of the remaining seven, Cuba and Liberia paid in full; Austria was granted a moratorium by Congress until 1943 on her debt of 11,959,917 dollars ; Greece reached an agreement with the Treasury Department on December 5, 1927, which must be submitted to Congress for approval. This left three debts unsettled : that of Russia, who was loaned 192,601,297 dollars under the Liberty Bond Acts ; Armenia, for 24,055,709 dollars ; and Nicaragua, for 170,585 dollars for surplus war supplies.

The agitation for the cancellation of the debts (see ANNUAL REGISTER for 1926, p. 294) led Secretary Mellon, on March 17, to issue a lengthy reply. His main arguments were threefold: first, that the American loans were merely devices to enable the Allies to borrow, with the Government's endorsement, from American investors, exactly as though they were floating their own bonds—which they would not dream of repudiating—on the American investment market; secondly, that if it was argued that the United States should regard the advances made after its entry into the war as mere contributions to the common cause—a position which he admitted was arguable—then the question arose as to the willingness of the Allies to apply this standard to themselves. He contended that while the Allies sold " for cash " their supplies and services to the United States " by hundreds of millions," the United States was asked to sell its supplies and services for credit. " Here is the fundamental reason," said the Secretary, " which explains why we ended the war with every one owing us and our owing no one. . . . We are now urged to cancel these debts because it is alleged that they were incurred in a common cause, but neither abroad nor in this country has it been suggested that if this is to be done we are to be reimbursed for the dollars actually expended by us in France

and Great Britain, so that the goods and services they sold us might constitute their contribution to the common cause." His third argument was that "the sums paid to the United States will not come from taxation, but will be more than met by payments exacted from Germany by the Powers." This letter drew from His Majesty's Government a Note addressed to the United States Government on May 2 in which each of the three major arguments was taken up and answered. The State Department made public the British Note, but declined to comment on it. Mr. Mellon explained on May 7 that as for the third argument, his original letter contained a qualifying clause unfortunately omitted by the typist, acknowledging that among those who received in reparations from Germany more than enough to pay their debts to the United States, Great Britain was the sole exception. With that the controversy ended. The movement for cancellation made no outstanding converts during the year.

M. Briand, speaking on April 7, suggested that France was willing to enter into a Treaty with the United States definitely renouncing any resort to force. It was an amiable remark, to be taken up or ignored as seemed best. The State Department, which was at that time preoccupied with bringing up to date the half-forgotten machinery of the twenty-one so-called "Bryan Treaties" of 1914 providing for the arbitration of all disputes, paid no attention to it; but at the suggestion of Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, two professors at Columbia University, Messrs. Shotwell and Chamberlain, drafted an "American Locarno" Treaty designed to prevent war between France and the United States. With the subject thus rising into public view, M. Briand entered into conversations with the American Ambassador in Paris to see whether the Arbitration Convention of 1908 and the "Bryan Treaty" of September, 1914, could be strengthened. Unfortunately, the atmosphere was considerably disturbed on September 9, when the United States entered an abrupt and vigorous protest against the proposed new French tariff which would have applied maximum duties to many American products. An old-fashioned tariff squabble occupied the remainder of the year.

The year marked a noteworthy stage in the development of American relations with British Dominions. On February 18 the Hon. Charles Vincent Massey, the first Minister from the Dominion of Canada to the United States, was received by Mr. Coolidge, and on June 1 Mr. William Phillips, the first American Minister to Canada, presented his credentials at Ottawa to Governor-General Lord Willingdon. On July 27 Mr. Frederick A. Sterling, for several years counsellor of the American Embassy at London, presented at Dublin his credentials as the first Minister from the United States to the Irish Free State. The latter sent to Washington as its first Minister Professor Timothy A. Smiddy.

On January 2 the so-called "Hoover Commission," which had been studying the old question of a Great-Lakes-to-the-ocean waterway, decided in favour of the scheme for the use of the St. Lawrence and rejected the two rival schemes, one for an all-American canal between Lake Ontario and the Hudson, and another for a canal between the Welland Canal and the Hudson. The report was no surprise to anybody, as its tenor had long been anticipated; the Americans, in fact, have been merely "marking time" waiting for the Canadians to agree on a definite waterways policy.

The Senate, on January 18, discussed the Lausanne Treaty with Turkey, but on the vote, 50 in favour and 34 against, the Treaty was defeated, as it failed to receive the necessary two-thirds.

Affairs in Nicaragua furnished sensations throughout the year (see ANNUAL REGISTER for 1926, p. 300). Despite the presence of American marines, the rebels continued to make headway. On January 6 Mr. Coolidge summoned the Opposition leaders to the White House and told them that he would have to take even more drastic steps to restore order. He immediately raised the ban against the export of arms to Nicaragua—since the Diaz or Government forces were short of arms while the "Liberals" seemed to have plenty of arms, presumably from Mexican admirers—and on March 28 Mr. Kellogg disclosed that the Government had sold to the Diaz forces 217,000 dollars worth of Krag rifles, Browning machine-guns, and 3,000,000 rounds of ammunition. More American marines were landed and more towns "neutralised," but it was May before fighting ceased. On May 5 General Diaz offered an amnesty to all Sacasa followers who would lay down their arms; on May 7 General Jose Moncado, accepting it, ordered his troops to hand over their arms and munitions to the American marines. In the meantime, Mr. Henry L. Stimson, formerly Secretary of War, had arrived on April 7 as a special representative of President Coolidge to help bring about peace. Conferences were held and the question of elections was raised. It was agreed that the American marines should be withdrawn, all except about 2,000, who would stay to guard the polling booths at a *new* Presidential Election to be held in 1928. Mr. Stimson returned to Washington highly gratified, but no sooner had he left Nicaraguan soil than fighting was renewed. Even the American marines were attacked. On July 1 the rebels, under General Sandino, seized a gold mine belonging to an American, Charles Butters, at San Albino. This provoked a real battle, in which the marines killed 100 and their airplanes, bombing, killed 200. Two of the American planes were shot down. But eventually order was obtained, and on November 5 the marines, assisted by the local constabulary, kept watch over the municipal elections, which passed off without incident.

Mr. Coolidge, in speeches, frequently referred more or less

openly to the country's relations with the Latin-American nations to the South. For example, on April 25 at New York he insisted that the United States had no desire to annex any more territory, and merely sought to protect American life and property.

After months of controversy, relations with Mexico took a turn for the better. Mr. James R. Sheffield resigned as American Ambassador on July 8, and on September 20 Mr. Dwight W. Morrow, previously one of the partners of the banking house of J. P. Morgan & Company, was appointed Ambassador. The appointment appeared to be exceedingly popular in Mexico City, where Mr. Morrow was regarded as friendly, indeed, as one of the American bankers who had publicly condemned all suggestions of armed intervention in Mexico. Two problems in Mexican-American relations await solution. One is the position of the foreign oil companies in Mexico, whose concessions have been nullified. The other is the resumption of payments on the national external debt. Early in the year, on January 20, Mexico accepted "in principle" arbitration of all its differences with the United States, and the Senate, on January 25 by a vote of 79 to 0, similarly assented.

The Treaty with Panama (see ANNUAL REGISTER for 1926, p. 301), clarifying the rights of the United States over the Canal Zone and providing that the Republic of Panama "should consider herself in a state of war in case of any war in which the United States may be a belligerent," was rejected by the National Assembly of Panama on January 26. On September 10 Dr. Eusebio A. Morales, speaking at the Assembly of the League of Nations, outlined the dispute with the United States regarding the latter's alleged "sovereignty" over the Canal Zone, and suggested that it should be referred to arbitration. Secretary Kellogg, on September 12, issued a statement at Washington declaring that there was no dispute, that the United States was granted full sovereignty over the Canal Zone and approaches thereto by the original Convention of 1903, and that the League of Nations had nothing to do with it.

On April 6 Mr. Coolidge vetoed the resolution which had been twice passed by the Philippine Legislature providing for a plebiscite on the question of independence. The Filipinos, said the President, "are not yet ready to govern themselves." The death, on August 7, of Major-General Leonard Wood, Governor-General of the Philippines, removed an administrator of thoroughly imperialist temper who, according to the findings of Mr. Coolidge's special investigator, Mr. Carmi A. Thompson (see ANNUAL REGISTER for 1926, p. 298), had too closely surrounded himself with army advisers and a military atmosphere. To succeed General Wood, President Coolidge appointed, in December, Mr. Henry L. Stimson, a lawyer, one-time Secretary of War.

Although commercial aviation in the United States lagged

far behind that in Europe, the spectacular side of flying appealed to an enormous public. The year was marked by a series of brilliant exploits, as well as by many attempts at new "records" which came to disaster. On May 20 Captain Charles A. Lindbergh, a United States air mail pilot, made a gallant non-stop flight in a Ryan monoplane from Roosevelt Field, Long Island, to Paris, thus winning a prize of 25,000 dollars offered by Raymond Orteig, of New York and Paris, for the first non-stop flight between the two capitals. Captain Lindbergh flew 3,610 miles in 33 hours 29 minutes and 30 seconds. Although this feat had been foreshadowed as far back as 1919 when the Englishman, Captain John Alcock, in a Vickers-Vimy airplane flew from Newfoundland to Ireland in 16 hours and 12 minutes, Captain Lindbergh's exploit was received with world-wide applause as marking, somehow, the beginning of a new era in long-distance flights. His reception in the United States when he returned was all but hysterical. Vast crowds greeted him at Washington, New York, and other cities; Congress and the various States vied with one another to heap honours upon him. The nation's pride in him was enormous, but, fortunately for that pride, the young man's modesty, simplicity, and incorruptibility were proof against the innumerable temptations thrust upon him to capitalise his tremendous prestige. He retired from the disturbing limelight as soon as he could, to devote himself earnestly to the advancement of civil aviation.

Emulators were numerous. On June 4 the Bellanca monoplane "Columbia," piloted by Clarence D. Chamberlin, and with the owner, Charles A. Levine as passenger, flew from Roosevelt Field bound for Berlin, but unfortunately the daring pair ran out of gasoline and were forced to descend at Helfta, near Eisleben, Germany. This attempt was still fresh in the public mind when a third plane rose in the air on June 29, bound for Paris. Perhaps the best-equipped and the most significant of all, it was the three-engined Fokker monoplane "America" containing two U.S. Naval aviators, Commander R. E. Byrd and Lieut. G. O. Noville, with two expert mechanics, Bert Acosta and Bernt Balchen. The object of the flight was to gather as much scientific data as possible regarding weather conditions and other matters affecting aviation. The party encountered dense fogs and, their compass going wrong, they were forced to descend, landing on the beach at a French summer resort. They had flown about 4,200 miles. On June 29 two U.S. Army flyers, Lieutenants Maitland and Albert Hegenberger, flew from San Francisco to Honolulu, 2,400 miles, in 25 hours and 43 minutes. But in contrast with these successful flights were numerous unsuccessful attempts, many of them ending in loss of life.

Perhaps the biggest domestic event of the year, judged by its international repercussions, was the Sacco-Vanzetti case. On

April 15, 1920, two men, the paymaster and the guard of a shoe factory at South Braintree, Massachusetts, were murdered on the street and robbed of 15,775 dollars by several men, who escaped in a motor-car. Many people witnessed the affair, the nearest eye-witness a woman who stood 60 feet away. A few days later the police arrested two Italians who were active in the labour movement. One was Nicola Sacco, a shoe-factory worker, and the other was Bartolomeo Vanzetti, a fish-pedlar at Plymouth and a contributor to an obscure anarchist newspaper in New York. Both men denied their guilt and pleaded *alibis*. Sacco claimed that he was in Boston at the time of the murder trying to get a passport, Vanzetti that he was in Plymouth selling fish. No money was found upon them (in fact, the money was never traced), but the police did find in Vanzetti's possession a revolver which was subsequently alleged to be the one usually carried by the murdered guard. It was more than a year later, May 21, 1921, that the men were actually brought to trial. The case in the meantime had aroused the concern of American "Radicals," who raised a defence fund. Fifty-nine witnesses appeared for the prosecution and ninety-nine for the defence. The men were found guilty and sentenced to be electrocuted, but the defence, financed by contributions from all over the world, and especially from Latin America, carried on a long series of appeals for a new trial extending from 1921 to 1926. Every avenue was exhausted by the defence which, however, was inexorably brought up against the peculiarity of Massachusetts law which provides that no new trial can be granted without the approval of the original trial judge—short, that is, of proving his corruption or other unfitness. The United States Supreme Court declared itself unable, under the circumstances, to find any grounds for interference. The two men were again sentenced to be executed, on July 10, 1927, but Governor Fuller granted them another reprieve while, on June 1, he placed the written testimony of the now notorious case in the hands of three distinguished and impartial men: President A. A. Lowell, of Harvard University; President S. W. Stratton of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology; and ex-judge Robert Grant to study it and report whether, in their judgment, there was sufficient doubt as to the guilt of the two men to warrant him in commuting their sentences or in pardoning them. The three commissioners reported to him on August 2 that in their opinion the two men had had a fair trial (although they severely criticised the trial judge who, it appeared, had indulged in very *ex-parte* and unbecoming comments on the case to newspaper reporters and others outside the court-room), and they were convinced from the evidence that the two Italians were "guilty beyond a reasonable doubt." Governor Fuller accepted this as final, and announced that the execution would take place on August 10. But by this time the country was in an uproar over

the issue, and the State Executive Council—a body rather resembling the British Privy Council in its mixture of executive and judicial powers—postponed the execution until August 22 to give the courts one last opportunity to intervene. No court appeared able or willing to do so, and the men were electrocuted at midnight on August 21.

The case, which had deeply disturbed public opinion in the States, aroused abroad an almost world-wide indignation and considerable disorder. Petitions for a new trial poured in from all countries to the Governor of Massachusetts, and even to the President. As far back as 1921 bomb explosions against American consulates and embassies abroad revealed the passions which the case had aroused. During 1927 these multiplied in number. On July 18 a bomb exploded in the garden of the American consul at Nice, and on July 22 another was hurled at the base of the statue of George Washington in Buenos Aires, and a third at the Ford motor company's agency there. At home bomb explosions occurred in the New York subway on August 4, and also at Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, and other places. The home of one of the original twelve jurors was dynamited. As the day of the execution approached, guards were placed about President Coolidge, Governor Fuller, Judge Thayer, and around all Government and municipal buildings. The protest culminated in one-day strikes in Sweden, Paraguay, Paris, Brazil, Australia, Spain, and elsewhere.

The "oil scandal" (see ANNUAL REGISTER for 1924, p. 296; for 1925, p. 291; and for 1926, p. 305) continued its zigzag course through the courts. Although a Washington jury, in November, 1926, had acquitted Mr. Doheney and former Secretary A. B. Fall of criminal conspiracy to defraud the Government of valuable oil lands, the United States Supreme Court found evidence of "collusion and corrupt conspiracy" between the two, and summarily cancelled the leases granted to Doheney for the naval oil lands at Elk Hills, California, and the oil storage reservoir at Pearl Harbour, near Honolulu. On October 10 the same august tribunal on similar grounds vacated the Teapot Dome lease which Secretary Fall had granted a second oil man, Mr. Harry F. Sinclair. Thus the Government was completely victorious in its efforts to recover Government oil reserves which had been "given away" to Messrs. Doheney and Sinclair, but it suffered only defeats and mistrials in its efforts to punish the principals for crime. In the meantime several novels and one sensational play appeared, boldly portraying the details of the scandal and casting very pointed reflections upon the integrity of the late President Harding, his former Attorney-General, and Secretary Fall.

Prohibition enforcement remained as difficult as ever, though some gains were reported. Miss Mabel Willebrandt, Assistant Attorney-General in charge of prohibition cases, reported to Congress on December 5 that fines and penalties amounting to

6,000,000 dollars had been imposed in the Federal courts against Volstead Act offenders ; this was a " considerable " increase over the total for 1926. The number of vessels seized by the Coast Guard during the year was 320, against 330 the year before. Rum runners, said Miss Willebrandt, are ceasing to use the Canadian border. On the Atlantic Coast they prefer to use the French islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon (off Newfoundland), and on the west coast they are " experimenting " with the Society Islands as a base. But the main source of smuggled liquor were small, fast American craft operating from foreign ships. The State Legislatures of New York, Maryland, Illinois, and Wisconsin passed various resolutions against phases of prohibition, but the most significant gain by the " wets " was the passage by Congress of a Bill permitting the manufacture of liquor for the replenishment of the country's fast waning " medicinal stocks."

The year was memorable for the worst Mississippi flood known since 1844. Heavy rains, beginning in October, 1926, and continuing through the winter, gave ample notice that abnormal conditions were inevitable, and thousands of farmers and villagers situated near the banks of the Mississippi and its various tributaries made preparations for flight. Other thousands, however, recklessly or ignorantly chose to stay, and were speedily overwhelmed in April, when the waters of the Ohio, the Illinois, the Missouri, and the Arkansas overflowed their banks and poured many times their usual amount into the Mississippi. It was late in July before the worst was over. During that time about 12,000 square miles was inundated—an area equal to that of Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New Jersey—and about 700,000 people were rendered homeless. The States most affected were Missouri, Arkansas, and Louisiana on one side of the river, and Kentucky, Tennessee, and Mississippi on the other. Fortunately the principal cities in the path of the swollen waters : St. Louis, Memphis, Vicksburg, and New Orleans were saved from excessive damage. As the flood was due to excessive rainfall over the whole Mississippi watershed, which embraces 1,240,000 square miles or 41 per cent, of the area of the United States, flood-control measures, to be effective, would have to be on a gigantic and costly scale. Secretary Hoover reported to the President that the present flood-control scheme, providing for the expenditure of 296,000,000 dollars seemed scarcely adequate.

What might be described as ideological disorders disturbed the public during the year. Early in March it was discovered that social heretics in some of the Southern States were being flogged by night-riders dressed like the Ku Klux Klan. In Georgia alone twenty such cases were disclosed. Grand juries were at first afraid to move against the offenders, but public opinion, especially in Alabama, finally asserted itself, and the practice was checked. On May 30 the Ku Klux Klan held a



Memorial Day parade in New York City under difficult conditions ; about 1,000 knights, in robes and white caps, shepherding 400 members of the Klavana, a woman's organisation, battled their way for four miles through angry street crowds and finally arrived, in rags and tatters but triumphant, past the reviewing stand. The United States Supreme Court, on February 24, dealt the Klan something of a blow when it declared constitutional the decision of a Kansas court barring the order from the State until it complied with the corporation laws. There were sixteen lynchings during 1927 as against thirty in 1926 ; there were forty-two instances in which officers prevented lynchings—eight in the Northern States and thirty-four in the Southern States. All persons lynched were negroes.

President Coolidge, in a letter made public on April 3, declared that it almost seemed " as though popular familiarity with the Scriptures is not as great at the present time as it has been in the past in American life," and concluded with the sober reflection that it would be difficult to support the foundations of American government and society if faith in Bible teachings was lost. The Fundamentalists must have pondered upon the President's words as they suffered, throughout the year, a succession of defeats in their attempts to forbid the teaching of evolution in the public schools. In New Hampshire, Arkansas, Missouri, and Oklahoma Bills based on the famous Tennessee statute (see ANNUAL REGISTER for 1926, p. 302 ; and for 1925, p. 293) were quite emphatically rejected. The Tennessee Supreme Court upheld, on January 15, the constitutionality of the law forbidding the teaching of evolution in the State-supported schools, but reversed the verdict of the lower court which found the young teacher, John T. Scopes, " guilty." Thus ended, in perhaps characteristic inconclusiveness, the *cause ceUbre* of 1925.

An epidemic of suicides among high school and college students, which began in 1926, reached a climax in the spring of 1927, when an average of twenty students a month, both boys and girls, were taking their own lives.

Perhaps the most striking figure of the year was Mayor-elect William Hale Thompson of Chicago. A Republican, he was elected Mayor by nearly 80,000 majority made up chiefly of " wet " Democrats who had forsaken the " dry " Democratic candidate. But the feature of his campaign, which attracted nation-wide attention, was his declaration that a vast plot existed to convert the United States, by propaganda and social pressure, into a mere vassal of Great Britain. He promised, if elected, to " drive King George out of Chicago." After inauguration, he accused the Superintendent of Schools of being " pro-English," and forced his resignation. On October 22 he sent emissaries into the Public Library to find " and burn " all pro-English books ; this sensational raid turned up the surprising

fact, known only to the oldest inhabitants, that the Chicago Public Library, when rebuilt after the Chicago fire of 1871, had received both books and money from English sympathisers, including Queen Victoria, Thomas Carlyle, John Ruskin, and others. His wholesale attacks upon contemporary American historians provoked general ridicule, and he was widely cartooned; his prestige rapidly waned.

Commercial wireless telephony between New York and London was formally instituted on January 7, at 1.44 P.M. (Greenwich time) in a conversation between Walter S. Gifford, President of the American Telephone and Telegraph Company, and Sir G. Evelyn Murray, Secretary of the British Post Office. One-way wireless telephony had been demonstrated possible as far back as 1923, but it was not until March, 1926, that two-way conversations had achieved sufficient clearness of reception to make commercial wireless telephony feasible. On the first day of commercial telephony between the two continents thirty-one calls were made. Static caused two long delays and several minor ones, but on the whole the new system was pronounced a great success. Thousands of wireless amateurs "listened in," revealing one of the practical drawbacks of the new marvel. A few weeks later, on February 26, land line connexions had become so perfected that London and San Francisco were able to telephone with ease to each other.

Television, long a favourite laboratory goal, became an accomplished fact on April 7 as the result of inventions perfected by the engineers of the Bell Telephone system. On that day President Gifford, in New York, talked by telephone to Mr. Hoover, Secretary of Commerce, in Washington. On a small disc, about 2 inches by 2½ inches, fixed near the instrument, was quite plainly visible first a picture of the switchboard operator in Washington and then that of Secretary Hoover. His features as he talked were clearly seen.

Electrical engineers had long solved the problem of "stepping down" a current of tremendous voltage to one of the feeblest, but the opposite course, that of releasing by a current of almost infinitesimal strength the great dynamos of a modern power plant, was brought to remarkable perfection on June 16 when Judge Gary, Chairman of the Board of Directors of the United States Steel Corporation, placed his hand over a glass ball in his office at 71 Broadway. The feeble current in his hand was alone sufficient to set in operation, after a few seconds, the huge newly electrified homestead steel plant near Pittsburg.

#### CANADA.

The opening of the year found the people of Canada in a mood of confident, if restrained, optimism. Having surmounted

the worst problems of post-war readjustment, the general level of well-being created an atmosphere of growing prosperity.

On his return from the Imperial Conference in London, Mr. Bruce, the Australian Prime Minister, travelled through Canada early in January, paying visits to several cities and delivering speeches on the status and responsibilities of the Dominions. Later, Mr. Coates, the New Zealand Premier, also journeyed through the Dominion on his return home.

The first by-election (Jan. 18) of the new Parliament resulted in a Government gain from the Conservatives, Mr. William Duff being the successful candidate in Antigonish-Guysborough, N.S., where a vacancy had been caused by the death of Mr. J. C. Douglas.

At a Liberal banquet to the Prime Minister in Toronto (Feb. 3), Mr. Mackenzie King was accompanied by nine members of the Cabinet and Liberals from all parts of Ontario attended. Deprecating misrepresentations of the proceedings of the Imperial Conference, and taking up some points raised by M. Taschereau in a recent speech in the Quebec Legislature, Mr. King said that no attempt was made at the Conference to lay down a Constitution of the Empire. The Committee on Imperial Relations sought rather

to form and gain an authoritative sanction, once and for all, to rights, the existence of which it contended should be no longer questioned and denied.

Referring specifically to the rights of minorities in Canada under the British North America Act, the Prime Minister ridiculed the charges that those rights were jeopardised by the Conference. Not only had such rights not been affected, but any attempt to interfere with such rights would not for a moment have been countenanced by either himself or Mr. Lapointe.

Regarding the position of Governors-General of the Dominions, Mr. King said that it was the view of the Conference such Governors-General should be representatives of the Crown, holding essentially the same position in relation to the administration of public affairs in the Dominions as was held by the King in Great Britain.

The sixteenth Federal Parliament elected in the previous September met on December 9 for a brief sitting, and six days later adjourned until February 8. The Speech from the Throne had disclosed a very modest legislative programme, the principal matters for consideration being the Report of the Royal Commission appointed under Sir Andrew Duncan to investigate the grievances of the three Maritime Provinces, the Report on the Imperial Conference, and the Budget.

Replying to a question in the House of Commons (Feb. 10) as to what steps Canada was taking to protect Canadians in China during the crisis, the Prime Minister said :—

Under present circumstances it is not considered it would serve any useful purpose to propose despatching Canadian forces to China. If the situation should change, the Government will take the earliest opportunity of consulting Parliament as to the appropriate course to pursue.

The Premier noted that only one Canadian had been killed during several years' civil war in China, and that there was no proof of any political motive in that case.

The Estimates for the coming fiscal year were tabled (Feb. 15) by Mr. Robb, Minister of Finance.

The total of 354,000,000 dollars was an increase of 482,000 dollars over the main and supplementary estimates for 1926-27, the chief increase being for National Defence, for which 15,914,000 dollars were provided. Special Votes included 5,000,000 dollars for the Hudson Bay Railway ; 500,000 for the new Departmental building at Ottawa, and 850,000 for a Patrol Service to investigate the navigation conditions in the Hudson Strait and Bay.

A new chapter in the relations between the British Empire and the U.S.A. was begun (Feb. 16) when Mr. Vincent Massey, the first Canadian Minister to the United States, was introduced to Mr. Kellogg, Secretary of State, by Sir Esme Howard, the British Ambassador. Two days later Mr. Massey was received by the President and presented his credentials, signed by the King, accrediting him as Dominion Envoy at Washington. He then took over from the British Embassy the conduct of all matters relating exclusively to Canada.

In presenting his fourth annual Budget (Feb. 17), Mr. Robb announced further taxation reductions totalling 27,000,000 dollars for the coming fiscal year and a reduction of the net debt of the Dominion by 31,000,000 dollars for the fiscal year 1926-27. The taxation reductions included a reduction of 10 per cent, in all income tax rates ; 20 per cent, in the sales tax, making the new rate 4 per cent. ; a decrease in the excise tax on matches to 25 per cent. ; and a reduction of practically 70 per cent, on all stamp taxation, thus practically abolishing " the nuisance taxes."

Mr. Robb indicated that no tariff changes were proposed pending further investigations by the Tariff Advisory Board, and summarised the position of the country in these terms :—

The Dominion enters its Diamond Jubilee with a happy outlook. Our farmers have in general enjoyed a bountiful harvest, our industries are active and working well up to capacity. Many, indeed, are working overtime. Employment is on a high level. Our transportation companies report a large volume of business. The retail trade is brisk. Money is plentiful and a buoyant spirit prevails.

For the current fiscal year the total revenue was estimated at 394,800,000 dollars, an increase of 11,900,000 dollars over last year's revenue. Customs duties had increased by 14,100,000 dollars, the excise duties by 4,500,000 dollars, and excise taxes by

5,900,000 dollars, while the income taxes had declined 8,600,000 dollars and the post office receipts 3,300,000 dollars, consequent upon increased exemptions and the restoration of penny postage.

The estimated ordinary expenditure for the year totalled 324,500,000 dollars, special expenditure 5,300,000 dollars, capital expenditure 20,100,000 dollars, loans to Canadian National Railways, 10,000,000 dollars, and loans to Quebec Harbour Commission 700,000 dollars, making a total expenditure on all accounts of 360,600,000 dollars, or an increase of 5,400,000 dollars over the previous year.

In respect of trade statistics Mr. Robb estimated the favourable balance at the end of this year would be 250,000,000 dollars, and gave details of the expanding exports to foreign countries, notably in respect of rubber goods, flour, and newsprint. He added :—

Canada introduced the policy of preferential rates within the British Empire, and the extent of our Empire trade has fully justified the expectations of those who originated British preference. Bearing in mind the industrial difficulties of the Mother Country during the past year, our trade with the Empire during the period under review was satisfactory.

In detailing the taxation reductions, the Minister announced the abolition of the stamp taxes on overdrafts and bank advances, increased exemption from 5 dollars to 10 dollars on cheques, bills, etc., and the imposition of a flat rate of 2 cents only, irrespective of value, on all cheques and bills of exchange, promissory notes and similar documents exceeding in face value 10 dollars. The reductions in income tax were made applicable to assessments falling due this year.

By a decision of the Imperial Privy Council (March 1) Canada lost certain extensive territory adjoining Labrador, the boundary of which had been in dispute with the Government of Newfoundland over a long period. Although disappointing to those pressing Canada's claims—particularly in Quebec where the Provincial Government had hitherto regarded the disputed territory as an integral part of that Province—the judgment of the Privy Council was accepted, on the whole, with grace.

The undeveloped water resources of the Ottawa River and its tributaries was the subject of keen debate during the same month. Various interests contended for the use of these natural resources, but the question involved the larger issue of the right of the Federal Government on the one hand and the Provincial Governments of Ontario and Quebec on the other to the control of the waterways and power schemes of the two Provinces. Warm discussion followed the introduction of a private Bill, promoted by a group of capitalists headed by Sir Clifford Sifton, a former Liberal Minister, to renew a charter due to expire on May 1 for the building of a ship canal to extend from Montreal to Georgian

Bay, but although the Bill passed its second reading it was rejected in Committee and no legislation under this head was passed during the session.

The Report of the Imperial Conference of 1926 provided a debate lasting for four days. Mr. Hugh Guthrie, acting-leader of the Opposition, moved an amendment that the declarations and recommendations of the Conference should not be binding upon Parliament until approved by formal resolution, and that no amendments affecting Provincial rights should be procured to the British North America Act to give effect to the Report unless first approved by the Legislature of each of the Provinces.

Mr. Lapointe, Minister of Justice, said the Conference had crystallised what was the logical outcome of the development of the Empire. The Conference Report was the "final and unequivocal acceptance of the principles of unity and freedom among the nations of the British Commonwealth."

The assertion that the Conference would change the Constitution of Canada or of any other Dominion was, Mr. Lapointe said, an absurdity. Canada would never consent to have its affairs settled by a central body. No disruption of Imperial relations was desired. The Conference of 1926 had not the power to change the British North America Act by one iota, but what it had done was to reaffirm the principle of equality of status. Mr. Lapointe contended that the Crown's position was more secure than ever, and the British Monarchy had steadily strengthened its position. The other nations of the Empire will see to it that the one and only great symbol now holding them together is permanently renewed.

M. Henri Bourassa, Independent, made some bitter comment respecting diplomacy used at the Conference, stating that the resolution of the Conference with respect to the status of the Dominion "had been made as loose as possible." In the main, however, the House appreciated the work accomplished by the delegates. After the Prime Minister had reiterated his arguments and stated that Canada at the Imperial Conference had adopted a common attitude with the representatives of the other Dominions, all seeking the unity and preservation of the Empire, he appealed to Mr. Guthrie to withdraw the amendment. Mr. Guthrie, replying briefly, said that the amendment did not transgress a single declaration of the Conference, but merely declared that Canada was not bound by "tacit acquiescence." A vote was then taken (April 5), and the amendment was defeated by 122 votes to 78.

After one of the shortest sessions for many years, Parliament was formally prorogued on April 14 by Chief Justice Anglin, Deputy to the Governor-General, who was absent on tour in Western Canada. Among the legislative results of the session briefly reviewed in the Speech from the Throne were enactments providing a system of old age pensions in co-operation with the Provinces; the establishment of long-term rural credits on farm

mortgages; the provision for a three years' programme of Canadian National Railway branch line extension, and the approval of the agreement for the liquidation of the Grand Trunk Pacific Debenture issue; Grain Act amendment, giving farmers the right to designate the terminal elevator to which they desire their wheat to be shipped; improved steamship service between Canada and the West Indies; relief of the Maritime Provinces along the lines recommended by the Royal Commission, including 20 per cent, reduction in freight rates, the setting up of a Harbour Commission for Saint John and Halifax, assistance for coking plants, and a special subsidy for the three Maritime Provinces pending further consideration; substantial taxation reductions, and strengthening of laws against smuggling.

On May 25 the Canadian Cabinet met to consider what course it should follow in view of the rupture of diplomatic relations between Great Britain and Russia. At the conclusion of a five hours' sitting, Mr. Mackenzie King announced that Canada would take the same course as Great Britain and terminate immediately the Trade Agreement of 1921 with Soviet Russia. Mr. King pointed out that the termination of the Agreement did not mean the discontinuance of trade with Russia, which had been steadily increasing, but it would mean that certain quasi-diplomatic privileges enjoyed by the Soviet Trade Commission in Canada would be abrogated. Canada would continue to trade with Russia, but without any preferential tariff arrangement.

Quebec held a General Election on May 16. The Government gained a decisive victory, 73 Liberals being returned, with 10 Conservatives and 2 Independent Liberals.

The Provincial General Election held in Prince Edward Island on June 25 resulted in the return of 24 Liberals and 6 Conservatives. At the dissolution the Conservatives had 26 seats and the Liberals 4. Mr. J. D. Stewart, the defeated Premier, had appealed to the electorate to authorise Government control of liquor sales recently adopted in Ontario. Prince Edward Island had been under Prohibition for the last twenty-five years, and the Conservatives had admitted that their majority would probably be reduced, but had not expected defeat. Mr. A. C. Saunders, K.C., became Premier.

In Manitoba Mr. John Bracken's Progressive Government was victorious in the General Election held on June 28. The Progressives secured 29 seats, the Conservatives 15 (instead of 7), the Liberals 7, Labour 3, and there remained 1 Independent.

A referendum, taken at the same time, gave a majority of 15,642 for the extension of facilities for the sale of beer in the Province.

On June 30 Mr. William Phillips, the first United States Minister to Canada, arrived in Ottawa to assume his duties. Two days later a banquet was given in his honour by the Govern-

ment, at which Colonel Lindbergh, the renowned American airman, was also guest of honour. In a speech acknowledging this welcome, Mr. Phillips said that the increasing intimacy of the American people with the people of Great Britain and the remainder of the Empire would enable Canada to become an interpreter for the United States, carrying a message of goodwill to all parts of the Empire, and to bring to Americans in return the better understanding of their associates in the cause of peace and progress.

The Diamond Jubilee of Confederation (July 1) was celebrated with much enthusiasm from coast to coast. Under the direction of a committee selected by the Dominion Parliament, and in conjunction with the Provincial authorities, elaborate preparations were made to secure a national rejoicing worthy of the historic occasion. At the Capital a recital on the new fifty-three-bell carillon, newly installed in the Peace Tower of the Parliament Building, opened an impressive and largely attended ceremony. This was followed by addresses by Lord Willingdon, the Governor-General; Mr. Mackenzie King, the Prime Minister; Mr. Hugh Guthrie, Acting Leader of the Opposition; and other well-known men. The whole programme was broadcast by beam wireless and relayed to the remotest places of the Dominion, and every town and hamlet was *en fete* for the two days (July 1 and 2) proclaimed as public holidays.

To a crowd of 30,000 people on Parliament Hill, and into amplifiers carrying the words across the Dominion, the Governor-General read the King's message :—

To-day my people of Canada unite to celebrate the Diamond Jubilee of the federation: and on such a day they may well look with a just pride on the achievements of the past and with a confident hope to the promise of the future.

In sixty years the boundaries of the federation have been extended tenfold and its Governments are now responsible for the welfare of nearly ten million inhabitants. By the labours of peace and the sacrifice of war Canada has become a mighty nation.

Aims as lofty and labours as strenuous await her in the future. Within her own bounds her people have before them the task of developing the heritage which their fathers have left them. In a yet wider sphere she has to take an ever-increasing share in guiding the counsels and solving the problems of the great Commonwealth in which she is a part, conscious that within it there is perfect freedom and that the unity of the nations of the British Empire is the surest guarantee of the peace of the world to-day.

With all my heart I join in the prayers and hopes of my people throughout the world for the peace and prosperity of Canada.

Other interesting features of the celebration were the striking of a special commemoration medal; the placing of wreaths on the graves of the "Fathers of Confederation"; the special issue of a series of Diamond Jubilee Postage Stamps; and the holding of a service in Westminster Abbey, arranged by the



High Commissioner in London, at which leading English statesmen and a large company of Canadians were present.

In the multitudinous speeches delivered from coast to coast the dominant notes were gratitude to the founders of the Dominion and the pioneers who had braved the hardships of the wilderness and the necessity of sinking sectional differences to achieve a true national unity.

Arriving in Quebec on July 31, the Prince of Wales and Prince George, together with the British Premier and Mrs. Baldwin, spent several weeks in the Dominion. The Prince, accompanied by his brother and all the official party, attended several functions at Ottawa, including the dedication of the Altar of Sacrifice in the Memorial Chamber of the Peace Tower and the unveiling of the new statue of Sir Wilfrid Laurier, erected on the east slope of Parliament Hill. Later, the royal party left for the "E.P." ranch in Alberta, and from thence to British Columbia, while Mr. Baldwin visited several cities in Eastern and Middle Western Canada, where he was warmly acclaimed.

His speeches—in which he outlined the position and viewpoint of the Old Country as well as his conception of Canada's future—were cordially received, and were regarded not only as a great personal success, but such as would greatly strengthen the ties of Canada and the Mother Country.

Mr. Baldwin was the first British Premier to visit Canada, or any of the Oversea Dominions, during his tenure of office.

During the summer two important Conferences were held, *viz.*, the International Poultry Congress, at Ottawa, from July 27 to August 4, and the Second Triennial Empire Mining and Metallurgical Congress, attended by some 600 delegates, of whom 400 were from the British Isles, which met at Montreal on August 21. Sir Robert Home, M.P., presided over the meetings of the Mining Congress, where papers dealing with the mineral resources of the Empire were read and discussed. These meetings were followed by various tours of investigation and inspection to the principal mining centres of the Dominion.

At the meeting of the Council of the League of Nations at Geneva, in September, Canada was represented by Senator Raoul Dandurand (Leader of the Canadian Senate), and Canada's election to a non-permanent seat on the League Council on this occasion was noteworthy as indicating a definite recognition of the Dominion's individuality as a nation.

Another by-election (N. Huron, Ont.), caused by the death of Mr. John King, Progressive, was contested on September 12, resulting in the success of Mr. George Spotton, the Conservative candidate. The Government had unsuccessfully endeavoured to secure a fusion candidate against the Conservative, and the return of the latter balanced the Government's win in the New Brunswick by-election created by the death of Mr. James K. Flemming.

The National Conservative Convention opened at Winnipeg on October 10. In its early stages a verbal battle took place between Mr. Meighen, the former Prime Minister, and the Premier of Ontario, Mr. Ferguson, in which the former spoke in defence of his speech at Hamilton last year when he declared that before Canada sent troops to any overseas theatre of war, Parliament and the people should be consulted. Mr. Ferguson objected to the discussion of this question, and later the main business of the Convention was undertaken.

Various resolutions were carried favouring moderate tariff revision, re-affirming the 1912 policy of a permanent tariff commission with a view to the scientific investigation and determination of tariff rate, recording pride in the growth, progress, and prosperity of the Dominion under "the historic fiscal policy of the Liberal-Conservative Party," and announcing the party's attitude towards Imperial relations. Mr. R. B. Bennett, K.C., of Calgary, was elected as Conservative leader, and his election was well received throughout the country.

A Federal and inter-Provincial Conference between certain Cabinet Ministers and the Provincial Premiers was convened at Ottawa on November 3 under the Chairmanship of the Prime Minister, and lasted for seven days. The Conference, which was purely consultative, was called to discuss constitutional, financial, social, and economic subjects. In the discussions of the proposals for Senate reform and for greater facilities in amending the Constitution, diverse views were frankly expressed, and no immediate steps were proposed. Regarding subsidies for the Provinces, Mr. Robb contended that if the taxation field were divided as urged by the Provinces and, also, if further subsidies were granted (British Columbia having claimed special consideration) it would cost the Federal Government 100,000,000 dollars annually, a sum which could not be considered, owing to the War Debt. A Royal Commission, however, was promised. Old age pensions were considered, and a proposal made that the Federal Government should assume full financial responsibilities without regard to Provincial contributions. The question of jurisdiction in regard to the water-power rights of the Provinces in connexion with the development of navigable streams was debated and left for decision of the Supreme Court, and the immigration problem was referred to a sub-committee. In dealing with the immigration question, Mr. Forke, Minister of Immigration, announced that the Government's policy was the removal of every restriction against any British subject who could pay his fare and pass the medical test. He emphasized the Government's desire to increase in every possible way the flow of suitable British settlers and to co-operate with all organisations interested in British migration.

On November 25 Mr. William Bock, Liberal, was elected unopposed for the Maple Creek constituency to succeed Mr. George

Spence, who had recently been appointed Minister of Railways for Saskatchewan.

Among other important events of the year may be mentioned the Conference between Canadian and United States Government officials for co-operation in problems affecting the mineral industry of both countries (March); the decision of New Brunswick Legislature to revoke Prohibition and introduce Government control of liquor (April); the holding of the Second Biennial Conference at Toronto of World Federation of Education Associations (May); the opening by the Prince of Wales of the Peace Bridge over Niagara, linking Canada and U.S.A. (Aug.); the meeting of the Canadian Bar Association, attended by the Lord Chief Justice of England (Aug.); the inauguration of a telephonic service between Canada and Great Britain (Oct.); the foundation of flying clubs throughout Canada, with Government assistance (Oct.); the appointment of Mr. Herbert Greenfield, formerly Premier of the Province, as Agent-General in London for Alberta (Oct.); and the decision of the Imperial Privy Council giving the Government of Nova Scotia authority to abolish that Province's Second Chamber (Nov.).

#### ARGENTINA.

The year 1927 was devoid of incident. The Budget for 1927 was passed in February with an estimated revenue and expenditure of about 650,000,000 paper pesos. In September the Conversion Office was reopened. In the summer the Interparliamentary Committee appointed for the purpose issued a draft scheme of national insurance to replace the General Pensions Law No. 11,289, which had proved such a failure. The Radicals remained in power during the year, and ex-President Irigoyen continued to play a leading part in political affairs.

The most striking political event of the year was the raising of the status of the British Representative in the Argentine from Minister to Ambassador. The change was announced at a dinner to celebrate the Argentine Independence Day in London on May 25, and was duly carried into effect on July 7, when Sir Malcolm Robertson presented his credentials as first British Ambassador to the Argentine Republic. Simultaneously, Senor Uriburu was made Argentine Ambassador in London. The affair was made the occasion of an exchange of complimentary telegrams between the two Governments laying stress on the very cordial relations which had always existed between Great Britain and the Argentine.

On July 8 a brilliant celebration, attended by fifty thousand people, took place in Buenos Aires at the unveiling of the memorial to General Mitre, a former President of the Argentine Republic. Military cadets were present from the neighbouring Republics. A

cloud was thrown over the festivities by the occurrence just before of a railway accident in which several persons travelling to attend them were killed ; three military cadets from Chile were among the dead.

On December 24 the Buenos Aires branches of the National City Bank of New York and the First National Bank of Boston were the scene of bomb outrages supposed to have been perpetrated in revenge for the execution of Sacco and Vanzetti.

Important steps were taken during the year with a view to settling immigrants on the land and so developing Argentina's natural resources. Early in the year a consortium embracing all the chief railway companies was formed to acquire areas near the railways suitable for exploitation by colonists, to subdivide and fence them and furnish them with suitable dwelling accommodation, and sell them on easy terms to chosen groups of immigrants, who would also be assisted in the purchase of implements, seed, and stock. Before the end of the year land for this purpose had actually been acquired on the Pacific line and in the South of the Republic, and two small parties of colonists, one from Hungary and one from Northern Italy, had been settled. Delegates also, in the course of the year, visited Canada and made a careful study of settlement methods in that country.

#### BOLIVIA AND OTHER SOUTH AMERICAN REPUBLICS.

At the beginning of May, Marconi's Wireless Telegraph Company, Limited, took over the control and operation of the entire postal, telegraph, and wireless service of Bolivia for a period of twenty years. A similar contract had been made by this company with the Peruvian Government in 1921, and had resulted in converting a considerable annual deficit into a substantial profit to the National Exchequer.

On May 2 the scholars in the higher courses of the State schools in La Paz went on strike because the salaries of the teachers had not been paid for several months. On the next day they came into conflict with the police, and the officer in charge ordered a volley to be fired, which resulted in a number of people, chiefly children, being wounded. This was the signal for general disturbances in the town, which continued till midnight. The Government became nervous and proclaimed martial law throughout the Republic, being obsessed with the fear of a revolution in favour of ex-President Saavedra, who was said to be in Southern Peru. A revolutionary plot was actually discovered in July, and a number of persons were arrested, including Jose Babino Villanueva, who had been elected President in 1925, though the election was annulled before he took office, and Gustavo Navarro, a prominent Communist.

In August a serious rising of Indians took place in the Departments of Cochabamba, Potosi, and Chuquisaca. Fifty thousand were said to have taken part in the insurrection, the most serious which had occurred in Bolivia in recent years. Troops were sent to the disaffected areas, and succeeded in restoring order by the end of August. Two hundred Indians were said to have been killed, but only one soldier. Many Indians were imprisoned, but in October the Government extended an amnesty to all Indians accused of rebellion. The rising was commonly attributed to Communist influences; on September 6 the Foreign Minister, Senor Gutierrez, delivered a strong attack on the Communist International, which he charged with fomenting Communism and revolt in South America.

On April 22 a protocol was signed in Buenos Aires between representatives of the Bolivian and Paraguayan Governments, accepting the good offices of the Argentine Government in the settlement of the long-standing dispute between Bolivia and Paraguay about the delimitation of their frontiers in the Chaco territory, where Paraguay had been steadily pushing forward. This is the only one of Bolivia's frontiers still in dispute.

In June, through carriages were introduced on the railway between Tucuman and La Paz, bringing the Argentine and Bolivian capitals within three and a half days of each other.

*Salvador, Guatemala, and Honduras.*—On July 6 the Governments of these three countries signed an agreement not to work alone or separately in the examination and settlement of problems affecting the general interests of Central America without a previous exchange of ideas between the Ministers of the contracting States. As matters affecting the general interests of Central America were instanced the recognition of a new Government in virtue of existing Treaties, declarations of war, and certain questions arising out of the international Treaties signed by the contracting parties or out of negotiations conducted by any one of them with a foreign Power which might possibly touch on the national aspirations of the Central American peoples.

*Panama.*—On January 26 the National Assembly of Panama gave expression to the popular antipathy against the United States-Panama Treaty which had been signed in the previous July (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1926, p. 329) by refusing to ratify it until it had been further considered. A resolution was passed by the votes of 39 deputies out of 46 present that, as "some of the stipulations of the Treaty had produced a profound depression among the Panamanian people and kept them in a state of great anxiety, further consideration of the Treaty should be suspended until the Executive Power should have had an opportunity of renewing the negotiations with a view to finding a solution which should satisfy the nation's aspirations."

## BRAZIL.

Politically the year 1927 was comparatively quiet. In April Senor Carlos de Campos, President of the State of Sao Paulo, died. He was succeeded in July by Senor Julio Prestes, a Republican, and a warm supporter of the President, who was elected without opposition. In July the police discovered evidence of a Communist plot in Rio de Janeiro, and shortly afterwards a law for the suppression of Communism in Brazil was passed by the Chamber of Deputies by 118 votes to 18.

The President of the Republic, Dr. Washington Luiz, devoted much of his opening address to Congress on May 3 to the question of the currency. He said that before the new coin which had been sanctioned—the *Cruzeiro*—could be struck and circulated, it was necessary that stabilisation should be effected. The country was now passing through that phase, so smoothly that many people imagined that the currency reform law was not in force. The speech was generally regarded as disappointing, because it did not indicate any definite policy on the part of the Government in regard either to administrative or economic problems. Trade, in fact, was stagnant during the year, and there was a great diminution in the revenue from the "Consumption Tax," derived from stamps affixed to merchandise prior to its sale.

The annual International Parliamentary Conference was held this year at Rio de Janeiro. It considered among other things the present position of European activities in South American countries. Senator Celso Bayme, of Brazil, was unanimously elected President. The delegates were welcomed by the Brazilian Minister for Foreign Affairs, and the British members of the Conference, who were headed by Mr. George Pilcher, were entertained at a banquet by the British community in Rio.

On June 10 the trial was concluded of a large number of persons charged with participation in the revolutionary outbreak in the summer of 1924 in the State of Sao Paulo. One hundred and fifteen were found guilty and 167 were acquitted. The ringleader, General Isidore Lopez, was sentenced to two years' imprisonment in his absence. On an appeal being made, the Federal Supreme Court in December more than upheld the verdict of the lower court. General Lopez and other revolutionary leaders had their sentences increased from two to ten years, and altogether 188 persons were found guilty and 93 acquitted.

## CHILE.

After a spell of some eighteen months, Parliamentary government again broke down in Chile in the earlier part of 1927. In 1926 there had been ominous conflicts between the constitutional-

ists in Parliament and Colonel Carlos Ibanez, the favourite of the Army. Before 1927 was far advanced these came to a head in an open struggle for mastery in which Colonel Ibanez was left decisive master. Colonel Ibanez aspired to play the part, not only of defender of the honour of the Army, but also of reformer of the grave financial and administrative abuses with which Chilean public life was honeycombed. Early in February he procured his own appointment as Prime Minister and Minister of the Interior, with Senor Conrado Rios as Minister for Foreign Affairs, Senor Pablo Ramirez as Minister of Finance, and General Vega, the Inspector-General of the Army, as Minister of War. The policy of the new Government was indicated by a statement of the new Minister of War that "Moscow's influence in Chile must be broken, and the way to do this is to reorganise the Government by the infusion of new blood."

Early in April Colonel Ibanez assumed the Vice-Presidency of the country with virtually dictatorial powers. One of his first steps in this capacity was to order the deportation of several hundred Communists with their families to the island of Mas-a-fuera in the Juan Fernandez group, where they were permitted to establish a Utopian colony under the supervision of the national police. About the same time he brought about the resignation of the President of the Supreme Court, Senor Xavier Figueroa (brother of the President of the Republic) for hampering him in his campaign against the Communists. Immediately afterwards the President, Senor Emiliano Figueroa, took two months' leave of absence, allowing Colonel Ibanez to remain in undisputed control. Within a month Seflor Figueroa resigned, ostensibly on the ground of ill-health. His resignation was accepted by both Houses of Congress on May 6, and the Government ordered a new Presidential election for May 21. Colonel Ibanez resigned his Vice-Presidency in order to stand for President, and he was elected by an overwhelming majority. On July 21 he was sworn in as President for a term of six years. On the previous day, in a special ceremony, he had been presented with the Presidential sash worn by the famous President Balmaceda, who died in exile in 1891, leaving his sash with the request that it should be used again when a President imbued with his own ideals should take office. The presentation was made by Balmaceda's son, Don Enrique Balmaceda, who was now Minister of the Interior.

As President, Colonel Ibanez set himself with great energy to the task of cleansing the public life of Chile. The new Government which he appointed began a thorough overhauling of the whole financial, administrative, and judicial machinery of the country. Large numbers of State employees were dismissed, and considerable economies were effected, notably in the collection of the Customs and Inland Revenue. A "black list" containing the names of many prominent personages was drawn up with a view

to an inquiry into many dubious transactions which had taken place of late years. Congress passed the Government Bills without questioning, the public was behind the new Government, and the Army and Navy also gave it outward support. Discontent, of course, still existed, and towards the end of September popular demonstrations took place in favour of the ex-President, Senor Alessandri. To prevent trouble the Government asked him to leave the country, and he accordingly removed with his son and one or two prominent sympathisers to Buenos Aires.

Towards the end of the year the Government brought forward a Bill in Congress for imposing an import tax on oil, beginning with 3 pesos (*Is. 6d.*) per ton, and rising in seven years to 21 pesos per ton. The object of the tax was to prevent the competition of American oil fuel with Chilean coal. The American copper companies in the country, which mostly used oil instead of the native coal, which was of poor quality, took alarm, and complained to the U.S. Government; and before the Bill could pass through Parliament the matter became the subject of informal discussions between the State Department at Washington and the Chilean Government.

#### MEXICO.

During the whole of 1927 Mexico was in a very unsettled condition. Fighting was continually going on in various parts of the country, and brigandage was rampant. President Calles had to use the Federal troops freely in order to suppress disorder and subdue his own personal opponents. The tension between Mexico and the United States also persisted during the greater part of the year, and led to a number of disturbing incidents; but towards the end of the year the relations between the two countries underwent a striking change which seemed to portend friendly co-operation between them in the near future.

At the end of 1926 Mexican relations with the United States had been strained almost to breaking point in consequence of President Calles's recognition of Dr. Sacasa as President of Nicaragua, and the surreptitious despatch of arms and ammunition from Mexico to the Liberal insurgents in the island (see ANNUAL REGISTER, 1926, p. 325). When in the first week of January the United States ordered six more warships to proceed to Nicaraguan waters, it was feared in Mexico that this was a preliminary to United States intervention in that country as well. This opinion was strengthened by a message sent by President Coolidge to Congress on January 10 in which he warned Mexico against meddling in the Nicaraguan situation, at the same time declaring that he had proof that Mexico was assisting the revolutionary party with arms. President Calles immediately



(Jan. 12) issued a disclaimer, protesting that Mexico had no interests of any kind in Nicaragua, nor any aims whatsoever of a political nature. He defended his recognition of Dr. Sacasa as being dictated by a sense of justice, and also as being fully in accord with the Treaty of Peace and Amity between Nicaragua and other Central American States, signed in the presence of United States delegates at Washington in 1907 and renewed in 1923. This declaration seems to have satisfied the United States Government, especially as no more provocation was given; and no hostile steps were taken by that country against Mexico.

The Petroleum and Land Laws (see ANNUAL REGISTER, 1926, p. 321) still remained as a source of friction between Mexico and the United States, and on these President Calles showed no inclination to give way. In his statement of January 12, he had declared that in its application of the petroleum and other laws, the Mexican Government would not fail to recognise acquired rights, and would not be guilty of the breach of any obligation of an international character; but he gave no hint of any intention to change the laws themselves. Towards the end of February he received an inquiry from Senator Borah, head of the Foreign Relations Committee in the United States, as to the number of oil companies that had accepted the Petroleum Law. He replied that Americans owning 26,800,000 acres of oil lands in Mexico had complied with the requirements of the Land Laws and accepted fifty-year "concessions" instead of complete ownership, while only 10 per cent, had refused. The figures supplied by President Calles, however, and by the Minister of Industry, Senor Morones, were controverted by the U.S. Secretary of State, Mr. Kellogg, who made out that the proportion of American companies standing out from the law was much higher, and controlled the greater part of the oil output.

President Calles, while holding the obnoxious laws threateningly over the heads of the oil companies, had so far forbore from actually enforcing, or even promulgating them. He was restrained by two considerations. One was that any interference with the oil companies might lead to their curtailing or ceasing operations, with consequent loss of employment to the population and revenue to the Government. The other was that the United States Government might raise the embargo on the export of arms from that country to Mexico, and so enable the rebel forces to obtain an equipment which would place them on a level with the Federal troops. At length, however, in April, he proceeded to the decisive step of promulgating the land laws and so making them officially binding. This action immediately brought some of the American oil companies into conflict with the Government. The latter, on the strength of the law, proceeded to revoke the drilling permits granted to certain companies before January 1, 1927. The companies applied for an injunction to restrain the

Department of the Interior from cancelling their permits. The District Court granted the injunction provisionally on the ground of public welfare, as a suspension of the operations would throw many Mexicans out of work. On May 18, however, the Supreme Court reversed the decision of the District Court, holding that the maintenance of the authority of the law was the chief consideration.

Shortly after the promulgation of the Land Laws, President Coolidge had made a speech containing friendly references to Mexico which had created a good impression in that country. Immediately afterwards (April 26) President Calles had replied with a speech in the same spirit, declaring that in the application of the petroleum laws care would be taken not to inflict material injury upon the properties owned by United States citizens. This interchange of friendly expressions had seemed to inaugurate the growth of a better feeling between Mexico and her northern neighbour; but as soon as the trouble with the oil companies commenced, the tension between the two countries again became acute.

The religious war which had broken out towards the end of 1926 (see ANNUAL REGISTER, 1926, p. 326) continued during the early months of 1927 in the province of Jalisco, without any operations of importance. The Government did not take the affair very seriously, but it was roused from its complacency by a terrible outrage which took place at Limon on April 19—an outrage without parallel even in the annals of Mexican brigandage. A band of some 500 rebels held up a train, killed all of the escort of 50 soldiers accompanying it except six, and stabbed and maltreated a large number of passengers, finally setting the train on fire. President Calles immediately deposed the Governor of Jalisco for his failure to keep order, and sent Federal troops into the province to put down the rebellion.

In the course of the next month a certain amount of fighting took place in Jalisco and Sonora in which the Federal troops were successful. According to reports brought to the United States by Mexican refugees, the Federal troops, who were provided with bombing aeroplanes, behaved with great barbarity, carrying on a war of extermination against the population. The revolutionary movement lacked capable leaders, and was soon suppressed, at least for the time being.

The military campaign against the rebellion was accompanied by renewed persecution of the Catholic clergy. Immediately after the outrage at Limon, six of the principal prelates, including the Archbishop of Mexico, were placed on a train and deported to Laredo, in Texas (April 22). It was alleged that they had chosen to be deported rather than stand their trial on a charge of having instigated the outrage, but this they indignantly denied. The Archbishop asserted that, in an interview which he had had

with the Minister of the Interior, he had upheld the right of the Roman Catholic clergy to fight for their rights against the Government, peacefully if possible, but with arms in an extremity, and the Minister had replied that this statement constituted rebellion against the Government. President Calles publicly charged the Episcopate with being the main cause of the religious war and with directing the revolution ; and the feud between the Church and the State became more embittered than ever.

Early in May conferences were held in Mexico City by about 100 business men from all parts of the country to devise means for dealing with the economic depression, which was rapidly approaching a crisis. The causes of the depression were given as the fall in silver in the foreign markets and the decline in silver money value, the rise in the cost of living with the reduced purchase of goods (due to the Catholic boycott), the disturbed political conditions, and the influence of the new land laws. The State finances were also in an unsatisfactory condition, and rumours were afoot in March that the Government intended to confiscate the oil royalties set aside for the service of the foreign debt. The Government, however, denied this, and managed to carry on the service of the debt for the year. At the end of April President Calles invested the Secretary of the Treasury, Senor Montes de Oca, with " dictatorial powers " over the State finances, at the same time fixing 250,000,000 pesos (25,000,000*l.*) as the maximum of expenditure for the fiscal year.

About the middle of June, the campaign for the next Presidential election commenced, a full year before the event itself was due. Besides General Obregon, who had already arranged with President Calles for the succession, two candidates came forward—General Serrano and General Gomez. The Government at first professed to be neutral, and for a time the campaign proceeded peaceably. General Serrano was not very popular, but General Gomez promised to be a formidable candidate. About the middle of July General Gomez issued a declaration stating that if elected President he would give full guarantees in matters of religious liberty, controlling only, in accordance with the supreme law of the country, the external manifestations of worship, but not trespassing on the home. At the same time (July 15), and apparently to counter the good impression made by this declaration, the Government instructed General Cruz, the Inspector-General of Police, to set at liberty all persons—not more than a few dozen in all—who had been imprisoned on account of complicity in the Catholic revolt. This step did not avail to stem the tide of General Gomez's popularity.

In his annual statement at the opening of Congress on September 1, President Calles deplored the disagreements with the United States regarding the land laws, but he denied that so far the Washington Government had been able to bring forward any

concrete case which could be accepted as proving that foreign capital had been discouraged or injured. On the other hand, Mexico had been able to prove definitely that some petroleum operators had adopted a rebellious attitude towards her Government which no independent country could tolerate. Internal dissension and the economic crisis, he proceeded, had decreased the Government's revenues, but he was determined to make every effort to keep up to date the payment of the foreign debt. Referring to the religious conflict, he said that it was practically over, as the people had shown themselves indifferent to a suspension of the services. With regard to the Presidential campaign, he said that it had started earlier than usual, but there had been no disorder, and the Government intended to remain neutral.

This view of the campaign did not altogether correspond with the facts ; the supporters of the anti-Obregon candidates had already been subjected to a certain amount of terrorism, and, on the other hand, shortly after a visit of General Gomez to Vera Cruz in July, a revolt had taken place among the troops in the Federal garrison of that city, led by generals who had taken part in the Huerta revolution of 1923. This revolt was soon suppressed, but before long the Presidential election campaign led to disorders of a more serious character. Within a fortnight after the opening of Congress the Government had obtained information of a plot to assassinate General Obregon, and on September 15 it ordered the arrest of two ex-Army officers, General Bustos and Colonel Borallo, on a charge of plotting revolution. Undeterred by this failure, Generals Serrano and Gomez now joined hands in organising a revolt. As a result of their efforts, some 800 soldiers in the garrison of Mexico City, besides others in Torreon and Vera Cruz, rose against the Government. The bulk of the Federal troops, however, remained faithful; the risings were put down and General Serrano was captured and summarily executed, with thirteen of his followers.

In a statement issued on the same day, President Calles said that he had known for months of the seditious activities of Serrano and Gomez, but had nevertheless treated them as friends. Now, however, the Government would take energetic measures to "combat and annihilate the traitors," and punish both the military and the civilians implicated in the rebellion. In accordance with this threat, large numbers of those who had been captured in the recent rising were summarily court-martialled and shot. This display of severity, however, seemed rather to infuriate than to cow the opponents of President Calles, and armed risings took place in many parts of the country ; there was disorder even in Mexico City itself. By October 7, thirteen States out of twenty-eight were more or less in revolt. There was, however, no cohesion between the various bands of insurgents, and the only one which was at all formidable was that led by

General Gomez in the State of Vera Cruz. Against this the main body of Federal troops was sent. General Gomez for some time evaded a pitched battle, but he was at last brought to bay at Ayahualulco, where he was decisively defeated in a six-hour battle (Oct. 9). About the same time insurgent forces sustained a defeat at Boquilla, in Michoacan, and President Calles was left undisputed master of the situation. On October 11 he stated that the revolt was crushed, and that the Government had only to run down scattered fugitive rebels. He attributed the failure of the revolt to the "high sense of honour of the national army."

The news which the censorship allowed to appear made it evident that President Calles was treating his opponents with ruthless severity; according to uncensored reports a veritable reign of terror prevailed in the country. A Mexican refugee, Senor Jose Elguero, in an interview in Texas on October 20, asserted that hundreds had been killed for no reason, and that General Serrano had been, not executed, but brutally murdered when spending a week-end in the country. He said that the whole country was panic-stricken, and denounced Calles as the most cruel and bloodthirsty President ever known in Mexican history.

Senor Elguero, in his interview, asserted that Calles was kept in power by the Washington Government. The statement was in so far true that the ease with which he overcame his opponents was due to the fact that the United States maintained strictly its embargo on the export of arms, and gave no support, material or moral, to his opponents. Generally speaking, the Washington Government during the latter part of the year adopted towards him a more benevolent attitude, to which he did not fail to respond. In June President Coolidge, after repeated refusals, at length consented to accept the resignation of the American Ambassador in Mexico, Mr. Sheffield, who had long been an advocate of a firmer policy, and was regarded as the reverse of a friend by the Mexican Government. After being left vacant for some months, his post was filled by Mr. Dwight Morrow, a member of the firm of Morgan & Co. Mr. Morrow, who arrived in Mexico towards the end of October, was received by President Calles with every mark of friendship, and relations between the President and the Ambassador immediately became most cordial. On December 15 another "ambassador of goodwill" arrived in Mexico City in the person of Colonel Lindbergh, the famous airman, who had made a non-stop flight from Washington. He was received with enthusiasm by the population, and President Calles stated that the flight would help to bring about a "firmer spiritual and material *rapprochement*" between the United States and Mexico.

Before the year closed Mexico had already gone a long way towards removing the chief causes of American complaint. On November 17 the Mexican Supreme Court gave a decision to the

effect that Articles 14 and 15 of the Petroleum Law were unconstitutional. (Article 14 was the one which made concessions tenable for fifty years only, and Article 15 the one which declared forfeited titles for the confirmation of which no application was made during 1927.) According to Mexican law, it required five such decisions to place the law outside the Constitution of 1917. The Government, however, in its new mood of complaisance towards the United States, without waiting for the other four decisions, laid before Congress, on November 27, a Bill to amend Articles 14 and 15 in the sense desired. The Bill was passed without delay by the Deputies, and on December 28 by the Senate, and at the end of the year it only required the President's signature to become law.

On November 20 a Bill was passed to extend the Presidential term from four to six years, not, however, for President Calles, but for his successors.

#### NICARAGUA.

The year 1926 had ended with a great victory of the Liberal over the Conservative forces (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1926, p. 329). Had the Liberals been allowed to follow up their success, they might have been able to make themselves masters of the country. The United States, however, without directly intervening, placed insuperable obstacles in their way. It sent additional forces to Nicaragua which gave at least moral support to President Diaz, and it extended the "neutral zones," a step the effect of which was to set free Conservative forces and to hamper the movements of the Liberals. Also in March it allowed President Diaz to purchase on credit 200,000 dollars worth of munitions from the U.S. War Department. The military situation became, in consequence, a "stalemate." Fighting went on without decisive result, accompanied by much bloodshed and great ty. The position of foreigners in the country became very and in February the British Government deemed it to send a warship to Nicaraguan waters in order to be to assist the British colony—numbering about 200—d.

In January President Diaz laid before his Congress a draft Treaty with the United States which amounted virtually to the annexation of Nicaragua to that country. President Coolidge did not receive it with favour, but he recognised that the policy of the United States was largely responsible for the anarchy in Nicaragua, and that a change was necessary. Accordingly, in April, he sent Mr. Henry L. Stimson, a former Secretary of War, to Nicaragua, in order to bring about a cessation of hostilities. Mr. Stimson arranged, on May 5, an interview with General Moncaba, the leader of the Liberal forces, an armistice having

been declared for the purpose. Mr. Stimson told General Moncaba in plain terms that if he and his followers did not lay down their arms, the United States would use force against them. In face of this threat, the Liberal leader considered that he had no option except to comply with Mr. Stimson's demand, and the Liberal troops thereupon proceeded to hand in their arms to the American headquarters, as did also the Conservatives.

Mr. Stimson then announced the following programme for the ensuing period : (1) Complete disarmament of Liberals and Conservatives. (2) An immediate general peace to permit planting for the new crop in June. (3) A general amnesty to all persons in rebellion or exile. (4) The return of all occupied or confiscated property to its owners. (5) Participation in the administration by representative Liberals. (6) Organisation of a Nicaraguan constabulary on a non-partisan basis, commanded by American officers. (7) American supervision of the 1928 Presidential election. (8) The continuance temporarily in the country of a sufficient force of American marines to maintain order pending the organisation of the constabulary. General Diaz was, of course, to be maintained in office till the expiration of his term at the end of 1928.

On May 24 Costa Rica, Guatemala, Honduras, and Salvador declared that the Stimson arrangement was a flagrant violation of the Central American Treaties of 1923, and Guatemala and Honduras announced their intention of continuing to withhold recognition from President Diaz. There could be no question that the United States had virtually established a Protectorate over Nicaragua, and that for the time being at any rate that country had ceased to be a sovereign State. Nevertheless the bulk of the Liberal Party accepted the situation and laid down their arms, though they still refused to recognise Diaz as legitimate President. A section of them, however, under General Sandino, continued to hold out in the mountains of the North, though they were disowned by the Liberal leaders. A number of encounters took place between this band and the United States troops course of the year. In an engagement fought near C July 18, some 300 of the rebels out of a force of 500 down by machine-gun fire from U.S. aeroplanes, which, States troops did not lose more than a couple of men. This incident created a bad feeling in Latin America, though Mr. Kellogg refused to consider the rebels as anything better than bandits. In spite of the efforts of this and other bands, the pacification of the country went on apace, and when General McCoy, who had been sent by President Coolidge to "supervise" the Presidential election, arrived in the country in September, he expressed satisfaction at the change which had taken place. At the end of the year, however, General Sandino again began to give trouble on the Honduras border, and more U.S. troops were despatched against him.

## CHAPTER XI.

## AUSTRALASIA : THE COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA—NEW ZEALAND.

## THE COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA.

THE rhythm of Australian political life was disturbed in 1927 by the change in the federal capital from Melbourne to Canberra, under the terms of the Federal Constitution. Parliament had met in the Victorian capital since the inauguration of the Commonwealth twenty-six years earlier, and King George deputed the Duke of York to initiate the new regime by opening a new Parliament House at Canberra. Mr. Stanley Bruce, who had been visiting England in connexion with the Imperial Conference, hurried back to Australia for the close of the session at Melbourne, reaching Sydney on February 5. Addressing the House of Representatives on March 4, Mr. Bruce made a report upon the work done at the Imperial Conference. It opened, he explained, in an atmosphere of much misgiving, in view of certain statements made by the Prime Minister of South Africa. Happily all these fears were unfounded, and no difficulties were encountered in defining the status of the Dominions. After a brief session Parliament adjourned until May 9, when the new Parliament House was opened at Canberra, and the Federal Parliament then adjourned once more until September.

The functions in connexion with the inauguration of the Federal Capital formed a fitting climax to the series of public demonstrations in honour of the Duke and Duchess of York in the State capitals. In Mr. Bruce's words, telegraphed to the Duke as the battleship *Renown* left her last Australian port on May 23, "the personalities of yourself and the Duchess have brought vividly before us how human is the tie which binds us to the Royal House of Britain and our kinsmen overseas. As an ambassador of Empire you have brought the Mother Country closer to Australia."

In preparation for the Parliamentary session at Canberra, Mr. Bruce on March 24 announced some minor ministerial changes. Major-General Sir Neville Howse relinquished the post of Minister of Defence, being succeeded by Major-General Sir T. W. Glasgow, Minister for Home Affairs, who in turn was succeeded by Major C. W. C. Marr, Secretary to the Cabinet, Sir Neville Howse retained control of the Department of Health and Repatriation. By the end of September the principal Government departments were installed in the new capital and Dr. Page, the Treasurer, delivered his Budget statement on September 28. He was able to disclose a surplus of 2,635,000l., the revenue being 63,367,000l. and the expenditure 60,732,000l. Dr. Page announced a reduction of 10 per cent, in the income tax, making the reduction in the



last four years 45 per cent. ; an accumulated surplus was devoted to naval construction, aviation, national insurance, oil prospecting and other purposes, to a total of 2,921,000l. In connexion with the acceptance of the Federal Roads Agreement by the States, additional duties upon motor chassis were imposed to provide the requisite funds. It was not necessary to increase the duty upon British cars, the extra 500,000l. required for road improvement being met by increasing the rates upon motor chassis under the intermediate and foreign tariff schedules by an additional 5 per cent, on unassembled and 7½ per cent, on assembled chassis. Dr. Page expressed a hope that a proportion of foreign trade in motor-cars would swing over to Britain in consequence of the tariff advantage given. Further tariff changes were introduced by Mr. H. E. Pratten, Minister for Trade and Customs on November 24, involving 138 items. Fifty-three of these items gave increased preference to the United Kingdom, which Mr. Pratten estimated would be worth 1,500,000l. to British trade, increasing the existing preference in favour of the United Kingdom to 10,000,000l. Mr. Pratten estimated that Australian factories would capture 3,000,000l. of British and 3,000,000l. of foreign trade. The net gain to Empire trade being 11,000,000l., of which Britain's share would be 5,000,000l. The principal items benefiting British trade were motor-cycles, trimmings, gloves, barbed wire, gramophone records, and pianos. Mr. Pratten added, " We have made a gesture to our kith and kin in the Mother Country which may mark an epoch in our commercial relations."

The continued increase of tariff rates in Australia has led to not a little criticism ; on October 6 an important report was presented to the Federal Parliament by the Tariff Board, in which it was pointed out that there was danger of the Australian tariff being used to bolster up an ever-increasing cost of production, irrespective of the ever-widening gap between the standards maintained within the Commonwealth and the United Kingdom. The Tariff Board added that many examples could be quoted of the detrimental effect of the ever-widening margin between Australian and Overseas wages, even upon industries using wholly imported materials. In some industries, at any rate, the increased duties had failed to afford any increased protection. On September 28 the Joint Committee on Public Accounts recommended that the Australian Commonwealth Line of Steamers should not be retained as a direct Government activity, and that a private company should be created to take over the Line and run it on a business basis, with the utmost guaranteed support from the Government in such matters as mails, the carriage of Government goods, and the transport of migrants. A minority report signed by three Labour committee men urged that the Line should be maintained. On November 16 the Federal Treasurer, Dr. Page, introduced a Bill amending the Income Tax Assessment Act, the chief purpose

of the measure being to meet certain difficulties in connexion with absentee share and debenture holders, by which companies had to pay income tax upon the interest paid to absentees, in addition to paying the proper tax on *bona-fide* profits. Dr. Page said that the object of the amendments was to attract capital into Australia in the form of investments in shares, debentures, or deposits of companies doing business in Australia.

More far-reaching than these changes in the incidence of federal taxation were the reforms resulting from the Conference between Mr. Bruce and the six Premiers and Treasurers of the Australian States which met in Melbourne on June 16. Speaking at Adelaide on January 26, Dr. Page referred to the existing financial relations between Commonwealth and States as a "burlesque." The Federal Ministry levied taxation in a field in which the States were already operating, collecting this taxation by means of State agencies and then solemnly paying the monies back to the States in the form of *per capita* payments. Dr. Page suggested that the Federal Ministry should work towards the complete evacuation of the field of direct taxation, leaving this source of revenue to the States. The Conference in June also considered the matter of the States' debts and a scheme was drafted by which the Commonwealth should take over the whole of the States' debts on July 1, 1929, making annual contributions of 7,585,000l. towards payment of the interest for fifty-eight years, beginning July 1, 1927. In the course of the fifty-eight years the existing State debts will be extinguished by a sinking fund of 7s. 6d. per cent, per annum, 2s. 6d. being contributed by the Commonwealth and 5s. by the States. On new debt a sinking fund of 10s. per cent, for fifty-three years will be established, half being contributed by the Commonwealth and half by the State contracting the debt. On December 14 Mr. Bruce moved the second reading of a Bill ratifying the financial agreements between the Commonwealth and States and establishing a Loan Council to manage the public debt and any future public borrowings. The problem of the field of taxation from which Commonwealth and States should draw revenue was referred to a Royal Commission. Another Royal Commission was appointed on July 9 to report upon the powers of the Commonwealth under the Federal Constitution and recommend desirable changes, especially upon aviation, company law, health, industrial powers, judicial power, navigation law, new States, taxation, trade, and commerce, all matters in which difficulties threatened owing to a conflict between the authority of Commonwealth or States. Professor J. Peden, K.C., M.L.C., was appointed Chairman, the other Commissioners being Senator Abbott, Mr. T. R. Ashworth, Sir Hal Colebatch, Mr. M. B. Duffy, Mr. McNamara, M.L.C., and Mr. Bowden, M.H.R. Mr. Ashworth is President of the Victorian Employers Federation, while Mr. Duffy is Assistant Secretary of the Trades Hall Council, and

Mr. McNamara, General Secretary of the Federal Labour Party. The Parliamentary Labour Party refused to allow any Federal Labour member to serve upon the Commission. During the twenty-seven years since the Commonwealth was inaugurated weaknesses in the Constitution could not but make their presence apparent. Indeed, the framers of the Constitution anticipated such weaknesses and included a referendum as a method for rectifying them. The Federal electorate, however, has manifested a marked disinclination to enlarge the powers of the Federal authority. Six times in the last seventeen years a referendum resulted in a definite " No " to the suggestion that the powers of the Commonwealth should be enlarged. It will be remembered that the Federal Constitution reserves all powers for the States which are not expressly allocated to the Commonwealth. Giving evidence before the Federal Constitution Commission on September 23 Sir Robert Garran, the Commonwealth Solicitor-General, stated that the industrial powers of the Commonwealth under the Constitution were limited to conciliation and arbitration. There might be other methods of settling disputes, but the Commonwealth could not employ them. Nor could the Commonwealth directly prohibit lockouts or strikes in industry, though if there was a breach of an existing award, it had power to deal with the offending parties. It appeared illogical, said Sir Robert, to separate the power to deal with industrial disputes from the power to deal with industrial relations.

An example of the difficulties arising from the varying responsibilities of Commonwealth and States was revealed when Mr. Lang, the Labour Premier in New South Wales, introduced a Child Endowment Bill into the State Parliament on February 8, proposing that employers should pay 5s. for each child of their employees, the levy being estimated to amount to about 6,000,000l. per annum, that is, 6 per cent, of the wages bill in New South Wales. It was estimated that the State railways and other public enterprises alone would contribute 1,500,000l. Though nominally a State measure, it was at once plain that the New South Wales scheme affected every part of the Commonwealth, and a Conference of State Premiers, which met in Melbourne on June 21, resolved, by five votes to one, to appoint a Royal Commission to investigate the matter of child endowment. The dissentient was the New South Wales Premier, who attacked Mr. Bruce for failing to submit proposals for child endowment himself on behalf of the Commonwealth authorities. Mr. Bruce pointed out that the cost would be 22,000,000(M. a year, if the benefit was given to all children to the age of fourteen, of parents earning less than 300l. a year. This expense could not possibly be borne by the Commonwealth. The discussion showed that such a problem as child endowment is closely connected with the matter of a basic wage, another matter which exercises a disturbing effect upon Australian in-

dustry. On June 28 the Industrial Commission declared the living wage for adult male workers in New South Wales to be 4*l.* 5*s.* a week, an increase of 1*s.* The rate for women was 2*l.* 6*s.* compared with 2*l.* 2*s.*, fixed in December, 1926. When Mr. Bavin succeeded Mr. Lang as Premier of New South Wales, he sought a compromise upon the child endowment question by calling a conference of all parties, at which he proposed a basic wage of 4*l.* 4*s.* a week plus a 6*s.* weekly endowment for each child up to two children. Nor did the complexities of the problem end there. Upon analysis, it was not possible to separate rates of wages from hours of work, a matter which is subject to the decision of the law courts in many Australian industries. Thus, on February 23, the Arbitration Court granted an application by the Amalgamated Engineering Union for the variation of its award in favour of a 44-hour, instead of a 48-hour, working week. This judgment was of importance as, to a large extent, it determined the standard hours to be worked in normal industries throughout Australia. Judge Lukin dissented from the judgment of Chief Justice Dethridge and Judge Beeby. On June 29 the Arbitration Court refused an application of the Commissioners of Railways for the Commonwealth and the States of Tasmania, South Australia, and Victoria, that the departments should be exempted from the 44-hour week award, Chief Justice Dethridge pointing out that the 44-hour week had been granted to railway employees in New South Wales, Queensland, and Western Australia. But there was also a case in the other direction. On November 21 the Arbitration Court, by a majority, refused the application of the Agricultural Implement Employees Union for a 44-hour week. During the year, Chambers of Manufacturers and Commerce in Australia discussed the basic wage problem and the 44-hour week, describing them as industry taxes, and certain to raise the cost of living still higher. The complexity of the problem was increased by the fact that decisions in some matters came from the States and, in others, from Federal authorities. It is this aspect of the matter which Professor Peden's Commission is to pass in review.

In State politics a new Victorian Ministry came into office on May 18, after a General Election in which Mr. Allan, the Country Party leader, was defeated. Mr. Allan made his policy speech at Kyabram on March 8, while Mr. Hogan, leader of the State Parliamentary Labour Party, announced his policy at Ballan on March 3. The elections were held on April 9, Labour securing thirty-four votes, in a House of sixty-five members. Members of the new Ministry were elected by the State Labour Party, and portfolios were allotted by the new Premier, Mr. Hogan, who took office as Treasurer and Minister for Markets. Mr. Prendergast, who was Victorian Premier in 1924, became Chief Secretary, Mr. Tunnecliffe, Minister for Railways, and Mr. Bailey, Minister

for Lands. Mr. Hogan submitted the State Budget on September 20, when he announced a deficit of 617,000l. for the year, making an accumulated deficit of 1,593,000l. Slight increases in income-tax and stamp duties were announced. Other legislation proposed by the Victorian Ministry included redistribution of seats, absentee voting, and a Greater Melbourne Council.

In New South Wales likewise there was a General Election in 1927. In this case a Labour Ministry was replaced by a Nationalist and Country Party coalition, under the leadership of Mr. T. R. Bavin. Mr. Lang, the Labour Premier, was defeated at the polls on October 8, the result being 35 Nationalist and 13 Country Party votes, against Labour's 42, giving the Pact parties a majority of 6. Mr. Bavin formed his Ministry on October 18, the Chief Secretary being Mr. Bruntnell, a Nationalist, and the Minister of Works, Mr. Buttenshaw, of the Country Party. At a meeting of the Labour Party on the following day, Mr. Lang was elected Leader of the Opposition in the State Parliament, a matter of interest, as Mr. Lang had been expelled from the Australian Labour Party Movement earlier in the year as a "traitor." Mr. Lang, however, retained the support of the Trade Councils, and it was from the Left section of the State Labour Party that he formed his Ministry on May 27, 1927. Eighty per cent, of the electors in New South Wales went to the polls in October, the heavy poll being attributable to anxiety over Mr. Lang's financial proposals, indicated by the Child Endowment and Basic Wage schemes mentioned above. Another measure which aroused anxiety in non-labour circles was the Large Estates (Taxation Management) Bill, which passed the Legislative Assembly on March 10, its purpose being to facilitate the subdivision of large estates in New South Wales.

A Labour Ministry held office in Queensland during 1927. In this State the outstanding event was a conflict, in September, between the Labour Government and a section of the railway workers in the State, associated with the Queensland Railway Union, which has Communist sympathies. The conflict proved the culmination of a series of troubles dating from 1915, when the late Mr. T. J. Ryan took office as Labour Premier. Mr. McCormack, the present Queensland Premier, refused to surrender to the railwaymen as his predecessor, Mr. Gillies, had done. When a section of the railwaymen refused to handle goods for the South Johnstone Sugar Mill, which had been declared "black" by certain local strikers, Mr. McCormack dismissed 120 railwaymen, intimating that the same course would be adopted in the case of all men who disobeyed orders. The Australian Railway Union at once threatened a general transport strike, but the firmness of Mr. McCormack saved the situation. The trouble was settled by the South Johnstone strikers returning to work on terms laid down by the Board of Trade. The settlement negotiated on September

11 represented a victory for constitutional government in Queensland, which was the more welcome because it was won by a Labour Government. Mr. McCormack made his Budget speech on October 25, disclosing a deficit of 123,000l. In November, considerable discussion was aroused among Queensland pastoralists owing to the Land Settlement Board proposing that pastoral lessees should retain one-third of their holdings on the expiry of existing leases, leaving two-thirds for settlement.

In South Australia, as in New South Wales, the State General Election resulted in a victory for a Pact coalition, the Labour Government being defeated and an anti-Labour Ministry being installed. Mr. R. L. Butler took office on April 4, with Mr. Tassie as Chief Secretary, Mr. McIntosh, Minister of Public Works, representing the Country Party in the coalition with the Liberals, led by Mr. Butler. As in New South Wales, the financial position of the State was a matter of primary interest for the electors, the difficulties of South Australia being evidenced by a loss of 930,000l. in the Railways Department during the financial year. The total State expenditure during the year was 11,850,000l., while the revenue was only 10,784,000l. Large disbursements upon public works and heavy increases in wages to Government employees contributed to the deficit.

In Western Australia, where the Labour Party held twenty-seven seats in the Legislative Assembly, against an Opposition comprising seventeen members of the United Party and six of the Country Party, a General Election at the end of March left Mr. Collier, the Labour Premier, in office. The relative position of the parties was practically unaltered.

In Tasmania, there was no election, but politics ranged round matters of finance. Mr. Lyons, the Treasurer, introducing the State Budget on October 25, announced that the revenue was 3,040,000l., being 313,000l. more than the amount collected in the previous financial year. Income tax for individual taxpayers was reduced by 18½ per cent.

In trade and economics, the outstanding event of the year was the Waterside strike and lockout early in December, by which sixty-four overseas and eighty inter-state vessels were held up in Australian ports, a hundred thousand people being thrown out of work owing to the impossibility of moving goods. The wool export season was at its height at the time, increasing the difficulty. The dispute arose because the waterside workers refused to handle cargoes after 5 P.M. in spite of the fact that overtime work was expressly stipulated for in all arbitration awards. The men working the ships of the Commonwealth Line, having a separate agreement, were not affected by the shipowners' lockout. The struggle ended after an eight-day strike through an interim award made by Judge Beeby, based upon the Judge's promise to deal with the question of one or two "pick-ups" daily as promptly

as possible if the men's leaders called off the strike and advised their branches that they must abide by the awards of the Arbitration Court and any local rules covering waterside problems. Judge Beeby's interim award had force for three months, during which a new award will be argued and framed; it was made without any hearing of evidence or argument. Mr. Judge Beeby warned the men that, if this final effort to secure peaceful work in the industry failed, they must be prepared to meet an application for deregistration. Labour opinion continues to oppose an active migration policy, and the Australian Council of Trade Unions waited upon Mr. Latham, the Attorney-General, on August 18, to protest against systematic immigration. Mr. Bruce took advantage of this deputation to set out his policy on this all-important matter. He indicated that Australia's net gain from immigration during the year was 50,288 persons, of whom 39,831 were British. Australia was largely under-populated, and he considered that the Government would not be justified in closing the doors to foreign immigration. Mr. Bruce also explained his objection to the introduction of the American quota system, which Mr. Charlton, leader of the Labour Opposition in the Federal Parliament, had advocated. On September 23 the Melbourne Trades Hall Council passed a resolution that the continued influx of migrants must imperil the Australian workers' standard of living by intensifying competition for the limited amount of work available. On the other hand, on September 16, the Australian Natives' Association waited upon Mr. Bruce and urged that special efforts should be made to prevent the reduction of the percentage of British stock in Australia and deploring the meagre results achieved by the Commonwealth and States immigration policies. In his reply, Mr. Bruce defined the relative share of responsibility in migration matters held by Commonwealth and States. The population of Australia on June 30 was 6,167,429, being an increase of 123,505 for the year, or 731,695 since the census of 1921, of which natural increase accounted for 502,186 and immigration for 229,509, that is for 31 per cent, of the total. Owing to the visit of Mr. Amery, Secretary of State for the Dominions, the Federal and State Governments were able to discuss matters of inter-imperial migration directly with a representative of the home authorities.

On January 21 the first sod of the Oodnadatta-Alice Springs Railway was turned, this being a section of the North and South Railway which will eventually connect Adelaide and Port Darwin. A line from Port Darwin to Daly Waters is being built simultaneously, so the junction of north and south, which Senator Pearce has called "The Conquest of the North," is proceeding steadily. The cost of the Oodnadatta-Alice Springs Railway will be 1,700,000l.

Early in October there was trouble with the natives of the

Solomon Islands, two British officials, fifteen native police, and the crew of a Government vessel being murdered by islanders, who declined to come into coastal settlements and pay tribute. The cruiser, H.M.A.S. *Adelaide*, was sent to restore order on October 10, and three platoons of seamen were landed at Diamond Harbour, and another party on Malaita Island, to assist locally enrolled troops and native police. General Sir Harry Chauvel, as Inspector-General of Military Forces, on October 15, issued an interesting report in which he complained that the Commonwealth forces were being "starved," the number of men under training in the citizen forces of Australia being only 42,000, and that for three years, and for only twelve days in each year of the three years.

#### NEW ZEALAND.

An outstanding event in the New Zealand year was the visit of the Duke and Duchess of York in February and March. Though the New Zealand tour lacked the definite purpose which made the Australian visit historic, it gave rise to a series of demonstrations of devotion and unswerving loyalty to the Throne. The *Renown* reached Auckland on February 21. A heavy rainstorm did not mar the public welcome, which was officially voiced to the Duke by Sir Charles Fergusson, the Governor-General, and the Cabinet, headed by Mr. Coates, the Premier. Memorable, too, was the Maori gathering at Arawa Park on February 28, in which every tribe in the Dominion was represented by warriors in *piu-piu* kilts. Sir Maui Pomare, the Maori Minister, invested the Duke and Duchess with mats of Huia, the feathers of the starling representing a badge of rank in tribal custom. The unveiling of the War Memorial of the Arawas included a dedication service which was wholly Maori in character, with native pastors and a native choir. Characteristic of the New Zealand visit, too, was the period of camping beside Lake Taupo, in the centre of a wild country along the volcanic belt, with the Ngauruhoe volcano in the distance. The Duke and Duchess sailed from South Island on March 21.

The Prime Minister, Mr. Coates, returned to New Zealand on February 14, after attending the Imperial Conference in London, and announced his Cabinet's intention to submit proposals which would keep the New Zealand public better informed upon the larger aspects of Imperial life than in the past. Parliamentary debate upon the report on the Imperial Conference in the House of Representatives was deferred until December 4, when Mr. Holland, Leader of the Opposition, urged that the status of the Dominions should be strengthened, particularly in connexion with the right to make peace and war, which, at present, rested with Great Britain. Mr. Stewart, Minister of Finance, replying to the debate



on **behalf** of the Government, said that no restraint was imposed upon New Zealand, owing to Great Britain being allowed to manage foreign affairs. It was not within the range of practical politics for the Dominion to maintain diplomatic representatives in Europe and America. Speaking on April 23, Mr. Coates announced that New Zealand proposed to contribute 1,000,000*l.* towards the cost of the Singapore base, the monies being paid in annual amounts spread over the seven years which the base would take to construct. After a protest by the Opposition, in which it was urged that the Labour Movement everywhere in the Empire opposed the Singapore scheme, the House of Representatives on September 21 adopted the motion by 51 votes to 10. The House also approved the Government's naval defence proposals, whereby " B " cruisers, with a tonnage of 8,400, should replace the existing " D " cruisers. When the Singapore payments are completed, the New Zealand Government proposes to resume the policy of devoting the whole of Dominion naval defence expenditure to the New Zealand Naval Division. Mr. Coates said that the deviation from former policy was due to the desirability of assisting in the completion of the Singapore scheme. The New Zealand naval defence vote in 1927 totalled 533,828*l.*

Another matter of Imperial, as well as Dominion, concern was trouble in the Island of Samoa, which is administered by New Zealand under the terms of the League of Nations mandate. Major-General Sir George Richardson, the Administrator, exercises control in what used to be German Western Samoa by virtue of an Order in Council. Recent political agitation brought the Administrator into conflict with certain hereditary chiefs, three of whom were degraded and banished to Apolima, one being sent to gaol for political agitation. Evidence of trouble reached New Zealand in July, when a petition signed by 145 native chiefs and " orators " was received, asking that a deputation should be allowed to visit New Zealand to protest against certain actions of Sir George Richardson. The Government reply was a curt " No," though the native protest against the Administrator was supported by a Samoan Welfare League, a European body under the presidency of Mr. O. F. Nelson, a well-known Samoan trader. On July 19 a measure amending the Samoa Act was introduced into the New Zealand House of Representatives, giving the Administrator power to deal with persons hindering the performance and functions and duties of the Government under the League of Nations mandate. The penalties included the deportation of offending Europeans from Samoa for a period of five years. Mr. Nosworthy, Minister of External Affairs, who had visited Samoa, justified the action taken by the Administrator against the recalcitrant chiefs, explaining that they had not been " deported," but only removed from their own villages. The second reading of the Samoa Bill was carried by 41 votes to 12, and the

measure passed the Legislative Council on July 28, all stages being carried "on the voices." On September 5 a Commission, consisting of Sir Charles Skerrett, Mr. Justice MacCormick, Judge of the Dominion Native Land Court, was appointed to inquire into the situation in Samoa, and whether the Administrator or other officials had failed in their duty. On October 21 a full bench of the New Zealand Supreme Court, with one dissentient, dismissed the appeal of two Samoan chiefs against sentences imposed by the High Court of Samoa for disobedience to banishment orders, the Court holding that the New Zealand Parliament was fully authorised to legislate by the British Order in Council. The report of the Commissioners completely vindicated the Samoan Administration.

The Parliamentary Session opened on June 23, after a recess dating from September 11, 1926. It was largely occupied with financial legislation and tariff changes, arising out of the Budget statement made by Mr. Downie Stewart, Minister of Finance, on August 1. In a speech on May 9, the Minister had drawn the attention of New Zealanders to the necessity for economy, public and private. Revenue was falling, bank deposits were lower, and bank advances were tending to increase, while unemployment and other social needs tended to increase expenditure. There had been a sudden contraction in the purchasing power of the community, due to exports producing less than in the previous year. Whereas, in 1925, New Zealand trade showed a credit balance of 4,235,000*l.* in 1926, there was an adverse balance of 3,885,000*l.*, a thing which had only occurred twice in the present century—in 1908 and 1920. The fall in export prices had been heavier than the fall in import prices, and the adverse trade balance, therefore, could only be met by economy or increased production. New Zealand reduced her purchases during the year ended June, 1927, with the result that the adverse trade balance was brought down to 1,000,000*l.* In the meantime, however, internal trade was also restricted, prices being above the buying power of many primary producers, so long as their cost of production remained proportionately high, compared with the prices they were receiving for their produce in the world market.

Mr. Downie Stewart's Budget statement showed that the New Zealand Government had not been slow in acting, and he was able to announce that the national accounts showed an unexpected, but welcome, surplus of 587,000*l.*, mainly due to Customs duties exceeding the estimates, owing to the importation of highly dutiable foreign goods during the British General Strike in 1926. Strict economy had also saved 437,000*l.* upon the estimates. The revenue for the coming year was estimated by Mr. Stewart at 24,676,900*l.* and the expenditure at 24,498,549*l.*, including the amount of the year's contribution towards the Singapore base. Including 1,770,000*l.* for the current year, the War Debt

had been reduced by 8,250,000l., that is 10 per cent, in five years. Mr. Downie Stewart introduced the new Customs tariff on September 13, the alterations coming into effect forthwith, though the remissions of duty were deferred until July, 1928. The main purpose of the changes was to reduce the cost of living and the cost of production in industry, a noteworthy example of the first purpose being the removal of the duty upon cotton piece goods of British origin, though a duty of 15 per cent, operated in case of similar goods of foreign origin. Earthenware, table china, linoleum, cement, and corrugated iron were other goods of British origin placed on the free list. Assistance was given to local industry by the remission of duty upon British cotton yarns and by reducing the duty upon unassembled car bodies to 5 per cent. A Tariff Commission's Report presented to Parliament on September 22 stated that 81 per cent, of all British exports to New Zealand benefited by New Zealand preferential duties, the goods being entitled to a remission of duties equal to 3,294,000l., in comparison with the duties chargeable under the general tariff. The amended tariff was adopted by the New Zealand Parliament on October 4, the chief opposition coming from the New Zealand Manufacturers' Federation, which asked for increased protection and the establishment of a Tariff Board, suggesting, also, that the percentage of British materials and labour necessary to qualify goods for preference should be raised to 75 per cent., in place of the 50 per cent, included in Mr. Stewart's Bill. The Budget also provides for a scheme for collecting 750,000l. from the petrol tax for road improvements in the Dominion. Since 1924 the cost of road maintenance had increased from 51l. to 111l. a mile, and further taxation of motorists was essential if the roads were to be kept in proper condition. On October 21 Mr. K. S. Williams made an interesting statement to Parliament upon Government policy for developing road and railway transport, and the production of hydro-electric power. Mr. Williams pointed out that the additional funds would enable the construction of permanent highways, radiating from centres. The hydro-electric works were prospering to such an extent that they earned during the year 6.95 per cent, upon the capital cost of the completed schemes. Another measure affecting farmers was a Rural Credits Bill, authorising the Rural Intermediate Credits Board to issue in London debentures to the extent of 5,000,000l.

An important Industrial Arbitration Amendment Bill was introduced on October 20, abolishing the permanent representatives of employers and employed on the arbitration courts and substituting arbitrators from each industry in any given dispute. This failed to become law. The Bill contained a clause exempting the dairying and farming industries from the operation of the measure, and this caused much heart-searching, especially among the Labour members. Eventually, the Government substituted a

Bill postponing further awards in the dairying and farming industries until after September, 1928, giving time for a Conference of all parties to explore the problems of industrial arbitration, including the possibility of granting complete exemption from arbitration to farmers. A judgment delivered by Mr. Justice Frazer in the Arbitration Court on March 4 dealt with this proposal for a return to the old conditions of free contract and competitive labour, though the actual point at issue in the case was the wage rate payable to freezing trade workers. Mr. Justice Frazer came to the conclusion that, while he had every sympathy with farmers in their present position, he could not allow that consideration to influence his judgment in the direction of reducing the standard of living of the freezing trade workers below the general level of similar workers. Connected with this problem of external and internal values is the policy of price-fixing in the New Zealand dairy industry, by which the butter and cheese producers hoped to maintain prices for their produce on the London market (see ANNUAL REGISTER, 1926, p. 340). The policy of price-fixing was not successful, and on March 14 the Dairy Control Board decided to rescind all resolutions dealing with the fixing of prices, thus reversing the policy adopted in 1926.

Apart from the Industrial Arbitration Amendment measure, no Bill during the 1927 session caused more controversy than the Licensing Bill, introduced by Mr. Coates, as a private member. The Bill sought to abolish the State control issue in the liquor referendum, instituting a direct vote between prohibition and the continuance of the sale of alcoholic liquor. Mr. Coates also proposed that the referendum should be taken every six years. Hitherto a licensing poll has been taken every three years, concurrently with the General Election, and voting took place on three issues, national continuance, national prohibition, and State control of the liquor trade. Mr. Coates expressly stated that the Bill had been drafted without consultation with members of his Government, and he asked for the free vote of members of the legislature. In Mr. Coates' original proposal, a majority of 55 per cent, was needed either way, if legislative action was to be taken. During the passage through the House of Representatives, however, the Prohibitionists carried an amendment in favour of a simple majority. Mr. Coates, thereupon, refused to accept further responsibility for the Bill and voted against it. The Bill was carried in the House of Representatives by 39 votes to 32, but the Legislative Council disagreed with the amendments introduced by the House of Representatives, and, as the Parliamentary Conferences failed to find a way out of the deadlock, the Licensing Bill was killed. Parliament rose on December 5, after a sitting of 105 days, a session of record length.

Mr. Amery, Secretary of State for the Dominions, visited New Zealand, reaching Auckland from Australia on November 21.

His tour included visits to the chief towns of the **Dominion** and characteristic country areas, including a week in the Southern Alps, where the mountain districts are being developed into tourist resorts. Conferences with the Government on matters of Imperial concern emphasised the sentiments of affectionate loyalty which Mr. Coates had voiced on behalf of the people of New Zealand at the Imperial Conference of 1926. At a Government luncheon at Wellington, November 29, Mr. Coates asked the Dominion Secretary to take this message to the rest of the Empire, " New Zealand wants to live within the Empire, to trade with the Empire, and to grow by means of Empire migration." Replying, Mr. Amery said that the Imperial Conference had shown that British citizenship in any part of the Empire was in no way inferior to citizenship of the United Kingdom. New Zealand had never worried about her exact status or rights, being more concerned with the practical rights and privileges of partnership. Speaking to a gathering of commercial men on December 14, Mr. Amery paid a tribute to the very generous preferential tariff by which New Zealand was assisting the recovery of Great Britain.

## PART II.



PAET I I .  
CHRONICLE OF EVENTS  
IN 1927.  
JANUARY.

1. In the New Year's Honours List a Viscounty was bestowed on Sir James Craig [Viscount Craigavon, of Stormont, in the County Down], and on Baron Sumner, a Lord of Appeal in Ordinary [Viscount Sumner, of Ibstone, in the County of Buckingham], and three Baronies were created in favour of Sir George Hayter Chubb [Baron Hayter, of Chislehurst, in the County of Kent], Col. F. S. W. Cornwallis [Baron Cornwallis, of Linton, in the County of Kent], and Sir Charles Greenway [Baron Greenway, of Stanbridge Earls].

4. *The Times* announced that through the generosity of Mr. T. R. Partington, of Ipswich, Flat Ford Mill and Willy Lot's Cottage at East Bergholt in Suffolk, both of which are associated with the art of John Constable, would be presented to the nation.

5. A gift of 10,000 dollars was made to Queen's University, Kingston, Canada, by Mr. E. R. Peacock, a director of Baring Bros.

6. The Duke and Duchess of York commenced their voyage to Australasia. (See under June 27.)

7. Wireless telephonic service between London and New York was inaugurated at 1.45 P.M.

8. *The Times* announced two public gifts—one of 104,000l. to St. Thomas's Hospital from Mr. W. R. Morris, the motor-car manufacturer, and the other of 25,000l. to University College, Dundee, a bequest by the late William Gibson of Dundee.

10. Prague Castle was completely burnt.

15. The new section of the Boulevard Haussmann in Paris was opened by the President of the French Republic.

18. *The Times* reported an epidemic of influenza throughout the whole of Europe; 326 deaths from influenza occurred in London alone during the week ended January 15.



18. The new Council House at Delhi was opened by the Viceroy.

— A Chair of Music was founded in the University of Sheffield with the proceeds of a legacy of 16,000*l.* left to the University by the late Mrs. Rossiter Hoyle in memory of her husband.

19. The London Hospital received a gift of 25,000*l.* from Mr. Bernhard Baron for the purpose of endowing a pathological institute to bear the name of the donor.

20. The Venerable C. M. Blugden, Archdeacon of Coventry, was appointed Bishop of Peterborough.

21. Sir Andrew Duncan appointed Chairman of the Electricity Board.

21. The last performance at the Empire Theatre was given. The building is to be pulled down and a cinema will be erected on the site.

24. The University of Edinburgh received a gift of 74,000*l.* from the International Education Board, New York, one of the Rockefeller foundations.

26. *The Times* reported that at the Burma High Court in Rangoon the first Burmese woman barrister was enrolled a member of the Burmese bar.

27. A great gale swept over the country, the wind travelling at a speed of 102 miles an hour ; many lives were lost and much damage done.

#### FEBRUARY.

1. A mail bag containing 10,000*l.* in treasury notes and other valuables was stolen from the night train from Cardiff to London.

9. The Chancellor of the Exchequer received from an anonymous donor five 100*l.* Victory Bonds with interest coupons attached.

— Mr. S. J. Peploe was elected an Academician by the Royal Scottish Academy.

11. Mr. Frederick W. Thomas, of Trinity College, Cambridge, Librarian to the India Office, was appointed Boden Professor of Sanskrit in the University of Oxford.

14. Ten persons lost their lives and forty-eight were seriously injured in a railway collision near Hull.

— Twelve persons lost their lives, fifty were injured, and about 1,000 houses were destroyed as the result of an earthquake shock in Dalmatia.

19. *The Rochdale Observer* completed 71 years of publication.

21. Mr. Thomas Cowan, a retired shipowner of Leith, presented 15,000*l.* to the University of Edinburgh to enable the scheme for providing a residential house to be carried out.

21. Lord Cowdray made a gift of 10,000l. to University College, London.

24. Mr. Oliver Hall, A.R.A., was elected a Royal Academician.

25. At the by-election in the Stourbridge Division of Worcestershire the Labour Party captured the seat from the Conservatives.

26. *The Times* announced that Lord Tennyson presented to the National Trust in memory of his father, the Poet Laureate, 155 acres of High Down, near Farringford, in the Isle of Wight.

28. The Thames valley was flooded, and large areas in the Midlands were also under water.

— Whereas the highest rainfall for the last forty-four years for the month of February was only 2.07 inches, the rainfall for February, 1927, was 2.58 inches.

### MARCH.

1. Mr. Charles Tate Regan was appointed Director of the Natural History Departments, British Museum.

3. *The Times* announced that the London Zoological Society had purchased from the Trustees of the Ashridge Estate a property of over 400 acres as a great zoological park.

— An anonymous donor sent a Victory Bond for 500l., together with interest coupons, to the Treasury as a gift to the nation.

5. Mr. John Bell, M.A., Fellow, Tutor, and Dean of Queen's College, Oxford, was appointed High Master of St. Paul's School.

7. An earthquake occurred in the North Kyoto Prefecture in Japan; several small towns and villages were partly destroyed and over 2,000 people lost their lives.

11. The Transatlantic Telephone Service was extended to Cuba.

19. An anonymous donor made a gift of 100,000l. to the University of St. Andrews.

20. Bicentenary celebrations of the death of Isaac Newton were commenced at Grantham.

21. Mr. Robert Hugh Tennant was elected Chairman of the Westminster Bank.

— Mr. J. P. Morgan gave the Neurological Institute of New York 200,000 dollars for research into the treatment of sleepy sickness.

23. *The Times* reported that the sum of 241,833l. raised by that paper as a National Police Fund was transferred to trustees of whom the Home Secretary is the Chairman.

24. At the Leith by-election the Liberals retained the seat, but by a small majority only.

— An anonymous gift of 160,000l. was made to the Middlesex Hospital for the building of a nurses' hostel.

26. The Beethoven Centenary Festival began in Vienna.

28. The Goldsmiths' Company celebrated the 600th anniversary of its foundation.

— At the by-election in North Southwark Mr. E. A. Strauss (Liberal) gained the seat from the Labour Party.

#### APRIL.

1. Cambridge won the 79th University boat race by 2½ lengths.

7. Mr. John Bridge Aspinall was elected City Remembrancer.

10. Summer time came into force at 2 A.M. (See under October 1.)

13. The Chancellor of the Exchequer received from an anonymous donor as a gift to the nation 1,000l. 4 per cent, war stock for cancellation.

15. Two civilian pilots of New York, Mr. Clarence Chamberlin and Mr. Bert Acosta, made a non-stop flight of 51 hours 11 minutes, and thereby set up a new world's record for duration of flight.

21. Mr. Henry Rushbury, engraver, and Mr. E. Guy Dawber, architect, were elected Associates of the Royal Academy.

— The King and Queen visited Cardiff to open the National Welsh Museum.

23. *The Times* announced that Mr. George Eastman, of Rochester, New York, head of the Kodak Company, had given 300,000l. for the establishment of a dental, tonsil, and adenoid clinic in London, to be associated with the Royal Free Hospital.

— Cardiff City beat the Arsenal in the final round of the Football Association Cup competition at Wembley Stadium by one goal to none.

28. The Chancellor of the Exchequer received from an anonymous donor as a gift to the nation 50l. 5 per cent, war loan for cancellation.

29. *The Times* announced that Mr. Frank Harrison, a resident of Boston, Lincolnshire, had made a gift of 20,000l. to the endowment fund of the Boston Hospital.

30. At the by-election for the Scottish Universities Mr. John Buchan retained the seat for the Conservative Party.

## MAY.

1. Taxi-cab fares were reduced by 25 per cent.

1. Professor Henry Stuart-Jones was appointed Principal of Aberystwyth University College.

7. *The Times* announced that the Chancellor of the Exchequer had received 3,000l. from an anonymous donor on account of income tax and super-tax.

— Hawksmoor, a nature reserve, 207 acres in extent, in Staffordshire, was handed over to the National Trust for Places of Historic Interest or Natural Beauty.

11. Lord Eustace Percy, President of the Board of Education, announced that the Bloomsbury site had been acquired for the University of London.

13. The Rt. Rev. J. H. Greig, Bishop of Gibraltar, was appointed first Bishop of Guildford.

14. *The Times* announced that 5,000l. had been presented to the University of Manchester by an anonymous donor to endow post-graduate scholarships for research in the biology of plants and animals.

16. Monsieur Doumergue, the President of the French Republic, visited this country for a three days' stay.

20. Capt. Charles Lindbergh left New York to fly to Paris.

21. The will of Lady Charles Henry was published, in which provision was made for scholarships at Oxford and Cambridge for American students, and at Harvard and Yale for British students.

— Capt. Charles Lindbergh arrived in Paris after covering 3,500 miles in 33½ hours.

— As a memorial to William Willett, the advocate of summer time, Petts Wood, Chislehurst, was opened to the public.

25. The Rev. Ernest N. Lovett, Archdeacon of Portsmouth, was appointed first Bishop of the new diocese of Portsmouth.

.29. Capt. Charles Lindbergh came to London, where he received a tumultuous welcome.

31. Mrs. Edward W. Bok made a gift of seven million dollars for the permanent endowment of the Curtis Institute of Music at Philadelphia, which she had founded in 1924 in honour of her father, Mr. Cyrus H. K. Curtis.

## JUNE.

1. Mr. Frank Curzon's colt, Call Boy, won the Derby by two lengths.  
— At the Bosworth by-election the Liberals captured the seat from the Conservatives.
3. The Birthday Honours List included two new peerages, conferred on Sir Davison Dalziel [Lord Dalziel of Wooller], and Sir Gilbert Greenall [Baron Daresbury, of Walton, in the County of Chester], and six baronets.
6. The second great transatlantic flight from New York was completed by Mr. Clarence Chamberlin, with Mr. Levine as passenger, at Kottbus in Germany. The journey took some 43 hours.
7. Miss Gertrude E. Trevelyan was awarded the Newdigate Prize for English Verse at Oxford. This was the first occasion on which the prize was won by a woman.
10. *The Times* reported that over 3,000 telephone kiosks had been erected in various parts of the country.
13. Mr. Thomas Cowan, shipowner of Leith, made a gift of 40,000*l.* to the University of Edinburgh. Mr. Cowan had already made gifts to the University amounting in all to 30,000*l.*
17. At the Westbury by-election the Conservatives retained the seat, but by a greatly reduced majority—149 as against 1,711.
20. Greyhound racing commenced at the White City.
23. The centenary celebrations of University College, London, were inaugurated by King George.
26. At the Brixton by-election the Conservatives retained the seat by a reduced majority—4,326 against 8,545 in 1924.
27. The eighth International Congress of Actuaries was opened in London.  
— The Duke and Duchess of York landed at Portsmouth on their return from their tour of Australia and New Zealand. (See under January 6.)  
— The Et. Rev. Harold Ernest Bilbrough, Bishop Suffragan of Dover, **was** appointed Bishop of Newcastle.
28. The 500th anniversary of the Catholic University of Louvain was celebrated.
29. The total eclipse of the sun was visible at Giggleswick.

## JULY.

1. The ninth centenary of the birth of William the Conqueror was celebrated at Caen.

5. The 500th anniversary of the foundation of Lincoln College, Oxford, was celebrated at the college.

6. Exceptionally heavy rain fell in Eastern England, in some cases amounting to over three inches.

10. A great storm, accompanied by floods, visited the highlands of Saxony and caused great loss of life.

11. Mr. John Frederick Stenning was elected Warden of Wadham College, Oxford.

— The London-North-Eastern Railway inaugurated a non-stop service between King's Cross and Newcastle-on-Tyne, a distance of 268 miles.

— Heavy thunderstorms, followed by heavy rain, swept over London, disorganising the railway services and flooding many houses.

— A violent earth tremor in Palestine was responsible for much loss of life and damage to property.

14. *The Times* reported that owing to the generosity of an anonymous donor 165 additional acres at Ashridge were presented to the nation (see Chronology in ANNUAL REGISTER, 1926, under February 23).

18. Mr. George Macaulay Trevelyan was appointed Regius Professor of Modern History at the University of Cambridge in room of the late Professor Bury.

19. King George V., accompanied by Queen Mary, visited Liverpool to open the new Gladstone Docks in the Mersey.

21. A gift of 10,000l. from an anonymous donor for the encouragement of research at the University of Wales was announced.

21. The 350th anniversary of the birth of Peter Paul Rubens was celebrated at Antwerp.

24. The 450th anniversary of the establishment of the University of Tuebingen was celebrated.

— Field-Marshal Lord Plumer unveiled the war memorial at Menin Gate.

25. *The Times* announced that an anonymous donor had made a gift of 10,000l. to the extension fund of the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge.

31. At Montgomery there was celebrated the 700th anniversary of the incorporation of the Borough.

## AUGUST.

1. The Bank Holiday was marked in London by continuous heavy rain which began between nine and ten in the morning, and continued practically without stopping all day.

5. Mr. Edward Harry Temme, a London insurance clerk, swam the Channel from Cap Grisnez to Lydden Spout, two miles west of Dover, in 14 hours 29 minutes.

10. The Rev. Edmund C. Pearce, Master of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, appointed the first Bishop of the new diocese of Derby.

11. The centenary of William Blake's death was celebrated in London.

21. The Rev. John V. Macmillan, Archdeacon of Maidstone, appointed Suffragan Bishop of Dover.

24. The Deal express was derailed near Sevenoaks about 5.30 P.M. ; thirteen people were killed and thirty seriously injured.

25. Twenty-three people were killed in an Alpine railway accident on the mountain railway between Montanvert and Chamonix.

28. Two American airmen, Mr. William Brock and Mr. E. F. Schlee, who had left Newfoundland on the 27th, landed at Croydon.

29. *The Times* announced that the Chancellor of the Exchequer had received from an anonymous donor 4,400l. as a gift to the nation.

31. It was announced that an anonymous donor had made a gift of 100,000l. to the University of Leeds towards the appeal for 500,000l. for development and extension. The gift was earmarked for the new library buildings.

— End of a ten weeks' extraordinarily rainy season. The total rainfall for June, July, and August was 11.024 inches—nearly 50 per cent, above the average. It was stated at the Rothamsted Experimental Station that, with the exception of 1879, this was the wettest summer within living memory.

## SEPTEMBER.

5. Mr. Humphrey Raikes of Exeter College, Oxford, was appointed Principal of the Witwatersrand University, Johannesburg.

6. *The Times* reported that Miss Kathleen Thomas swam the Bristol Channel for the first time.

— The General Committee of the British Association accepted the offer of Mr. Buxton Browne to purchase Downe House, the home of Darwin, for the nation.

7. The London Hospital announced that through the generosity of Sir Harry Mallaby-Deeley, who had made a gift of 15,000L, it would be possible to erect a new message and electrical department.

15. The 450th anniversary of the foundation of the University of Upsala was celebrated.

21. Dr. John Orr was elected Bishop of Meath.

— Prolonged and incessant rain, producing widespread floods, did extensive damage to crops and live stock in the North of England.

— Slavery was abolished in Sierra Leone by the passing of the Legal Status of Slavery (Abolition) Ordinance by the Legislative Council.

26. Great Britain won the race for the Schneider Cup at Venice. The winner was Flight-Lieut. S. N. Webster, who covered the triangular course at an average speed of 281 miles an hour, the highest speed ever done.

29. Sir Charles Batho was elected Lord Mayor of London for the coming year.

#### OCTOBER.

1. Mr. Frederick M. Rushmore was elected Master of St. Catharine's College, Cambridge, being the first lay master of this college since its foundation in 1473.

1. Summer time ended at 3 A.M. (See under April 10.)

3. Mr. Will Spens elected Master of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

— Mr. E. J. Gwynn appointed Provost of Trinity College, Dublin.

— The telephone service between Great Britain and Canada inaugurated.

6. The centenary celebrations of the University of Toronto commenced.

7. Miss M. Gleitze swam the Channel in 15 hours 15 minutes.

10. *The Times* announced that by the will of Lord Bliss of Belize, British Honduras, bequests were made to that colony of over 300,000l.

11. The celebration of the centenary of St. David's College, Lampeter, commenced.

13. Mrs. Ivy Gill swam the Channel in 15 hours 9 minutes.

21. Mr. Norman McLean elected Master of Christ's College, Cambridge.

28. A severe gale was experienced all over the country; much damage was done and many lives were lost. The town of Fleetwood was flooded and 400 people were rendered homeless.



29. A peerage was conferred on Mr. Ronald McNeill, the new Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster [Lord Cushendun, of Cushendun, in the County of Antrim].

### NOVEMBER.

6. Great floods in the New England States did damage to property, destroyed thousands of homes, swept away bridges, and were responsible for many deaths.

10. The Nobel Prize for Literature for 1926 was awarded to the Italian authoress, Grazia Deledda ; and the Nobel Prize for Physics for 1927 was divided between Professor Arthur Compton of Chicago and Professor C. T. R. Wilson of Cambridge.

11. At midnight the first automatic telephone service in London was commenced at the Holborn Exchange.

17. *The Times* announced that Mr. Bernhard Baron had given 50,000*l.* for the rebuilding of the St. George's Jewish Settlement in the East End of London.

19. At the Southend by-election Lady Iveagh retained the seat for the Conservatives.

21. *The Times* announced that the Royal Halifax Infirmary had received a gift of 10,000*l.* from Mr. Ernest Shaw Redman of Halifax.

21. Professor William R. Halliday, Professor of English History in the University of Liverpool, was appointed Principal of King's College, London, in room of Professor Ernest Barker.

25. At the Canterbury by-election Sir W. A. Wayland retained the seat for the Conservatives, but by a greatly reduced majority.

29. Lord Rothermere made a further gift of 40,000*l.* to the Middle Temple to be added to the memorial fund founded by him some years ago in memory of his father, who was a member of that Inn.

### DECEMBER.

1. Rev. Dr. D. H. S. Cranage appointed Dean of Norwich.

— Three 100*l.* 5 per cent. War Loan Bonds with interest coupons attached were sent to the Chancellor of the Exchequer by an anonymous donor for cancellation, as a gift to the nation.

5. Mr. Henry Poole, A.R.A., sculptor, was elected a Royal Academician.

10. It was announced that the Nobel Peace Prize was divided equally between the French Professor Ferdinand Buisson and the German Professor Ludwig Quidde.

15. The sixteenth-century Hereford mansion known as Stoke Edith Park was burnt down.

19. Intense cold weather with widespread frost occurred over the whole of the country.

21. The cold weather became more intense; the frozen rain on the roads was responsible for thousands of accidents, and the train services were badly affected.

21. The Eight Rev. I. H. G. Randolph, formerly Bishop Suffragan of Guildford, was appointed Dean of Salisbury.

— It was announced that Lord Burnham had sold the *Daily Telegraph* to Sir William Berry, Mr. Gomer Berry, and Sir Edward Iliffe, and that the new proprietors would assume control on January 9, 1928.

25. The most severe snowstorm for many years swept over the country, continuing right through the night.

26. Further falls of snow blocked many roads and railways throughout the country, isolated several towns, and interrupted the Dover-Calais services.

27. The greater part of Standon Lordship, built some time in the middle of the sixteenth century, was destroyed by fire.

28. Floods in the Canterbury and Maidstone areas caused widespread damage.

29. Another frosty day with a biting wind ; the delay in communication owing to the snow continued.

30. No abatement in the frosty weather; food for isolated villages was supplied by aeroplanes.

31. The total cost of the losses through fire in Great Britain and Ireland for the whole year was estimated at 6,495,000l.

— The year 1927 was described as the wettest of six consecutive wet years which have occurred since 1921.

# RETROSPECT

OF

## LITERATURE, SCIENCE, AND ART IN 1927.

### LITERATURE.

(Books marked with an asterisk are specially noticed at the end of this section.)

WHILE several young reputations became more firmly established in 1927, it cannot be recorded that any new literary planet of the first magnitude or near it swam into our view. On the other hand, there was a sufficiency of books which, on other than purely literary grounds, were greeted with clamour, if not always with acclaim. Controversy, of which the end is not yet, was provoked, and was no doubt intended to be provoked, by the two new volumes of \* *The World Crisis*, in which the Chancellor of the Exchequer, himself the subject of a cordial appreciation from the pen of "Ephesian" (who last year paid a similar compliment to Lord Birkenhead), gave his version of the story of the critical years 1916 to 1918; while the publication of the letters and diaries of Sir Henry Wilson, by Major-General Sir C. E. Call well, aroused a great deal of interest and no little resentment. Wilson was a fine and sagacious soldier, who earlier than most men saw and insisted on the necessity of a united command on the Western front, but he had a sharp tongue and sharp pen and he confided his opinions of his colleagues, in uniform or in "frocks," to the pages of his private diary in unameliorated terms. Whether he would himself have given these dark entries to the world in their original form can never be known, but it was widely felt that their unexpurgated publication was at least an indiscretion.

Meanwhile less questionable, if less exciting, service was performed in the cause of truth—that is to say, of truth about the war—by the official historians; and most notably by the inauguration, with its first two volumes, of what, when completed, will be an extremely valuable series, the *British Documents on the Origins of the War, 1898-1914*, which Dr. G. P. Gooch and Prof. Harold Temperley are extracting from the Foreign Office archives. Professor Temperley also collaborated with Professor A. I. Grant in a sane and impartial survey of \* *Europe in the Nineteenth Century*.

Another book which attracted much attention was Colonel T. E. Lawrence's \* *Revolt in the Desert*. Here there was plenty of literary justification for excitement, for it was a brilliant piece of writing; but literary appreciation was so complicated by the enigma of the author's

personality and the circumstances of the book's publication that it would perhaps have been wiser to wait until a more detached judgment was possible than to have proclaimed headlong, as so many reviewers did, that here was a classic of the East to be set beside Doughty's *Arabia Deserta*. A useful supplement to *Revolt in the Desert* was *Lawrence and the Arabs*, in which Mr. Robert Graves, the poet, showed that his hero was a man and not a myth and explained much that was taken for granted in the book ; while more light on the Middle East in war-time was thrown by the *Letters of Gertrude Bell*, which, edited by her step-mother, Lady Bell, form an admirable memorial to a vivid and gracious personality and a remarkable career.

The Middle East, indeed, occupied a conspicuous place in the year's literary output. From Cambridge came a new and worthy edition, long due, of the late Edward Granville Browne's *A Year Among the Persians*—a year spent, amid the fumes of opium, in endless talk of poetry and philosophy. No such intimate study of Persian life and thought has ever been published, or is ever likely to be published, in this country; and Sir Edward Denison Ross, in his prefatory memoir of its author, justly claimed for it " a rightful place among the great classics of travel." In *The Islamic World Since the Peace Settlement*, issued by the Royal Institute of International Affairs, Professor Arnold Toynbee made a careful and on the whole optimistic study of recent political and social tendencies among the Mohammedans of North Africa and Western Asia, and an intimate knowledge of Morocco and its inhabitants and personal acquaintance with Marshal Lyautey, Abd-el-Krim and other protagonists made Mr. Walter B. Harris's *France, Spain, and the Rif* an authoritative exposition of a difficult chapter of modern history.

Authority was by no means allowed in all quarters to Miss Katharine Mayo's \* *Mother India*. Her indictment of Hindu social conditions, while obtaining a *succes de scandale*, was met with vigorous protests, and in a counterblast entitled *Father India*, Mr. C. S. Ranga Iyer accused Miss Mayo of superficiality and superiority, and claimed that many of the evils which she had found in his country were equally rife in hers. Another provocative book on India was *The Garden of Adonis*, in which Mr. Al. Carhill predicted, with relish, the downfall of the Empire.

Nearer home Russia naturally loomed large. A very notable book was *The Mind and Face of Bolshevism* by Rene\* Fulop-Miller—translated by Mr. F. S. Flint and Dr. D. F. Tait—which gave an extraordinarily vivid impression of contemporary Russian society under all its aspects, with special emphasis on the cultural and artistic. Less sensational and picturesque, Mr. Lancelot Lawton's *The Russian Revolution* was valuable for the nice distinctions drawn in it between the various shades of Bolshevism as embodied in the leading men who made and have sustained the Revolution ; and a good introduction to the subject came from the competent pen of Professor Harold J. Laski, whose little book on *Communism* was mainly devoted to an explanation of Marxian theory and its Bolshevik application.

That unique book, originally published two years ago, in which President

Masaryk described the birth of the Czechoslovakia of which he was himself the chief if not the only begetter, was translated by Mr. Wickham Steed as *The Making of a State*, and the new Germany found an able and unbiassed historian in Mr. H. G. Daniels, whose *The Rise of the German Republic* was soundly based on all the available documents.

Of practical use to those who wish to understand the problems of democratic government was *The Mechanism of the Modern State*, in which Sir John Marriott, performing a task for which he is eminently endowed, analysed the British Constitution in all its members, gave it its place in time by a preliminary historical survey and in space by comparative studies of the institutions of France, America, and Switzerland, and looked cautiously into its future. Professor A. C. Pigou made a thorough, scientific, and compact study of the problem of *Industrial Fluctuations*, and Dr. Ernest Baker considered *National Character* as affected by occupation, density of population, geographical position, and education. Sir Alfred Mond's volume of essays on *Industry and Politics* was a comprehensive survey of the present and probable future relationships of these two branches of activity by a man of acute intelligence and of large experience in both.

In the realm of history which lies beyond the reach of political controversy an event of importance was the appearance of the fifth and sixth volumes of the \* *Cambridge Ancient History*. Mr. Hilaire Belloc carried his *History of England*, in its second volume, from the Conquest to the Black Death, pugnaciously and dogmatically maintaining his thesis that the essential phenomena of national life are always religious. In *The House of Lords in the Eighteenth Century* Mr. A. S. Turberville gave an interesting account of the Golden Age of the " Venetian Oligarchy," when every Cabinet was adorned as a matter of course by at least one duke; and a lighter book but still one of serious value was the very attractive story of *English Women in Life and Letters* told by Miss M. Phillips and Miss W. S. Tomkinson and copiously illustrated from contemporary sources. To insist on the thoroughness and accuracy with which Mr. and Mrs. Sidney Webb are writing *English Poor Law History* would be an impertinence. The first of the two parts into which their book is divided comes down to the break-up of the old system which resulted in the law of 1834. In the second volume of his \* *Five Centuries of Religion*, Mr. C. C. Coulton continued to unfold the story of mediæval monastic life with an admirable combination of erudition and literary skill.

London still exercises its irresistible fascination both on the sentimental chronicler and the more serious antiquary. Mr. Gordon Home's *Medimval London* contained a great deal of information arranged in a manner which might have been bettered, and Mr. George H. Cunningham proved himself a worthy successor to Wheatley with a useful dictionary of the city's history, tradition, and topography. A more specialised work was Mr. E. Williams's excellent *Early Holhorn and the Legal Quarter of London*.

The year was a notable one on the biographical side. Oxford put forth the new \* *Dictionary of National Biography*, containing the lives of such illustrious Englishmen as died between 1912 and 1921, and the first

three volumes of a new edition of Grove's *Dictionary of Mime and Musicians*, with many new articles and many old ones thoroughly revised, was published under the editorship of Mr. H. C. Colles. Among single biographies the second and completing volume of Sir Sidney Lee's \* *King Edward VII*, must be accorded pride of place. Lee left his manuscript very nearly in a state for publication and his assistant, Mr. S. F. Markham, put the finishing touches. Another sovereign of whom our knowledge was appreciably increased was George III. Sir John Fortescue, also represented by the twelfth volume of his great *History of the British Army*, which, mainly concerned with minor campaigns in Asia and Africa, stopped on the eve of the Crimean War, has undertaken the hardly less arduous task of editing, in six volumes, the King's correspondence down to 1783, of which there is a vast collection, arranged by George himself, at Windsor Castle. The letters in the first two volumes show him in a more favourable light than history has always turned on him : narrow in outlook, perhaps, but courageous, industrious and methodical in business, various in his interests, an ensuer of peace and very far from inhumane. Another interesting collection of documents consisted of the hitherto unpublished parts of the \* *Greville Diary*, which Mr. Philip Whitwell Wilson edited. It contained much interesting and some scandalous matter, presented in a form which could easily have been improved. Political biographies were plentiful. Mr. Bertrand Newman's *Edmund Burke* was a useful book, lucidly explaining the greatest of English political geniuses and incorporating a good deal of material which has come to light since Morley wrote his famous monograph. Miss M. A. Best's *Thomas Paine* was a frankly partisan study, in which the author of the *Rights of Man* was vigorously defended against his detractors and instated as a hero in the fight for liberty. In *Lord Brougham and the Whig Party*, on the other hand, Mr. Arthur Aspinall was impartial to the point of inhumanity. Had he stuck less austere to the letter of his title he might have written a livelier and no less sound a book, for the secret of Brougham's influence, in spite of his mistakes, inconsistencies, and unpopularity, lay in his abounding vitality. A pleasant collection of miniature biographies, if not a very important contribution to history, was Mr. Algernon Cecil's *British Foreign Secretaries, 1807-1916*. Mr. Cecil shares the fashionable admiration for Castlereagh, but is very severe on both Canning and Palmerston.

Disraeli continued to attract a remarkable amount of attention. He gave M. Andre' Maurois an opportunity, in his \* *Disraeli : A Picture of the Victorian Age*, of exhibiting once more his extraordinary gift for characterisation and his almost uncanny understanding of the manners and customs of the English. Mr. D. L. Murray, less brilliant than M. Maurois, provided a useful short life of the great statesman, informed with much thoughtful criticism, for those who are daunted by the innumerable pages of Monypenny and Buckle. Disraeli's novels also, in a handsome complete edition, found a sympathetic and entertaining editor in Mr. Philip Guedalla. Mr. Gladstone is a subject rather less amenable to the fashionable artistic-satirical treatment than his rival, but Mr. Osbert Burdett contrived to make a very good job of him, though the result was hardly calculated to win the unqualified approval of ardent Gladstonians.

The most famous of Liberal Prime Ministers figured rather prominently in two volumes of memoirs. One was the *Impressions and Memories* of Lord Ribblesdale, that magnificent nobleman of the old school whose disappearance from the pavements of Piccadilly and Pall Mall is one of London's severest recent losses. Lord Ribblesdale, though firmly rooted in the Whig tradition, had a mind broadened by foreign education, and, as the book which he wrote on his son Charles Lister proved, a genuine gift for writing. His memoirs make excellent reading. The other book in which Mr. Gladstone is to be looked for is the diary of his niece, Lady Frederick Cavendish, which was edited by her brother-in-law, Mr. John Bailey. Lady Frederick, wife of an ill-starred Irish Secretary, was a woman of both courage and wit, and both these virtues transpire in her very interesting diary. Some wit, also, and more of humour and vivacity, infuse the *Letters of Lady Augusta Stanley*, edited by the Dean of Windsor and Mr. Hector Bolitho. They give a very lively picture of "Victoria's formal middle time." Lady Augusta, who had been in attendance on the Duchess of Kent, was on particularly intimate terms with the Queen. Another good book of reminiscence was Viscount Esher's *Cloud-capp'd Towers*. Here again the reader found himself in the rarified atmosphere of high Whiggism, at Lowther Castle in distant days when its master was a survivor from the Regency, and at Devonshire House when its dormant splendours were being revived by the "Double Duchess." Lord Esher was private secretary to Lord Hartington, the eighth Duke of Devonshire, and cordially admired that sound and silent statesman.

*The Early Life and Letters of John Morley*, by F. W. Hirst, contained much interesting matter, notably a long correspondence between Morley and Frederic Harrison. Morley had not yet become an active politician, but was writing his fine books on the French eighteenth century and vigorously conducting the *Fortnightly Review* as an organ of the truth as he conceived it. His letters contain much hard thinking and hard hitting, and a good deal of intellectual fun. But Mr. Hirst's book would have been a better one had it been shorter. On the other hand, Mr. H. A. L. Fisher's \**James Bryce* was a fine and perfectly proportioned biography of a many-sided man.

In writing on *Rhodes*, Mr. I. G. McDonald was treading oft-trodden ground, and his book is unlikely to supersede, as a standard work, those of Sir Lewis Michell and Professor Basil Williams; but the intimate knowledge which its author had of Rhodes during the last twelve years of his life gave it value. In *Viscount Leverhulme*, the son of the creator of Port Sunlight confined himself to a straightforward and unemotional narrative of his father's career. Another super-tradesman, John Wanamaker, found a very capable biographer in Mr. Hubert Adams Gibbons, who had an interesting story to tell of a self-made American who was at the same time public-spirited, sincerely religious, and a lover of art. Perhaps it would not be unfair to rank Oscar Browning, the magnificent don who hobnobbed with emperors, among the self-made men. It would at any rate hardly be possible to write of him without a flavour of genial malice, and Mr. H. E. Wortham, making no attempt at the impossible, achieved a very enter-

taining book. A psychological biographer of powerful and acute intelligence was made known to English readers by translations of the *Napoleon* and the *Bismarck* of the German, Emil Ludwig; and Mr. G. P. Baker's \* *Sulla the Fortunate* drew some interesting parallels between the career of the great Roman and those of certain statesmen of to-day.

Two distinguished journalists wrote their reminiscences. Mr. I. A. Spender, whose editorship of the *Westminster Gazette* shone like a good deed in the naughty world of Fleet Street, told the story of that fine and lamented evening paper in an admirable book called *Life, Journalism, and Politics*. In *Fifty Years of a Changing World* Sir Valentine Chirol ranged from China if not to Peru, at any rate to Berlin, pausing longest in Egypt. A cosmopolitan of a different profession was Sir Arthur Hardinge, British Ambassador at Madrid during the war, whose *A Diplomatist in Europe* was full of amusing stories from Russia, Rumania, Belgium, Portugal, and Spain. In *My Working Life* Lord Sydenham told the story of a long life devoted to the study of the problems of imperial defence. An autobiography of quite another order was *A Small Boy in the Sixties* by the late George Sturt, known in literature as George Bourne. This was one of the best of his books : a minute and loving picture of a country life which has passed.

There was some autobiographical matter in Lord Birkenhead's *Law, Life, and Politics*, but much else besides : most notably, perhaps, a discussion of divorce law reform and a warm and generous appreciation of Lord Curzon, who also appeared as very human and even attractive light in Mr. Harold Nicholson's \* *Some People*. That book is something of a nondescript, for it is a mingling of fact and fantasy, of portraits real and imaginary. But it is a very charming nondescript. If there were better books published in 1927 there were not many.

One of the best, by the consent of all who read it, was *The Wandering Scholars*, by Miss Helen Waddell, which was more than a history and criticism of a little studied branch of literature, the Latin poetry of the Middle Ages : it was a brilliant reconstruction of mediæval society. Another fine contribution to literary history was Professor Allardyce Nicoll's *The Development of the Theatre*, in which the author, turning aside from his contemplation of the dramatists, gave himself to the study of the evolution of stage technique from Greek times to this present. On this ground Professor Nicoll has no rival but Sir E. K. Chambers, who did not, however, compete with him ; producing, instead, a short but pregnant inquiry into the origins of the Arthurian legend, *King Arthur of Britain*, a book which came a propos in a year which saw at least two new editions of Malory and more than one modern poem on the same perennial theme.

In *Leaves and Fruit*, the fourteenth volume of his collected essays, Sir Edmund Gosse ranged, with his usual graceful erudition and rather feline wit, from Colley Cibber to Eusebius and from Hannah More to Miss Sitwell; and in *The Gorgon's Head, and other Literary Pieces*, Sir James Frazer, besides dealing with the subjects pre-eminently his own, discoursed of Cowper, Sir Roger de Coverley, and Roman life in the Silver Age with that literary grace which makes him the most readable as well as the



most erudite of anthropologists. Lord Ernie, crystallising in one volume a life-long love of a good story, produced a comprehensive survey of fiction of all kinds, countries, and ages, *The Light Reading of Our Ancestors*. A study of fiction of different type, subtle, witty, and inconclusive, was Mr. E. M. Forster's *Aspects of the Novel*.

Various novelists attracted biographers or commentators. Outstanding was Mr. Michael Sadleir's *Trollope: a Commentary*. Mr. Sadleir's enthusiasm for Trollope is well known, and here it found mature and considered expression in a living piece of portraiture against a convincing background. Something of the same sort was attempted, though hardly so successfully accomplished, by Miss Elizabeth S. Haldane in her *George Eliot and Her Times: a Victorian Study*. This revaluation and reinstatement of neglected Victorians is a significant tendency in current criticism.

Revaluation and reinstatement were the objects of Mr. G. K. Chesterton in his small *Robert Louis Stevenson*, though Stevenson can hardly be said to have fallen into neglect. Mr. Chesterton's thesis, propounded with less than his usual dexterity, was that Stevenson's romanticism was an escape back to the safe haven of childhood from the realism and the decadence which were the Scylla and Charybdis of the literary voyager of his time: a very debatable contention and only to be maintained by means of some manipulation of chronology. In *The Romantick Lady* Mr. Vivian Burnett wrote an amusing life of his mother, Mrs. Frances Hodgson Burnett, reflecting nicely in his tone the mixture of fun and sentimentality which constituted the creator of Little Lord Fauntleroy.

Of more importance was *Joseph Conrad: Life and Letters*, by Mr. G. Jean-Aubry. The biographical part was very brief, but into it much interesting information was collected about Conrad's early life in Poland and on the high seas. The letters, mostly addressed to literary friends, exhibit their author as a many-sided though essentially simple character, warm-hearted and courageous, disillusioned and prone to melancholy, and devoted heart and soul to an art which his methods made a peculiarly difficult and exacting one. From the literary point of view the *Letters of George Gissing to Members of His Family*, collected and arranged by Algernon and Ellen Gissing, were rather disappointing, but they too were interesting for the light they threw on the personality of an over-sensitive, solitary, and thwarted man. The impression they left was that, in spite of his early poverty and his ill-health, Gissing's unhappiness was in the main the result of his own temperament. Another poignant and self-revealing document from the pen of a writer of fiction was the *Journal of Katherine Mansfield* given to the world by Mr. John Middleton Murry. From these agonisings it was a relief to turn to the suave *Memories and Notes* of Anthony Hope—a novelist who because, like Matthew Arnold, he is not always "wholly serious," is not in these earnest days valued as his art, at its best, deserves—with their pleasant gossip about Marlborough and Oxford, the legal and the literary life.

After the novelists, the poets. On Blake naturally, since he had a centenary, attention was focussed. Various editions of his work, both expensive and cheap, made their appearance, and various critics essayed

to explain him. Mr. Max Plowman's *Introduction to the Study of Blake* was not altogether happily named, for it made rather difficult reading for those who were not already pretty familiar with the poet's work and mentality. It was a subtle and sympathetic analysis by one who is himself a poet and, intellectually at any rate, a mystic. As an "introduction" for the uninitiated, Professor Basil de Selincourt's preface to the "World's Classics" selection of the poetry was perfect. A somewhat ponderous life of Shelley came from Mr. Walter E. Peck, an American writer, who had access to a good deal of new material but displayed an imperfect sense of the relative value of documents; and a collection of Shelley's letters, edited by Mr. Roger Ingpen, a most devoted Shelleyan, and more complete than any other, formed part of the sumptuous Julian edition of the poet's works. *The Correspondence of Henry Crabb Robinson with the Wordsworth Circle*, first fruit of Professor Edith -Morley's researches among the unpublished Robinson papers in Dr. Williams's Library, gave intimate glimpses of the household at Rydal Mount, and showed Crabb Robinson himself in a very amiable light, as a kindly, self-postponing man and a sound judge of poetry.

Mr. Emory Holloway's *Whitman* was a praiseworthy attempt to set down dispassionately the facts about a poet of whom dispassionate treatment has never been found easy. It is a good biography but rather weak on the critical side. *A Study of Swinburne*, by Mr. P. Earle Welby, was a defence of a poet whose claim to be considered great has of late years frequently been questioned, and at the same time a penetrating and frank analysis of Swinburne's very unusual personality; while Mr. R. L. Megroz, a critic of great industry who also produced a commentary on the poetry of the three Sitwells, gave us, in *Francis Thompson, the Poet of Earth in Heaven*, not only an illuminating study of rather a difficult poet but also a useful introduction to mystical poetry in general.

A poet of a very different type was the subject of Professor V. de Sola Pinto's *Sir Charles Sedley*, an excellent biography, heavily documented but eminently readable, of a typical Restoration figure, and a valuable contribution to the elucidation of a period which has been much more often written about than justly appreciated. The Restoration was also represented by editions of the works of Sedley's friend, Sir George Etherege, and of Thomas Shadwell, the latter edited by Mr. Montague Summers, who followed his *History of Witchcraft and Demonology*, published in 1926, with *The Geography of Witchcraft*, containing illustrations, grouped according to countries, of the general statements contained in the earlier volume: the two books together forming a readable but highly debatable contribution to the literature of a fascinating subject. *The Petty Papers*, selected by the Marquess of Lansdowne from a large collection at Bowood of the unpublished writings of his ancestor, Sir William Petty, were another notable addition to the literature of the Restoration.

*The English Men of Letters*, as revived by Mr. I. C. Squire, maintained the level at which they started. Both Miss Dorothy Margaret Stuart's *Horace Walpole* and Mr. I. B. Priestley's *Thomas Love Peacock* were very good books, though Miss Stuart was hard put to it to establish the dilettante

Horace as a serious man of letters, and the latter laboured with an excess of ingenuity to prove that Shelley's Epicurean friend was a "baffled idealist." The characteristic modern taste for writers, like Peacock, who are rather off the main track, the preference of marked individuality or even eccentricity to established greatness, is well illustrated by the fact that publishers have been found ready to give Peacock himself, Beckford, Landor, and Disraeli the honour of handsome complete editions.

A literary biography which is likely to become a standard work, Mr. David Alec Wilson's *Carlyle*, reached its fourth volume—*Carlyle at His Zenith* (1848-1853)—out of a probable six. This is indeed a monument, a monument in mosaic; and the latest volume, which covered the period between Cromwell and Frederick, when Carlyle's energies were chiefly devoted to pamphleteering, made as absorbing reading as its predecessors. Mr. Wilson has discovered the secret of how to be a posthumous Boswell.

The life of *John Sargent* was written by the accomplished hand of the Hon. Evan Charteris, who knew his subject personally and well, and that of *Sir Arthur Sullivan* by his son, Mr. Herbert Sullivan, and Mr. Newman Flower. This latter contained much, of course, about the famous collaboration which produced the Savoy operas, but it also revealed the fact that Sullivan was never quite happy in that double harness with its ribbons and bells, but was always hankering after the composition of more serious music. The centenary of a greater musician than Sullivan—Beethoven—was the occasion of several books, of which the best perhaps were those of Mr. I. W. N. Sullivan and Mr. W. I. Turner; and a painter of a very different kind from Sargent was revealed more completely than ever before, in spite of the much that has been written about him, in *The Letters of Vincent van Gogh to His Brother*, with a memoir by his sister-in-law, Madame van Gogh-Bonger. Another of the great Post-impressionists, Cezanne, was the subject of an excellent critical study by Mr. Roger Fry.

As political Russia was prominent, so was literary Russia, but in 1927 it was neither Tchekov nor Dostoevsky who were the centre of attention. The *Private Diary of Leo Tolstoy*, 1853-1857, edited by Mr. Alymer Maude, was a really important addition to the documentation of its writer: being a scrupulously explicit record of his attempts and frequent failures to live up to a very definitely formulated ideal of conduct. *Tolstoy: The Inner Drama*, by Mr. Hugh Fanson Fausset, who envisaged his subject as "the baffled searcher after an art of life," made a good commentary on the diary; and *Family Views of Tolstoy*, also edited by Mr. Maude, who is indefatigable in the service of his hero's fame, comprised a series of intimate studies, nearly all by people closely related to Tolstoy, of different aspects of his life and character; the most interesting of them being the detailed account of the "home-leaving" by Countess Alexandra Tolstoya. *Turgenev: The Man, His Art, and His Age*, by Avram Yarmolinsky, based to a large extent on new material, is the most complete biography in English of another great Russian novelist.

Several contributions were made to the study of the Renaissance under various aspects. Mrs. Rachel Annand Taylor's \**Leonardo the Florentine* was a work of real poetic insight written in a brilliantly coloured style.

It is worth noting that a reprint of the \* *Memoirs of Benvenuto Cellini*, in the translation of Mr. R. H. Oust, which was first issued in 1910, was published in two volumes during the year. Mr. Sacheverell Sitwell followed his *Southern Baroque Architecture*, which might also be described as brilliantly coloured, with a <sup>s</sup>ober and complete survey of *German Baroque Art*, which, issued with a large number of well-chosen and well-produced illustrations, formed a valuable introduction to a subject which he has made peculiarly his own. A great humanist, in the *Life, Character, and Influence of Desiderius Erasmus*, was written of by Mr. John Joseph Mangan in a temper well this side idolatry. While according full admiration to Erasmus' intellect and scholarship, he found much to dislike in his personal character. His theory that his undeniable weaknesses were the result of neurasthenia is an interesting example, more plausible than some, of the modern science of criticism through pathology.

A series of ecclesiastical biographies on the lines of the English Men of Letters, and emanating from the same publishing house, made a very promising start with the *Archbishop Laud* of Mr. A. S. Duncan-Jones, the *Thomas Arnold* of Mr. R. I. Campbell, and the *John Wesley* of Dr. W. H. Hutton; while the *Selected Letters of Baron von Hügel*, edited by Mr. Bernard Holland, were a revelation of the mind of a great Roman Catholic thinker, who, born in Italy of Austrian parentage, spent a large part of his life in England and had a marked influence on the Roman community in this country.

Much, as always, was written in theology, philosophy, and ethics, and in the debatable land between and around them. In *The Church in the World*, Dean Inge collected a series of essays in which, with the unemotional eloquence which makes all that he writes so effective, he reiterated his plea for a spiritual interpretation of life. *More Essays on Religion*, by the late Arthur Clutton-Brock, were the last fruit of a Bergsonian, undogmatic, and individual mind, and their burden was that "religion, very like art, must find its own expression in every age." In three books which formed a sort of trilogy—\* *Religion Without Revelation, I Believe in God*, and *The Religion of Catholics*—Professor Julian Huxley, Miss Maude Royden, and Father Ronald Knox respectively explained their reasons for the various faiths that are in them; while in *Reality: A New Correlation of Science and Religion*, Dr. Burnett Hillman Streeter sought with great eloquence to show that religion, apprehending life qualitatively, and science, apprehending it quantitatively, are both approaching the same ultimate truth, of which Christianity is the supreme symbol. Dr. Streeter, a theologian who is familiar with Bergson and Croce, Einstein, and Freud, has one of the finest and most lucid intelligences of our time. Mr. Edmond Holmes, in his *Self-Realisation: The Ends, the Aim, and the Way of Life*, expounded a perfectionist philosophy, "self," as he uses the term, being not what we are but what we may become, and its realisation consisting in the complete adjustment of the individual to his fellows and the universe. Mr. Bertrand Russell's \* *Outline of Philosophy* discussed various aspects of contemporary thought; and in *Character and the Conduct of Life* Professor W. McDougall attempted a practical application of the philosophy which in earlier books he has stated in general terms.

The Countess of Oxford assumed, in her *Lay Sermons*, the rôle of amateur moralist and discoursed, with her customary vivacity, on the art of living, interspersing her generalities with sketches of individuals, in which, though they were but of thumbnail size, she found room for the warts; and Mr. Aldous Huxley, deserting satire and fantasy—it is to be hoped not for good—wrote some *Proper Studies*, which were quite serious in tone; being in sum, a plea for a realistic, unsentimental psychology as a basis for the reform of social institutions. Mr John Galsworthy, in a small volume of essays entitled *Castles in Spain and Other Screeds*, discussed various problems of modern society in a vein of practical idealism.

There was a social implication in M. Maurice Maeterlinck's *Life of the White Ant*, for the Belgian poet saw in the complex social organisation of the termites, with its highly developed tyrannies, an ominous parallel to the present trend of human progress. But Viscount Grey, feeding his ducks at Falloden or listening to the warblers on the Downs, drew no such uncomfortable comparisons. *The Charm of Birds*, with its woodcuts by Mr. Robert Gibbings, was the work of a true nature-lover and a source of delight to all of kindred tastes.

The poetic harvest of 1927 was not very abundant. Both Mr. G. K. Chesterton and Mr. Robert Graves collected their poetry. With Mr. Chesterton the writing of verse is a *parergon* and much of his work in the medium is satirical or occasional, but he is none the less a true poet and the way in which he puts his wit and gift for paradox to the uses of religion is irresistibly reminiscent of that mediaeval *jongleur* turned monk who, feeling that he could best worship Our Lady by doing for her that in which he was most expert, was found performing acrobatics before her altar. The chronological arrangement of Mr. Robert Graves's poems, written between 1914 and 1926, revealed a development from rather an affected simplicity to a rich complexity. Mr. Graves' varied output also included a short book on the ballad, in which the very questionable theory of communal origin was maintained, and, in collaboration with Miss Laura Riding, a *Survey of Modernist Poetry* which expounded an original and not very easily comprehended aesthetic.

All the Sitwells, Edith with *Rustic Elegies*, Osbert with *England Reclaimed*, and Sacheverell with the *Cyder Feast*, appreciably advanced their reputations and showed conclusively that, for all their aggressive individualism, they are to be regarded as poets and not *poseurs*. Incidentally these books marked a stage in their differentiation. Mr. Humbert Wolfe's philosophical *Requiem* was much praised, but it has yet to be established that the daintier metaphysic and clearer colouring of his earlier works is not better suited to his genius. Mr. Frank Kendon's *A Life and Death of Judas Iscariot* was a finely imagined character study in dignified blank verse; *The City* of Miss Ruth Manning Sanders, a simple story, in the tradition of English narrative verse and containing many passages of quiet beauty, with Christ for protagonist; and the *Babel* of Mr. I. Redwood Anderson, an ambitious and interesting, if not completely successful, attempt to weld poetry with metaphysics. The philosophical and religious preoccupations of so many of the more promising of our newer poets is

worth noting. In *Pelagea, and Other Poems* by Mr. A. E. Coppard, one of the best contemporary writers of short stories, there was a good deal of charm somewhat marred by too conscious a striving after unusual effects. Mr. Walter de la Mare showed himself in frivolous mood, and his *Stuff and Nonsense* was a delightful mingling of extravagant fun and his own peculiar magic. The *Reliquiw* of Dr. A. D. Godley, edited by Mr. C. R. L. Fletcher, contained, among other things, some charming examples of the art of that accomplished Oxford parodist.

In the field of drama there was not much to report. Many of the successes of the London stage were given book-form. Mr. John Masefield, following in the footsteps of Mr. Thomas Hardy and Mr. Arthur Symons, wrote a play in verse on the theme of *Tristan and Isolt*. Mr. Herbert Edward Palmer made an ambitious attempt to put the tragic life-story of a great poet and a deplorable citizen into a "pageant-episode play," *The Judgment of Francois Villon* (Chatto & Windus) and \* *All at Sea*, by Mr. Osbert and Mr. Sacheverell Sit well, was a deliberately provocative skit on modern manners. *Three Plays by William Archer* was chiefly interesting for the introduction by Mr. Bernard Shaw; the plays themselves being conscientious pieces of craftsmanship too obviously written in accordance with a theory.

Among the novels two first efforts stood out, though one of them was by no means its author's first book. Mr. H. M. Tomlinson's studies of places, people, and the sea have won him a high reputation for their distinction of style, and a collection of such essays, *Gifts of Fortune*, published in the course of the year, contained work as good as any he has done. In \* *Gallion's Reach* he showed that he could put his genius for atmospheric impressionism most effectively to the uses of fiction. *Dusty Answer*, with which Miss Rosamund Lehmann entered the crowded lists, was an acutely observed and delicately rendered story of a girl's progress to disillusionment among the relationships which the post-war rejection of reticences and taboos has made at once more simple and more complicated. To turn to novelists of established reputation, Mr. H. G. Wells wove a story, \* *Meanwhile*, round the great strike of 1926, which, though not one of his major works, was entertaining and provocative. Mr. Hilaire Belloc gibbeted politicians, journalists, and commercial peers in *Siccum*, a high-spirited farce with appropriate illustrations by Mr. G. K. Chesterton. Mr. John Masefield's *The Midnight Folk* was a very fantastic relation of the adventures in search of a hidden treasure of a small boy who was descended from Sard Harker. In *The Gillinghams*, a rather self-consciously simple tale of a family of children, Miss May Sinclair was hardly at her fine best; but in the *Portrait of Clare*, a long, grave, slowly-moving chronicle of a woman's life, Mr. Francis Brett Young achieved a notable success.

Mr. Hugh Walpole, in *Jeremy at Crale*, continued the history of a favourite character of his, and drew a realistic picture of the public school life of a generation ago. Miss Anne Douglas Sedgwick's *The Old Countess* displayed a delicate handling of contrasted characters and an intimate knowledge of two societies. Mr. C. E. Montague's fantastic but very **real** **parable**, \* *Right off the Map*, was one of the most remarkable books of the

year; while in *Tinker's Leave* Mr. Maurice Baring produced an amusing book which was as much a travel-book as a novel.

Both Miss Romer Wilson and Miss F. Tennyson Jesse were represented among the productive novelists of the year; the former's "novelette," *Latter-Day Symphony*, being a brilliant if over-coloured sketch of hectic post-war society, and the latter's *Moonraker : or The Female Pirate and her Friends*, a clever *pastiche*, with some fine passages of description, centering in the Island of San Domingo in the days of Toussaint l'Ouverture : a charming little book, but not to be taken so seriously as her magnificent *Tom Fool* of the previous year. In *The Way Things Are* Miss E. M. Delafield was rather too insistently satirical at the expense of human futility ; while another distinguished woman novelist, Mrs. Virginia Woolf, pursued her lonely way as an experimenter in method. Like all her books, *To the Lighthouse* was at once attractive and baffling.

Perhaps it was too much to expect Miss Margaret Kennedy to repeat the astounding success of *The Constant Nymph*. But *Red Sky at Morning*, if it lacked the peculiar fascination of the earlier book, with which indeed it offered few points for comparison, was a study in inherited passion very competently executed and both subtle and interesting. Miss Sylvia Townsend Warner's \* *Mr. Fortune's Maggot* had the mingling of humanity, humour, and fantastic charm which distinguished *Lolly Willowses*. In *Pilgrims* Miss Ethel Mannin delved convincingly into the soul of the modern artist; Miss Mary Borden's *Flamingo* was a dazzlingly rapid representation of contemporary New York; and another American story of no little interest was Miss Frances Newman's penetrating and satirical analysis of a particular type of feminine mind, \* *The Hard-boiled Virgin*. In *Folly's Handbook* Mrs. Mary Agnes Hamilton made a fresh statement of the old problem of the absorbed artist's reactions to the more ordinary human urgencies ; while in Miss Myrtle Johnson's \* *Hanging Johnny* a really original theme was treated with considerable effectiveness.

Mr. Sinclair Lewis's \* *Elmer Gantry* was another of his vigorous indictments of the less savoury side of American life. Mr. Robert Keable, whose premature death in Tahiti was reported in the last days of the year, gave, in *Lighten Our Darkness*, a new variation of his favourite theme, the priest turned pagan. Mr. R. H. Mottram, on the other hand, broke entirely new ground with \* *Our Mr. Dormer*, a peaceful, slow-moving story of three generations; while Mr. David Garnett's \* *Go She Must* was appreciably nearer realism than his earlier books.

Two novels came from Mr. Louis Golding, one of them *Store of Ladies*, relating the adventures of a young pugilist in a pleasantly comic vein; the other, \* *The Miracle Boy*, a serious study of a modern manifestation of supernatural power. \* *Uncle Tom Pudd* added to the reputation of Mr. Laurence Houseman, and in \* *The Bridge of San Luis Bey*, Mr. Thornton Welder furnished the reading public with a first-rate novel which received wide appreciation. Mr. Patrick Miller's *The Deep End* was a meticulously minute analysis of a perfectly normal human relationship, and Mr. John Erskine's *Galahad* a convincing rationalisation of legend. In *The Ugly Duchess* Herr Feuchtwanger, while not achieving such a masterpiece as

*Jew Suss*, told a grim and vivid story of the Middle Ages with a wealth of studied detail.

While Mr. Arnold Bennett's volume of short stories, *The Woman Who Stole Everything*, was not a very important addition to his bibliography, the return of Mr. Cunninghame Graham, after a long silence, with his *Redeemed, and Other Sketches*, was a very welcome event. For Mr. Graham, in his brilliant impressionistic way, writes with a distinction which few of his contemporaries can rival. Mr. Laurence Houseman's *Ironical Tales* were a series of delicately wrought fairy stories with a moral. In *The Wild Body* (Chatto & Windus), Mr. Wyndham Lewis, futurist painter turned futurist writer, gave full play to his emphatic individualism.

A fair crop of new periodicals appeared in the course of the year. The *Adelphi* became the *New Adelphi* and a quarterly instead of a monthly; being still edited by Mr. John Middleton Murry and preserving its old atmosphere. Mr. Wyndham Lewis started a militant "review of art and literature," *The Enemy*; and a more popular literary review, *Books Illustrated*, also made its appearance. *The Jongleur*, "a quarterly sheaf of verses," mostly of North Country origin, hailed from Bradford under the editorship of Miss Alberta Vickridge. The Wizard of the North was given, what Dickens has long had, an organ of his own, *The Sir Walter Scott Quarterly*, edited by Mr. W. Forbes Gray. *The Countryman*, another quarterly, edited by Mr. I. W. Eobertson Scott, was intended to deal with all aspects of rural life, on which so much attention is at present focussed. *Air*, edited by Brigadier P. R. C. Groves, C.B., *Library Reviews: A Popular Magazine on Libraries and Literature*, edited by Mr. Robert D. Macleod, *The Economic History Review*, edited by Mr. E. Lipson and Mr. R. H. Tawney, *The Amateur Artist and Collector*, edited by Mr. W. Dodgson Bowman, and *Antiquity: A Quarterly Review of Archæology*, edited by Mr. O. G. S. Crawford, are titles which explain themselves. The museum at South Kensington started a *Natural History Magazine* on the lines, *mutatis mutandis*, of the *British Museum Quarterly*; and from the Royal Colonial Institute came the first numbers of *Overseas Official Publications*, a quarterly bulletin of such publications issued in or relating to all parts of the Empire.

Of the above books the following have been deemed suitable for special notice; they are given in the order in which they happen to appear in the General Survey:—

#### GENERAL LITERATURE.

**The World Crisis, 1916-1918, Parts I. and II., by the Rt. Hon. Winston S. Churchill** (Thornton Butterworth).—Mr. Churchill is a born fighter, with the pen if not with the sword. His book is in essence a pamphlet in defence of his theory of how the war might have been brought to an earlier and more satisfactory conclusion than it actually was, and he



defends by attacking, the objects of his attack being nearly all the prominent leaders, English and French, and particularly Joffre. He is of the frankly stated opinion that " without exception all the great ally offensives of 1915, 1916, and 1917 " were " needless and wrongly conceived operations of infinite cost." The burden of his complaint, of course, is the concentration of energy on the Western front. He is an unrepentant Easterner, and still regards the Dardanelles as the key to the situation, which a more resolute hand might have turned. Mr. Churchill is a vigorous and eloquent writer, and he supports his arguments with an imposing array of facts and figures. That many of these have been called in question by experts goes without saying, and it will probably be many a day before controversy over the points which he has so provocatively raised will die down. But whatever final judgment history may record of his opinions, his books will long be enjoyed and read for their admirable style.

**Europe in the Nineteenth Century (1789-1914)**, by A. I. Grant and Harold Temperley (Longmans).—The authors of this valuable and very readable book concentrate principally on diplomatic relations. They write with a purpose which is not purely historical, being concerned to expose the faults of policy and temper which led to avoidable wars in the past, and thus point the way to a more secure establishment of European peace. Not that they indulge in prophecy, though they write of the possibilities of the League of Nations with temperate optimism. And merely as a survey of the international events of a century and a quarter the book, though there have been so many others on the same period, was well worth having. The tone throughout is admirably impartial. As an example of clear writing we may quote the chapters which tell the story of the rise and fall of Napoleon, or that setting forth the policy of Bismarck in Germany.

**Revolt in the Desert**, by T. E. Lawrence (Jonathan Cape).—There was so much preliminary talk about this book, the lost original manuscript, the re-writing and abridgment, and the elaborately printed and illustrated *Seven Pillars of Wisdom*, which so few were privileged to see ; and so much speculation about the mysterious and wayward character of its author, that its publication was eagerly awaited. Nor was anticipation disappointed. There was no anti-climax. The book when it came proved to be a truly remarkable one, both for matter and for manner, and to have stood in no need of sensational advertisement. There were adventures as heroic as the Arab revolt in the Great War, but about none was there such a glamour of the picturesque ; and the story lost nothing in its telling by the man who, with his unique knowledge of the country and of the ways and speech of its peoples, played so large a part in the fostering of it. Colonel Lawrence proved himself to be a brilliant writer. The dust and the heat of the desert becomes actual in his pages, and his portraits of the Arab chiefs are amazing in their vividness. The narrative sweeps on like an Arab charge. Of his own hardships Colonel Lawrence writes with a grim detachment, but his courage, endurance, and resource transpire from every page. Both for the interest it aroused and by reason of its own intrinsic merit, this was one of the great books of the year.

**Mother India**, by Katharine Mayo (Jonathan Cape).—This striking and terrible book aroused a storm of discussion in three continents at least, and ran through several editions. It was even asserted in the House of Commons (on November 22) that the book had resulted in creating in many quarters in this country a hostile feeling to India. Its author, an American, set out to perform a task which no Englishwoman, by reason of the place her nation holds in India, could fittingly attempt. She tore away the soiled and tattered veil with which Mother India seeks to cover her festering sores, and with the longing to heal and strengthen, ruthlessly exposed her uncleanness to the fresh air and the sunlight. The force of Miss Mayo's attack lies in its appeal to facts rather than to the arts of rhetoric and argument. She draws an imaginary line across India, from Bombay to Bengal, and dealing with the Hindu population south of that line produces a mass of indisputable evidence of the deplorable effect on these people of the common Hindu attitude to women and to the sex principle. She sets down in plain words the evils of child marriage and widowhood, and the lack of medical attention and training in the simplest laws of hygiene and sanitation; and cries aloud what English and Indian writers have dared but to whisper—that so long as Indian women are denied the right to develop mentally, physically, and morally, so long will Indians be regarded by the great world outside as an inferior race. It has for so many years been the fashion to trace the troubles of India to her English rulers, that it will startle many people to read Miss Mayo's blunt reminders of the social and educational work done by the Briton for the Indian in the face of Indian lethargy, indifference, and parsimony. Plain speaking may hurt, but it can also heal. If the educated Indian can be brought to the pitch of indignation which will brook no longer the evils which lay his country open to such ruthless criticism, Miss Mayo's book will have achieved its object.

**The Cambridge Ancient History: Volumes V. and VI.** (Cambridge University Press).—Of these two new volumes of a great undertaking, the first is one which will make the strongest appeal to readers outside the ranks of historical specialists. For it is concerned with the great age of Athenian civilisation, the age of Pericles and Socrates, and of the great sculptors and dramatic poets. The story is well told by a company of able historians, inspired by Professor Bury, whose death is a grievous loss to an undertaking for the inception of which he was largely responsible; and in chapter after chapter a tragedy unfolds itself as tremendous as any to be seen in the theatre of Æschylus and Sophocles. The pride and tyranny of Athens over-reaching themselves led to the Peloponnesian War and the shattering of her greatness. The sixth volume, opening with Athens prostrate and the Spartan hegemony established, tells the story of the rise of Macedon. Philip and Alexander stand out as the leading figures, as Pericles and Alcibiades did in the earlier. In both volumes adequate attention is paid to economic as well as to political questions, and there are good chapters on philosophy, literature, and art.

**Five Centuries of Religion: Volume n.: The Friars and the Deadweight of Tradition**, by G. G. Coulton (The Cambridge University

Press).—The commendation of Dr. Coulton's first volume (noted in the ANNUAL REGISTER for 1923) may be extended to the second. Again attention may be called to the author's attractive style, which holds the reader, to his ample documentation, and to the light he throws on aspects both of religious and economic life in the Middle Ages. Specialists may differ from Dr. Coulton on points of detail; the general reader cannot but derive instruction and entertainment from his picture of thirteenth century monasticism in which Jeshurun waxed fat and kicked, so that numerous complaints became loud concerning his conduct. The two chapters and the two appendices retailing these complaints are perhaps the most fascinating portions of the book. Dr. Coulton has decided opinions, and he expresses them boldly and clearly. His learning and his moral enthusiasm are amazing; both combine to endow his book with a freshness and attraction that are rare.

**Dictionary of National Biography (1912-21), edited by H. W. C. Davis and I. R. H. Weaver** (Oxford University Press).—This volume is not only a worthy continuation of what, by common consent, is the greatest of all biographical dictionaries, but is characterised by a new and very commendable departure in method. Both by Stephen and by Lee the dictionary was conceived as a book of fact rather than of criticism, and rigorous sparseness in comment was imposed on contributors. "No flowers by request" was, as some one wittily put it, the watchword; and this applied not only to the original volumes but to the supplements which dealt with men and women whose memories were still alive. The Regius Professor and his colleague have been less austere. They have, where possible, employed contributors who had an intimate acquaintance with their subjects, and have encouraged them to strike the personal note. Thus Sir Edmund Gosse writes of Lord Redesdale, Mr. Stephen Gwynn of John Redmond, Mr. Percy Lubbock of Henry James, Mr. Edward March of Rupert Brooke, Professor George Gordon of Andrew Lang, the late David Hogarth of Lord Cromer, and so on. The result is a book which is a mine not only of information, but of entertainment; for, as the names cited are sufficient to show, the contributors reach a high average of literary skill, and are in many instances men notable for wit.

**King Edward VII.: A Biography**, by Sir Sidney Lee, Volume II. (Macmillan).—Sir Sidney Lee concluded his first volume with the death of Queen Victoria. His second, therefore, is exclusively devoted to King Edward's reign of nine years. Sir Sidney did not live to complete his work, but he left his material in such order that Mr. S. F. Markham was able to do so on the lines which he had intended. The portrait of the King which this volume reveals does not differ in any essential from that with which all but the wilfully prejudiced have long been familiar; though it is of course reinforced with a good many details not previously made public. He was, by virtue of a personality at once genial and dignified, a power in European affairs. He will go down to history as the maker, with M. Delcasse, of the Anglo-French Entente, but impartial history will have to record that that achievement was no Machiavellian device for the isolation of Germany, but part of an honest attempt to induce a better

temper in Europe at large. The King's influence was greater in foreign affairs than at home. He was out of sympathy with advancing democracy, but could do nothing to check it. There is no doubt that the results of the 1906 election and its consequences were deeply felt blows.

**The Greville Diary**, including passages hitherto withheld from publication, edited by Philip Whitwell Wilson. Two volumes (Heinemann).—When Henry Reeve edited the diary of Charles Greville, the sardonic Clerk to the Privy Council, he with commendable (though in the eyes of Queen Victoria, insufficient) discretion omitted a good deal of material which he thought might give offence to people then living. That, however, was a long time ago, and there has been a growing feeling among historical students that the time has come when they might be allowed to have this important document in its entirety. Mr. Wilson's labours will hardly satisfy them. Instead of re-editing the whole diary, with the new matter in its proper place, he has given the new with a certain amount of the old to elucidate it, without any clear indication of which is which. Moreover, he has grouped the entries in chapters according to subjects, and not in chronological order, and has sought to enhance the attractions of his text with sensational headlines and somewhat facetious notes. All this is to be regretted. Nevertheless, his two volumes contain a great deal of interest and entertainment about the distinguished folk whom the diarist scanned with his keen and disillusioned eyes.

**Disraeli: A Picture of the Victorian Age**, by Andre\* Maurois (John Lane).—For M. Maurois, a satirist in love with the picturesque, Disraeli was a perfect subject, and among the many which during the last few years have been written on the great Jewish statesman, his book stands out for its brilliant and entertaining qualities. That M. Maurois has, for a foreigner, an extraordinary appreciation of English ways of thought and habits of life, whether in the present or the past, was of course well known. But here he had a subject, both in himself and in his setting, more complex and difficult than any he had previously attempted. The result is triumphantly successful. In the earlier chapters, when Disraeli is pursuing, in his own fantastic way, ambitions which were as much social as political, lounging away his time with Mrs. Norton at Storey's Gate or Lady Blessington at Kensington Gore, we are in the very atmosphere of the *Keepsakes* which Lady Blessington edited. But the struggles of the Middle period and the greatness and mystery of the closing years—the perfect courtier at Windsor, the inscrutable diplomat baffling Bismarck at Berlin—are equally well done. M. Maurois' brain is satirical, but his heart is sympathetic. His treatment of Mrs. Disraeli is charming. Mr. Hamish Miles has performed his task of translation admirably.

**James Bryce (Viscount Bryce of Dechmont, O.M.)**, by H. A. L. Fisher, two volumes (Macmillan), is a very large book, but the Warden of New College writes so well, often even with brilliance, that he carries one easily through its many pages. Besides, the author of *The Holy Roman Empire* and *The American Commonwealth* was a man of so many and such various activities that his biography called for spacious treatment. It is a very attractive picture that Mr. Fisher has drawn. We see the young

Ulster-born son of Scottish Covenanters coming to an Oxford still dominated by the Tractarian spirit, but where Jowett was already a leading influence ; learning humanism there and writing the famous prize essay by which at the age of twenty-six he gained an established place as a man of letters; continually enlarging the scope of his experience by incessant reading and world-wide travel; making the discovery that the United States were his spiritual home, the results of which were his most important book and his tenure of the Washington Embassy. Bryce was an admirable product of Victorian Liberalism and Victorian culture, a fine writer and a fine statesman. He lives again, in his proper environment, in Mr. Fisher's book, not the least of the virtues of which is that it emphasises the dreaming, almost mystical, strain which went with, and gave impetus to, Bryce's more practical qualities.

**Sulla the Fortunate: His Life and Times and their Bearing on the Problems Of To-Day**, by E. P. Baker (Murray), is something more than the biography of a great Roman. To quote the author, " Sulla faced most of the problems which a modern statesman has to face. He was familiar with the decay of religious faith, the failure of aristocracy, the rise of Bolshevism, the industrial revolution, and the power of international finance. He was accustomed to the modern woman ; he was an ardent playgoer ; he was involved in the problem of the ex-service man." This, then, is no mere contribution to history, but a " parallel " life in a sense more actual than Plutarch's. The comparison which Mr. Baker makes between his hero and certain modern statesmen, between the conditions of Sulla's Rome and of contemporary Europe, are interesting and instructive, even if one cannot help feeling at times that he is rather straining after the analogy. Apart, however, from its particular purpose, his book is a valuable contribution to history, well written and well documented. It brings the " Don Juan of politics," as Mommsen called Sulla, very much to life.

**Some People**, by Harold Nicholson (Constable).—Mr. Nicholson, distinguished alike as a biographer and a novelist, has invented a new *genre* which is neither the one nor the other. His book consists of a series of sketches, both the episodes and the characters in which are some imaginary and some actual. If the result is an anomaly, it is a very attractive one, for Mr. Nicholson is a skilful and witty writer, with a mastery of incisive characterisation. His sketches, therefore, have the merits of good stories, though it is probably for the gossip they contain about real celebrities that most people will turn to them. Perhaps the best thing in them is the portrait of Lord Curzon, who appears as a sympathetic and humorous if still an august figure. There is a delightful story of a too-indulgent marquess and a bibulous valet. Other famous men who are briefly and brightly sketched are Lord Balfour and Mr. Winston Churchill and Mr. Lloyd George, Signor Mussolini, M. Venizelos, and President Wilson. There is a vivid little miniature of Marcel Proust at the Peace Conference receptions, "looking like a Goanese bridegroom . . . very friendly, and ill, and amusing." Equally good are some of the portraits of lesser lights, such as the author's young colleagues in the Diplomatic Service, and of lights that never were.

**Leonardo the Florentine**, by Mrs. Rachel Annand Taylor (Richards Press), is more than a biography. It is an imaginative reconstruction of a wonderful age with one of its most wonderful figures set in the midst. In other words, Mrs. Taylor interprets her hero—and, contrary to modern fashion, her subject really is a hero to her—in the light of his reactions to his environment. That environment, the Italy of the Renaissance, with its many-sided life of artistic and intellectual and sensuous enjoyments, is brilliantly described. Mrs. Taylor's style is as richly coloured as her theme. But she is never, or very rarely, merely lyrical. She always keeps her purpose in view, the explanation of a fascinating but enigmatic personality. It is probable that Leonardo never will be explained to universal satisfaction. He was so many-sided, and included so many apparent contradictions. But, at any rate, in this book about him he stands out as a very real person.

**The Life of Benvenuto Cellini**, by R. H. H. Cust. Two volumes (The Navarre Society).—It is noteworthy that the life of Cellini should continue to attract readers, and this reprint, which appeared in the course of the year, was evidently intended for readers of taste and discrimination. The edition is limited to 1,500 copies, and deserves praise for a number of things. The type is clear, the paper a delight, and the binding worthy of an artistic production. Those who attach importance to the outward appearance of books will be content with these two volumes, and those who love beautiful illustrations will have reason to be satisfied with the reproductions of many specimens of Cellini's work.

**Religion without Revelation**, by I. S. Huxley (Benn).—It is surely a sign of the times that men and women are asking for information to enable them to understand their religious position. Books dealing with "orthodox" religions are legion. Mr. Huxley, however, handles an aspect of religion whose followers cannot compare in number with the adherents of the churches. Yet many people hold that Mr. Huxley expresses the highest religious spirit of to-day, a spirit which possibly heralds the religion of to-morrow. Though he releases himself from the bonds of tradition and from the trammels of creed and dogma, Mr. Huxley has written a religious book in the highest connotation of that word. On many questions about which the churches profess teaching of one kind or another—God, revelation, the hereafter—Mr. Huxley frankly confesses himself an agnostic—not one who denies, but simply one who does not know. Mr. Huxley is an advocate of reason; what cannot pass the test of reason he rejects. He understands with great comprehension that in the days of the infancy of the race a particular religious system should have been evolved. But he holds that "religion is an activity of man which suffers change like all other activities," and that therefore man should work out for himself a religion in accord with his mental and spiritual growth. To this end Mr. Huxley has written his book, and he has written it with reverence, insight, and sweet reasonableness. It is the book of a thinker for thinking people.

**An Outline of Philosophy**, by Bertrand Russell (Allen & Unwin).—Mr. Russell has the virtues, none too common in philosophers, of lucidity

and wit. His book, therefore, is as pleasant to read as it is informative and thought-provoking ; it forms an excellent introduction to its subject. Most of the main currents of modern philosophical thought are dealt with, such as relativity, the quantum theory, and neutral monism, but Mr. Russell is much more expansive and detailed in some cases than in others. He has most to say about behaviourism, the theory of which Doctor John Watson is the protagonist. According to the behaviourists there are no such things as mental habits; all habits are bodily in origin. Nor have visual or auditory images any real existence : they are merely the objectification of incipient speech movements. Mr. Russell gives more attention to this curious doctrine than many people will think it deserves. He even admits that Dr. Watson and those who follow him have along certain lines rendered substantial services to the cause of philosophic truth. But the theory as a whole he blows into the air in a way as witty as it is convincing.

**All at Sea**, by Osbert and Sacheverell Sitwell (Duckworth).—This volume is reminiscent at the first glance of the plays of Shaw : eighty-five pages of text are prefaced with over one hundred of introduction. This is from the pen of Osbert Sitwell, and is entitled " A Few Days in an Author's Life." It comprises some pages of family autobiography; a vivid sketch of a quarrel with a Mr. X., a critic (this name being the only conventional thing in the volume); a detailed account of a controversy with Mr. Archibald de Bear over the broadcasting of a Sitwell production ; a critique on the English stage of to-day, with sidelights upon the Emperor Nero. This leads up to the play itself, " All at Sea : A Social Tragedy in three acts: for first-class passengers only." As the authors explain, it is " an attempt to disarm the English distrust of anything approaching intelligence or modernity by presenting a satire on current silliness so near to that silliness itself that the silly would feel at home with it." As the name dimly suggests (but the ambiguity is intentional) the action takes place on a trans-oceanic liner, as being the most characteristic production of our age. Two of the three acts, moreover, are staged in its *sanctum sanctorum*, the cocktail bar. The second is diversified by a typical cabaret scene, performed entirely by the people who ought to be watching it. In the setting, we are introduced to Lady Beryl Flinteye, " an indefatigable hostess, social climber, and lion tamer : highly principled," who turns out ultimately to know none of the exalted persons of whom she has been speaking; Mr. Jameson, a typical " Britisher," with a genius for saying the obvious thing at the wrong time; his daughter Marguerite, an enthusiast on psycho-analysis; Mrs. Corisande Shubert, American counterpart to Lady Flinteye ; Peter Leach, her former husband ; and above all Lulu, the cocktail-shaker, about whom a large part of the action revolves. The " stunts" which are vitiating modern life are ridiculed one by one, but (it must be admitted with shame and regret) the picture approaches in many instances nearer portraiture than caricature. The dialogue is in parts excruciatingly funny, though occasionally somewhat overdone. As a satire, the play may do good work. But modern skin is thick, and there is a danger that it may set a fashion.

## FICTION.

**Gallion's Reach**, by H. M. Tomlinson (Heinemann).—Now that he has turned novelist, his knowledge of tropic lands and of the waterways of the world, and his wonderful gift of evoking their atmosphere, have stood Mr. Tomlinson in good stead. The plot of *Gallion's Reach* is its least important feature. Jim Colet, a London shipping clerk, knocks his employer down and runs away to sea. The ship in which he is acting purser is wrecked in the Indian Ocean. Jim is rescued and landed on the Malay Peninsula, where he wanders in the jungle, hunting for tin. That is the outline of a very simple story of adventure, but it gives Mr. Tomlinson the opportunity of painting a series of magnificent pictures in the manner which has made his travel books famous: pictures of the misted Thames as the *Altair* slips slowly past the wharves, of storm on the high seas, of the teaming and mysterious jungle. But he is not a landscape artist only. He has a keen eye for character, and the book is full of contrasted figures vividly realised. The impression that the book leaves on the reader is that he has been living in a world of various life, human and non-human, animal, vegetable, mineral, and elemental—an opulent and often sinister world. It is a masterpiece of vitality and beauty.

**Meanwhile: The Picture of a Lady**, by H. G. Wells (Benn).—The lady in question is Mrs. Rylands, wife of a young coalowner with a villa on the Italian Riviera, where the scene of this very Wellsian story is laid. She is a very talkative young woman and discusses (and makes notes in little green books upon) all things on earth or in heaven—or all things which interest her portraitist, which comes to much the same thing. Her chief interlocutor is one Mr. Sempack, voluble advocate of the "one world State and one world Business." The necessary amatory interest is provided by Philip Rylands' sudden surrender to the charms of "Puppy" Ciarges. This rather upsets the philosophy of Mrs. Rylands, but, on the intervention of Mr. Sempack, the contrite sinner, who really adores his wife, is forgiven. He goes to England, where the general strike of 1926 is in progress. To express his own views on that unfortunate affair, which are not at all complimentary to the Government, was Mr. Wells's object in writing this book. The rest is merely setting, and includes, besides Philip's affair with "Puppy," a flutter between Mr. Sempack and the beautiful Lady Catherine, and the rescue by Mrs. Rylands of an anti-Fascist ex-minister in flight. These incidents are managed with Mr. Wells's usual skill, and are quite entertaining. But most of the ideas in the book are trite from frequent previous statement.

**Right off the Map**, by C. E. Montague (Chatto & Windus), is the fantastic story of a war between two imaginary South American republics, Ria and Porta, the first inhabited entirely by English, the second by a mixed population of Americans, Germans, English, and Dutch. The war arises from a dispute over gold discovered on an imperfectly defined frontier, and the Portans win; but the theme of the story is Ria in war-time, and especially the handful of men who direct the policy and destiny of that State. Chief among these is the editor of *The Voice*, the principal



local newspaper. He is a fine orator, but a man without convictions, swayed hither and thither by the will of others, and especially of his wife, whom he adores, and who, bored by the unexciting provincialism of Ria, welcomes the war as a new sensation. There are also a jingo bishop and a dishonest industrial magnate, who, having been the chief agent in bringing about the war, supplies the army with inefficient boots. Contrasted with these deplorable people are the simple, honest soldiers whom they send to inevitable death and defeat. The satirical application of all this is obvious, and might even be tedious in other hands than Mr. Montague's. But Mr. Montague's skill in management, the distinction of his style, and his powers of description, make it notable and delightful.

**Mr, Fortune's Maggot**, by Sylvia Townsend Warner (Chatto & Windus).—The author of *Lolly Willowes* has made the not very long step from witchcraft to heathendom. The Reverend Timothy Fortune was a Christian missionary, who felt himself called to undertake the conversion of the inhabitants of the remote Pacific island of Fanua, which no European ships ever visited. His mission was not very successful. The Fanuans were pleasant people who spent their time in song and dance, but they proved quite incapable of apprehending the Christian virtues. All, that is to say, except the boy Lueli. In him, at least, Mr. Fortune believed that he had made a real convert. " Day by day he unrolled such a display of the Christian virtues, was so gentle, so biddable, so deft to oblige, so willing to learn, that Mr. Fortune . . . had never beheld, he had never dreamed of such a conversion." But in the end it turned out that it was not Mr. Fortune's God whom Lueli worshipped. Then took place in the missionary's mind one of those conflicts, not between opposing codes of morality, but between the very fundamentals of religious belief, which have lately attracted more than one novelist, and Mr. Fortune gave up Fanua in despair and returned to the headquarters of his mission. In this story Miss Warner, though still in the borderlands of the fantastic, comes nearer to common humanity than in her first book, and her clear-cut, lucid style has grown richer and warmer.

**Hanging Johnny**, by Myrtle Johnston (Murray), has what is something of a rarity in modern fiction, a really original plot. John Cregan was a hangman by profession, but having been forced to put an end to the life of an innocent friend, he threw up his job and took to tramping. But having married a girl, the daughter of a village shopkeeper whom he met on his travels, and the pair of them having come near to starvation, he was driven back to his old trade. The interest of the story lies not so much in its incidents as in the characterisation of Cregan and his wife Anna. The hangman has a real and growing horror of the grim occupation which he is forced by circumstance to re-adopt, so that when for a second time he finds himself faced with the possibility of having to hang a friend, he very nearly goes out of his mind. Anna, on the other hand, an honest and matter-of-fact young woman, is quite incapable of understanding her husband's scruples and agonies of conscience. She considers the hanging of malefactors to be a very commendable business. Both these people are extremely well realised, and the story, for all its element of grotesqueness,

is quite convincing; which says much for Miss Johnston's literary ability.

**The Hard-Boiled Virgin**, by Frances Newman (Martin Seeker).—This is the story of the adolescent stage in the life of one Katharine Faraday, an American girl of good family, set out in a style Miss Newman has made peculiarly her own. Miss Newman succeeds in conveying to her reader the thoughts and feelings of her heroine by a subtle descriptive narrative, which runs smoothly from chapter to chapter, without a single paragraph. The quality of the style it is difficult to define. Miss Newman succeeds in vivifying scenes and adventures merely by describing them. Her sentences tend to be long: that is perhaps a characteristic of certain latter-day women novelists in America. But she does succeed in showing clearly, not Katharine herself, but all that goes on in her soul—her reaction to various admirers, her feelings of pleasure and pain, her expectations, her disappointments. Miss Newman may be said in this book to have given the thoughts and feelings of her heroine body and content, and to have led them in parade before her readers.

**Elmer Gantry**, by Sinclair Lewis (Jonathan Cape).—In this book Mr. Lewis shows himself an even more savage critic of his fellow countrymen than in *Babbitt* or *Main Street*. He does not allow his hero, if one may call him so, a single redeeming virtue. Elmer Gantry is brought up a Baptist, at Paris in Kansas, and educated at a denominational college. As a collegian he is already a frequenter of bars and houses of accommodation. Nevertheless, he is trained for and enters the ministry of his church. Having a gift for oratory, he becomes a popular preacher, and being a consummate hypocrite, he contrives to the end to impose on his congregation. But in reality he is a very monster of iniquity. He is financially dishonest and corrupt, a liar, a bully, and inveterate in the pursuit of women. His treatment of a girl whom he has seduced is abominable. Altogether he is what Alice would have called a very unpleasant character. He is, of course, only an individual. But there are indications that his creator intends him to be representative. At any rate, the book abounds in unedifying details as to the way in which churches are "run" in America. Since Mr. Lewis is obviously a sincere writer, it must be presumed that there is a measure of truth in his indictments. But if he has a case, he has ruined it by exaggeration. It is impossible to believe that things are as black as he has painted them.

**Our Mr. Dormer**, by R. H. Mottram (Chatto & Windus), is a very different kind of book from the trilogy of war tales by which its author made his name. Its atmosphere is one of profound peace, of the prosperity of Victorian England. It is the quiet, slow-moving chronicle of a country banking-house and, opening in the early years of the nineteenth century, covers a hundred years of time and three generations of men. Essentially it is a piece of history, an acutely observed study of changes in habits and manners and ideals. It is very effectively done, for Mr. Mottram's power of observation is very acute indeed. He has, in a high degree, the art of selecting the significant detail, so that, as one reads, that lost and plentiful England rises up before the mind's eye.

**Go She Must**, by David Garnett (Chatto & Windus).—It is Anne Dunnoek, daughter of a country parson of eccentric habits, who must go. And whither she must go is to Paris, where the son of the grocer of her native village is living and painting pictures. She marries his best friend, and eventually returns to Dry Coulter, where she finds her father's eccentricity developed into a delusion that the birds, among whom he is living in a vicarage from which all the windows have been removed, are angels. There the story ends abruptly, with no indication as to the further fate of its characters. It is to be presumed that Anne, being very much in love with her husband, and he with her, lives happily ever after. But the story does not matter so much as the manner of its telling and its incidental attractions. Mr. Garnett is a very deliberate craftsman. His style is polished and a little cold in its clarity. His descriptive passages are very carefully and very effectively wrought. In this book he is rather more of a realist than in its predecessors, but palpitating actuality is never his aim. He is a literary jeweller, and his gems are of fine water and their setting elegant.

**The Miracle Boy**, by Louis Golding (Knopf).—From Midrans, a village in the Austrian Tyrol, a peasant boy, Hugo Harpf, went to Munich to study the art of painting. Hitherto he had not been regarded as in any way remarkable, except that he had for companion a raven which was supposed (as ravens usually are) to be of enormous age, and was an object of some awe to the superstitious villagers. In Munich he discovered in himself miraculous powers. It was war-time, he was nearly starving, and he fed himself with bread from "phantasmal ovens" created in his own inner consciousness. He returned to Midrans and continued to exercise his gift, even raising the dead from their graves. He was taken both for Christ and for anti-Christ, and he suffered the fate of Christ on a Good Friday. The Resurrection which many pious folk expected did not take place. It is a curious story, effectively told, the narrator being a student who had come to Midrans in search of Etruscan remains, had wondered at the numerous carved and painted effigies of a young man with a raven on his shoulder and, though with much difficulty, had learned his strange and tragic history. By thus putting the story into the mouth of an educated and speculative man, Mr. Louis Golding has lifted it into the realm of the philosophical novel.

**Uncle Tom Pudd**, by Laurence Housman (Jonathan Cape).—Readers of the author's *Trimblerrigg* will find in this book no falling off in style or whimsicality. The story opens with the tale of a queer person's relations to his wife whom he has left because of temperamental differences, and as the story goes on, one wonders how this bizarre creation could ever be regarded as human at all. Yet the story is told with such art that it is impossible to regard Uncle Tom Pudd as anything else than an essentially human being seen through a distorting mirror which tells more than a faithful photograph could possibly tell, or rather dare to tell. Uncle Pudd's fatuous lying and criminal gaucheries border on the sublimely ridiculous. His actions and romancings are of the quintessence of human foolishness and almost win for him our affections and not a little of our pity. Uncle

Pudd belongs to those droles who come not from the mental home, but appear to have slipped into this waking world down a moonbeam from the larger lunacy. His delinquencies conjure up for us not the world of waking life but the realm of dream phantasy. And because the author's style cajoles you into this realm, you will believe it all knowing the while that you have only to rub your eyes to lose the illusion. But you are left with a chuckle, and a sense that even the dream was a delightful experience.

**The Bridge of San Luis Rey**, by Thornton Wilder (Longmans).—Mr. Wilder's book was undoubtedly one of the outstanding novels of the year. This it deserved to be, if only for the delicacy of its style and the originality of the story. The author's starting point is the breaking of the finest bridge in Peru on a certain day in July in the year 1714, whereby five travellers who were just then crossing it lost their lives. Of the lives of these five unfortunate travellers the book then proceeds to tell. There is the foolish-fond Marquesa de Montemayor and her maid Pepita; there are the two brothers Esteban and Manuel and their sad fate; there is Uncle Pio, most charming of all vagabonds; and there is Don Jaime, the illegitimate son of the Viceroy himself. Mr. Wilder has painted five clear pictures, in which the colours are perfectly blended, and in which the characters are most vividly alive. There are five principal characters, but their fortunes are intertwined, and in the story of their lives, their hates, and their heartaches, Mr. Wilder shows himself a skilful artist who knows how to charm and entertain.

# SCIENCE OF THE YEAR.

## THE BIOLOGICAL SCIENCES.

### I. HEREDITY AND EVOLUTION.

No outstanding discovery regarding human evolution was made during the year. Keith in his Presidential Address to the British Association discussed affirmatively " Darwin's Theory of Man's Descent " and Parsons (B.A. Sect. H) drew a picture of " the Englishman of the Future." Important books published during the year are : Elliott Smith, " Evolution of Man," second edition ; Baur, Fischer and Lenz, " Menschliche Erblchkeitslehre " ; Fleure, " Characters of the Human Skin in Relation to Questions of Race and Health " ; and Lundberg and Linders, " Racial Characters of the Swedish Nation."

In general genetics the year was important for the changing point of view which is becoming apparent—a marked tendency towards a physiological and dynamic interpretation of data.

In regard to the origin of species Wallin, in his volume " Symbioticism and the Origin of Species," emphasised the importance of mitochondrial symbiosis; Labbe\* (Ar. Zool. Expt.), studying the copepods of brackish waters, supported the " Age and Area " theory of Willis ; Borodin (Am. Nat.) supported Osborn (Am. Nat.) who regards " speciation " as a normal continuous and adaptive process occasionally disturbed by mutation ; Allan (Gen.) investigating New Zealand plant hybrids, Clausen (Ann. Bot.) studying the genus *Viola*, Huskins (l. of Gen.) researching on fatuoid oats, and Sorokin (Gen.) examining *Ranunculus acris* all supported Lotsy's view of the fundamental importance of hybridisation. Attention may be drawn to more general studies by Franz, " Ontogenie u. Phylogenie " ; Schussnig, " Die pflanzliche Zelle im Lichte der Phylogenie," and the volumes by Harms, " Korper u. Keimzellen."

On the more physiological aspect of genetics, Chittenden (Bib. Gen.) brought together the recent work on vegetative segregation ; Rasmussen (Hered.) studied genetically-changed linkage values in *Pisum* ; Timofeeff-Ressovsky (Gen.) threw light on the conditions of manifestation of qualities in relation to the mechanism and physiology of development and Ju-chi Li (Gen.) devised new methods which enabled him to study the effect of chromosome aberrations on development.

Detailed monographs were published by Ikeno (Bib. Gen.) on the " Rice Plant " and the " Plantaginaceae," by Lehmann and Schwemmle (Bib. Gen.) on " *Epilobium* " and by Bamber on " Domestic Cats." Timm (Hedwig) made a detailed anatomical comparison of *Pogonatum* hybrids.

Considerable attention was given to the genetics of sex. Crew (Q.R. Biol.) discussed the problems of abnormal sexuality in animals, and Domm and F. R. Lilhe (1. Expt. Zool.) showed, in relation to sex inversion in the fowl, that the cells follow embryonic determination throughout the entire series of transformations. Goldschmidt (Ergeb. d. Biol.) surveyed the problems of diploid and triploid intersexuality, Burgeff and Seybold (1. f. Bot.) applied with doubtful or negative results the Manoilov test to dioecious plants, Schaffner (Am. Nat.) concluded that maieness and femaleness in plants is conditioned on functional states, and Orton (1.M.B.A.) on the basis of sex change in the oyster, put forward a physiological interpretation of sex. Wettstein (Ergeb. d. Biol.) considered the problem of heteroploidy in plants.

Babcock and Clausen wrote a new edition of "Genetics in Relation to Agriculture," and Hertwig issued a volume "Abstammungslehre und neuere Biologie." But by far the outstanding book of the year was Goldschmidt's "Physiologische Theorie der Vererbung."

#### IT. ZOOLOGY.

In general zoology the following books were noteworthy: Alverdes, "Social Life in the Animal World"; Warren, "The Beaver"; Burrell, "The Platypus"; Collinge, "The Food of Some British Wild Birds"; Hachisuka, "Birds of Iceland"; Nicholson, "How Birds Live"; Pawlowsky, "Giftiere und ihre Giftigkeit"; Wundsch, "Die Arbeitsmethoden der Fischereibiologie"; Jenkins, "The Herring and the Herring Fisheries." Outstanding volumes on "Experimental Embryology" were written by Morgan and on "Generelle Anatomie der Wirbeltiere" by Ihle, Kampen, Nierstrasz, and Versluys.

Important contributions to knowledge of the lower vertebrates were those by Pearson (P.T. Roy. Soc.) on the "Skulls of Early Tertiary Suidae," by Jokl (Anat. Inst. Upsala) on the development of the reptilian eye, the "Check List of North American Amphibians and Reptiles" by Stejneger and Barbour, and the British Museum monograph on the sea snakes.

Numerous systematic contributions were made to entomology, amongst which the following were noteworthy: Schroder, "Handbuch der Entomologie"; Niisslin, "Forstinsektenkunde"; Tillyard, "The Insects of Australia and New Zealand"; Houlbert, "Thysanoures dermapteres et orthopteres de l'Europe"; British Museum, "Insects of Samoa"; Seguy, "Dipteres"; Donisthorpe, "British Ants"; Wheeler, "Ants of the Canary Islands"; Funkhouser, "Membracida\*." Of more biological interest were Payne's study (1. Morph.) on the freezing and survival of insects at low temperatures, the volumes by Bischofi on "Biologie der Hymenopteren" and by Baillon on "La teratologie des insectes" and the memoirs by Kennedy (1. Morph.) who considered the exoskeleton as a factor in limiting and directing the evolution of insects, by Walton (Am. Nat.) who considered that various groups of insects have evolved directly from polychaete worms and by Wheeler (Q.R. Biol.) who discussed the physiognomy of insects.

Noteworthy additions to knowledge of the lower invertebrates were contained in Kiikenthal and Krumbach, "Handbuch der Zoologie, Bd. III. "; Pilsbry and Bequaert, "The Aquatic Molluscs of the Belgian Congo "; Hale, "The Crustaceans of South Australia "; Favre, "Mollusques postglaciaires et actuels du Bassin de Geneve" (Mem. Soc. Phys. Gen.); Koehler, "Les Echinodermes des mers d'Europe "; Mortensen, "Echinoderms of the British Isles "; the memoirs by Johnstone and Frost on a Cirripede parasite of the dogfish (L'pool Memrs.), and by Cannon and Manton on the feeding mechanism of a Mysid crustacean (T. Roy. Soc. Edin.); Fauval, "Polychetes sedentaires "; Burfield, "Sagitta" (L.M.B.C. Mems.); Walton, "Revision of Nematodes in the Leidy Collection" (Pr. Ac. Nat. Sci. Phila.); ten Kate, "Das Fibrillensystem der Ciliaten" (Ar. f. Prot.); Hegner, "Host Parasite Relations between Man and His Intestinal Protozoa "; Meggitt, "The Cestodes of Mammals "; Sandon, "Protozoan Fauna of the Soil "; Hubault, "Contributions a l'etude des invertébrés torrenticoles" (Bull. Biol. Fr. Belg.); Scott, "Limnology of Searsville Lake" (Stanford Univ. Publ.); Bigelow, "Plankton of the Offshore Waters of the Gulf of Maine" (Wash. Doc), and Gran and Rund, "Planktonproduktion im Hurdals-See" (Vid. Ac. Oslo).

### III. ANIMAL PHYSIOLOGY.

Important volumes of physiological interest were, Hammond, "Physiology of Reproduction in the Cow "; Evans and Burr, "The Antisterility Vitamine (Fat Soluble "E"); Hogben, "Comparative Physiology of Internal Secretion "; Austin and Cullen, "Hydrogen-ion Concentration of the Blood in Health and Disease "; van Slyke, "Factors Affecting the Distribution of Electrolytes, Water and Gases in the Animal Body"; Linton, "Animal Nutrition and Veterinary Dietetics "; Clark, "Comparative Physiology of the Heart"; Fulton, "Muscular Contraction and the Reflex Control of Movement "; Pavlov, "Conditioned Reflexes "; Korschelt, "Regeneration und Transplantation "; Frohner, "Lehrbuch der Toxikologie für Tierärzte."

Noteworthy contributions were made to knowledge of the physiology of development. Branca (Ar. Zoo. Expt.) studied the placentation of the bats; McIntyre (T. Roy. Soc. Edin.), the development of the vascular system in the human embryo prior to the establishment of the heart, Hill (P.T. Roy. Soc.) added to our knowledge of the enteric plexuses particularly in their relation to gut movements; Johnson (P.T. Roy. Soc.) increased our understanding of colour perception by an ophthalmological examination of the comparative anatomy of the reptilian and amphibian eye; Ties (Austr. I. Expt. Biol. and Med. Sci.) questioned the adequacy of the conception of the neurone as the unit of conduction of the nervous system, and Burton-Cleland (Austr. I. Expt. Biol. and Med. Sci.) examined the blood of Australian aborigines, coming to the paradoxical conclusion that "according to the blood grouping the Australian native is ultra-European."

Cellular physiology received attention from Osterhout in his brochure, "Some Fundamental Problems of Cellular Physiology," and special attention

was paid to the Golgi apparatus by Jacobs (Ergeb. d. Biol.) who considered the general problem, and by Ludford (Proc. Roy. Soc.) who studied Golgi bodies in cells grown *in vitro*. A valuable research came from Pearl, Miner, and Parker (Am. Nat.), who showed that the density of the population has a definite, characteristic, and systematic effect on the duration of life of *Drosophila*. Tattersfield and Gimingham (Anns. App. Biol.) contributed further to toxicology, showing the present impossibility of correlating high insecticidal power with any one type of chemical structure or physical property.

## IV. BOTANY.

Contributions to botanical knowledge were particularly numerous during the year. Three important volumes on forestry appeared: Render, "Manual of Cultivated Trees and Shrubs Hardy in North America"; d'Alviella, "Histoire des bois et ffrêts de Belgique," and "American Forests and Forest Products," a statistical summary prepared by the United States Forest Service.

Many important floras were published. Relating to this country were Kirk's "British Garden Flora" and Druce's "Flora of Oxfordshire" and "Flora of Buckinghamshire." Foreign floras included Borg, "Flora of Malta"; Phillips, "Genera of South African Plants"; Hutchinson and Dalziel, "Flora of West Tropical Africa"; Slatter, "Palms of British India"; Laing and Blackwell, "Plants of New Zealand"; Lauterbach, "Flora of Papuasias" and Pepoon, "Flora of the Chicago Region." Attention may be drawn to studies in plant geography by Markgraf, "Pflanzengeographie von Mittelitalien," by Handel-Mazzetti, "Naturbilder aus Siidwest China" of which the scientific results appeared in Karsten and Schenck's "Vegetationsbilder," and by Henning and Winkler who produced several parts of "Die Pflanzen-Areale."

Numerous monographs on systematic botany and cognate issues appeared, of which perhaps the more important were the following: Watt, "Gossypium" (Kew Bull.); Brown, "Cotton"; Davis, "Citrus Growing in South Africa"; Millais, "Magnolias"; Sanders, "Orchid Guide"; Hitchcock, "Grasses of Ecuador, Peru, and Bolivia" (U.S. Nat. Herb.); van Slooten, "Dipterocarpaceae of Dutch East Indies" (Bull. Jard. Bot. Buitz.); Danser, "Polygonaceae of Dutch East Indies" (B.I.B. Buitz.); Schulz, "Cruciferae—*Draba* and *Erophila*" (Engler's Pflanzenr.); Woeff, "Umbelliferae" (Pflanzenr.); Payson, "Crypthantha" (Ann. Miss. Bot. Gard.); and Handel-Mazzetti, "Leontopodium" (Bei. z. Bot. Centr.).

In plant anatomy, etc., Saunders (Ann. Bot.) elucidated carpel polymorphism in the Rosaceae; Scharf (Linsbauer's Handb.) studied angiosperm embryology; Chiarugi (Nu. Gior. Bot. Ital.) made a comparative examination of the female gametophyte of angiosperms; Georgescu (Bot. Abhandl.) investigated fasciation; Kuster (Linsbauer's Handb.) described the anatomy of variegated leaves; Leeman (Bull. Soc. Bot. Gen.) investigated the secreting cells of *Asarum*; Bandulska (1. Linn. Soc.) compared the cuticles of recent and fossil Lauraceae, Gates *et al.* (Ann. Bott.) cleared



up obscurities in the cytology of *Oenothera*, Bowen (Biol. Bull.) investigated the neglected problems of the structural elements of the cytoplasm in plant cells, whilst Guillermond and Manganot in a series of papers (Rev. Gen. Bot.) reviewed cytological progress during 1910-25. Little progress was made in paleobotany, but Hirmer published volume one of his "Handbuch der Palaobotanik."

Many ecological contributions appeared. Popov (Bull. Univ. Tashkent) described the history of the desert flora of the old and new world, Keller (I. Ecol.) gave an account of the distribution of vegetation in the plains of European Russia, Cedergrutz (Acta. Bot. Fenn.) of the meadow vegetation of South Finland, Moore and Taylor (Brooklyn Memrs.) of the vegetation of Mount Desert Island, Maine, Tharp (Univ. Texas Bull.) of the vegetation of eastern Texas, and Fritsch (I. Ecol.) described the changes in the heath association on Hindhead Common from 1910-26. Bews (N.P.) in a series of papers formulated his views on the ecological evolution of the angiosperms and Turessen (Hered.) from a consideration of *Poa alpina* reorientated our attitude to the genecology of glacial relics. Cockayne and Allan (I. Ecol.) discussed the bearing of ecological studies in New Zealand on botanical taxonomic conceptions and procedure and opposed "the dangerous herbarium artificial method." Braun-Blanquet (Mem. Soc. Helv., Sci. Nat.), from a consideration of alpine zonation, showed that soil and vegetation undergo a parallel genetic development. Salisbury (P.T. Roy. Soc.) published an interesting paper on the causes and ecological significance of stomatal frequency with special reference to the woodland flora. McDougall wrote a general text-book of "Plant Ecology," and Weaver a volume on the "Root Development of Vegetable Crops."

Passing to plant physiology, attention may be drawn to Morton's "Okologie der assimilierenden Hohlenpflanzen." Stark (Ergeb. d. Biol.) considered the problems of plant response to light, Lyons translated Kostychev's book on "Plant Respiration," making this important Russian work available to English readers. Schantz and Piemeisel (I. Ag. Res) studied the water requirements of plants, and Zimmermann (Ergeb. d. Biol.) discussed their geo-reactions. Fitting (Jahr. Wiss. Bot.) contributed a lengthy memoir on the metabolism of *Vallisneria*; Kiesel (Ergeb. d. Biol.) considered the relation of urea, and Brenchley and Warrington (Ann. Bot.) that of boron to the growth of plants; a valuable review of work on plant pigments was contributed to Linsbauer's "Handbuch" by Mobius, and Barner and Helwig (Bibl. Bot.) published their researches on serological diagnosis in systematy. Hatton *et al.* (I. Pom.) added considerably to knowledge of the physiology of fruit production and tree propagation, and an important practical application of physiological research was that of Kidd, West, and Kidd (D.S.I.R.) on the gas storage of fruit. Attention may be drawn to the new edition of Wiesner's "Die Rohstoffe der Pflanzenreichs," edited by Kraus and Brehmer.

Little research on the ferns and mosses was published during the year, but of interest are the papers by Dopp (Hedwig) on the development of the prothalia of certain Polypodiaceae, of Williams (T. Roy. Soc. Edin.)

who showed that the Vittarieae must be placed with the Gymnogrammoid ferns, of Plantefol (Hedwig) who made a detailed biological study of *Hypnum triquetrum* and of Showalter (Ann. Bot.) who investigated fertilisation in certain liverworts.

Considerable attention was given to the algae and lichens. Bristol Roach (Ann. Bot.) and Oettli (Bull. Soc. Bot. Gen.) using pure cultural methods, increased our knowledge of the nutrition of the algae, and Wehrle (l. f. Bot.) gave an account of his researches on the relation of hydrogen-ion concentration to colonisation by algae. Kolbe issued an important memoir on the diatoms of brackish waters, and Boyer (Proc. Ac. Sc. Phila.) on "North American Diatomaceae"; Printz redescribed the chlorophyceae in "Engler and Prantl" and Fritsch published a noteworthy revision of West's "British Fresh-water Algae" and discussed (B.A. Sect. K.) some aspects of present-day investigations of protophyta. Neinburg contributed a valuable account of lichen anatomy to Linsbauer's "Handbuch," Zahlbruckner issued several parts of his "Catalogus lichenum universalis," and Goebel (Ann. Jard. Bot. Buitz.) published interesting observations on lichen biology.

Considerable additions were made to our knowledge of the fungi. Overholts (Ann. Miss. Bot. Gard.) monographed the genus *Pholiota* in the United States, Petrak and Sydow described the dark spored Sphseropsidaceae and the genus *Maerophoma*, Reinking and Wollenweber (Philip. l. Sci.) the tropical *Fusaria* and Thaxter (Mem. Am. Acad. Sci.) many new species of Labouleniales. Horder (l. f. Bot.) made a micrurgical study of certain Hymenomycetes throwing considerable light on the problem of the role of the nucleus and cytoplasm in cell division and development. Rice (Torr. Bot. Cl.) described the relations between rust haustoria and host cells. Extremely interesting papers derived from Wieben (Forsch. Geb. Pflkr.) who described copulation in the Exoascaceae, from Dickinson (Proc. Roy. Soc.) who demonstrated a kind of modified sexuality and segregation in pure cultures of Smut fungi, and from Craigie (Nat.) who showed at last the true function of the pycnia of Rust fungi. Soil Fungi received monographic attention from Gilman and Abbott (Iowa Coll. l. Sci.) and from Coker *et al.* (l. Elisha Mitchell Soc). Rayner wrote a valuable book on "Mycorrhiza" and Melin (Med. Stat. Skogsfr.) showed the varying development of mycorrhizal fungi of conifers in different forms of humus.

#### V. MICROBIOLOGY AND DISEASE.

Great attention was paid to this section of biology. Important researches on human and animal diseases were those of Gammel (Ar. Dermat.) on the etiology of Maduramycosis and Broc-Rousseu, Urbain and Barotte (Ann. Inst. Past.) on equine ringworms. Numerous researches appeared on the relation of fungi to plant disease, of which may be mentioned White's investigations (l. Ag. Res.) on tomato wilt and Blattny's papers (Rec. Inst. Rech. Tschech.) on downy mildew of hops. The following important volumes were published: Ross, "Die Pflanzengallen Mittel u. Nord

Europas " ; Heald, " Manual of Plant Disease " ; Morstatt, " Bibliographie der Pflanzenschutzliteratur " ; and " Krankheiten und Beschädigungen der Kulturpflanzen in der Jahren 1922-24," issued by the Biologische Reichsanstalt, Dahlem.

Virus diseases received intensive treatment. On the plant side McKinney (1. Ag. Res.) improved the technique of their study; raspberry viruses were investigated by Bennett (Mich. Ag. Ex. Sta.), potato viruses by Murphy (1. Ag. Ireland), and beet viruses by Boning (Forsch. Gcb. Pflkr.). Kenneth Smith (Ann. Appl. Biol.) published an important paper on insect carriers of mosaic disease of the potato. On the animal side Anigstein (Ar. f. Prot.) investigated the morphology and biology of *Rickettsia*, Rivers (1. Bact.) reviewed the whole question of filterable viruses, and the Ministry of Agriculture published a valuable report on foot-and-mouth disease.

Bacteriological knowledge had many additions. Haag (C. f. Bact.) described the saprophytic mycobacteria and De Jong (C. f. Bact.) the protamine bacteria. Link and Sharp (Bot. Gaz.) contributed valuably to the physiological genetics of this group, and Stewart published a noteworthy brochure on " Segregation and Autogamy in Bacteria." In " Documenta Microbiologica " Nowak issued beautiful microphotographs of bacteria, and Lehmann and Neumann revised their " Bakteriologie." Important volumes on bacterial diseases were Glasser, " Die Krankheiten des Schweines," Weber, " Die Krankheiten des Rindes," and many parts of a new edition of Kolle and Wassermann's " Handbuch der pathogenen Mikroorganismen."

Further aspects of microbiology were represented by Lindner's " Atlas der mikroskopischen Grundlagen der Garungskunde," Thaysen and Bunker's " Microbiology of Cellulose, Hemicelluloses, Pectin and Gums," Rege's important paper (Ann. Appl. Biol.) on the biochemical decomposition of cellulosic materials with special reference to the action of fungi, and an outstanding volume by Waksman on " Principles of Soil Microbiology." Here, too, belongs Vol. III. of Krause's " Encyklopadie der Mikroskopischen Technik."

#### VI. GENERAL.

Two books of general biological importance were Junk's " Tabulae Biologicae," and Hirsch's " Index Biologicorum."

Numerous conferences were held during the year. Of perhaps outstanding importance was the Imperial Agricultural Research Conference in London (October and November); but the following may also be recorded : Lister Centenary, London; Sixth International Congress of the History of Medicine, Leyden; First International Conference on Light in Medicine, Surgery, and Hygiene, London; World Population Conference, Geneva; First International Soil Science Congress, Washington; Tenth International Congress of Zoology, Budapest; Sixth International Congress of Genetics, Berlin; Fourth International Congress of Theoretical and Applied Limnology, Rome; Third International Conference on the Protection of Migratory Wild Fowl, London.

Several new journals were initiated, among which may be mentioned the *Journal of the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research in Australia and Forestry*, the organ of the Society of Foresters of Great Britain.

New botanical laboratories were opened at the University of Sydney, Australia; new botanical and zoological laboratories at the University of Birmingham; and experimental glasshouses for plant pathology were completed at the Rothamsted Experimental Station. New Reptile Houses were opened at the London Zoological Gardens.

#### THE PHYSICAL SCIENCES.

Public interest in the physical sciences in 1927 centred in the eclipse of the sun, which took place early in the morning of June 29. There was a great pilgrimage to the area of totality, which stretched across England from Rhyl to the Hartlepoons, and many parties of astronomical observers set up instruments for scientific observations during the eclipse. Unfortunately the weather conditions were most unfavourable, and the eclipse was visible only at a few places where gaps in the clouds occurred during the twenty-two seconds of totality. In London dark clouds and heavy rain obscured all traces of the eclipse phenomena. To those who saw it the most striking feature of the eclipse was the suddenness with which darkness set in and vanished at the beginning and end of totality, which occurred two seconds before the computed time.

The London-New York wireless telephone service was opened on January 7 and was extended during the year as far as San Francisco in the U.S.A., and to all the important towns in this country. A short-wave beam station for communication with Australia was opened on April 8, and, later, stations were opened for transmissions to and from South Africa and India. The success of the beam system was the cause of much concern to the cable companies.

The British Broadcasting Corporation ceased its transmissions from the Birmingham aerial and substituted high-power transmissions on a wave-length of 491\*8 metres from an experimental aerial at Daventry. This was the first step towards the replacement of the numerous existing low-power stations by a few high-power regional transmitters. Schemes for Empire broadcasts were discussed, and a high-power short-wave transmitter was installed at Chelmsford for this purpose. At least one broadcast from Sydney, Australia, was picked up at Keston and re-radiated very successfully to listeners in this country. Among the technical improvements made during the year were the introduction of the screened valve for high-frequency amplification and the application of H.F. amplification to short-wave receivers. Smoothing circuits to enable high-tension current to be taken direct from the electric light mains were coming into general use.

f The British Association met at Leeds on August 31, Sir Arthur Keith being President. Professor E. T. Whittaker, the President of Section A (mathematics and physics), chose as the title of his address " Outstanding

Problems in Relativity." He stated that Weyl's theory, which was the subject of much investigation during the period 1918-26, had been abandoned and a return made to the Riemannian geometry of space-time. He considered that general relativity is best expressed in terms of Hilbert's minimum principle, *i.e.*, that gravitation acts so as to make the total curvature of space-time a minimum. Dr. N. V. Sidgwick, President of Section B (chemistry), discussed Werner's co-ordination compounds and the theory of valency.

Mr. G. Buckston Browne offered Downe House, Downe, Kent, Charles Darwin's old home, to the Association, to hold in trust for the nation, together with a sum of 15,000l. as a maintenance endowment. Unable, under the present constitution, to hold property, the Association decided to apply for a Royal Charter, and Mr. A. A. Campbell Swinton offered to bear the cost of this application.

Sir Alfred Mond was elected to succeed Lord Askwith as President of the British Science Guild.

The bi-centenary of the death of Sir Isaac Newton was commemorated at Grantham on March 18-20. The centenary of the death of Volta was commemorated on an imposing scale in Italy. A Volta centenary exhibition at Como was opened by the King of Italy on May 28, and continued open until October. International congresses of physics and electrotechnics were organised, and a great national commemoration was held in Rome, on September 19. The physical conference lasted five days and was so successful that it was decided that similar meetings should be held in future years.

The jubilee of the formation of the Institute of Chemistry occurred on October 1. Its membership roll included 5300 fellows and associates and 800 students.

Among the important international congresses held during the year were the International Union of Geodesy and Geophysics, at Prague; the International Commission for the Exploration of the Upper Air, at Leipzig, and the International Congress of Soil Science, at Washington. The Empire Mining and Metallurgical Congress, held in Canada during the months of August and September, devoted itself to a discussion of the mineral resources of the Empire, and served to emphasise the extraordinary mineral wealth of Canada.

The new experimental station of the Safety-in-Mines Research Board, built on a site at Harpur Hill, Buxton, was formally opened on June 14. It is equipped with steel galleries for tests on the explosion of coal dust and fire damp, and buildings for research on coal-mining explosives **and** gob fires.

The new and splendidly equipped Physics building at the University of Bristol was opened by Sir E. Rutherford on October 21. The building was provided by donations, amounting to 200,000l., given for the purpose by Mr. H. H. Wills in the years 1919-20.

The most interesting paper written during the year was that contributed by Professor R. W. Wood and Mr. A. L. Loomis to the September issue of the *Philosophical Magazine*, **and** entitled "The Physical **and**

Biological Effects of High-frequency Sound Waves of Great Intensity." The waves were obtained by making use of the piezo-electric properties of quartz. A quartz plate, about 0.5 inch thick, was placed on a sheet of lead which formed one plate of a condenser. The other plate of the condenser was a thin sheet of brass laid on top of the quartz, and the whole condenser was immersed in an oil bath. Electrical oscillations from a two-kilowatt oscillator were then set up across the two metal plates, and, with suitable tuning, the quartz plate was set into violent mechanical oscillation, the frequency being of the order of 500,000 cycles per second. The oscillation of the quartz sets up waves in the oil, and these waves, striking the free surface of the oil, raised it into a mound, 7 cm. high, from which a fountain of oil drops were projected, some to an elevation of 30 or 40 cm. The waves in the oil could be transmitted to glass tubes, rods, or threads dipping into it which are set into transverse vibration. The pounding of the end of a glass thread a metre long and 0.2 mm. in diameter was sufficient to sear the fingers. When the waves were transmitted along a glass tube tapering at one end, this end burned its way through pine wood held against it, and even drilled a hole in a glass plate, throwing off minute globules of molten glass as it did so. Many remarkable chemical and biological effects were obtained, and it is probable that an entirely new field of experimental work has been discovered.

The chief interest in mathematical physics was to be found in the attempts made to develop a formal mechanics suited to the description of atomic phenomena. Two very different lines of attack were employed, and it was a matter of much satisfaction that they should have led to identical results. The system, known as *wave mechanics*, originated in a paper by de Broglie in 1924 (*Phil. Mag.*), and has been developed by Schrodinger and others. In it the electron is regarded merely as the focus of a group of phase waves which, in the atom, where the focus is ill-defined, loses its individuality altogether (Schott, *Nature*). The *matrix theory* was formulated by Heisenberg in 1925, and has since been developed by its originator, Born, Jordan, Dirac and Pauli. It represents an attempt to re-formulate the equations of mechanics in terms of quantities which can be directly related to an observable property of an atom. The matrix form arises from the fact that an atom can only be described by coefficients which are functions of two states. Mathematically, these theories have been extraordinarily successful in explaining, e.g., the complex spectra of hydrogen and helium and the Compton effect. Physically they are less satisfactory for they require us to give up altogether the idea of forming a pictorial representation of atomic structure, and they probably represent only a phase of the development of atomic theory. Planck (*l. Frank. Inst.*) expressed the opinion that the problem as to whether quanta have any physical reality, and whether the validity of Maxwell's electrodynamics can be preserved, will only be solved when corpuscular and wave physics are both included in a wider scheme. A mathematical account of these theories was given by Richardson in his presidential address to the Physical Society (*Proc. Phys. Soc.*, April).

Rutherford continued his attack on the problem of the structure of the

atomic nucleus (Guthrie Lecture and *Phil. Mag.*), He put forward experimental evidence for the hypothesis that " the nucleus of a heavy atom has certain well-defined regions in its structure. At the centre is a controlling charged nucleus of very small dimensions ( $1 \times 10^{12}$  cm.) surrounded, at a distance, by a number of neutral satellites describing quantum orbits controlled by the electric field from the central nucleus." The central small nucleus may be the same for a number of elements. The satellites may include neutral helium nuclei which, in radioactive elements, are ejected as  $\alpha$ -particles, losing in the process two electrons which revolve, at very high speed, round the centre,  $\gamma$ -rays may be emitted when one, or more, of the neutral satellites moves from one quantum orbit to another as the result of the escape of an  $\alpha$ - or a  $\beta$ -particle from the system.

Aston, in the Bakerian Lecture, described his new mass spectrograph, and dealt with the deviations of the atomic masses of isotopes from the whole number rule. This deviation varies in a continuous (as opposed to a periodic) manner from element to element; a fact which Aston considered to support Rutherford's theory of the structure of the nucleus. In August Aston announced that he had at last succeeded in finding the isotopes of lead. Their mass numbers proved to be 206, 207, 208, and, possibly, 209. The same experiments also indicated an additional isotope of mercury (196).

A controversy arose between Rutherford and Chadwick on the one hand and Pettersson and Kirsch and others, of Vienna, on the other, concerning the possibility of disintegrating carbon (and aluminium) atoms by the impact of  $\alpha$ -rays. Pettersson claimed that he and his co-workers had shown, by three different methods, that carbon emits hydrogen atoms when struck by  $\alpha$ -particles. This was denied by Rutherford, and he was supported in his views by Aston's work on the packing fraction of carbon. The question remained open at the end of the year.

Considerable progress was made in the production of high voltages. A cascade arrangement of transformers, erected by the General Electric Co. at Schenectady, yielded 2-8 million volts, and a plant for 6 million volts was in course of erection. Industrially such voltages are required for insulation tests; in the laboratory voltages greater than 8 million volts are urgently needed to provide swifter  $\alpha$ -particles than those emitted by Radium C, which are the fastest now available and possess an energy of 7-8 million electron volts. Coolidge devised a new type of cathode ray tube, and by means of it was able to project a stream of electrons possessing an energy equivalent to 900,000 electron volts through a metal window into the air. The emission thus obtained was equivalent to that given by 150 kilograms of radium. Very remarkable effects were observed, even at distances as great as 1 metre from the window, and further experiments are in progress.

Kapitza (*Proc. Roy. Soc.*) described the arrangements by which he had succeeded in obtaining a momentary magnetic field of the order of 320,000 gauss over a volume of 3 cc. A coil, specially constructed to resist the bursting forces imposed upon it, was connected to a special generator capable of an output of 72,000 amperes at 2,250 volts, i.e., 160,000 kilowatts,

of which 55,000 kilowatts were available for energising the magnetic field. So far only one-fifth of the available power of the generator has been used, and it is only allowed to pass a current for 1/100 second.

Dr. Smits of Amsterdam continued his work on the transmutation of lead into mercury (see ANNUAL REGISTER, 1926). He was driven to the conclusion that part, if not all, of the mercury obtained in the earlier experiments was originally present as an impurity in the carbon disulphide.

Experiments by Hevesy, in Copenhagen, showed that the radioactivity of potassium is due to its isotope of mass 41.

X-ray spectrometry continued to find fresh fields for its application, e.g., to the structure of colloid particles (B.A. Joint discussion between Sections A and B). Bernal (*l. Scien. Inst.*) detailed some of the recent improvements in technique, and Astbury (*Proc. Roy. Soc.*) described a simple method for determining the intensity distribution in X-ray photographs. The photograph is reproduced as a carbon print, and variations in the density of the image are measured by using it as a screen between a source of a-rays, a slit, and an a-ray electroscope.

An account of the experiments made in 1926 at Mt. Wilson by Michelson and Bowie to determine the velocity of light was published in the *Astrophysical Journal* (January). Their mean value for the velocity *in vacuo* was 299,796 kilometres per second. McLennan showed (*Proc. Roy. Soc.*) that the auroral green line A5577-35A occurs in pure oxygen, and is most intense at a pressure of 2 mm. of mercury. Its brightness is much enhanced by the presence of helium, neon, and argon. The particular change in the oxygen atom which causes the emission of this line was not determined. R. C. Johnson (*Phil. Trans.*) made a prolonged investigation of the swan spectrum of carbon, and concluded that the lines are due to an HC—CH molecule.

Evidence regarding the nature of the sun and stars is provided by their spectra, but, in the absence of self-luminosity, our knowledge of the nature of the exposed surface of the moon is much less definite. F. E. Wright (*Proc. Nat. Acad. Sci.*) endeavoured to obtain information on this point by comparing the polarisation of the solar rays reflected from the surface of the moon with that produced by reflection from terrestrial materials. He concluded that masses of ice, iron, and rock of small silica content are not exposed on the moon's surface, which probably consists of pumiceous substances rich in silica, quartz, porphyries and, possibly, granites. Simpson (*Proc. Roy. Soc.*) reconsidered his theory of the mechanism of the thunderstorm (namely, that drops of water broken up in the air retain a positive charge and leave the air negatively electrified) in the light of recent data and criticism, notably by Schonland and Craib in South Africa. He concluded that the theory, originally propounded in 1909, is in complete accord with observations and measurements made since that time. More data are required before the matter can be regarded as finally settled.

From observations on the strength of wireless signals, Appleton (*R. Inst.*) concluded that three ionised layers may exist at different heights in the atmosphere : (a) the so-called Heaviside layer, which is formed during the



daytime (when its height falls to c. 70 km.) and gradually disappears during the hours of darkness (height c. 120 km.), owing to the recombination of its ions; (6) a reflecting layer, at 250-350 km., which often becomes effective in the three hours preceding dawn when the Heaviside layer has almost disappeared; (c) a third layer, formed during the day, which causes attenuation of waves 400 metres but does not appreciably alter the height at which they are deviated downwards. In connection with (b) it was to be noted that Stormer described an aurora seen at Oslo whose height was between 300 and 500 km. instead of the usual 80-200 km. Observations on the strength of signals during magnetic storms showed that long-distance short-wave transmissions are seriously affected, while very long wave signals are strengthened.

P. E. Heyl (*Proc. Nat. Acad. Sci.*) made a new determination of the gravitational constant by the Cavendish method. He compared the times of swing of two 50 gm. platinum balls, fixed to the ends of a horizontal aluminium rod suspended from its centre by a tungsten filament, when two 66 kgm. steel cylinders were as near as possible ( $T = 29$  min.) and when they were removed ( $T = 34.5$  min.). The result obtained was  $6.664 \pm .002 \times 10^{-8}$  c.g.s. units.

McLennan and Niven (*Phil. Mag.*) made measurements of the electrical resistances of a number of metals at very low temperatures. They confirmed Onnes' results for lead and cadmium, *i.e.*, that super conductivity sets in at  $7.5^\circ$  K. and  $3.4^\circ$  K. respectively, and found that sodium, potassium, beryllium, rubidium, chromium, and thorium are not super conductors.

Toy, working for the British Photographic Association, brought forward experimental evidence for the hypothesis that the formation of the latent (undeveloped) image on a photographic plate involves the transfer of electrons from the bromine ions to the silver ions, metallic silver and free bromine being formed.

The theory of strong electrolytes was discussed by the Faraday Society in April. In 1912 Milner showed that, for dilute solutions, the change in freezing-point depression with dilution could be calculated by assuming the electrolyte to be completely dissociated if the electrical forces between the charged ions was taken into account. The idea was revived by Debye and Huckel in 1921. They assumed that each ion in a solution is surrounded by an "atmosphere" of ions of opposite sign. When such an ion moves (*e.g.*, owing to a potential gradient in the solution) its "atmosphere" attempts to follow it, but lags behind so that there is always an excess of ions of opposite sign in the rear of the moving ion. There is therefore a retarding force whose magnitude can be calculated by the methods of statistical mechanics. The calculation shows that the equivalent conductivity of the solution is a linear function of the square root of its concentration. This result was first obtained experimentally by Kohlrausch and has been credited with the possession of a considerable validity, but Ferguson and Vogel showed from experimental data that its application is, in fact, very restricted. Obviously the theory is in a very primitive state; it assumes that Stoke's law applies to the moving ions and entirely ignores any

effects due to the chemical affinities of the ions. The discussion served to emphasise the necessity for considering the electrical forces between the ions in any calculations concerned with electrolytes. The Faraday Society arranged another discussion, on Cohesion and Adhesion, in November.

The amalgamation of the most important firms engaged in the chemical industries in England to form Imperial Chemical Industries, Ltd., marked a new epoch in the development of chemistry in this country. A Research Council was set up to co-ordinate general industrial research and to act as a clearing-house for ideas. Imperial Chemical Industries, Ltd., has also made arrangements for the training of public school boys likely to develop into successful chemists. Among the assets of the Combine are the very important synthetic ammonia works at Billingham-on-Tees, and it is understood to be interested in a process for the production of oil and petrol from coal. In conjunction with the Department of Scientific and Industrial Research an elaborate plant for research on high-pressure gaseous combustion was erected at the Imperial College of Science, and a scheme for a two years' training of post-graduate students has been drawn up in connection with this new equipment.

## ART, DRAMA, CINEMA, AND MUSIC.

### I. ART.

A REMARKABLE exhibition of examples of Flemish and Belgian art, held at Burlington House in January and February, made the year 1927 memorable. It aroused extraordinary interest not only in London but in the country generally, and in this respect there has been nothing to approach it in England—not even the famous Manchester exhibition of 1857. When Sargent's pictures were placed on view at Burlington House in 1926 all previous records for attendance at a winter exhibition were broken. But the visitors who went to see the Sargents were less numerous than those who were drawn to the same galleries in 1927 by the works of the early Flemish masters, and their successors up to the days of Rubens and Van-dyck. The earliest pictures, chiefly of the fifteenth century, attracted most attention, and in Gallery 1, where many of the best of them were placed, locomotion was at times difficult, and there were frequently queues of people waiting their turn to examine the group of Van Eycks hanging on the southern wall. The examples shown in the exhibition covered roughly the period between 1400 and 1900, and two or three rooms were devoted to the works of modern Belgian artists, which naturally suffered by comparison with those of their great predecessors. The modern work, however, included some fine examples of the painting of Alfred Stevens.

The initiative of this wonderful exhibition was due to the Anglo-Belgian Union, founded to promote friendly intercourse between the two countries ; and the committee in Brussels which arranged the despatch of works of art to London, had the support and co-operation of the Belgian Government. Contributions were also received from the Austrian Government, the Louvre, the National Gallery, the Detroit Institute of Fine Arts, the National Gallery of Scotland, and the Fitzwilliam Museum ; as well as from numerous private collections in Great Britain, France, and America. The Royal Academy supported the exhibition not only by lending its galleries, but also by giving expert advice in the arrangement of the collection, which was entrusted to Sir Frank Dicksee, P.R.A., Sir George Frampton, R.A., Sir Cecil Harcourt-Smith, M. Hulin de Loo, M. Paul Lambotte, Mr. Campbell Dodgson, Mr. F. Ernest Jackson, and Sir Robert Witt, the last-named of whom contributed an interesting and well-informed introduction to the catalogue. The General Secretary to the exhibition was Mr. Maurice Brockwell.

The removal in March of the Flemish and Belgian pictures and sculptures was followed at the Academy by the reception of works intended for the summer exhibition. Nearly ten thousand paintings, drawings, models,

and examples of sculptors' work were submitted by outsiders to the judgment of the Council. Of these only three were accepted outright. More than two-thirds were rejected, and of the remainder, placed in the doubtful class, 1430 found places in the exhibition. Including the contributions of members the exhibited works numbered 1,698, an increase of 253 on 1926 ; when only a single line of pictures was hung in the principal room (the Third Gallery) to the intense disappointment of the unfortunate outsiders who were denied admission to the Academy in that year.

No works of any kind were purchased during the year for the Chantrey collection. Those sold at the exhibition included : " Paola and Francesca " (840l.), by Mr. Cadogan Cowper; " Nude " (350l.), by Mr. Spencer Watson; " Flowers and Lacquer " (400l.), by Mr. Russell FUnt; " The Weeping Venus " (800l.), by Mr. Glyn Philpot; " Sunset in Provence " (150l.); " A River in France " (200l.); and " The River Eure, France " (200l.), by Mr. Adrian Stokes ; " Isabella " (400l.), by Mr. W. W. Russell; " Before the Races " (315l.), by Mr. A. I. Munnings; " An Artist's Home " (225l.), by Mr. H. Davis Richter ; " Subiaco " (250l.), by Mr. Bertram Nicholls ; " Winter Evening " (157l. 10s.), by Mr. Arnesby Brown; " Looking on to Antibes from Cagnes, France " (300l.), by Sir H. Hughes Stanton; " The Pool between the Woods " (200l.), by Mr. Algernon Talmage; " Night-Venice " (400l.), by Mr. Terrick Williams; " The Burnham Restricted Yachts Racing off Ramsgate " (150l.), by Miss Alice Fanner; " Tying Watercress " (400l.), by Mr. H. H. La Thangue; " Tommy of Chelsea Green " (126l.), by Mr. Philip Connard ; " Sunrise " (120l.), and " Loch Hourn " (100l.), by Mr. Joseph Farquharson; " Jutland—the Fifth Battle Squadron, Windy Corner " (525l.), by Mr. Donald Maxwell; " Breakfast Time, Riva " (262l. 10a.), and " The Gardens, Riva " (131l. 5\*), by Mr. Harry Watson; " Jane Shore " (400l.), by Mr. Stephen Reid; " Gipsy " (300l.), by Mr. Alan Beeton; and " Morning " (315l.), by Mrs. Dod Procter. Several pictures, unpriced in the catalogue, were sold by Sir David Murray and others.

Mr. W. W. Russell, R.A., was elected Keeper of the Royal Academy in the place of Mr. Charles Sims, R.A., resigned. In December women artists were gratified by the election of one of their number, Mrs. Laura Knight, to an Associateship of the Royal Academy. Mrs. Knight is only the second painter of her sex who has been thus honoured; the first was Mrs. A. L. Swynnerton, elected in 1921. The other women members, Mary Moser and Angelica Kauffman were nominated as Royal Academicians by George the Third and therefore did not pass through the Associate stage.

The centenary of the death of Blake was marked by an interesting exhibition of his work held at the Burlington Fine Arts Club, but London passed unnoticed the bi-centenary of the birth of Gainsborough. Nor did Bath pay the artist any attention although Gainsborough worked for fourteen years in that city, which witnessed his development as a portrait painter. Sudbury, his birthplace, organised a " Gainsborough week " with becoming festivities, and placed on view a few pictures and some personal relics; but the only exhibition of Gainsborough's work in connexion with the bi-centenary was held at Ipswich, where he lived for about seven years

before settling in Bath. The collection of Gainsborough's work shown at Ipswich was interesting and valuable, but it was accompanied by too many works of other masters, who, it was claimed, had influenced this great and self-taught artist. The Gainsboroughs in the exhibition included the well-known landscape from the National Gallery, "The Watering Place," which Horace Walpole, when he saw it at the Academy in 1777, described as "the finest landscape painted in England, and equal to the great masters." The Duke of Portland lent his superb head of the notorious Mrs. Elliott ("Dally the Tall") who sat several times to Gainsborough; Lord Swaythling "The Harvest Waggon," which was given by the artist to his friend John Wiltshire, the great carrier between London and Bath, and Mayor of the last-mentioned city while Gainsborough lived within its boundaries; and Mr. Samuel Courtauld a sympathetic and beautiful bust portrait of Mrs. Gainsborough when a matron of about fifty. Mr. C. Gerald Agnew contributed the portrait of the founder of the firm of Christie; and Mr. D. H. Carstairs of New York a group by Gainsborough of himself, his wife, and his elder daughter Mary, which was of particular interest to Ipswich people as there is reason to believe that it was painted in the town, in the garden of Gainsborough's house in Foundation Street.

London exhibitions held during the year included, in addition to that of Blake's works mentioned above, one of Chinese paintings at the British Museum; of modern developments of pottery at the Victoria and Albert Museum; and of paintings by the French Impressionists (the collection of Messrs. Durand Ruel of Paris) at the Goupil Gallery. An exhibition of first-rate importance and interest was that held by Messrs. Thomas Agnew & Sons, at their gallery in Old Bond Street, in aid of the Artists' General Benevolent Institution. It was composed entirely of English landscapes, and included notable examples of Wilson, Gainsborough, Stubbs, De Wint, Turner, Constable, and others. Paintings of flowers, which have increased in popularity considerably in recent years, were shown at Messrs. Knoedler's gallery in an exhibition composed principally of works by foreign artists; and at the French Gallery portraits by Mr. Laszlo were on view. The recently completed series of historical pictures, painted by Mr. Charles Sims, Sir George Clausen, Mr. Glyn Philpot, and other artists, drew many visitors to St. Stephen's Hall, Westminster; and another popular exhibition was one held at the Gallery of the Royal Society of British Artists, organised by the *Daily Express* for the encouragement of young painters. Pictures of Alpine scenery were to be seen at the Gallery of the Alpine Club in Mill Street; drawings by Fantin-Latour, dry-points by Paul Helleu, and paintings by Mr. Orlando Greenwood and Mr. Henry Lamb, at the Leicester Galleries, and drawings by Blake's friend, Samuel Palmer, at the Cotswold Galleries.

In the late autumn, immediately after the death of Lord Iveagh, it was announced that he had left a wonderful collection of pictures to the nation, as well as his house at Ken Wood in which they were to be placed, and an endowment for the upkeep of the gallery. The pictures, on the purchase of which a fortune must have been spent, are chiefly of the English school, and include fifteen Sir Joshuas, eight Gainsboroughs, ten Romneys,

a Hoppner, a Lawrence, a Raeburn, a Turner, and a Morland. Among the Sir Joshuas are "The Angerstein Children"; the full-lengths of Lady Louisa Manners (afterwards Countess of Dysart); Mrs. Musters as "Hebe"; and the Hon. Mrs. Tollemache as "Miranda"; and his "Venus Chiding Cupid for Learning to Cast Accounts."

Two full-lengths by Gainsborough figure in the collection, portraits of Lady Brisco and the Countess Howe; as well as his large "Two Shepherd Boys with Dogs Fighting," a landscape "Going to Market," and several smaller works. Lady Hamilton is represented in four of the Romneys, by whom also there is an important full-length of Lady Albemarle and her little son. The Turner, "Fishermen on a Lee Shore in Squally Weather," is one of the earliest oil paintings exhibited by the artist. It was hung at the Royal Academy in 1801. A beautiful Vermeer of Delft; a full-length of Henrietta of Lorraine by Vandyck; a portrait of Rubens and his wife by Rubens and Snyders; two striking Rembrandts, and a Frank Hals, are also contained in this magnificent bequest of Lord Iveagh. Other notable pictures acquired for the nation this year, by the National Gallery, were Lorenzo Lotto's "Lucrezia"; the sketch for Titian's "La Gloria"; both purchased; and a Correggio, "Christ Taking Leave of His Mother," which was presented by Sir Joseph Duveen.

Prices in the saleroom did not approach the extraordinary level of 1926, but nevertheless a Turner, "The Dogana and Salute," fetched 30,450*l.* at Christie's in the Ross sale, in which also a portrait by Rembrandt was bid up to 31,500*l.* Sir Joshua's portrait of Lady Anne Fitzpatrick went for 19,425*l.* on the same day, when the sum total of the sales approached 200,000*l.*—a record for Christie's. The great Holford collection, sold at the same rooms, realised about 160,000*l.* The pictures in it included the Lorenzo Lotto bought for the National Gallery, 23,100*l.*; and "The Virgin and Child with Saints," by Francesco de Pesello, 16,800*l.* A portrait by Raeburn of Mr. William Scott Elliott was sold for 12,600*l.*; and one by Sir Joshua of Mr. Thomas Rumbold for 13,000*l.*, both at the rooms of Messrs. Sotheby. At the sale in December of the Marquess Curzon's pictures, Romney's portrait of Lady Milner fetched 12,600*l.*

## II. DRAMA.

Although remarkably productive in the number of plays it brought forth, the year 1927 will hardly be remembered among those which have left their mark on theatrical history. It failed to bring to light any new native dramatist of exceptional promise, and it was characterised by but little activity on the part of the older generation of our playwrights. The latter, indeed, were singularly reticent, with the exception of Frederick Lonsdale, who must now be numbered among the older group, and more than upheld his reputation by producing the two wittiest comedies of the year. These were "On Approval," which showed the author in his lightest and most facetious vein, and "The High Road," which, while scarcely less entertaining, possessed rather more substance and was unusual, incidentally, from the fact that the author was not afraid to ring down the

curtain on an "unhappy ending." But more important was the touch of something like genius by which he gave a wholly unexpected twist to one of the stalest of all theatrical themes. In "The High Road," moreover, Frederick Kerr, in a brilliantly written part, gave one of the most finished performances of his very long career.

Concerning other representative dramatists, Somerset Maugham met both with good fortune and the reverse. In the former category, most emphatically, stood "The Letter," a skilful, tense, and melodramatically effective version of one of his stories in "The Casuarina Tree." The play, which gave Gladys Cooper excellent scope for displaying her gifts of emotional expression, enjoyed a long run. On the other hand, "The Constant Wife," although a characteristic exercise in an order of cynicism which Maugham has often successfully exploited, failed to obtain the approval of the public, owing partly, it may be, to the work's palpable insincerity. Eden Phillpotts was another author whose long spell of luck was broken. "The Blue Comet," possessing a more serious element than is usually found in his plays, showed such a promising root idea—arising from the conception of how different types of people might behave if faced with the world's immediate dissolution—that the greater disappointment resulted from the play's inequalities. Yet another disappointment was I. B. Fagan's "The Greater Love," a piece with a conventional plot set in the pre-war Russia of Nihilist conspiracies. As for Barrie, he was represented only by the veriest trifle, and that not an absolute novelty. "Barbara's Wedding," in fact, only enjoyed the reflected glory of figuring in a double bill of which the really arresting feature was Strindberg's strong, but exceedingly painful, drama, "The Father," in which Robert Loraine gave a masterly portrait of the protagonist.

Among the younger men pride of place may be claimed for Noel Coward, notwithstanding that the brilliant promise revealed in his earlier plays was far from being fulfilled in any of those which the year saw added to his output. "The Marquise," to which the incomparable art of Marie Tempest lent distinction, contained not a little of the author's wit and deftness, but tapered off rather badly towards the end. Moreover, while in "Home Chat," which provided a fairly effective medium for Madge Titheradge's gifts of comedy, he fell a good deal below his best, in "Sirocco" he actually achieved the unenviable distinction of writing one of the year's worst and dullest plays, which on the first night caused an unseemly uproar.

It is pleasant to turn from such a *debacle* to the well-merited success of a play like Miles Malleon's "The Fanatics," produced by Leon M. Lion. In this play the author of "Conflict" dealt skilfully and uncompromisingly with the subject of free love, skating tactfully over rather thin ice, and again displaying a very decided flair for stage effect. Not viewed too seriously, it was one of the most interesting contributions to the drama of 1927. Keeping to the lighter paths, there was pleasant entertainment in H. M. Harwood's "The Transit of Venus," a better play than the same author's "The Golden Calf," and a good deal of diversion and neat writing in I. Hastings Turner's "The Spot on the Sun," which

gave Marie Tempest an effective vehicle for her personality and keen sense of comedy. Then, in P. G. Wodehouse's bright little comedy, "Good-Morning, Bill!" that delightful American actor, Ernest Truex, was seen to conspicuous advantage, just as in "Mr. Prohack," an adaptation by Arnold Bennett and Edward Knoblock of the former's novel of that title, a rarely-gifted young English actor, Charles Laughton, found opportunities of which he availed himself brilliantly.

In the list of comedies by unfamiliar writers chief place should be given to "Marigold," a charming and deservedly successful essay by Allen Harker and F. E. Pryor in the style of "Quality Street," and in a fragrant early Victorian setting. Lynn Starling's "Meet the Wife" was chiefly remarkable as a means of usefully showing off Constance Collier's powers. John van Druten's "Chance Acquaintance" revealed decided promise, as also did Ralph Stock's slight but agreeable "Quest," while in "March Hares," a very amusing play, H. W. Gribble displayed an expertness in the handling of his characters that raised it considerably above the level of most pieces constructed on farcical lines. Mention may also be made here of Sewell Collins's "Anne—One Hundred," a pleasant, if theatrical, comedy with a touch of drama, which, with a less clumsy title, might possibly have succeeded better. Nor should one omit, though it belonged to a totally different category, Nigel Playfair's well-imagined and diverting reincarnation of Dickens characters in "When Crummies Played," a production typical of the Lyric, Hammersmith. There, too, was also witnessed an interesting revival of Farquhar's "The Beaux Strategem," which, as likewise a revival later in the year at Wyndham's of "The Way of the World," enabled playgoers to enjoy the accomplished art of Edith Evans.

While Roland Pertwee and Dr. Harold Dearden's "Interference" enjoyed a very long run, the play, which made adroit use of well-worn melodramatic tricks, could hardly be ranked higher than a delectable entertainment, rendered all the more attractive by the acting of Gerald du Maurier and Herbert Marshall. No such good fortune awaited Frank Vosper's dramatisation of May Sinclair's well-known novel, "The Combined Maze," or Cyril Campion's rather painful play, "Asleep," which was concerned with a woman drug-fiend. Yet both these plays call for a passing reference among native efforts, while another, Edgar C. Middleton's "Potiphar's Wife," although its merits were completely negligible, may be recalled as having achieved a *succes de scandale*.

Of plays other than native none compared in interest with Sydney Howard's "The Silver Cord." This work, fresh in theme, presented a psychological problem by no means uncommon in real life and afforded Lilian Braithwaite excellent chances, of which she took full advantage, in the part of a mother obsessed with the idea of preserving dominion over her sons after they were grown up. A really striking piece of acting in it was that also of a young actress, Marjorie Mars. Incidentally, while for "The Silver Cord" we were indebted to an American author, most of the pieces imported during the year from the U.S.A. were either musical comedies or of the "crook" variety. Of the latter, "Crime," a melodrama of New York's underworld, was the most effective. But in the region



of murder and mystery plays some of our own authors were able to hold their own, notably Edgar Wallace in "The Terror"; John G. Brandon and George Pickett in "The Silent House"; Dion Titheradge in "The Crooked Billet"; Dr. Noel Scott in "The Joker"; Arnold Eidley and Bernard Merrivale in "The Wrecker"—successor to the long-lived "Ghost Train"—and Hamilton Deane in a stage version of Bram Stoker's "Dracula," which in point of extravagant absurdity might have been interpreted as a travesty of melodramatic tales of the "eerie" kind. One should add that in the domain of sheer farce none of the year's novelties rivalled in popularity Ben Travers's "Thark," although its humble merits in that line were as nothing to the rich fund of comicality which Ralph Lynn and Tom Walls extracted from slender material.

### III. THE CINEMA.

The past year is memorable in that after long discussion the Quota Bill became law as the Cinematograph Films Act, 1927. There are three main provisions: (a) In order to prevent blind booking (*i.e.*, the hiring of pictures to an exhibitor who has not seen them) no one may enter into an agreement to rent any new picture unless it has been registered. No picture can be registered until it has been trade shown; (b) To prevent block booking it is prohibited to book any picture for more than a stated period in advance of the date of the booking agreement. The period is a gradually decreasing one, starting with twelve and ending with six months; and (c) Every exhibitor shall exhibit registered British films in a fixed and gradually increasing proportion to the registered foreign films rented or exhibited by him. There is a slightly higher quota for the renters than for the exhibitors which gives the latter a margin for selection. The renter's quota starts at 7½ per cent, for the year ending March 31, 1929. It works up to 20 per cent, for the year 1938. The exhibitor's quota starts at 5 per cent, for the year ending September 30, 1929.

A British film is defined as follows: (1) It must have been made by a British subject or by a company registered in the British Empire, the majority of the directors of which are British subjects; (2) The studio scenes must have been photographed in a studio in the British Empire. (This does not apply during the first year of the scheme, as it is thought that there may be a shortage of studio space.) (3) The author of the scenario must have been a British subject; and (4) At least 75 per cent, of the salaries and wages paid in the making of the pictures must have been paid to British subjects, but one foreign actor or actress, or a foreign producer, may be engaged and the salary paid to such person need not be counted in the 25 per cent, allowed to be paid to foreigners under the clause.

Finally, there is provision for the setting up of a Committee to advise the Board of Trade on the administration of the Act.

The anticipation of the Act has been felt all through the year and British production has taken big strides forward. Studio space is still a problem, but Boreham Wood, Elstree, is rapidly becoming a film centre. Many new companies have been formed and building plans are all completed.

Wembley Exhibition grounds were acquired in June by British Incorporated Pictures. In February British International Pictures took over the studios and plant of British National Pictures and now have the greatest " floor space " in the country.

The main theme of British pictures during the year has been the war, which has figured in the reconstruction of actual events as in " The Somme " and " The Battles of Coronel and Falkland Islands," or as the background to a story as in " Blighty," " Roses of Picardy," " Remembrance," " Poppies of Flanders," " Carry On," and " Land of Hope and Glory." The only picture that attempted to show something of England's industrial life was " Hindle Wakes " with its setting amid the Lancashire cotton mills. The producer whose reputation was most enhanced, was Mr. Alfred Hitchcock who achieved two successes in " Downhill " and " The Ring." The latter was probably the best British picture of the year. A new director appeared in Mr. Jack Raymond, who had hitherto only helped others. He scored heavily with a version of William de Morgan's " Somehow Good." Comedy pictures still seem to present great difficulties, and neither " The Glad Eye " nor " The Arcadians," though both were ambitious productions, were successful. Costume pictures were few. " The King's Highway " showed Mr. Matheson Lang as an eighteenth century highwayman, and " One of the Best " provided a picture of British army life in 1820. British companies went to Tobago to make " Robinson Crusoe " and to Corsica to make " Passion Island." Sir Alan Cobham was induced to appear in " The Flight Commander." Several stage stars have been making their first big pictures. Mr. Jack Buchanan was seen in " Confetti," Miss Evelyn Laye in " The Luck of the Navy," Sir Harry Lauder has completed " Huntingtower," though the picture has not yet been shown, and Miss Tallulah Bankhead is busy on " His House in Order."

Distinguished American visiting stars include Miss Pauline Frederick who has made " Mumsie " over here, and Mr. Sydney Chaplin who is co-starring with Miss Betty Balfour in " A Little Bit of Fluff."

From America we have not had many first-class pictures. Mr. Chaplin has been delayed in his work by legal and matrimonial troubles, and " The Circus " will not be seen here till 1928. " What Price Glory " was probably the best American war film, while " Chang," a picture of the jungle, proved of great interest. Cecil de Mille's " King of Kings," which brought the life of Christ to the screen, was shown at Covent Garden and aroused considerable controversy.

One of the best pictures of the year came from Denmark and was noteworthy for its simple realism. " The Master of the House " had only five characters and two sets but was a masterpiece in its own way.

We have had a fair number of German pictures, all of a high standard. " Metropolis," Fritz Lang's vision of the machine age of the future, was probably the most outstanding. " The Emden " was interesting as showing the war from the enemy's point of view. " Faust " was the last picture Emil Jannings made in Germany before he left for America.

On the technical side there have been many new inventions. The Vitaphone is an improvement on the existing machines for synchronising

sound and movement on the screen. The Goerz Company of Berlin claim that by the use of negatives eight times more sensitive to light than any hitherto produced it will be possible to take films almost in the dark. The rights to the Scheufftan process has been acquired for Great Britain and the Empire (excluding Canada) by British International Films. By this system a photograph of the scene desired is reflected into a mirror in conjunction with a partly built-up set constructed in the studio. The built-up portion is only carried a few feet higher than the actor's heads, the rest is reflection. Naturally the saving in expense effected is enormous.

#### IV. MUSIC.

The musical year was more interesting in its promise than in its achievement. In the latter respect it was much as its predecessor had been. In the former it produced a scheme for the permanent foundation of opera unlike any that had preceded it. In the autumn Sir Thomas Beecham launched his scheme, the Imperial League of Opera, whereby he bound himself to produce certain series of operatic performances in London and in certain provincial cities if a given number of subscribers would come forward at 20\$. per head for two years, with the subsequent addition of 30s. to complete a subscription of 21. 10s. for five years. At the end of the year the subscription was still in doubt, though full of promise. It was found, however, that Sir Thomas Beecham's time-limit for the receipt of the subscriptions—something less than four full months—was too restricted, and a little later the date was altered. Meanwhile Sir Thomas Beecham sailed at the very end of the year for New York to conduct Sunday concerts by the New York Philharmonic, the Philadelphia, and the Boston Symphony Orchestras.

In the summer a two-months season of cosmopolitan opera was held at Covent Garden under the auspices of the London Opera Syndicate, a prominent feature of which was the first production in England of Puccini's posthumous opera "Turandot." It was magnificently mounted, and included in its cast Mme. Jeritza, a very prominent *prima donna* of the period, but it is extremely doubtful if it will hold a permanent place in the operatic repertory, for, in spite of the advance which Puccini shows here in almost the whole of operatic technique, it lacks most of the qualities which have endeared his earlier operas to the public of most lands. In the season were seen two cycles of "Der King des Nibelung," "Rosenkavalier"—possibly more attractive even than before—"Tristan," and "Parsifal," and, in view of the Beethoven Centenary, "Fidelio" was revived, but not with the greatest success. The casts, many of which were superb, included such distinguished singers as Lotte Lehmann, Frieda Leider, Delia Reinhardt, Olczewska, Elizabeth Schumann, Lauritz Melchior, Richard Mayr, and Friedrich Schorr—some of whom took part also in the Italian operas which were in the scheme. Bruno Walter again earned universal applause as conductor. The revival of "Gli Ugonotti" was a frank failure, but "II Trovatore" proved attractive. Charles B. Cochran

created something of a sensation by his tentative effort to convert the Albert Hall into an opera house, at least temporarily, by his remarkable production in the autumn of Rimsky-Korsakoff's opera "Mozart and Salieri," a work hitherto unheard here. The opera had the advantage of Chaliapin in the cast—of two; and the simple *decor* and lighting were superb. Two performances were given and something like 7,500l. were taken. At Golders Green two short seasons of opera were given by the British National Opera Co. During the provincial tour of this company "The Leper's Flute," a new opera by Ian Colvin and Ernest Bryson, was produced at Glasgow and later performed, in a somewhat altered version, at Golders Green; and the R.C.M. students gave remarkably good performances of Debussy's "Pelleas et Melisande," and the R.A.M. of "Fidelio" and "The Mastersingers." Two visits were paid by the Russian Ballet, whose work is of the most "modern" type.

The National Concerts of the British Broadcasting Corporation had a peculiar interest, because, owing to their great revenue, the B.B.C. were enabled to produce works under conditions quite impossible for private societies. Among the important works produced were Honegger's Psalm "King David," and Gustav Hoist's "The Morning of the Year"—this given later at the R.C.M. as a choral ballet.

Among other new works of the year were the Hungarian composer Kodaly's "Psalmus Hungaricus," given first at Cambridge, and repeated by the Philharmonic Choir in London. Arthur Bliss's "Hymn to Apollo," Sibelius's eighth and Myaskovski's sixth symphony, Respighi's "Sinfonia Drammatica," and Dame Ethel Smyth's concerto for violin, horn, and orchestra were among other new works to be heard. Among the chief new chamber compositions produced during the year were Arnold Bax's Second Quartet, a quartet by I. B. McEwen, a quintet by Sir Walford Davies, a quartet by Eric Fogg, an extremely modernistic composer, while the Contemporary Music Centre introduced us to several important Continental productions by Hindemith, Honegger, etc. The Promenade Concerts, which ceased to exist under the old regime, were undertaken by the B.B.C., Sir Henry I. Wood conducting, and met with a very great success.

Berlioz's "Requiem" was revived by Sir Hamilton Harty, and the Beethoven Centenary was marked by some superb performances of his quartets by the Lener Quartet. The Royal Philharmonic Society sang the "Missa Solennis" in celebration under Sir Hugh Allen, and at the very end of the year the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra gave two concerts in London under the direction of Furtwangler, which for a time set the town aflame in controversy by its remarkable dexterity.

## FINANCE AND COMMERCE IN 1927.

THE year 1927 was at home a period of recuperation from the grave labour troubles of 1926, and at the end of the year the economic position was more favourable than at any other time since the signing of the Armistice. The number of unemployed, which had increased enormously in 1926, was reduced, the total at the end of the year being 1,332,300, as against 1,495,800 at the end of 1926. Export trade in November was the largest recorded for a period of three years, the pound sterling at the close of 1927 stood above par in relation to the American dollar for the first time since early in the war, and the general business outlook was brighter than it had been for a decade. This remark applies particularly to the relations between capital and labour. Towards the close of 1927 the Trades Union Congress, which had called the General Strike in May, 1926, accepted an invitation extended by Sir Alfred Mond and twenty-five industrialists representing a wide range of business activity to a conference to discuss means for raising the efficiency of industry and maintaining and increasing the workers' standard of living. The amalgamation movement in industry—or, to give it its more accurate description, the rationalisation process—advanced still further, the most important event being the fusion of the armament-making, shipbuilding, and special steel businesses of Vickers and Armstrong's, under the title of Vickers-Armstrongs, Limited. Other important amalgamations included the merging of Debenhams with the Drapery Trust, which controlled the majority of the big provincial drapery stores; the fusion of Anton Jurgens and Van Den Berghs, the two largest margarine manufacturers and owners of provision shop companies in Europe; the amalgamation of other drapery stores, such as Selfridge's and Whiteley's; and the merging of the Lancashire and Yorkshire Bank with the Bank of Liverpool and Martin's, under the new title of Martin's Bank. Efforts were made to bring about amalgamations in the iron and steel industry, the cotton and wool industries, and the coal industry. Arrangements in the direction of ultimate fusion were made in the coal industry, but in the other industries mentioned not much progress was recorded owing to the severe depression in these trades and the difficulty in agreeing upon terms. On the Continent the chief events were the further improvement effected in the currency situation. Italy, in the last days of December, returned to the gold exchange standard, the new ratio being fixed at 92.46 lire to the pound sterling and 19 lire to the American dollar. Poland arranged a stabilisation scheme with the help of English and American banks, and in the autumn established a gold exchange standard at the rate of 43.38 zloty to the pound sterling. France surprised the world by effecting a great improvement in her financial position,

and for some time the French exchange stood at about 124f. to the pound sterling, which compared with a figure of nearly 250f. touched during the early part of 1926. France had plenty of gold with which to return to the gold standard, but she was not expected to do so until after the elections in 1928, owing to the political difficulties of securing agreement as to the rate of *de jure* stabilisation. Germany completed the third year's working of the Dawes Plan successfully. Unfortunately, the very success of the scheme has proved a menace to its future fulfilment. Germany has borrowed so freely abroad since the adoption of the Dawes Plan, and America has been such a willing lender, that Germany has borrowed about twice as much as she has paid in reparations. In other words, she has not really paid reparations, but borrowed them. The influx of foreign capital at steadily falling rates of interest raised the standard of living in Germany, and this caused the municipal, State, and Federal authorities to increase their expenditure. The German Budget, which in the first year of the Dawes Plan had a surplus, now shows a deficit, and Germany generally showed a readiness to borrow and spend which alarmed those who were best informed, particularly the Agent-General for Reparation Payments, who sent a Memorandum to the German Government in the autumn calling attention to the crippling effect on reparation payments of a continuance of Germany's spendthrift policy. This had the result of checking German borrowing abroad, and it is hoped that in the not far distant future it will be possible to fund the reparation liability by an issue of German securities, the service of which will be a purely German responsibility. At present, the responsibility of payment rests not with Germany but with the Transfer Committee set up by the Dawes Plan, which, it appears, has very little real power to control the German exchange, and therefore very limited authority to remit the reparation payments even when they are collected in Germany.

*Commodity Prices.*—Commodity prices in this country again declined, but to a less extent than in previous years. This indicates that prices have now reached approximately the post-war normal level. We reproduce below, as usual, *The Times* index number of commodity prices for December 31, 1927, and December, 1926, based upon sixty quotations, together with the number in April, 1920 (when the highest point was touched) and at the close of the last seven years :—

Month.	Food.	Materials.	Total Index Number.	Inc. or Dec. per Cent.
<sup>1</sup> December, 1913	100	100	100	
April, 1920	301.2	382.8	352.9	
December, 1921	168.1	168.8	1621	- 540
1922	163	1561	158.6	- 2.2
1923	169.1	1691	169.1	6.7
1924	178.1	1801	179.3	60
1925	160.1	148.6	152.8	- 14.8
1926	148.4	138.5	1421	- 71
1927	147.7	138.5	141.9	- 0.1

The actual prices in 1927 and 1926 of the commodities included in the calculations are given below :—

Commodities.	Dec. 31, 1927.	
<b>FOOD.</b>		
Wheat, Eng., Gaz. Av. -	112 lb.	9s. 10d.
No. 2, N. Man. -	496 lb.	589. 3d.
Flour, Ldn., Straights -	280 lb.	42s.
Barley, Eng., Gaz. Av. -	112 lb.	11a. 4d.
Oats, Eng., Gaz. Av.	112 lb.	9s. 3d.
Maize, La Plata, ex ship	480 lb.	36s. 6d.
Rice, No. 2, Burma	owt.	15s. 6d.
Beef, English sides	8 lb.	4s. 8d.
" S. Amer., chilled -	8 lb.	4s. 2d.
Mutton, N. I., frozen	8 lb.	4s. 9d.
Bacon, Irish lean -	cwt.	99s.
" Amer. Cumb.	cwt.	74s.
Fish *	stone	5s. 1d.
Eggs, English	120	24s.
Sugar, Eng. ref., cubes -	cwt.	32s. U.
" W. Ind., cryst. -	cwt.	31s. 3cl.
Tea, Ind., auctn. Avg. -	lb.	1s. 6 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub> d.
Cocoa, Trinidad, mid.	cwt.	70s.
Cheese, Eng. Cheddar -	cwt.	112s.
Butter, Danish, fine	cwt.	182s.
Lard, Amer. ref., pails -	cwt.	71s. 9d.
Potatoes, English, good -	ton	6l.
<b>MATERIALS.</b>		
Pig iron, Hemt. M'bro. -	ton	70s.
" Cleve'd, No. 3 -	ton	65s.
Iron, marked bars, Staff.	ton	12l. 10s.
" Com. bars	ton	10l. 5s.
Steel, rails, heavy -	ton	5l. 5s.
" boiler plates	ton	10l. 10s.
" galvzd. sheets	ton	13l.
" tin plates	box	18s. 6d.
Copper, electrolytic	ton	66l. 10s.
" strong sheets	ton	90*
Tin, stand., cash	ton	265l. 5s.
Lead, English	ton	24l.
Spelter, foreign	ton	26l. 5s.
Coal, lge. steam, Cardiff	ton	19s.
" best gas, Durham -	ton	15s. 6d.
" best hse., Yorks, -	ton	20s. 6d.
Petlm., Amer., rid., brl. -	gal.	1s.
Cotton, Am., mid. -	lb.	11.06d.
" Egypt, f.g.f. Sak.	lb.	17.75d.
" yarn, 32's twist -	lb.	15¼.
" 60's, " Egp. -	lb.	27½d.
" shirtings, 81-lb. -	piece	12s. 3d.
" prat., 17 X 17, 32 in. 125 yards	piece	31s. 6d.
Wool, gsy. merino, 60's -	lb.	22½d.
" gsy., crossbd., 46's	lb.	16½d.
" tops, 64's -	lb.	51d.
" tops, 40's	lb.	22d.
Flax, Livonian, I.K.	ton	92l.
Hemp, N. Zeal., h.p. fair	ton	35l. 10s.
Jute, first marks, shipmt.	ton	31l. 15s.
Hides, Eng., Ox, first -	lb.	10d.
" Cape, dry -	lb.	18d.
Timber, gd. deal, 3 x 9 -	stand	24l.
" W'cot oak	Un. ft.	1s. 4d.
Cement, best Portland -	ton	2l. 13s.
Rubber, Plant., sheet -	lb.	1s. 8d.
Linseed oil	ton	27l. 15s.
Soda crystals, bags	ton	5l. 5s.

\* Average price of plaice, cod, and haddock.

*Commercial Failures.*—Owing mainly to the consequences of the general strike and the prolonged coal stoppage of 1926, which did grievous harm to small shopkeepers and merchants in the affected areas, the number of failures in the United Kingdom was greater than in 1926. The total was 7,336, an increase of 157, which compared with decreases of 737 in 1926 and of 68 in 1925. The sums of money involved, however, were practically the same in 1927 as in 1926; liabilities aggregated 4,774,070l., as compared with 4,686,261l. in 1926, while the total assets ranking were 2,051,824l. against 1,972,989l.

*Industrial Profits.*—The profits of industry were, of course, reduced, owing to the industrial troubles of 1926. The reports of 1,669 companies analysed by the *Economist* in 1927 showed an aggregate profit of 169,443,651l., a decrease of 5,280,388l., equal to 3 per cent., following an increase in 1926 of 6·3 per cent., and in 1925 of 8·7 per cent. Of the total profits 107,982,476l., or 63·7 per cent., was distributed amongst the Ordinary shareholders, 32,441,934l., or 19·1 per cent., was paid in Preference dividends, and 29,019,241l., or 17·2 per cent., was placed to reserves. The total profits were equal to 10·5 per cent, on the Ordinary and Preference capital combined, against 11·3 per cent, in 1926 and 10·9 per cent, in 1925.

*The Budget.*—The Budget for 1927-28 was an ingeniously manipulated affair. Mr. Winston Churchill, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, faced with a deficit in 1926-27 of 36,000,000l., due, of course, to the strikes, planned to raise 38,000,000l. of new revenue, by raiding the road fund for 12,000,000l., and making certain changes in taxes to bring in 26,000,000l. The principal change in taxes that he introduced provided that the property tax, Schedule " A " of income tax, should be payable in one sum—namely, on January 1—instead of in half-yearly sums on January 1 and July 1. In other words, eighteen months' property tax was to be collected in one year, the increase in revenue amounting to 14,800,000l. The other change of importance was that the period of credit to brewers for payment of duty on home-made beer was reduced from two months to one month. This was to produce 5,000,000l. more revenue to the Exchequer. Other changes included a new duty of Is. per gallon on British wines, an extra *Sd.* per lb. on imported unmanufactured tobacco, a duty on imported table ware of translucent pottery of 28s. per cwt.; a tax on imported motor tyres, and an increase of 20 per cent, in the Customs and Excise duty on matches. The sinking fund was raised to 65,000,000l. The total revenue was estimated at 834,830,000l. and the expenditure at 833,390,000l., leaving a surplus of 1,440,000l. On March 31, 1927, the National Debt was estimated at 7,554,750,000l., against 7,558,500,000l. a year previously. The floating debt was reduced by 20,856,000l. during the year, the total on December 31, 1927, being 825,010,000l., as compared with 845,866,000l. The figures are appended :—



Floating Debt	Dec. 31, 1927.	Dec. 31, 1926.
<b>Ways and Means Advances :—</b>		
Bank of England	£ 20,000,000	£ 14,000,000
Public Departments -	154,260,000	168,451,000
Treasury Bills . . . .	650,750,000	663,415,000
<b>Total -</b>	<b>825,010,000</b>	<b>845,866,000</b>

The reduction was due to the receipt of sums in cash subscriptions to the issue in January, 1927, of Four per Cent. Consols at 85. The amount of cash subscribed was 81,298,575l., and the amount of stock issued as a result of conversions was 128,060,314l., making a total of 209,358,889l. Four debt conversion or funding operations were carried out during the year. The first in January, already mentioned, the second in September, the third in October, and the fourth at the end of December. In September 65,000,000l. of Four-and-a-Half per Cent. Treasury Bonds were sold at an average price of 99l. 7s. 5-13d., the proceeds being required to repay National War Bonds which fell due on October 1. Almost immediately after, holders of the Three-and-a-Half per Cent. War Loan and of Five and Four per Cent. National War Bonds due April 1, 1928, were invited to convert into Three-and-a-Half per Cent. Conversion Loan at 74¾. Holders of only 38 per cent, of the stocks and bonds accepted the offer, but in December a further operation was announced. An issue was made of Five per Cent. Treasury Bonds, 1933-35, at the price of 101, and holders of the Five and Four per Cent. National War Bonds maturing in September, 1928, were invited to exchange their bonds into the new bonds at the rate of 105l. Is. of Five per Cent. Treasury Bonds for each 100l. Five per Cent. National War Bonds, and 99l. 10s. of Five per Cent. Treasury Bonds for each 100l. of Four per Cent. National War Bonds. To the Five per Cent. Treasury Bonds was attached an option to convert into Four per Cent. Consols—in the second fortnight of July, 1928, at 86<sup>5</sup>/<sub>16</sub>., and in the second fortnight of January, 1929, at 88<sup>3</sup>/<sub>16</sub>.. The issue was a great success. Cash applications amounted to 86,100,000l., and holders of over 70 per cent, of the National War Bonds converted. It was the most successful conversion operation the Treasury had carried out.

*Banking.*—There was a record turnover of money in 1927, which was due partly to the recovery in trade following the strikes of 1926, but mainly to great financial activity. The grand total of bills, cheques, etc., which passed through the London Bankers' Clearing House in 1927 was 41,550,541,000l., an increase of 1,725,487,000l. on 1926, or 4-3 per cent., and an increase of 1,113,422,000l., or 2-7 per cent, on 1925, which previously held the "record." There was a large movement of funds in connexion with the Government's debt conversion, redemption of National War Bonds, the sale of Treasury Bonds, and an immense turnover of money in the short-loan market. Stock Exchange activity was also very great; the total of 3,980,403,000 for Stock Exchange settling days was greater by 33,335,000l. than that for the previous year, and exceeded to the extent of 240,314,000l. the aggregate for 1925. New capital issues also swelled

the turnover, these being much greater than in any year since 1920. The total of new capital flotations was 314,714,000l., against 253,266,000l. for 1926, and 219,897,000l. for 1925. The destination of the capital raised was as follows in the three years :—

	1927.	1926.	1925.
	£	£	£
United Kingdom	176,043,000	140,862,000	132,099,000
India and Ceylon	1,363,000	2,061,000	3,426,000
British Dominions and Colonies -	86,381,000	49,949,000	53,978,000
Foreign countries	50,927,000	60,394,000	30,394,000
<b>Total -</b>	<b>314,714,000</b>	<b>253,266,000</b>	<b>219,897,000</b>

Of the total increase in the money turnover over 1926, 736,770,000l., or 42.6 per cent., occurred in the second quarter of the year. The country cheque clearing, which reflected trade conditions, showed a poor increase in the first quarter, a substantial and even recovery in the next six months, followed by a considerable increase in the last quarter. Taking the provincial clearings, the biggest increases were at Newcastle, Sheffield, and Birmingham, which were higher by 18.9 per cent., 12.5 per cent., and 7.6 per cent, respectively. Manchester, which is the biggest provincial clearing, showed an increase of only 3.3 per cent., and Liverpool, which is the second largest, an increase of 6.9 per cent. The figures for the past two years of the London Bankers' Clearing House are subjoined :—

	1927.	1926.	Increase.
	£	£	£
Grand total	41,550,541,000	39,825,054,000	1,725,487,000 (or 4.3 per cent.)
Town clearing total	36,819,682,000	35,346,429,000	1,473,253,000 (or 4.1 per cent.)
Metropolitan clearing total -	1,758,032,000	1,660,757,000	97,275,000 (or 5.8 per cent.)
Country cheque clearing total	2,972,827,000	2,817,868,000	154,959,000 (or 5.4 per cent.)

The totals for the eleven provincial clearings, with the percentage movements on the year, are as follows :—

Clearing.	Total.	Inc. or Dec.
	£	Per Cent.
Birmingham	132,553,000	+ 7.6
Bradford	71,442,000	- 6.1
Bristol	60,727,000	+ 2.3
Hull	46,478,000	- 0.6
Leeds	53,356,000	+ 6.8
Leicester.	42,466,000	+ 6.3
Liverpool	428,458,000	+ 6.9
Manchester	707,839,000	+ 3.3
Newcastle-on-Tyne	77,971,000	+ 18.9
Nottingham	32,600,000	+ 2.8
Sheffield	55,981,000	+ 12.5

In the money market the outstanding feature of the year was the lower level of money rates, and a keen demand for banking accommodation. The Bank of England's minimum rate of discount, which had remained at 5 per cent, throughout 1926, was reduced to 4½ per cent, on April 21, and remained at that figure for the rest of the year. To bankers the year was less profitable than 1926 owing mainly to the fall in rates and partly to bad debts, the aftermath of the industrial troubles of 1926. Moreover, the great industries such as cotton, coal, iron and steel, and wool, remained more or less depressed throughout the year, and with many of the cotton mills in the hands of the creditors, bad debts were not easy to avoid. Agriculture was also severely depressed. Consequently, provision for bad debts had to be larger in 1927 than in 1926. Competition amongst the banks was keener, especially in the foreign field, where commissions were cut. The banks, in their anxiety to secure deposits, paid higher rates than usual. While the published rate was only 2½ per cent., up to 4f per cent, was paid for three months' deposits. Further, the proportion of deposits which bear interest is larger than it used to be ; it was formerly less than 50 per cent.; nowadays it is more than 50 per cent. While less was earned on advances, the margin between deposit rates and the bill rate was wider, especially in the last six months, when the discount rate was virtually stabilised at 4<sup>5</sup>/<sub>16</sub> per cent. Most of the banks reported less profit than in 1926, and in one case, the Union Bank of Manchester, the dividend was reduced from 20 to 18 per cent. The figures of the monthly statements issued by the ten London clearing banks for each month are given below :—

Month.	Deposits.	Cash.	Money at Call and Short Notice.	Bills.	Investments.	Advances.
	£	£	£	£	£	£
January	1,730,784	200,393	129,420	246,268	267,419	913,197
February -	1,689,689	194,750	121,764	222,167	258,787	917,631
March	1,669,294	191,902	123,427	198,451	255,009	925,712
April	1,679,058	195,719	128,434	198,699	251,784	927,978
May -	1,687,016	194,994	131,308	199,555	252,239	929,012
June -	1,721,892	203,024	144,231	209,658	252,285	930,558
July -	1,719,248	197,212	137,491	218,707	253,079	934,556
August	1,705,883	195,088	141,847	207,094	251,989	933,651
September -	1,704,789	195,886	138,693	213,352	249,434	935,047
October	1,747,112	199,327	146,878	234,258	253,297	933,356
November -	1,730,916	195,493	138,486	235,296	251,492	930,740
December -	1,766,170	205,979	159,992	237,125	249,294	929,682

000's omitted.

There was a keen Continental demand for bills throughout the year. The average rates current in the money market were as follows, comparison being made with the previous six years :—

1921	1921.	1923.	1924.	1925.	1926.	1927
BANK RATE AVERAGE.						
£ 8. d. 6 2 3	£ s. d. 3 14 0	£ 8. d. 3 9 10	£ 8. d. 4 0 0	£ s. d. 4 11 6	£ s. d. 5 0 0	£ 8. d. 4 13 0
DISCOUNT RATE (3 MONTHS' BANK BILLS) AVERAGE.						
5 4 3	2 12 9	2 14 2	3 9 3	4 2 3	4 8 3	4 4 9
BANKS' DEPOSIT RATE AVERAGE.						
4 2 4	113 1 0	1 9 9	2 0 0	2 11 6	1 3 0 0	J 2 13 0
SHORT LOAN RATE AVERAGE.						
4 12 8	2 5 11	1 18 4	2 13 0	3 11 3	1 4 0 0	3 14 6
TREASURY BILL RATE AVERAGE.						
—	—	—	3 7 11	4 1 11	3 7 11	4 5 2

*Currency Notes.*—There was a further reduction in the maximum fiduciary circulation of currency notes. As the actual highest fiduciary issue in any year becomes the legal maximum in the following year, it is of interest to note that the highest level touched by the fiduciary issue in 1927 was 244,935,128l. in the week ended June 8. This figure becomes the legal maximum for 1928. Figures for the three years 1927, 1926, and 1925 are subjoined :—

Currency Notes.	End December, 1927.	End December, 1926.	End December, 1925.
<b>Total outstanding</b>	£ 298,527,817	£ 295,172,908	£ 295,460,511
<b>Reserve:—</b>			
Silver - - -	5,650,000	6,300,000	7,000,000
Bank of England notes -	56,250,000	56,250,000	56,250,000
Investment reserve -	12,903,448	12,457,250	12,560,905
<b>Ratio of bank notes to total issue -</b>	<b>18.76 per cent.</b>	<b>18.97 per cent.</b>	<b>19.04 per cent.</b>
<b>Fiduciary issue</b>	242,277,817	238,922,908	239,210,511
<b>Legal maximum</b>	246,011,006	247,902,549	248,145,386

The principal figures of the Bank of England return are :—

Bank of England.	End December, 1927.	End December, 1926.	End December, 1925.
	£	£	£
<b>Coin and bullion</b>	152,408,849	151,118,648	144,556,367
<b>Note circulation</b>	138,711,420	140,784,940	144,730,510
<b>Public deposits</b>	14,561,638	11,632,266	8,362,323
<b>Other deposits</b>	123,975,464	131,342,517	160,680,681
<b>Government securities</b>	48,578,992	34,167,539	64,087,526
<b>Other securities</b>	74,448,730	96,658,843	103,280,596
<b>Reserve (Notes and Coin) -</b>	33,447,429	30,083,708	19,575,857
<b>Ratio . . . . .</b>	<b>24<sup>1</sup>/<sub>8</sub> per cent.</b>	<b>21 per cent.</b>	<b>11<sup>5</sup>/<sub>8</sub> per cent.</b>

*Foreign Exchanges.*—The foreign exchanges were much steadier, owing to the gradual return to the gold standard. Three countries readopted it—namely, Argentina, Poland, and Italy. Argentina returned to the pre-war parity of 47<sup>5</sup>/<sub>8</sub>d. per gold dollar; Poland at 43-38 zloty to the pound; and Italy adopted the rate of 9246 lire to the pound, as against the old rate of 25-22<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> lire. France succeeded in stabilising her exchange at about 124f. to the pound, and she is expected to return to the gold standard this year. The greater stability of the exchanges reduced the attractiveness of the market to the speculator, whose operations were much curtailed. As a result, the volume of business, which just after the war rose to enormous proportions, has declined very considerably, and large numbers of firms which were established to do foreign exchange have gone out of the business. There was a marked appreciation during the year in Spanish peseta, but a heavy fall in Japanese yen. India adopted the recommendation of the Indian Monetary Commission, and set up a gold bullion standard at 1s. 6d. per rupee. The following list of foreign exchanges is taken from *The Times Annual Financial and Commercial Review* (see p. 71).

*Stock Exchange.*—Marked activity, due largely to speculation, was experienced on the Stock Exchange. Continued trade depression caused further disappointment to holders of shares in companies engaged in the basic industries, and over-production of the commodity was responsible for dullness in the market for oil shares, the same remark applying to a lesser extent to rubber shares. Other markets, however, showed an improving tendency, and in the case of the shares of some companies engaged in the newer industries spectacular rises, to prices out of all proportion to the companies' actual earnings, occurred. At the end of 1927 the *Bankers' Magazine* placed the value of 365 representative securities at 6,811,859,000l., a rise on the year of 268,508,000l., equal to 4.1 per cent. Fixed interest securities generally advanced by 1.6 per cent., British Funds rising by 1.2 per cent. Variable dividend securities, 278 of which are included in the calculation, rose by 8.2 per cent.—their value advancing from 2,446,895,000l. to 2,648,381,000l.—to a level higher than that reached at the end of any year since 1920. Taking individual markets, Foreign Government stocks showed a rise of 3.4 per cent., and United States gold bonds one of 6.7 per cent. There was a fall of 2.6 per cent. in the value of British Railway Ordinary stocks, but Colonial, United States, and other Foreign Railways showed substantial rises. There was a marked advance in tramways and omnibus securities. Electric lighting and power shares showed a fall of 3 per cent., but gas stocks were higher by 7 per cent. Oil shares fell by nearly 10 per cent. Nitrate shares were nearly 15 per cent. higher at the end of the year than at the beginning.

*Foreign Commerce.*—As compared with 1926, the year of the general strike and coal stoppage, the figures of overseas trade showed a marked improvement in the country's position. Exports rose by 56,000,000l., while imports fell by 22,000,000l.; the visible adverse balance was 76,000,000l. smaller at 387,000,000l. The aggregate volume of trade showed an increase of 31,652,399l. (1½ per cent.) on 1926 to 2,051,555,553l.; as compared with 1925 there was a reduction of 8¾ per cent. in the aggregate

value, but this was the result of lower prices, and not of a diminution in the actual volume of trade. Total imports were valued at 1,219,387,424l., against 1,241,361,277l. in 1926 and 1,320,715,190l. in 1925. Imports of food, drink, and tobacco, at 539,339,083l., showed an increase of 9,550,542l. on 1926 but a decline of 30,761,935l. on 1925; those of raw materials were 40,221,728l. lower than in 1926 and 72,821,420l. lower than in 1925 at 351,961,728l.; while those of manufactured articles rose from 314,682,305l. in 1926 to 322,407,385l. in 1927, the 1925 figure being 319,631,089l. British exports amounted to 709,105,402l., against 653,046,909l. in 1926 and 773,380,702l. in 1925. Exports of food, drink, and tobacco amounted

Place.	Par of Exchange.	Dec. 31, 1927.	Dec. 31, 1926.	Highest, 1927.	Lowest, 1927.
New York * -	\$4-86 <sup>2</sup> / <sub>3</sub>	4-88 <sup>7</sup> / <sub>32</sub>	4-85 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>3</sub> <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	4-88 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>3</sub> <sup>5</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	4-84 <sup>7</sup> / <sub>8</sub>
Montreal * -	\$4-86 <sup>2</sup> / <sub>3</sub>	4-89	4-85 <sup>7</sup> / <sub>8</sub>	4-893/16	4-84 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>1</sub> <sup>3</sup> / <sub>16</sub>
Paris -	25f. 22 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> c.	124	122-75	12415	121-95
Brussels	35	34-90 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub>	34-88 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub>	35	34-86 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub>
Milan -	92lr. 46c. §	92-39 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	108 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>16</sub>	1151/8	83-15
Berne -	25f. 22 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> c.	25-27 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	25.11	25-31	2510 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub>
Athens	25dr. 22 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> c.	366 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	385 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	388	354
Helsingfors -	193m. 23pf.	193 <sup>7</sup> / <sub>8</sub>	192-85	194 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>8</sub>	192 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>
Madrid	25m. 22 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> pf.	28-89	31-74	31-71	26-78
Lisbon *	53 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub> d.	2 <sup>7</sup> / <sub>16</sub>	222/64	266 <sup>54</sup> / <sub>64</sub>	2 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>
Amsterdam -	12fl. 107c.	12-07 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub>	12-12 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub>	1214	12-06 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub>
Berlin -	20m. 43pf.	20-45 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub>	20-40	20-54	20-37 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub>
Vienna	34kr. 58 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> c.	34-55 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	34-37 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	34-65	34-34
Budapest	27kr. 82c.	27-91 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	27-77	27-93	27-70
Prague	24kr. 02c.	164 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub>	164	164 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>8</sub>	163
Warsaw	43m. 38pf.	43 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	43 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	45	42
Riga	25m. 22 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> pf.	25-20	25-25	25-35	25-15
Bucharest	25lei. 22 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> c.	790	920	950	695
Constantinople	110	940	962 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	990	890
Belgrade	25d. 22 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> c.	276 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	275	277 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	274 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>
Kovno	48-66	49	49	50	48 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>
Reval -	—	1,820	1,820	1,840	1,800
Sofia -	25d. 22 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> c.	677 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	6784	680	667
Oslo -	18kr. 159	18-33 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	19-20 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	19-22	18-31
Stockholm -	18kr. 159	1810	18-16	18-18 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub>	18-06 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>
Copenhagen -	18kr. 159	18-20 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	18-19 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	18-22 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	18-13 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub>
Alexandria -	97 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	97 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	97 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	976/16	97 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>
Bombay	18d.	1/6 <sup>7</sup> / <sub>84</sub>	1/6 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>64</sub>	1/6 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>3</sub>	1/5 <sup>26</sup> / <sub>32</sub>
Calcutta	18d.	1/6 <sup>7</sup> / <sub>84</sub>	1/6 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>64</sub>	1/6 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>8</sub>	1/5 <sup>27</sup> / <sub>32</sub>
Madras	18l.	1/6 <sup>7</sup> / <sub>84</sub>	1/6 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>64</sub>	1/6 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>8</sub>	1/5 <sup>27</sup> / <sub>32</sub>
Hong-Kong -	—	2/0 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>1</sub> <sup>4</sup> / <sub>6</sub>	1/11 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub>	2/21/16	1/111/8
Kobe -	24-58d.	1/11 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>64</sub>	2/0 <sup>7</sup> / <sub>32</sub>	2/0 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>8</sub>	1/1029/64
Shanghai	—	2/7 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>16</sub>	2/5 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>16</sub>	2/9 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>8</sub>	2/4
Singapore	2/4	2/4 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>64</sub>	2/31 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>16</sub>	2/4 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>32</sub>	2/32/33 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>
Batavia	12107	12-05 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub>	12-10 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub>	121 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>8</sub>	12-051/8
Manila	24066d.	2/0 <sup>7</sup> / <sub>64</sub>	2/07/16	2/0	2/05/16
Rio de Janeiro * -	27d.	5 <sup>2</sup> / <sub>5</sub> <sup>9</sup> / <sub>2</sub> d.	52 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>32</sub>	56 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>64</sub>	51/11/6.
Buenos Aires *	47-577d.	47 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>6</sub> <sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub> d.	46 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	48d.	463/16.
Valparaiso †	40	39-36	39-63	39-88	39-34
Montevideo *	51d.	51.	50 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub>	51 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>8</sub>	48 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>
Lima †	Par.	23/46 ‡	34/46 ‡	35% ‡	21 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub> 4% ‡
Mexico	24-58d.	24.	24.	25.	23.

\* Telegraphic transfers, † 90 days. ‡ Premium.

§ As from December 21, 1927, Italy returned to the gold standard at a parity of 92lr. 46c. to the pound sterling. Up to that date the nominal parity was 25.22<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>.

to 52,280,207l., against 50,457,311l. in 1926 and 54,986,296l. in 1925; those of raw materials were 29,193,441l. higher than in 1926 but 7,994,845l. lower than in 1925 at 76,355,792l.; while those of manufactured articles amounted to 563,964,508l., an increase of 24,623,573l. on 1926, but a decline of 52,643,530l. on 1925. As regards re-exports, the total fell from 154,036,799l. in 1925 and 125,494,968l. in 1926 to 123,062,727l. in 1927. Re-exports of food, drink, and tobacco were valued at 26,522,598l., as compared with 26,367,063l. in 1926, and 32,134,273l. in 1925; of raw materials at 71,245,915l. against 73,812,964l. in 1926 and 90,335,630l. in 1925; and of manufactured articles at 25,134,564l., against 25,181,118l. in 1926, and 31,458,023l. in 1925. Exports of cotton yarn and manufactures, at 149,000,000l. were 50,000,000l. lower than in 1925, the effect of lower prices. The value of raw cotton imports fell by 58,000,000l., or 46 per cent., the reduction in the quantity taken being 18 per cent. Imports of iron and steel rose from 2,720,000 tons, valued at 23,883,000l., in 1925 to 4,406,000 tons, valued at 34,038,000l. in 1927. In the same period, exports of iron and steel showed advances of 470,000 tons (to 4,200,000 tons) and 1,500,000l. (to 69,429,000l.). Exports of coal increased slightly in volume as compared with 1925 (there was, of course, a big increase on 1926), but fell in value from 50,477,000l. to 45,531,000l. The Board of Trade's estimate of overseas payments showed a favourable balance of 96,000,000l. available for investment abroad.

The Board of Trade calculated that the country had a favourable trade balance in 1927 of 96,000,000l., as compared with an unfavourable balance of 7,000,000l. in 1926, and a favourable balance of 54,000,000l. in 1925. The table is appended :—

*Balances of Income and Expenditure in the Transactions (other than lending and repayment of capital) between the United Kingdom and all other countries.*

(IN MILLION POUNDS.)

Particulars.	1925.	1926.	1927.
<b>Excess of imports of merchandise and bullion</b>	<b>384</b>	<b>475</b>	<b>392</b>
<b>Estimated excess of Government payments made oversea * -</b>	<b>11</b>		
<b>Total</b>	<b>395</b>	<b>475</b>	<b>392</b>
<b>Estimated excess of Government receipts from oversea *</b>		<b>3</b>	
<b>Estimated net national shipping income † -</b>	<b>124</b>	<b>120</b>	<b>140</b>
<b>Estimated net income from oversea investments -</b>	<b>250</b>	<b>270</b>	<b>270</b>
<b>Estimated net receipts from short interest and commissions -</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>63</b>
<b>Estimated net receipts from other services -</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>15</b>
	<b>449</b>	<b>468</b>	<b>488</b>
<b>Estimated total credit (-f-) or debit (—) balance on items</b>	<b>+ 54</b>	<b>- 7</b>	<b>+ 96</b>

\* These include some items on loan accounts.

† Including disbursements by foreign ships in British ports.

*Insurance.*—British life assurance offices generally reported an increased volume of new business; mortality continued to be satisfactory. An International Congress of Actuaries was held in London in June. As to fire insurance, the total cost of all the fires in Great Britain was, according to *The Times* estimate, 6,495,000l., against 7,304,000l. in 1926. Total losses in the United States of all the insurance companies amounted to about 66,000,000L. Of marine insurance, it can be said that underwriters continued to try to work out their own salvation; the poor results of the market during the past few years were mainly due to severe competition, a result of the war "boom." Dissatisfaction was expressed by some managements with the results of the motor insurance business, and after the close of the year increases in premiums were announced. The Royal Exchange Assurance absorbed the Motor Union Insurance Company towards the end of the year.

*Coal, Iron, and Steel.*—Financially, the year was one of the worst in the history of the coal industry. Every coalfield took advantage of the Coal Mines Act of 1926, which extended the time during which workers could remain underground; all classes of workers in Yorkshire, Nottingham, and Derby, and hewers in Northumberland and Durham, worked for 1½ hours a day, other districts working an 8-hour day. In every coalfield the average wage was reduced, and there were fewer local stoppages arising from disputes than in any year since 1916. Yet the depression increased in severity as the months passed. The weekly output at one time fell to 4,700,000 tons, against a potential capacity of 6,200,000 tons. Apart from the disorganisation resulting from the stoppage of 1926, the chief causes of the depression were smaller demand, increased production of coal abroad, particularly on the Continent, the restrictive policies of some Continental countries adopted for the protection of their own industries, and the delivery of reparation coal. World over-production is the key to the situation. Total output is estimated at 256,000,000 tons, against 126,250,000 tons in 1926 and 243,000,000 tons in 1925. Exports to foreign countries amounted to 48,700,000 tons, or about the same as in 1925 but about 25,000,000 tons less than in 1913, while bunker exports were 16,836,000 tons, against 16,436,000 tons in 1925 and 21,000,000 tons in 1913. Prices declined steadily. Some hundreds of the most unremunerative pits were permanently closed down, and the number of insured persons recorded as wholly or temporarily unemployed increased from 124,883 to 258,203.

In the iron and steel industry the year was notable for the large output of steel (which was exceeded only twice previously, and then in the war years) and for large imports of foreign materials. In spite of the exceptional output of steel (9,097,900 tons, against 7,385,000 tons in 1925), much plant was still not fully employed, while the prices of iron and steel as a whole, in relation to pre-war prices, remained at a level well below that of other commodities. The following table shows the output of iron and steel for the first three years, comparison being made with 1913 :—



	Pig Iron.	Steel Ingots and Castings.
	Tons.	Tons.
1913 . . . . .	10,260,000	7,663,000
1925 . . . . .	6,261,000	7,385,000
1926 . . . . .	2,458,000	3,596,400
1927. . . . .	7,293,000	9,097,900

*Textiles.*—Although business in some competing countries was brisker, the demand for British cottons continued poor. The price of Middling American rose from 6.8d. per lb. in January to 10-37d. in December. The crop, which amounted to about 12,750,000 bales, was smaller than that of the preceding season. With a large carry-over, however, there was an ample supply of raw material, but, in spite of this and a reduction in prices, there was little if any increase in the consumption of British cotton goods. The American section worked at 70 per cent, of capacity, and export trade suffered severely. Early in the year a new employers' association called the Yarn Association was established to regulate output and fix prices, but its policy did not receive sufficient support to make the latter enforceable, and in November all restrictions on the working of the mills were removed.

In the woollen industry also conditions continued adverse. Exports of woollen tissues amounted to 130,900,000 square yards, against 119,300,000 square yards in 1926 and 132,100,000 square yards in 1925, and those of worsted tissues to 39,900,000 square yards, against 42,900,000 square yards in 1926 and 47,300,000 square yards in 1925. Exports of worsted yarns amounted to 45,300,000 lb., against 31,800,000 lb. in 1926 and 38,700,000 lb. in 1925; those of alpaca and mohair to 9,000,000 lb., against 6,300,000 lb. in 1926 and 8,000,000 lb. in 1925; and those of woollen yarns to 6,500,000 lb., against 5,300,000 lb. in 1926 and 5,900,000 lb. in 1925. Imports of woollen tissues rose from 24,700,000 square yards in 1925 and 30,000,000 square yards in 1926 to 30,200,000 square yards in 1927; and those of worsted tissues amounted to 9,200,000 square yards, against 7,900,000 in 1926 and 11,600,000 square yards in 1925. The position in the West Riding of Yorkshire became so bad towards the end of the year that the employers gave notice to terminate the wages agreement, and demanded a substantial reduction of wages, stating that unless costs of production were considerably reduced the industry must continue to decline.

Trade in artificial silk developed on sound lines during the year, demand for the commodity coming largely from Lancashire, which found that there was a good market for cotton and artificial silk mixtures. Exports of yarn, stimulated by lower prices, amounted to 8,358,111 lb. (against 5,838,870 lb. in 1926), those of manufacturers to 5,787,7061. (against 5,425,6921.), of cotton and artificial silk mixtures to 72,431,463 square yards (against 60,416,222 square yards), and of wool and artificial silk mixtures to 2,068,450 square yards. Imports of yarn rose from 2,300,830 lb. in 1926 to 2,700,776 lb. in 1927, while those of manufactures amounted to 5,535,2071., against 3,757,0901.

## LAW.

AT the commencement of the year there were signs that the depression which had settled for some time past over the profession of the Law would slowly pass away, but at the close of the year the position was considerably aggravated, and hopes for more prosperous times had not been fulfilled. This was chiefly due to the fact that the bench of judges was inadequate in point of numbers to deal even with such work as there was for disposal. It is true that the appellate courts were able to dispose of their work promptly and no arrears accumulated before these tribunals. But in the King's Bench Division, owing to the sudden death of Mr. Justice Fraser at the Manchester Assizes in May last, and the promotion of Mr. Justice Greer, it was impossible to cope with the work in the metropolis, and, whereas at the end of last year three to four months elapsed after setting down before actions for trial were disposed of, that period, at the end of the year, had increased to more than six months. In November the House of Lords, appreciating the position, passed the necessary resolution for an address to the Crown to fill the two vacancies that had occurred on the Common Law Bench, but no time was found for the question by the House of Commons, so that the places of Mr. Justice Fraser and Mr. Justice Greer remained unfilled. In December the linked system in the Chancery Division was altered, and instead of the six judges being grouped in three divisions of two they were, for the better expedition of business, divided into two divisions of three.

The Companies Law Amendment Committee made its report last year and a Bill was introduced and passed the House of Lords carrying most of its recommendations into effect. But again, owing to lack of time, the measure was jettisoned in the House of Commons, and reform in this direction postponed. The Committee set up last year to consider the law of arbitration made its report in March, and in the following month the Crown Proceedings Committee, after six years and four months' deliberation, also reported, and annexed to that report a draft of a Bill dealing with the position of the Crown as a litigant. But in neither case were any further steps taken by the Government. The practice of appointing committees showed no sign of diminution. During the year one was appointed to consider the Shops Acts and the various restrictions thereunder, another to consider solicitation and disorder in the public streets, and yet another on the subject of income-tax simplification, while just before Christmas emergency legislation and regulations and the principles upon which compensation should be given were referred by the Chancellor of the Exchequer to another committee. The encroachments of bureaucracy upon the fields of judicial and legislative functions called forth several emphatic protests from the Lord Chief Justice, particularly in his address delivered at the

beginning of September at the annual meeting of the American Bar Association at Buffalo. Earlier in the year the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council at the request of the parties concerned located and defined the boundaries as between Canada and Newfoundland with reference to Labrador. Under the documents the "coasts of Labrador" were to go to Newfoundland, and the question that fell to be decided was "What is the inland boundary of a coast?" In that case the Committee held that the coast was to be defined by a line at the watershed of the rivers falling into the sea on the shore. The actual decision was one of considerable material importance, but the case also demonstrated the willingness of the great self-governing dominions of the British Empire to submit their territorial disputes to the one judicial tribunal that binds them together. In December the War Compensation Court came to an end after twelve years' work.

Legislation during 1927 was again not large in bulk, but several of the measures which were placed on the Statute Book were keenly debated and contested. Most of the session before the summer adjournment was occupied by the Finance Act (cap. 10) and the Trades Disputes and Trade Unions Act (cap. 22). The first of these statutes conferred considerably increased powers upon the Commissioners of Inland Revenue both as regards income tax and super-tax, and many of its sections are difficult of comprehension. Payment of income tax on certain copyright royalties is now enforced by deduction. The Trade Disputes Act made certain strikes and lock-outs illegal; more effectually prevented intimidation; altered the law as to the political funds of trade unions, and placed restrictions upon civil servants becoming members of certain political organisations. Other statutes which were passed before the adjournment of general interest were the Auctions (Bidding Agreements) Act (cap. 12), designed to prohibit the "knock-out;" the Poor Law Act (cap. 14), which consolidated more than ninety enactments on this subject in 245 sections; and the Moneylenders' Act (cap. 21), which required licences and certificates and placed restrictions upon advertisements amongst other matters. On resumption in the autumn Parliament was largely concerned with the Landlord and Tenant Act (cap. 36), which gave compensation for improvements and goodwill to tenants of business premises and for improvements only to professional tenants. After a struggle the right of resort to the courts of law was maintained, and the Government's proposal for a lay tribunal defeated. Another measure to which considerable opposition was shown passed through both Houses, namely, the Unemployment Insurance Act (cap. 30). Mention must also be made of the Cinematograph Films Act (cap. 29), passed to protect the British film industry; the Audit (Local Authorities) Act (cap. 31), dealing with extravagant and unwarranted expenditure, and the Road Transport (Lighting) Act (cap. 37), which makes uniformity in the lighting of vehicles on public roads.

Three cases during 1927 attracted the attention of the public. The first of these was the libel action of *Wright v. Lord Gladstone* brought against the defendant in respect of a letter written concerning the plaintiff who had published a book containing passages reflecting on the moral character of the late Mr. W. E. Gladstone. The jury returned a verdict for the defend-

ant. Another was the prosecution of the author of "The Whispering Gallery" for obtaining by false pretences a cheque from the publishers thereof. The prosecution resulted in an acquittal, but the disclosures made showed the extent of the public appetite for anonymous gossip of doubtful veracity. The third case also was brought before the Criminal Courts where a lady doctor was prosecuted for making a false statutory declaration with reference to an alleged channel swim. No dishonesty of any kind was alleged but a heavy fine was inflicted.

Cases of professional importance were not numerous during 1927 and many of them had reference either to ships or to revenue matters. In the case of *The Jupiter* it was held that the nationalisation decrees of the Soviet Government had no effect on property situate without the territory of the Soviet, and that therefore a company that had bought a ship nationalised under such a decree from the Soviet Republic had no right to the ship as against one who had a lawful possessory title. In *The Fagernes* it was held by the Court of Appeal, after having been informed by the Attorney-General that the Crown did claim the part of the Bristol Channel where the collision occurred as being within the territorial jurisdiction of the King, that the water was not *inter fauces terrae* and so was not deemed to be part of the British territorial waters. The same tribunal in *Gosse Millard, Limited v. Canadian Government Merchant Marine, Limited*, dealt with the difficult question as to what constitutes "management of a ship" within the meaning of the Carriage of Goods by Sea Act, 1924. It was there laid down that the words dealt with the management of the ship as a physical entity and not management of the cargo-carrying adventure; that is to say, the words would apply where part of the ship was managed even primarily for the purpose of protecting the cargo and also for the purpose of making the ship fit for the adventure with secondary results to the cargo. In *The Yuri Maru* the Privy Council decided that the Colonial Courts of Admiralty Act, 1890, merely defined a maximum of jurisdictional authority for the courts to be set up under that statute, namely, the Admiralty jurisdiction in England as it existed when the Act was passed, and that the incorporation of any further jurisdiction, such as had since been conferred on the High Court in this country, could only be added by independent legislative determination. Finally, the House of Lords in *The Mostyn* set at rest the difficulties that had always existed since the judgments given by the same tribunal in *River Wear Commissioners v. Adamson* in 1877. The question related to the liability of shipowners for damage done to harbour and dock works under the Act of 1847, and it must now be taken that that liability is absolute save where the cause of damage is not human agency but a *vis major* beyond human control.

As regards revenue cases, amongst the large number determined there were several of considerable interest. In *Levene v. Inland Revenue Commissioners* and *Lysaght v. Inland Revenue Commissioners* the question of residence for the purpose of liability to income tax was considered. Although decided at the same time, they were difficult cases to reconcile, but it would appear that such residence was held to be a question of degree and of fact, and largely turned upon the question whether the return to

this country was voluntary for the purpose of social intercourse and recreation, or compulsory for the purpose of business. With regard to limited companies, however, it was held in *Todd v. Egyptian Delta Company* that where a company was incorporated in England and merely maintained a registered office where the requirements of the Companies Acts were complied with, and, beyond this, carried on no activities whatever in the United Kingdom, the company was resident for the purposes of the Income Tax Acts. Mention may also be made of *Elliott v. Duchess Mill* where it was held that the extraordinary and abnormal depression in the cotton trade after 1920 was a "specific cause" of diminution of profits and that the company were entitled to relief. In *Seymour v. Reed* the House of Lords held that a professional cricketer was not assessable to the proceeds of his benefit match at the end of his career as a profit or perquisite arising from his employment.

Two decisions of importance to bankers were given during the year. In *Importers Company v. Westminster Bank* the Court of Appeal, affirming Mr. Justice MacKinnon, held that the word "customer" in Section 82 of the Bills of Exchange Act, 1882, which protects a bank collecting a crossed cheque for a customer, was not limited to the ordinary private customer of a bank and that a collecting bank acting for another bank was collecting for a customer. In *Midland Bank v. Inland Revenue Commissioners* documents issued by a bank in the form of receipts to be given by its customers for the payment by the bank of sums under 2*l.*, popularly known as "chequelets," were held to be liable to stamp duty as bills of exchange within the Stamp Act, 1891.

Three other cases are worthy of notice. In *Messenger v. British Broadcasting Company*, Mr. Justice McCardie held that the broadcasting of a musical play was a performance in public within the meaning of the Copyright Act, 1911, even although the only performance took place in a studio to which the public was not admitted. In *Rex v. Legislative Committee of the Church Assembly* a divisional court held that writs of prohibition and *certiorari* would not lie as that committee and the Church Assembly were not performing judicial functions, but that the whole of their duties were deliberative and legislative. Finally a divisional court held in *Roe v. Russell* that a statutory tenant under the Rent Restriction Acts had no power to under-let.

There were not many changes upon the Bench during 1927. The retirement of Lord Justice Bankes led to the promotion of Mr. Justice Greer to fill the vacancy created in the Court of Appeal. His Honour Judge Sir Thomas Granger, who was appointed to the County Court Bench in 1891, and His Honour Judge Head both died during the year, and His Honour Judge Sir Edward Parry retired, Mr. C. E. Dyer, K.C., Mr. H. L. Beazley, and Mr. Thomas Richardson being appointed County Court judges to fill the vacancies. Sir Edward Pollock, the Official Referee, retired after some thirty years in that position, and Mr. E. W. Hansell, K.C., was appointed in his place. In addition to Mr. Justice Fraser the profession suffered a severe loss by the death of Sir Edward Marshall Hall, K.C., and of Judge Kershaw. (See under Obituaries.)

# PUBLIC DOCUMENTS.<sup>1</sup>

## I.

### TREATY BETWEEN THE UNITED KINGDOM AND 'IRAQ.

(December 14, 1927.)

His Majesty the King of Great Britain, Ireland and the British Dominions beyond the Sea, Emperor of India,

And His Majesty the King of 'Iraq,

Desiring to consolidate the friendship and to maintain and perpetuate the relations of good understanding between their respective countries ; and

Recognising that the terms of the Treaties of Alliance signed at Baghdad on the 10th day of October, 1922, corresponding with the 19th day of Sa'far, 1341, Hijrah, and on the 13th day of January, 1926, corresponding with the 28th day of Jamadi-al-Ukhra, 1344, Hijrah, are no longer appropriate in view of the altered circumstances and of the progress made by the Kingdom of 'Iraq and stand in need of revision ; and

Considering that the revision of the terms of the said Treaties of Alliance can best be effected by the conclusion of a new Treaty of Alliance and Amity;

Have agreed to conclude a new Treaty for this purpose on terms of equality and have appointed as their plenipotentiaries :

His Majesty the King of Great Britain, Ireland and the British Dominions beyond the Sea, Emperor of India,

For Great Britain and Northern Ireland :

The Right Honourable William George Arthur Ormsby-Gore, M.P.,  
Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies ; and

His Majesty the King of 'Iraq :

Ja'far Pasha el Askeri, C.M.G., Prime Minister and Minister for  
Foreign Affairs ;

who having communicated their full powers, found in due form, have agreed as follows :—

Article 1. His Britannic Majesty recognises Iraq as an independent sovereign State.

Article 1. There shall be peace and friendship between His Britannic Majesty and His Majesty the King of 'Iraq. Each of the High Contracting

<sup>1</sup>No8.1, and II. are printed by permission of the Controller of H.M. Stationery Office from Parliamentary Papers Cmd. 2951 and Cmd. 2998 respectively.

Parties undertakes to observe friendly relations towards the other and to do his best to prevent in his own country any unlawful activities affecting peace or order within the other's territory.

Article 3. His Majesty the King of Iraq undertakes to secure the execution of all international obligations which His Britannic Majesty has undertaken to see carried out in respect of Iraq.

His Majesty the King of Iraq undertakes not to modify the existing provisions of the 'Iraq Organic Law in such a manner as adversely to affect the rights and interests of foreigners or as to constitute any difference in rights before the law among 'Iraqis on the ground of difference of race, religion, or language.

Article 4. There shall be full and frank consultation between the High Contracting Parties in all matters of Foreign Policy which may affect their common interests.

Article 5. His Majesty the King of Iraq agrees to place His Britannic Majesty's High Commissioner in a position to give information to His Britannic Majesty regarding the progress of events in Iraq and the projects and proposals of the 'Iraq Government, and the High Commissioner will bring to the notice of His Majesty the King of Iraq any matter which His Britannic Majesty considers might prejudicially affect the well-being of 'Iraq or the obligations entered into under this Treaty.

Article 6. His Majesty the King of 'Iraq undertakes, so soon as local conditions in 'Iraq permit, to accede to all general international Agreements already existing or which may be concluded hereafter with the approval of the League of Nations in respect of the following :—

The Slave Trade.

The Traffic in Drugs.

The Traffic in Arms and Munitions.

The Traffic in Women and Children.

Commercial Equality.

Freedom of Transit and Navigation.

Aerial Navigation.

Postal, Telegraphic, or Wireless Communication, and measures for the Protection of Literature, Art, or Industries.

His Majesty the King of 'Iraq further undertakes to execute the provisions of the following instruments in so far as they apply to 'Iraq :—

The Covenant of the League of Nations.

The Treaty of Lausanne.

The Anglo-French Boundary Convention.

The San Remo Oil Agreement.

Article 7. His Majesty the King of 'Iraq undertakes to co-operate in so far as social, religious, and other conditions may permit, in the execution of any common policy adopted by the League of Nations for preventing and combating disease, including diseases of plants and animals.

Article 8. Provided the present rate of progress in 'Iraq is maintained and all goes well in the interval, His Britannic Majesty will support the candidature of 'Iraq for admission to the League of Nations in 1931.

Article 9. There shall be no discrimination in 'Iraq against the nationals

of any State, member of the League of Nations, or of any State to which His Majesty the King of 'Iraq has agreed by Treaty that the same rights should be ensured as it would enjoy if it were a member of the said League (including companies incorporated under the laws of such State), as compared with those of any other foreign State in matters concerning taxation, commerce, or navigation, the exercise of industries or professions, or in the treatment of merchant vessels or civil aircraft.

Nor shall there be any discrimination in 'Iraq against goods originating in or destined for any of the said States.

Article 10. His Britannic Majesty undertakes, at the request of His Majesty the King of 'Iraq, and on his behalf, to continue the protection of 'Iraqi nationals in foreign countries in which His Majesty the King of 'Iraq is not represented.

Article 11. Nothing in this Treaty shall affect the validity of the contracts concluded and in existence between the 'Iraq Government and British officials; in every respect those contracts shall be interpreted as if the British Officials Agreement of the 25th March, 1924, were in existence.

Article 11. A separate Agreement shall regulate the financial relations between the High Contracting Parties. This Agreement shall supersede the Financial Agreement of the 25th day of March, 1924, corresponding with the 19th day of Sha'ban, 1342, Hijrah, which shall thereupon cease to have effect.

Article 13. A separate Agreement shall regulate the military relations between the High Contracting Parties. This Agreement shall supersede the Military Agreement of the 25th day of March, 1924, corresponding with the 19th day of Sha'ban, 1342, Hijrah, which shall thereupon cease to have effect.

Article 14. His Majesty the King of 'Iraq undertakes to maintain in force the Judicial Agreement signed on the 25th day of March, 1924, corresponding to the 19th day of Sha'ban, 1341.

Article 15. Any difference that may arise between the High Contracting Parties as to the interpretation of the provisions of this Treaty shall be referred to the Permanent Court of International Justice provided for by Article 14 of the Covenant of the League of Nations. In such case, should there be any discrepancy between the English and the Arabic texts of this Treaty, the English shall be taken as the authoritative version.

Article 16. This Treaty shall come into force as soon as it has been ratified and ratifications have been exchanged in accordance with the constitutional methods of the two countries, and shall be subject to review with the object of making all modifications required by the circumstances, when 'Iraq enters the League of Nations in accordance with the provisions of Article 8 of this Treaty. This Treaty shall replace the Treaties of Alliance signed at Baghdad on the 10th day of October, 1922, corresponding with the 19th day of Sa'far, 1341, Hijrah, and on the 13th day of January, 1926, corresponding with the 28th day of Jamadi-al-Ukhra, 1344, Hijrah, which shall cease to have effect upon the entry into force of this Treaty.

In faith whereof the respective Plenipotentiaries have signed the present Treaty and have affixed thereto their seals.



Done at London, in duplicate in the English and Arabic languages, this fourteenth day of December, One thousand nine hundred and twenty-seven of the Christian Era, corresponding with the eighteenth day of Jumada-al-Thani, One thousand three hundred and forty-six, Hijrah.

JA'FAR EL ASKERI.

(L.S.)

W. ORMSBY-GORE.

(L.S.)

## II.

### TREATY BETWEEN HIS MAJESTY KING GEORGE V. AND HIS MAJESTY THE KING OF THE HEJAZ AND OF NEJD AND ITS DEPENDENCIES.

*(Signed at Jeddah, May 20, 1927. Ratifications exchanged at Jeddah, September 17, 1927.)*

His Majesty the King of Great Britain, Ireland and the British Dominions beyond the Seas, Emperor of India, on the one part; and

His Majesty the King of the Hejaz and of Nejd and its Dependencies, on the other part;

Being desirous of confirming and strengthening the friendly relations which exist between them and of consolidating their respective interests, have resolved to conclude a treaty of friendship and good understanding, for which purpose His Britannic Majesty has appointed as his plenipotentiary Sir Gilbert Falkingham Clayton, and His Majesty the King of the Hejaz and of Nejd and its Dependencies has appointed His Royal Highness the Amir Faisal ibn Abdul-Aziz, his son and Viceroy in the Hejaz, as his plenipotentiary.

His Highness the Amir Faisal ibn Abdul-Aziz and Sir Gilbert Falkingham Clayton, having examined their credentials and found them to be in good and due form, have accordingly agreed upon and concluded the following articles:—

Article 1. His Britannic Majesty recognises the complete and absolute independence of the dominions of His Majesty the King of the Hejaz and of Nejd and its Dependencies.

Article 1. There shall be peace and friendship between His Britannic Majesty and His Majesty the King of the Hejaz and of Nejd and its Dependencies. Each of the High Contracting Parties undertakes to maintain good relations with the other and to endeavour by all the means at its disposal to prevent his territories being used as a base for unlawful activities directed against peace and tranquillity in the territories of the other party.

Article 3. His Majesty the King of the Hejaz and of Nejd and its Dependencies undertakes that the performance of the pilgrimage will be facilitated to British subjects and British-protected persons of the Moslem faith to the same extent as to other pilgrims, and announces that they will

be safe as regards their property and their person during their stay in the Hejaz.

Article 4. His Majesty the King of the Hejaz and of Nejd and its Dependencies undertakes that the property of the aforesaid pilgrims who may die within the territories of His Majesty and who have no lawful trustee in those territories shall be handed over to the British Agent in Jeddah or to such authority as he may appoint for the purpose, to be forwarded by him to the rightful heirs of the deceased pilgrims; provided that the property shall not be handed over to the British representative until the formalities of the competent tribunals have been complied with and the dues prescribed under Hejazi or Nejdi laws have been duly collected.

Article 5. His Britannic Majesty recognises the national (Hejazi or Nejdi) status of all subjects of His Majesty the King of the Hejaz and of Nejd and its Dependencies who may at any time be within the territories of His Britannic Majesty or territories under the protection of His Britannic Majesty.

Similarly, His Majesty the King of the Hejaz and of Nejd and its Dependencies recognises the national (British) status of all subjects of His Britannic Majesty and of all persons enjoying the protection of His Britannic Majesty who may at any time be within the territories of His Majesty the King of the Hejaz and of Nejd and its Dependencies; it being understood that the principles of international law in force between independent Governments shall be respected.

Article 6. His Majesty the King of the Hejaz and of Nejd and its Dependencies undertakes to maintain friendly and peaceful relations with the territories of Kuwait and Bahrain, and with the Sheikhs of Qatar and the Oman Coast, who are in special treaty relations with His Britannic Majesty's Government.

Article 7. His Majesty the King of the Hejaz and of Nejd and its Dependencies undertakes to co-operate by all the means at his disposal with His Britannic Majesty in the suppression of the slave trade.

Article 8. The present treaty shall be ratified by each of the High Contracting Parties and the ratifications exchanged as soon as possible. It shall come into force on the day of the exchange of ratifications and shall be binding during seven years from that date. In case neither of the High Contracting Parties shall have given notice to the other six months before the expiration of the said period of seven years of his intention to terminate the treaty, it shall remain in force and shall not be held to have terminated until the expiration of six months from the date on which either of the parties shall have given notice of the termination to other party.

Article 9. The treaty concluded between His Britannic Majesty and His Majesty the King of the Hejaz and of Nejd and its Dependencies (then Ruler of Nejd and its then Dependencies) on the 26th December, 1915, shall cease to have effect as from the date on which the present treaty is ratified.

Article 10. The present treaty has been drawn up in English and Arabic. Both texts shall be of equal validity; but in case of divergence in the interpretation of any part of the treaty the English text shall prevail.

Article 11. The present treaty shall be known as the Treaty of Jeddah. Signed at Jeddah on Friday, May 20th, 1927 (corresponding to the 18th Zul Qa'da, 1345).

GILBERT FALKINGHAM CLAYTON.  
FAISAL ABDUL-AZIZ AL SAUD.

(10)

*Sir 6. Clayton to His Majesty the King of the Hejaz and of Nejd and its Dependencies.*

Your Majesty,—I have the honour to remind your Majesty that, in the course of our negotiations, which have happily resulted in the conclusion of a treaty of friendship and good understanding between His Britannic Majesty and your Majesty, the question of the frontier between the Hejaz and Trans Jordan was discussed, and I explained to your Majesty the position, as defined in a draft protocol submitted by me to you, which His Majesty's Government have taken up on this question and to which they must adhere.

His Majesty's Government regard the above-mentioned frontier as being defined as follows :—

" The frontier between the Hejaz and Trans Jordan starts from the intersection of meridian 38° E. and parallel 29° 35' N. which marks the termination of the frontier between Nejd and Trans Jordan, and proceeds in a straight line to a point on the Hejaz Railway 2 miles south of Mudawwara. From this point it proceeds in a straight line to a point on the Gulf of Aqaba 2 miles south of the town of Aqaba." Respects.

GILBERT CLAYTON,  
*His Britannic Majesty's Commissioner  
and Plenipotentiary.*

JEDDAH, *May 19th, 1927 (18th Zul Qa'da, 1345).*

(1.)

*Abdul-Aziz ibn Abdul-Rahman al Faisal al Saud to His Britannic Majesty's Commissioner and Plenipotentiary.*

(Translation.)

In reply to your letter dated the 18th Zul Qa'da, 1345, on the subject of the Hejaz-Transjordan frontier, we note that His Majesty's Government adhere to their position, but we find it impossible, in the present circumstances, to effect a final settlement of this question. Nevertheless, in view of our true desire to maintain cordial relations based on solid ties of friendship, we desire to express to your Excellency our willingness to maintain the *status quo* in the Ma'an-Aqaba district, and we promise not to interfere in its administration until favourable circumstances will permit a final settlement of this question.

Respects.

(Sealed) ABDUL-AZIZ IBN ABDUL-RAHMAN AL SAUD.

*19th Zul Qa'da, 1345 (May 21st, 1927).*

## (3.)

*Sir G. Clayton to His Majesty the King of the Hejaz and of Nejd and its Dependencies.*

Your Majesty,—In continuation of our conversations relating to the question of the slave trade, I have the honour to inform your Majesty that His Britannic Majesty's Government feel it their duty to abstain at present from renouncing the right of manumitting slaves, which has long been practised by His Majesty's consular officers, and which enables them to liberate any slave who presents himself of his own free choice with a request for liberation and repatriation to his country of origin.

I wish to assure your Majesty that His Britannic Majesty's Government's insistence on this right is not intended to mean any interference in the affairs of your Government or any infringement of your Majesty's sovereignty; but that it is due to His Britannic Majesty's Government's resolve to carry out a duty which they owe to humanity. I would add that His Britannic Majesty's Government will be prepared to consider the abolition of the right of manumission as soon as it becomes clear to both parties that the co-operation stipulated in Article 8 of the Treaty of Jeddah has resulted in the enforcement of such practical measures as to render the exercise of the right of manumission no longer necessary.

I trust that your Majesty will appreciate the attitude of His Britannic Majesty's Government in this matter and that you will see fit to acquiesce in the procedure which I have described above.

Eespects.

GILBERT CLAYTON,  
*His Britannic Majesty's Commissioner  
and Plenipotentiary.*

JEDDAH, *May 19th, 1927 [18th Zul Qa'da, 1345].*

## (4.)

*Abdul-Aziz ibn Abdul-Rahman al Faisal al Saud to His Britannic Majesty's Commissioner and Plenipotentiary.*

(Translation.)

In reply to your Excellency's letter No. 2, dated the 18th Zul Qa'da, 1345 (May 19th, 1927) relating to the manumission of slaves, I am confident that the British agent at Jeddah will always act in accordance with the spirit in which our agreement was arrived at, and that he will not permit any confusion, as this might have undesirable effects on the administrative and economic aspects of this question.

Respects.

(Sealed) ABDUL-AZIZ IBN ABDUL-RAHMAN AL SAUD.

19A *Zul Qa'da, 1346 (May 21st, 1927).*

(5.)

*Sir G. Clayton to His Majesty the King of the Hejaz and of Nejd and its Dependencies.*

Your Majesty,—With reference to the proposal put forward by your Majesty for the inclusion in the treaty of an article providing that His Britannic Majesty's Government should take no measures to prevent the purchase and importation of whatever arms, war material, ammunition, machines or implements the Government of the Hejaz and Nejd may require for their own use, I have the honour to inform your Majesty that His Britannic Majesty's Government are of the opinion that this is a question which need not be dealt with in the body of the main treaty.

I am, however, empowered by His Britannic Majesty's Government to inform your Majesty that the embargo on the export of war materials to Arabia has been removed, and that, if your Majesty should see fit to place orders for arms, ammunition and war material with British manufacturers, in accordance with the conditions set forth in the Arms Traffic Convention (1925), for the use of the Government of the Hejaz and Nejd, His Britannic Majesty's Government will not prevent the export thereof or place any obstacle to their importation into your Majesty's territories.

I shall endeavour, in answer to your Majesty's desire, to present your Majesty with a copy of the convention referred to above as soon as may be. Eespects.

GILBERT CLAYTON,

*His Britannic Majesty's Commissioner  
and Plenipotentiary.*

JEDDAH, *May* 19th, 1927 (*mh Zul Qa'da*, 1345).

(6.)

*Abdul-Aziz ibn Abdul-Rahman al Faisal al Saud to His Britannic Majesty's Commissioner and Plenipotentiary.*

(Translation.)

In reply to your letter dated the 18th Zul Qa'da, 1345 (May 19th, 1927), relating to arms, I wish to thank you for your statement which makes it clear that the importation of arms into Arabia is not prohibited.

Respects.

(Sealed) ABDUL-AZIZ IBN ABDUL-RAHMAN AL SAUD.

19<sup>h</sup> Zul Qa'da, 1345 (*May* 21st, 1927).

(7.)

*Sir G. Clayton to His Majesty the King of the Hejaz and of Nejd and its Dependencies.*

Your Majesty,—With reference to Article 4 of the Treaty of Jeddah, I have the honour to confirm the statements I made to your Majesty in the

course of our conversations, in which I stated that the sole object of the insertion of that article in the treaty is, first, to establish the present procedure formally, and, secondly, to furnish His Britannic Majesty's Government with such assurances as might enable them to bring that procedure to the notice of all Moslems in British territories.

I wish, moreover, to assure your Majesty that the presence of that article in the treaty does not affect and will not be interpreted as affecting the procedure relating to the belongings of deceased persons other than pilgrims, which remain subject to the rules of reciprocity which are the basis of the usual practice between independent countries.

Respects.

GILBERT CLAYTON,

*His Britannic Majesty's Commissioner  
and Plenipotentiary.*

JEDDAH, May 19th, 1927 (*18th Zul Qu'da*, 1345).

(8.)

*Abdul-Aziz ibn Abdul-Rahman al Faisal al Saud to His Britannic Majesty's  
Commissioner and Plenipotentiary.*

(Translation.)

In reply to your letter dated the 18th Zul Qa'da, 1345 (May 19th, 1927), relating to the disposal of the belongings of our subjects in your territories and your subjects in our territories, I wish to assure your Excellency that the procedure will be, as you state, in accordance with international practice, by which we mean that the belongings will be entrusted to our tribunals, who will hand them over to the British agent after the legal formalities and the collection of the dues, and that, *mutatis mutandis*, the belongings of those of our subjects who may die in British territories will be handed over to us by the British agent at Jeddah.

Kespects.

(Sealed) ABDUL-AZIZ IBN ABDUL-RAHMAN AL SAUD.

*18th Zul Qa'da* 1345 (*May 20M*, 1927).

III.

THE ITALIAN LABOUR CHARTER.

(April 21, 1927.)

Article 1. The Italian nation is an organism whose aim, whose life, and whose means of action are superior to those of the single individuals occupying and forming it. It is a moral, political, and economic unity, which finds its complete expression in the Fascist State.

Article 1. Labour in all forms, intellectual, technical, and manual, is a social duty. In this sense, and only in this sense, it is under the

guardianship of the State. The whole body of production is a single unit, from the national point of view; its objects are unified and are summed up in the well-being of the producers and the development of the national strength.

Article 3. Professional or syndical organisation is free. But only the syndicate legally recognised and under the control of the State has the right legally to represent the entire category of employers or workers for which it is constituted : to protect their interests as regards the State, and other professional associations; to stipulate collective contracts of labour binding upon all persons belonging to the category, to exact contributions from them, and to carry out in relation to them delegated functions of public interest.

Article 4. In the collective contract of labour the solidarity between the various factors of production finds its concrete expression through the conciliation of the opposing interests of employers and workers and their subordination to the superior interests of production.

Article 5. The Tribunal of Labour is the organ through which the State intervenes to regulate labour controversies, whether with reference to the observance of pacts or other existing regulations, or with reference to the determination of new labour conditions.

Article 6. Legally recognised professional associations assure legal equality between employers and workmen, maintain discipline in production and labour and strive to perfect them. The corporations form the sole organisation of the forces of production and represent all their interests. In view of this complete representation, and of the fact that the interests of production are national interests, the corporations are recognised by law as State organs.

Article 7. The corporative State considers private initiative in the field of production as the most efficacious and most useful instrument in the interests of the nation. Private organisation of production being a function of national interest, the organiser of a company or undertaking is responsible to the State for the management of its production. Collaboration between the productive forces entails reciprocal rights and duties between them. The whole working staff—technician, general employee, or workman—is an active collaborator in the economic undertaking, the direction of which lies in the hands of the employer, who has the responsibility for it.

Article 8. Professional associations of employers are obliged to promote in every way possible an increase in production, to improve it, and to obtain a reduction in costs. The representatives of those who follow a liberal profession or an art and the associations depending on the State, join in protecting the interests of art, science, and letters ; in perfecting the processes of production and in attaining the moral aims of the corporative system.

Article 9. Intervention by the State in economic production occurs only when private initiative is lacking or is insufficient, or when the political interests of the State are involved. Such intervention can assume the form of control, assistance, or direct management.

Article 10. In collective controversies with labour legal action cannot be begun until the corporative organ has tried conciliation. In individual controversies concerning the interpretation and application of labour contracts professional associations have a right to intervene for conciliation. Competence in such controversies devolves upon the ordinary magistrature, with the addition of assessors named by the interested professional associations.

Article 11. Professional associations are obliged to regulate through collective contracts the relations between the categories of employers and employees they represent. The collective labour contract is stipulated between first-class associations, under the guidance and control of the central organisations, exception being made of the faculty of substitution on the part of the association of higher grade in cases provided for by law and statute. Every collective labour contract, under penalty of nullification, must contain precise regulations on disciplinary matters, on trial periods, on the extent and payment of compensation, and on the hours of labour.

Article 11. The action of the syndicate, the work of conciliation of the corporative bodies, and the decision of the Tribunal of Labour guarantee the approximation of salaries to the normal exigencies of life, to the possibilities of production, and to the actual output of labour. The determination of salary is not controlled by any general rule and is entrusted to agreements between the parties in collective contracts.

Article 13. The consequences of crises in production and monetary crises should be equally divided among all the factors of production. Statistics collected by the public administrations, by the Central Statistical Institute, and by legally recognised professional associations regarding the conditions of production, the labour situation, the monetary market, and variations in the life of the workers, co-ordinated and elaborated by the Ministry of Corporations, will provide a criterion for reconciling the interests of the various categories and classes and their interests with the superior interests of production.

Article 14. When payment is made by piece-work, and the liquidation of piece-work is made by periods longer than a fortnight, adequate accounts must be made weekly or fortnightly. Night-work not included in the regular periodical periods of labour is payable at higher rates than day-work. When labour is paid by piece-work, payment should be determined so that the industrious worker with a normal capacity for labour will be able to earn a minimum above his basic pay.

Article 15. Employees have the right to a weekly rest on Sunday, Collective contracts will apply this principle, taking into account the existing rules and the technical requirements of an undertaking, and in view of these will ensure the respect for civil and religious holidays according to local traditions. Employees must scrupulously observe working hours.

Article 16. After a year of uninterrupted service in an undertaking requiring continuous labour, an employee has the right to an annual paid holiday.

Article 17. In undertakings requiring continuous work a labourer



has the right, in case of a breach of contract and in case his discharge is not due to his own fault, to an indemnity proportionate to years of service. Such indemnity is due also in case of the death of a labourer.

Article 18. The passing of any undertaking which requires continuous work into the hands of another owner does not end the labour contract and the personnel preserve their rights under the new owner. Similarly the illness of a worker not exceeding a determined length does not terminate a labour contract. A call to arms or service in the national militia is not a cause of discharge.

Article 19. Infractions of discipline and acts which disturb the normal functioning of a company, committed by workers, are punished according to gravity, by a fine, suspension of work, or immediate discharge without indemnity. Cases in which these penalties are applicable will be specified.

Article 20. New employees will be subject to a period of trial during which the right of ending the contract will be reciprocal, with payment only for the time of actual work.

Article 21. The collective labour contract extends its benefices and its discipline to home workers also. Special rules will be issued by the State to assure cleanliness and hygienic conditions of home work.

Article 21. Only the State can investigate and control the phenomenon of employment and unemployment of workers, which is a complex index to the conditions of production and labour.

Article 23. Employment offices organised on the basis of equality are placed under the control of the corporative organs. Employers must seek help among the workers registered in those offices and they have the option of choosing workers who are members of the party or of the Fascist Syndicates, depending on the length of time they have been registered.

Article 24. Professional associations of workers are obliged to carry out selective action among the workers, intended constantly to increase their technical capacity and moral value.

Article 25. The corporative organs must see that the laws against accidents and the policing of labour are observed by individuals belonging to the affiliated associations.

Article 26. Prevention of accidents is another manifestation of the principle of collaboration toward which employer and employee must proportionately contribute. The State, aided by corporative organs and professional associations, will endeavour to co-ordinate and unify, as far as possible, the system and the agencies of accident prevention.

Article 27. The Fascist State proposes to accomplish, first, the improvement of accident insurance ; second, the betterment and extension of maternity insurance ; third, the establishment of insurance against occupational illnesses and tuberculosis and the elaboration of a system of general insurance against all illness ; fourth, the improvement of insurance against involuntary unemployment, and fifth, the adoption of special forms of endowment insurance for young workers.

Article 28. It is the task of associations of workers to protect the rights of their members administratively and juridically regarding accidents and social insurance. In collective contracts of labour, as far as technically

possible, mutual funds for the sick will be established with contributions by employers, employees, and Government representatives, these funds to be administered by representatives of each under the control of the corporative organs.

Article 29. Assistance to individuals represented, whether or not they are members, is the right and duty of the professional associations. These must carry out directly through their own organs their functions of assistance. They cannot delegate them to other organisations or institutions except for matters of a general nature, over and above the specific interests of each category of producers.

Article 30. Education and instruction, especially professional instruction of their representatives, members or not members, is one of the principal duties of the professional associations. They must support the action of the national organisations with respect to the Dopolavoro movement [a nation-wide State organisation to provide recreation, education, and general beneficent assistance to the workers of both sexes after working hours] and other educational initiatives.

# OBITUARY

OF

EMINENT PERSONS DECEASED IN 1927.

## JANUARY.

1. **Stephen Meredyth** Edwardes, C.V.O., C.S.I., aged 54, orientalist, was the son of the Rev. Stephen Edwardes, a Fellow of Merton College, Oxford. Educated at Eton and Oxford, he passed the I.C.S. examination in 1894, and was allotted to Western India. In course of time he became a recognised authority on all matters connected with the Bombay Presidency. In 1910 he was appointed Commissioner of the Police for the city, and it thus fell to him to superintend the arrangement for good order at the landing of the King and Queen at Bombay for the Delhi Coronation Durbar. For this he was made C.V.O., and was created C.S.I. in 1915. In 1916 he was selected for the Municipal Commissionership of Bombay, a post he had to relinquish in 1918 on account of ill-health. He was then elected secretary of the Indo-British Association, a body set up to oppose the Montague-Chelmsford report. In 1921 he represented India at the Geneva Conference on Traffic in Women and Children. His real field of interest, however, was research rather than political controversy. In 1923 he became joint-editor of the *Indian Antiquary*, and in 1926 he was made secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society. Amongst much other literary work he revised Grant Duff's "History of the Mahrattas" for the Clarendon Press, and also the late Mr. Vincent Smith's "Early History of India." In 1925 he published an exceptionally interesting book on "Crime in India." He married (1895) Celia, daughter of Mr. Arthur Darker.

4. **Ambrose McEvoy, A.R.A.**, aged 48, was the son of Captain C. A. McEvoy, a friend of Whistler. He worked at the Slade School from the age of 15, having as companions Sir William Orpen and Augustus John. His two pictures, "Dieppe" (1909) and "The Earring" (1911) showed him to be a painter of real promise, and by 1915 his reputation was made secure by his two portraits, "Mrs. Charles McEvoy" and "The Artist's Mother." In 1924 he was made an A.R.A., and in the following year an Associate of the Royal Society of Painters in Water Colours. Amongst some of his best-known pictures are the portraits of Lieutenant R. D. Sandford, R.N., V.C., and Claude Johnson, Esq., "Mrs. Rosen," "Blue and Gold," and "La Reprise." McEvoy has been called a Shelley among painters. He married Mary, daughter of Colonel Spencer Edwards, who survived him with a son and daughter.

7. **Sir Francis Fox**, aged 82, who was well known as a specialist on the preservation of cathedrals, began his distinguished career as an engineer in the firm of his father, Sir Charles Fox & Sons, and continued it as a member of the firm of his elder brother, Sir Douglas Fox & Partners. He was connected with the building of the Mersey Tunnel (1880-86), with the construction of a rack railway to the top of Snowdon, as engineer to the Great Central Railway with

the erection of a swing bridge over the Dee below Chester, and with the Rugby - Marylebone railway extension, 1894-99. He was also concerned with railway construction abroad, being responsible for the bridge over the Zambesi at the Victoria Falls, and he was one of the experts nominated by the British Government on an international commission in connexion with the Simplon Tunnel. As a specialist in the preservation of cathedrals he made extensive use of the Greathead Grouting Machine by which liquid cement can be forced by compressed air into the crevices of masonry. This process was applied notably at the restoration of Winchester Cathedral (1905-12), and also at Canterbury and Lincoln. In 1912 Sir Francis reported on the condition of St. Paul's, and proved by personal investigation in diving costume the existence of quicksand near the cathedral. In 1924 he published an interesting volume of reminiscences: "Sixty-three Years of Engineering: Scientific and Social Work." Sir Francis received his knighthood in 1911. He was twice married: in 1869, to Selina, daughter of Mr. Francis Wright, who died in 1900; and in 1901 to Agnes, daughter of Mr. H. K. Home. He left a son and three daughters by his first wife.

9. **Houston Stewart Chamberlain**, born in 1855, the bitterest of anti-British renegades, was descended from a family distinguished for its services to the Crown. His education, partly abroad and partly at an English public school, was much interrupted by ill-health, and, after studying Natural Science at Geneva for a short time, he went to Dresden and fell under the spell of Wagner's music. After various literary efforts his "Life of Wagner" appeared, and in 1899 this was followed by "The Foundations of the Nineteenth Century," in which everything was turned to the glorification of Germany and the Germans. At the outbreak of war he espoused the cause of Germany with all the fervour of a convert, and in 1916 he was formally naturalised as a German. Chamberlain was twice married: first to Anna Horst, and in 1908 to Eva, only daughter of Richard Wagner.

11. **Sir John Scott Kettle**, aged 86, was the pioneer in this country of the scientific study of geography. He was educated at the Universities of St. Andrews and Edinburgh, and also at the Theological Hall of the United Presbyterian Church in Edinburgh, but he did not enter on a clerical career. In 1871 he joined Macmillan's staff in London, becoming sub-editor of *Nature* in 1873 and editor of "The Statesman's Year-Book" in 1880, a post he held until his death. Geographical subjects had early attracted his attention; in 1875 he began to contribute geographical articles to *The Times*, and in 1893 he published the "Partition of Africa." In 1884 he was appointed Inspector of Geographical Education by the Royal Geographical Society. His report in this capacity led to a revolution in the teaching of geography both at our universities and in our schools. In 1885 he became Librarian to the Royal Geographical Society, and from 1892 to 1915 was its Secretary. In 1893 he began the editorship of the *Geographical Journal*, and continued as editor till 1917. On his retirement he was elected to the Council of the Society, and in 1921 became one of its Vice-Presidents. He took the keenest interest in all expeditions for exploration, and particularly in the Mt. Everest expedition. Sir John was the recipient of many foreign medals and honours, and his knighthood was bestowed on him in 1918. In 1865 he married a daughter of Captain John Scott, by whom he had one daughter.

13. **William Barclay Squire**, aged 71, eminent as an authority on music, studied privately at Frankfurt, and in 1878 graduated from Pembroke College, Cambridge. As an undergraduate he came under the influence of the musical developments at Cambridge of C. V. Stanford, and contributed to Sir George Grove's "Dictionary of Music and Musicians." During 1883-85 he practised in London as a solicitor, and in 1885 he entered the British Museum as Assistant Librarian. Here he specialised in printed music, and in 1892 produced his famous "Catalogue of Old Printed Music in the British Museum." From 1912

to 1920 he was Deputy-Keeper of the Department of Printed Books. On his retirement he maintained his appointment as hon. curator of the Royal Music Library, and had the charge of the valuable Royal Music Collection which the King had transferred for safe-keeping to a special room designed by Mr. Barclay Squire. The results of his research work were embodied in the "Encyclopaedia Britannica," the "Dictionary of National Biography," the "Musical Antiquary," and other periodicals. In addition to his other activities he issued a catalogue for the Royal College of Music and, with Mr. Fuller Maitland, edited the "Fitzwilliam Virginal Book." Squire was elected an honorary fellow of Pembroke College, and created M.V.O., in 1926. He was also a Knight of Grace of the Order of St. John.

**14. Sir Isam bard Owen**, aged 76, an educationist, was the son of William George Owen, chief engineer to the G.W.R. He was educated at Rossall and Downing College, Cambridge, and entered St. George's Hospital, London, in 1871. He took his final M.B. at Cambridge in 1876 and his M.D. in 1881. While holding various medical appointments in London and carrying on a successful consulting practice between 1883 and 1904, he interested himself in the administrative side of education, and was largely instrumental in founding the University of Wales, the Charter for which was granted in 1893. On Lord Aberdare's death in 1894 he became acting Head of the University, and in 1896 he installed the Prince of Wales as Chancellor at Aberystwyth. In 1904 a new era of his life began with his appointment as Principal of Armstrong College. His strong personal influence at Newcastle impressed upon the city and county the importance of a university college, and in 1908 he secured the passing of the University of Durham Act, which entirely reconstituted the University and strengthened the Faculty of Arts at Newcastle. In 1909 he was appointed Vice-Chancellor of Bristol University, holding this post during a period of many anxieties and vicissitudes for the new university.

**15. David Janowski**, born 1868, was amongst the foremost chess players in the world. He gained "master" rank at the game when he was still in his twenties. From 1894 to 1916 he took part in all the principal international tournaments. His death from tubercular disease took place at Hyeres, whither he had gone to compete in a tournament.

**16. Professor Eugen Hultzsch**, aged 69, an Orientalist, was epigraphist to the Government of India from 1886 to 1903. He had been a pupil of Aufrecht, the famous Sanskrit scholar, and from 1882 to 1886 was assistant professor of Sanskrit at Vienna. During his years of service under the Government of India he edited the "Epigraphia Indica." His chief work, however, was an edition of the "Edicts of Asoka," which is accepted as the standard work on the subject. In 1903 he retired from the Indian service and accepted the Chair of Sanskrit at Halle.

**17. Lord Bearsted** (Marcus Samuel, First Viscount), aged 73, was the founder and chairman of the Shell Transport and Trading Company, Ltd. As Marcus Samuel he formed early business connexions with Japan, and started as a small shipper of oil from Russia to the Far East. Requiring capital for development, he applied to the Rothschilds, and in 1897, with the co-operation of Messrs. Lane & Macandrew, a combination of various concerns was formed under the style of the Shell Transport and Trading Company, Ltd. In 1907 an amalgamation between this concern and its competitor in Java and Borneo, the Royal Dutch Petroleum Company, took place. In 1891 Marcus Samuel was elected alderman for the City; in 1894 Sheriff, and in 1902-3 he was Lord Mayor. In 1921 he was created a baron, and in 1925 a viscount. Throughout his life he was interested in the affairs not only of the City of London, but also of the Anglo-Jewish community. In 1881 he married Fanny Elizabeth Benjamin, who died only a few hours before her husband. They were survived by one son and two daughters.

**19. Martin Henry Donohoe**, well known as a war correspondent, was born in 1869. He began his journalistic career in Australia in 1892, and in 1899, at the outbreak of the South African War, he became war correspondent for the *Daily Chronicle*. He went through the Russo-Japanese War attached to the First Japanese Army. In 1909 he witnessed the Turkish revolution, and was the first journalist to interview the new Sultan. He reported on most of the European wars of the early years of this century, and during the Great War he joined the Intelligence Corps, serving in Greece, Rumania, and Russia. He accompanied General Dunsterville's North Persian Expedition in 1919, and published a vivid narrative of the exploits of the force. Later he became Paris correspondent of the *Daily Chronicle*.

**21. Sir Charles Warren, Q.C.M.G., K.C.B.**, soldier-archaeologist, born February 7, 1840, was the son of Major-General Sir Charles Warren, and after being educated at Cheltenham and Woolwich, was gazetted to the Engineers in 1857. In 1867 he was sent to excavate in Palestine under the auspices of the Palestine Exploration Fund. Despite great difficulties he carried on the work, and an account of his discoveries is found in his "Underground Jerusalem," published in 1876, and in "The Temple and the Tomb" (1880). As a soldier his work was chiefly associated with South Africa. In 1876 he was appointed special Commissioner to settle the boundary line question arising on our annexation of Kimberley. He did good service in the Galeka War, and defended the Transvaal in the Zulu War. After four years' work at Chatham and in Egypt he returned in 1884 to South Africa, and it was largely owing to his successful activities that British Bechuanaland was proclaimed a Crown Colony. In 1886 he was summoned to England to become Chief Commissioner of the Metropolitan Police, but resigned in 1888 owing to friction with the Home Office. During the Boer War he was in South Africa again, but his operations as a General of Division under Buller on the Tugela and Spion Kop clouded his reputation. He was relieved from high military command and transferred to one of the administrative charges which had done much to make his reputation. Sir Charles Warren took a keen interest in Masonic Research, and was connected with many Masonic lodges. He married, in 1864, Fanny Margaretta Haydon, who predeceased him in 1919. He left two sons and two daughters.

**23. Paul Studer, M.A., D.Litt.**, aged 47, Professor of Romance Languages in the University of Oxford, was educated at Neuchatel, the University of Berlin, and London, where he graduated with special distinction. In 1907 he was appointed Professor of French and German in the Hartley University College, Southampton, remaining there until 1913, when he was elected Taylorian Professor of the Romance Languages at Oxford, and Curator of the Taylorian Institute. In 1914 he was made a member of Exeter College, and in 1926 was elected a Fellow of Trinity College. During the war he served (1916-18) on the Admiralty War Staff while still carrying on his professorial work. After the war his aim was to make Oxford the leading centre for Anglo-Norman studies, but he was almost immediately struck down by the disease which ultimately, in spite of long periods spent in Switzerland, led to his premature death. Amongst his published works were "The Oak Book" (Anglo-Norman records of Southampton), a work which secured for him the London degree of D.Litt.; "An Anglo-Norman Poem by Edward II., King of England" (1921); and "Provincial Dialects of Upper Valois" (1924). In 1908 he married Julie Adele Knoll, of Neuchatel.

— **Vice-Admiral Sir Maurice Fitzmaurice, C.M.G., C.B., K.C.V.O.**, died at the age of 56 after a distinguished naval career, which he commenced as a cadet in 1884. After seeing service in West and South Africa, he was in 1910 promoted captain, and served at the Admiralty as Assistant Director of Naval Intelligence until 1914 when, before the outbreak of war, he was sent to China as Senior Naval Officer in the Yangtze. At the outbreak of war, in command of

the *Triumph*, he captured the German collier *Elsbeth* on his way to Tsingtau, after the fall of which he proceeded to the Dardanelles where, after rendering good service, his ship was sunk by a submarine in 1915. From 1921 to 1924 he served as Director of the Intelligence Division at the Admiralty. FitzMaurice was promoted to Vice-Admiral in 1926. He married, in 1896, Mabel Gertrude Gray, and had one son.

23. **Perceval Landon**, aged 57, a brilliant journalist whose name is associated mainly with *The Times* and the *Daily Telegraph*, was the son of the Rev. E. H. Landon. In 1893 he graduated from Hertford College, Oxford, with honours in Classics, and two years later he was called to the Bar by the Inner Temple, but never practised. At the outbreak of the South African War he became one of the special correspondents of *The Times*, and rendered valuable services to this paper by his vivid despatches. After a short time as private secretary to the Governor of New South Wales, he resumed his journalistic career and was sent by the *Daily Mail* to be special correspondent at the Delhi Durbar. In 1903 he accompanied Sir Francis Younghusband's expedition to Lhasa, again as special correspondent for *The Times*. Lord Curzon later appointed him official historian of the expedition, and his book on Lhasa, which appeared in 1905, much enhanced his reputation. Landon then joined the staff of the *Daily Telegraph*, and remained on it till the end of his life. Up till the outbreak of the Great War he travelled much in the East, and was a special correspondent when as Prince of Wales, King George V. visited India (1905-6). His book, "Under the Sun: Impressions of Indian Cities," is a vivid description of his impressions. During the Great War he was in France for his paper, and afterwards at the Peace Conference and at the signature of the Treaty of Versailles. In 1925 he went to China, but was obliged to return on account of illness.

26. **Walter Warren Seton, M.A., D.Litt.**, historian and antiquary, who died at the age of 44, was a son of Lieutenant-Colonel Alexander Seton, R.E., and brother of Colonel Sir Bruce Gordon Seton, ninth baronet of Abercorn. Educated at University College, London (1899-1903), he was appointed Secretary of the College in 1903, and from 1912 to 1923 he was also Warden of University College Hall, Ealing, founded in 1908 with his assistance. In 1923 he was made Lecturer in Scottish History at University College. Largely owing to his efforts, in 1923 and 1924, the Penecuik jewels of Mary Queen of Scots, and many holograph letters of hers and documents connected with her, were secured to Scotland. Seton was also interested in Franciscan studies, editing and publishing various books and articles in this field of learning, and acting as secretary and treasurer to the British Society of Franciscan Studies. He was a Tory of the old school and a prominent Anglo-Catholic Churchman; a Doctor of Law of Padua, a Doctor of Philosophy of Prague, and a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries and of the Royal Historical Society. He was unmarried.

30. **George Byron Gordon, D.Sc.**, archaeologist, whose death at the age of 57 was the result of an accident, was the Director of the Pennsylvania University Museum since 1910. He was educated at Harvard, and later directed the Harvard expedition to Central America (1894-1900). In 1925, under his editorship, Part I. of a monumental work on Maya pottery, "Examples of Maya Pottery in the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, and in other Collections," was published. Dr. Gordon was also associated with the British Museum in directing the excavations at Ur of the Chaldees.

31. **Rev. Arthur Johnson**, born in 1845, was for many years one of the most prominent figures in Oxford life, contributing in no small measure to establish the popularity of the Modern History School. Educated at Eton and Exeter College, he was elected Fellow of All Souls in 1869, and appointed Chaplain. He retained the Fellowship until 1893, and was later re-elected in 1906. During this time he was Lecturer in Modern History at several of the Oxford colleges, and in

1908 was appointed Ford Lecturer in the University. He was a keen sportsman, a fine rider, an indefatigable shot, and a great fisherman. He married, in 1873, Miss Bertha Todd, who, as Principal for many years of the Oxford Women Home Students, was a figure hardly less familiar in Oxford than himself. He left two sons.

## FEBRUARY.

7. **Sir Wilfred Stokes, K.B.E.**, aged 66, engineer, was the inventor of the famous trench mortar of that name. He was the son of Scott Nasmyth Stokes, and brother of Adrian Stokes, R.A. He was educated at St. Francis Xavier's, Liverpool, and at the old Catholic University College, in Kensington. Articled to Mr. Lancaster Owen of the G.W.R., he was later employed under Sir William Shalford on work for the Hull and Barnsley Railway. He then became chief assistant to Messrs. Ransomes & Rapier, Ltd., of which firm he acted later as chairman and managing director. The work for which he was most celebrated was his invention of the Stokes' gun and shell, for which, in 1917, he received his K.B.E. The device was first employed at the Battle of Loos in 1915. From 1915 to 1918 he was on the staff of the Inventions Branch of the Ministry of Munitions, and served on numerous committees dealing with supply of munitions, industrial reconstruction, and kindred problems. Sir Wilfred was a member of the Institution of Civil Engineers, at one time President of the British Engineers' Association, and Vice-President of the Federation of British Industries. In 1899 he married Irene Ionides, niece of the donor of the Ionides Collection to the South Kensington Museum.

9. **Charles Doolittle Walcott, LL.D., Sc.D., Ph.D.**, distinguished geologist, was born in the United States in 1850, his ancestors being early English settlers in Salem, Mass. His strong bent for science showed itself in his childhood. In 1876 he was appointed assistant to Professor James Hill, State geologist of New York; in 1879 he was made assistant geologist in the United States Geological Survey; in 1888 he presented a summary of his work on the Cambrian rocks to the International Geological Conference held in London, and in that year he was promoted palaeontologist in charge of invertebrate palaeontology in the U.S. Geological Survey; in 1893 he became geologist in charge of Geology and Palaeontology; from 1894 to 1907 he was Director of the U.S. Geological Survey; and in 1907 he was appointed secretary of the Smithsonian Institution. He was secretary of the Carnegie Institute of Washington from 1902-5, chairman of the National Advisory Committee for Aeronautics, president of the National Academy of Sciences, 1917-23, first vice-chairman of the National Research Council, president of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences in 1923, and of the American Philosophical Society in 1925. In 1917 he received the Gaudry Medal from the Geological Society of France, and the Bigsby and Wollaston Medals from the London Geological Society. Dr. Walcott was twice married, and left a son and daughter.

10. **Sir George Greenhill**, the mathematician of world-wide renown, especially in the sphere of aeronautics and gunnery, was born in 1847. Educated at Christ's Hospital, where he highly distinguished himself, he became Second Wrangler in 1870, bracketed with Senior Wrangler for the Smith's prizes, and was elected Fellow of St. John's. In 1871 he was appointed Professor of AppUed Mathematics at the Royal Indian Engineering College, Cooper's Hill, and in 1873 he became a Fellow of, and Mathematical Lecturer at, Emmanuel College, Cambridge. Then began the work for which he is best known—the teaching of mathematics to the advanced class of the Royal Artillery officers at Woolwich. Between 1886-1914 he published a number of mathematical text-books and treatises. He was a corresponding member of the French Academy of Sciences, and a foreign member of the Accademia dei Lincei, Rome. He received his knighthood in 1908.



11. **The Rev. Gerald Stanley Davies**, aged 81, Master of Charterhouse, was the son of Admiral George Davies, Chief Constable of Cambridgeshire, and himself educated at Charterhouse School as a Foundation scholar nominated by the Prince of Wales. In 1873 he was appointed Form Master at Charterhouse School on its removal to Godalming, and remained there till 1905. His "Life of Franz Hals," which revealed a real knowledge of painting and is a work of established repute, together with his remarkable series of articles on horses and horse-racing in *Country Life*, serve to illustrate the wide scope of his interests. In 1908 the Governors of Sutton's Hospital appointed him Master of Charterhouse. His devotion to its foundation is shown in his "Charterhouse in London," which appeared in 1922, a book for which every available record was searched. In 1874 he married Constance Mary Hilliard, who died in 1921.

18. **Frederick Eden Pargiter**, aged 75, distinguished Orientalist and judge, was the son of the Rev. R. Pargiter. Educated at Taunton Grammar School and Exeter College, Oxford, he passed the Indian Civil Service examination; he was allotted to Bengal in 1875. In 1903 he was appointed to the Calcutta High Court, where he remained till his retirement in 1906. His writings during this period included a "Revenue History of the Sunderbans from 1765-1870," a digest of the Bengal Municipal Acts and a revised edition of a book on "Land Acquisition Acts in the Province of Calcutta," by Henry Beverley, his father-in-law. After his retirement he rendered valuable service to the Royal Asiatic Society, both as a member and as vice-president. His "Dynasties of the Kali Age" (1913) inaugurated the critical study of the Puranas. He translated the "Markandeya Purana," and wrote "Ancient Indian Historical Tradition." He married Florence Beverley, and had a son and a daughter.

— **Elbridge Thomas Gerry**, aged 89, founder of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, was a grandson of Elbridge Gerry, Vice-President of the United States. He graduated from Columbia University, entered a law office, and was admitted to the Bar in 1860. Before long he had obtained an important practice, and he accumulated one of the finest law libraries in America. In 1874 he founded the New York Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, which was the first of its kind, and acted as its president from 1876 to 1901. He was also counsel to Henry Bergh's American Society for Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, and vice-president thereof till 1887. In 1886 he was appointed chairman of a commission to consider the most humane methods of executing criminals, the findings of which commission resulted in the adoption in the United States of electrocution instead of hanging. In 1872 he served as chairman of a special commission for New York City, investigating the care of the insane. His favourite sport was yachting; from 1886 to 1893 he was Commodore of the New York Yacht Club. In 1867 he married Louisa Livingston, and had two sons and two daughters.

— Sir Frederick Green, K.B.E., aged 82, one of the founders of the Orient Line to Australia, was educated at Harrow and belonged to a family identified since the early seventeenth century with the development of shipping. The shipyard of R. H. Green & Co. is the oldest in the country, and the firm owned the Blackwall Line to Australia. In connexion with this business was formed the shipbroking firm of F. Green & Co., of which Sir Frederick became senior partner. In 1879 an alliance was made with Anderson, Anderson & Co., and the two firms formed the Orient Steam Navigation Company. The partners of the two amalgamating firms held alternately the chairmanship of this company. Sir Frederick thus for many years presided alternately with Sir Kenneth Anderson at the annual meetings. In 1918 the interests of the two firms were transferred to a new company, styled Anderson, Green & Co., Ltd. Sir Frederick then retired from active participation in F. Green & Co., though he still held a large financial interest therein. He continued various directorships after that date, being *inter alia* a director of the Suez Canal Company, the Marine Insurance

Company, and chairman of various companies with shipping interests. He was honorary treasurer of the League of Mercy and also of the British Sailors\* Society. In 1912 he was knighted, and made K. B. E. in 1918. He married Alice, daughter of Sir Daniel Cooper, Bt., first Speaker of the New South Wales Legislative Assembly. Four of his five sons and three daughters survived him.

19. **Georg Morris Cohen Brandes**, the famous European literary critic, was born of Jewish parents at Copenhagen in 1841. In 1859 he entered the University of Copenhagen, in 1862 gaining the university gold medal for a monograph on "The Nemesis Idea in Ancient Tragedy," and graduating with distinction two years later. He then worked as an independent journalist, at the same time devoting himself to literary criticism and research. In 1868 his "Æsthetic Studies" appeared, and during the next two years he prepared "The French Æsthetic of our Day,"—an exposition of the work of Taine—and "Criticisms and Portraits,"—studies of famous plays. In 1870, visiting Paris, Rome, and London, he came under the direct influence of Taine and John Stuart Mill. In 1871, at Dresden, began the lifelong friendship with Ibsen, to the genius of whose work he had first been attracted in 1867. His position in Denmark had by now become difficult owing to his outlook on things philosophic, literary, and religious; he returned, however, in 1871 to Copenhagen as Lecturer at the university, and began his celebrated course on "Main Streams of Literature in the 19th Century," the first volume of which (1872) aroused violent discussion. In that year the Chair of Literature and Æsthetics at Copenhagen fell vacant through the death of the poet Carsten Hauch, and, notwithstanding the latter's recommendation of Brandes as his successor, the university refused to make the appointment. The younger men, therefore, with the support of a number of Jewish Liberals, formed "The Literary Society" to give him a livelihood. In 1873 he was once more permitted to lecture at the university, and he delivered the second series of the "Main Streams," published as "The Romantic School of Germany." He and his brother brought out a monthly review, "The Nineteenth Century," the first organ of the younger generation in Scandinavia. In 1877 he published a monograph on "Soren Kierkegaard," and a collection of essays on "Danish Poets;" the violence with which these volumes were received determined him to leave Denmark. He then lived in Berlin by lecturing and journalism, sending back to Copenhagen various critical biographies; in 1882 appeared the fifth volume of "Main Streams"—"The Romantic School in France." In 1883 he returned to Copenhagen, his sympathisers guaranteeing him a stipend as private professor. Later a Liberal Ministry granted him an ample pension. In 1895 came his famous work on Shakespeare. In 1902 the university gave way, and Brandes was elected to the Professorship of Literature, which had been vacant thirty years. In 1906 he published his "Recollections of My Childhood and Youth." On his seventieth birthday the King of Denmark conferred on him the Gold Medal of Merit with Crown. In 1913 he visited England and lectured on the reciprocal influence of Danish and English literature. In 1914 appeared a "Life of Goethe" in two volumes. After the war his copious writings on the situation in Europe showed him to be undistinguished in the sphere of political discussion. In 1925 he published "The Jesus Myth"—a reassertion of his old Rationalistic standpoint—and "Hellas"—an analysis of modern and ancient Greece containing an unmeasured attack on British policy in the Balkans, and also on Sir Edward Grey. In 1876 he married the widow of Dr. Strodtmann, his first German translator.

24. **Sir Edward Marshall Hall, K.C.**, aged 68, the famous advocate, was the son of Dr. Alfred Hall. He was educated at Rugby and at St. John's College, Cambridge, where he graduated in 1881. In 1883 he was called to the Bar by the Inner Temple. Adopting the criminal branch of the law, he acquired a good junior practice on the south-eastern circuit as well as in various London courts. He took silk in 1898, and was Conservative M.P. for the Southport division of Lancashire from 1900 to 1906, and for the East Toxteth division of Liverpool

from 1910 to 1916, when he resigned to become Recorder of Guildford. Amongst the many famous cases in which he appeared, some of the most notable were: in **1886**, for the Queen's Proctor in the Crawford-Dilke case; in 1907, successfully for Robert Wood, accused of murder; in 1915, for Smith, convicted of murder in the "Brides of the Bath" case; in 1920, successfully for the accused in the "Green Bicycle" case; and also for Greenwood, accused of murdering his wife; unsuccessfully for Gray in the Crumbles murder of Irene Munro. In 1924 he appeared for the petitioner in the second Russell divorce case, losing his verdict in the House of Lords. In 1925 he prosecuted Hayley Morris, and in 1926 procured the acquittal of one Smith on a charge of murder in the "Stella Maris" case. His last appearance was for the accused colliery proprietors at Bridgend in the "live wire" case. He was made a Bencher of his Inn in 1910, and was knighted in 1917. He was twice married, his second wife being Henriette Margherita Kroeger, of Hamburg. One daughter survived him.

24. **Sir John Harmood-Banner, Bt.**, aged 85, was a prominent figure in the commercial life of Lancashire. Educated at Radley, he was apprenticed to his father's firm, Harmood-Banner & Sons, chartered accountants, of Liverpool, of which he later became a partner, and eventually head. In 1895 he was made a member of the Liverpool City Council. In 1905 he sat in Parliament as Conservative member for the Everton division of Liverpool, and retained the seat till 1924. He sat on various Parliamentary Committees, and was regarded by the House of Commons as a touchstone of commercial opinion in Lancashire. He was associated with numerous companies, being at one time chairman of Pearson & Knowles Coal and Iron Company and of the Partington Steel and Iron Company, and later of the Black Sea Amalgamated Oilfields, General Investors and Trustees, and Spiers & Ponds. He was also deputy chairman of British Insulated & Helsby Cables, and a director of various telephone and electrical companies. He was auditor of the Bank of Liverpool and the Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway, and president of the Institute of Chartered Accountants in 1904-5, and of the Association of Municipal Corporations in 1907. In 1912 he was chosen Lord Mayor of Liverpool. At one time he held the office of High Sheriff of Cheshire, and was D.L. and I.P. for the county. In 1919 he was appointed a member of the Royal Commission on Income Tax, and in 1922 to the panels of the Railway Rates Tribunal. He was knighted in 1913, and made a baronet in 1926. He married twice: first a daughter of the late Mr. Thomas Knowles, and later Mrs. Wilson, who survived him.

27. **Sir Luke Fildes, R.A.**, aged 83, the popular painter of the late Victorian era, was first educated privately and then sent to the South Kensington Art School, and later to the Royal Academy School. He began his career as an illustrator of books and magazines, notably of Dickens' unfinished "Mystery of Edwin Drood," which appeared in 1870. In 1872 he exhibited his first picture in the Royal Academy, namely, "Fair Quiet and Sweet Rest;" this was followed in 1874 by "The Casual Ward," another arresting example in the story-telling style of that era. Other examples are "The Return of the Penitent," "The Widower" (1876), and, most famous of all, "The Doctor" (1892), now in the Tate Gallery. His series of Venetian pictures, in which the influence of von Haanen is noticeable, were also popular, especially "The Alfresco Toilette." A most attractive portrait of his wife led to his discovery as a portrait painter. In 1901 he was commissioned to paint the State portraits of King Edward VII. and Queen Alexandra. These were much liked, and he was given the task of making a posthumous drawing of King Edward lying in State. In 1912 he painted King George V. Fildes was elected R.A. in 1887, knighted in 1906, and made K.C.V.O. in 1918. He married a sister of Mr. Henry Woods, R.A. His wife survived him with several sons and daughters.

28. **General Sir Walter Congreve, V.C.**, Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Malta, was born in 1841. He came of an ancient family numbering

among its forbears the Restoration dramatist. Educated at Harrow and Pembroke College, Oxford, he entered the Army, and at the outbreak of the South African War, General Buller appointed him D.A.A.G. on his personal staff. After the battle of Colenso, in which it had been necessary to abandon the guns, Congreve was one of the volunteers who made an attempt to save the pieces. In the partially successful venture the son of Lord Roberts was mortally wounded, and Congreve was wounded in bringing him back to cover. For his share in this exploit he received the V.C. Under Lord Roberts he was sent to Pretoria and appointed Brigade Major. In 1900, until the close of the war, he acted as assistant military secretary and private secretary to Lord Kitchener, being promoted major and brevet-lieutenant-colonel in 1901. In 1902 he served as assistant military secretary and A.D.C. to the Duke of Connaught in Ireland, and again in 1904, when the Duke was Inspector-General of the Forces. He continued on the Duke's staff till 1906. In 1909 he was made Commandant of the School of Musketry at Hythe, and in view of the scant ration of machine-guns sanctioned to the Army, was insistent on the necessity of developing individual proficiency in musketry. In 1911 he was appointed to command the 18th Infantry Brigade. He took an active share in the Great War, being promoted Major-General in 1915, suffering from typhoid 1916-17, losing his right hand in action in 1917, and being finally invalided home in 1918. In 1919, in command of the British forces in Syria, it fell to him to hand over to France the Syrian "mandated" territories. He was then in command of the troops in Egypt from 1919 to 1923, after which he held the post of G.O.C.-in-C, Southern Command in England, till in 1924 he succeeded Lord Plumer as Governor and Commander-in-Chief in Malta. Here his strength of character and wise justice won him great popularity among the Maltese. He was made M.V.O. in 1903, C.B. in 1911, and K.C.B. in 1917. In 1919 he was appointed Colonel Commandant of the Rifle Brigade, and in 1924 he became A.D.C. to the King. In 1890 he married Cecilia La Touche, and had three sons, the eldest of whom was killed in 1916.

## MARCH.

3. **Henry Frowde**, aged 86, publisher to the University of Oxford, came of an old Devonshire family. After filling subordinate positions in various bookselling and publishing firms, he became manager of the London Bible Warehouse in Paternoster Row. When the Church of England adopted its new Lectionary in 1872-73 his energy and quality of workmanship became apparent, and Professor Bartholomew Price, Secretary to the Delegates of the Clarendon Press, offered him the management of the London office of the Oxford University Press when the post fell vacant in 1873. This work he retained till 1913, when he retired, having devoted thirty-nine years to the development of the Oxford Press. While fully maintaining the dignity of the organisation, Frowde converted it into a world-wide business, and under his management appeared the well-known cheap and scholarly editions of the English classics. His genius for organisation was tested in 1881 when, with a small staff and cramped offices, he successfully solved the problem of distributing over one million copies of the Revised Version of the New Testament in one day—a success repeated in 1885 with the Revised Version of the Old Testament. In 1883 he took over from Macmillan the Clarendon Press series of secular books, and was formally entitled Publisher to the University. In 1897 the University granted him the honorary degree of M.A. In 1874 he married Mary Blanche Foster Earle, who survived him with two daughters.

— **Michel Petrovitch Artzybasheff**, the Russian novelist, was born in 1878. Educated at a grammar school and a school of art, he worked for some time as an artist, specialising in caricature. His most remarkable novel, "Sanin," appeared in 1907, and was translated into English in 1915; it marked a revolt

against the pessimism of Turgeniev and the Christian non-resistance of Tolstoi. Another of his novels, "Breaking Point," written under the influence of Dostoievsky, but with none of the latter's vitality, sets out to depict Russian provincial society after 1905. This and "The Millionaire," a volume of three tales, were both translated into English in 1915. In 1913 appeared a play, "Jealousy," which was much discussed in Russia.

5. **Arthur William Crossley, F.R.S.**, aged 58, noted chemist interested in cotton research, was educated at Mill Hill School and the Universities of Manchester, Wurzburg, and Berlin. He was elected to the Bishop Berkeley Fellowship at Owens College, and in 1895 took the post of demonstrator and lecturer in chemistry at St. Thomas' Hospital, London. In 1904 he became Professor of Chemistry and Director of the Research Laboratory of the Pharmaceutical Society of Great Britain, and was appointed Daniell Professor of Chemistry in the University of London (King's College), becoming F.R.S. in 1907. During the war he was secretary to the Chemical Warfare Committee of the Ministry of Munitions, and from 1916 Commandant and Superintendent of the experimental station of the Royal Engineers at Porton. Given the rank of Lieut.-Colonel, he was made C.M.G., and an officer of the Legion of Honour. In 1919 the British Cotton Industry Research Association was founded, and under its auspices Dr. Crossley organised the Shirley Institute at Didsbury. In 1918 he was Longstaff medallist, and in 1925 he was elected president of the Chemical Society, of which he had for many years been Foreign Secretary. He was a frequent contributor to the Society's journal, and to the corresponding journal at Berlin. In 1919 he was created C.B.E., and was honorary LL.D. of St. Andrews. He married Muriel Lamb, and had a son and a daughter.

8. **Walter Leaf**, aged 74, chairman of the Westminster Bank and famous classical scholar, was the son of Mr. Charles John Leaf, F.L.S., F.L.A. He was educated at Harrow and Trinity College, Cambridge, of which he eventually became a Fellow. In 1873 he was Craven University scholar, and in 1874 bracketed Senior Classic with F. H. Rawlins, with whom he was also bracketed for the Chancellor's classical medals. Though intended for the Bar, he finally decided, owing to the death of his grandfather and uncle and the incapacitating illness of his father, to enter the family firm. In 1877 he became a partner, and on the conversion of the firm into a limited liability company he was chairman from 1888 to 1891. In 1892 the firm amalgamated with Pawsons, and Leaf, by now a director of the London and Westminster Bank, elected to pass from a mercantile career to that of banking. In 1909 he was appointed deputy chairman of the Bank and in 1918 succeeded Lord Goschen in the chairmanship. In 1917 he was deputy chairman and in 1918 chairman of the London Clearing Banks, and from 1919 to 1922 he was President of the Institute of Bankers, in which capacity he was one of the British delegates at the foundation of the International Chamber of Commerce at Paris in 1920. He was one of the founders and successively Vice-President, Deputy Chairman, and Chairman of the London Chamber of Commerce. In 1925 he became President of the International Chamber of Commerce having, in 1923, been Chairman of the British National Committee. Leaf's classical studies were pursued throughout his business career. His translation of the Iliad in collaboration with Lang and Myers is famous, and his contributions to modern Homeric criticism marked a turning-point in the critical attitude to the problems involved. His studies into the historicity of the Trojan war were embodied in two volumes, "Troy: a Study in Homeric Geography" and "Home and History." One of his last acts was the presentation to the Hellenic Society of a valuable collection of Homeric pamphlets and literature. From 1901 to 1904 he sat on the L.C.C. for East Marylebone. He was Litt.D. of Cambridge and D.Litt. of Oxford, a Fellow of London University and a Governor of Harrow and Marlborough. In 1910 he became an honorary Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, and in 1921 was President of the Classical Associa-

tion. He was a keen mountaineer, and in 1903-5 was Vice-President of the Alpine Club. In 1894 he married Charlotte Mary, daughter of John Addington Symonds.

10. **Canon Moyes, D.D.**, aged 76, was Canon Theologian of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Westminster for over thirty years. He was educated in Ireland, France, and Rome, and when 25 years old was called to a professor's chair at St. Bede's College, Manchester. In 1891 Bishop Vaughan made him Canon Theologian of the Diocese of Salford, and in 1895 brought him to Westminster. Canon Moyes was a keen member, and at one time honorary secretary of Cardinal Vaughan's Historical Research Society. The readiness with which he could implement his erudition made him a formidable and almost certainly victorious opponent in debate or argument. He was editor of the *Dublin Review* from 1892 to 1903, after which he contributed most of his controversial articles to the *Tablet*. His work on the Papal Commission which re-examined Anglican orders some thirty years ago caused him to be regarded in some quarters as an uncompromising Ultramontane; his scholarship and his courtesy were, however, always recognised. When about 45 he was made a Domestic Prelate by Pope Leo XIII., who also named him Sub-delegate Apostolic for the Cause of the English Martyrs. In 1907 he published some of his essays in a volume entitled "Aspects of Anglicanism."

14. **Janis Chakste**, born in 1859, was the first President of the Latvian Republic. He was educated at the public school at Mitau, and graduated in Law from Moscow University. He then obtained a legal appointment at the Public Prosecutor's office in the Government of Courland. In 1888 he left this for the Bar, and soon became well known as a barrister and as editor of the *Tevija* (Fatherland) at Mitau, where he lived for many years and served on the municipal council. In 1906 he was elected a member of the first Russian Duma by the Government of Courland. In 1916 he went to Stockholm to carry out propaganda for Latvian independence, and published a book in German, "Die Letten und ihre Latvija." In 1918, when the independence of the Latvian Republic was proclaimed, he was elected Chairman of the People's Council, and appointed chief of the special delegation sent to Paris and London to secure recognition of the Republic by the Allies.

16. **Sir Robert Bond**, aged 70, whose life was devoted to public service in Newfoundland, of which he was at one time Premier, was the son of a Devonshire man, John Bond, founder of the Newfoundland branch of William Hounsell & Co., a West of England firm of high repute. He was educated at Taunton, and then took honours in Law at Edinburgh University. On returning to Newfoundland he devoted himself to politics, and in 1882 he entered the House of Assembly, of which, in 1884, he became Speaker. Five years later he was Colonial Secretary to the Liberal Ministry. His official life was mainly concerned with the fishing rights of other countries. From 1890 to 1904 he was engaged in negotiations with the French which were finally settled on a basis of compensation to the French for the extinction of their fishing rights. He also negotiated the settlement of American claims and the Reciprocity Agreements which culminated in the Hay-Bond Treaty. From 1900 to 1909 he was Premier as well as Colonial Secretary. In 1909 his party was driven from office, and he continued for some time as leader of the Opposition. In 1914 he resigned the leadership and his seat as a protest against the divisions among his followers. Sir Robert was unmarried.

— **Sir Henry Cr a Ik**, aged 80, well-known educationist, was the son of the Very Rev. James Craik, Minister of St. George's, Glasgow. He was educated first at the High School and later at the University at Glasgow, and afterwards became Scholar and Snell Exhibitioner of Balliol College, Oxford, where he took a degree in Classics, Law, and History. In 1870 he entered the Education

Department, becoming Senior Examiner in 1878. From 1885 to 1904 he was Secretary of the Scottish Education Department, and had a large share in the re-organisation of education which followed the establishment, in 1872, of the new Board School in place of the old parish school. His book on "The State and Education," published in 1883, showed the spirit in which he worked. Two years after his retirement in 1904, he was elected M.P. for the Universities of Glasgow and Aberdeen, and in 1918 for the Scottish Universities. Among his writings were five volumes of "English Prose Selections," which he edited for Macmillan (in which firm his brother was a partner); to four of the volumes he also wrote introductions which were a short history of English prose style. In his "Life of Swift" he published the original document of a portion of Swift's "Journal." His most characteristic book was "A Century of Scottish History," comprising roughly the years 1745 to 1843. In 1918 appeared his "Impressions of India," the result of a visit to his son, Henry Duffield Craik, I.C.S. In 1911 he published a "Life of Clarendon." In 1897 he was created K.C.B. and in 1918 was sworn of the Privy Council. In 1926 he became a baronet. In 1873 he married Fanny Esther Duffield, who died in 1923.

18. **Sir Frederick Robert Moor**, leading farmer in, and the last Prime Minister of Natal, was born in 1853, and educated at Hermansberg School, Natal. After eight years of diamond digging he took up farming in Natal, and settled down as a progressive stock-breeding ostrich farmer and agriculturist. In 1886 he entered the Natal Assembly, where he sat until the dissolution of the Colony's separate legislature. In 1895 he became Minister for Native Affairs in Sir John Robinson's Government, retaining the post until the resignation of the subsequent Government in 1897. He declined office under Sir Harry Binns, but in 1899 resumed his previous portfolio under Sir Albert Hine. During Sir Albert's absence at the coronation of King Edward he acted as Prime Minister. In 1903, on Hine's retirement, Moor became leader of the Opposition during the Ministries of Sir George Sutton and Mr. Smythe. In 1906, at the invitation of Sir Henry McCallum, he formed a Government, including in it three members of Smythe's administration. In the first Union Cabinet Moor was appointed Minister of Commerce and Industries by General Botha. As Prime Minister of his Colony he had been a delegate to the National Convention which worked out the scheme of Union. In the first election for the Union Assembly he was defeated, but was nominated Senator specialising in native affairs; he remained in the Senate until his retirement ten years later. He was created K.C.M.G.; he was also a Privy Councillor.

— **Rev. Philip Henry Wicksteed**, aged 82, well known as a Dante scholar and lecturer, was the son of the Rev. Charles Wicksteed, a Unitarian Minister at Leeds. He was educated at Ruthin Grammar School, University College School and University College, London, and Manchester New College, Oxford. He took the London M.A. in Classics, and later became Litt.D. of Leeds and Manchester. In 1867 he became a Unitarian Minister at Taunton and later at Dukinfield, near Manchester, till 1874. From 1874 to 1897 he was Minister at Little Portland Street, London, his sermons, lectures, and translations now becoming widely known. From 1887 to 1918 he was a University Extension lecturer on subjects ranging from political economy (in which he was a disciple of Jevons) to the works of Ibsen. In 1879 he reprinted six early sermons on "Dante," which became widely popular, and in expansion of his lectures prepared a translation of the "Paradiso" for the Temple Classics edition of the "Commedia." Other publications of his were "Dante and Aquinas," "The Reactions between Dogma and Philosophy" (1920). In 1868 he married Miss Emily Solly and had eight children.

21. **Sir Charles Waiston**, aged 71, well known as an archaologist, came of Austrian-Jewish stock, and was born in New York. He was educated at Columbia

College and Heidelberg, and at the age of 24 was invited by Henry Bradshaw and Henry Sidgwick to lecture at Cambridge on Classical Archaeology. In 1894 he was elected a Fellow of King's College, and in 1899 he was naturalised. He held the Readership in Classical Archaeology, the Directorship of the Fitzwilliam Museum, the Slade Professorship (twice), and from 1889 to 1893 he was Director of the American Archaeological School at Athens. His "Essays on the Art of Phidias" (1885), did much to encourage the study of ancient sculpture at Cambridge. Among diverse topics he wrote on "The Balance of Emotion and Intellect," "The Works of Ruskin," "The Expansion of Western Ideals and the World's Peace," "The Jewish Question and the Mission of the Jews." His style, however, was too cumbersome for him to attain literary fame, and his underlying ideas were far superior to the expression of them. In 1916 he published "Aristodemocracy," tracing the decay of old German ideals and the succeeding moral anarchy and indicating a possible line of regeneration. Among his gifts to Cambridge were the magnificent wrought-iron gates for the back of King's College. In 1912 he was knighted. In 1909 he married the widow of Theodore Seligman of New York, and daughter of Mr. D. L. Einstein. They had one son and one daughter.

29. **Luigi Luzzatti**, the well-known Italian economist, was born of Jewish parents in 1841. He was educated at Padua University, and became Professor of Political Economy at Milan in 1863 and Professor of Constitutional Law in the University of Padua in 1866. Forsaking an academic career, he entered politics as a member of the Liberal Party. From 1870 to 1921 he was continuously in Parliament as Senator. Between 1891 and 1909 he was Minister of the Treasury in four Cabinets; in 1909 he became Minister of Agriculture, Industry, and Commerce, and in 1910-11 he was Prime Minister. His last public work was to serve on the Financial Commission of the Genoa Conference. His main achievement as a financier consisted in refunding the national debt; for this the King, in 1906, created him Minister of State for life. Interested in social improvement, he did much to promote people's banks, and he founded the first Italian co-operative store. He was a member of the Institute of France, and held the Grand Crosses of St. Maurice and St. Lazarus and the Legion of Honour.

## APRIL.

8. **Sir (John) Ernest Hodder-Williams**, head of the publishing house of Hodder & Stoughton, was born in 1876. He was educated at the City of London School, University College, London, Paris, and Berlin. He began his publishing career in the firm of his grandfather, Matthew Henry Hodder, and having extended the firm's activities in all directions, in 1917 he became senior partner on the death of Thomas Wilberforce Stoughton. Sir Ernest was also Chairman of Wakley & Sons, proprietors of the *Lancet*. He was for many years a member of the City of London Corporation, and in 1918 acted as Chairman of the County Purposes Committee. He was knighted in 1919, created C.V.O. in 1921, was also appointed a Knight of Grace of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem and a Commander of the Crown of Italy. In 1920 he received King Albert's medal. Among other books he wrote "The Life of Sir George Williams, Founder of the Y.M.C.A." (his uncle), and with E. C. Vivien "The Way of the Red Cross," to which Queen Alexandra contributed the preface. He married first Miss Oddy, who died in 1918, and secondly a daughter of Mr. I. R. Pakeman, who survived him.

— **William Parsons Winchester Dana**, aged 94, the marine painter well known both in France and America, was born in Boston, U.S.A. After a few years of seafaring life he went to Paris to study art under Pointhevin and Couture. He lived there for thirty years and became a regular exhibitor at the annual Salon. In 1878 his striking landscape, "Solitude," won the Gold Medal of the



Paris International Exhibition. Many of his pictures are to be seen in the Metropolitan Museum of New York. He was a life-long friend of John Sargent, whom he first met while studying in Paris. Having settled in London, he was elected, in 1862, to the National Academy of Design, of which body he was the oldest surviving member. In 1855 he married a daughter of Colonel James Murray of New York, and left two daughters and one son.

11. **The Rev. Dr. Archibald Henderson**, aged 89, the great leader in the process of Church Union in Scotland, was the son of a noted Glasgow Divine. He was educated at Glasgow University, the New College, Edinburgh, and the University of Gottingen. In 1862 he was ordained Minister of the Free Church at Crieff, and remained there till the end of his ministry. In 1888 he became junior principal clerk of the Free Church General Assembly, and later senior clerk of the United Free Church, holding the latter office till 1906. For four years he was Convener of the Foreign Mission Committee of the Free Church and Moderator of the General Assembly of the United *Free* Church in 1909. On the death of Dr. Rainy, Dictator of the Free, and later of the United Free Church, Dr. Henderson, having for many years been his lieutenant, took on the leadership. Between 1904 and 1906 he was on the joint committee for the reunion of the United Free Church with the Church of Scotland, and was joint convener of the committee from 1908 till the Church of Scotland Act in 1921, and again till 1926. In addition to his practical qualities of statesmanship and administration, he was a recognised scholar, being appointed Principal of the United Free Church College, Glasgow in 1918, a position he retained till 1921. He was a D.D. of Glasgow and St. Andrews Universities. In 1863 he married a daughter of the famous Disruption leader, Principal Candlish, of Edinburgh. His wife died in 1915 and two sons and three daughters survived him.

11. **Sir James Walker, C.I.E.**, aged 82, banker, newspaper proprietor, and philanthropist, was the son of a British soldier in India, and was educated at a Himalayan school founded by John Lawrence. After serving as a bank clerk for a short time, at the age of 23 he became assistant secretary to the Simla Bank Corporation. In five years' time he was appointed deputy controller of Public Works Accounts, Bengal. In the course of the next year he established and became General Manager of the Alliance Bank of Simla, and from 1884 to 1887 he was President of the Simla Municipality. He was associated with Sir William Rattigan in the proprietorship of the *Civil and Military Gazette*, Lahore. It was during the period of Walker's proprietorship that Rudyard Kipling served on the staff and contributed his "Plain Tales from the Hills" and other short stories. Walker and Sir Wilham Rattigan purchased the *Pioneer* of Allahabad from Sir James Allen, who later joined them in partnership. In 1888 he was made C.I.E., and in 1903 he was knighted. Settling at home, he assisted actively in the London offices of the two papers, which by that time had become the property of a limited liability company, in which he was the largest individual shareholder. Sir James founded the Walker hospital at Simla; on his completion of forty years' service the Alliance Bank made him a gift of 1,000l., which he devoted to the needs of the hospital. In 1916 he resigned the chairmanship of the Bank. He married twice; first, in 1886, Lizzie Marion Hogan; and secondly, in 1893, Catherine Featherston, daughter of Charles Davey.

15. **Henry Holiday**, designer of stained glass and mosaic and painter of "The Meeting of Dante and Beatrice," was born in 1839. At the age of 15 he entered the Royal Academy Schools, where he worked with Fred. Walker, William de Morgan, and W. B. Richmond. Though not an actual member of the Pre-Raphaelite brotherhood, he was an intimate contemporary, and reflected its opinions. In 1857 his first picture was hung on the line at the academy, and in the following year his "Burgesses of Calais" met with similar success. In

1863, some of his best work being refused, he joined Holman Hunt in organising the Salon des Refuses at the Cosmopolitan Club. He then worked on cartoons for stained glass for the Whitefriars Glass Works, experimenting also in mosaic and enamel, and producing a work of sculpture, "Sleep." His best mosaics and mural paintings are in the Rochdale and Bradford Town Halls and the churches of Minehead and Casterton. "The Meeting of Dante and Beatrice," which was exhibited in 1882, is now in the Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool. As a worker in stained glass he claimed to have discovered the secret of the fine blues in the thirteenth and fourteenth century glass. He was interested in science, and in 1871 accompanied Lockyer's eclipse expedition to India. He was also a keen mountaineer. He married a sister of John Raven, the landscape painter, who was an embroidress for Morris, and died in 1924.

21. **Sir John Westerman Cawston, K.C.B.**, late Deputy Master of the Royal Mint, was born in 1859, the son of the Rev. John Cawston, D.D., R.N., Chaplain of the Fleet and Honorary Chaplain to Queen Victoria. He was educated at Clifton College and New College, Oxford, and on passing high into the Civil Service was appointed to the War Office in 1883, and transferred in 1889 to the Treasury, where in 1904, after being private secretary to the Parliamentary Secretary, he became Principal Clerk. In 1911 he was appointed Assistant Comptroller and Auditor of the Exchequer at the Audit Office; and in 1912 he was gazetted C.B. In 1913 he visited China as Chairman of the Committee on Leases in the British Concession; in 1917 he was made Deputy Master of the Royal Mint, and continued in this post until 1921, when he retired on account of ill-health. He was made K.C.B. in 1919. For some years he was a representative of the Home Country on the Pacific Cable Board, and towards the end of his career was a member of the Royal Commission on Decimal Coinage. He married the daughter of the late Rev. John Montague, who with two daughters survived him.

24. **Mrs. Arthur Johnson**, aged 81, for many years Principal of the Oxford Society of Home Students, was the daughter of Robert Bentley Todd, a celebrated Irish physician and Professor of Physiology at King's College, London. She shared from early years a liberal education with her brother, attended the Slade School of Art and exhibited later at the Royal Academy, her portrait of Mrs. Humphrey Ward being well known. In 1873 she married the Rev. A. H. Johnson, Chaplain of All Souls and Lecturer in Modern History at Oxford (who died on February 14). She at once immersed herself in the cause of women's education at Oxford, and became one of an enthusiastic committee (which included among its members Mrs. Creighton, Mrs. T. H. Green, the Hon. Mrs. Edward Talbot and Mrs. Humphrey Ward), formed to organise a scheme of lectures and classes for women. On the foundation, in 1879, of Somerville and Lady Margaret Hall as women's halls of residence, Mrs. Johnson was on the council of the latter and also on that of the central Association for the Education of Women, founded in the same year. In 1883 she assumed the charge of the Society of Home Students, founded in 1879, and in 1893 became their first Principal. Her ideal was to give the Society a corporate life of its own without letting it degenerate into an imitation college. At the final admission of women to the University the position of the Society, as envisaged by her, was fully recognised. In 1920 she was made M.A. by decree. Her connection with women's education is commemorated in the Bertha Johnson Loan Fund for women students and the Bertha Johnson Scholarship, founded by old students on her retirement in 1921. She was Poor Law Guardian from 1894, Chairman and President of the Working Women's Provident Society, a member of the Oxfordshire Education Committee from 1903 to 1922, and for many years Vice-Chairman of the Oxford Charity Organisation Committee and a district visitor.

27. **Klaus Berntsen**, aged 82, at one time Danish Prime Minister, was the son of a peasant. He was a member of the Danish Rigsdag from 1873 till 1924,

with the exception of the years 1884-86, and throughout was a protagonist in the fight against the domination of the Conservative Right, of which Estrup, "the Danish Bismarck," was the personification. Himself a Moderate, he received the portfolio of the Interior under the Premiership of Niels Neergaard in 1908. In 1910 he became Prime Minister, and retained the position till 1913, when the Radicals and Socialists came into power. Throughout his long career he was specially zealous in the cause of national defence, and twice held the portfolio for that Department—first during his Premiership and later from 1920 to 1924. His peasant origin gave him an exceptional interest in the land question, and the part which he played in the constitutional struggle earned for him the sobriquet of "The Father of the Homeland."

## MAY.

1. **Lord Cowdray (Weetman Dickinson Pearson)**, public works contractor of world-wide fame, was born in 1856. He was educated privately at Harrogate, and after a short apprenticeship in the firm of S. Pearson & Co., founded by his grandfather, he became a partner in 1875. In 1884 the firm moved from Bradford to London, and in 1889 he went to Mexico with the object of developing the scope of the firm's activities. A gigantic struggle ensued between his firm and the American Standard Oil Company operating there, but he succeeded in establishing a position of undisputed authority. In 1894 he received a baronetcy for the opening of the Blackwall Tunnel. Other notable achievements under his direction were the extension of Dover Harbour, docks in London, Southampton, Hull, and Malta, and, in America, four tunnels under the East River for the Pennsylvanian Railway. He was the first to fill oil-tankers at sea through pipes. His most notable achievement was the dam across the Blue Nile, inaugurated in 1926. In 1895 his firm was turned into a limited liability company. In that year, too, began his parliamentary career; from 1895 to 1910 he sat as Liberal member for Colchester. He had interests in many Liberal newspapers, latterly particularly in the *Westminster Gazette*. In 1910 he was made a peer, and took the title of Lord Cowdray of Midhurst; in 1917 he was made a Viscount for his organisation of the munition factory at Gretna Green. In the same year he succeeded Lord Sydenham as Chairman of the Air Board, and was responsible for a three-fold increase in the effective air forces of the army. He gave, in 1918, 100,000l. for the endowment of the Royal Air Force Club; in 1921 50,000l. to the League of Nations Union; and in 1927 10,000l. to University College, London. In 1925 he was made a G.C.V.O. After the war he relinquished his controlling interests in Mexican oil to the Royal Dutch Shell group. Subsidiary companies were formed out of his business, one being S. Pearson & Son, Ltd., and another the Whitehall Securities Corporation. He was Rector of the University of Aberdeen, and the city and surrounding district received many benefactions at his hand, including the Memorial Hall bearing his name. He and his wife were on the eve of receiving the freedom of the city in recognition of their countless services when his death occurred. In 1881 he married Annie, daughter of the late Sir John Cass of Bradford, and left two sons and one daughter.

1. **Ernest Henry Starling**, eminent as a physiologist, was born in 1866, his father being the Clerk of the Crown, Bombay, and the author of "Indian Criminal Law and Procedure." He was educated at King's College School, Guy's Hospital, and Heidelberg University, qualifying as M.D. and B.S. of London. In 1890 he began research work at University College, working in partnership with Bayliss till the latter's death in 1924 (see ANNUAL REGISTER for 1924, p. 139). To their collaboration we owe the discoveries of various phenomena relating to the circulation of the blood, intestinal stasis, pancreatic secretion, and the action of hormones. One of Starling's discoveries was that of the substance "secretion." In 1899 he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society, and in the same year he succeeded

Schafer in the Jodrell Chair of Physiology at University College. In 1913 he was Royal Medallist. During the war he was a Lieutenant-Colonel in the R.A.M.C., served on various Food Committees and also as Chemical Adviser to the Salonika Force. For his war services he was made C.M.G. In 1923 he retired from the Jodrell Chair. He was Foulerton Research Professor of the Royal Society, served for three terms of the Council, and was Vice-President in 1918-19. He held honorary degrees of various universities, was Croonian Lecturer to the Royal Society and the Royal College of Physicians, Linacre Lecturer at Cambridge, Oliver Sharpey Lecturer to the Royal College of Physicians, and Herter Lecturer, New York. In 1891 he married Florence Amelia, daughter of Sir Edward Sieveking, M.D., and had one son and two daughters.

5. **Charles Boissevain**, aged 84, the well-known journalist and former editor-in-chief of the *Handelsblad* of Amsterdam, a Liberal daily paper, came of a family of French origin. His grandfather left his mark on the *Handelsblad* as a business man's newspaper, and his son, and later Charles Boissevain, followed suit. His daily article under the heading "From Day to Day" became a feature of Dutch journalism. In 1881 he visited the United States and published a series of articles in the *Handelsblad* which were afterwards published in book form under the title "From the North to the South." During the Boer War he fanned the pro-Boer spirit in Holland, and at the end of 1899 he published, in English, "An Open Letter" to the late Duke of Devonshire in answer to the latter's public remark about "Dr. Leyd's subsidized organs." His series of articles on the Boer War written for his paper were afterwards published in an English translation under the title "The Struggle of the Dutch Republics: A Great Crime." During the Great War he was in favour of the strict maintenance by the individual of the official attitude of neutrality announced by the Dutch Government. He married the daughter of Macdonnell, Lord Mayor of Dublin.

6. **Hudson Maxim**, the inventor and explosives expert, was born in 1853. In 1888 he became interested in explosives, and submitted samples of his smokeless powder to the United States Government for trial. In 1890 he built a dynamite and smokeless powder factory at Maxim, New Jersey, which town was named after him. He was the author of "The Science of Poetry and the Philosophy of Language" and many other books.

— **Robert Newton Crane, K.C.**, aged 79, the first American to be made one of His Majesty's Counsel, was the son of a Wesleyan Minister in New Jersey. He was educated privately, and graduated, in 1867, from Wesleyan University, Connecticut. From 1867 to 1869 he was on the editorial staff of the *Newark Daily Advertiser*, and in 1869 founded the *Newark Morning Register* with Mr. Richard Watson Gilder. Moving to St. Louis, he became managing editor of the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*. In 1874 he was appointed United States Consul at Manchester, and remained there till 1880, when he decided to become a lawyer. Returning to St. Louis, he was admitted to the Bar of the State of Missouri in 1880, and in the following year to the United States Supreme Court Bar. After some years' successful practice at St. Louis he returned to England, and was called to the Bar by the Middle Temple in 1894. He was one of the founders of the American Society in London, and became its Chairman in 1898. He helped to found Columbia Lodge of Freemasons, and held the rank of Grand Deacon. In 1901 he represented the United States Government before the South African Deportation Claims Commission, and in 1903 was agent for the U.S. Government on the Samoan Arbitration Award. From 1904 till his death he was also their dispatch agent in London. In 1919 he was elected a Bencher of the Middle Temple, and in 1921 was appointed one of His Majesty's Counsel. In 1873 he married Mary Frances Allen, and left one daughter and three sons.

— **Franziska Tiburtius**, aged 84, the first German woman doctor and important pioneer worker among women and children in the field of medicine,

was born on the Island of Rugen. Helped by one of her brothers who was himself a doctor she decided to adopt the profession of medicine, and as the German universities were not then open to women she went to Zurich in 1871, taking her medical degree in 1876. After a short period as assistant at a women's hospital at Dresden she decided to set up a practice in Berlin with her colleague, Dr. Emilie Lehmus. Here they worked in close co-operation with her doctor-brother and his wife, who was the first woman dentist in Germany. A time of great struggle followed to overcome official and public prejudice. She opened a women's clinic and did important work in a field of medicine up till then rather neglected in Germany. During the war she took up welfare work and worked for the Save the Children League. In 1923 she wrote her "Reminiscences," but owing to the inflation period it was impossible at that time to publish it in Germany. The *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, however, undertook the publication in pamphlet form of that section of the Reminiscences dealing with her student life at Zurich, 1871-76.

11. Sir **Sidney Colvin**, aged 81, art and literary critic, was the son of Bazett David Colvin, partner in the firm of Crawford, Colvin & Co., East India agents. He was educated privately at home and entered Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1863. In 1865 he won the Chancellor's Gold Medal for an English poem on Florence, and in 1867 was third in the first class of the Classical Tripos. That year he obtained a scholarship, and the following year he was elected to a fellowship. From about this time he became a regular contributor to the *Pall Mall Gazette*, the *Fortnightly Review*, the *Cornhill*, and other periodicals. He contributed essays to I. B. Atkinson's "English Painters" (1871) and "English Artists" (1872). In the latter year he also published a book on "Children in Italian and English Design." In 1873 he was elected Slade Professor of Fine Art at Cambridge, a position to which he was re-elected four times. In 1873 also began his friendship with R. L. Stevenson, which lasted till the latter's death in 1894. The history of this friendship is told in the "Vailima Letters" and in Stevenson's correspondence published by Colvin in 1895, 1899, and 1911. From 1876 to 1884 he was Director of the Fitzwilliam Museum; in 1884 he was appointed Keeper of Prints and Drawings at the British Museum, from which he retired with a knighthood in 1911. He continued to hold the Slade Professorship till 1885, and his later years at Cambridge saw the publication of an essay on Flaxman's "Life and Genius" and a "Life of Landor." His literary activities during his London life were devoted to the editions of Stevenson's works, especially the "Edinburgh" edition. He contributed a "Life of Keats" to Morley's "English Men of Letters" series. After his retirement he followed this up with his "Life of Keats" in 1918. In 1921 he published his "Memories and Notes." He held honorary degrees from Oxford and St. Andrews, and was a member of various artistic societies and institutions. In 1903 he married Mrs. Sitwell, who died in 1924.

11. **Lord Walter Talbot Kerr**, aged 87, Admiral of the Fleet, was one of the last naval survivors of the Crimean War and the Indian Mutiny. He was the fourth son of the seventh Marquis of Lothian, was educated at Radley, and entered the Royal Navy in 1853. After seeing service in India at the outbreak of the Mutiny in 1857, in China, and in the Mediterranean, he became private secretary to the First Lord of the Admiralty in 1855, and as such served under Lord George Hamilton for five years. From 1887 to 1889 he was an A.D.C. to Queen Victoria. On leaving the Admiralty he served as Second-in-Command in the Mediterranean from 1890 to 1892, and on his return he became Junior Sea Lord of the Admiralty in Lord Selborne's Board, and Second Sea Lord from the end of 1893 to early 1895. He then became Vice-Admiral commanding the Channel Squadron. In 1899 he succeeded Sir Frederick Richards as First Sea Lord. In this capacity he encouraged the early reforms of Lord Fisher, who was his Second Sea Lord, 1902-3. In June, 1904, he was specially promoted to be an Admiral

of the Fleet (additional) " in recognition of the great value to the Navy and to the nation of his fifty years of naval service." He retired in October, 1904. From 1917 to 1921 he was President of the Catholic Union of Great Britain. In 1893 he married Lady Amabel Cowper, youngest daughter of the sixth Earl Cowper, who died in 1906, by whom he had four sons and two daughters.

11. **Professor Joseph Shield Nicholson, Sc.D.**, aged 76, celebrated as a political economist, was educated at Edinburgh University and Trinity College, Cambridge, where he won the Cobden Prize in 1877 and also in 1880. In 1877 he took his degree, studied at Heidelberg and obtained the London M.A. degree, obtaining the Gerstenberg Prize. He settled at Cambridge as private tutor, but in 1880 was appointed Professor of Political Economy at Edinburgh, a position he held until 1925. He was a prolific writer; in addition to a score of volumes on economics he wrote three romances, " Thoth " (1888), " A Dreamer of Dreams " (1889), and " Toxar " (1890). He also wrote " Tales from Ariosto " (1913) and " The Life and Genius of Ariosto " (1914). His " Principles of Political Economy " (in three volumes, appearing in 1893, 1897, and 1901), is still one of the best manuals for the general reader. He was a supporter of bi-metallism and championed free imports in " The Tariff Question " (1903) and " The History of the English Corn Laws " (1904). His " Project of Empire " (1909) is a plea for Imperial economics. In 1918 his " War Finance " came out in a larger edition, and in 1920 he published " The Revival of Marxism." In 1885 he married the eldest daughter of Dr. W. B. Hodgson, his predecessor in that Chair.

14. **Walter Turner Perkins**, aged 74, editor of the Parliamentary Debates of the House of Commons and a former member of the editorial staff of *The Times*, was educated at the Manchester Grammar School and began his career as the first Parliamentary representative of the *Manchester Courier*. He was associated with that journal from 1881 to 1892, and during that time served for two years as Secretary of the Press Gallery Committee. In 1892 he joined the Parliamentary staff of *The Times*, and until 1894 he was Chairman of the Gallery. In 1895 he was appointed editor of the Parliamentary Debates which, by a sub-contract, were then published by Waterlow & Sons, Ltd. This arrangement came to an end in 1898, and he then worked at Printing House Square until, in 1900, he joined the staff of the old morning *Standard*. On a decision that Parliamentary proceedings should be officially reported, he was appointed by the Speaker to act as assistant editor to Sir James Dods Shaw, editor of the Official Report. From 1909 to 1913 he was editor of the *Railway Magazine*. He was a Past Master and at one time Secretary of the Gallery Lodge of Freemasons, and the author of various guidebooks to the West of England. He was twice married, and four sons and four daughters survived him.

20. **Frank Lloyd**, head of the paper-making firm of Edward Lloyd, Ltd., was born in 1854. The son of Mr. Edward Lloyd, founder of the *Daily Chronicle* and *Lloyd's News*, he was educated at Guignes in France and the Wick School, Brighton. Having gained his experience at the Bow Paper Mills which fed his father's newspaper enterprises, he was appointed manager of them when they moved to Sittingbourne. In 1890 the death of his father left him in entire control of both paper mills and newspapers. At the outbreak of war the dual business proved excessive and he decided to part with the newspapers. He introduced many mechanical improvements into the Sittingbourne concern, and the substitution of wood for straw in the manufacture of paper. He was a model employer. His public gifts were on a generous scale; amongst them were the gift of 10,000l. to St. Bartholomew's Hospital, Rochester, and (with his daughter, as a memorial to his wife), 12,000l. to the Sittingbourne Cottage Hospital. In 1881 he married Helen Julia Mills, who died in 1925. An only daughter survived him.

21. **Hugh Edward Egerton**, aged 72, pioneer historian of the British Empire, was the second son of the late Mr. E. C. Egerton, M.P., and a nephew of the first Lord Egerton of Tatton. He was educated at Rugby and Corpus Christi College, Oxford, and in 1880, after being called to the Bar by the Inner Temple, he joined the North Wales and Chester Circuit. In 1885 he became private secretary to the late Rt. Hon. Edward Stanhope, M.P., who in the following year was appointed to the Colonial Office. His chief nominated him a member of the managing committee of the newly founded Emigrants' Information Office. He took a large share in writing and editing a handbook on the colonies, and from this time began to study the early history and later development of the colonies. In 1897 he published the results of his researches in his "Short History of British Colonial Policy"—a pioneer work which made his name. In 1900 appeared his biography of Sir Stamford Raffles, and in 1903 a collection of Sir William Molesworth's colonial speeches. In 1905 he was chosen to fill the new Chair of Colonial History founded by Mr. Alfred Beit at Oxford, a post he held till 1920. The American Revolution was his special field of scholarship; in 1923 he published a short book on its causes and character. From 1925 he held a Fellowship of All Souls, and shortly before his death was sub-warden for a brief spell. In 1886 he married Miss Margaret Alice Trotter, and had one son and a daughter.

27. **Charles William Campbell, C.M.G.**, aged 65, who rendered important services as Consul-General in China, joined the Chinese service as a student-interpreter in 1884. He was first stationed at Korea, and his account of his journey to the Long White Mountain (1891) was described by Lord Curzon as the most vivid and accurate account of Korean life he had ever seen. In 1899 he proceeded to Shanghai to take up his Vice-Consulship, and while there was sent by the British Government to Shantung to treat with the Governor, Yuan Shih-Kai, in connexion with the murder of Mr. S. M. Brooks, the English missionary. The manner and results of his negotiations gave universal satisfaction. In 1900 he arrived at Tientsin to prepare for his journey across Mongolia. The Boxer rising, however, caused him to join Admiral Sir E. H. Seymour in his attempt to relieve the Legations in Peking. His services were mentioned in despatches and he was made a C.M.G. The expedition was driven back, and after being wounded in Tientsin he took up the duties of Acting Consul-General. In 1901 he was transferred to Peking and was Chief Interpreter during the Protocol negotiations of that year. In 1902 he carried through his Mongolian journey, and the report of his expedition (Blue Book No. 1, 1904) was an important contribution to our knowledge of the country. He then acted as Consul-General at Canton and later in the Szechwan Province, returning in 1905 to Peking, where he remained in charge of our Chinese secretariat till 1911. He retired in that year on the ground of ill-health. In 1903 he married Violet Gertrude Coutts of Shanghai. His wife survived him with one son and five daughters.

## JUNE.

1. **Professor John Bagnell Bury**, Regius Professor of Modern History at Cambridge, was born in 1861. After being educated privately, he entered Trinity College, Dublin, as a sizar, and in 1879 won a scholarship. He carried off the Berkeley Medal, the Vice-Chancellor's Prizes for Greek Verse and Prose, and innumerable other honours, and in 1885 obtained a Trinity College Fellowship. Four years later he produced a two-volumed "History of the Later Roman Empire from Arcadius to Irene, A.D. 375-800." A number of other works followed. In 1890 he published an annotated edition of Pindar's "Nemean Odes" and in 1892 of the "Isthmian Odes;" in 1893 he contributed to Murray's "Student's Histories," "The History of the Roman Empire from its Foundation

to the Death of Marcus Aurelius," a marvel of compression ; and in 1900 he completed his annotated version, in seven volumes, of Gibbon's " Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire." From 1893 to 1904 he was Professor of Modern History in the University of Dublin, combining it from 1898 to 1902 with the Regius Professorship in Greek. In 1902 he succeeded Lord Acton as Regius Professor of Modern History at Cambridge. His inaugural lecture in 1903, " The Science of History," indicated the lines on which it was his aim to approach history. In 1900 appeared his " History of Greece to the Death of Alexander," with an abridgment in 1903, and in 1905 the " Life of St. Patrick and His Place in History." In 1908 he lectured at Harvard University, and in 1909 he delivered at Cambridge the Creighton lecture on " The Constitution of the Later Roman Empire." He drew up the detailed plan of the Cambridge Modern History ; edited Freeman's " Historical Geography of Europe ; " was editor of the series of " Foreign Statesmen" begun in 1896, of the " Byzantine Texts" begun in 1898, and of Gibbon's " Autobiography." In 1923 he published " A History of the later Roman Empire from the death of Theodosius I. to the death of Justinian." With Professor Adcock and Dr. S. A. Cook he collaborated in the " Cambridge Ancient History." He held honorary degrees from Oxford, Dublin, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Aberdeen, and Durham, was a Fellow of the British Academy and honorary Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford, and received many honours from foreign universities. He married his cousin Jane, and one son survived him.

1. **Dr. Estlin Carpenter**, aged 82, distinguished Unitarian divine and scholar, was the son of Dr. W. B. Carpenter, C.B., F.R.S., and grandson of Dr. Lant Carpenter of Bristol. He was educated at University College School, graduated from University College, and then became a divinity student at Manchester New College, where John James Taylor and James Martineau were his teachers. In 1866 he took his London M.A. and received a ministerial charge at Clifton, removing to Mill Hill Chapel, Leeds, in 1869. During six years' ministry there he translated Ewald's " History of Israel." Other early works were a translation of Tiele's " Outlines of the History of Religion " and " The Life and Work of Mary Carpenter " (his aunt). In 1875 he entered on his forty years of service at Manchester College, where he taught Old Testament and Hebrew, Ecclesiastical History and Comparative Religion ; and on Dr. Martineau's retirement from the Principalship in 1885 Carpenter was elected Vice-Principal under Dr. James Drummond. He was also Secretary to the London Domestic Mission Society. He edited a series of Biblical manuals for the Sunday School Association and with Professor Rhys Davids was co-editor of two Pali texts. In 1889 he moved with Manchester College to Oxford. In 1895 he gave the Essex Hall lecture on " The Relation of Jesus to His Age and Our Own." In 1899 he resigned the Vice-Principalship and his full professorship, retaining only the Case lectureship in Comparative Religion. In 1900 he brought out with the Rev. G. Harford-Battersby two volumes of the Hexateuch according to the Revised Version, contributing a valuable introduction and appendix. In 1903 appeared " The Bible in the Nineteenth Century," and in 1905 " James Martineau, Theologian and Teacher." In 1906 he accepted the Principalship of Manchester College. In 1915, while retaining the Wilde Readership, he resigned the Principalship and visited America to lecture on " The History of Religions." In 1924 he gave up his college lectureship. His latest work was " The Johannine Writings: a Study of the Apocalypse and the Fourth Gospel." He was D.D. and D.Litt. of Oxford and held honorary degrees at Glasgow, Jena, and Geneva. In 1878 he married Alice Buckton.

3. **Marquess of Lansdowne** (Charles Keith Petty Fitzmaurice), aged 82, was the eldest son of the fourth Marquess by his second wife. He was at Eton from 1858 to 1862 as Lord Clanmaurice, and in 1863, when his grandfather died, he entered Balliol College, Oxford, as Lord Kerry. On leaving Oxford he



joined the Liberal Party and was made a Lord of the Treasury in Gladstone's first administration in 1868. In 1872 he was transferred to the War Office as Parliamentary Under-Secretary; and in 1880 he was at the India Office under Lord Hartington. He resigned office a few months later in connexion with the Compensation for Disturbance (Ireland) Bill, to which he was opposed. From 1883 to 1888 he was Governor-General of Canada, where it fell to him to quell the rebellion of the Indians under Riel; and in 1888 he accepted the Vice-Royalty of India from Lord Salisbury. On his return to England in 1893 he became Secretary of State for War, one of his problems being to meet the heavy demand for troops for the South African War. In 1900 he was transferred to the Foreign Office, where his two principal achievements were the Japanese Alliance in 1902 and the formation of the *entente cordiale* with France in 1904. On the Tariff Reform question his protectionist leanings were mainly on the score of party welfare. As leader of the Conservative Opposition in the House of Lords during the period of the Reform of the Lords question (1906-10) his task was a difficult one, and he was distrusted by both sides. He put forward a reform scheme of his own, but it was never squarely faced owing to the advent of the Great War. In 1916 he joined Mr. Asquith's Coalition Government as Minister without Portfolio, and in the following year his famous controversial letter appeared in the *Daily Telegraph*, in which he advocated a precise and early statement of Allied peace terms in order to assure the Central Powers that neither destruction nor degradation of the enemy was their aim. Amongst other posts of dignity he held those of the Lieutenancy of Wiltshire and the Chancellorship of the Order of St. Michael and St. George. He was made K.G. in 1895 and received the Royal Victorian Chain decoration in 1905. In 1869 he married Lady Maud Evelyn Hamilton, youngest daughter of James, the first Duke of Abercorn, and he left one son and two daughters.

14. **Jerome Klapka Jerome**, aged 68, novelist, dramatist, and humorist, was the son of an Independent preacher, the Rev. Jerome Klapp Jerome. On leaving Marylebone Grammar School at the age of 14, Jerome began to earn his livelihood. Amongst other callings, he at one time became an actor, and so obtained material for his first book, "On the Stage and Off," published in 1885, and for his satire and melodrama called "Stageland," the illustrations for which were done by his friend, Bernard Partridge. In 1889 he wrote "The Idle Thoughts of an Idle Fellow," and later in the same year appeared "Three Men in a Boat," a farcical masterpiece which grew out of a design for a serious work to be called "The Story of the Thames." In 1900 appeared "Three Men on the Bummel," a description of a tour in Germany. From 1892 to 1897 he was editor of *The Idler*, and from 1893 to 1897 of *To-Day*. His connexion with the latter ended in a costly lawsuit. In 1902 he published "Paul Kolver," an autobiographical novel of artistic merit. An early play of his, "Barbara," was accepted by Sir Charles Hawtrey, and in 1900 a simple comedy, "Miss Hobbs," had some success. "The Passing of the Third Floor Back," with Forbes-Robertson in the name part, scored an immense success in 1907. Other plays were "Fanny and the Servant Problem," "The Master of Mrs. Chilvers," and "The Great Gamble," a play of German life produced just before the war in 1914. In 1919 he wrote "All Roads Lead to Calvary," and in 1926 his reminiscences under the title "My Life and Times." He married the daughter of Lieutenant Nesza of the Spanish Army.

20. **Julian Cotton**, aged 58, recognised as an authority on the history of British India, was the second son of Sir Henry Cotton, at one time Chief Commissioner of Assam. The family's record of Indian service was unique, Mr. Julian Cotton representing the fifth generation in direct unbroken succession in the service of the East India Company and the Crown for 160 years. He was educated at Sherborne and went as a scholar to Corpus Christi, Oxford. He won the Gaisford Prize for Greek Prose and the Chancellor's Prize for Latin Verse,

and obtained second classes in the Classical School. From Oxford he passed into the Indian Civil Service, and was posted to Madras in 1893. His service was mainly in the judicial branch, but he soon became known as an authority on the history of British and Indian relations from 1757 onwards. In 1901 the Government of Madras published his list of inscriptions on tombs and monuments in Madras possessing historical and archaeological interest. He was a member of the Indian Historical Records Commission, of which at one time his brother was President. In 1926 he was appointed Curator of the Madras Records and editor of the "Provincial Gazetteer," a post which had been vacant since 1923 and which was revived specially for him. He married the daughter of Commendatore Enrico Ricciardi of Naples. Two daughters and two sons survived him.

21. **Sir Ralph Williams**, aged 79, distinguished colonial administrator, was the son of the Rev. T. N. Williams of TrefTos, Anglesey. He was educated at Rossall and later studied for the Bar. But the law had no attraction for him and the lure of open spaces took him first to Australia, at the age of 21, and then to Patagonia. In 1874 he returned to England, and within a few years went to Canada. Then Selous' book "A Hunter's Wanderings in Africa" determined his career, and in 1882 he went to South Africa. From Grahamstown he trekked the long trail—1,500 miles—to the Victoria Falls. In 1884 he became head of the Civil Intelligence Department at the time of Sir Charles Warren's expedition to extinguish the Republics of Goshen and Stellaland. In this connexion he published a book "The British Lion in Bechuanaland," a critical account of Colonial Office methods. In 1887 he was appointed Consular Agent in the Transvaal and in 1888 British Agent at Pretoria. In 1890 he was transferred to Gibraltar as Colonial Treasurer, and later became Captain of the Port there. The wreck of the Italian emigrant ship "Utopia" in the Bay of Gibraltar occurred during his service there and he was largely responsible for the saving of 400 lives. In 1897 he became Colonial Secretary at Barbadoes. In 1901 he was made C.M.G., and returned to South Africa as Resident Commissioner in Bechuanaland. In 1906 he went to the West Indies as Governor of the Windward Islands, and in 1907 was made K.C.M.G. From 1909 to 1913 he was Governor of Newfoundland, where he was extremely popular. On his return he published an entertaining book, "How I Became Governor." At the outbreak of the Great War he was in Kenya and, seeking active employment, he was appointed President of the Second Line of Defence in the British East African Protectorate. Early in 1915 he was invalided home. He was a keen hunter and yachtsman and also a member of the M.C.C. In 1875 he married Miss Jessie Dean, who predeceased him in 1917. He was survived by one son.

## JULY.

1. **Frank Curzon**, theatrical manager and owner of the Derby winner "Call Boy," who was born in 1868, was a younger brother of Sir H. Mallaby-Deeley, Bt. He entered his father's business, the Dee Oil Company, at Bootle, but soon left it to join F. R. Benson's theatrical company. At the age of 24 he made a first appearance in London in "Queer Street." In 1899 he took the Avenue Theatre with Charles Hawtrey and produced "A Message from Mars" and "Lord and Lady Algy," and in 1901 he produced "A Chinese Honeymoon" at the Strand. By 1903 he controlled a number of the leading theatres in London. Latterly he limited himself to Wyndhams and the Playhouse. His successful productions included among innumerable others: at the Prince of Wales, "Miss Hook of Holland;" at Wyndhams, "The Marriage of Kitty," "An Englishman's Home" (with Gerald du Maurier), "A Kiss for Cinderella," and "Diplomacy;" at the Playhouse, "The Second Mrs. Tanqueray" and "Magda." For about twenty

years he owned race horses. In 1910 he married Miss Isabel Jay, the well-known actress, who predeceased him.

8. **Major-General Lord Errol, K.T.**, aged 75, the head of a family which has played a notable part in Scottish history, was by birth the first subject in Scotland after the Blood Royal. He was the son of the nineteenth Earl, and his mother was the daughter of General the Hon. Sir Charles Gore. As Lord Kilmarnock he went to Harrow in 1865, leaving four years later to join the Royal Horse Guards. He commanded the regiment from 1891 to 1895 and retired as Colonel in 1907. During the South African War he was mentioned in despatches, created C.B. and received four clasps to his medal. He was A.D.C. to Lord Wolseley, A.A.G. for Cavalry, and hon. Colonel, 5th batt. Gordon Highlanders from 1892 to 1914. In the Great War he commanded the 65th (Lowland) Division (1915-16), and was afterwards an Area Commandant in France, being promoted to the honorary rank of Major-General in 1917. In 1891 he succeeded his father as twentieth Earl of Erroll and twenty-third Hereditary Lord High Constable of Scotland—an office created for the Hay family by King Robert the Bruce in 1314, and conferring precedence on the holder above all peers or holders of other hereditary titles except the Royal Family. In virtue of this office Lord Erroll bore the silver baton in the Coronation procession of King George V. and Queen Mary. In 1901 he was created a Knight of the Thistle. He married, in 1875, Mary Caroline, daughter of Mr. Edmund L'Estrange of Co. Lei trim and had three sons.

— **Sir Hugh Fraser**, Judge of the High Court, was born in 1860, and educated at Charterhouse and Trinity Hall, Cambridge, where he was exhibitioner, scholar, law student, and Cressingham Prizeman. He also obtained an Inns of Court studentship and a scholarship at the Inner Temple in 1885, whence he was called to the Bar in 1886. In 1917 he was knighted. In 1918 he was elected a Bencher of his Inn, and in 1925 an honorary Fellow of Trinity Hall. He was Lecturer, Reader, and Examiner at various times, but specialised on the law of libel, his book on that subject becoming a standard authority. His book on "The Law of Torts" reached its eleventh edition, and he was also an authority on the law of elections and election petitions. He had a large practice as a junior at the Bar but never took silk. In 1923 Lord Hewart appointed him arbitrator in the building trade dispute, and he was also a member of the Irish Deportees Compensation Tribunal, 1923-24. In that year he was raised to the Bench. In 1888 he married Ethel Mary Hamilton and had one son and three daughters.

10. **B. Lewis Rice, C.L.E.**, aged 90, distinguished Sanskrit scholar, was the son of an agent of the London Missionary Society in South India. After a few years' business experience in the City he went out to Mysore in 1860 as headmaster of the Central High School, Bangalore, becoming in due course inspector of schools in Mysore, and Director of Public Instruction. In 1884 he was created C.L.E. Having devoted much time to archaeological and literary work, he was appointed Director of Archaeological Researches in Mysore in 1885, and in 1890 an Archaeological Department was formed under his charge. His outstanding achievement was an epigraphic survey of Mysore. The 9,000 inscriptions were later published in a series of twelve volumes called "Epigraphia Carnatica." He also did valuable work on the edicts of Asoka, and from 1884 onwards published six volumes under the title "Bibliotheca Carnatica," which covered a wide ground of Canarese works on grammar, history, philosophy, and religion. In 1897 he published his "Mysore Gazetteer," and in 1908 contributed to the "Imperial Gazetteer of India" the articles on Mysore and Coorg. In 1906 he retired from the service. In 1869 he married Mary Sophia, daughter of Mr. John Garrett. She survived him with five sons and four daughters.

— **Kevin Christopher O'Higgins**, aged 35, Minister for Justice and External Affairs in the Free State Government, who was shot on his way to

Mass, was the son of the late Dr. T. Higgins, who was murdered in 1923. Educated at Clongowes and St. Patrick's College, Carlow, he took his arts degree in the National University of Ireland, and originally intended to enter the Roman Catholic priesthood, but changed his mind and became apprenticed to his uncle, Mr. Maurice T. Healy, solicitor of Cork. Before admission, however, he joined the Sinn Fein movement after the Easter rebellion of 1916. During his imprisonment by the British Government he was elected member for Queen's County at the 1918 election. On his release Michael Collins appointed him Assistant Minister for Local Government to Mr. Cosgrave. Early in 1922 he became a member of the Provisional Government, becoming Minister for Justice and Vice-President of the Executive Council. He established the Civic Guard, and as Minister for Justice was largely responsible for the administration of the law during 1922-23, when 77 Irregulars were executed. He was afterwards called to the Irish Bar. During the last election campaign he made a tour, speaking in nearly every constituency in support of the Government candidate; in his own constituency he headed the poll. A month before his murder he undertook the Ministry for External Affairs in addition to his old Ministry. In 1921 he married Miss Bridget Mary Cole of Dublin, who with two children survived him.

13. **Otto Blehr**, aged 80, Prime Minister of Norway, took a leading part on the Liberal side in the struggle for the establishment of Parliamentary Government in Norway. With the settlement of this issue in 1884 his attention was turned towards the question of the separation of Norway and Sweden, and as Prime Minister he was responsible for the movement for its peaceful solution. In 1903 he was defeated at the General Election and withdrew from political life until 1917 when he became Minister of Finance in M. Gunnar Knudsen's Government. In 1921 he again became Prime Minister till 1923. His last service to his country was his appearance at Geneva as one of the delegates to the League of Nations.

15. **Countess (Constance) De Markievicz**, Fianna member of Dail Eireann for South Dublin, was a daughter of the late Sir Henry Gore-Booth. In 1900 she married the Polish Count Casimir de Markievicz, and settling in Dublin, when her husband returned to Poland at the outbreak of war to join the Russian army she joined the militant Sinn Feiners. In the Easter rising of 1916 she commanded the volunteers who occupied the College of Surgeons in Dublin, and was sentenced to death for her part in the Rebellion. Her sentence was commuted to penal servitude for life, but she was released at the amnesty in 1917. In 1918 she was elected first woman member to the House of Commons, but never took her seat. She acted as Minister for Labour in Mr. de Valera's Shadow Cabinet in 1919, and during the Treaty Debates she opposed the acceptance of the Articles of Agreement, declaring that her aim was to establish a Workers' Republic in Ireland. She staunchly supported Mr. de Valera after the setting up of the State and was imprisoned by the Free State Government. At the General Elections of 1922 and 1923 she was returned for her old constituency of South Dublin. At the General Election in June, 1927, she was again elected but fell ill almost at once. She was originally a Protestant, but was received into the Roman Catholic Church after the 1916 rebellion.

20. **King Ferdinand of Rumania**, the first King of Greater Rumania, was born in 1865. His father was Prince Leopold of Hohenzollem-Sigmaringen, the brother of Prince Charles, who became the first King of Rumania. In 1889 he was declared heir-presumptive. On October 15, 1922, King Ferdinand and his Consort were crowned King and Queen of Greater Rumania, which in addition to Old Rumania included Transylvania, Bessarabia, part of the Banat and Bucovina. King Ferdinand upheld the cause of universal suffrage and agrarian reform, and surrendered large estates for the benefit of the peasants. His later life was clouded by domestic troubles. On December 31, 1925, he summoned a

Crown Council to announce that his eldest son, Prince Carol, having surrendered all his rights and prerogatives as Crown Prince, the heir to the throne was Prince Michael, son of Prince Carol and Princess Helen of Greece, and that Prince Nicholas, his second son, was to act as Regent. His eldest daughter, Princess Elizabeth, was driven from Athens by the deposition of her husband, King George of Greece. Under these anxieties his health broke down. In 1893 he married Princess Marie, eldest daughter of the late Duke of Edinburgh and grand-daughter of Queen Victoria and of the Tsar Alexander II. There were six children of the marriage; besides the two sons and the daughter already mentioned there were Princess Marie, who became Queen of Yugoslavia, Princess Ileana, and Princess Mircea who died as a baby just after the outbreak of war.

23. **Brigadier-General Reginald Edward Harry Dyer**, who became notorious in connexion with the quelling of the Amritsar rebellion in 1919, was born in 1864, educated at Middleton College, Co. Cork, commissioned in the West Surrey Regiment in 1885, and later transferred to the 25th Punjabis. He served in the Burmah campaign of 1886-87, was in the Hazara Expedition of 1888, at the relief of Chitral in 1895, went through the Waziristan blockade of 1901-2, and served in the Zakka Khel country in 1908. During the Great War he was in charge of the East Persian cordon, commanding the 45th Infantry Brigade. He withstood the constant tribal raids on the frontier with so much success that he obtained the C.B. These experiences were recounted by him (1921) in "The Raiders of the Sarhad." When the Punjab unrest broke out in April, 1919, he was Brigade Commander at Jullundur. His military methods at Amritsar, by firing on civilians without warning, by failing to provide medical attention for the wounded, and by his "crawling" order to Indians traversing the lane in which a British missionary woman had been assaulted, roused bitter controversy. A Committee of Inquiry was set up under Lord Hunter. Dyer admitted the charges, but justified them all either on grounds of military necessity or the requirements of prestige. The Government of India at first shielded him. But the Home Government denounced his entire conduct. The Commander-in-Chief in India directed him to resign his command and to receive no further employment in India. To the resentment of many Indians a minority in the House of Commons voted against the censure of General Dyer. The House of Lords passed a resolution with a substantial majority deploring the injustice of the case against him, and the *Morning Post* promoted a fund for a testimonial for him. This reached over 26,000l., one-third being contributed from India, where a majority of Europeans considered that Dyer's action had "saved India." The Indian National Congress bought the Jallianwala Bagh (where the shooting had taken place) as a martyr's memorial. The controversy was revived in 1924 in connexion with a libel action brought by Sir Michael O'Dwyer against Sir Sankaran Nair. In his summing-up of the case Judge McCardie gave it as his considered opinion that General Dyer was wrongly punished by the Secretary of State for India. The Labour Government then in office sent a despatch to the Viceroy criticising the Judge's declaration and reiterating the censure of their predecessors. Dyer never completely recovered from the breaking of his military career. He left two sons.

— **Sir William James Ashley**, well-known economist, was born in 1860, and educated at St. Olave's, Southwark, and Balliol College, Oxford, of which he was History Scholar. In 1881 he took a First in History and in 1882 won the Lothian Prize. From 1885 to 1888 he taught at Oxford as Fellow and Lecturer of Lincoln College. He then went to Toronto University as Professor of Political Economy. It was the historical aspect of economics which most attracted him, and during 1888-93 he published his first book, "Introduction to English Economic History and Theory." This has become a recognised classic, and was translated into German, French, and Japanese. A series of lectures delivered at the Colonial Institute, Hamburg, in 1912, was published in 1914 under the title

" The Economic Organisation of England." At Toronto he organised a school of political science, and in 1892 he was appointed at Harvard to the first Chair of Economic History created in any university. At Birmingham, where he was Professor of Commerce from 1901 to 1925, he organised a faculty of commerce. In 1917 he was knighted. Shortly before his death he had prepared for publication by the Oxford University Press his Ford Lectures (" The Bread of Our Forefathers "), which he had been prevented from giving by his service on a Government Committee in 1923. In 1888 he married Margaret, daughter of George Birkbeck Hill, D.C.L., who died in 1921. One son and two daughters survived him.

25. **Matilda Serao**, aged 71, one of the most brilliant journalists in Italy, was the daughter of a Neapolitan journalist married to a Greek. She was trained for the teaching profession but entered the postal telegraphic service. When she was quite young her sketches of Neapolitan life, contributed to various Italian papers, attracted much attention. She was one of a brilliant group of young workers for the *Capitan Framssa*, the cleverist Roman paper of its day. On her marriage to Signor Eduardo Scarfoglio, himself a journalist, she adopted the profession of journalism seriously. She and her husband started the *Cornere di Roma* and the *Corriere di Napoli*, and later the *Mattino*. She also founded and edited *Il Oiorno*. She owed her fame, however, to her novels and short stories, her best work being contained in her stories of Neapolitan life such as " AU' Ertà, Sentinella " and " II Ventre di Napoli." " Fantasia " is her best novel. Others are : " Dopo il Perdono " (successfully dramatised), " II Paese di Gesu " and " II Paese di Cuccagna " (an imitation of Zola's method).

26. **Sir Horatio Bryan Donkin**, aged 82, the well-known writer on criminology and venereal disease, was the son of Bryan Donkin, civil engineer. He was educated at Blackheath Proprietary School and Queen's College, Oxford, and was eventually called to the Bar by the Inner Temple (1868). But he decided to take up medicine, and in 1873 he qualified M.R.C.S. Eng. from St. Thomas's Hospital, and took the M.B. of Oxford, becoming F.R.C.S. in 1880. His interests were specially in criminology and he was a Director of Convict Prisons and a member of the Advisory Committee to the Home Secretary at the Camp Hill Preventive Detention Prison. He served as a member of the Royal Commission dealing with the control of the feeble-minded (1904-8) and gave a course of lectures on " Mental Defect and Criminal Conduct " at the Maudsley Hospital in 1920. From 1912 to 1914 he was co-editor of *Bedrock*, and in 1924 he wrote the introduction to Dr. McBride's " Psycho-Analysis Analysed." He was one of the founders of the Society for the Prevention of Venereal Disease. In 1911 he received a knighthood. He married twice ; first a daughter of Count di Langhi of Cracow ; and secondly, the widow of Isaac Bates of BeKast. There were no children by either marriage.

27. **Solomon Joseph Solomon, R.A.**, aged 67, well-known portrait and subject painter, was educated privately, receiving his artistic training first at Heatherley's and later at the Royal Academy Schools, the Munich Academy, and the Ecole des Beaux Arts, Paris, where he studied under Cabanel. After a continental tour he returned to Paris and exhibited a portrait of Dr. Stevens at the Salon. He exhibited his first picture at the Royal Academy in 1881, and in 1886 his picture " Cassandra " brought him into prominence. Other popular successes were " Samson," " Niobe," " The Judgment of Paris," " Echo and Narcissus," and " The Birth of Love." These led to his election as A.R.A. in 1896. In 1893 appeared his first noteworthy portrait—that of Mrs. Patrick Campbell, and in 1894 he painted Israel Zangwill. In 1910 he published an excellent book on " The Practice of Oil Painting." Four years later he was commissioned to undertake the picture of the Coronation Luncheon at the Guildhall. During the war he was sent to France to organise a camouflage system for men, arms,

and camps. He was responsible for the introduction of the fishing net as the basis of such a system and also instituted the "dazzle" painting of tanks and guns. In 1918 he was elected President of the Royal Society of British Artists. Memorable recent portraits by him were "Lady Swaythling" in 1924 and "His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda" in 1926. He was Vice-President of the Maccabeans Society and in 1907 was elected a member of the Athenaeum. In 1897 he married the daughter of the late Hyman Montague, F.S.A., and had one son and two daughters.

30. **Robert de Flers** (Marie-Joseph-Louis-Camille-Robert Pelleve De La Motte-Ango, Marquis De Flers), celebrated playwright and critic, was born in 1871. He began his literary career early by novel and essay writing, joining first the staff of the *Soleil* and later of the *Figaro*. His first play (in collaboration with his life-long friend, Armand de Caillavet), an opera bouffe entitled "Les Travaux d'Hercule," was given in 1901. Between 1905 and 1913 came a series of successful comedies: "L'Amour Veille," "Le Roi," "Le Bois Sacre," "Primerose" and "L'Habit Vert." During the war he was liaison officer to the Rumanian Army, and was mentioned four times in despatches and was awarded the Grand Cross of the Rumanian Crown. In 1921 he wrote for the *Gaulois*, but returned to the *Figaro* and edited its literary supplement up to the time of his death. After the war he wrote, in collaboration with M. Francis de Croisset, various plays, including "Les Vignes des Seigneurs" (1924) and "Les Nouveaux Messieurs" (1925). He also wrote an operetta, "Ciboulette." He was elected a member of the Academy in 1920. He married the daughter of M. Victorien Sardou, who survived him.

31. **Sir Harry Hamilton Johnston**, aged 69, pioneer of the British Empire in Africa, was educated at Stockwell Grammar School and King's College, London. He then studied for four years in the Royal Academy schools till, for reasons of health, he went to Tunisia. In 1882 he joined Lord Mayo in a journey through Southern Angola. Thence he went on an independent expedition to the Congo where, in 1883, he met Stanley. The publication "The River Congo," in which he described his experiences, caused the British Association and the Royal Society to invite him to lead a scientific expedition to Kilimanjaro. Entering the service of the Foreign Office, he was appointed, in 1885, Vice-Consul in Cameroon and the Niger Delta and remained in the Gulf of Guinea three years. A friend of Cecil Rhodes, he entered into the latter's plans for a trans-African "All Red" route. In 1889 he was sent by Lord Salisbury to Lisbon to negotiate an agreement concerning the British and Portuguese spheres in South Central Africa, but no convention was signed. Johnston then went to Mozambique as Consul to Portuguese East Africa. After encounters with Arabs and Portuguese, with the help of John Buchanan, Sir Alfred Sharpe, and Alfred Swann he hoisted the British flag over most of what is now Northern Rhodesia. In 1890 he was created C.B. From 1891 to 1896 he was in Nyasaland. He was then promoted K.C.B. and transferred in 1897 to Tunisia as Consul-General. In 1899 he was sent to Uganda as Special Commissioner. Two years later he was made G.C.M.G., and in 1904 received the Gold Medal from the Royal Geographical Society. In 1902 he retired from the consular service and entered politics. In 1903 he stood as a Liberal for Rochester, and in 1906 for West Marylebone—both times unsuccessfully. In 1908 he went to the United States and the West Indies to study the negro problem and later wrote "The Negro in the New World." During the last years of his life he wrote a few novels which had a certain success. The study of the Bantu and semi-Bantu languages was his chief interest, and in 1918 and 1922 two large volumes on them were published. He was a medallist of the Royal Scottish Geographical Society and of the Zoological Society of London, He was an honorary D.Sc. of Cambridge University, some time Vice-President of the Anthropological Institute, and President of the African Society. In 1896 he married the Hon. Winifred Irby, daughter of the fifth Lord Boston.

## AUGUST.

1. **Henry Richard Hope-Pinker**, sculptor and craftsman, was born in 1849, the son of a master-mason, and learned his trade in the workshop. He became a member of the Art Workers' Guild in 1885 and was elected Master thereof in 1915. His fine portrait of Professor Karl Pearson exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1894 was cut from life straight into the marble—a method from which he never departed and which he impressed on his pupils as the true one to pursue. Some of his most characteristic works are to be seen at Oxford and include portraits of John Hunter, Francis Darwin, Dean Liddell, and Sir Henry Acland. His statue of Friar Bacon ranks as a masterpiece. Other works of his are Sir George Humphrey at Cambridge and W. E. Forster on the Thames Embankment. Examples of his monumental sculpture are Queen Victoria at George Town, Demerara, Lord Reay in India, and Henry Fawcett in Salisbury Market Place.

3. **Professor E. B. Titchener**, aged 60, head of the Department of Psychology in the University of Cornell, New York, and one of the most distinguished psychologists in the United States, was by birth an Englishman. He was educated at Brasenose College, Oxford, and after graduating in Classics he turned to the scientific study of the mind, eventually taking the Doctorate at the University of Leipzig. In 1892 he went to America for greater scope and accepted the post of Assistant Professor of Psychology at Cornell. In 1895 he became Sago Professor of Psychology until 1910, when he accepted the Sage Chair of Psychology at the graduate school. From 1896 to 1898 he was also Professor in charge of Music. He was the author of several books on experimental psychology and the psychology of feeling and attention; editor of the *American Journal of Psychology*, first as associate-editor (1895-1921) and then as editor-in-chief (1921-25); and from 1894 to 1925 he also acted as American editor of the English periodical *Mind*. He was offered the Chair of Psychology at Harvard on the death of Professor Miinsterberg and also the Presidency of Clark University, but he refused both. He was the recipient of many academic honours and a member of many learned societies, both in America and Europe.

4. **John Dillon**, aged 76, leader of Irish Nationalism, studied medicine at University College, Dublin, and took his degree of licentiate at the Royal College of Surgeons. He was early associated with the Parnell movement, assisting, in 1869, the unopposed return of John Mitchell at the famous Tipperary election. In 1880 he was elected member for the same county, and shared with Parnell a triumphant progress through the United States. He was imprisoned with Parnell in Kilmainham, receiving the freedom of the city of Dublin on his release. In 1862 he was a signatory to the Parnell manifesto; in 1885 he became member for East Mayo; from 1886 he championed the *entente cordiale* between the Liberal and National parties, but after the defeat of the Home Rule Bill in 1886 he favoured a revival of the agrarian agitation. Arrested under the Crimes Act, he escaped to the U.S.A., whence he wired his acceptance of Gladstone's dictum that to save the Home Rule cause Parnell must go. He supported Gladstone's second Home Rule Bill in 1893. In the confusion which followed its defeat he occupied the anti-Parnellite Chair. His best thought was given to Irish education, and he eventually saw a University Act placed on the Statute Book. From 1909 onward he joined Mr. Redmond and concentrated on an attack on the House of Lords. He demanded "Boer Home Rule for Ireland," and recommended the Liberals' "Better Government for Ireland" Bill to the Nationalists. On the outbreak of the Great War he supported the British cause, but was hostile to the extension of compulsory service to Ireland. He lost his Westminster seat after the war and disappeared from public life, having been elected Chairman of the Nationalist Party just previously. In 1897 he married Elizabeth, daughter



of the late Lord Justice Mathow. She died in 1907, survived by two sons and a daughter.

7. Major-General Leonard Wood, Governor-General of the Philippine Islands since 1921, was born in the U.S.A. in 1860. In 1884 he took his medical degree at Harvard and in 1885 entered the Army as Assistant-Surgeon. He saw service in Arizona, receiving the Congressional Medal for valour. In 1895 he was ordered to Washington where he came into close touch with Presidents Cleveland, McKinley, and Roosevelt. On the declaration of war with Spain in 1898 he and Roosevelt were jointly authorised to furnish a regiment of volunteer cavalry. Wood, promoted Brigadier-General after the battle of Guasimas, was made Governor-General of Santiago. Under him the whole province was civilised. He then became Governor-General of Cuba, reconstructing the island economically and socially and entirely exterminating yellow fever. President Roosevelt then made Wm Military Governor of the Moro Province of the Philippines, and in 1908 he was transferred to Governor's Island, New York, as G.O.C. Department of the East. He went on a special diplomatic mission to the Argentine, and in 1910 was appointed Chief of the General Staff at Washington. He held this post till 1914, persisting in his plans for universal military training. In 1910 he demanded from Congress an appropriation of 5 million dollars for a military aircraft service, but this was refused. During the Great War he saw active service in France; in 1920 he was nominated Republican candidate for the Presidency.

15. Elbert Henry Gary, aged 80, chairman and chief executive officer of the United States Steel Corporation, was educated at Wheaton College, Illinois, and later at Chicago University, where he took his LL.B. in 1867. In 1871 he began his practice in Chicago, and quickly became a noted corporation lawyer. In 1874 he organised the Gary Wheaton Bank; and in 1882 was elected Judge of Du Page County. He also twice served as Mayor of Wheaton. Interested in the development of iron and steel, he was one of the organisers of the Consolidated Steel Corporation in 1891, and retiring from legal practice, became President of the Federal Steel Corporation in 1898. In 1901 he absorbed the Carnegie interests and formed the United States Steel Corporation, which became the greatest industrial concern in the country. In industrial politics he was somewhat reactionary, but in 1906 a model town for workmen was built and named after him. On America's entry into the war he played an important part as Chairman of the Steel Committee of the Council of National Defence. He was in favour of promoting friendship between the U.S.A. and Japan; was an advocate of a free labour market, opposing the limitation of immigration under the "quota" law; was President of the Chicago Bar Association (1893-94), and of the American Iron and Steel Institute (from 1909). He also held many foreign orders and various honorary university degrees. He was twice married: in 1869 to Miss Julia Graves, who died in 1902, leaving two daughters; and in 1905 to Mrs. Gertrude Sutcliffe.

17. Richard Caton Woodville, the well-known painter of battle pictures, was born in 1856. He was educated at Dusseldorf and exhibited his first Academy picture in 1879. He went through the Turkish War of 1878, the Egyptian campaign of 1882, and various minor wars in the East. Besides his battle pictures he also painted a number of portraits for the Royal Family under Queen Victoria and full-length portraits of King Edward and King George. He was a member of the Duke of Clarence's suite during his tour in India, and painted many Indian princes. Among his best pictures were: "The Return from Metemeh," "The Guards at Tel-el-Kebir," "The Charge of the Light Brigade," "The Relief of Lucknow," and "The Cock o' the North." His picture, "Hallowe'en 1914," inspired by the stand of the London Scottish on Messines Ridge, hangs in the Cornell Gallery. He wrote a book of memoirs called "Random Recollections." His wife predeceased him, and he left one son.

23. **Zaghloul Pasha**, aged 70, Nationalist leader of Egypt, was educated at the Mohammedan University of Al Azhar. He joined in the rebellion of Arabi Pasha in 1882, and was arrested when the British occupied Cairo. Later he gained a great reputation as a barrister in the native courts, and in 1893 he rose to be Counsellor of the Court of Appeal. He came under the influence of Mustapha Fahmy (Prime Minister, 1895-1908) and of Sheikh Mahomed Abdu, a converted Nationalist of 1881. Through the latter's recommendation Lord Cromer appointed Zaghloul, in 1906, to be Minister of Education. In 1910 he became Minister of Justice. His relations with the Khedive were never cordial, and when his allegations against the Khedive concerning irregularities in the Wakfs administration could not be substantiated, Lord Kitchener was obliged to ask for his resignation, and henceforth he became embittered against the British. At the opening of the new Legislative Council he led the Opposition against the Khedive. After the proclamation of the British Protectorate Zaghloul demanded the instant recognition of Egypt's complete independence. The British Government rejected his demands and ignored his propaganda till the resignation of the Egyptian Cabinet in 1919, when they arrested him and deported him to Malta. When Lord Allenby secured his release, he directed the agitation for independence from Paris. He was finally induced to meet Lord Milner in London, but he refused a settlement on the lines of the Milner Mission Report in 1920. He was allowed to return to Egypt, but on the collapse of further negotiations between Britain and Egypt he was again arrested and deported. After the promulgation of the new Constitution he was allowed to return for the elections, and he became Prime Minister in 1924. His vacillation hung up the negotiations between himself and Mr. Ramsay MacDonald. In 1924 an attempt was made on his life, and later in the year he met Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, but conversations were abruptly broken off. He returned to Egypt with lost prestige. The assassination of Sir Lee Stack later in the year was a direct blow to his cause, and finally he resigned. He then stood as candidate for the Presidency of the Chamber. Early in 1926 Ziwar Pasha's Ministry fell, and the new elections ended in a complete victory for the Zaghloulists. Zaghloul formed a Ministry, but though obliged to resign shortly after, he directed affairs from behind the scenes during the following year. In 1896 he married the daughter of Mustapha Fahmy Pasha.

26. **John St. Loe Strachey**, aged 67, editor of the *Spectator*, was the second son of Sir Edward Strachey, who had married a sister of John Addington Symonds. He went up to Balliol where he took a First Class in the History School and made life-long friendships with Sir Herbert Warren, Dean Beeching, and Sir Bernard Mallet. He then read for the Bar in London, writing for the *Saturday Review*, the *Standard*, the *Economist*, and other papers. In 1886 he became editor of the *Liberal Unionist* with Mr. Charles Graves, and in 1896 he was appointed editor of the *Cornhill*. All this time he had been reviewing for the *Spectator*, and after the Home Rule split he replaced Asquith as leader-writer on that weekly. In 1897 he became editor and proprietor, and under him the *Spectator* exercised great influence on public opinion not only in this country, but also throughout the Colonies and the U.S.A. In 1906 he unsuccessfully contested the seat for Edinburgh and St. Andrews as a Unionist Free Trader. During the war he had a serious breakdown in health but partially recovered. In 1925 he parted with the control and editorship of the paper, but still wrote for it. He published two autobiographical books: "The Adventure of Living" and "The River of Life," as well as others on social and economic subjects. He married Miss Amy Simpson, a granddaughter of Nassau Senior. A son and a daughter survived him.

27. **Stuart Reid**, aged 78, reviewer, writer, and publisher, came of Liberal and Nonconformist stock. For fourteen years he was the chief reviewer of the *Leeds Mercury*, and for thirty years was on the literary staff of the old *Standard*. He also contributed regularly to the *Speaker*. From 1891 to 1898 he was a director

of Sampson Low & Co.; in 1907 he joined the firm of Duckworth & Co., retiring in 1914. He edited the "Queen Victoria's Prime Minister" series, the memoirs of his brother, Sir Wemyss Reid, and of Sir Edward Blount. He published "Representative Men in the Reign of Queen Victoria" and memoirs of Sir Sydney Smith, Lord John Russell, and Sir Richard Tangye. The honorary degree of D.C.L. of Dublin University was conferred on him for his edition of the "Life and Letters of the First Earl of Durham." He also published an annotated catalogue of historical tracts from the reign of Queen Elizabeth to George III. He did some important family bibliographical work for the eighth Duke of Marlborough; his book on the first Duke and Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough, appearing in 1914. He was married but left no issue.

28. **Sir Charles Patrick John Coghlan**, first Premier of Southern Rhodesia, was born in 1863 in Cape Colony. He was educated at St. Aidan's College, Grahamstown, and the South African College, Cape Town. His father's death obliged him to leave the latter within a year, and he was then articled to his brother, a solicitor at Kimberley. He became a partner in 1886, practising in Kimberley till he moved to Bulawayo in 1900. In 1908 he was elected to a seat on the Legislative Council, and later in the same year he represented Rhodesia at the South African National Convention. On the Convention he held a "watching brief" for the Rhodesians with regard to the question of their joining the Union. He eventually became President of the Responsible Government Association. He moved the resolution in which Rhodesia requested the grant of self-government; the Legislative Council passing it in 1920. In 1921 he headed the Rhodesian delegation to London to discuss the basis of the Constitution. In 1923, when the new Constitution came into effect, he was elected Premier of Rhodesia. In 1910 he received his knighthood, and in 1925 was created K.C.M.G. In 1899 he married Gertrude Schermsbrucker and had one daughter.

29. **The Very Rev. John Henry Bernard**, Provost of Trinity College, Dublin, was born in 1860. After having been privately educated he entered Trinity College, Dublin. After a brilliant career he was made a Fellow in 1884, being appointed four years later Archbishop King's Lecturer in Divinity, a post he retained till he became a Bishop in 1911. In 1897 he was appointed Treasurer, and in 1902 Dean, of St. Patrick's Cathedral. In 1911, in face of some opposition, he was appointed Bishop of Ossory by the Bishops of the Church of Ireland, and on the resignation of Dr. Peacocke in 1915 he was translated to the Archbishopric of Dublin. He worked in close touch with Lord Midleton for the ideal of Ireland one and undivided, and when Sir Horace Plunkett's Convention of Irishmen nearly broke down, Bernard accompanied Lord Midleton to England in an effort to arrive at a solution. After the war he turned his attention to reorganisation problems at the University. In 1919 he was appointed Vice-Chancellor, and on the death of Sir John Mahaffy was chosen to succeed him as Provost. Amongst his books may be mentioned his edition of Kant's "Critical Philosophy for English Readers," his "Notes on Butler's Analogy," his "Commentaries on the Pastoral Epistles and Second Corinthians," his Irish "Liber Hymnorum," and an edition of the "Odes of Solomon." He held honorary degrees at Oxford, Durham, and Aberdeen, was an honorary Fellow of Queen's College, Oxford, and of the Royal College of Physicians, Ireland. In 1885 he married Maud, daughter of Dr. Robert Bernard, and had one son and two daughters.

## SEPTEMBER.

1. **Robert Bright Marston**, aged 74, well known as an authority on angling, was educated at Croydon, Bonn, and the Islington Proprietary School. He was in the publishing business for over fifty years, being a partner in Sampson Low,

Marston & Co. He was prominently concerned with the International Fisheries Exhibition held at South Kensington in 1883. In 1884 he founded the Fly Fishers' Club and became its president and treasurer; while for over fifty years he was editor of the *Fishing Gazette*. He wrote many books on fishing and was considered an authority on the literature connected with Izaak Walton. He was also a keen photographer and translated Liesegang's "Carbon Process of Photography" and Tissandier's "History and Handbook of Photography." He married in 1881, and left three daughters and two sons.

4. **Miss Ellen Annette McArthur**, a writer and teacher of history, was born in 1862, and educated partly in Germany and partly at St. Andrews School for Girls, under Dame Louisa Lumsden. In 1882 she proceeded as a scholar to Girton College, Cambridge, obtaining a First Class in the Historical Tripos in 1885. In 1886 she was appointed History Coach at Girton, and her association with the college continued until 1907 as Director of Studies in History, Deputy Librarian, and Vice-Mistress. For six years she was Head of the House of Residence in Cambridge for women post-graduate students. In 1905 she was given the degree of Litt.D. by Dublin, and two years later she began her connexion with the University of London. One of the most valued tributes to her reputation as a teacher was the request from various Cambridge tutors that men should be admitted to her lectures on Economic History which she started for Girton and Newnham students on the retirement of Dr. Cunningham. She worked with Dr. Cunningham on "The History of English Industry and Commerce," and in 1895 collaborated with him in "The Outlines of English Industrial History." During the woman suffrage movement she worked on the Committee of the Cambridge Women's Society and on the Executive Committee of the Central Society.

— **Lord Coleridge** (Bernard John Seymour Coleridge), Judge of the King's Bench Division, was born in 1851. His father (John Duke Coleridge) was Lord Chief Justice of England from 1880 to 1894, and his grandfather—a nephew of Samuel Taylor Coleridge, the poet—was made a Judge of the King's Bench in 1835. From Eton he went to Trinity College, Oxford, where he became President of the College Boat Club, stroked the boat and won the 3-mile walking race at the Oxford University sports. He obtained a Second Class in the Modern History School, and later became a Fellow of his College. In 1877 he was called to the Bar by the Middle Temple, of which he was subsequently a Bencher and (in 1919) Treasurer. Joining the Western Circuit, he acquired a large practice; and in 1885 he entered Parliament as member for a Sheffield division. Throughout his political career he identified himself with the extreme left wing of the Liberal Party, being a Home Ruler and opposed to the hereditary character of the House of Lords. In 1892 he took silk and when, in 1894, he succeeded to his father's peerage, he was the first peer to practise at the Bar. In 1906 he went as Commissioner of Assize on the Midland Circuit and in 1907 he was appointed a Judge of the King's Bench Division, where he won a high reputation for handling juries. In 1917 (as Judge under the Benefices Act, 1898), he presided at the first appeal of the Court set up by that Act. He had also been Chairman of the Devon Quarter Sessions and of the Conciliation Board for the Coal Trade of the Federated Districts. In 1905 he published "The Story of a Devonshire House," the history of Ottery St. Mary, the family seat; and in 1925 a volume of reminiscences called "This for Remembrance." In 1876 he married Mary Alethea, daughter of the late Rt. Rev. I. F. Mackarness, Bishop of Oxford, by whom he had one son and a daughter.

8. **Sir John Lane Harrington**, aged 62, well known for his diplomatic work in Abyssinia, was the son of the late Nicholas Harrington, M.R.C.S., and educated at Stonyhurst. He first joined the Army (in 1884), but a few years later he became employed in the Consular Service, being appointed, in 1895, H.M. Vice-Consul at Zaila at a critical time in the history of Abyssinia. In 1897, when

the British Mission under Sir Rennell Rodd was sent to Abyssinia, the transport arrangements were in Harrington's hands. In 1898 he was promoted Consul at Zaila, and was also made His Majesty's Agent at the Court of Menelek, the Abyssinian Emperor. In 1900 he was promoted Agent and Consul-General at Adis Ababa, and in 1903 he became first British Minister at the Court of Abyssinia, where he had ten years of conspicuous success. In 1902 he signed the Treaty defining the Sudan-Abyssinian frontier, and in the same year accompanied Menelek's probable successor to England when the Abyssinian special convoy came to attend King Edward's Coronation. In 1903 he was made K.C.V.O., and three years later he participated in the negotiations for the agreement between Britain, France, and Italy as to the maintenance of the *status quo* in Abyssinia. In 1909 he retired, unsuccessfully contesting the Crewe Division for the Conservatives in the following year. At the next election he opposed John Burns at Battersea, and again fought the constituency in 1918, both times unsuccessfully. During the Great War he commanded a battalion of the Essex Regiment and was mentioned in despatches. In 1901 he was made C.V.O., in 1902 C.B., and in 1909 K.C.M.G. He received the First Class of the Order of the Star of Ethiopia. In 1907 he married Amy, daughter of Senator Macmillan of the U.S.A.

14. **Arthur Bouchier**, the popular actor-manager, was born in 1863, the son of Captain Charles John Bouchier, and educated at Eton and Christ Church, Oxford, where in his undergraduate days he founded the dramatic society now known as the O.U.D.S. His first professional appearance was as Jacques in "As You Like It" at the Theatre Royal, Wolverhampton. After playing Joseph Surface in "The School for Scandal" with Wyndham he toured with Ada Rehan in America, where he created the part of Robin Hood in Tennyson's "The Foresters." In 1894 he played the leading part in "The Derby Winner" at Drury Lane, and in 1895 entered into management. Amongst his many successes as actor and manager were "His Excellency the Governor," "Iris," "Treasure Island," and "The Walls of Jericho." During his life he was instrumental in raising over 30,000l. for theatrical and war charities, and when, in 1919, the O.U.D.S. was in need of funds he gave a matinee at the New Theatre, Oxford, to put it on its feet again. He was twice married, first to Miss Violet Vanbrugh (their daughter being known on the stage as Miss Prudence Vanbrugh); and again in 1918 to Miss Kyrle Bellew, who survived him.

21. **Sir Arthur Shipley, G.B.E., F.R.S.**, aged 66, eminent both as a zoologist and as Master of Christ's College, Cambridge, was educated at University College School and became a medical student of St. Bartholomew's Hospital. Specialising later in zoology at Christ's College, Cambridge, under Balfour and Sedgwick, he took a First in both parts of the Tripos, became a Fellow of his college, and demonstrator in comparative anatomy. In 1904 he was made F.R.S. His text-book, "Zoology of the Invertebrata" became a standard work; other popular volumes were "Pearls and Parasites," "Minor Horrors of the War," and "The Voyage of a Vice-Chancellor," in which he described an official trip to America during the war. He also edited "The Cambridge Natural History" (with Sir Sidney Harmer), the biological series of the Pitt Press Natural Science Manuals, and certain volumes on the fauna of British India. For many years before his death he was Cambridge University correspondent to *The Times*. He was elected Master of Christ's in 1910, and under him the college became one of the largest in Cambridge. Between 1917 and 1919 he was Vice-Chancellor of the University; in 1920 he received the G.B.E. for services during the war by the organisation of hospitals in Cambridge and the care of wounded officers. He was Chairman of the Marine Biological Association, a member of the Royal Commissions on the Civil Service, on the Importation of Cattle, and on Trinity College, Dublin. At one time he was sent by the Colonial Office to the Bermudas to investigate plant disease and was connected with the establishment after the war of the Imperial College of Tropical Agriculture at Trinidad.

21. **Lord George Hamilton**, aged 81, Conservative statesman, was the son of the tenth Earl and first Duke of Abercorn. He was educated at Harrow and served in the Rifle Brigade and Coldstream Guards. In the General Election of 1868 he obtained a seat for Middlesex; in 1874 Disraeli, after offering him the Under-Secretaryship of Foreign Affairs which he refused, gave him that of India. He distinguished himself at once by his defence of the measures taken by the Viceroy for coping with famine in India. From that time onward until his retirement in 1903 he occupied a prominent position in every Conservative Ministry. From 1878 to 1880 he was Vice-President of the Committee of Council on Education; in 1885 he was appointed First Lord of the Admiralty in Lord Salisbury's Ministry, and held the post till 1892, with the exception of a brief interval during Gladstone's Ministry. In Opposition in 1892 he took a leading part in the movement which culminated in Gladstone's resignation in 1894. In 1895 he returned to the India Office as Secretary of State. It fell to him to determine the policy regarding cotton excise duties, and in 1898 he decided on a moderate policy on frontier matters. In 1903 he resigned from the Cabinet as a free trader, and at the dissolution in 1905 did not seek re-election. From 1905 to 1909 he served as Chairman of the Royal Commission on the Poor Law and Unemployment, and during the war he was Chairman of the Mesopotamia Commission of 1917. He was a Governor of Harrow School (1913-24), Captain of Deal Castle (1899-1913), and in Masonry was Provincial Grand Master of Middlesex. In 1871 he married Lady Maud Caroline Lascelles and had three sons.

23. **Baron von Maltzan**, German Ambassador to the United States, who was killed in an aeroplane accident in Germany, was born in 1877. After studying law he transferred from the Prussian judicial to the diplomatic service in 1906. In 1910 he was appointed First Secretary in St. Petersburg, and his keen interest in Eastern affairs led to his appointment at the German Legation at Peking in 1913. He was *Charge d' Affaires* there when war broke out, and took the initiative of offering, in the Emperor's name, to return Tsingtao to China. Under the Republic he received rapid advancement and became Director of the Eastern Department at the Wilhelmstrasse. He was always a firm adherent of the "Eastern School," and was the protagonist of the Treaty of Rapallo. In 1922 he became Secretary of State of the Foreign Office and conducted Germany's foreign policy under Dr. Von Rosenberg and later Herr Stresemann, until 1924 when he was appointed Ambassador in Washington.

26. **Professor Liversidge, F.R.S.**, the distinguished chemist, who was born in 1847, entered the Royal College of Chemistry and Royal School of Mines in 1866, becoming an Associate of the Royal School of Mines in 1870. He worked under Professor Tyndall, Sir Andrew Ramsay, and Dr. Percy, and did research work in Dr. Frankland's private laboratory. In 1870 he was elected to an open scholarship in Science at Christ's College, Cambridge, and worked in the physiological laboratory then started by Professor Michael Foster. During his first year at Cambridge he held the post of demonstrator at the University Laboratory. In 1872 he accepted the Chair of Chemistry and Mineralogy in the University of Sydney, New South Wales. Here, in 1885, he founded the Australasian Association for the Advancement of Science and was its Honorary Secretary for many years, and President in 1888-90. In 1874 he was made a Trustee of the Australian Museum at Sydney, collecting for it mineral and geological specimens from all parts of the world. He was Secretary of the Royal Society of New South Wales for thirteen years, President for three terms, and editor of their *Journal*. At Sydney University he was Dean of the Faculty of Science (which he originated in 1879) until 1904. In 1890 he founded the School of Mines in the University. In 1907 he retired with the title of Emeritus Professor. In 1882 he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society and was also an honorary Fellow of the Royal Society of Edinburgh.

28. **Professor Willem Einthoven**, the famous physiologist, was born in 1860 in the Dutch Indies. From 1870 onwards his boyhood was passed in Utrecht, where he entered the University in 1878 as a medical student. At the age of 25 he was appointed to the Chair of Physiology in Leyden, a position he retained for forty-two years. His publications—on physics, physiology, and medicine—are to be found in the journals of four languages. In 1924 he was elected honorary member of the Physiological Society, and in the following year he invited the members to hold their meeting in his laboratory at Leyden. In 1924 he was awarded the Nobel Prize for Physiology and Medicine for his discovery of the mechanism of the electro-cardiogram. In 1926 he was elected to foreign membership of the Royal Society. Of his many discoveries and inventions the most famous are those connected with the electro-cardiogram and the string galvanometer.

30. **Celestin-Auguste Jonnart**, aged 70, French diplomatist, represented the North of France in the Chamber and in the Senate. In 1882 he was appointed private secretary to the Governor-General of Algeria, and in 1903 became Governor-General himself until the fall of M. Briand's Ministry in 1911, when he resigned the post as a gesture of association with M. Briand's ideas of political appeasement. Under M. Briand's Ministry in 1913 he held office for a brief space in charge of Foreign Affairs. In 1917 he was selected to be Chief of the Allied Missions to Greece to negotiate King Constantine's abdication, a task which was speedily accomplished. In 1921, when relations were resumed with the Vatican, he became the first French representative at the Curia. He resigned the post in 1923, the year in which he was elected a member of the Academy.

## OCTOBER.

1. **Professor Svante Arrhenius**, the Swedish discoverer of the theory of electrolytic dissociation, was born in 1859. After a distinguished career at Upsala University, he received the doctorate degree for a thesis in which he first propounded his great discovery. He then worked under Ostwald at Riga, and later under Kohlrausch and Boltzmann in Germany, proceeding in due course to Amsterdam as first foreign student of the physico-chemical laboratory. In 1887 he joined Ostwald at Leipzig, and his classical paper on electrolytic dissociation appeared in the *Zeitschrift für physikalische Chemie*. In 1891 he accepted a lectureship at Stockholm, becoming Professor of Physics there in 1895; and also the position of Rector of the University for several years. In 1903 he was awarded the Nobel Prize for Physics, and two years later he was appointed Director of the Nobel Institute for Physical Chemistry in Stockholm. In 1910 the Royal Society elected him a Foreign member; he had already been awarded the Davy Medal in 1901. He held honorary degrees of various universities, and was an honorary member of the Chemical and Physical Societies of London and the Royal Institution, also of various learned societies of America and Europe. His best-known work, "Worlds in the Making," was translated into English in 1908. Other works were "The Destinies of the Stars," "Quantitative Laws in Biological Chemistry," and "Immuno-Chemistry."

4. **Charles Morris Woodford, C.M.G.**, aged 74, explorer, naturalist, and anthropologist, who administered the British Solomon Islands, was educated at Tonbridge. He first went to the Western Pacific as a collector for the Rothschild Museum at Tring, exploring the Melanesian Islands for about ten years, and visiting the Solomon Islands in 1886, 1887, and 1888. In 1895 he was made Acting Consul and Deputy Commissioner at Samoa, and in 1896 was appointed first Resident Commissioner in the Solomon Islands, which had been placed under British Protectorship in 1893. He proclaimed the Protectorate and hoisted the British flag in 1900, and soon acquired an extraordinary ascendancy over the

natives, practically stamping out head-hunting and the murdering of white people. His administration resulted in a great impetus to trade, and coconut planting was undertaken on a large scale. In 1912 he was created C.M.G., and he retired in 1915. He was a Fellow of the Royal Anthropological Institute, a member of the British Ornithologists' Union and the Hakluyt Society. In 1889 he married Florence Palmer of Bathurst, N.S.W. He had two sons, of whom one survived him.

7. **Lord Iveagh** (Edward Cecil Guinness, first Earl of Iveagh), aged 80, was the third son of Sir Benjamin Lee Guinness, M.P., who died in 1868, leaving his sons a joint share in the famous brewery at Dublin. After taking his degree at Trinity College, Dublin, in 1870, he devoted himself to the family business and to the interests of Dublin. In 1876 he was High Sheriff of the City, and in 1885 of the County. In that year he was created baronet, and as a Unionist unsuccessfully contested the St. Stephen's Green division of Dublin. On the incorporation of the brewery in 1886 as Arthur Guinness, Son & Co., Ltd., Sir Edward became Chairman. In 1889, while remaining Chairman, he withdrew from the active management, marking the event by a gift of a quarter million pounds for the erection of dwellings for the poor in London and Dublin. He also presented the Lister Institute in London with the sum of 250,000l. for bacteriological research. In 1891 he was created Baron Iveagh of Iveagh, Co. Down, and five years later he was installed as a Knight of St. Patrick in Dublin Castle. He was responsible during the South African War for the equipment and maintenance of the Irish Field Hospital, and he made two gifts of 50,000l. to Dublin hospitals on the occasions of Royal visits. In 1905 he was made a Viscount and settled in Suffolk at Elveden Hall. In 1908 he was elected Chancellor of Dublin University, and in 1909 the Nationalist Corporation of Dublin presented him with an address of thanks for his generosity to their city. He was offered but declined the Lord Mayoralty. In 1919 he was made Earl of Iveagh and Viscount Elveden; in 1925 he purchased the Ken Wood Estate for the nation; in 1906 he was elected F.R.S., and was honorary LL.D. of Dublin and Aberdeen, and in 1919 he was created G.C.V.O. In 1873 he married his cousin Adelaide Maud, daughter of the late Mr. Richard Samuel Guinness, M.P., who died in 1916. Three sons survived him.

11. **Dr. Benjamin Daydon Jackson**, aged 82, distinguished botanist, became a Fellow of the Linnean Society before he was twenty-two, and acted as its secretary and as member of its council from 1882 to 1901. For many years he was engaged on the "Index Kewensis," a vast index of plants the idea for which originated with Darwin, but which was carried out in the main by Dr. Jackson. Other works of his are: "Linnaeus, the Story of his Life" (1923), "Notes on a Catalogue of the Linnean Herbarium" (1922), "Catalogue of Linnean Specimens of Zoology" (1913); also biographies of George Bentham, John Gerard, and Dr. William Turner. He was honorary Ph.D. of Upsala and, since 1907, was a Knight of the Swedish Order of the Polar Star. In 1916 he was appointed to the newly-created post of Curator of the Linnean Society collections.

13. **William le Queux**, aged 63, novelist, was the son of Mr. William le Queux of Chateaux. After studying art in the Quartier Latin he travelled widely, and studied criminology and the secret service system in many countries in order to equip himself for the writing of sensational stories. In 1891 he joined the staff of the *Globe*, but resigned in 1893, and resumed his travels. He was correspondent of the *Daily Mail* in the Balkan War; in 1908 the *Daily Mail* published his most famous story, "The Invasion of 1910," in which he was assisted by Lord Roberts. He was President of the Wireless Experimental Association, and a member of the Institute of Radio Engineers. He claimed to be the first wireless experimenter to broadcast from his station at Guildford in 1920-21. In 1923 he published a book of reminiscences, "Things I Know."



**13. Rt. Hon. Thomas Ashton**, trade union official and miners' leader, was born in 1844. He worked as a miner from early years, and before the age of twenty-one became secretary of the Bradford and Clayton Miners\* Union. He continued to work as a miner till 1879, when he became secretary of another miners' union, and in 1881 he was elected first secretary of the Lancashire Federation of Miners' Unions. In 1888 the Miners' Federation of Great Britain was formed, and Mr. Ashton acted as its secretary till 1918. He bore the brunt of the struggle initiated in 1908 for the establishment of a minimum wage for mineworkers. He was also secretary to the International Miners' Federation for nearly twenty years, and joint secretary, with Sir Thomas Ratcliffe-Ellis, of the Conciliation Board for the English and North Wales federated area. He was sworn of the Privy Council in 1917, and was a magistrate for Manchester. He married in 1865.

**15. Sir Robert Fulton Fulton**, aged 83, former Chief Justice of Bengal, was the son of Mr. Joseph Rampini of Edinburgh, and adopted the name of Fulton in 1908. Educated at Edinburgh (Academy, Institution, and University), he took his M.A. degree in 1864, when he passed first into the Indian Civil Service, and was appointed to the Province of Bengal. From 1865 to 1867 he worked with distinction as a famine officer in the Orissa famine. After serving for the next eight years in the executive branch of the Service, he was appointed a District and Sessions Judge, and in 1881 was accorded special thanks by the Bengal Government for his settlement of the dispute as to the Nawab of Dacca's estate. In 1883 he was appointed Superintendent and Legal Remembrancer to the Government of Bengal, and was called to the Bar by the Inner Temple in the following year. In 1888 he officiated as a Judge of the Calcutta High Court, receiving his permanent appointment thereto in 1893. In 1907 and 1908 he was Chief Justice of Bengal, and when he retired from India in the latter year, he left behind him a reputation as judge, lawyer, and scholar which has never been surpassed there. He received his knighthood in 1908. He was a keen educationist, being a Fellow of the Calcutta University and President of the Board of Examiners in Oriental Languages. In 1903 he was made an hon. LL.D. of Edinburgh University. In 1887 he married Edith, daughter of Brigade-Surgeon R. G. Mathew. She survived him with an only daughter, his son having been killed during the war.

— **Major General Sir William Grant Macpherson**, aged 69, editor-in-chief of the medical history of the Great War, was educated at Fettes College, Edinburgh University, Tübingen, and Leipzig. After a most distinguished university career he joined the Army Medical Service, and was with the British Mission at Fez in 1892, and at Morocco in 1896. He was on special duty in South Africa in 1902, and in Panama and Cuba in 1908. In 1910 he became P.M.O. at Malta, and from 1911 till 1914 was attached to the Staff College at Quetta. At the outbreak of the Great War he was at the War Office, and performed marvels of medical organisation. In 1915 he was Director of Medical Services, British Force in Macedonia, Director of Medical Services, First Army, and Deputy Director-General, G.H.Q. He was mentioned in despatches nine times. He was created successively C.M.G., C.B., and K.C.M.G., and appointed Colonel-Commandant R.A.M.C. in 1925. He held the degree of LL.D. of Edinburgh University and various foreign honours. In undertaking the editorship of the medical history of the war he declared its chief object to be the prevention of a recurrence of past errors, and his work ranks as a model of its kind. He married first Miss E. A. Clunas, who died in 1907; and, secondly, in 1910, Miss G. E. Doran, daughter of General Sir John Doran.

**16. Henry Martyn Taylor**, F.R.S., aged 85, distinguished mathematician who was blind, was the second son of the Rev. James Taylor, D.D. Educated at Wakefield Grammar School and Trinity College, Cambridge, he graduated as third Wrangler and second Smith's prizeman in 1865. In that year he was

appointed Vice-Principal of the Royal School of Naval Architecture and Marine Engineering, and in the following year he was elected a Fellow of his college. In 1869 he was called to the Bar by Lincoln's Inn, but he returned to Cambridge. From 1869 to 1874 he was assistant tutor of Trinity College, and tutor from 1874 to 1884, remaining mathematical lecturer till 1894. When the new Trinity Statutes came into operation in 1882 he was one of the first elected members of the College Council and was re-elected on each succeeding occasion. He was editor of the "Pitt Press Euclid," a Fellow of the Royal Astronomical Society and the Cambridge Philosophic Society, and in 1898 was made F.R.S. In 1894 he became blind, and devoted much of his time to developing a system of mathematical symbols for Braille in order that books of scientific quality should be available in that type. An embossed Scientific Books Fund was formed in 1913, the Trust Fund being administered by the Royal Society. He also took a keen interest in municipal affairs at Cambridge, was Mayor 1900-1, and for some years chairman of the Finance Committee.

21. **Dr. Patrick O'Donnell**, Cardinal Archbishop of Armagh, who was born in 1856, was educated at Letterkenny, the Catholic University at Dublin, and the Dunboyne Establishment at Maynooth. In 1880 he was ordained priest, and after occupying the Chair of Theology he became Prefect of the Dunboyne. In 1888 he was consecrated Bishop of the see of Raphoe. He built a cathedral and a diocesan college at Letterkenny, and various monastery schools and ecclesiastical buildings throughout Donegal sprang up during his episcopacy. He was a strong but conservative Nationalist, and in 1896 presided at the Convention when the Nationalists were re-united under Redmond. At the Irish Convention held 1917-18 for the solution of the Irish question, he was an outstanding figure, being especially effective on land and fiscal questions. In 1923 the Pope appointed him Coadjutor, with the title of Archbishop of Attalia, to Cardinal Logue, Archbishop of Armagh; in 1924 he succeeded to the Primacy, and in 1925 he received the cardinal's hat. In 1927 he held the Plenary Synod of the Irish hierarchy at Maynooth, at which far-reaching reforms were undertaken. He made frequent appeals for the cultivation of Irish unity, and was much respected amongst the Protestants of Ulster.

30. **Maximilian Harden**, German publicist and journalist, was born of Jewish parents in 1861, his real name being Felix Witkowski. Educated in Berlin, he became a journalist by profession and soon attracted attention, particularly by his series of essays entitled "Apostata." In 1892 he founded the weekly journal *Die Zukunft*, which for many years enjoyed great popularity in German-speaking countries, largely due to the striking style of its editor's articles. Harden courageously attacked the Imperial regime, and in the main stood for a Democratic Government. During the height of his career he was a force of some import in German public life, but after the war he lived in retirement. In 1922 he was the victim of a cowardly attack at the hands of a member of one of the Patriotic groups, and he never quite recovered from the shock. In 1926 he published a book, "My Contemporaries," concerned mainly with prominent men in political life.

## NOVEMBER.

1. **Sir William Galloway**, mining engineer, was the son of Mr. William Galloway, I.P., of Paisley. After being educated privately and at Giessen University, the Bergakademie, Freiburg, and University College, London, and later receiving the honorary degree of B.Sc. from the University of Wales, he became an inspector of mines in Scotland and South Wales. He carried on important pioneer researches into the action of coal dust in colliery explosions, and his experiments were continued by the Mining Association of Great Britain until the Government took over the work in 1911. Galloway's suggestion that

stone dust should be used as a means of prevention has been widely adopted under official regulations. For his services in this connexion and for his further experiments in connexion with mining dangers, he was awarded the Medal of the Institution of Mining Engineers (1925), and the Shaw Gold Medal by the Royal Society of Arts, and a special gold medal by the South Wales Institute of Engineers. He was knighted in 1924, and was at one time a Professor of Mining in the University College of South Wales and Monmouthshire. He was a distinguished member of many engineering and mining bodies. He married twice: first Christine Maude Mary Gordon of Ayrshire, by whom he had two sons; and secondly Mary Gwenap Douglas, daughter of Captain Wood, R.M.L.I.

1. **Charles Humbert**, aged 61, Senator and former Director of the *Journal*, began his career in the Army. In 1900 General Andre, Minister of War, gave him a post in the Ministry which he resigned in 1902 owing to differences with his chief. After working at Caen as a tax collector, he adopted journalism, and became secretary to the *Matin*. In 1906 he was elected Deputy for the Meuse Department, and became Rapporteur for the Army Committee and for the Budget Committee. His speech in the Senate just prior to the Great War, criticising the inadequacy of France's frontier defences and her insufficiency in officers and munitions, attracted wide attention. His slogan as director of *Le Journal* at the outbreak of war was "Des canons, des munitions." He was acquitted before a court martial of complicity in the nefarious schemings of Bolo Pasha, whose proposal to become the co-proprietor with himself of the *Journal* he had unwittingly accepted.

6. Dr. D. Q. **Hogarth**, aged 65, archaeologist and Director of the Arab Bureau during the Great War, was the son of the Rev. George H. Hogarth. Educated at Winchester and Magdalen College, Oxford, he was elected Classical Lecturer and Fellow of his College in 1886. In the same year he became Craven Fellow, and continued his academic career in various posts until 1893, when he was elected a "Research Fellow," and began his life of archaeological travel. For three years he was Director of the British School at Athens, and in 1899 he was Director of the Cretan Exploration Fund. From 1887 to 1907 he conducted explorations in Asia Minor, and between 1887 and 1894 in Cyprus, Egypt, Carchemish, and Crete. In 1897 he acted as correspondent to *The Times*. Among his writings may be mentioned: "Devia Cypria" (1890), "Modern and Ancient Roads in Asia Minor" (1892), "A Wandering Scholar in the Levant" (1896) and "Philip and Alexander of Macedon" (1897). Further books on Arabia and the Near East followed between 1902 and 1910, during which time he also edited books for the Clarendon Press and contributed articles to the "Encyclopaedia Britannica." In 1922 he published "A Short History of Arabia." In 1908 he succeeded Sir Arthur Evans as Keeper of the Ashmolean Museum; in 1912 he became a delegate of the University Press, and contributed important articles to the "Dictionary of National Biography." On the establishment of the Arab Bureau at Cairo during the Great War, he was appointed Director (in 1916). After establishing the Bureau on a firm foundation he returned to London to work unceasingly on various Eastern problems. In 1918 he was recalled to Cairo, and at the end of the war became British Commissioner at the Paris Peace Conference of 1919. His work as a geographer was also considerable. His expeditions into Asia Minor, Syria, and the Syrian Desert had important topographical as well as archaeological results. In 1917 he received the Founder's Medal from the R.G.S., of which he had been a member since 1896, and of which he became President in 1925. He held various academic honours, and was made C.M.G. in 1918. In 1894 he married Laura Uppley and left one son.

9. **Dr. Bunyiu Nanjio**, aged 79, eminent Japanese Sanskritist, came to London in 1876 to study Sanskrit texts of Buddhism. Some years later he settled at Oxford to work under Professor Max Müller. His greatest work,

compiled under the patronage of the Secretary of State for India and published in 1883, was the catalogue of the Buddhist "Tripitaka" in Chinese. On his return to Japan he became first lecturer on Sanskrit at the Imperial University of Tokyo. In 1897 he made a pilgrimage to China, Siam, and India, and in 1912 he collaborated with Professor H. Kern in publishing the text of the Saddharma-pundarika in "Bibliotheca Buddhica" X. of St. Petersburg. In 1923 he published his important edition of the Larka-Vatara-Sutra. He held the Japanese degree of D.Litt. and was an M.A. of Oxford and a member of the Imperial Japanese Academy.

11. Miss **Alice Gardner**, aged 73, historical writer, was the youngest daughter of the late Thomas Gardner, and sister of Professor Percy and Professor Ernest Gardner. Educated at Chatham and Newnham College, Cambridge, she took a first in the Historical Tripos in 1879 and became History Mistress at Plymouth High School. In 1883 she was appointed Professor of History at Bedford College, and in 1884 went to Newnham as Director of Studies and Lecturer in History. She was to have retired in 1914, but during the war filled a lectureship in History at Bristol University. After the war she wrote for the *Annual Bulletin* of the Historical Association, and was also Chairman of the Publications Committee until 1923, when she resigned. Her special historical period was the Byzantine, and her chief books were "The Emperor Julian" and "The Empire of the Lascarids." She also published a book of essays under the title "Conflict of Duties," and "The History of Sacrament in Relation to Thought and Progress."

17. The Sultan of Morocco (Mulai Yusef), who was born in 1882, succeeded his two brothers who had successively abdicated in 1908 and 1912, himself promising to recognise the French Protectorate proclaimed in the latter year. Removing his seat of Government from Fez to Rabat, he worked in complete harmony with the French Resident-General, General Lyaulty, and after 1925 with his successor, M. Steeg. It was largely owing to his loyalty that the French were able to reduce their garrison. The Ottoman Caliphate not being recognised by his Dynasty and dominions he styled himself Emir-el-Mumenin, Commander of the Faithful, and it was partly in his spiritual capacity that he paid a visit to Paris in 1926, thereby being the first reigning Moorish Sultan to leave his dominions. The Sultan left four sons.

— The Right Hon. Charles Frederick Gurney Masterman, aged 54, Liberal journalist and former Minister, was educated at Weymouth College and Christ's College, Cambridge, of which he was elected a Fellow in 1900. For some years he combined a literary career with that of lecturing and public social work. In 1899 he published a book on "Tennyson as a Religious Teacher," and later another on Frederick Denison Maurice. In 1906 he entered Parliament as Liberal member for West Ham (North), and in 1908 took office as Parliamentary Secretary of the Local Government under Mr. John Burns. In the following year he was transferred as Under-Secretary to the Home Department, where he was appointed by Mr. Churchill to hold an inquiry into the management of the Akbar Reformatory School in Cheshire. At the General Election of 1910 he was again returned, but was unseated shortly afterwards owing to irregularities committed by his agent. Later he was returned for South-West Bethnal Green, and in 1912 became Financial Secretary to the Treasury. He assisted Mr. Lloyd George in passing the National Health Insurance Scheme, and was appointed Chairman of the National Health Insurance Commission. In 1914 he was made Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster and was sworn of the Privy Council, but lost his seat in Parliament. Mr. Asquith (as he then was) refusing to accept his resignation, he was in the Cabinet which resolved on war. His attempt to regain a seat in Parliament being frustrated, he resigned office in 1915, though he continued to act on various war committees. In 1918 he was made Director of the Literature Department of the Ministry of Information. In 1923 he was returned

for a Manchester division, but lost his seat in the following year. In 1909 he published "The Condition of England," and in 1922 a study, "England after the War." In 1908 he married Lucy Blanche, daughter of General Sir Neville Lyttelton, who survived him with a son and a daughter.

23. **Sir Arthur Francis Pease**, aged 61, coal-owner, was the eldest son of the late Mr. Arthur Pease, M.P. Educated at Brighton College and Trinity College, Cambridge, he entered the firm of Pease & Partners, Ltd., at Darlington, ultimately becoming Managing Director and Chairman. He was also Chairman of the Middlesbrough Estate, Ltd., a Director of Lloyds Bank, the Forth Bridge Railway Co., and various other concerns. He was a member of the Durham Coal Trade Association and a member on the owners' side of the Durham Conciliation Board. In 1912 he was appointed to state the coal-owners' case before the Joint District Board for Durham, formed under the Minimum Wage Act. A keen Unionist, he held office as second Civil Lord of the Admiralty from 1918 to 1919. In 1920 he was made a Baronet and elected High Sheriff for Durham; two years later he was elected Chairman of the Durham County Council. In 1889 he married Laura Matilda Ethelwyn, daughter of Mr. Charles Peter Allix. She survived him with one son and three daughters.

24. **Jonel Bratianu**, Rumanian statesman, born in 1864, was the eldest son of M. I. C. Bratianu, who, with King Charles, was the founder of the modern Rumanian kingdom. Entering Parliament in 1895 as a member of the Liberal Party, he was appointed Minister of Public Works in M. Sturdza's Ministry in 1896. In 1901 he was Minister of Foreign Affairs, in 1907 he became Minister of the Interior, and in 1908 he succeeded his chief as Prime Minister and Chief of the Liberal Party. In 1910 he resigned. In 1913 he served in the Army during the invasion of Bulgaria. He was Prime Minister when the war broke out, but resigned rather than sign the Treaty of Bucharest in 1918. After Germany's collapse he was recalled and attended the Peace Conference, where he drove hard bargains on his country's behalf and retired on his failure to secure them. In 1922 he came into prominence again as the strong man of the country. He formed a practical Dictatorship, appointed his brother Minister of Finance, and supported King Ferdinand's Regency on Prince Carol's abjuration of his rights. He married, first, Mile. Morosi, by whom he had one son; and secondly, a sister of Prince Stirbey.

25. **Sir Robert Arundell Hudson**, a prominent figure in the Liberal Party, was born in 1864 and educated at Stratford-on-Avon and Ludlow Grammar Schools. In 1882 he entered the National Liberal Federation, becoming its assistant secretary in 1886. In 1893 he became Secretary, holding the post until 1922, when he retired and was made Treasurer. In 1895 he was made honorary secretary of the Liberal Central Association, a position he held until 1927. He played a vital part in the re-union of the Liberal forces in 1903 which led ultimately to the victory of 1906, when he received his knighthood. He served under Gladstone, Lord Rosebery, Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman, and Mr. Asquith; but he declined to support the Coalition Government of 1916. In 1914 he began the organisation of the Red Cross Fund, and became the Chairman of the Joint Finance Committee which represented the Red Cross Society and the Order of St. John. In 1918 he was created G.B.E. for his services, and also received the Legion of Honour; in 1921 he was made a Knight of the Grace of the Order of St. John, and a member of the British Red Cross Society. He was trustee of various charitable organisations and was Chairman of the Society for Liberal Agents from 1906 to 1908. He was twice married, first, in 1889, to Ada Hammer ton, who died in 1895, leaving one daughter; and again, in 1923, to Dame Mary Elizabeth, widow of Viscount Northcliffe.

27. **Sir Malcolm Stevenson**, former Governor of the Seychelles, was born in 1878. Graduating from Trinity College, Dublin, in 1901, he entered the

Ceylon Civil Service, and in 1911 was made second assistant Colonial Secretary. In 1912 he served in a temporary capacity at the Colonial Office, returning in 1913 to Ceylon as private secretary to the Governor, Sir Robert Chalmers. In 1915 he became principal assistant Colonial Secretary. In 1917 he went to Cyprus as Chief Secretary and administered the Government from 1918 for two years until he was appointed High Commissioner in 1920 and created C.M.G. In 1923 he was promoted K.C.M.G. In 1925, the island becoming a colony, he assumed the title of Governor. In 1914 he married Mabel Chalmers, daughter of his old chief in Ceylon, and had one son and one daughter.

## DECEMBER.

1. **Arnold Louis Mumm**, aged 69, partner in the publishing firm of Edward Arnold & Co., became an Eton Colleger in 1871. After a distinguished school career, he went up to Oxford in 1879 as a scholar of Corpus Christi. At the end of his University course he was called to the Bar by Lincoln's Inn in 1886, and joined the Arnold firm in 1890. A keen mountaineer, he was secretary of the Alpine Club from 1901 to 1906, and was Vice-President in 1919. He began the compilation of the "Alpine Register," a biographical dictionary of all members of the Alpine Club, and carried it through to the end of the year 1876, leaving sufficient material to carry it on for a further twenty years.

— **Paul von Groth**, aged 84, a German authority on mineralogy and crystallography, studied first at the Freiburg School of Mines under Professor August Breithaupt and later at Berlin University, where he became assistant to C. Magnus. After the Franco-German war he was made Professor of Mineralogy and Crystallography at Strassburg, and in 1883 he went in a similar capacity to Munich. At both Universities he founded a research institute for the purpose of exploring the close inter-relation of crystallography with chemistry and physics. In connexion with this work he founded a *Journal of Crystallography* in 1877, which he edited for over forty years and which, under his guidance, soon became a journal of international importance. In 1874 appeared his important "Tabulated Review of Pure Minerals arranged according to their Crystallographic and Chemical Relations," and in 1876 followed "Physical Crystallography and Introduction to the Crystallographic Qualities of the More Important Substances," which had a decided influence on the development of teaching in crystals. His chief work (in five volumes) was his "Chemical Crystallography," which appeared between 1904 and 1919.

14. **Lieut.-General Sir Edwin Alderson**, aged 68, distinguished for his services in the South African War and the Great War, was the son of Lieut.-Colonel Mott Alderson. Entering the Norfolk Artillery Militia in 1876, he was gazetted two years later to the 97th Foot, the Royal West Kent Regiment. After serving with his battalion at Halifax (Nova Scotia) and Gibraltar, he went to Natal in 1881. Here his skilled horsemanship led to his joining the mounted infantry at Laing's Nek. In 1896 he published a book, "With the Mounted Infantry and the Mashonaland Field Force." In 1882 he was serving with the mounted infantry in Egypt, was in action at Kassassin and Tel-el-Kebir, and took part in the relief of Gordon in Khartum. In 1888 he was appointed Adjutant to the mounted infantry at Aldershot. Passing the Staff College in 1895 he was in command of the Regulars despatched to South Africa to suppress the Matabele Revolt, relieved Salisbury, and received a brevet lieutenant-colonelcy. From 1899 to 1902 he commanded a mixed colonial brigade of mounted infantry in South Africa, and was later appointed Inspector-General, Mounted Infantry, with rank of Brigadier-General. He was mentioned in despatches three times, received seven clasps to his two medals, was appointed A.D.C. to Queen Victoria and to King Edward, and was created C.B. From 1903 to 1907 he commanded the

2nd Brigade at Aldershot, and in 1908, as Major-General, was posted to the 6th (Poona) Division in India. On the outbreak of war in 1914 he was given command of the Canadian Division which, in 1915, was engaged at Neuve Chapelle and the second battle of Ypres, Festubert, and Givenchy. Later he commanded the Canadian Corps for nine months in France. In May, 1916, he was succeeded by Sir Julian Byng, and was employed as Inspector of Infantry. In 1914 he was promoted Lieutenant-General, and in 1916 was made K.C.B. and received the Legion of Honour. In 1920 he retired and resumed the Mastership of the South Shropshire Hunt. In 1900 his book, "Pink and Scarlet," professed his faith in hunting as a school for soldering. In 1886 he married Alice Mary, daughter of the Rev. O. P. Sergeant.

17. Charles Napier Lawrence (Lord Lawrence of Kingsgate), aged 72, the well-known railway director, was the second son of the first Lord Lawrence of the Punjab. Educated at Marlborough, he started his business career as a merchant, and in 1884 was elected a director of the London and North-Western Railway of which, after a term as Deputy Chairman, he became Chairman on the death of Sir Gilbert Claughton. Under the amalgamation scheme of 1921 he became Chairman of the London and North-Western and Lancashire and Yorkshire Railways, and later of the London Midland and Scottish Railway. In 1924 he vacated the Chair but remained on the Board. He was also Chairman of the North British and Mercantile Insurance Company and of the Antofagasta and Bolivia Railway. He served on various Royal Commissions, notably on that which sat from 1924 to 1926 on the Insurance Acts of 1911 and 1911. In 1923 he was created a Baron. In 1881 he married Catherine Wiggin Sumner, of New York, who was a niece of the Hon. James Gerard, former American Ambassador. He left no issue.

18. Amand Jules McConnell Routh, distinguished gynaecologist, was born in 1853. He was educated at King's College school and University College, London, and received his medical training at University College Hospital, qualifying as M.R.C.S. and L.R.C.P. in 1880, graduating M.B. and B.S. (Lond.) in the following year, and M.D. (Lond.) and M.R.C.P. (Lond.) in 1881. In 1900 he was elected F.R.C.P. (Lond.). In 1881 he was appointed pathologist at the Samaritan Free Hospital for Women, where, in 1882, he became out-patient physician. In the following year he went to Charing Cross Hospital as assistant physician-accoucheur, a post which he held till he was made obstetric physician there in 1898. In 1912 he was made consulting obstetric physician. In 1910 he attended the International Congress of Obstetrics and Gynaecology at St. Petersburg as representative of the Royal Colleges of Physicians and Surgeons and the Royal Society of Medicine. His report, dealing with the "Caesarean Section," was published as a book. In 1912 he joined the Council of the National Association for the Prevention of Infantile Mortality, and in 1914 he read a paper before the Royal Society of Medicine which led at once to clinical work and research in antenatal hygiene. He was much interested in Freemasonry, and obtained London rank in 1910.

21. Charles Courtice Pounds, actor and tenor, was born in 1861. Starting his career as choir boy at St. Stephen's Church, Kensington, and the Italian Church, Hatton Garden, he later became a student at the Royal Academy of Music. He made his first appearance on the stage in 1881 in the D'Oyley Carte Company chorus of "Patience," and later he played in "Iolanthe" and "Princess Ida." In 1885 he played Nanki-Poo in the "Mikado" in America and afterwards in Berlin and Vienna. From 1888 to 1892 he played various parts at the Savoy, and after two years' work at the Globe, Criterion, and the Princess's, he returned to the Savoy to play in "Mirette." In 1895 he toured in Australia, and two years later played in "La Poupee" at the Prince of Wales. In 1901 he took the part of the clown in Beerbohm Tree's production of "Twelfth Night," and was

forthwith regarded as a fixture in the company. It was some time, however, before he was again seen in a part really suited to his genius. In 1916 he was Ali Baba in "Chu Chin Chow," and later he played Franz Schubert in "Lilac Time."

21. **Philip Newman**, aged 87, painter, craftsman, and stained-glass designer, was trained at the St. Martin's and SpitaMelds Art Schools and Paris. He exhibited pictures at the Royal Academy and the Royal Society of British Artists, his best-known picture being "Orpheus and Eurydice" and "Solomon Dedicating the Temple." He was, however, pre-eminently a decorative designer, and as such he was associated with work at the Church of St. Mary the Virgin, Aldermaston and St. Peter's Church, Belsize Park. He was a member of the Society of Designers, and invented a method of preserving ancient wall paintings which was successfully applied at Canterbury and Aldermaston.

21. **Sir Mackenzie Chalmers**, aged 80, eminent public servant, was the son of the Rev. F. S. C. Chalmers, D.D., and educated at King's College, London, and Trinity College, Oxford. Graduating in 1868, he joined the Indian Civil Service in the following year, and was called to the Bar by the Inner Temple. For three years he served in India and, retiring in 1872, began to practise in London, working in Herschell's Chambers for about seven years. He was appointed Standing Counsel to the Board of Trade, and in 1882 he drafted the Bills of Exchange Act, a monument of concision which passed into law practically as drafted. In 1888 he drafted the Bill which resulted in the Sale of Goods Act, 1893. He was also responsible (in 1906) for the codification of the Marine Insurance Act. In 1884 he was appointed County Court Judge at Birmingham, retaining the post till 1896. In 1895 Lord Chancellor Herschell appointed him a Commissioner of Assize, but the Liberal Government fell before a judicial vacancy occurred. In 1896 he returned to India as Law Member of the Viceroy's Council, and revised the code of criminal procedure. In 1898 he was made C.S.I., and left India in 1899, when he was appointed Assistant Parliamentary Counsel to the Treasury. In 1902 he became Parliamentary Counsel, and in 1903 Permanent Under-Secretary at the Home Office. He was made C.B. in 1904 and K.C.B. in 1906, the year in which he was a member of the Royal Commission on Vivisection. In 1908 he retired, but continued to serve on innumerable commissions and committees, e.g., the International Conference at The Hague (1910 and 1912), the Commission on Sleeping Sickness, and the Royal Commission on the Rebellion in Ireland of Easter, 1916. He served on various war committees, and was an active member of the Council of the Red Cross Society, a Knight of Grace and Member of Council of the Order of St. John. Up to almost the last he served on the Standing Committee for the Revision of the Statute Law. His books included "Bills of Exchange," "Sale of Goods," "Marine Insurance" (with Sir Douglas Owen); he also contributed to the "Dictionary of Political Economy" and the "Encyclopaedia Britannica." Chalmers was unmarried.

23. **Sergius Dmitrievitch Sazonoff**, Russian statesman and diplomatist, was born in 1861. Educated at the Alexandrovsky Lycée, he entered the Diplomatic Service and passed much of his early career in Rome, going in 1894 as Secretary to the Mission to the Vatican, and in 1906 as Minister. From 1890 to 1894 he was in London as Second Secretary, and from 1904 to 1905 as Counsellor of Embassy. His reputation grew from his handling of the Dogger Bank incident, when acting as *Charge d'Affaires* for Count Benckendorff. In 1909 he became Under-Secretary at the Foreign Office in St. Petersburg under Isvolvsky, and in 1910 he was made Foreign Minister under Stolypin. He strengthened the ties of confidence between Russia and Great Britain by avoiding all provocation in Central Asia or Persia. His policy during the Great War received the support of the Duma and his Liberal attitude caused his dismissal by the Tsar in 1915. In 1917 he was appointed to succeed Count Benckendorff as Ambassador in



London, but on the outbreak of the March Revolution he consented to go as envoy of the Provisional Government. Compelled to withdraw, he finally escaped from Russia and attended the Paris Peace Conference. Kolchak appointed him Minister of Foreign Affairs, but after 1920 he withdrew into private life and wrote his Memoirs. His wife was the sister-in-law of Stolypin.

24. **William Henry Dines, F.R.S.**, aged 72, honorary Fellow of the Royal Aeronautical Society, was the son of George Dines, meteorologist. After being apprenticed as a railway engineer, he went up to Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, taking his Wrangler's degree in 1881. He then devoted himself to experimental meteorology and made numerous instruments. He was President of the Royal Meteorological Society in 1901 and 1902, and received the Symons Medal in 1914. In 1905 he was elected F.R.S. Early in his career he established a lasting reputation for his work on wind pressure, from which developed the pressure-tube anemometer for recording transient gusts. In the early part of the century he did much experimental work with kites and balloons under the auspices of a joint committee of the British Association and the Royal Meteorological Society. From 1905 to 1922 the Meteorological Office appointed him director of experiments in the upper air and gave him a small grant for his experimental station, first at Pyrton Hill and later at Benson. Co-operation was ultimately effected with the International Commission for Scientific Aeronautics, and the achievements are recorded amongst the official files in the *Geographical Journal*, the British Association Reports, and *The Royal Meteorological Society's Journal*. Mr. Dines married the sister of Bishop Tugwell of Equatorial Africa, who survived him with two sons.

25. **Dr. William Sheldon Hadley, LL.D.**, aged 68, Master of Pembroke College, Cambridge, entered that college in 1878 and was elected to a Beaton Scholarship in 1881. Later he obtained a Fellowship, and from 1885 held various offices until, in 1912, he became Master. From 1902 till 1912 he was Tutor, and during those years his best work for the college was done. For many years he was College Lecturer in Modern History, having a unique knowledge of the Napoleonic era. As Master he continued to take history pupils. During the war he compiled a record of Pembroke men participating therein. He served on the Appointments Board and various other Cambridge bodies, but was mainly concerned with the development of his own college. In 1894 he married Edith, daughter of the Rev. R. Foster. He had two sons, of whom one was killed in the war.

26. **Abu'I Kasim Khan**, former Regent of Persia, born in 1858, was the grandson of a former Nasr-ul-Mulk of the Karaguzlu tribe of Hamad an. After being educated at Balliol College, Oxford (1879-1882), he returned to Persia and received the title of Mushir-i-Huzur when Secretary to his grandfather, the Governor of Khorassan. On the death of the latter he was promoted to his title of Nasr-ul-Mulk and attended Nasr-ed-Din Shah on his visit to Europe in 1889. In 1897 he was sent as Special Ambassador to the Courts of Europe, and on his return became Minister of Finance. Later, as Minister without Portfolio under the Atabeg-i-Azam he opposed the policy of loans from Russia as subversive of Persia's independence, and was forced into an honourable exile by being offered the governorship of Persian Kurdistan in 1899. In 1907, on the accession of Mahomed Ali Shah, the Nasr-ul-Mulk was called upon to succeed the assassinated Prime Minister. He was later made captive by the Shah and, being rescued by the British Legation, escaped to England. In 1909 he was offered the post of Prime Minister on the restoration of the Constitution, but refused to return. The Shah having been deposed, in the following year the Regent died, and various efforts were made to offer the regency to the Nusr-ul-Mulk. Neither accepting nor refusing, he returned in 1911 to Teheran, and at the end of the year dissolved the Mejlis, thereby improving Persia's relations with

Great Britain and Russia. In 1912 he left Persia without resigning and, returning in 1913, surrendered the regency to Sultan Ahmed Shah in the following year, when the latter attained his majority.

28. **Robert Keable**, aged 40, novelist, was educated at Whitgift Grammar School and Magdalene College, Cambridge, where he came under the influence of Mgr. Hugh Benson, who is said to be the original of the "Father Vassall" in Keable's novel "Peradventure." Ordained in 1911, he joined the Universities Mission to Central Africa in the following year, and his novel, "A City of the Dawn" (1915), is based on his Zanzibar experiences. After working in Basutoland as Rector of Leribe, he returned to Europe as Chaplain to the South African forces during the Great War. His two books, "Standing By" and "Pilgrim Papers," published in 1920, reveal the shock given by the war to his religious convictions. "Simon called Peter" (1921) marked his break with old associations, and there followed "The Mother of All Living" and "Peradventure." In 1924 appeared "Recompense," a sequel to "Simon called Peter."

31. **The Hon. William Robertson Warren, K.C., LL.D.**, aged 48, Judge of the Newfoundland Supreme Court, and at one time Prime Minister of the colony, was educated at the Church of England Academy, St. John's, and at Framlingham College, England. In 1902 he entered the legal profession in Newfoundland, becoming a partner of Mr. E. P. Morris, K.C. At the same time he entered politics, becoming a member of the Newfoundland Legislature for Trinity Bay. After the second General Election of 1909 he was elected Speaker, and held the office till he lost his seat in 1913. In 1919 he returned and was made Attorney-General. He was Counsel for Newfoundland in the Labrador Boundary Dispute with Canada. When discussions culminated in the resignation of Sir Richard Squire, Mr. Warren was made Prime Minister, and attended the Imperial Conference in 1923. His Ministry fell in 1924. In 1926 he was appointed a Judge. He was twice married, and left one son and three daughters.

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\* In the text, p. 23, the publishers of Mr. Palmer's "Judgment of Francois Villon" are given incorrectly. The name should be The Hogarth Press of 52 Tavistock Square, London, W.

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