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THE
ANNUAL REGISTER

A REVIEW OF PUBLIC EVENTS
AT HOME AND ABROAD

FOR THE YEAR

1928

EDITED BY
M. EPSTEIN, M.A., PH.D.

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CONTENTS.

PART I.

ENGLISH HISTORY.

CHAPTER I.

THE STATE OF INDUSTRY.

The London Flood, [1, 2]. The 1927 Trade Balance, [2]. The Mond Conference: Inaugural Meeting, [2, 3]. Formation of Committees, [3]. Lancashire Cotton Trade First Conference, [3, 4]. Government Memorandum on Security and Arbitration, [5, 6]. Lord Cecil's Criticisms, [6]. Ministerial Changes, [6]. The Government and the Farmers, [7]. Government Abandons the Washington Convention, [7, 8]. Gifts to the Exchequer, [8]. Liberal Industrial Committee's Report, [8, 9]. Lord Grey and the Report, [9, 10]. Mr. Amery on his Tour, [10]. The King and the Mercantile Marine, [10]. The Government and the Election, [11]. King's Speech, [11]. Debate on Address, [12]. Sir A. Chamberlain on China, [12]. On America, [13]. Monument to Lord Haig, [13]. Labour Amendment on Unemployment, [14]. Mr. Baldwin's Reply, [15]. The Liberal Amendment, [15]. Conservative Amendment on Economy, [16]. Control of Road Transport, [16]. Extravagance in Local Administration, [16]. Rowdyism at Public Meetings, [17]. Sir A. Chamberlain and the "Dawn" Film, [17]. The Censoring of Films, [18]. Labour Party and Kenya, [18]. Government and Washington Hours Convention, [18]. Companies Bill, [19]. Railway Companies Road Transport Bills, [19, 20]. Working of Widows', etc., Pensions Act, [20]. Steel Houses in Scotland, [20]. Training for Prospective Emigrants, [21]. Second Lancashire Cotton Conference, [21]. Compensation for Irish Loyalists, [22]. Civil Service Estimates, [22]. Army Estimates, [22]. Air Force Estimates, [22, 23]. Navy Estimates, [23]. Question of Unified Defence Ministry, [24]. "Franks" Case, [24]. Political Reactions, [25]. Government and Export Trade and Safeguarding, [26]. Lord Salisbury on House of Lords, [26]. Labour Memorandum on Coal Mines, [27]. Plight of South Wales Coal-field, [28]. Motion to Repeal Eight Hours Act, [28]. Relief of Distress, [28]. Withdrawal of B.B.C. Prohibition, [28]. Shop Hours Bill, [29]. Government and Poor Law, [29]. Agricultural Produce Marking Bill, [29]. Mr. Churchill and F.B.I., [30]. Totalisator Bill, [30]. New Lord Chancellor, [30]. *Royal Oak* Case, [30]. T.U.C. and Mond Conference, [31]. T.U.C. and Trade Union Act, [31]. T.U.C. and Spencer Union, [32]. Communist Activity, [32]. Mr. Saklatvala's Speech, [32]. Disfranchisement of Paupers, [33]. Women's Franchise Bill, [33]. New Health Insurance Bill, [33]. Removal of Rubber Export Restrictions, [34]. Criticism of Government, [34]. Trustification of the Press, [34, 35]. By-elections, [35]. I.L.P. Conference, [35]. Friction with Egypt, [36]. British Note, [36]. New Anglo-American Company, [36].

CONTENTS.

CHAPTER II.

THE BUDGET AND THE RELIEF OF INDUSTRY.

Surplus for the Year, [36]. The Death Penalty in the Army, [37]. Women's Franchise Bill Carried, [37]. Lord Birkenhead and the Press," [38]. The Premier and the South Wales Coal-field, [38]. The Budget, [38]. The De-rating Scheme, [40]. Reception of the Scheme, [41, 42]. French War Debt Payment, [42]. The Kerosene Tax, [43]. Mr. Samuel's Maladroitness, [43]. Chancellor and the Sinking Fund, [43] Ultimatum to Egypt, [44]. Mr. Mac Donald's Criticism, [44]. The Kellogg Peace Pact Proposals: Government Attitude, [44, 45]. British Reply, [45, 46]. Transfer of Currency to Bank of England, [46, 47]. The T.U.C. and the Notts Miners, [47]. Unemployment Debate, [48]. Expulsion of Prince Carol, [48]. Agricultural Credits Bill, [48]. Dog-racing Bill, [49]. Housing Position, [49]. Education Estimate, [49]. The Savidge Case, [50]. The Home Secretary's Admissions, [51]. Appointment of Tribunal, [51]. Report on Major Murray's Case, [51]. Third Cotton Conference, [52]. Threat of a Lock-out, [52]. Prime Minister's Appeal, [52]. Labour and the Wireless Merger, [53]. Women's Franchise Bill in the Lords, [53]. Mining Debate, [53]. Debate on the State of Trade, [54]. Report of Ministry of Labour, [54]. Productivity of Industry, [54]. Premier on Government's Record, [55]. Premier on Disarmament, [55]. Co-operators and the Labour Party, [55]. Finance Bill Debate, [56]. Mr. Churchill's Rating Figures, [56]. Rating and Valuation Bill, [56, 57]. Home Secretary and Russian Banks, [57]. Safeguarding Procedure, [58]. New Prayer Book Measure, [58-60]. Bill for Stabilising Easter, [60]. Rating and Valuation Bill in Committee, [60]. Retirement of the Speaker, [61]. His Pension, [61]. Lords' Debate on Disarmament, [62]. Mining Debate, [62]. Rating and Valuation Bill Passed, [63]. "White Paper" on Local Government, [63]. The Maxton-Cook Manifesto, [64]. Their Campaign, [64]. T.U.C. and Mond Conference, [65]. Conference Meeting, [65]. Proposed National Council, [65]. Adoption of Report, [66]. New Draft of American Peace Pact, [66]. British Reply, [67]. Committee Stage of Finance Bill, [67]. Petrol Tax, [67]. Sugar Duty, [67, 68]. Safeguarding Duties, [68]. Criticism of Mr. Churchill's Finance, [68]. Betting Tax, [68, 69]. Kenya Policy, [69]. "Labour and the Nation," [69]. Lord Byng's Appointment, [70]. Savidge Committee's Reports, [70, 71]. The Telegraph Service, [71]. Railway Road Bills Carried, [71, 72]. Transport Commission, [72]. Totalisator Bill, [72]. Mr. Churchill and the Bill, [73]. Miners' Federation Conference, [73, 74]. Lord Peel on Safeguarding, [74]. The Case of Steel and Iron, [74]. Industrial Transference Board's Report, [75]. Premier on Unemployment, [76]. Mr. Churchill on the Fiscal System, [76]. Home Secretary on Safeguarding, [76]. Opposition Questions, [77]. Prime Minister's Letter, [77]. Case of Sir B. Peto, [77]. Free Trade Manifesto, [78]. Railway Wage Agreement, [78]. Finance Bill Passed, [79]. Sir A. Chamberlain on Kellogg Pact, [79]. Aviation Vote, [79]. Social Evils in Scotland, [80]. Cable Conference Report, [80]. Parliament Prorogued, [80].

CHAPTER III.

THE ANGLO-FRENCH NAVAL COMPROMISE.

Sir A. Chamberlain's Illness, [81]. Unemployed and the Canadian Harvest, [81]. Settlement with China, [82]. Commission on Police Powers, [82]. Air Manœuvres, [82]. Premier's Appeal to Employers, [83]. New Rating Valuation Lists, [83]. Trade Union Congress, [84]. Council's Report, [84]. Mr. Maxton's Attack, [85]. Adoption of Report, [85]. Expulsion of Seamen's Union, [86]. Congress and Communists, [86]. The L55 Submarine, [86]. T.U.C. and I.F.T.O., [86]. Labour Memorandum on Banking, [87]. Conservative Party Conference, [87, 88]. Bishops and Prayer Book, [88]. Labour Party Conference, [88]. Acceptance of "Labour and the Nation," [89]. Adoption of Memorandum on Banking, [89]. Financial Position of the Party, [89]. Liberal Party Conference, [90]. Liberal-Labour Co-operation, [90]. Disfigurement of the Countryside, [91]. The Anglo-French Naval Pact, [91]. Lord Cushendun's Explanation, [92]. His Second Speech, [92]. Terms of the Pact, [93]. American Note, [93]. Labour Party's Manifesto, [94]. The White Paper, [94]. League of Nations Union, [95]. Ministers' Disclaimers, [95]. Lord Grey's Speech, [95]. New Reparations Committee, [96]. Resignation of Lord Birkenhead, [96]. His Pension, [96]. Labour Party's Confidence, [97].

CONTENTS.

vii

CHAPTER IV.

THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BILL.

Reassembling of Parliament, [97]. King's Speech, [97], Mr. MacDonald's Criticisms, [98]. Premier's Reply, [98]. Private Members' Time, [99]. Lords' Debate on Address, [99]. Labour Amendment on Unemployment, [99]. Mr. Churchill on Government Plans, [100]. Mr. Williams on Trade Situation, [100]. Further Debate, [101]. Lord Thomson on the Naval Pact, [101]. Lord Cushendun's Reply, [102]. Premier's Guildhall Speech, [102]. Liberal Amendment on the Pact, [103]- Premier's Reply, [103]. Mr. Bridgeman's Statement, [103]. Amendment on Safeguarding, [104]. Unemployment Insurance Fund, [104]. Overseas Trade Act, [105]. Washington Hours Convention, [105]. Mr. MacDonald and his Followers, [106]. Cable and Wireless Transfer, [106]. Labour Resistance, [107]. Railway Freights, [107]. The Local Government Bill, [108]. Mr. Chamberlain's Speech, [108, 109]. Conservative Satisfaction, [110]. Labour Criticism, [110]. Financial Resolution, [110]. Scotch Local Government Bill, [111]. The Bill in Committee, [111, 112]. Lord Lee on Anglo-American Relations, [112]. Mr. Houghton's Confidence, [113]. Mr. Baldwin and Mr. Britten, [113]. Sir A. Chamberlain on Rhineland Evacuation, [113]. Appeals for Distressed Miners, [114]. Meeting of Mayors, [114]. Governments Offer, [116]. Report of Street Offences Committee, [115]. House of Lords Reform, [115, 116]. Housing Subsidy, [116]. Lords on Motor Traffic, [116]. Mr. Maxton and the I.L.P., [117]. Iron and Steel Trade Inquiry, [117]. Statement on Foreign Policy, [H8]. New Cotton Trade Proposals, [118]. Industrial Peace, [119]. The King's Illness, [119].

FOREIGN AND IMPERIAL HISTORY.

CHAPTER I.

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS	page [220]

CHAPTER II.

IRELAND [<i>by J. W. Good</i>]	[127]

CHAPTER III.

FRANCE [<i>by Sisley Huddleston</i>] AND ITALY	[134]

CHAPTER IV.

GERMANY [<i>by Heinrich Drey fuss, Ph.D.</i>] AND AUSTRIA [<i>by G. E. R. Gedye</i>]	[147]

CHAPTER V.

SOVIET RUSSIA [<i>by M. Vishnitzer, Ph.D.</i>]-ESTONIA-LATVIA-LITHUANIA —POLAND-CZECHOSLOVAKIA [<i>by Dr. Joseph Borovicka</i>]-HUNGARY —RUMANIA-YUGOSLAVIA-TURKEY-GREECE [<i>by G. E. R. Gedye</i>]- ALBANIA-BULGARIA [<i>by G. E. R. Gedye</i>]	[158]

CHAPTER VI.

LESSER STATES OF WESTERN AND NORTHERN EUROPE : BELGIUM [<i>by Adolp Jie van Glabbelce</i>]-NETHERLANDS [<i>by A. E. Mendell</i>]-SWITZERLAND [<i>by Kurt Lessmg, Ph.D.</i>]-SPAIN [<i>by Harold Sunderland</i>]-PORTUGAL [<i>by J. N. Marsden</i>]-DENMARK-SWEDEN-NORWAY [<i>by Arne Giverholt</i>]-FINLAND	[191]

CHAPTER VII.

THE MIDDLE EAST AND INDIA : PERSIA-AFGHANISTAN [<i>by M. Sinwn, M.A.</i>] —IRAQ-PALESTINE-SYRIA-ARABIA-INDIA [<i>by F. H. Brown</i>]	[220]

CHAPTER VIII.

THE FAR EAST: CHINA-JAPAN-THE DUTCH EAST INDIES [<i>by A. E. Mendell</i>]	[240]

CHAPTER IX.

AFRICA: THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA-SOUTH-WEST PROTECTORATE-SOUTHERN RHODESIA — MOZAMBIQUE [<i>by C. J. Say well</i>] — MOROCCO [<i>by M. Simon, M.A.</i>]-EGYPT	[256]

CHAPTER X.

AMERICA : THE UNITED STATES [<i>by C. T. Halhnan</i>]-CANADA-THE PAN-AMERICAN CONFERENCE — ARGENTINA — BOLIVIA — BRAZIL — CHILE — MEXICO-NICARAGUA-OTHER AMERICAN STATES	[268]

CHAPTER XI.

AUSTRALASIA : THE COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA [<i>by E. Short</i>]-NEW ZEALAND [<i>by E. Short</i>]	[303]

CONTENTS.

PART II.

CHRONICLE OF EVENTS IN 1928	
RETROSPECT OF LITERATURE, SCIENCE, AND ART IN 1928	
Literature, p. 14—The Biological Sciences [<i>by W. B. Brierley, D.Sc.</i>], p. 37—The Physical Sciences, p. 41—Art [<i>by W. T. Whitley</i>], p. 47—Drama [<i>by Ernest Kzilie</i>], p. 51—The Cinema [<i>by Monica Ewer</i>], p. 53—Music [<i>by Ernest Kuhe</i>], p. 5G.	
FINANCE AND COMMERCE IN 1928	
LAW IN 1928	
PUBLIC DOCUMENTS	
I. The Genenil Pact for the Renunciation of War, p. 77. IT. Convention of the Pan-American Union, p. 79. III. Agreement between H.M. King George V. and H.H. The Amir of Trans-Jordan, p. F4. IV. Anglo-Chinese Treaty, p. 89.	
OBITUARY OF EMINENT PERSONS DECEASED IN 1928	
INDEX	

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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Lord Privy Seal, and Leader of the House of Lords	The Marquess of Salisbury.
Chancellor of the Exchequer	Mr. Winston Churchill.
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Home	Sir William Joynson-Hicks.
Foreign (and Deputy Leader of the House)	Sir Austen Chamberlain.
Dominions and Colonies	Mr. L. C. M. S. Amery.
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India	The Earl of Birkenhead (<i>till Oct. 18</i>).
Air	Viscount Peel (<i>from Oct. 18</i>).
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Secretary for Mines	Mr. A. M. Samuel.
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Air	Mr. A. Duff Cooper (<i>from Jan. 14</i>).
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War	Sir Vivian Henderson.
	Earl Winterton.
	Major Walter Elliot Elliot.
	The Earl of Onslow (<i>till Dec. 2</i>).
	The Duke of Sutherland (<i>from Dec. 2</i>).

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Lord Bledisloe (*till Jan. 28*).Lord Stradbroke (*from Feb. 2*).

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Viscount Wolmer.

Sir R. Burton Chadwick (*till Jan. 14*).Mr. H. G. Williams (*from Jan. 14*).

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Sir J. Gilmour.

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Hon. W. Watson.

Mr. Alexander M. MacRobert.

ANNUAL REGISTER

FOR THE YEAR

1928.

PART I.

ENGLISH HISTORY.

CHAPTER I.

THE STATE OF INDUSTRY.

THE beginning of 1928 was marked by destructive floods in the valleys of the Thames and other rivers, caused by the melting of the heavy snows which had fallen towards the end of the previous year. By a strange fatality, London itself became the scene of the worst havoc wrought by the inundations. In the night of January 6, the swollen waters of the Thames as they swept through London met an incoming tide of unusual height, with the result that the river overflowed its banks from Greenwich to Kew. Numbers of people were trapped in the basements of dwellings in streets adjoining the river, and no fewer than fourteen were drowned, while great damage was done to property and thousands of people were rendered homeless. Such a flood had not been experienced for seven hundred years.

Between the time when the overflow of the river began at Greenwich till the time when it reached Kew, there was an interval of some hours, during which it would have been possible to warn the people living near the banks. The reason why this was not done was because, in the multitude of authorities controlling the Thames, there was no one body on which this task clearly devolved. When the public learnt this, there was naturally a great outcry, and the Government felt that it could not disclaim all responsibility in the matter. The Prime Minister accordingly cut short his holiday and returned on January 12 to London, where he immediately got into touch with the river authorities. Under the auspices of the Minister of Health a Conference was called of representative bodies, and a Sub-Committee was appointed to go into the question of preventing a similar disaster in the future. Shortly afterwards

a deputation from the London Labour Party waited on the Minister to urge him, among other things, to take steps for preventing the use of basements along the river-side for sleeping accommodation, and to ask Parliament for a grant in aid of the sufferers. Mr. Chamberlain replied that it did not need a flood to show the undesirability of using basements for sleeping accommodation ; what it had proved was perhaps the need of some prohibition against the erection of buildings on land liable to be inundated. He deprecated the idea of a Parliamentary grant for the sufferers ; nor, indeed, was one necessary, as the relief funds opened by private charity proved sufficient for the purpose.

A return issued by the Ministry of Labour in January showed that 1927 had been a year of remarkable peacefulness in the industrial world, the number of working days lost owing to disputes being fewer even than in the War years ; and of these the bulk were in two industries—the mining and quarrying. To this fact was no doubt to be attributed in no small measure the improvement in the trade returns of 1927 as compared with those of its predecessor ; the adverse balance was only 391-51. million against 474-61. million, and this was turned by the Board of Trade's estimate of invisible assets into a positive balance of 961. million, which was considerably better even than in 1925. The benefits of " peace in industry " were thus strikingly demonstrated, and a new impetus was given to the efforts put forth to ensure its continuance.

Of these the most important was undoubtedly the formation, on the initiative of Sir Alfred Mond, of a Conference between representative employers of labour and delegates of the Trade Union Congress to discuss jointly the problems of industry. The Conference, which had been brought into being before the close of the preceding year (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1927, p. 127) held its first meeting at Burlington House on January 12.

Sir Alfred Mond presided, and in his opening address said that the main object of the Conference was the continuous examination of industrial conditions to see how best co-operation might be secured between employers and employed for the purpose of restoring prosperity to industry. He pointed out that the whole trend of industry had altered during the past generation in the direction of eliminating the personal touch and the human factor, and there was therefore need for examining the problem of the better organisation of existing industries by means of amalgamation, rationalisation, and the introduction of new processes and new methods, both technical and administrative. Mr. Ben Turner, in replying on behalf of the Trade Union Council, expressed appreciation of the courage shown by the employers' group in breaking away from the traditional method of approach. He was careful to point out that each side entered into the conversations without prejudice and without the surrender of principles which they

held to be fundamental, and without committing themselves in advance to any proposition except that of the vital importance of finding a just and lasting solution of the industrial problems confronting them. Nevertheless, he attached the highest value to the Conference. The very fact of their meeting, he said, was already giving rise to better industrial relationship, and he urged them not to fritter away their chances by personalities or by action on the part of any industry tending to create strife and division. The discussion which followed was of a practical nature, save for a characteristic speech from Mr. A. J. Cook, and the Chairman was able to announce at the end that the Conference in future would be concerned not with negotiation but with investigation.

At the conclusion of the meeting, the employers appointed a small committee to continue discussions on their behalf. The trade unionists did not venture to take such a step before they should have consulted the General Council of the T.U.C. This body held a special meeting to consider the question on January 24. A few of those present, in addition to Mr. Cook, were against continuing negotiations, on the ground that the employers did not represent any organisation and consequently, if any decisions were reached, would not be able to "deliver the goods." The majority, however, were not deterred by this objection, and decided that the committee which had been appointed in the first place to make arrangements for the Conference with the employers should go into the questions for discussion and meet the committee already appointed by the employers. In order to disarm suspicion and as a precaution against the dissemination of false reports, the Council further instructed the committee to prepare reports for circulation to the unions from time to time during the period of the discussions.

While the Mond Conference was proclaiming itself to be the visible sign of the new spirit in industry, a section of the employing class was seriously jeopardising the peace which had prevailed in the industrial field since the beginning of 1927. The position of the manufacturers in the American section of the Lancashire cotton trade had not improved since they sent out their cry of despair in the previous autumn (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1927, p. 91), and they felt an urgent need of applying some drastic remedy. On January 9 the two organisations of employers in the cotton industry, after long deliberation, issued a statement containing proposals for overcoming the depression of trade. Of these proposals, the only one that was perfectly definite and concrete was that the operatives should put in a considerably longer working week for practically the same wage; the rest were more or less nebulous, and hardly seemed meant to be taken very seriously.

On January 17 representatives of the employers and the operatives met in Manchester to consider the proposals put

forward by the employers' organisations. The operatives made it clear from the outset that in no circumstances would they consent to consider recommendations to increase hours or diminish wages ; and they requested the employers to eliminate all reference to hours and wages from their reports, and to join with them in requesting the Government to set up a statutory committee to ascertain all the factors which went to make up the cost of production. The employers did not reply at once, and the meeting was adjourned.

While the two parties were still considering the attitude they should adopt, there appeared (February 2) the report of the sub-committee appointed by the Joint Committee of Cotton Trade Organisations to examine the question of costs of production. The report pointed out that the high prices charged for Lancashire cotton goods, though perhaps the chief, were by no means the only cause of the loss of markets. Other important causes, wholly beyond Lancashire's control, were the social and political disturbances of the Eastern markets, and the growth since the War of nationalistic ideals of economic self-sufficiency, with their disastrous consequences in the setting-up of trade barriers. The troubles of the trade were ascribed in part to the spirit of individuality by which it was pervaded, and suggestions were made for bringing about better co-operation between the different sections for the purpose of reducing the cost of the finished article. The Joint Committee itself was recommended to adopt as its policy a method of constant investigation and report, in the hope that it might influence the trade to bring about the changes required by changed conditions, more speedily and efficiently than would be done by individuals in the trade if left to themselves.

On the day after the appearance of this report (February 3), the representatives of the employers and employed resumed the Conference which had been adjourned on January 17. The employers again invited the employed to join with them in an exhaustive examination into the whole of the factors governing the cost of production, from which they refused to eliminate questions of wages and hours of work. The operatives, on their side, after considering the employers' statement, declared once more that they were not prepared to discuss any proposal involving either reduction of wages or increase of hours, though they were willing to co-operate in other directions. The employers thereupon broke off the Conference, on the ground that the operatives were not prepared to discuss the whole of the items bearing upon the cost of production ; and so after three weeks of parleying matters were left *in statu quo*.

Early in the year the Government received from M. Benesh, the Foreign Minister of Czechoslovakia and Chairman of the newly-formed Security Committee of the League of Nations, a series of questions designed to elicit its views on the subjects of

arbitration treaties, security, and certain clauses of the League's Covenant dealing with these matters. The answer sent by the Government on January 18 was in the main a recapitulation of the views already officially expressed by British representatives at Geneva, and constituted a comprehensive statement of the British Government's own view of the obligations to which it was committed by the articles of the Covenant of the League referring to security and by the Treaty of Locarno.

In regard to arbitration, the memorandum laid down that arbitration treaties had no other sanction than public opinion. The rendering of a decision was not so important as the acceptance and execution of it; and the time hardly seemed to be ripe for any general system of sanctions for the enforcement of arbitration treaties. There were, however, two lines along which progress appeared to be possible. One was by investigating whether the obligation already contained in some treaties, of submitting to arbitration disputes as to their meaning, might not be extended so as to include agreements of a non-technical character. The other was by widening the scope of agreements dealing with justiciable disputes generally, and pledging the parties in advance to submit such disputes to arbitration. It was also the opinion of the Government that the time might have come to examine the formula as to "vital interests, honour, and independence, and the interests of third States," which had limited the scope of several arbitration treaties. The objections of the British Government to the "Optional Clause" of the Statute of the Permanent Court at The Hague were again noted. Obligations which a State might be ready to assume with one country might not be possible with another; and the Government therefore held that more progress was likely to be achieved through bilateral agreements than through general treaties.

In regard to security, the opinion was expressed that the Locarno Treaty, with its clear definition of a specific danger and the character of the measures which might be taken to meet it, was "the ideal type of Security Agreement," as it knitted together the nations whose differences might lead to a renewal of strife. The Government looked forward to the further growth of this system, since such agreements might be a contribution to security in proportion as they relieved the anxiety of the States which concluded them.

In regard to its specific obligations under certain clauses of the League Covenant, the Government declared its view to be in harmony with that interpretation of Article X. which laid down that, in regard to the territorial integrity and political independence of a country against whom an aggression had been committed, the Council should be bound to take account of "the geographical situation and the special conditions of each State" in recommending the application of military measures, and also that it

was for the constitutional authorities of each State to decide " in what degree it was bound to assure the execution of this obligation by employment of its military forces." Similarly Article XL was declared to be a " valuable guide rather than a precise definition of obligations." In regard to Article X V I . also, the Government adopted that interpretation according to which each member was bound to co-operate loyally in support of the Covenant and in resistance to aggression " to an extent which is compatible with its military situation and takes its geographical position into account." In conclusion the Government declared itself opposed to the application of hard and fast rules to the interpretation of the Covenant, the strength of which was held to lie " in the measure of discretion which it allows to the Council and the Assembly in dealing with future contingencies which may have no parallel in history." Similarly it declared itself opposed to any attempt to define the aggressor, quoting from Sir A. Chamberlain's speech on November 24, 1927, a remark that definition might prove to be "a trap for the innocent and a sign-post for the guilty."

Discussing the memorandum a few days later (January 25) Lord Cecil described it as " full and courteous." and praised the Government for publishing its views so clearly to the world at large. On the subject of security he found the Government statement satisfactory as far as it went, though he hoped it was only preliminary and subject to modification ; but he declared himself greatly disappointed with the attitude taken up towards arbitration. The decision taken by the Government not to sign the Optional Clause seemed to him deplorable, and he attached very little value to the two minor proposals which they made for accepting arbitration. If they persisted in the attitude which the Government had taken up in this paper, they would, he said, be guilty of maintaining war as a legitimate method of settling international disputes. A few weeks later the League of Nations Union issued a statement criticising the memorandum on similar lines.

On January 13 some ministerial changes of minor importance were announced. Colonel Lane-Fox, the Minister of Mines, and Sir Burton Chadwick, the Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Trade, resigned, and their places were taken respectively by Commodore H. D. King, hitherto Financial Secretary to the War Office, and Mr. H. G. Williams, while Mr. King was succeeded by Mr. A. Duff Cooper. The retiring Ministers had been admittedly the weakest members of the Government, while the newcomers were younger men who had done good service for the Government in administrative work and in debate. The changes were therefore generally welcomed in Conservative quarters, and strengthened the hold of the Government on the party.

While spending his vacation in Worcestershire, the Prime

Minister took the opportunity to deliver an address to his constituents at Bewdley (January 7), in which he dwelt with complacency on the record of the Government, and spoke hopefully of its prospects. The position of the Government was certainly strong, as the Conservative Party in Parliament, in spite of various mutterings of revolt in the past year, was still united and loyal. In the country, however, the farmers were seething with discontent against the Government for its alleged neglect of their interests. They were now agitating for a repeal of the Agricultural Wages Act, or alternatively for assistance from the Government to enable them to pay the fixed wages laid down by the Act. On January 10 the Minister of Agriculture told a meeting of farmers at Ipswich very plainly that neither course was possible, and he advised them to try to solve their difficulties like other industries, by altering their methods. A reference made by him to expenditure on research was greeted with laughter, which he interpreted as sad evidence of the state of mind of the farmers. A little later (January 24) a deputation from the National Farmers' Union placed before him in moderate but forcible terms the difficulties with which the agricultural industry was faced, particularly on account of the high cost of labour, and he promised to lay their complaints before the Government.

At the end of January it became generally known that the Government programme for the ensuing session would not contain the ratification of the Washington Hours Convention. Labour circles expressed indignation at the continued prevarication of the Government in this matter, and the Government showed itself so far sensitive to their criticism that it sent the Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Labour, Mr. Betterton, to be its spokesman at the meeting of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office in February. This was the first time Mr. Betterton had attended a meeting of that body since May, 1925 ; his predecessor in the Labour Government, Miss Bondfield, had attended three similar meetings during her short term of office. Mr. Betterton abandoned the pretence that the Government was willing to ratify the Convention, if not in its original form, at least with certain modifications. He now maintained that the Convention, passed nine years previously after insufficient discussion and on the basis of insufficient experience, was hardly an instrument adapted to the complicated conditions of modern industrial life. He thought that the sensible course would be to look for a solution in the framing of a new text rather than by retaining the old text and overloading it with a mass of qualifying clauses and interpretations. He therefore suggested that they should decide there and then to place the question of the revision of the Washington Convention on the agenda of the 1929 Labour Conference.

The British proposals were strongly criticised by Mr. Poulton,

the British Labour delegate. He pointed out that at Washington the British delegates had all voted for the Convention, and asked if, when such a vote was given, there was no intention of honouring it by carrying the proposed legislation into effect. The charge of bad faith was echoed by Labour circles at home, which saw in this action a further proof of the Government's lack of sympathy with the working classes and its subservience to the great employers' organisations.

At the end of January the Exchequer received one of the most notable benefactions ever made to it by a private citizen—a sum of 500,000*l.* set aside by an anonymous donor to accumulate for a number of years at compound interest, and finally to be applied with its accretions to the reduction of the National Debt. It was to facilitate just such a gift as this that Parliament had in the previous session made an exception to the law forbidding perpetuities, and declared long accumulations lawful when they had this especial object in view. In making public acknowledgment of the donation, the Chancellor of the Exchequer characterised it as an act of clear-sighted patriotism, which should be an example to others. The example was in fact closely followed at no long interval. Early in July Lord Inchcape handed to the Treasury a sum of the same amount under similar conditions, in memory of his daughter, Miss Elsie Mackay, who had shortly before been lost while attempting to fly across the Atlantic. Munificent as were these gifts, they did not stand entirely alone; according to a statement made by the Chancellor of the Exchequer in the previous December, gifts to a total of 1,078,000*l.* had been made to the Exchequer by individuals during and since the War; and this sum included a gift of 120,000*l.* for the cancellation of War Loan made in 1919 by an anonymous donor who was afterwards learnt to be Mr. Stanley Baldwin, then Financial Secretary to the Treasury.

On February 2 appeared the Report of the Liberal Industrial Committee appointed by Mr. Lloyd George to work out an industrial policy for the Liberal party (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1927, p. 78). It bore the title of "Britain's Industrial Future," and formed a companion volume to the similar productions dealing with land and mining policy—"The Land and the Nation" and "Coal and Power." Like them, it was a contribution of value to current economic and sociological literature; and like them it represented the standpoint of the Left or Radical wing in the Liberal Party, of which Mr. Lloyd George and Sir Herbert Samuel were now the chief public spokesmen.

On its economic side, the Report marked a complete breach with the Liberalism of the nineteenth century. It recognised that the individualism of the Victorian era was largely out of place in modern industrial and commercial conditions, and that its retention was responsible for much of Britain's loss of trade

in recent years. It laid stress on the part which was bound to be played in modern life by what it called the "public concern"—i.e. undertakings in which the State or the municipality was directly concerned—and the large-scale semi-monopolistic private concern, and it sought to regulate both in accordance with Liberal principles. It was opposed to direct State or even municipal trading, but was in favour of public concerns being managed by *ad hoc* public boards responsible to the State or the municipality. For preventing the abuse of monopoly it relied chiefly on the weapon of greater publicity. For the general guidance of the Government in economic matters it advocated the establishment of an Economic General Staff closely associated with the Prime Minister and the Cabinet and the principal Economic Departments of State.

In the matter of industrial relations also, the Report broke with many of the *laissez-faire* conceptions of the older Liberalism. It advocated the fixing of a legal minimum wage in each industry, with provision for standard wage and profit-sharing. It declared the aim of the Liberal policy to be "to bring about the establishment in every industry of a regulating body including both employers and workers for the consideration of common interests and endowed with the power of obtaining, under proper safeguards, legal sanction for their agreements." It recommended the formation of a Ministry of Industry to take over the functions of the Ministry of Labour and some of those of the Home Office, and the formation of a representative Council of Industry to advise and assist the new Ministry. While rejecting any scheme which could be accurately described as "workers' control," it was insistent that the workers' status should be raised, chiefly by the creation of Works Councils in every concern employing fifty or more work-people.

In the field of public finance, the Report naturally asserted the need for economy, but considered that the only sphere in which any considerable reduction of expenditure could be effected was that of armaments. It held that the handicaps imposed on industry by the present direct taxation, while they made it necessary to scrutinise most carefully all proposals for new expenditure, did not justify any calling of a halt in the development of education, public health, and social reform. Nay more, it maintained that a considerable portion of the burden of the local rates—about one-third, or 55,000,000*l.* a year in Great Britain—ought to be transferred to the Exchequer.

The new industrial policy was naturally not to the liking of the old-fashioned Liberals, any more than the new land policy had been. Realising that they would not be able to secure its rejection, these Liberals took steps betimes at least to prevent it being thrust down their throats. At the first annual meeting on February 21 of the Liberal Council—the body which had been

formed for the purpose of making the party independent of Mr. Lloyd George and his fund (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1927, p. 8)—Lord Grey, who was again elected President, made a strong plea for liberty within the party. He protested that the Council was not formed to promote division in the party, but to enable those who wished to be independent to continue their devotion to Liberal work. He said that they did not find fault with what other Liberals had been doing in the way of drawing up programmes, but they did not think they themselves ought to be proscribed for not accepting those programmes. The work of the Liberal Council would be to concentrate upon those parts of Liberal policy which they considered most essential, namely Free Trade and sound financial policy. He was in hopes that this could be done without bringing them into conflict with that section of the party which placed social reform in the foreground of their policy ; if not, the fault would be on the other side. Lord Grey's hint did not pass unheeded, and the Industrial Report, unlike the Land Report, did not lead to any dissensions in the party or desertions from the camp.

On February 12, Mr. Amery, the Secretary for the Dominions, returned from an extended tour throughout the British Empire in the course of which he had been able to see practically every Minister of every Dominion, besides numerous other prominent and representative personages. Speaking of his experiences a few days later, he said that his first object in making the tour had been to maintain that continuity of personal intercourse which was essential nowadays in an Empire whose unity depended not on central control but on free co-operation. He expressed the opinion that no Dominions Secretary in future would be really doing the work of his Department if he did not make time to visit the different Dominions—if not all in one tour, then one each year. The principle that it was one of the first duties of the Dominions Secretary to visit the Dominions and learn at first hand the views of their Governments and peoples was one on which they could not go back.

On February 13 the King paid a graceful compliment to the British seafaring population outside the ranks of the Royal Navy by creating the Prince of Wales " Master of the Merchant Navy and the Fishing Fleets "—a new title for which there was no exact precedent in British history or usage. His Majesty had for some time been considering what steps could be taken to bring the British merchant navy and the fishing fleets into line with the other great services of the Empire by letting them have as their titular head some member of the Royal Family. With this end in view, and in recognition of the splendid service which the merchant navy and the fishing fleets had rendered the Empire for many centuries, both in peace and war, His Majesty asked the Prince of Wales to assume the title given above, which was the King's

own original suggestion. The Prince accepted with alacrity, and the appointment was highly popular among merchant seamen, who felt that their status was thereby improved.

On the eve of the Session (February 3), Mr. Churchill made a speech at Birmingham in which he announced that the Government had no intention of appealing to the country in the course of the current year. In view of the confidence which it commanded both in Parliament and in the country, it felt itself in duty bound to postpone a General Election at least till the new Franchise Bill, conferring votes on women under 30, had been passed into law, and the new voters had been placed on the register. From the national point of view he justified the Government's continuance in office on the ground that by so doing it gave the country stability, which at present was its greatest need. Mr. Churchill's announcement caused neither surprise nor disappointment, as all parties were working on the assumption that the Government would remain in office for another year at least, and the Opposition parties were not sorry to have this interval for composing their internal differences and defining their policies.

Parliament met for the opening of its fourth session on February 7. The King's Speech gave prominence to a statement on the situation in China. It was announced that the bulk of the troops sent to Shanghai a year previously had been recalled. There was still, however, no prospect in China of a settled Government with which the British Government might come to a permanent arrangement; and meanwhile British policy in China remained what it had been defined to be in the Memorandum of 1926 and on various occasions in the succeeding year. Another announcement of importance in the field of foreign affairs was that negotiations had been commenced with the United States for an inclusive Arbitration Treaty. In the matter of internal legislation the Speech mentioned only very few Bills, and those for the most part such as commanded more or less the assent of the Opposition and were not likely to give rise to acute controversy. Prominent among them were the Franchise Bill for extending the vote to all women over 21, and the Bill for granting agricultural credits. Conformably to an indication given in Mr. Churchill's address in Birmingham a few days earlier, the Speech also announced that the Government was giving careful consideration to the inequalities of local rating, and admitted in principle that part of the burden of the rates should be transferred to the Exchequer, should the state of the national finances permit.

In the debate on the Address both Mr. MacDonald and Mr. Lloyd George welcomed the statement in the Speech relating to British policy in China. Mr. MacDonald also declared himself to be satisfied with the conduct of foreign affairs generally. But both he and Mr. George exclaimed loudly against the glaring

omissions in the legislative programme for the session—the absence of certain Bills to which the Government was definitely pledged, such as the Factories Bill and the ratification of the Washington Convention, and the ignoring of such social problems as the state of the coal-miners and the persistence of unemployment. Lord Haldane in the House of Lords also described the Speech as the most exiguous document of its kind he had ever seen. The Prime Minister in his reply informed the House that the paragraph in the Speech relating to China had been purposely given its prominent position in order to make an impression on the world at large, and said he was glad to think that the endorsement given by both leaders of the Opposition parties to the statement would make the Government's policy a national one, and cause it to be recognised by the world as such. As to the omissions from the Speech which had been so severely commented upon, he explained that the Government had this year definitely decided to carry out his long-cherished plan of proroguing at the end of July or beginning of August—a course which he had long been convinced was by far the best for the work of the House, and which he had tried, but without success, to carry out the previous year also (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1927, p. 9). He pointed out that in the period from February to August, if all the days that had to be devoted to financial and other necessary business were taken out, there would remain only twenty-two days for legislation and emergencies that might arise. Hence he thought that even the comparatively small amount of legislation outlined in the King's Speech would occupy all of their time till the date at which they intended to prorogue.

On the next day (February 8) some additional information was supplied on the subject of foreign affairs by Sir A. Chamberlain in the form of a reply to questions raised by the Opposition leaders. In spite of all difficulties, he said, some progress had been made in China towards the realisation of the British policy. The Government had given its consent to the collection by the Chinese officials of the 2½ per cent, surtax provisionally agreed to by the Washington Convention ; on the other hand, they had objected and would continue to object to illegal levies over and above the surtax exacted here and there by local authorities. A beginning had also been made with the abolition of extra-territoriality ; the British Government already recognised the modern Chinese Law Courts in cases where British subjects were plaintiffs or complainants, and they were also ready to apply in British Courts the existing modern Chinese civil and commercial law. Thirdly, Britain had surrendered the Concessions in Hankow and Kiukiang. Unfortunately the results of that surrender did not encourage them to proceed further in the same path, as it could not be said that the Chinese had properly discharged their **obligations** to the foreign settlers. For the sake of the other

Concessions it was still necessary to maintain a force in Shanghai, although the number of troops there had been reduced from 12,500 to 4,500, and orders had been given for the withdrawal of another battalion. No offer of compensation had yet been made for the outrages at Nanking, and the Consulate there had not been re-occupied. Nevertheless, on a broad review the Foreign Secretary thought that the situation was much better than it had been a year before ; the feeling of the Chinese people was becoming more friendly towards the British people and its Government, and they were commencing to appreciate the liberality and the sincerity of the British Declaration.

The Minister also informed the House that the United States Government had a short time before submitted to the British Government the draft of an Arbitration Treaty which *mutatis mutandis* was the same as that which they had submitted to France and which had just been signed in a somewhat amended form. As the draft was still under consideration, he refused to discuss it in detail, but he took the opportunity to state that war between the United States and Great Britain was "unthinkable" and was ruled out by the Government as a factor in the determination of their policy. He quoted with satisfaction a statement recently made by the Secretary to the United States Navy, that "because Great Britain had built a larger tonnage of cruisers than the United States had chosen to build, it was no imputation on her part of any departure from either the letter or the spirit of the Washington Treaty." This proved that there had been no breach of faith on the part of the British Government, and so would, he hoped, put an end to certain mischievous rumours which had gained currency.

On February 8 tributes were paid in Parliament to the memory of Lord Haig, who had just died (*vide* OBITUARY, under Jan. 29). In the House of Commons the Prime Minister attached his eulogy to a motion that instructions should be given for the erection of a monument at the public charge to the deceased Field-Marshal, with an inscription expressing the admiration of the House for his illustrious military career and its gratitude for his services to the State. Mr. MacDonald, while associating himself with all that Mr. Baldwin had said in praise of Earl Haig and adding his own meed, moved an amendment to the effect that a memorial fund should be created under the charge of the Public Trustee and other responsible men for the purpose of alleviating cases of distress and hardship among members of the British Legion, a society of ex-service men with which Lord Haig had closely identified himself during his last years. The Prime Minister, while expressing his willingness to sign an appeal to the public for this object as head of the Government, declined to accept the amendment, and begged Mr. MacDonald to withdraw it. The Labour Party, however, to the chagrin of the rest of the House,

insisted on carrying it to a division, in which it was defeated by 220 votes to 103.

From the many vulnerable points presented by the Address, the Labour Party singled out the omission of any reference to unemployment as the object of its attack. Mr. Henderson moved an amendment regretting that no mention was made of measures designed to grapple with the evil of unemployment, especially in the coal and other basic industries. He pointed out that there were still over a million unemployed, of whom about a fifth belonged to the coal-mining industry. He said that in the past seven years 300,000,000l. of public money had been spent on the relief of unemployment besides 100,000,000l. on outdoor relief, and he asked how long they could go on spending money in that way. Mr. Neville Chamberlain defended the Government by pointing out in the first place that it might fairly claim to have greatly increased by its safeguarding procedure the number of persons employed in the industries concerned. Then as to direct help for the unemployed, there was the Industrial Transference Board, which had recently been set up for the purpose of getting miners who had no longer any hope of finding work in their old vocation transferred to localities where there might be work for them in other branches to which they could adapt themselves. Then the Ministry of Labour had in operation four methods for the relief of unemployment with special application to the case of miners—the training of juveniles, the training of single men for employment at home, the training of single men for employment overseas, and the training of young women for domestic service.

On the next day (February 10) the attack on the Government was resumed by Mr. Thomas, who called attention to the fact that in the Northumberland and Durham coal-fields the wages of the miners had just been reduced practically to subsistence level. He said that in face of such a situation it was no use arguing about social systems, whether Socialism or private enterprise was the better. The real question was whether there was not a moral obligation on the part of the country to see that such a state of things should not continue. The President of the Board of Trade seized upon the discrepancy between Mr. Thomas and the mover of the amendment, who had made it the whole gravamen of his charge against the Government that unemployment was inherent in the capitalist system, and could only be cured by Socialism. He regarded this as the more typical view of the Labour Party, and declared that that was the issue on which the Government would fight at the next election. He affirmed categorically that the country was better off than in 1924, when Labour was in power. There were nearly half a million more people in work, and the cost of living had gone down by 10 per cent. The assistance given by the Government to industries had led among other things to the

establishment of a chemical industry with brilliant success, and this reacted on many other industries.

The "indictment" of the Government—as the Labour speakers termed it—was continued on the third day of the debate by Mr. Clynes and Mr. MacDonald. The former denied to the Government the credit of doing anything to promote goodwill in industry, in spite of its professions; the latter pointed out that there were not sufficient data yet for judging whether the policy of safeguarding had contributed to increase employment. The reply was made by Mr. Baldwin in a characteristic speech. He did not pretend that the Government had done anything of consequence to grapple with the problem of industrial depression, but he maintained that, with the Government benevolently looking on, the country was gradually righting itself by its own efforts. He expressed what was at this time the usual view of Government spokesmen, that the distressed areas were merely "black spots" in a country on the whole fairly prosperous and likely to become more so. Ninety per cent, of the industrial population were in employment, and were earning better real wages than ever before with lower hours of work. Labour was gradually being transferred from the depressed industries to those which were more flourishing; thus in the twelve months ended July of the previous year no fewer than 30,000 men had left the mining industry and obtained work in other parts of the country—in brickmaking, in transport, in the chemical industry, and in certain branches of the engineering industry. He considered that there was a better prospect of the unemployment problem being solved by such transference than by a revival of the depressed industries themselves, which was bound to be very slow, if it came at all. At the same time he held out a hope that, by lightening the burden of rates, the Government might enable new industries to go into districts where there was labour longing for employment.

The Labour amendment to the Address was of course defeated by a large majority, but this did not prevent the Liberals from moving one which covered much the same ground, though couched in different terms. Part of their complaint was that Ministers "did not sufficiently appreciate the hardships and difficulties of the social and industrial life of the people;" and they found confirmation of this view in the speech made by the Prime Minister on the previous day, with its cold consolation for the workers in the depressed basic industries. They themselves could now speak with a good conscience in this matter, in virtue of the recently published Liberal "yellow book," their references to which were greeted with some merriment on the Ministerial benches. Mr. Lloyd George, with a telling array of facts and figures, showed how fallacious was the Prime Minister's rose-coloured view of the industrial situation. Mr Churchill did not deny that Mr. George's picture came nearer to the truth, but he

defended his chief by saying that there was so much undue and exaggerated pessimism abroad that it was the duty of the head of the Government to redress the balance by laying stress on the contrary elements in the case. Continuing in the same cautious strain, the Chancellor warned the House not to build any hopes on the Government's investigations in the field of rating; his plans would be determined strictly by the amount of money available, and this he would not know for some weeks yet.

There was also a Conservative amendment to the Address, expressing regret at the Government's continued failure to redeem its pledges in the matter of public economy. The critics had still no better constructive suggestion to put forward than the cutting down of Civil Service staffs; if they favoured a reduction of the social services, they did not dare to say so openly. The "growl" on this occasion produced even less effect than usual; the Secretary of the Treasury held out no hope of any diminution of expenditure, and bade the malcontents be satisfied that there was no increase. Having had his say, the mover desired to withdraw his amendment, but the Labour Party insisted on a division, and five Conservatives voted against the Government.

On February 14, in the House of Commons, the Government was pressed by a private member to bring in legislation for the control and regulation of the road transport services. An urgent problem had been created by the fact that for some years past motor traffic had been growing at a much faster rate than road mileage, and it was the general opinion of the House that something should be done to keep this traffic under closer supervision, and co-ordinate it with other forms of transport. The Minister of Transport said that the Government were in principle not averse from an inquiry into the question of using all the various means of transport in such a way as would be to greater public advantage, but before instituting such an inquiry it would be necessary to be very clear as to what was to be included in its scope. He therefore invited suggestions from members on this point, and meanwhile the matter was left in abeyance.

On February 15 the Government cordially accepted a motion proposed by a private member condemning the extravagance and maladministration arising from the professed application of Socialist theories to local government by certain local authorities, and declaring that the protection of the citizens from exploitation was a matter requiring the constant watchful attention of the Government. The Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Health said that it was impossible to exaggerate at the present time the importance of care and caution in local administration. Deliberate attempts, he said, had been made to wreck the financial stability of local government and to destroy the spirit of independence and the incentive to work. Socialism in practice had meant in many cases the distribution of **public** money with **little** or no

regard to the ratepayer. Amid Labour protests, the Minister claimed that the action of his Ministry in substituting nominated for elected guardians at West Ham, Chester-le-Street, and Bedwelty had been fully justified. So far these were the only places where such a step had been taken, but the Ministry had its eye on other towns also ; one of its inspectors had just drawn up a report on poor relief in Manchester, in which the policy of the guardians was strongly criticised as leading to pauperisation.

On February 16 tributes were paid in both Houses of Parliament to the memory of Lord Oxford, who had just died (*vide* *Obituary*), and both Houses then adjourned.

To deal with the growing evil of rowdyism at public meetings, the Home Secretary at this time (February 16) issued a circular letter to the chief officers of police in England and Wales reminding them of the duties of the police in regard to the maintenance of order at public meetings. There was, it said, evidence in recent years of an organised attempt by the more irresponsible elements of certain sections of the population seriously to interfere with the right of free speech at the meetings of their political opponents. Chief-constables were therefore advised to be ready to entertain applications from responsible persons for police to be present inside a meeting as well as outside, without charge to the promoters, if there was reason to apprehend disorder. They were also recommended to seek outside assistance for the identification of disorderly persons brought in deliberately from other districts. The chief offenders were supposed to be the Communists, but Conservative and Liberal speakers complained of the Labour Party in general.

A somewhat trivial incident at this time gave the Secretary for Foreign Affairs an opportunity of showing how sincere was his desire to preserve harmonious relations between England and Germany. Towards the end of the previous year, the German Ambassador in London had learnt that a British producer was preparing a film representing the martyrdom of Nurse Cavell during the war, and he had warned the Foreign Secretary that the exhibition of such a film might create a bad impression in Germany. The Minister had accordingly requested the film censors to pay particular attention to this picture when it came before them. Before approaching the local authorities, the producer, early in February, invited Sir Austen Chamberlain to a private view of the picture, protesting that its object was merely to display the horrors of war and not to create anti-German feeling. Sir Austen declined, saying that he felt the strongest repugnance to the production of a film which might call forth bitter feelings elsewhere, **and** that, from the accounts which he had read, the film seemed to him to be historically inaccurate in several details. The film censors took the same view as the Foreign Secretary and recommended the London County Council to ban the picture.

The fate of the picture—which was entitled "Dawn"—was naturally a matter of great interest to the general public, and it was made the subject of questions in Parliament on February 27 and March 1. These elicited the information that on some half-dozen occasions at least British representatives had approached the competent authorities in various countries to secure excisions or modifications in films which appeared to be derogatory to British prestige. Sir Austen Chamberlain defended his action, maintaining that he had done what was incumbent on him as an English gentleman. The Home Secretary was asked whether in view of what had happened he would consider the advisability of appointing some Government Department to be responsible for the censoring of films. He replied that in the opinion of the Government there was no sufficient ground for changing the present arrangement, by which the ultimate decision lay with the local authorities, the film censors being a purely advisory body. The London County Council eventually saw its way to permit the exhibition of the film, and most, but not all of the local authorities of whom permission was asked followed its example.

On February 20 the Labour Party strongly opposed the vote for the expenses of the Commission which had just been sent out to British East Africa (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1927, p. 70). Labour had become suspicious that the purpose of the Commission was to arrange for placing the natives of Kenya under the rule of the white settlers, in spite of the declaration of the Duke of Devonshire in 1923 that the British Government regarded itself as the trustee of the natives. The Under-Secretary of the Colonies practically admitted that the Government was not averse to throwing over the Duke of Devonshire's declaration, and did not deny the allegations of the Labour speakers. Subsequent developments in Kenya were closely watched by the Labour Party, and its agitation was not without effect on the Government's policy.

On February 26, Mr. Shaw made a bitter attack on the Government for its definite refusal to ratify the Washington Hours Convention. He quoted a remark made by Mr. Barnes seven years before when a member of the Cabinet, that there was "an obligation on the Government to submit the Convention to Parliament, and a moral obligation on them to adopt it." He charged the Government with treating its promises as scraps of paper, and with truckling to the confederation of employers. Mr. Betterton warmly defended the Government against the charge of bad faith, pointing out that there was no moral obligation on a Government to ratify a convention made by its delegates. He gave reasons for regarding the draft made at Washington as highly unsuitable to the conditions of the present day, and he called on Mr. Shaw, if he was really desirous of giving the workers greater security in the matter of hours, to support the Government in

the efforts they were making to revise the Convention. The Minister of Labour said that the Convention could be made adaptable to the needs of industry in this country either by means of an amending protocol or of revision. At the London Conference the path of amendment had been tried without success, and therefore he thought that the Government ought to press for revision.

The first piece of actual legislation introduced by the Government (February 20) was a Companies Bill which had been passed by the House of Lords in the previous session. The purpose of the measure was to remedy certain abuses in connexion with the flotation of companies; its chief provisions were to prohibit the practice known as "share-pushing" or "share-hawking," *i.e.* the hawking of shares from house to house, and to subject to strict control the offer of shares not quoted on the stock exchanges of Great Britain. Labour members complained that the Government had missed a great opportunity of dealing with some of the worst abuses of company promotion by insisting on greater publicity for the proceedings of limited liability companies. They also objected to the Bill as being an extreme example of legislation by reference, this device being used to such an extent as to make the law unintelligible.

This Bill was immediately followed by a Railway Bill which, though introduced for technical reasons by a private member, had all the importance of a Government measure. The growth of motor traffic, which was creating so many new problems, had by this time seriously affected the financial position of the railways. Every year motor vehicles were competing more effectively with the locomotive for the carriage both of goods and of passengers. At the end of 1927 the railway companies decided that the best way of protecting their interests would be to become themselves providers of road transport, and they announced their intention of applying to Parliament for permission to run their own motor services on the roads, in addition to the statutory right they already possessed of using motors for conveying goods to and from the railway stations. The announcement provoked a storm of controversy, the Press being deluged with letters on the subject. On behalf of the railways it was contended that they were subjected to unfair competition from the side of the motor owners, on account of the heavier rates they had to pay and the heavier capital expenditure on which they had to provide interest. It was therefore only fair that they should be allowed to have a share of the road traffic. The transport people on their side raised the alarm lest the companies, taking advantage of their great capital resources, should enter into a rate-cutting war and drive competitors off the road, after which they could increase the carriage rates at their own discretion.

The Road Transport Bill drafted by the London Midland and Scottish Railway came up for its second reading in the House

of Commons on February 28. The strongest opposition to the Bill came from the agricultural interests, which (influenced no doubt by the very active propaganda against the Bill) were nervous about its possible effect on the cost of road transport. Supporters of the Bill pointed out that it contained provisions which would effectually prevent the railway companies from establishing a monopoly; one speaker, himself an agriculturist, described this idea as a mere bogey. The Minister of Transport expressed the opinion that these provisions as they stood were not as effective as they might be, and he promised, if the Bill was sent into Committee, to make recommendations to the companies with a view to strengthening the safeguards against monopoly. After a two-days' debate the Bill was read a second time by 399 votes to 42, and immediately afterwards Bills in identical terms relating to the four other great railway companies were brought in and read a second time without a division.

On February 22 the House of Commons, on a Labour member's motion, discussed the working of the Widows', Orphans' and Old Age Pensions Act, which had now been in operation for a couple of years. Labour speakers drew attention to numerous cases of hardship occasioned more or less directly by the Act, such as reductions in wages or loss of employment and reduction of benefits, and complained in general terms that the whole scheme had been framed in a somewhat niggardly manner. The Minister of Health said that the Government was quite willing to listen to and meet criticisms on the measure, but he thought that such criticisms as had been passed since the Act came into force had disclosed no fundamental defect, but only such hard cases as might be found at the beginning of any scheme of such magnitude. The House in the end rejected a motion calling for new legislation on the subject, and passed instead an amendment declaring that the Act had proved itself to be a comprehensive and beneficial scheme of social reform, which had already conferred substantial benefits on a very large number of widows, orphans, and aged persons.

A debate on February 23 on a Vote for the Scottish Board of Health disclosed the fact that the steel houses in Scotland, which had been so vehemently opposed by Labour members a couple of years previously (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER. 1925, p. 6), had after all not been a success. The Secretary for Scotland stated that, owing to opposition from many quarters, it had *been decided to abandon the building of five hundred of them. This left the housing difficulty of Scotland in as acute a stage as ever. On the other hand, the Government obtained in this way a wind-fall of 40,000*l.* which it proposed to apply to meeting the extra **and** unexpected cost of the administration of the National Health Insurance Act in Scotland, due, according to the Minister, to the extravagant prescriptions of the panel doctors. The same com-

plaint had been made shortly before against the panel doctors in England also.

On February 25 the House of Commons gave a second reading to a Bill for extending the benefits of the Empire Settlement Act of 1922 to persons desirous of engaging in industry or agriculture in the United Kingdom, *i.e.* for enabling the State to contribute to the expense of training in England intending emigrants to the Dominions. Though brought forward by a Conservative, the Bill had the support of Labour spokesmen also. The Secretary for the Dominions, however, though he did not oppose it, expressed misgivings as to its advisability, and it was not carried further.

In the course of February new developments took place in the situation of the Lancashire cotton industry. Immediately after the abortive meeting of February 3, the master spinners in the American cotton section began to canvass the idea of serving notices on the operatives to terminate the existing wage agreements, and their Federation passed a resolution to this effect on February 15. They soon found, however, that this step would be highly unpopular with employers in other sections of the cotton industry, and in deference to representations made to them from those quarters they consented on February 18 to issue, in conjunction with the other spinners and manufacturers, an invitation to the textile workers to take part in a further Conference, alleging that the previous one had broken down owing to misunderstandings which they desired to remove. The textile workers accepted the invitation, and a joint meeting attended by about seventy representatives was held on February 21. The employers proposed that a Conference should be held of twelve representatives from each side to examine what went to make up the cost of production of yarn and cloth, and to report within a month in what way production costs could be reduced. After considering this offer for a week, the operatives on February 27 replied that they were not satisfied that such a committee as that proposed by the employers would be able to ascertain all the necessary facts. The employers thereupon laid down with more precision the terms of reference of the proposed committee, putting the question of hours and wages in the third place, after those of finance and taxation.

The two sides met again on March 5. The operatives' representatives declared themselves favourable to the idea of a committee such as that suggested by the employers, but insisted that there should be an independent chairman and that each side should have the assistance of a competent accountant and statistician. The employers thought this demand unreasonable, and the operatives took their refusal as a sign that they wished to burke complete investigation. Neither side would make further concessions, and the Conference ended in a deadlock.

Of the supplementary Estimates this year, the largest was one

for 1,000,000*l.* for Irish loyalists in final compensation for loss suffered during the post-truce period in the civil war. Some members were inclined to demur against this sum as insufficient, but they withdrew their objections on learning that it would probably suffice to meet the outstanding claims nearly in full. The total amount of compensation granted for pre-truce and post-truce injuries was brought by this sum to about 10,000,000*l.* Further supplementary Estimates included 340,000*l.* for the Ministry of Health and 360,000*l.* for the Ministry of Agriculture for unforeseen emergencies.

The Civil Service Estimates, which were published on February 24, amounted to 292,894,863*l.*, which was something over 6,000,000*l.* less than the Estimates of the previous year. The chief reductions were on War pensions, for which some 57,000,000*l.* was set aside as against over 61,000,000*l.* in the previous year, and on the beet-sugar subsidy, which was put at 4,250,000*l.* against 5,400,000*l.* ; while there was no item for relief of unemployment, which last year had taken 1,200,000*l.* Most of the services showed a reduction of some kind, but old-age pensions, with 33,000,000*l.* were put at nearly a million more than in the previous year.

The Army Estimates this year again showed a reduction on those of the previous year (41,050,000*l.* against 41,565,000*l.*) ; the true saving, according to the Secretary for War, was over a million. The Minister informed the House that in the course of the year some highly successful experiments in the mechanisation of the forces had been carried out, and on the strength of the lessons thus learnt, the Army was gradually being reorganised, as far as funds would permit. Their policy was gradually to convert the existing units, which were organised without reference to mechanical vehicles, into formations based on the increased mobility and fire power given by the rise of the internal combustion engine, whether in aeroplanes, land armaments or transports. This did not mean as yet the disappearance of the cavalry, as for some purposes the horse was still superior to the machine ; it was proposed, however, that two cavalry regiments should exchange their horses for armoured cars. Referring to the Territorial Force, the Minister stated that the reduction of the training bounty made in the previous year (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1927, p. 21) had resulted at first in a serious set-back to recruiting, but there had subsequently been a gradual improvement.

The Air Force Estimates for the coming year were given as 16,250,000*l.* against 15,550,000*l.* for the previous year—an increase of 700,000*l.* The Secretary for Air explained (March 12) that the increase was only apparent, being due to changes in accounting, and that in reality there was a reduction of nearly a million. With this reduced amount, however, it was proposed to increase the Force by four squadrons, bringing their number up to 73. The Minister reported that there had been a decrease

in the number of accidents in the past year ; he attributed this in part to the fact that most machines were now provided with parachutes, and to the device of slotting the wings. He informed the House that the two giant airships being built for the Government would probably be completed and making their tests in the course of the year, and that a weekly air mail service would be instituted between England and India. The Minister stated that there were now some 32,000 officers and men in the Air Force, which in the short space of ten years had become " a finely tempered service, closely in touch with the life of the nation, and capable of offering an honourable and stable career to its officers and men." In the course of the debate the Labour Party brought forward an amendment urging the Government to propose the abolition of military and naval air forces and the establishment of the international control of civil aviation. The Under-Secretary for Air maintained that the Government was doing all that could reasonably be expected of it to prevent competition in air armaments ; and though the House as a whole obviously found the growth of the Air Force disquieting, the amendment was defeated by a large majority. In a subsequent debate on the Estimates (March 20) the Minister stated that the policy of the Government was still to build up a force sufficiently strong to act as a deterrent to any Power which thought of attacking this country ; and with this end in view he would not be satisfied till he saw their programme completed.

The Navy Estimates this year were for 57,300,000*l.*, a reduction of 700,000*l.* on the previous year, or, allowing for supplementary Estimates, of 1,150,000*l.* The saving was partly due to the fact that New Zealand had contributed 1,000,000*l.* to the dock at Singapore, and had also offered to maintain an additional cruiser. Mr. Bridgeman stated that the general naval policy of the Government was the policy of replacement initiated by the Labour Government and continued at a reasonable rate. He pointed out that British naval expenditure was now only 7 per cent, of the total Budget of the country as against 24.5 per cent, before the war, and that the country had now only 405 ships of a tonnage of 1,329,000 against 644 ships of 2,276,000 tonnage in 1914 and 1887 ships of 3,136,000 tonnage at the Armistice. He also pointed out that the failure of the Geneva Conference had not in any way affected Anglo-American relations, and had not led to any race in armaments between the two countries. The Labour Party did not agree with the Minister that the country was doing all that could be expected of it in the way of disarmament, and moved that the Government should take the initiative in making proposals for the abolition of capital ships as well as of submarines and for the restriction of cruiser tonnage to what was required for police purposes. Mr. Trevelyan, in supporting the motion, made an impassioned appeal to the Government to take some real and

convincing steps towards disarmament. Mr. Bridgeman curtly coldshouldered the appeal by remarking that at one time in the war they had come within a very short distance of starvation, and there were those of them who were determined that if it could be avoided they would never run that risk again.

On the occasion of the third reading of the Consolidated Fund Bill on March 27, a Liberal member, Major-General Sir Robert Hutchinson, advocated the formation of a unified Ministry of Defence to co-ordinate the three fighting forces. The idea had regularly been brought forward for some years in debates on the Estimates, and the Government had always promised to consider the suggestion. The Prime Minister now in an exhaustive speech definitely declared it to be unacceptable. He said that the responsibilities of such an office would be too great for any one man to undertake; it could be filled adequately only by a Napoleon, and then only if he possessed the powers of a Napoleon. Nor did he consider that the office was necessary, at any rate for the present; a sufficient amount of co-ordination between the Services was being secured by the Imperial Defence Committee working through its sub-committees, notably the Chiefs of Staff Sub-Committee which had been recently formed. Subsequent speakers, led by Mr. Lloyd George, declared the Prime Minister's arguments to be unconvincing, especially as he had said nothing about the main reason adduced in favour of a unified Ministry—the possibilities it would afford of effecting economies in the Estimates. The Minister of War in the end declared that the Government was sympathetic towards the idea, but thought the time was not yet ripe to put it into practice.

A great stir was caused at this time by proceedings arising out of a case which had just been heard in the Law Courts, and which came to be familiarly known as the "francs case." A firm of stockbrokers had sued a lady for the return of a large sum of money which it had laid out for her in the speculative purchase of francs in 1924, and in the course of the evidence it had been stated that three high officials of the Foreign Office were deeply implicated in the transactions. Two of these were already known to the public—one, Mr. Gregory, for having signed, on behalf of Mr. MacDonald, the letter which accompanied the publication of the notorious Zinovieff letter in 1924, and the other, Mr. O'Malley, for the part he had taken in the negotiations in Hankow in 1926. The matter was raised in Parliament, and the Prime Minister accepted the view that the honour of the Civil Service was involved in the allegations; and in conjunction with the Secretary for Foreign Affairs he at once appointed a Commission of Inquiry, consisting of officials from the Treasury, to examine the conduct of the officials in question. The Commission reported on February 22 that all three, by the mere fact of their taking part in such transactions, had, in their opinion,

acted in a manner inconsistent with their obligations as civil servants. They found at the same time, however, that the guilty officials had not made any improper use of official information to serve their own private ends, and also that no other civil servants had behaved in a similar manner ; and they drew the conclusion that public confidence in the Civil Service need not be in the least impaired. Immediately on the issue of the report the Foreign Secretary, acting in conjunction with the Prime Minister, took severe disciplinary measures against the three officials, dismissing one, allowing the second to resign, and severely reprimanding the third.

The report produced political reactions of a remarkable character. Considerable space was devoted in it to the examination of certain statements brought to the notice of the Committee regarding Mr. Gregory's part in the publication of the Zinovieff letter on the eve of the 1924 General Election. The report established once more the fact—already generally known—that the reason why the Foreign Office published the letter on October 24, 1924, was because a copy of it was already in the hands of the *Daily Mail*, which otherwise would have published it independently. Public attention was thus once more drawn forcibly to the question—which had never yet been cleared up—how the copy got into the hands of the *Daily Mail*. The Labour Party decided to make political capital out of the revived interest in the letter by demanding a judicial inquiry into the circumstances of its publication. The case for such a demand was considerably strengthened by the publication in the *Observer* of March 4 of a letter from Mr. Marlowe, who had been editor of the *Daily Mail* in 1924, giving an account of the way in which the letter had come into his possession, but without mentioning names.

The Labour demand for an inquiry was put forward in the House of Commons on March 19. Mr. MacDonald was the mover, and he was supported by Mr. Maxton and Mr. Thomas, who had been with him members of the committee appointed by the Labour Party to inquire into the authenticity of the Zinovieff letter (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1924, p. 127). The principal ground urged in support of the motion was that the disclosures made before the Treasury Committee and in Mr. Marlowe's letter showed that there had been a leakage of official information from Government Departments. The Prime Minister replied that the document in question, which was in no sense official or secret, had come into the hands of the Press quite independently of the Civil Service. In proof of this assertion, he read a statement which had just been made to him by a Mr. im Thurn, describing in detail how the Zinovieff letter came into possession of the *Daily Mail*. Mr. im Thurn, who was a business man in London, declared that he had procured a copy of the letter from a business friend, who was in close touch with Communist circles but who had no connexion

whatever with the Government, and that he had considered it his duty as a patriotic citizen to bring the letter to the notice, on the one hand of the Government, and on the other hand of the Press. Mr. Thomas flatly refused to accept Mr. Thurn's statements, which he said conflicted with the evidence in his possession. To the great majority of members, however, the letter carried conviction, and seemed to obviate the need for an inquiry; and the demand for an inquiry was rejected by 326 votes to 131.

On March 1 the Government was urged by Liberal and Labour speakers to find out some effective way of helping to revive the export trade. The President of the Board of Trade gave the stereotyped answer—that in the Government's conception industries had to save themselves by their own exertions, and that was the only way in which they could be saved. He pointed to the efforts which the Lancashire cotton industry was making to solve its own problems as proof that there was no need for the Government to interfere. He also mentioned the amalgamations recently made by the colliery owners in the north-eastern districts as an example of what the employers could do to help themselves. The best assistance which in his opinion the Government could give to industry was by a sane and moderate policy of safeguarding—which of course was the last thing that the Opposition wanted.

Soon afterwards (March 21) a Conservative member took the Minister at his word and brought forward a motion urging the Government to give the widest extension to the safeguarding policy consistent with its pledges. Mr. Snowden ironically lent his support to the motion, saying that he hoped the Government would go to the country with Protection emblazoned on its banners. The Government preferred not to commit itself for the time being; the Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Trade said that, while they regarded safeguarding as having been so far a success, they did not propose to alter the procedure laid down in the White Paper, though they would take into consideration the experience already gained in determining what procedure to adopt for the future.

On March 1 the Marquis of Salisbury, himself a member of the Government, gave vent to a bitter outburst in the House of Lords against the way in which that body was gradually being shorn of its legislative functions by the Government and the House of Commons. Speaking on a motion that non-controversial Bills should as far as possible be introduced first in the Upper House in the early part of the session, Lord Salisbury said that he welcomed the discussion as drawing attention to what he called "the steady process of erosion by the House of Commons on the power and opportunities of public service" of the other House. The House of Commons had encroached on the privileges of the other House and had also absorbed most of the personnel

of the Government—not only Cabinet Ministers but also Under-Secretaries—with the result that initiative in legislation was concentrated more and more in the House of Commons. The Lords were also allowed insufficient time to deal with the legislation passed by the Commons. Bills came up to them in an almost incomprehensible condition, and they were asked to revise them in a few days at the end of the session. If the erosion were balanced by a corresponding degree of efficiency, he would not complain, but he could not see that it was. In its treatment of the House of Lords the Conservative Government was no better than any other. The noble Lord concluded by saying that the present conditions of things could not continue, but he did not indicate any method of remedying it.

On March 2 a Memorandum was published under the joint auspices of the Trade Union Congress, the Labour Party, and the Miners' Federation, setting forth the latest proposals of those bodies for dealing with the troubles of the coal industry. The Memorandum fully endorsed the coal policy laid down at the Labour Party Conference in Blackpool in the previous year [*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1927, p. 98), but worked it out in greater detail. It started from the assumptions that there was a surplus of labour in the industry which could not within any reasonable time expect to be reabsorbed in employment, that, in view of the large amount of surplus labour and the low price of coal, wages were likely to remain low, and that it was improbable that foreign markets would again be as important a factor as they were before the war. To meet this situation it was proposed that steps should be taken to regulate the recruitment into the industry by raising the school-leaving age to fifteen or even sixteen, and by stopping the transference from other industries; that workers over 60 should be superannuated with a pension of 20s. a week with 10s. for the wife; that Government pressure should be applied to compel groupings and amalgamations among the coal-owners; and that selling monopolies should be set up in each coal-field to be conducted by the State or a public utility company. The Memorandum was careful to point out that this was only an "immediate policy" which could be urged even on the present Government, and was not intended to replace, but rather to force the way for the policy of full nationalisation which was to be taken in hand as soon as a Labour Government came into power.

The plight of at least one coal-field was by this time fast becoming desperate. Early in March a couple of Labour members of Parliament and a group of Liberal members and candidates made investigations independently into conditions in the South Wales coal-field, and both parties concurred in describing the state of the industrial population as deplorable in the extreme. Both agreed that there was no hope for them in a revival of the mining

industry, parts of which they considered to be derelict. The Government was urged to take at once remedial measures, one of which should be the declaration of South Wales as a "necessitous area," so that the burden of its poor relief should fall in part at least on the national Exchequer.

As a first step towards improving the lot of the mining population, a Labour member on March 23 moved the second reading of a Bill to repeal the Eight Hours Act passed in 1926, and so make the seven-hour day again compulsory. Representatives of the owners pointed out that such a step would raise the cost of the production of coal and so render it more difficult than ever for the British coal-owners to compete in foreign markets, with the result that many pits would close and large numbers of miners be thrown out of work. This was the view taken by the Government, and was made by it the ground for opposing the motion. Even so, however, the second reading was defeated only by 27 votes—154 to 127—a result which was received by the Labour members with cheers. In the course of the debate miners' representatives showed marked hostility to Mr. Lloyd George, although he strongly supported the motion, and he exclaimed bitterly against their want of tact which, he said, was the cause of their repeated failures.

The question of the distress in the coal-mining areas, particularly South Wales, was brought up in the House of Commons by Mr. MacDonald on March 26. He quoted largely in his speech from the report of the Labour investigators, and maintained that the distress had gone beyond the stage at which it could be dealt with by private charity, and that it was the duty of the community to come to the rescue. The Minister of Health did not minimise the seriousness of the situation, but he was of opinion that the Government had already done all that could be reasonably required of it by instituting training centres, by setting up a Transfer Board, and by granting loans to local bodies. He was still pinning his faith to the beneficent operation of private charity and its ability to cope with the distress, and he was unwilling to discourage it in any way.

On March 5 the Prime Minister announced in Parliament that the Government had decided to withdraw the prohibition hitherto imposed on the British Broadcasting Corporation, of broadcasting "statements involving matters of political, religious, or industrial controversy" (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1926, p. 125). The prohibition had always been resented by the British public, which objected to all forms of censorship on principle; it had also been made a ground by several popular speakers for refusing to give addresses for broadcasting. The withdrawal of the prohibition met with general approval, and was not followed by any abuse on the part of the B.B.C. of its newly-granted liberty. The prohibition imposed on the B.B.C., itself to broadcast expressions of

opinion on matters of public policy was still retained, but to this no serious objection was taken.

On March 9 the House of Commons gave a second reading to a Conservative private member's Bill dealing with the hour of closing for shops. The Bill in the main rendered permanent the regulations laid down during the war under the Defence of the Realm Act for the compulsory closing of shops at a certain hour. The regulations had on the whole worked satisfactorily ; shop assistants had unquestionably benefited, and the public had adapted itself to the restriction of shopping hours. The new Bill introduced a number of exemptions, the chief of which was that a " one-man business " might be kept open after prohibited hours, provided that no one except the proprietor himself attended to it. This exemption was justified on the ground that large numbers of ex-service men had been set up in such businesses, and they might suffer loss if not allowed to keep open as long as they liked. The Labour Party objected to the provision, but they withdrew their opposition to the second reading of the Bill when they were assured by the Home Secretary that the Government also objected to this clause, and would insist on its deletion before allowing the Bill to pass.

The Government at this time gave a fresh illustration of its lukewarmness in the cause of social reform. On March 13 the Minister of Health moved the second reading of a Bill to extend for five years certain provisions of the Local Authorities Act of 1923 dealing with the Common Poor Fund of the London boroughs, and to introduce certain changes which would place the Fund under stricter control. Labour members criticised the Bill on the ground that it favoured the richer boroughs against the poorer, but their real objection to it went deeper : they saw in it a sign that the Government did not intend for at least five years to take in hand that comprehensive reform of the Poor Law, the necessity of which it had admitted and to which indeed it was definitely pledged. After hearing some strong criticism of the Government's method of dealing with the problems of relief by mere stop-gap legislation, the Under-Secretary announced that the Government would bring in its Poor Law proposals in due course, but he mentioned no definite date.

On March 13 the House of Lords gave a second reading to an Agricultural Produce Grading and Marking Bill, which among other things gave the Minister of Agriculture power to prescribe designations for indicating the quality of agricultural produce. This was another of the Government's small but useful measures for assisting agriculture ; its chief object was to put the British producer on a level in the matter of marketing with the foreign producer, whose imports, being properly graded and marked, were found by the retailer to be more uniform and reliable and were in correspondingly better demand. The Bill, after passing the

Lords, came before the House of Commons on April 19. It was there welcomed by members of all parties, though the Labour Party objected to the provision which made the marking of preserved eggs compulsory after the end of the current year, on the ground that it might interfere with the import of cheap but good eggs.

On March 15 a deputation from the Federation of British Industries waited on the Chancellor of the Exchequer with the usual request to reduce the income tax. Mr. Churchill replied, as in the previous year, that owing to the dislocation in the national finances caused by the general strike, it was as much as he could do to avoid reimposing the sixpence taken off the income tax in 1925. For the same reason there could be no thought of restoring the penny postage. The question of the reduction of local rates having been raised by the deputation, the Chancellor told them that he had nothing to add to the statement in the King's Speech, and that they must wait till the introduction of the Budget to find out whether the Government had been able to do anything to carry out the intentions there expressed.

The House of Commons discussed with keen interest on March 16 the second reading of a private member's Bill for legalising the use of the totalisator on race-courses. The proposal emanated originally from the Jockey Club and the National Hunt Committee, which were strongly suspected of desiring by this means to share in the proceeds of the betting tax. This fact was itself responsible for a good deal of the opposition offered to the Bill. The Cabinet was no less divided on this subject than on that of the Prayer Book, but both the Minister of Agriculture and the Chancellor of the Exchequer spoke strongly in favour of the Bill. The second reading was eventually carried by the narrow majority of fifteen.

On March 28 Lord Cave resigned from the office of Lord Chancellor on account of ill-health ; he died immediately after (*vide* Obituary under March 29). He was succeeded by the Attorney-General, Sir D. Hogg, who on entering the House of Lords took the title of Lord Hailsham. His place as Attorney-General was taken by the Solicitor-General, Sir T. Inskip. Mr. T. Merriman took the post of Solicitor-General with the customary knighthood, but did not enter the Cabinet.

While the "francs case" was still fresh in the public mind, a second "case" arose which caused a similar ferment both in the country and in Parliament. On March 12 it was learnt in England that Rear-Admiral Collard, commanding a part of the Malta squadron, had been ordered by the Commander-in-Chief to strike his flag on the *Royal Oak* battleship, and that the Captain and Commander of the flagship had been superseded, and were to be tried by court-martial. The news created a sensation, as such an incident had not occurred for over fifty years,

and fears were entertained that it might be a sign of some deep-rooted trouble in the Navy. The proceedings at the court-martial, which was held early in April, reduced the incident to very trivial proportions. The rear-admiral had behaved in a somewhat high-handed manner which had greatly irritated the captain and the commander, and for which he was subsequently declared to be unfit for high command. The other two officers had presented their complaints in a manner which was held to contravene the regulations and to be subversive of discipline, and they were punished by being reprimanded and relieved of their posts. A full account of the affair was given by the First Lord of the Admiralty to a highly interested House of Commons on April 17, immediately after the Easter recess, and it was generally agreed that the incident was one which did not reflect great credit on the Navy, and that nothing more should be said about it.

The joint investigation of the two bodies composing the Mond Conference entered on the practical stage on March 21, when the sub-committees met together and agreed on the programme of subjects for investigation, and arranged for further weekly meetings, at which a member of each was to preside alternately. The first fruits of the Conference appeared in April in the form of a Memorandum on credit and currency policy, which was subsequently adopted by the General Council of the Trade Union Congress. This body also expressed approval of a Draft Memorandum on trade union recognition which had been prepared for the Conference, and showed itself in general anxious for the work of the Conference to continue. Isolated unions pressed for a repudiation of the Conference, but the General Council paid no heed to them; at its meeting on March 29, it passed a vote of censure on Mr. A. J. Cook for publishing a pamphlet entitled "The Mond Moonshine."

The Trade Union Congress at this time, in fact, could not afford to disregard a helping hand held out to it from any quarter. It had to contend with disruptive influences in the shape not only of the Trade Union Act, but also of increased activity on the part of the two rival working-men's organisations—the non-political unions on the one hand, and the Communists on the other. In regard to the Act, it considered discretion to be the better part of valour, and in March issued in conjunction with the Labour Party a circular to Trade Councils warning them that it was essential for them to take such steps as would safeguard their affiliated unions against any breach of the law. For this purpose they were recommended to separate carefully their political and industrial functions, and not to devote to the former any part of their general funds, but to support them from special political funds.

The Federation of the non-political mining unions which had been inaugurated by Mr. Spencer in the previous autumn had made rapid progress owing partly to a substantial loan granted to it by the National Seamen's Union—an act against which the T.U.C.

had protested in vain—and partly to the active support of the coal-owners in the Nottinghamshire district. In this district in fact it was rapidly displacing the old-established union which still belonged to the Miners' Federation. This body appealed for help to the Trade Union Congress, and at a meeting held in Nottingham on March 2, the Council of the T.U.C., after consultation with the Executive of the Miners' Federation, appointed a committee to approach the coal-owners of the district for the purpose of inducing them to stop their discrimination in favour of the new union. A committee of the coal-owners met this committee on March 21, and in answer to their representations stated that the owners could not recognise any other organisation of workmen than that with which they were now dealing—*i.e.* Mr. Spencer's union—but that they made no inquiry or discrimination with regard to their employees' membership of any trade union.

The Communists had decided in January not to interfere with the political work of the Labour Party, but in February they received peremptory orders from Moscow to conduct a vigorous campaign both in the constituencies and in the trade unions against Labour representatives. In March they decided that Moscow was right and they were wrong, and made preparations for fighting a number of constituencies in opposition to Labour candidates, at the same time intensifying their propaganda within the trade unions. They soon made themselves a serious menace to the constituted authorities of the trade unions. In Scotland they all but succeeded in obtaining control of the Miners' Federation, and in several other large unions also they displayed such activity that the Executives found it necessary to issue warnings to their members against the Minority Movement and in some cases to institute a "purge."

It was not only in the trade unions that the Communists adopted an aggressive attitude. On March 21 a remarkable fighting speech was made in the House of Commons by Mr. Saklatvala, the Communist member for Battersea. A Conservative member having introduced an academic motion condemning Socialism, Mr. Saklatvala in the course of the debate took the opportunity to define the nature of what he called real Socialism, as distinguished from the sham Socialism of the Labour Party leaders. He identified Socialism with Communism, and boldly declared that its success would mean the end of the British Empire, of the Army, Navy, and Air Force, of private property, and of **law** and order as usually understood. Unpalatable as were his views—and not least to the Labour members present—Mr. Saklatvala impressed the House with his sincerity, and secured **an** attentive hearing.

On March 28 a Conservative member brought forward a **motion urging** the Government to consider the question of **disfranchising for** elections to Boards of Guardians recipients of **Poor**

Law relief, a matter on which several Conservatives felt strongly. The Home Secretary admitted that when the pauper disqualification had been removed in 1918, doubts had been expressed whether it ought not to be retained for local elections, where considerations of personal interest could come more directly into play. He pointed out, however, that there would be dangers of injustice in the reimposition of the disqualification, and suggested that the best solution of the problem would be found in the proposed reform of the Poor Law which would do away with boards of guardians altogether; and with this prospect in view, the mover withdrew his motion.

On March 29 the Home Secretary moved the second reading of the long-promised Government Bill for conferring the franchise on all women above the age of 21 on the same terms as on men. He described the Bill as the logical conclusion of a series of reform Bills commencing with the Reform Act of 1831. He pointed out that since the Act of 1918, which conferred the vote on women over 30, they had had four General Elections, and they could now safely say on the experience thus obtained that the experiment of enfranchising women had been justified and there was no reason for preserving the artificial limitation which had then been fixed. Mr. Snowden welcomed the Bill on behalf of the Labour Party, which, he said, had always been in favour of the political equalisation of men and women. There was known to be a considerable body of Conservative opinion opposed to the measure, and one Conservative member moved its rejection, on the ground that it would place men in a position of inferiority to women in voting power owing to the great excess of women voters which it would create. In the division, however, he found only nine supporters, while 377 members voted for the Bill. The Prime Minister declared himself to be one of those who had been converted to the cause of woman suffrage by the course of events since the war. Labour speakers criticised the Bill because it did not, while enfranchising women, at the same time abolish plural voting and University representation, and they announced their intention of fighting for these and other changes in Committee.

On April 3 the House of Commons gave a second reading to a new Health Insurance Bill, embodying most of the recommendations of the Royal Commission which had reported two years previously. Its most important clause was one abolishing all penalties for arrears of contributions on account of a man who was unemployed through no fault of his own. The Labour Party welcomed the improvements introduced by the Bill, but nevertheless moved its rejection on the ground that it did not include persons still excluded and restore to the National Health Insurance Fund the State contributions taken away by the Economy Act in 1926 (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1926, p. 26). The Chancellor of the

Exchequer of course would not hear of such a thing, and the second reading was carried by 206 votes to 99.

On April 4 the Prime Minister announced in the House of Commons that the restrictions imposed by the Colonial Office in 1922 on the export of rubber from Malaya and Ceylon would be removed on November 1 of the current year. On February 9 the Government had caused general surprise, and some consternation on the rubber market, by announcing that it had appointed a sub-committee of the Committee of Civil Research to inquire into the question of the restrictions : and the decision to remove them was now taken in accordance with the report of that body.

The announcement caused a panic in the rubber market, and holders of rubber shares were greatly incensed against the Government. They had the sympathy of the Labour Party, which decided to raise the matter in Parliament. On April 26, Mr. MacDonald called attention in the House to the Government's conduct in the matter, without, however, moving a formal vote of censure. He did not object to the actual removal of the restrictions on the export of rubber, but he blamed the Government for doing it in a clumsy way which involved a maximum of loss to those concerned ; according to his information, the value of the stocks in hand had been diminished by nearly 30,000,000*l.* and the market value of shares had fallen by about a half—a sum equivalent to 100,000,000*l.* He criticised the Government for appointing a special committee to advise it instead of consulting the Advisory Committee which had guided it all the time, and insinuated that outside influences which had not been disclosed had been responsible for its decision. The Colonial Secretary in reply protested warmly that the Government had acted throughout entirely above board. The members of the special committee had, he said, been chosen on their merits, and the Colonial Office, in following its advice, had been subject to no external influence. He did not think the Government was to blame for the losses on the rubber market; the values which had fallen so disastrously were not real values, and the crash was bound to come even without the Government's announcement.

Before adjourning for the Easter recess the House of Commons passed without a division a motion expressing alarm at the growing consolidation of the newspaper Press in the hands of powerful syndicates. Although several speakers deplored the evil, none suggested that Parliament could do anything to stop it, and it was frankly admitted that the whole purpose of the debate was to rouse public opinion on the subject. One or two speakers maintained that the public did not take its opinions from the popular Press to the extent which was generally imagined, citing in proof the failure of the *Daily Mail* to work up any effective opposition against women's votes ; and this seemed to be the redeeming feature in the situation. In spite of Parliament's protest, the

trustification of the Press still went on, and the absorption of a number of provincial papers by one or other of the great syndicates was announced in the course of the year. In view of this danger, the *Spectator*, in the course of the year, following the example set by *The Times* some years previously, ensured to itself by charter full liberty of expression whatever should be its ownership, and a similar step was taken by the *Economist* when in July it was acquired along with other financial journals by a newspaper merger.

During the five months or so preceding Easter a considerable number of bye-elections had taken place which between them afforded a certain index to the state of political opinion in the country. The Conservatives lost a number of seats, and in nearly all the elections the Conservative vote was reduced more or less heavily, yet not by a greater proportion (it was claimed) than could be reckoned normal for a party entering on the fourth year of its enjoyment of power. There was in fact no sign of a landslide away from the Government such as the Opposition had been hoping for, and indeed thought themselves entitled to expect in view of what they considered the Government's many and conspicuous failures. In the earlier elections it was the Labour Party which chiefly made headway at the expense of the Conservatives, while the Liberal vote showed a slight decline. It seemed at one time as if the Liberal revival had spent itself, and Mr. Lloyd George was seriously perturbed. Soon after the appearance of the Industrial Report, however, Liberal candidates gained two seats and retained a third, and the spirits of the party were restored. The election at St. Ives, in Cornwall, which was won for the Liberals by Mrs. Runciman, was interesting as providing the first instance of husband and wife sitting together in Parliament.

At the Annual Conference of the Independent Labour Party held at Norwich on April 7, the Chairman, Mr. Maxton, took up the challenge thrown down shortly before to the I.L.P. by Mr. Snowden, who had declared its continued existence to be neither necessary nor useful. Mr. Maxton said in effect that the I.L.P. had a policy of its own distinct from that of the Labour Party—namely, to secure for all workers a living wage as soon as the Labour Party came into office. In a later discussion this idea was ruthlessly shattered by Mr. Roden Buxton, who warned the members that if they thought the I.L.P. could retain a separate political existence inside the Labour Party, they were doomed to disappointment; once in Parliament, I.L.P. members had to vote with the rest. Nevertheless he did not agree with Mr. Snowden that the I.L.P. had had its day; it still had the function of educating the party in Socialist and international principles, without, however, interfering in tactics and legislation.

A serious situation arose during March between Britain and Egypt. After his visit to England along with King Fuad in the

summer of 1927 (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1927, p. 53), Sarwat Pasha, the Egyptian Prime Minister, had entered into negotiations first with the Foreign Secretary and then with Lord Lloyd, the British High Commissioner in Egypt, for the framing of a Treaty which should put Anglo-Egyptian relations on a more permanent basis. A draft Treaty was actually produced in February, but on March 2 it was rejected by the Egyptian Government against the will of the Premier. The Foreign Secretary thereupon declared that the 1922 arrangement remained in force without modification, and on the strength of it immediately vetoed certain legislation which had just been passed by the Egyptian Government, on the ground that it interfered with the British obligation to keep order in the country.

Early in April the British Government received from Nahas Pasha, who had succeeded Sarwat Pasha as Egyptian Premier, a Note calling on Britain to desist from interfering in Egyptian affairs. In reply the British Government sent a strongly-worded Note stating that the four reserved points mentioned in the rejected Treaty remained reserved to the absolute discretion of the British Government, the four points being British communications in Egypt, the defence of Egypt against all foreign interference, the protection of foreign interests, and the control of the Sudan.

Great interest was aroused in industrial and financial circles by the announcement made on April 12 by Sir Alfred Mond of the formation of a company to be known as "The Finance Company of Great Britain and America, Limited," the principals being the Imperial Chemical Industries, Limited, in Great Britain and the Chase Securities Corporation of New York, a body which was said to represent the most powerful group of financiers in America. From Sir A. Mond's statement, it appeared that the chief object of the company was practically to place the technical and scientific resources of his firm at the service of American financial institutions for the purpose of industrial development in the British Empire and Europe. The scheme obviously possessed great possibilities, and the venture was regarded as forging a new link between Britain and the United States.

CHAPTER II.

THE BUDGET AND THE RELIEF OF INDUSTRY.

THE accounts for the financial year 1927-28 closed with a surplus of 4,239,124L, which was 2,799,000l. more than the estimated surplus. For once a year had passed without anything untoward happening to upset the Chancellor of the Exchequer's calculations,

and they proved to have erred, in the main, on the side of caution. Fortune had favoured him with a windfall of nearly 10,000,000l., produced by Estate duties in excess of the estimate. On the other hand, owing to the high level of the Bank Rate, he had had to pay nearly 9,000,000l. more than he had anticipated in interest on the floating debt. The amount of debt redemption had been nominally 69,239,124l.

Between the reassembling of Parliament after the Easter recess and the introduction of the Budget, more than a week elapsed, during which certain Bills were advanced a stage. In the Committee stage of the Annual Army and Air Force Bill (April 17), the Government afforded the Labour Party a welcome surprise by proposing the abolition of the death penalty for a number of offences. These did not include cowardice, and an appeal was again advanced by a number of members that this also should be made punishable by penal servitude only; Sir J. Simon (who had just returned from India with the Commission) moved an amendment to that effect. It was explained on behalf of the Government that the alterations proposed in the Act were not brought forward as a concession to public opinion, but because the Army Council had become convinced that they would assist the cause of discipline. The case was different with cowardice, which was to be punished not because it was wicked but because it was dangerous to others, and must therefore be prevented at all costs. The amendment was ultimately lost by 192 votes to 119.

In the Committee stage of the Women's Franchise Bill, an attempt was made by the anti-feminists to rob the measure of some of its sting by a proposal to raise the voting age for both men and women to 25. The Home Secretary derided the supporters of the amendment as "prehistoric," and in the division it only received 16 votes. The Labour Party, in accordance with its announcement at the second reading, tried to remove from the Bill the provisions extending plural voting to the new women voters on the same conditions as to men, and also to their husbands in certain cases, but they were defeated by 206 votes to 130. The Labour Party also saw danger in the possibility which the enlarged constituencies would afford to wealthy candidates of increasing their election outlay, and they accordingly moved that the maximum outlay should be reduced from 7d. to 6d. per elector in the counties and from 5s. to 4d. in the boroughs.

The Government did not take sides in the matter, though it announced that it would oppose any further reduction than that proposed. The part of the motion relating to county constituencies was carried, but that relating to boroughs was rejected by a very small majority. On the Report stage (May 7) attempts were again made to remove plural voting from the Bill and to reduce the maximum expenditure in borough elections, but they

were heavily defeated, and the Bill was then read a third time without a division.

At the very time that the Home Secretary was so warmly espousing the cause of women's suffrage in Parliament, there appeared in a certain magazine an article from Lord Birkenhead denouncing in the most scathing terms the intrusion of women into politics. The Prime Minister was asked (April 19) whether this action on the part of the Secretary of State for India did not contravene the rule he had laid down in June, 1925, forbidding any member of the Government to contribute paid articles to the Press on matters of public policy. Mr. Baldwin excused his colleague on the technical ground that the article in question was not a direct contribution to the Press, but was only a selection printed in advance from a book which Lord Birkenhead had in preparation; nor, in spite of the protests of the Labour Party, would he administer to him any stronger reprimand than by saying that he had at the worst committed an error of judgment.

On April 19 a Memorandum signed by members of Parliament of all parties representing constituencies in Monmouthshire and South Wales was handed to the Premier, calling his attention to the grave danger of the South Wales mining district becoming derelict, and urging the Government to take immediate action to prevent the closing of more collieries and to enable the coal-field to maintain its export trade. A week later a deputation of these members waited on the Premier in person, and laid stress upon the necessity of immediate assistance for the district. Mr. Baldwin replied sympathetically, but could promise nothing definite beyond what was contained in the rating proposals of the Budget, which had just been introduced; and he hinted not obscurely that in his opinion part of the industry might have to be sacrificed.

Mr. Churchill brought in his fourth Budget on April 24 in a speech which occupied altogether some three and a half hours in delivering, and was listened to with close attention by a crowded and, on the whole, highly sympathetic House. In presenting his estimate of revenue and expenditure for the coming year, he departed from the usual practice by omitting from both sides of the account the figures for the Post Office and the Road Fund, and only including in the Revenue side the surplus he expected to obtain from both these sources. On this account his totals were considerably smaller than those of preceding years. Expenditure, including Sinking Fund, he reckoned at 727,381,000l.; revenue at 733,683,000l. No alteration was made in the income tax, but increases in the allowances for children were made which it was calculated would benefit 600,000 taxpayers. The Budget contained further small doses of safeguarding in the shape of duties on buttons and on mechanical lighters; the object of the latter was not to protect the home product, which was also subjected to an excise duty, but to foster the British match industry

by curtailing the use of mechanical lighters. For the benefit both of the sugar refineries and of the consumer, a farthing per pound was taken off the duty on imported raw sugar and Empire and home-grown sugar. The only new tax of importance was one of fourpence a gallon on petrol and kerosene.

Mr. Churchill began his speech by pointing out that the surplus on the year's working was due not only, and even not mainly, to good luck, but to hard work. Immediately after the announcement of the previous year's Budget, the Government had begun an intensive economy campaign in all Departments, and upwards of 10,500,000l. had actually been saved by the Departments or recovered from them by the Treasury. Later in his speech he informed the House that from the time the Government took office up to April 1, 1927, the total number of Government officials had been reduced by over 7,000, and a scheme was in preparation which in five years from April 1, 1927, would effect a further reduction of 11,000, constituting 18 per cent, of the existing staff.

In regard to Debt reduction, Mr. Churchill pointed out that not so much had been effected as appeared on the surface. It was true that the record sum of 65,000,000l. had been applied out of revenue to this purpose, but the actual reduction was only 27,000,000l., owing to the fact that a great quantity of 3½ per cent. War Loan had to be converted at the beginning of the year to the higher rate of interest then ruling (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1927, p. 104). As against this, the Chancellor was able to make the gratifying announcement that foreign debt payments to England amounted to over 30,000,000l., thus all but covering the English debt payment to the United States.

Following the policy instituted by Sir Stafford Northcote in 1875 (but very soon dropped), Mr. Churchill proposed to establish a fixed debt charge for the interest for all the services of the debt and for the Sinking Fund, so that as the interest fell from year to year the process of amortising the debt would grow ever more rapid. He proposed for this purpose the sum of 355,000,000l.—as compared with Sir Stafford Northcote's 28,000,000l.—and held out to the House the tempting prospect of having the whole debt wiped out in fifty years, if this payment could be kept up. For the current year this would allow an appropriation to the Sinking Fund of only 57,000,000l. Mr. Churchill, however, found means to make it up to the standard 65,000,000l. from another source. He announced that in the course of the year the currency notes would be amalgamated with the Bank of England note issue—a natural corollary to the restoration of the gold standard. This step would set free for the Exchequer a sum of 13,200,000l., accumulated by the Treasury as a reserve against the possibility of future depreciation, and this sum, together with 800,000l. from other sources, he proposed to add to the Sinking Fund.

Mr. Churchill explained his comparatively modest estimate of the income tax yield—22,000,000l.—by a reference to the industrial troubles of 1926. He said that the Inland Revenue estimate of the business profits in 1927—which, according to the new system, were to be the basis of the income tax in 1928—although better than in 1926, actually fell short of that of 1925, instead of showing the improvement he had looked for. It was clear, he added, that the injury done by the industrial civil war to the means of earning the national livelihood, and the consequent injury to the national revenue, were very deep and lasting. After the current year, however, he expected that they would fairly turn the corner of recovery from the strike stoppage period.

In addition to providing for the State's financial needs during the coming year, Mr. Churchill, in his fourth Budget, sought to raise money for quite another purpose—for reviving and stimulating the country's industries. It was generally held—and the fact had been frequently pressed on the attention of the Chancellor of the Exchequer—that one of the chief causes which were hindering the revival of the great basic industries was the heavy burden of rates that they had to bear. In the case of agriculture this fact had already been recognised by the Government, and in consequence that industry had been relieved of its rates to the extent of three-quarters by various rating bills. Mr. Churchill now informed his hearers that the Government proposed to afford similar relief to other industries. To heighten the effect of the announcement, which would have been striking enough however soberly put, he couched it in quasi-military language. He said that at Whitsuntide of the previous year, profiting by what he had heard in the debates in Parliament and by counsel from other sources, he had proposed to the Prime Minister that as the concluding financial effort of the present Parliament he should try to form what he called a "mass of manoeuvre" in the shape of a sum of 20,000,000l. to 30,000,000l. a year for the relief of the rates, and that this effort should not be frittered away over the whole front, but should be concentrated upon the sector occupied by the producers in town and country. Ever since then all the departments of State had been at work and their plans were now complete.

What the Government proposed to do was to pass, first, a Valuation Ascertainment Bill, to enable a new valuation to be made for the purpose of de-rating; and secondly, a new Local Government Bill to carry out certain reforms in local government which were long overdue, and the principle of which would be larger areas and lower rates. If everything went smoothly, it would be possible for the first relief to rates on productive industry to be given in the rate payment of October, 1929. Meanwhile it was his business as Chancellor of the Exchequer to raise funds **for** financing the scheme, *i.e.* for reimbursing to the local authori-

ties the rates which would no longer be paid by productive industries. He intended to apply to this purpose the proceeds of the petrol tax, less this year by the diminutions in the income tax and the sugar duty. These, however, would be counter-balanced by the surplus of 4,000,000*l.* left over from 1927, which Mr. Churchill proposed to apply to this fund instead of transferring it to the Sinking Fund, according to custom. He estimated that the proceeds of the petrol tax in the current year would be 14,000,000*l.*, and in 1929 17,800,000*l.*, and that thereafter they would rise by about 1,250,000*l.* a year.

Having thus assured himself of funds, Mr. Churchill proposed to relieve industry in two ways—directly and indirectly. Agriculture would be completely de-rated, and industrial production to the extent of three-quarters. He estimated that the cost in the case of agriculture would be about 4,750,000*l.*, and of manufacturing production about 17,000,000*l.* Indirect relief would be afforded by reducing rates on railways to the extent of 4,000,000*l.* on condition that they made corresponding reductions in their freight charges for agricultural produce and heavy bulk articles like coal, coke, timber, iron, and stone. In addition, there would be required for the inaugurating of the new scheme of local government some three millions, so that altogether some twenty-nine millions would be required for the first year.

In concluding this part of his speech, Mr. Churchill warned his hearers that the scheme must be taken as a whole. The Exchequer, he said, could not be made a milch cow for local needs, and the Government could not give the needed relief to industry, unless in reimbursing the local authorities it put itself in a firm and secure financial position. They could not have the new reliefs without the new taxes and the new reforms.

Mr. Churchill's de-rating proposals were at once recognised on all sides as the most striking and original that had appeared in any Budget since Mr. Lloyd George's famous Land Tax scheme in 1909. They promised also to be scarcely less controversial, but with this difference, that all parties agreed in regarding Mr. Churchill's object as a good one, and it was only his methods that were called into question. By his own party his scheme was received, if not with enthusiasm, at least with satisfaction, if on no other ground than that it promised them a good rallying-cry for the next General Election. By the Opposition it was censured from the first as involving a great misuse of public money, and compared most unfavourably with their own plans for relieving rates. The general debate on the Budget gave the Government a foretaste of the criticism they were to expect. Mr. Snowden condemned the scheme—which he called "a half-baked monstrosity"—on the ground that it would give relief whether needed or not, and was based on no scientific plan, and he prophesied that the greatest benefit would go to the landlords.

Mr. Lloyd George was equally severe. He said that the Chancellor had chosen a thoroughly vicious way of relieving the rates on industry. What he really proposed to do was to place under contribution the vast majority of the people of the country in order to relieve a certain number of specific industries. It would be a relief not only for unprosperous districts and unprosperous concerns in them, but also for prosperous concerns in prosperous districts. It was a method which would lead the Federation of British Industries, the Mineowners' Association, and the landowners into the promised land, but leave the vast majority of the people in the desert.

On behalf of the Government, Sir A. Mond contended that if their proposals by themselves would not be sufficient to reanimate the depressed industries, they might at least have an important psychological effect by giving them a new spirit of hope. The President of the Board of Trade gave figures to show that in various industries, particularly cotton, the proposed relief might just make the difference between inability and ability to compete in the foreign market. Mr. Runciman affirmed that for the revival of the basic industries cheap money was as important as the lowering of rates, and he blamed the Chancellor severely for failing to make any effective reduction in the National Debt such as would bring about an improvement in the national credit. The Minister of Health, in replying for the Government, supplemented the Chancellor's statement by explaining that there were two sides to the Government plan—one to give assistance to industry, and the other to alter radically the system at present regulating the relations between local and national expenditure. He announced that the chief alteration would be the substitution of block grants for five years for percentage grants from the Exchequer to the local authorities, a system which would permit of districts being helped according to their needs, and so would make due provision for the necessitous areas.

Before the end of the month, the Chancellor of the Exchequer received his first "windfall," in the shape of a notification from the French Government that they had arranged to pay to the British Government in respect of the French war debt the sum of 8,000,000*l.* in the financial year 1928. In the previous year France had only paid 6,000,000*l.* on this account, so that the Chancellor was obtaining 2,000,000*l.* more than he had anticipated.

This gain, however, was immediately offset by a loss in another quarter. No sooner had the Budget proposals been published than the representatives of rural constituencies were inundated with protests against the tax on kerosene, an article which was still largely used in country districts for lighting and cooking purposes. A number of Conservative members took alarm at the outcry and urged the Chancellor to drop the tax. Notice

had already been given by the Opposition of a motion to the same effect. With characteristic audacity the Chancellor forestalled his opponents, and himself on May 1 moved an amendment excluding kerosene from the scope of the oil duty, asserting, in the words used by Disraeli in a similar case, that " he was prepared to accept guidance from the House of Commons." The House assented without a division, Mr. Lloyd George predicting that this was only the first step in the Chancellor's retreat. Mr. Churchill estimated that this remission would cost him 3,000,000l., but he forbore to increase the duty on the other oils in compensation. A Labour proposal to reduce the duty on these from 4d. to 1d. was negatived by 258 votes to 128.

In the further course of the debate on the Budget resolutions, the Government was at one point placed in an embarrassing position by the maladroitness of its spokesman. A Conservative member proposed that the excise on mechanical lighters, which had been fixed in the Budget at 6d., should be lowered to 3d., so as to give the home manufacturer an advantage over the foreigner, who had to pay an import duty of 6d. The Financial Secretary to the Treasury, Mr. A. M. Samuel, who was in charge of the debate in the absence of Mr. Churchill through illness, at first refused to accept the amendment. He was congratulated by Mr. Runciman on making a stand against the Protectionist tendencies of his friends, when, under the prompting of Mr. Amery and to the astonishment of the House, he changed his mind and announced his intention of accepting the amendment. The Opposition could not believe that the Chancellor would agree to this course, and pressed for an adjournment. After some excited debate, the Chief Whip solved the difficulty by inducing the mover to withdraw his amendment until the Chancellor of the Exchequer could be present. Mr. Samuel made no attempt at the time to justify his conduct, but it transpired later that he actually had obtained permission from the Chancellor to make the concession requested.

On the last day's debate on the Budget resolutions (May 3), Mr. Churchill's manipulation of the Sinking Fund was severely criticised by Labour and Liberal speakers, and it was pointed out that the fixing of the Debt service at 355,000,000l. constituted in effect a raid on the Fund for the next year or two. A Conservative member also, while supporting the Budget as a whole, admitted that the transference of last year's surplus to a suspensory fund instead of the Sinking Fund was " against financial probity." The Secretary for War, who on this occasion deputised for the Chancellor instead of Mr. Samuel, asserted that if Mr. Churchill had not maintained the Sinking Fund quite at its nominal level, he had yet reduced the Debt materially, and, all things considered, had kept the national credit in a satisfactory condition. The Conservative Party as a whole accepted the view of the Minister, and gave the Government its usual majority.

Learning that the Egyptian Premier intended, in spite of all British warnings, to pass into law the Bills to which it took exception, the British Government instructed the British High Commissioner in Egypt, on April 29, to deliver to Nahas Pasha a final warning that if he did not desist the British Government would consider itself free to take any action it thought necessary. At the same time a portion of the Fleet was ordered to leave Malta for Egypt. These measures produced the desired result. On May 2 the Government received from the Egyptian Premier a Note announcing that the objectionable Bill would not be proceeded with in the current session. The Note was considered satisfactory, and the warships which were proceeding to Egypt were recalled. In acknowledging the Note, the Foreign Secretary took occasion to warn the Egyptian Government that if the objectionable measure were at any time revived, or a similar measure introduced, the British Government would again intervene in the same way to prevent its enactment. He also stated that the British Government could enter into no discussion respecting the Declaration of February, 1921.

In the course of a debate on foreign affairs on May 10, Mr. MacDonald criticised somewhat sharply the methods used by the Foreign Secretary in settling the Egyptian crisis, though he did not pretend that any other settlement was possible. He thought that most of the reasons given by the British Government for objecting to the Assemblies Bill savoured of intervention, and would have been better kept out of print, and that the delivery of a virtual ultimatum and the despatch of warships were bound to have a regrettable effect on Egyptian public opinion, which would make negotiations more difficult in the future. In reply, Sir A. Chamberlain quoted from a message he had received a week before from Lord Lloyd, saying that the Egyptian Premier had asked Lord Lloyd to convey to Sir Austen his gratitude for the conciliatory and friendly spirit which had inspired a happy solution to the recent crisis, and renewing the expression of his keen desire to work in harmony with the British Government and to avoid future sources of friction. With pardonable pride, the Foreign Secretary declared that if Mr. MacDonald had conducted the negotiations himself, he could not have been accorded a more satisfactory acknowledgment; and Mr. Lloyd George also, at a later stage of the debate, expressed the opinion that if Mr. MacDonald had been Foreign Secretary he would have behaved exactly as his successor had done.

Early in April the British Government received from the United States Government official notification of the proposals which Mr. Kellogg, the U.S. Secretary of State, had a little earlier laid before France for a general outlawry of war. Realising the gravity of the issues raised, the Government took time to consider its reply. Meanwhile some indication of the line likely to be

adopted by the Government was given to the public by the Secretary for Foreign Affairs in a speech which he delivered to the Birmingham Anglo-French Society on April 26. Sir Austen Chamberlain said that while the Government would give sympathetic consideration to a peace proposal emanating from any source, this was doubly true when the initiative came from the United States. Such a chance was too valuable for any of them to let slip through their hands, and he could say that it would be the earnest desire of his Government to meet the Americans as closely and as nearly as they could. At the same time he was profoundly convinced that the friendship of France and Great Britain was an essential element to the peace of the world, and he recalled a remark he had made to a German statesman at the time of the Locarno discussions, that he did not propose to sacrifice an old friendship in order to gain a new one.

In the course of the debate on foreign policy on May 10, both Mr. MacDonald and Mr. Lloyd George made reference to the Kellogg pact, and urged the Government to accept it without reservations. The Government had by this time come to a decision, which was communicated to the House by the Secretary for Foreign Affairs in the course of his speech. He said that the Government, while warmly welcoming the American proposal, had required time to consider it, for one thing in order to consult the Dominions, and for another thing to make sure that it did not conflict with any engagements into which Britain had already entered. They had certain comments to make, but needless to say, their desire was to co-operate in the conclusion of such a pact as was proposed, and to engage with the interested Governments in the negotiations required for that end.

To confirm the somewhat wavering resolution of the Government, Lord Reading on May 15 brought forward a motion in the House of Lords urging it to declare its acceptance of the principles embodied in the treaties proposed by the United States. He was supported by Lord Parmoor, who was only sorry that Britain had not started such proposals. Lord Cushendun dwelt on some of the difficulties in the way of an unqualified acceptance, and gave the impression that he would prefer the motion to be withdrawn. The Archbishop of Canterbury, however, and other peers, advised against withdrawal, and Lord Cushendun, recognising that the motion had the support of the House, accepted it on behalf of the Government, after which it was agreed to without a division.

While waiting for the replies of the Dominions, the Government received notification from the French Government of certain glosses which it desired to make on the draft of the pact suggested by America; the chief was that each signatory should retain unimpaired its right of self-defence against an aggression, with power to decide for itself who was an aggressor. The British Government handed in its reply to the Kellogg proposals on

May 19. It declared the readiness of the British Government to co-operate in the conclusion of such a pact for the renunciation of war as was proposed and to engage with the interested Governments in the negotiations necessary for the purpose. This offer was made, however, not unreservedly, but only on condition that no essential difference should be admitted to exist between the American and the French standpoints ; and a great part of the Note was taken up with an attempt to show that there was in fact no such difference. The aim of the United States Government, as understood by Sir Austen Chamberlain, was to embody in a treaty a broad statement of principle, to proclaim without restriction or qualification that war should not be used as an instrument of policy ; while the French proposals, equally imbued with the same purpose, merely added an indication of certain exceptional circumstances in which the violation of the principle by one party might force the others to take action seemingly inconsistent with the terms of the proposed pact. In addition to supporting, if only indirectly, the French reservations, Great Britain added one of her own by declaring that she could accept the new treaty only on the distinct understanding that it did not prejudice her freedom of action in respect of certain regions, the welfare and integrity of which constituted a special and vital interest for the peace and safety of the British Empire.

Early in May the text was issued of the Bill mentioned by Mr. Churchill in his Budget speech for amalgamating the Government's currency notes with the Bank of England's note issue. The Bill, known as the Currency and Bank Notes Bill, gave authority to the Bank of England to issue its own notes for 1l. and for 10s., and placed upon the Bank the obligation to exchange its notes of 5l. and upwards into pound notes or ten shilling notes. In order that the public might not be inconvenienced by the transfer of the note issue from the Treasury to the Bank, it was provided that all currency notes actually outstanding should be deemed to be Bank of England notes ; the Bank, however, was to have power to give not less than three months' notice to call in the currency notes and exchange them for its own notes.

The second reading of the Bill was moved on May 14 by Mr. A. M. Samuel, in the continued absence of Mr. Churchill on account of indisposition. He pointed out that, as the gold standard had been restored, there was no longer any point in the Treasury being responsible for the currency ; and the Bank of England was the proper body to accept that responsibility, as it still controlled credit. He stated that the fiduciary note issue had been fixed at 260,000,000l., which was slightly more than the maximum of the previous year, but provision was made for enabling the Bank, after obtaining permission from the Treasury, to increase or decrease this sum in case of need. The Labour Party were opposed to the granting of these new powers to the

Bank until its constitution should have been made the subject of a careful inquiry ; and Mr. Snowden further criticised the Bill on the ground that the limitation of the fiduciary note issue might hamper the expansion of business. Sir L. Worthington-Evans in reply made light of the suspicions of the Labour Party against the Bank of England, and he also tried to persuade them that the Bill allowed much greater elasticity to the currency than they imagined. On the Report stage of the Bill (May 22), Labour members pressed the Minister to institute an inquiry into the constitution of the Bank of England, if not before the passage of the Bill, at least afterwards, and they were strongly supported by Sir A. Mond. The Government, however, took no notice of the suggestion, nor would they allow any alteration to be made in the sum fixed for the note issue.

The Trades Union Council at this time took an unusual step for the purpose of relieving the tension between masters and *men* in the Notts mining industry. In order to ascertain whether the movement to join the Spencer union was really spontaneous, the Council hit upon the expedient of taking a ballot of all the miners in the Notts district. They first induced a number of public men in the district to act as a committee for supervising the ballot, but the Spencer Union raised such strong objections that the committee withdrew. Nothing daunted, the Council determined to hold the ballot under its own auspices, in the teeth of fierce opposition from the Spencer Union, and in spite of the announcement of the owners that they would continue to recognise this body only. The ballot was taken on April 30 to May 4, the miners in the interval having been addressed by Mr. Ramsay MacDonald and other Labour leaders. The result, which was declared on May 5, showed how strong was the hold which the old union still had upon the men. Out of a possible poll of not more than 45,000, 32,277 voted for the Notts Miners' Association (the old union) and only 2533 for the Notts Industrial Union (the Spencer Union) ; and this in spite of the fact that the latter had a considerably larger membership than the former.

Emboldened by the result of the ballot, the Trades Union Congress asked the coal-owners whether in view of the figures obtained they would not modify their attitude towards the old union, at the same time drawing their attention to several flagrant cases of discrimination. A meeting between the two parties was held on June 25, at which the trades union representatives declared that a feeling existed that in spite of the assurances given by the coal-owners on March 21, the men were not being allowed to exercise freedom of choice as to their membership. The coal-owners thereupon renewed their undertaking and promised to call a meeting of the whole of the Notts coal-owners and report it to them, but they would not undertake to give official recognition to the Notts Miners' Association in the same way as to the Spencer Union.

On the vote for the Ministry of Labour on April 30, the Labour Party renewed its indictment of the Government for failing to solve the unemployment problem ; since the beginning of the year the number of registered unemployed had remained more or less stationary at something over a million. Inquiries were made as to the work of the Industrial Transference Board, on which considerable hopes had been based at its inception some four months before ; it was now admitted that it had done and could do very little. On the other hand, the Government spokesman was able to dwell with some satisfaction on the work of the juvenile training centres ; these had now an average daily attendance of 6,600 (5,000 boys and 1,600 girls) against 4,800 a year previously. The Minister reported that apart from the mining areas juvenile unemployment was not high. The debate once again brought out the fact that the one real remedy for unemployment was a revival of trade in the basic industries ; and for this the Minister could only bid his hearers look to the new Budget proposals for the relief of those industries.

The Government discovered at this time that Prince Carol of Rumania, who had been allowed to land in England on April 28, was carrying on activities subversive of the existing order in his native country. In view of the disturbed political situation in Rumania and in Eastern Europe generally, the Foreign Secretary found the Prince's presence in England embarrassing, and on May 8 the Home Secretary asked him to leave the country as soon as he conveniently could, without giving any specific reason. Prince Carol begged for leave to remain, offering to refrain from all political activities, but the Home Secretary was firm, and he left Dover on May 16.

On May 9 the Minister of Agriculture moved the second reading of the Government's long-expected Agricultural Credits Bill. The object of the measure, he explained, was to enable the fixed capital required in the agricultural industry to be procured at a lower rate of interest than was possible by any other method. For this purpose the Government had arranged with the great banks for the formation of a Land Mortgage Corporation, which should advance long-term loans to farmers on the most favourable terms on the security of their land. The Government would assist by providing a guarantee fund, by underwriting the debentures of the Corporation and itself taking shares, and by contributing 10,000l. a year for the first ten years to the charges of administration. The Minister did not pretend that the Bill touched the root causes of the agricultural depression, but he maintained that the provision of credit was a useful thing as far as it went. The Labour Party approved of the purpose of the Bill, but moved its rejection on the ground that it was inadequate for the objects which it had in view. Liberal critics were of much the same opinion, but thought that the Bill was capable of im-

provement in Committee ; and the amendment was rejected by 223 votes to 106.

On May 11 Mr. Buchan moved the second reading of his Dog-Racing Bill, which proposed to give local authorities control over the greyhound-racing tracks in their districts. There was a large attendance, which was in marked contrast with the usual scanty attendance at the debates on private members' Bills, and showed how widespread was the interest taken in the measure. Mr. Buchan said that his chief object was to prevent the growth of a chain of casinos in the country without any of the regulations applied to casinos on the Continent. The Home Secretary informed the House that he had received 1,600 resolutions in favour of the Bill, or something like it, and very few against, and large and influential deputations on both sides. He had consulted the police on the social effects of the sport, and had learnt from them that while there was much betting in connection with dog-racing there was very little by young people, and that there had been no increase of disorder or pawn-shop business. The Government was therefore not prepared to say that dog-racing was absolutely wrong, and left the matter to a free vote of the House. The motion was then carried by an overwhelming majority, and the Bill was sent to a Standing Committee.

In giving a survey of the work of his Department on May 15, the Minister of Health informed the House of Commons that the effect of his reducing the housing subsidy at the end of 1926 had been, as he had expected, to bring down the price of houses ; the reduction was 76l. in the case of the parlour house, and 80l. in the case of the non-parlour house. At the same time there had been a certain decline in the rate of building, but he thought that this was only temporary, and that a new period of activity would soon begin. He mentioned that the progress of reconditioning old cottages in the country under the Rural Workers' Housing Act {*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1926, p. 126) had been disappointingly slow, but consoled himself with the reflection that nothing was ever done in the country in a hurry. In the matter of slum clearance also very little was being done, and overcrowding was therefore still a crying evil, but it was satisfactory to record that since the war over half a million houses had been reconditioned every year in the slum areas.

In the debate on the Board of Education estimate, which took place on May 17, complaints were again made by critics of the Government that many classes in elementary schools were still far too large, that there was no sign yet of a raising of the school age, and that more nursing schools were badly needed. The Minister of Education, in reply, took credit to the Government for having considerably extended the school accommodation in the past year, and he described an important scheme which the Government had in hand for bringing elementary education into

closer relation with industrial life. The estimated expenditure of local education authorities for 1928 was 75,940,000L against 73,540,000L. in the previous year, but the Board of Education's estimate of the average attendance at public elementary schools was 30,000 less than in 1927—4,950,000 against 4,980,000—the decline in the birth-rate since the war having now to be taken into account.

An incident occurred at this time which brought the Metropolitan Police Force into an unpleasant prominence, and confirmed the apprehensions of the public—based on several recent experiences—that its liberties were not as well respected by that body as it would wish. On the evening of April 23, a certain elderly gentleman, taking a stroll with a young lady of his acquaintance in the neighbourhood of Hyde Park, was imprudent enough to turn into the park, and even to sit down with her there. The pair had not been resting many minutes before they were taken in charge by a couple of plain-clothes police officers who had been spying on them and had seen what they wanted to see. A few days later they were charged in the police court with improper behaviour, but the magistrate found the evidence against them so flimsy, that without hearing their defence he not only dismissed the case but awarded them 10l. damages against the police. The case attracted particular interest as the male defendant turned out to be Sir Leo Money, a well-known politician who had held a post in the Coalition Government after the war. The public was gratified to find that on this occasion the police court magistrate at least had shown no bias in favour of the police, and that the defendants had not had to wait for justice till they could lodge an appeal, as in the analogous cases in the previous autumn (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1927, p. 105).

For the police, however, there was in this case a sequel which threw their methods into a more unfavourable light than ever. Owing to the comments made by the magistrate in the Money case, the Home Secretary had instructed the Director of Public Prosecutions to inquire whether the two police officers concerned should not be prosecuted for perjury. In the course of the inquiry a police official called on the afternoon of May 15 at the works at which Miss Savidge, the young lady defendant, was employed, and asked her to accompany him to Scotland Yard. She did so, and there, according to her subsequent statement, she was cross-questioned by a police inspector for five hours in a manner suggestive of the American "third degree" methods, with a view to extracting from her some confession incriminating herself and Sir Leo Money.

On May 17, Mr. T. Johnston, the Labour member for Dundee, who had been acquainted with all the facts by Miss Savidge, asked the Home Secretary whether the action of the police had been authorised by him. The Minister replied that having

handed the matter over to the Director of Public Prosecutions, he had no power to interfere with that functionary, but he admitted his general responsibility for the conduct of the police. Not being satisfied with his reply, the Labour Party obtained leave to move the adjournment of the House, and Mr. Johnston then gave a detailed account of Miss Savidge's interview with the police inspector to a crowded House which heard with amazement and intense anger the indignities to which, according to Mr. Johnston's statement, she had been subjected. The Home Secretary admitted that the allegations against the police were "damning if true," and, taken together with other allegations made in the course of the debate, pointed to some rottenness in the constitution of the Metropolitan Police Force which made a judicial inquiry desirable.

The Home Secretary at first announced that he would institute two inquiries into the conduct of the police—one in connexion with the Money case, and the other in connexion with the interrogation of Miss Savidge. Finding, however, opinion in Parliament strongly against a reopening of the Money case, he dropped the first of his proposed inquiries, and on May 24 moved in the House that a tribunal, consisting of an ex-judge and two members of Parliament, should be appointed to inquire specifically into the action of the police in interrogating Miss Savidge. The motion was adopted unanimously in both Houses after a number of speakers in the Commons had urged without success that one member of the tribunal should be a woman.

Just about this time, the sub-committee of the Street Offences Committee issued its report on the case of Major Murray, one of the two men whose wrongful conviction for street offences had aroused public indignation in the previous autumn—so much so that the Home Secretary had asked the newly-formed Street Offences Committee to make a special investigation into their cases (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1927, p. 105). The sub-committee reported that the police had in several respects acted in a highly irregular manner—in fact, the Home Secretary, in view of their finding, felt constrained to offer Major Murray an *ex gratia* grant of 500*l.* from the Metropolitan Police Fund—and this circumstance still further shook public confidence in the police.

In May the Lancashire textile industry came dangerously near to a stoppage. Within a short time after the breakdown of the conference between employers and employed on March 5, each side again tried to put into effect its own pet proposal. On April 2, Mr. Shaw in the House of Commons urged the Government to institute an inquiry into the position of the industry. The President of the Board of Trade flatly refused, on the ground that all the facts which such an inquiry could bring to light were already well known. The employers, on their side, meanwhile

had formed a plan of action, and on March 30 their two associations again issued an invitation to the representatives of the operatives to hold a joint conference to consider the question of reducing the wages of cotton operatives and of increasing output. The workers this time decided to accept the invitation, simply, as they affirmed, to hear what the employers had to say. On April 17 a joint meeting was held at which the employers laid their proposals before the operatives, again asking them to submit to a 12½ per cent, reduction of wages. On April 30 the operatives rejected the proposals unreservedly, and matters reverted to the same position as at the beginning of the year.

Hitherto those employers who desired to reduce wages had relied purely upon persuasion and argument for obtaining the consent of the operatives. They now cast about for a stronger weapon. At their instigation the Cotton Spinners' Association took a ballot of its members on the question whether the operatives in the American cotton spinning section of the industry should be called upon to accept a wages reduction of 12½ per cent, under threat of a stoppage of work. It was known beforehand that there would be a majority for such a proposal, but whether a majority large enough to carry it—*i.e.* 90 per cent.—was not certain.

It happened that whilst the ballot was in progress the Prime Minister visited Manchester to address the members of the British Cotton-growing Association at a luncheon presided over by Lord Derby (May 16). As most of his hearers were cotton manufacturers, he took the opportunity to address to them some plain speaking on the troubles of the industry. He told them that the industry must set itself right by its own efforts and not rely upon the Government. He warned them that all parties would have to make sacrifices, and that in particular the employers would have to cut out the "dead wood" represented by the inflated capital put into the industry in the boom year 1919. He reminded them of the great partnership which had so long existed in the industry between capital and labour, and adjured them to think seriously before they sacrificed such a position. Lord Derby spoke to the same effect, saying that the way to meet their difficulties was not by a lock-out but by a thorough reconstruction of the industry.

The result of the ballot showed that the appeals of the Prime Minister and Lord Derby had not been made in vain; the proposal to reduce wages received considerably less than the requisite majority of votes, even in the American section, and the danger of a general stoppage in the cotton industry was for the time being averted. The employers now left the operatives in peace, and cast about for other means of reducing costs of production.

On May 21 the Government was asked by members of the **Labour Party** whether it intended to **adhere to the policy laid**

down in 1923, that wireless communication within the Empire should be retained under State control (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1923, pp. 84, 117). It had recently been announced that a merger had been formed between the Marconi Wireless Company and the Eastern Telegraph Company, and the Labour Party had taken alarm lest this should be a preliminary to buying out the British Government and bringing the whole wireless service under private control. They were in fact afraid that some step to that effect might be taken by the International Wireless and Cable Conference which had been recently called together by the Governments of Great Britain, Canada, and Australia to examine the situation caused by the competition between wireless and cable services. This was a prospect which the Labour Party could not view without disquietude on account of its aversion to private control of utility services in general, and of the evil reputation of the Marconi Company in particular. The Secretary for Scotland, who happened to be chairman of the Conference, reassured them by informing them that that body had only power to make recommendations, and that no definite action would be taken before the House of Commons was consulted.

In the House of Lords, as was to be expected, the Conservative hostility to the Franchise Bill found much ampler expression than in the Lower House. The debate on the second reading lasted two days (May 21 and 22), and only a minority of the speakers had a good word to say for the measure. Most of them were for downright rejection, although fully aware that such a course would provoke a conflict between the House of Lords and the country. The more prudent recommended caution; Lord Birkenhead pointed out that the mischief, such as it was, had already been done in 1919, when the franchise was first extended to women, and, with characteristic realism, he advised those who shared his own well-known sentiments with regard to women's suffrage to vote for the Bill, if not with enthusiasm, at least with "resolute resignation." The "silent voters" took this advice to heart, and the second reading was carried by 114 votes to 35.

The motion to adjourn the House for the Whitsuntide recess (May 24) gave the mining members an opportunity to ventilate the grievances of their constituents. They described the situation in the mining districts as pitiful in the extreme, and impatiently called upon the Government to propound some remedy. The Secretary for Mines did not deny that the situation was as black as it had been painted, but he would not admit that the Government was to blame; had it not been for the reduction in working costs rendered possible by the extension of hours, there would have been a still larger number of mines closed down and more miners out of work. For a remedy he referred his critics to the rating relief proposals of the Government; but as these were not to come into operation for another eighteen months,

the prospect of them did not bring any great comfort to the hearts of the mining representatives.

The Liberal Party availed themselves of the same opportunity to raise a debate on the state of trade, on the ground, as the opener said, that there had been too much facile optimism recently in the speeches of Ministers. The Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Trade admitted that none who had followed the trade situation in recent years could be satisfied with it, but the fact remained that there were parts of the country where unemployment was comparatively low, and that there were 500,000 persons more in work than when the Government took office. Mr. Lloyd George retorted that it was no use saying: "All is well south of the Humber," seeing that twenty million north of the Humber also had to live. Mr. Churchill, who made a welcome reappearance in the House after his indisposition, admitted that the matters which had been brought forward were very serious, and he promised the House that it would have ample opportunities during the session of coming to closer grips with them.

The most authoritative statement on the economic condition of the country at this time was contained in the annual report of the Ministry of Labour for 1927, published early in May. According to this document, 1927 could be regarded industrially as the "year which had made the nearest approach to normal since the war." It had brought to light problems which were "not merely residual difficulties of the war period" but "the problems of a new industrial and commercial era." Of these problems the "most serious was the continued irregularity in several of the basic industries, notably coal, iron and steel, cotton, and, to a less extent, shipbuilding, heavy engineering, and wool." There was, however, another side to the picture. "In spite of the position of the staple industries, the general employment situation" according to the report, "had sensibly improved. . . . Activity in other trades and in areas not dominated economically by coal, iron and steel, and cotton, was beginning to make its weight increasingly felt in the industrial balance of the country. The relative prosperity of the South and Midlands, which was manifest in 1926, continued in 1927."

The general conclusions of the Ministry of Labour were confirmed by some investigations made by the Board of Trade into the productivity of the country's industries. According to the Board's statistics, taking 1924 as the standard, the index figure for the production of two-thirds of the country's industries was 108.1 in 1927 and 108.3 in the first quarter of 1928. The increase had been most marked in the production of motor-cars and electrical machinery. Concurrently, there had been an increase of 538,000 in the number of insured persons in employment. The President of the Board, in laying these figures before the House

oi Commons on June 12, drew the concl was making progress, but in a somewhat j

On May 28 (Whit-Monday) the Prime annual review of the Government's record at a great Unionist gathering of over 70,000 people in the grounds of Welbeck Abbey, in the Midlands. He maintained that the Government, during its three and a half years of power, had been a faithful steward of the democracy, that it had more than fulfilled its election pledges, and that its industrial policy had been justified by the event. In the forefront of its achievement he naturally set the great provision of new housing accommodation under the auspices of the Minister of Health. He deprecated the charges of bad faith brought against him by the farming community, enumerating the various small but useful measures which the Government had passed on behalf of their industry. He praised the work of the Food Council which had been instituted in 1925, and stated that the Government was prepared to give it compulsory powers if necessary. He pointed with satisfaction to the great improvement since the general strike in the relations between the two sides in industry, and assigned part of the credit for it to the day-by-day administration and the impartial attitude of the Government. As far as it was in their power as a Government to alleviate unemployment and stimulate trade they had done so, but these were essentially tasks for the industries themselves. To the mining industry in particular he addressed advice similar to that which he had given to the cotton industry a few days earlier—to erase ruthlessly the uneconomic elements and reduce the industry to its proper proportions.

In May the National Council for Prevention of War presented to the Prime Minister a petition signed by nearly 100,000 British citizens, asking the British Government to honour its disarmament obligations by promoting an initiative for the acceptance of the 1919 standard as a basis for general disarmament. The Premier, in reply, said that British armaments had already been reduced far below pre-war level, and that Britain could not run the risk of further measures of disarmament if there was no guarantee that other countries would follow her example. The Council expressed disappointment at the reply, affirming that an initiative such as they advocated would put new vitality into the work of general disarmament at Geneva, without exposing Britain to undue danger.

In the Co-operative Congress which opened on May 28 at West Hartlepool, the working arrangement which had been concluded in the previous year between the co-operative party and the Labour Party (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1927, p. 60), was attacked on the ground that it restricted the political liberty of co-operators and was likely to cause disruption in the movement. Defenders of the alliance pointed out that the experience of the

past year had already shown the fears expressed by its opponents to be groundless. A motion calling for the rescinding of the resolution of the previous congress to enter into a closer working arrangement with the Labour Party was negatived on a card vote, by 2,465,000 to 1,470,000.

The second reading of the Finance Bill was taken immediately after the Whitsuntide recess, on June 5. Mr. Snowden moved its rejection, chiefly on the ground that the method of rating reform which it proposed was badly conceived, and would in the end succeed only in enriching the ground landlords. He also criticised the tax on petrol as likely to be highly detrimental to industry. The Chancellor of the Exchequer could find no better justification for the petrol tax than that there was no other source open to him from which to raise the money he required. He admitted that twenty years before he had been a strong supporter of the taxation of site values for the purpose of relieving rates, but in the interval that scheme had been tried and failed, and he therefore resorted to another method.

He was at pains to refute the allegation—with which Mr. Lloyd George was making great play in the country—that the bulk of the relief to be given under his scheme would go to prosperous firms which did not need it. He based his argument on some statistics of the Board of Inland Revenue, according to which the main industries of the country were divided into fifteen groups comprising about eight million workers. It was found that in six of these groups which contained the basic and depressed industries—mining, cotton, etc.—the ratio of rates to profits was 20 per cent., while in the other nine, containing the lighter and more flourishing industries—building, leather, etc.—the ratio was 4·6 per cent. The two groups employed approximately the same number of workers, but whereas the former would receive 14,250,000*l.* in relief of rates, the latter would receive only 5,500,000*l.* This, in Mr. Churchill's opinion, was sufficient proof that the bulk of the relief would go to the right quarters. The Opposition listened incredulously, but were not in a position on the spur of the moment to controvert Mr. Churchill's argument. Sir John Simon, who spoke for the Liberals, confined himself to pointing out that the proper way to attack the problem was by relieving necessitous areas and not industries.

As a corollary to the Finance Bill, the Government published, at the end of May, its Rating and Valuation Bill, which was to create the machinery for applying the relief proposals of the Budget. The chief feature of the Bill was that it separated for the first time the properties—or, as they were technically called, "hereditaments"—to be rated into various categories, distinguishing the agricultural, industrial, and freight-transport from all others, and instituting for these a separate valuation.

In moving the second reading of the Bill on June 6, the Minister

of Health stated that the new valuation would certainly take a considerable time, and that was why the relief proposals of the Budget could not be put into operation before the October of the following year. He admitted that the definition of industrial hereditaments, among which only the "productive" were to^{be} relieved, had been left somewhat vague in the Bill owing to the great difficulty of drawing a hard and fast line between productive and non-productive establishments, but he was hopeful that this would not give rise to excessive litigation. Public supply undertakings, he explained, were not included in the scope of the Bill, because they were monopolies, and there was no guarantee that relief granted to them would stimulate industry.

Mr. Snowden moved the rejection of the Bill on the broad ground that rates added very little proportionately to the costs of production, and that de-rating would do very little to make industry more capable of competing in foreign markets. He pointed out that the burden of rates on coal-mining, for instance, which was losing 1s. per ton, was 3d. a ton, for which it obtained full value in indispensable services, whereas the burden of royalties was 1d. per ton, for which it obtained nothing. Agriculture had already been de-rated to the extent of 75 per cent, and was worse off than ever. The people who really needed relief from rates were the small householders and shopkeepers, for whom the Finance Bill did nothing. Mr. Snowden proved to be exceptional in his view of the unimportance of de-rating, even in his own party, but subsequent speakers found ample scope for objection to the Bill on other grounds. The chief of these were that the Bill meant an undue postponing of relief, and the granting of relief on a wrong principle. In the view of the Opposition, the problem which ought to have been tackled directly was not that of the depressed industries, but of the necessitous areas. By choosing the former method the Government would benefit a large number of firms which stood in no need of help and leave itself with insufficient funds for giving relief where it was urgently needed.

After hearing the debate, Mr. Churchill stated that he saw no reason for making any alteration in his scheme, and the Bill obtained its second reading by 308 votes to 140 (June 7).

The Home Secretary, during the early summer months, once more allowed his zeal in harrying Communists to get the better of his judgment. On April 19 he stated positively in the House of Commons that Russian money was being used to foment and organise revolutionary action in England. The two Russian banks trading in the country, the Bank for Russian Trade and the Moscow Narodny Bank, immediately wrote to him challenging his statement and offering facilities for investigation. He accepted the offer, and boasted in the House of Commons on June 11 that the result of his inquiries confirmed fully the information he had received from the police. Against the Bank of Russia, it

was true, there was practically no charge, but it was found that three officials of the Moscow Narodny Bank had been instrumental in distributing nearly 30,000l. to Communist bodies between July 5, 1927, and April 20, 1928, and that they had utilised the bank for their transactions.

A question was thereupon put to him whether the transactions of the bank constituted an illegal act against the interests of the State. He was forced to reply that he could not yet express an opinion on the matter and that he was taking legal advice. Nothing more was heard of the affair, and the banks were left in peace.

On June 8 the House of Commons, by 225 votes to 84, accepted the proposal of the Budget to impose a safeguarding duty of 25 per cent, on imported enamelled hollow-ware for domestic purposes. The President of the Board of Trade described the report of the Committee of Inquiry which had recommended the duty as "short and convincing," but Opposition speakers maintained that its figures were utterly unreliable, and that in fact the reports of the Committees in general were not satisfactory. A charge was also brought by them that there had been a leakage of information of which members of the trade had taken advantage, but the Minister ascribed their action merely to "intelligent anticipation"—a defence that did not carry conviction with his critics.

The Protectionists, on their side, were no less dissatisfied with the safeguarding procedure than the Opposition, but for the opposite reason. They were keenly disappointed that so far only a handful of unimportant industries had been able successfully to run the gauntlet of the Board of Trade and the committees, and they were extremely anxious to quicken the pace of safeguarding. With this end in view, a deputation from the National Union of Manufacturers, on June 11, called the attention of the Prime Minister to the difficulties, the expense, and the uncertainty of the existing safeguarding procedure, which made many industries reluctant to submit an application, and asked him to substitute a simpler and more accessible procedure. The Prime Minister, in answer, would not commit himself further than to say that the case presented by the deputation called for careful consideration. The Minister of Health, however, speaking on the subject a day or two later, ventured to be a little more encouraging, and said that the time was coming when they could review the situation in the light of the experience already gained, and introduce changes into the safeguarding procedure which would make it more effective.

By this time the question of the Church of England prayer book was again ripe for discussion by Parliament. After the rejection of the first Measure in December, 1927 (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1927, p. 124), the Archbishop of Canterbury and his colleagues had subjected the prayer book to a further minute

scrutiny, and had made certain modifications in the alterations they had originally proposed, with a view to meeting objections which had been raised in the debate in Parliament. The feature, however, which was chiefly responsible for the hostility shown to the book, viz. the rite of the reservation of the sacraments, was left intact ; and the new alterations, on the whole, did more to estrange the Anglo-Catholics than to reconcile the Evangelists. When the Church Assembly, on April 27, after nearly three months of consideration, voted on the question whether the revised Prayer Book Measure should be submitted to Parliament, the majority in favour of this step was only 243, whereas on the similar occasion in the previous year it had been 384.

A motion that the new Measure should be sanctioned by Parliament was brought forward by Sir Boyd Merriman, the new Solicitor-General, on June 13. He maintained that the book preserved the Protestant character of the Church of England, and that the amendments introduced since December made this abundantly clear. He quoted the authority of Dr. Temple, a former Archbishop of Canterbury, to prove that Reservation was not doctrinally wrong, though as the law stood it was technically illegal. He therefore appealed to the House to sanction the new book for the sake of comprehensiveness, toleration, and loyalty. The motion was opposed by Sir S. Roberts, who called attention to the difficulties and troubles which would arise if the book were passed. He quoted a document signed by 2,300 priests of the Church of England, claiming that adoration was due to the Reserved Sacrament, and asked whether, believing as they did, those priests dared to obey the rubrics and restrictions in the Deposited Book, and, if not, how would the bishops be able to deal with them. He evoked loud cheers by asserting that the conflict really concerned the claim of the priest to interpose his office in the religious exercise of the layman—a claim against which the temperament of the Protestant had always protested.

The debate was continued for two days with vehemence but without bitterness, and—in contrast to the earlier debate—with a decorum which accorded well with the dignity of the subject. One or two speakers asserted from their own personal inquiries and observation that the rejection of the Measure in December had been welcomed in the constituencies, and that the agitation in favour of the new prayer book came almost exclusively from a section of the clergy, and had no support among the public. The principal speech against the Measure was again made by the Home Secretary, whose hostility to the new prayer book was not in any way allayed by the latest proposed changes. He insisted that in essence it was the same as before, and opened the way to the materialistic practices of the pre-Reformation period. A large part of the discussion centred upon this knotty theological point. Among those who on this occasion threw their weight into the

scale in favour of the Measure was Mr. Churchill. He admitted frankly that he did not like the new prayer book, but he recommended its adoption as the lesser of two evils. The debate was again wound up by the Prime Minister with a fervid appeal to the House not to endanger the unique character of the Church of England as both national and catholic.

The result of the voting, which was again heavy, showed opinion to have hardened against the Measure ; it was rejected on this occasion by 266 votes to 220, a majority of 46, or 13 more than in the previous December. Practically all the Liberal members voted against the Measure, and also the greater part of the Labour members. The verdict of the House of Commons was this time accepted by the Church as decisive, and no further attempt was made to revive the Measure.

On the next day (June 15) the House of Commons discussed the concluding stages of a Bill for stabilising Easter. The second reading had been passed in the previous session, when it had been stated that the commercial classes were in favour of the step, and that the Archbishop of Canterbury had declared it to be not in conflict with the doctrine of the Church. Opposition was, however, offered to it by a number of churchmen, led by Sir H. Slessor and Lord Hugh Cecil. In the Committee stage it was agreed that Easter day should be fixed as the Sunday after the second Saturday in April, and that the Act should be brought into operation by Order in Council to be approved by both Houses of Parliament. In the debate on the third reading Sir H. Slessor moved to insert a provision that before the draft order fixing Easter was made, regard should be had to any opinion officially expressed by the Church of England, the Roman Catholic Church, and other Christian bodies. This having been agreed to, he declared that the measure was now innocuous and largely impotent, and in this form he allowed it to pass without a division.

In the Committee stage of the Rating and Valuation Bill, an animated discussion took place on an amendment proposing that the operation of the Bill should be confined to necessitous areas (June 18). In spite of the assurances given by Mr. Churchill in the debate on the Finance Bill, Opposition speakers maintained that a disproportionate share of the relief under the Government scheme would go to the flourishing industries ; many of them referred to an article in the *Manchester Guardian* of the previous day in which Mr. Churchill's figures had been carefully analysed and their misleading character exposed. The Minister of Health, who spoke for the Government, did not attempt to defend his colleague, but opposed the amendment on the ground that it was not possible to find a satisfactory definition of "necessitous area." Mr. Lloyd George made light of the objection, reminding the Minister that he himself had suggested such a definition four or five years previously when speaking **for** a deputation which

urged the Government to come to the relief of necessitous areas. Sir Kingsley Wood replied that the question was irrelevant, as it was no less important to increase the operations of the prosperous and well-managed concerns than those of others. The amendment was finally rejected by a large majority, as were also others which sought to omit agriculture and freights from the operation of the Bill. In further discussion on the same clause, Mr. Chamberlain remarked that some of those who objected to relief being given to flourishing industries seemed to have a "prosperity complex," to which one member replied that it would be more correct to describe some of them as having a "distress complex," due to the conditions in the districts which they represented.

On June 19 the Speaker, Mr. Whitley, formally laid down his office, after holding it for seven years. He had announced his intention to do so some weeks previously, assigning as his reason that the duties of the office, which, as he said, did not grow lighter as the years passed on, were commencing to overtax his strength. Mr. Whitley's retirement was accepted with genuine regret by members of all parties, including the Communist, Mr. Saklatvala, who, to the general surprise and gratification, added his tribute to those of the party leaders. The House of Commons testified its appreciation of the retiring Speaker by passing unanimously two motions—one, thanking him for his distinguished services in the Chair, and the other praying the King to confer upon him some signal mark of royal favour, and pledging the House to defray any expense that might be so incurred. On the next day, Captain Fitzroy, who had for some years been Deputy Chairman of Ways and Means, was unanimously elected in Mr. Whitley's place. Mr. Hope, the Chairman of Ways and Means, did not seek the office of Speaker, knowing that he was not *persona grata* with the Labour Party, but he retained his existing office. Mr. Dennis Herbert became Deputy Chairman of Committees in succession to Captain Fitzroy.

In accordance with custom, the King offered a peerage to the retiring Speaker, but, unlike all his predecessors, Mr. Whitley declined the honour. On June 27 the Prime Minister, likewise in accordance with precedent, moved in the House of Commons that the retiring Speaker should be granted a pension of 4,000l. a year. The Labour Party considered that in view of the unemployment and destitution prevailing in the country, this sum was far too high, and moved that it should be reduced to 1,000l. a year. Mr. Baldwin, while admitting that the action of the Labour Party was taken purely on principle, declared it to be regrettable, because the Speaker was, along with the Prime Minister, almost the only man in politics who was completely debarred from entering into any kind of business, and it was therefore only right that he should be enabled to maintain a position of dignity without any anxiety as to his future. One or two speakers

roundly declared the Labour solicitude for the poor to be hypocritical, while Mr. Saklatvala, with his usual faculty for embarrassing the Labour Party, tried to construe their proposal into a pledge that Labour members when they got into office would not take more than 2,000l. a year. The amendment was ultimately rejected by 224 votes to 103.

In the House of Lords on June 19 Lord Cecil called attention to the latest failure of a disarmament committee to achieve any positive results at Geneva, and brought forward a motion that it was desirable that the Preparatory Commission for the Reduction and Limitation of Armaments should meet again as soon as possible. He pointed out that no real progress had been made in the direction of disarmament since the spring of the previous year, and expressed regret at the uniformly negative attitude taken up on the question by the British Government. Lord Cushendun said that he shared Lord Cecil's disappointment at the lack of progress at Geneva, but he denied that anyone was to blame, and he repudiated the suggestion that Britain was obstructive. Disagreements, he said, were so deep-rooted that it was impossible to expect to arrive at any useful decision except by very great patience and perseverance. He did not, however, oppose the motion, which was ultimately agreed to.

When the Estimates for the Mines Department were submitted, on June 21, a number of members took the opportunity to call attention forcibly to the troubles of the coal industry. The Secretary for Mines was severely taken to task by a Labour member, Mr. Hall, for having, in submitting the Vote, dealt purely with the administrative work of his Department, and made no mention of the economic side of the industry, as if all were well in this sphere. Yet the opposite was the case : since 1925 1,112 mines out of 3,000 in the country had been closed, and there were now 290,000 fewer coal-miners employed than in 1924. The decline, too, was still continuing : for the first five months of the current year the export trade was down by 1,800,000 tons, as compared with the previous year, and the value had fallen by over 5,000,000l. Lord Cavendish-Bentinck, a Conservative member, dwelt strongly upon the sufferings of the mining population, saying that he would have felt less than human if he did not ask the Government to pay very much more attention to these problems than they were doing at present. Mr. Hartshorn was deeply pessimistic. Even good pits, he said, were being closed, and employers were living on their capital and exhausting their resources. He prophesied that the result of the Government's "do nothing" policy would be an overwhelming disaster. A number of speakers referred to the "six-counties scheme"—a kind of amalgamation formed in the previous winter by the coal-owners of Nottinghamshire and the neighbouring counties—but did not see in it much hope for the industry as a whole. Mr.

Runciman mentioned certain directions in which research might be of great benefit to the industry, and urged the Government to subsidise such research. The President of the Board of Trade, however, was of opinion that the Government was supporting the industry sufficiently by the remissions of rates and railway rates which they were now proposing, and he could contribute nothing further to a solution of its problems than to urge the coal-owners to concentrate production in the most efficient pits.

After the Rating and Valuation Bill had been debated in Committee for four days, the Prime Minister on June 28 moved a " guillotine " resolution to restrict further discussion on it to five days—three for the Committee stage, and two for the Report and third reading. The Labour Party protested that more time was required to discuss adequately a measure of such complexity and importance. Mr. Chamberlain, in reply, did not pretend that the discussion so far had been in any way frivolous, but he laid stress on the need for getting the bill passed at the earliest possible moment in order that they might be able to proceed with their de-rating scheme. Labour members expressed their willingness to curtail their holiday if necessary, but the Minister ignored the suggestion, and the resolution was passed. With the aid of the " guillotine " the Bill ultimately secured its third reading on July 17 with only a few alterations of minor importance.

In the course of the debates on the Bill, complaints were frequently made by Opposition speakers that they were discussing the subject somewhat in the dark, as they did not yet know the precise way in which the Government intended to apply the money which it was setting aside for the relief of rates. This defect was to some extent remedied by the publication on June 29 of a White Paper setting forth the Government's proposals " for reform in local government and in the relations between the Exchequer and the local authorities." It appeared that the Government was aiming at two things—to alter the machinery for the administration of relief and of highways, at any rate in counties and county boroughs, and to relieve the burden of local rates. In regard to the former object, it proposed to make the counties and county boroughs the units of administration instead of the bodies, such as boards of guardians and highway boards, which were at present entrusted with such functions. For the relief of rates—or, more strictly speaking, in compensation for the loss caused by the remission of rates, and the withdrawal of certain grants—annual block grants were to be made by the Exchequer to the counties and county boroughs. It was intended ultimately to fix these block grants according to a formula based on the general characteristics of the district, such as the percentage of children under five years of age, the amount of unemployment, and the rateable value per head of the population. It was thought, however, that too great a disturbance would be caused by a complete allocation

on this basis at one step ; and it was therefore proposed for the next five years to base only 25 per cent, of the grant on this formula, and to make the remaining 75 per cent, equivalent to the loss of rates and grants such as this would have been in the year 1928-29, supposing that the Government's de-rating proposals and its new valuation scheme had been in operation in that year.

The House of Commons passed the concluding stages of the Shop Hours Bill (v. p. 29) on June 29. On the Report stage Labour members tried to secure the extension of the early closing regulations to confectionery shops, which under the Bill were still allowed to keep open till 9.30 or 10 P.M. They were plainly told by members of the other side that if they persisted in their attempt, the Bill would be "talked out." Sooner than jeopardise the rest of the Bill, of which they were strongly in favour, they withdrew their amendment, and allowed the Bill to go through in its original form.

The "drift to the right" which had been so strongly manifested in the course of the year by the official heads of the Labour Party and the trade unions produced in the summer a reaction which for a time threatened to impair the unity of both bodies. After continuously flouting and vilifying their leaders for many months, two of the most prominent "left-wing" spokesmen in the Parliamentary Labour Party and the Trades Union Council respectively, Messrs. J. Maxton and A. J. Cook, on June 21, published jointly in the *Forward* and the *Labour Leader*—the two Labour "left wing" weeklies—a manifesto which heralded an active campaign against them. They asserted that the Labour movement had drifted away from the principles of its founders, and was no longer concentrating its energies on fighting capitalism, but was on the contrary trying to sink the differences between socialism and capitalism. They expressed the opinion that this change was destroying the fighting spirit in the Labour Party, and they came out openly to challenge it. With this object in view, they announced their intention of combining to carry through a series of conferences and meetings at which the rank and file throughout the country would be given the opportunity of stating whether they accepted the new outlook or wished to remain true to the spirit and the ideals which animated the early pioneers.

Messrs. Maxton and Cook commenced their campaign with two meetings in Glasgow on July 8. They drew large audiences, but their effort to obtain pledges in support of their movement was not highly successful. The Scottish I.L.P. also, while expressing agreement with the spirit and purpose of their manifesto, did not favour their plan of undertaking an independent campaign, and Mr. Maxton announced that he would hold no **more** meetings in Scotland. On July 19 the Parliamentary **Labour** Party, after hearing explanations from Messrs. Maxton

and Wheatley, passed a resolution censuring those members who criticised the party outside. Nothing daunted, Mr. Maxton continued his campaign, and appealed to the Socialist public for 100,000 shillings.

Shortly after the issue of the Cook-Maxton manifesto a trial of strength took place between the supporters and the opponents of the "Mond Conference," with the result that the latter were heavily defeated. On June 26, at a meeting of the Trades Union Congress General Council, which had before it a draft report of the Conference, Mr. Hicks—the very man to whose suggestion the Conference owed its origin—moved that the conversations of the trade union representatives with the "Mond" group of employers should be discontinued, as having reached the limit of their usefulness. Mr. Hicks's motion was seconded by Mr. Cook, but it received only 6 votes, against 18 on the other side. By 18 votes to 4 the meeting also decided to accept the recommendations of the sub-committee of the Mond-Turner Conference, and to submit them, along with the previously agreed memoranda on trade union recognition and victimisation, to the annual conference of the Trades Union Congress in September.

On July 4 the Mond Conference held a full meeting—the first since January 12—to consider a report embodying the results of five months' work of its various sub-committees. To judge from the report, the experiment of forming the Conference had justified itself; the employers and the trade unionists had been able to agree on a number of recommendations of considerable importance for the future of industry. From the point of view of the workers, it was of importance that the employers in the Conference should have recognised unequivocally that the Trades Union Congress was the most effective organisation, and the only one possessing any authority, for discussing and negotiating on all questions relating to the entire field of industrial organisation, and that in individual industries co-operation could best be obtained by negotiations with accredited representatives of affiliated unions or unions recognised by the Trades Union Congress General Council as *bona fide*. It was important for the employers that the trade unionists should equally have recognised the benefits of "rationalisation," even with the qualification that in applying it care should be taken not to injure the interests of the workers by displacing labour or making the conditions of work more arduous. For both sides also it was something that victimisation, whether of workers or of employers, should be condemned.

Where the report broke new ground was principally in the suggestion that a National Industrial Council should be constituted, consisting on the one hand of the members of the General Council of the Trades Union Congress, and on the other hand of an equal number of representatives of the employers nominated by the Federation of British Industries and the National Confederation

of Employers' Associations. The main functions of this body would be to hold regular quarterly meetings for general consultation on industrial questions, and to establish and direct machinery for continuous investigation into industrial problems. It was also to serve indirectly for the prevention of industrial disputes, a problem to which the Conference devoted special attention. The report fully recognised the value of the machinery already existing for this purpose, but pointed out that this machinery had failed to act on certain notable occasions in the last few years, and therefore something additional was required. For this purpose it was suggested that a Standing Committee of the National Council, representing both sides equally, should act as the elective and executive authority for the provision of Joint Conciliation Boards whenever applied to by either party to an industrial dispute, such Boards to investigate and report to the parties and to the Joint Standing Committee. All idea of compulsory arbitration was ruled out by both sides.

In moving the adoption of the report, Mr. Ben Turner, who presided, said that the resolutions on trade union recognition and victimisation would, if implemented, go a long way to banish the suspicion and bitter feelings left by the events of 1926. Lord Melchett—as Sir Alfred Mond was now entitled, having been made a peer in the last birthday honours—in seconding the motion promised that the employers' section of the Conference would take the necessary steps to bring the recommendations to the notice of the employers' organisations, and secure their co-operation in making the permanent machinery properly representative. Mr. Cook, as usual, opposed, saying that the policy of rationalisation, or industrial peace, was an acceptance of the policy of the employers and the abandonment of scientific Socialism. He alone voted against the adoption of the report, though a few more of the trade unionists abstained from voting.

A new draft of the American peace pact proposal, taking account of some of the objections raised in the French and British replies, was issued on June 21. The hope was now generally entertained in Great Britain that ratification would ensue at an early date. On June 29 the Secretary for Foreign Affairs assured a deputation from the League of Nations Union, which came to interview him on the subject of arbitration, that he was highly desirous to bring the treaty proposed by Mr. Kellogg to a successful conclusion, and expressed his confidence that such a result would be attained. The Government, however, proceeded in the matter with a deliberation which the advocates of peace found somewhat trying. On July 4 the National Council for the Prevention of War held a congress at which speakers of all parties urged the Government to accept wholeheartedly and without reservation the Kellogg proposals. Lord Cecil expressed regret that this had not been done already. He said he could not see

what they were waiting for, and he regarded the continued delay as most unfortunate. A few days later an attempt was made in Parliament to elicit the cause of the delay, but the only answer the Minister would give was that the Government must not be hurried in a matter of such importance.

The British reply to the American Note was eventually handed in on July 18. It stated that the Government accepted the proposed treaty in its revised form, and would be glad to sign it as soon as the United States Government desired. The British Government declared itself to be satisfied with the assurances given by Mr. Kellogg that the proposed treaty would not conflict with any of the obligations arising out of the Covenant of the League of Nations and the Locarno treaties, and that if any one of the parties to it resorted to war in violation of its terms, the other parties should automatically be released from their obligations to that party. Other points in the revised proposals, such as the invitation to all the parties to the Locarno treaties to become original signatories of the new pact, were noted with satisfaction ; but, as in the previous British Note, stress was laid on the reservation that the new treaty was not in any way to interfere with British freedom of action in certain regions of which the welfare and integrity constituted a special British interest. This enunciation of a British " Monroe Doctrine " had been completely ignored in the American Note, and no indication had been given whether the American Government accepted it or not. Along with its own reply, the Government also handed in the replies of Australia, South Africa, New Zealand, and India; the Irish Free State and Canada, having representatives at Washington, gave in their replies independently.

The House of Commons commenced the discussion of the Committee stage of the Finance Bill on June 25. Mr. Snowden moved the reduction of the petrol tax from *4d.* to *1d.*, not so much from dislike of the tax itself as in order to cut the ground from the Chancellor's rating proposals. Mr. Churchill, in defending the tax, admitted that some road transport companies had seized the opportunity provided by the tax to do a little profiteering at the expense of their passengers, but he hoped that competition and the pressure of public opinion would soon put a stop to the abuse. The tax, in fact, evoked comparatively little complaint, and seemed to cause no great hardship either to the users of petrol or the general public.

A discussion on the sugar duty (June 26) gave rise to a remarkable altercation between Mr. Churchill and Mr. Snowden. A few days before Mr. Snowden, speaking in his constituency, had declared the reduction of the duty by a farthing in the pound to be illusory, because the sugar refiners had already known of the Chancellor's intention months before, and had raised their price by the farthing which they had taken off since the introduction

of the Budget. He affirmed that the Chancellor had concocted plans with the sugar refiners to bamboozle the public. Mr. Churchill now repudiated the aspersion with some warmth, declaring that sugar prices in England had merely followed a world movement. Incidentally he gratified the Labour Party by admitting that the sugar-beet subsidy was a costly experiment the success of which had yet to be proved. Mr. Snowden, much to Mr. Churchill's indignation, refused to withdraw any of his remarks, saying that the reduction of the duty was merely spectacular, and was the first act in preparation for the Tory election programme in twelve months' time. At the same time, he added that he was imputing nothing discreditable to Mr. Churchill; he had simply been playing a political game, and might have played it successfully, had not the truth leaked out.

In the course of the same debate, the duty on mechanical lighters, over which Mr. A. M. Samuel had come to grief earlier in the session, was imposed in its original form, *i.e.* without a rebate in favour of the home manufacturers. Such a differentiation, Mr. Churchill explained, might have been objected to by Germany, from which country most of the mechanical lighters were imported. The safeguarding duties on buttons and hollowware were also confirmed.

In further discussion on the Finance Bill, some of the Chancellor's financial methods came in for severe criticism. His grandiose scheme of wiping out the National Debt in fifty years by setting aside each year 355,000,000*l.* for the purpose was described by Mr. Pethick Lawrence as sheer window-dressing which concealed the fact that in the current year, and perhaps the next year also, the real sum devoted to Sinking Fund would only be about 38,000,000*l.*, instead of the statutory 05,000,000*l.* Mr. Churchill was also blamed not only by Labour but also by Conservative members for breaking a well-established rule by taking from the taxpayer this year money which was not to be used till next year. Mr. Churchill, on his side, maintained that this was a case in which the end justified the means. His surtax arrangements were also opposed by some Conservative members as being a disguised addition to the death duties, but in this matter he had the support of the Labour party. Some Conservative members also protested strongly against the preference given to co-operative societies over private traders by the provision that their reserves should not be taxed. Mr. Churchill admitted the inequality, but did not deem it prudent to interfere with the co-operative societies.

A Labour member having proposed the repeal of the betting tax, Mr. Churchill, in opposing the motion, admitted that the tax was not realising the full results to the revenue which were expected of it, and that a good deal of evasion was undoubtedly going on. Nevertheless, it was producing nearly 3,000,000*l.* a

year, and although it was not working as smoothly as had been expected, it in no way burdened the productive energies of the nation and in no way affected its sources of moral or material strength. Without definitely declaring himself in favour of the Totalisator Bill, the Chancellor hinted that if that measure became law it would enable them to set their racing system on a new basis, and "put a stop to the incubation of a crowd of exceedingly undesirable citizens" who were vitiating the noble sport of horse-racing. The motion for repealing the tax was defeated by 182 votes to 126.

On July 4 Lord Olivier drew attention in the House of Lords to the reported intention of the Government of Kenya to alienate certain lands from the natives there, and called upon the Secretary of State for the Colonies to prevent the accomplishment of this design, in accordance with the Duke of Devonshire's statement in 1921. The Under-Secretary for the Dominions explained that the proposed action of the Kenya Government did not really involve any hardship to the natives concerned, and protested that the Government desired to carry out in its entirety the policy of the 1922 White Paper. Lord Olivier accepted the Minister's statement as containing the recognition of the principle for which he and others had been contending, but could not help adding that it had taken a needlessly long time to elicit such a declaration.

On July 7 the Labour Party issued a pamphlet entitled "Labour and the Nation," which laid down with some precision the lines on which a Labour Government would conduct affairs if entrusted with power after the next General Election. The document justified to the hilt the charges brought by Messrs. Cook and Maxton against the official Labour leaders in their notorious manifesto. The policy outlined was indeed labelled "Socialism," but it was Socialism as understood by Mr. Ramsay MacDonald rather than by Karl Marx, claiming as it did to be the legitimate development of political democracy by aiming at the overthrow of the capitalist dictatorship in which democracy everywhere found its most insidious and relentless foe. In pursuing this policy, the Labour Party, it was asserted, would be the agent, not of a class, but of all who shared in the labour which was the lot of mankind. The policy itself was described as one of peaceful transition, "without disorder or confusion, with the consent of the majority of the electors and by the use of the ordinary machinery of democratic government." A long list of legislative and administrative measures was drawn up to serve as the programme of the party at the next election. Nationalisation, of course, formed part of the programme, but it was to be pressed with extreme caution. The party declared its intention that the great foundation industries should be owned and administered for the common advantage of the whole community; and for

this purpose it proposed " without haste but without rest, with careful preparation and with due compensation to the persons affected," to vest in public ownership land, both agricultural and urban, coal and power, transport and life assurance. But it disclaimed any intention of submitting industries to a regime of bureaucratic torpor ; it recognised that different industries had different requirements, and that each must be governed in the manner most suitable to it.

The Committee appointed to inquire into the conduct of the police in the Savidge case had completed its labours by the end of June. While the publication of its report was being awaited, the announcement was made that the present Commissioner of the Metropolitan Police Force, Sir William Horwood, would retire in November, and would be succeeded by Lord Byng, a soldier who had distinguished himself in the Great War and had since rilled with great success for five years the post of Governor-General of Canada. The Labour Party in Parliament took strong objection to the new appointment, mainly on the ground that the new Commissioner, like his predecessor, was a military man, and to a lesser extent because he was already in his sixty-sixth year. On July 10 Mr. Snowden, on behalf of the party, formally called on the Home Secretary to cancel the appointment and to fill the post with a man who had been trained in the police force itself. Sir W^T. Joynson-Hicks, in reply, disclaimed any intention to militarise the Metropolitan Police Force. He stated that he had offered the post to members of the force and to civilians outside, but they had declined it. Lord Byng himself had only accepted it with great reluctance, and in obedience to the call of duty. The London police force, he added, needed not reconstruction but reinspiration, and he thought Lord Byng was the man to supply this. The House as a whole took the same view, and approved the Home Secretary's choice by a large majority.

The Savidge Tribunal in the end issued two reports—a majority and a minority. Both concurred in the view that the existing system was unsatisfactory and that reform was needed ; but while two of the members exonerated the police officers concerned, the third, Mr. Lees-Smith, M.P., thought that they had not shown a proper appreciation of the point of view of the ordinary citizen. This view was endorsed by a number of Labour speakers in the debate on the reports in the House of Commons on July 20. The Home Secretary contended that if the police were not allowed to make investigations in their own way they would be greatly hampered in their efforts to track down criminals. He pointed out that in two recent notorious murder cases where the clues were of the faintest the police had had to question in the one case 250 persons and in the other over 1,000 before they could bring the perpetrators to justice. Nevertheless, he recognised the force of the criticisms in the minority report, and he announced that he

was issuing certain instructions to meet them. The chief of these was that persons whom the police were about to interrogate should first be made acquainted with the nature of the statement required from them, and if necessary of the possible consequences to themselves of consenting to make it. The Home Secretary further announced that he was appointing a Royal Commission which would go into all the questions raised in the minority report.

In the House of Lords on July 26 Lord Arnold called attention to the very unfavourable reception given by the Press of the country as a whole to the majority report on the Savidge case, while another Labour peer, Earl Russell, declared that it had been regarded by the public as a piece of whitewash. The Government might have been thrown into some embarrassment by these comments, had not Lord Reading come to their rescue by stating that he had confidence in the chairman of the Committee, Sir Eldon Banks, who had for years been trying similar cases as a judge, and that he thought the Government had met the situation by the new regulations they had issued and by the appointment of a Royal Commission to go into the whole question of police procedure. After such distinguished testimony on their behalf, further explanations by the Government were unnecessary.

On July 12 the Postmaster-General reported that the total surplus on all the Post Office services was over seven and a half millions—the largest surplus ever recorded. On the telegraph service alone, however, there was a deficit of 1,289,000l. The continued failure of this service to pay its way was causing the Government some concern, and had been the subject of an inquiry by a special Commission earlier in the year. It was easy to trace the decline of the telegraph to the growing use of the telephone, but it was not so easy to find a remedy, and the Minister did not hold out any hopes of putting the service on a paying basis. Nevertheless, he deprecated the idea of transferring it to private hands—a plan which was known to be favoured by a number of Conservatives, including the Assistant Postmaster-General, Lord Wolmer, who a few months earlier had created some stir by declaring openly that he favoured private enterprise for the Post Office, an indiscretion for which he was mildly rebuked by the Prime Minister.

On June 28 the Joint Parliamentary Committee which had been considering the Bills for empowering the railway companies to provide transport services by road, reported in favour of the proposal in respect of all the companies applying except the Metropolitan. The Committee, however, added certain conditions, the chief of which were that the London traffic area should be excluded from the operation of the Bills, and that full protection should be given to municipal tramway and omnibus undertakings within their own municipal boundaries. When one of the Bills came before the House of Commons for the report stage

on July 12, Labour members made a determined attempt to secure the same protection for municipal undertakings even outside the municipal boundaries, but the Minister of Transport set his face against the proposal, and it was defeated. The recommendations of the Committee were thereupon adopted. In the House of Lords a week later the Road Transport Bills obtained their second reading without a division, but not before the railway companies had been subjected to some very candid criticism for their autocratic and bureaucratic methods.

A few days later (July 24) it was announced that a Royal Commission, with Sir A. Boscawen as chairman, had been set up to inquire into the problems arising out of the growth of road traffic, and to consider what measures should be adopted for the better regulation and control of the available means of transport in Great Britain, and also, so far as was desirable in the public interest, to promote their co-ordinated working and development. The item of "control and regulation" had, of course, especial reference to motor traffic, which was almost every week increasing in volume, and becoming proportionately more dangerous, more damaging to roads and property, and more nerve-racking to persons of sensitive dispositions.

On July 6 the Totalisator Bill came back to the House of Commons from the Standing Committee altered almost out of recognition, its chief new feature was the establishment of a Race-course Betting Control Board, which was to be largely under the influence of the Government. This rendered it all the more objectionable to the Labour Party, and they made strenuous, and at first successful, efforts to prevent it from being passed. Mr. MacDonald first asked the Speaker to disallow further progress with the Bill on the ground that it was no longer the same measure, but this objection was overruled. Labour members then introduced various amendments which were rejected by narrow majorities, and finally managed to talk out the Bill. As it had been introduced by a private member, this would normally have meant the end of the measure. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, however, who had taken a great interest in the Committee stage, was too much enamoured of it in its new form to let it perish in this way; and in deference to his wishes, the Cabinet decided to make it a Government measure and find further time for its discussion.

In accordance with this decision, the debate on the Bill was resumed in the House of Commons on July 18. The debate was preceded by a statement from the Chancellor of the Exchequer that if the Bill was passed he intended to reduce the percentage tax on bets and to double the fee for bookmakers' licences. He estimated that the changes would cost him 1,250,000*l.* on the Budget estimate for the current year, but he gave the House to understand that he expected to save as much by the prevention

of evasion through the use of the totalisator. After this the Bill itself had a fairly easy passage, the Labour amendments being this time defeated by substantial majorities. In the debate on the third reading, a number of speakers inveighed against the Government for its intended participation in the betting business—none more strongly than a Conservative, Major Hills, who foreboded no good for his party from its association with betting. The offence of the Government was aggravated in the eyes of its critics by the fact that on the very same day the Prime Minister announced that facilities would not be granted for the further discussion of the Dog-racing Bill (*vide* p. 49). which had just got through Committee, although this measure was known to have the support of the great majority of members of all parties and of all social workers in the country. As a Labour member pointed out, there was no money in this Bill for the Chancellor of the Exchequer. The Home Secretary defended the Government on the ground that its concern with the totalisator was to see that it was managed and conducted properly ; and the third reading was finally passed by 218 votes to 121.

In accordance with his announcement on July 18, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, on July 23, moved a new clause in the Finance Bill reducing the tax on course betting from 2 to 1 per cent., and on betting off the course from 3½ to 2 per cent. He said that instead of the estimated 3,250,000l., the yield of the tax had been only 2,000,000l., but he expected to maintain it at this figure with the reduced percentages. Other speakers ridiculed the idea that the reduction of the tax would stop the evasion, which by this time was highly organised, and there was general agreement that the tax had been a failure.

At the annual Conference of the Miners' Federation at Llandudno on July 17, the President, Mr. Herbert Smith, gave a melancholy report of falling membership and financial strain. They had now only 625,576 members, against 784,986 in the previous year and 957,610 a few years back. The unions had the greatest difficulty in paying unemployment benefit, and unless there was a diminution in the number of claims, steps might have to be taken to curtail payments under that head. Speaking of the Mond-Turner Conference, Mr. Smith said that he had originally approved of the action of the General Council of the Trades Union Congress in accepting the invitation of the employers, and the course of the negotiations had given him no cause to alter his opinion—this in spite of the fact that in the interval, as far as the mining industry was concerned, not much sympathy or fair play had been shown by the employers ; victimisation, in fact, had been the order of the day, and had been carried out in a very callous manner.

In the course of the Conference, Mr. Smith, as on previous occasions, showed himself a determined opponent of the Com-

munists and their methods ; at one point lie carried his hostility so far as to engage in a personal scuffle with some Communists who tried to interrupt the proceedings. The Conference was overwhelmingly on the same side ; by 620,000 votes to 8,000 it endorsed a resolution of the Executive recording strong condemnation of the Communists and the Minority Movement and their tactics in Scotland and elsewhere and pledging help to the anti-Communist section of the Scottish miners (*vide* p. 32). Mr. Smith also carried the Conference with him in his support of the Mond Conference ; a resolution calling on the Trades Union Congress to condemn the " peace in industry " negotiations was defeated by 309,000 votes to 191,000. In spite of this, however, the Conference again elected Mr. Cook, who had expressed uncompromising opposition to the Mond negotiations, one of its representatives on the Trades Union Congress General Council.

On July 18 Lord Arnold, in the House of Lords, made a slashing attack on the Government's safeguarding policy, challenging the Government to show what benefits the safeguarding of any industry had conferred on the country either by reducing imports or lessening unemployment or increasing exports. Lord Peel, in reply, mentioned one or two decaying trades which had been saved from extinction by safeguarding, and instanced scientific instruments and chemicals as industries which had derived an enormous benefit from the policy. The new duties had caused foreign manufacturers to establish a number of factories in this country, while there had been an increase in the number of persons employed in the motor, silk, artificial silk and leather glove trades. With these facts before them, lie thought it would be most unwise to repeal the duties so far imposed.

The attacks of the Opposition on safeguarding caused far less embarrassment to the Government than the efforts of their own party to procure an extension of the policy. Some two hundred Conservative members at this time signed a requisition in favour of discussing in Parliament the question of safeguarding steel and iron goods, and on July 16 a Conservative member asked the Government to give time for such a discussion. The Prime Minister had already received more than one request from representatives of the steel and iron industry to give them the benefits of safeguarding, but he had resolutely set his face against such a proposal, and now also he declined to give facilities for its discussion in Parliament. Notice was given that the question would be asked again, but at the appointed hour the questioner was not in his place. A few days later (July 23), an influential deputation representing the Empire Industries Association and a large group of Conservative members of Parliament waited on the Prime Minister with a request for immediate action in regard to the safeguarding of steel and iron and the extension of the

safeguarding scheme after the next election, but they also received no encouragement.

Some new lines for dealing with the unemployment problem were suggested in the Report—issued to the public on July 23—of the Industrial Transference Board, which had been appointed in January for the purpose of facilitating the transfer of workers, and in particular of miners, from districts or occupations in which there was no employment for them. The Board was of opinion that in certain of the heavy industries, particularly coal-mining, there was a definite surplus of labour over and above the requirements of the industries. This meant that there were about 200,000 workers who could not expect again to earn a livelihood from the industries in which they had hitherto been employed. In the opinion of the Board, however, it would not be impossible for the majority of these to be absorbed in industry by means of a proper "transference policy." Such a policy, which would need the co-operation of the unemployed persons themselves, the public and the State, would aim at transferring the workers partly to other districts and industries in Great Britain, partly to the Dominions, where there was room for a far greater influx of British immigrants than was taking place at present. The Board was of opinion that the compulsory raising of the school-leaving age, which was strongly advocated by the Labour Party, was a cumbrous method of combating the demoralisation of unemployment. It was also against the Labour superannuation schemes, on the ground of expense. Land settlement was also ruled out as a solution of the problem as being too risky, but forest holdings schemes were held to present good, if limited, possibilities.

On the day after the publication of the Report (July 24), Mr. MacDonald, in the House of Commons, moved a vote of censure on the Government for its failure to deal effectively with the unemployment problem and for its callous attitude towards the unemployed. The first part of the charge derived point from the fact that in the preceding three months there had been an increase of over 200,000 in the number of unemployed. The Prime Minister, in his reply, for the first time treated the situation as really grave. He admitted that his Government, like its predecessors, had at first diagnosed the unemployment problem wrongly, at least so far as the great exporting industries were concerned. They considered that unemployment was attributable in the main to the general upset of credit which followed the post-war boom, and they assumed that in time business would return to the normal, and on that assumption had applied a number of "tide-over" remedies, such as relief works, export credits, and so forth. When, however, things began to settle down after the upheaval of 1926, it was seen that this diagnosis, though correct in regard to most of the regions of the country, did not apply to the great exporting industries—a phenomenon

which Mr. Baldwin described as "curious," and as one not previously experienced by the present generation. In his view, the industrial development of the country was still going on, but the equilibrium was changing. To meet this situation he thought the right policy to adopt was that of transference advocated by the Industrial Transference Board. He recommended the Report to the careful study of members of Parliament and the public, and announced that the Government would try to act on its suggestions by encouraging emigration, by assisting workmen to remove, and in other ways. Apart from this, the Government would try to assist the coal industry by putting into force its de-rating proposals, so far as they affected the carriage of coal for export and for blast furnaces and steel works, on December 1 of the current year, instead of waiting till October of next year, as originally intended. The Prime Minister's hesitating proposals evoked no enthusiasm in his own party and were treated with derision by the Labour Party. Nevertheless, the vote of censure was defeated by 331 votes to 151.

The unemployment debate was adroitly utilised by the Protectionist section of the Conservatives to press upon the Government, by means of an amendment condemning the Opposition, their desire for a more active safeguarding policy, and in particular for the safeguarding of iron and steel. The Chancellor of the Exchequer received their proffered support very guardedly. He reminded them that England was still the greatest exporting nation of manufacturers in the world, and said that in the fiscal sphere they ought not to contemplate any fundamental reversal of the system on which the industrial and economic life of the country had been built up, though this still left them free to study and develop exceptional measures for the special cases of particular trades.

Mr. Churchill's discouragement of the safeguarding agitation gave great offence to a considerable section of the Conservative Party. Evidence was also soon forthcoming that he was not in this matter speaking for a united Cabinet. Almost on the next day (July 28), the Home Secretary—with a lack of discretion of which this was by no means the first instance—made a public speech in exactly the opposite sense. He said that before the General Election which was now approaching, the Conservative Party would have to consider whether it was prepared to extend the policy of safeguarding for the purpose of improving the trade and employment of the country—in particular to include the iron and steel industries. He said that they had shown the scheme to be worth trying, and that the old mouldy shibboleths of the Manchester school had been proved wrong.

The Opposition did not neglect to take advantage of so promising a rift in the Cabinet lute. On August 2 Mr. Alexander asked the Prime Minister whether either of the speeches repre-

sented the policy of the Government. Mr. Baldwin, who in the meanwhile had patched up the difference between his colleagues, parried the thrust by asserting that the Home Secretary's speech contained no definition of policy, but only certain pertinent questions, while the Chancellor of the Exchequer had stated less tersely but more eloquently the policy which he himself had laid down in his election address of 1924. Thus the divergences of which the Opposition made so much struck him less as a "conflict of testimony" than as another example of the "many-sidedness of truth."

These verbal dexterities of the Prime Minister sufficed to turn the edge of the Opposition attack, but did not allay the agitation which was threatening to make his party the prey of divided counsels. In order to close up the ranks, he addressed to the Chief Government Whip, on August 4, a letter in which he gave his party somewhat clearer direction than he had as yet afforded them in Parliament. In this letter he laid down distinctly that the main policy of the Government for the relief of industry was the scheme of de-rating initiated in the session now closing, and he warned his friends that the whole energies of the party would be required for carrying through that scheme. He thus definitely separated himself from those members of the party who sought to make safeguarding the main plank in the Conservative platform; and he associated himself with the Chancellor of the Exchequer still more closely by declaring that the party was pledged, and would remain pledged, not to introduce Protection or to impose any taxes on food. At the same time, he left himself a loophole for satisfying Sir W. Joynson-Hicks and his followers by stating that there was a possibility of their simplifying certain details in the safeguarding procedure, in such a way that no industry would in future be barred from presenting its case before the appointed tribunal. This was taken by the Protectionists as a promise that industries asking for safeguarding would not have to run the gauntlet of the Board of Trade; and Sir W. Joynson-Hicks wrote to the Prime Minister stating that he was fully satisfied with his letter.

The strained relations between the Government and a section of its followers were illustrated by the decision of the chief Conservative Whip, just before the end of the session, not to send the Party Whip to Sir Basil Peto, the member for Bridport. The decision followed upon the action of Sir Basil in pressing, against the wishes of the Government, an amendment to a Bill on naval prizes; but his real offence was that he was too staunch a Conservative, and could not, or would not, understand the trimming of the Government on safeguarding and other vital issues. Sir Basil obtained a strong vote of confidence from his local Association, and the Government, recognising that the Chief Whip had made a mistake, quietly pocketed its pride a few weeks later, and

announced that Sir Basil would receive the Party Whip in the forthcoming session.

As a counterblast to the Protectionist movement, a memorial, signed by a large number of prominent representatives of the textile, machinery and engineering, coal, iron and steel and other basic industries, was at this time issued from Manchester restating with great emphasis the case for Free Trade. The document, of which copies were sent to the Prime Minister, Cabinet Ministers, and the members of both Houses of Parliament, called attention to the report of last year's International Economic Conference, and urged the Government to support in every possible way any movement in the direction of International Free Trade. It condemned any expansion of sheltered trades by artificial support, as being secured at the expense of a contraction in the vastly more important export industries, and as being not a cure for unemployment but a cause of it. The general interest of the country, it said, required that the whole weight of British influence should be thrown at all times into the work of freeing foreign trade, and the Government was therefore urged to demonstrate its avowed adhesion to the report of the Conference by removing the obstacles to the free movement of international trade which had been imposed since the war.

The "change in equilibrium" mentioned by the Prime Minister in his speech on unemployment was nowhere better exemplified than in the case of the railways. Owing partly to the continued trade depression, but still more to the competition of motor transport, all the great railway companies had during the past twelve months experienced a great decline in receipts, and now found themselves working at a loss. To meet this situation, the Boards of Management of the companies adopted the novel course of taking the men into their confidence, and early in the summer they let them know that the financial position of the companies was serious. The men faced the situation in the same spirit, and at the annual Conference of the National Union of Railwaymen in June 4 Mr. Thomas prepared them for a call to make sacrifices. Shortly afterwards the companies made proposals for reductions in wages which even Mr. Thomas thought much too drastic, but after some days of negotiation a compromise was reached by which a reduction of 2 ½ per cent, was accepted on salaries and wages throughout all grades of the service, including those of Directors and managers. It was calculated that the reduction would effect a saving to the companies of from 2,000,000l. to 3,000,000l. a year, while the men, on their side, were able to preserve their "guaranteed week"—at least for another twelve-month. Mr. Thomas spoke with no little pride of the way in which the arrangement had been made, without compulsion or threats on either side, and boasted that it would form a landmark in British industrial history.

In the debate on the third reading of the Finance Bill on July 27, Mr. Lloyd George called for a new financial statement on account of the serious alterations which had been made in the original form of the Bill. The dropping of the kerosene tax and the reduction of the betting tax would, he estimated, involve a loss of revenue of about 4,000,000l., while the additional sum provided for the transition in local government, the acceleration of relief on railway freights, and the new provision for assisting emigration would mean an increased expenditure of about 5,000,000l. to 6,000,000l. Mr. Churchill reckoned the effect of the changes at a much smaller figure—not more than 4,000,000l. all told—and as he had provided himself with a surplus of 18,000,000l. and expected gains in other directions, he did not see any necessity for framing new Estimates. The third reading was ultimately carried by 249 votes to 84.

The British reply to the Kellogg proposals was discussed in the House of Commons in a debate on the Foreign Office vote on July 30. Opposition speakers, while welcoming Britain's adherence to the proposed pact, expressed misgivings as to the effect of the reservations made by the Secretary for Foreign Affairs, and warned that Minister that the test of Britain's sincerity would be her willingness to take steps in the direction of disarmament. Sir A. Chamberlain, in reply, resented the imputation that he had done anything which might wreck the proposal. He maintained that whatever he had said in his Note about self-defence was implicit or explicit in the American Note, while the British "Monroe Doctrine" which he had proclaimed was exactly comparable to the American Monroe Doctrine, and was a measure of self-defence necessitated by the geographical position of the Empire. As to the effect of the treaty, he warned his hearers not to entertain exaggerated expectations. It might mean much for the peace of the world, or it might mean very little. Everything, in his opinion, depended on the action or the attitude of America. If the American nation ranged itself behind its own treaty, then the signature of the treaty would be an additional and most effective deterrent to war, and an additional and most valuable security for peace. It was in this hope that the British Government was co-operating with the American Government in order to bring the proposal to fruition.

In a debate on the vote for Aviation (July 30), complaints were made that civil aviation was not making such good progress in Great Britain as in other countries, and the Government was urged to support it more actively. The Secretary for Air replied that the civil aviation policy of the Government aimed at making civil aviation self-supporting, and Britain was, in fact, getting nearer than any other country to making it an economic proposition. At the same time they were trying to diffuse over the country a knowledge of air stations and a general interest in

flying, and the Ministry had, in fact, created an immense demand for light aeroplanes, while the flying membership of clubs had been greatly increased.

On July 31 the House of Commons discussed for the last time a report of the Scottish Board of Health, as this body was shortly to be merged in the English Civil Service. The report showed that on the whole social evils—overcrowding, underfeeding, unemployment and disease—were more acute in Scotland even than in England. Scottish Labour members called for State assistance to combat the evils, but the Under-Secretary for Scotland could promise them little more than sympathy. He maintained, however, that on the whole a distinct improvement was taking place in health and housing, a hundred thousand houses having been built in the last few years. On the next day, in discussing the vote for the Ministry of Health, Labour members once more bitterly attacked the administration of the Poor Law as being harsh and inhuman, and Lord Cavendish-Bentinck complained strongly that casuals were treated worse than criminals. The Minister of Health, in reply, pleaded that he had often to strike a balance between what was called humanity and the interests of the community as a whole, and that it would be unfair to the community to give public relief on a scale which would increase idleness.

The Conference appointed to consider the question of the cable services reported in July, advocating the transference of the Government's cable and wireless services to a private company with State representatives. The recommendations of the Conference were bitterly attacked on August 2 by Labour members, who saw in them a betrayal of the interests of the State for the benefit of private persons, and also accused the Conference of having been subject to outside dictation. Sir J. Gilmour, the Secretary for Scotland, who had been chairman of the Conference, repudiated this charge, and maintained that if the Empire was called upon by the report to make sacrifices these would be ultimately repaid by an increase in secrecy, security, and commercial intercourse between various parts of the Empire. The Government had therefore decided to accept the report and put its recommendations into effect, being convinced that only in this way could all the necessary communications between the various parts of the Empire be maintained and developed without undue cost to the public. The Minister mentioned as an additional reason for taking this course the fact that the attitude of the other Governments concerned was generally favourable to the recommendations of the Conference, though there were certain points which they wished to submit to further consideration.

Parliament was prorogued on August 3. The programme of legislation outlined in the King's Speech of February had been

completed, and the Prime Minister was therefore at last in a position to realise his ambition of commencing a new session in November instead of February. The King's Speech on the prorogation referred to a new Commercial Treaty which had been concluded in May between Great Britain and Persia, for eight years, with annexes regulating certain matters at issue between the two countries. In regard to home affairs, it declared that the condition of the basic industries and the high level of unemployment continued to cause anxiety. On the same day over a hundred Acts received the royal assent, the chief of them—apart from the Finance Act—being the Companies Act, the Agricultural Produce (Grading and Marking) Act, the Shops (Hours of Closing) Act, the Easter Act, the Race-course Betting Act, the Agricultural Credits Act, the Rating and Valuation Act, and the Railway Companies (Road Transport) Act.

CHAPTER III.

THE ANGLO-FRENCH NAVAL COMPROMISE.

JUST at the end of the session Sir Austen Chamberlain fell ill with an attack of broncho-pneumonia, and he was ordered to rest for at least two months. Lord Cushendun, who had once been Under Foreign Secretary, was appointed to act as Secretary for Foreign Affairs in the interval. As Leader of the House of Commons, Sir Austen would in normal circumstances have taken the place of the Prime Minister when the latter went for his holiday, as his custom was, in the middle of August. Sir Austen not being available, Mr. Baldwin entrusted the task to Lord Hailsham, the Lord Chancellor, passing over both the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the Home Secretary—the former, it was believed, because he was not too popular with the mass of the Conservative party, the latter in order not to offend Mr. Churchill.

A slight but useful palliative was afforded at this time to the unemployment evil by an offer transmitted by the Canadian Government on behalf of the Canadian railways to find work on the harvest at good wages for 10,000 men from Great Britain. The British Government, confronted as it was with an increase in unemployment, accepted the offer, and immediately invited applications from unemployed men, preferably miners from the distressed areas, promising to assist their passage both out and home. In response some 25,000 men presented themselves, mostly miners from the distressed areas. Of these some 8,000 were allowed to proceed, after satisfying the Canadian doctors; the Canadian railways would not undertake responsibility for more. Before many weeks had passed a number of the

" harvesters " drifted back, bringing with them " an evil report of the land," and saying that they had been subjected there to all sorts of indignities and hardships. Their account was to some extent corroborated by statements despatched by Mr. Johnston and other Labour members of Parliament who happened at the time to be making a tour of Canada. The great majority of the men, however, found the conditions in Canada satisfactory, or at any rate tolerable, and a large number of them stayed on in the country after the harvest was over.

Early in August a material improvement took place in British relations with China. A new situation had been created in that country in July by the action of the United States Government in concluding a treaty with the Chinese Nationalist Government at Nanking. Sir A. Chamberlain stated in Parliament on July 30 that he was willing to conclude a similar treaty as soon as the Nanking authorities had made reparation for the outrages committed on British subjects in Nanking in the previous year (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1927, p. 29). When urged by certain members to make the treaty first, he pointed out that the American treaty had been preceded by a settlement of the Nanking incident, and he thought that Britain, in view of her liberal sentiments towards China, and her studious refraining from taking sides in the civil war there, deserved at least equal consideration. Almost immediately afterwards the Chinese Nationalist Government did in fact offer to apologise and make full reparation for the injuries inflicted on British subjects in Nanking on March 24, 1927, and to give an undertaking to provide British subjects with adequate protection in the future. A settlement was thereupon concluded between Sir S. Barton, the British Consul-General in Shanghai, and Mr. Wang, the Chinese Nationalist Foreign Minister, and at the same time Great Britain pledged herself to enter into negotiations with China on the subject of treaty revision.

In accordance with the undertaking given by the Home Secretary in the debate on the Savidge case, a Commission was on August 13 appointed to consider the general powers of the police in England and Wales in the investigation of crimes and offences, with various cognate matters, including the functions of the Director of Public Prosecutions. The Chairman of the Commission was Viscount Lee of Fareham, and two of its eight members were women.

During the week commencing August 13 the Air Force held manoeuvres over the South-East of England. The manoeuvres took the form of a mimic attack on London from the East. According to the reports of the Air Ministry, a number of the invading aeroplanes succeeded in penetrating the defences and dropping about 200 tons of bombs on London. It was admitted by all the experts that the mimic war had shown the attack in the air to be stronger than the defence ; Brigadier-General Groves, a former

Director of Flying Operations, drew the conclusion that in case of an aerial attack in real war London was too big to be adequately defended, and in a short time the vital points of the city would be in ruins, and gas would render the other parts uninhabitable. The reports of the Air Ministry and the comments of experts made a deep impression on the general public, and gave a great impetus to the movement for the abolition of war.

The report of the Industrial Transference Board, issued in July, had suggested as the best means for dealing with the unemployment problem that all employers who could should offer employment to as many men and boys as possible from the distressed areas. The Government made the most of the idea, and in the debate on unemployment on July 24 the Prime Minister had appealed to employers to come to the help of these men in the same way as they had found places for the wounded and ex-service men after the war. A few weeks later (August 20) he followed up this appeal by sending, through the medium of the Employment Exchanges, a letter on the same lines to about 150,000 employers, calling their attention to the suggestion of the Industrial Transference Board, and asking them to act on it. A number of employers, while sympathising with the idea, frankly declared themselves to be sceptical as to its practicability, pointing out that there was nowhere any shortage of labour, and that places could only be found for men from the distressed areas by keeping out local applicants. The effect of the appeal proved, indeed, after a few months, to be negligible.

As the first step for setting in motion the Government's scheme of rating relief, the Board of Health on August 24, in accordance with the provisions of the Rating and Valuation Act, instructed rating authorities throughout the country to commence without delay the preparation of preliminary draft lists of hereditaments which would be entitled to rating relief from October, 1929. For this purpose they were to supply themselves with a sufficient stock of forms of claims, and give notice to all persons desiring that any property should be included in the list as an industrial or freight-transport hereditament to send in such claim on the proper form before October 16. Railway companies, canal companies, and dock authorities were allowed till February 1, 1929. It was announced that no property would be included in the list in respect of which a claim had not been made by the appointed date. For the inclusion of agricultural hereditaments the submission of a claim was not necessary, as a list of these was already in the hands of the Government. After the sending in of the claims, three months were to be allowed to the local rating authorities to complete their preliminary drafts, then three months more to the Revenue officer to scrutinise the lists, and finally three months—from May 1 to July 31, 1929—for the Assessment Committee to hear objections and complaints.

The sixtieth Congress of the trade unions opened at Swansea on September 3, with Mr. Ben Turner in the chair. This being the "diamond jubilee" of the Congress, the Chairman devoted the first part of his opening address to a review of the changes which had been made in working-class conditions since 1868, chiefly as a result of the agitation of the Trade Union Congress. At that time, he reminded his hearers, they had had long hours of labour for women and young children, and unlimited hours for men, while early closing and half-day closing were unknown. The Compensation Act and the Health Insurance and Unemployment Insurance Acts were the children of the Congress, but the political midwives of the day had hedged them in with unsuitable regulations which it still required time, energy and organisation to mend.

The most important question with which the Congress had to deal was that of continuing the negotiations between the General Council and the Mond group of employers. The report of the General Council gave a prominent place to the conferences which had so far been held, dwelling with satisfaction on the results up to date and recommending the continuance of the negotiations. Feeling on the subject had been running high in the trade union world, and Mr. Turner, in his opening address, had complained of the "organised misrepresentation" to which the General Council had been subjected, declaring that never in his experience had there been such an attempt to distort its aims and actions.

To combat such misrepresentation, the Council had inserted in its report a closely-reasoned defence of its action, which showed incidentally the ferment of new ideas among the trade union leaders. There were, it said, broadly speaking, three possible lines of policy open to the trade union movement. The first was to say frankly that the unions would do everything to bring the industrial machine to a standstill, to ensure by all possible means the breakdown of the entire system in the hope of creating a revolutionary situation on the assumption that this might be turned to the advantage of the workers, and to the abolition of capitalism. This policy, said the report, had been decisively rejected as futile, certain to fail, and sure to lead to bloodshed and misery. The second course was for unions to stand aloof from the employers and fight sectionally for improvements, without making any attempt to shape the economic life of the country. This policy was also condemned as a confession of failure. The third course was for the trade union movement to say boldly that not only was it concerned with the prosperity of industry, but it meant to have a voice as to the way in which industry was carried on, so that it could influence the new developments that were taking place. This meant that the movement could find more **room** for an efficient industry than for a derelict one, and the unions could use their power to promote and guide the scientific organisation of industry as well as to obtain material advantages from that

reorganisation. In the view of the Council this was the only course which it was possible to take if the trade union movement was to endure as a living constructive force, and a very grave responsibility would have rested on anyone who refused to consider the possibilities of such a course, or neglected to take any opportunity that offered of pursuing it.

While the Council was preparing its defence, Mr. Maxton was providing ammunition for the attack. On the very day on which the report was published (August 25) he told a demonstration at Cardiff, which formed part of his "campaign," that it was not the business of the workers or their leaders to buttress up the dying remnants of capitalism, that, on the contrary, they should concentrate politically and industrially on bringing about its speedy death. Along with his colleague, Mr. Cook, he said, he asked the rank and file of the working-class movement to tell their leaders through next week's conferences that they were working on a wrong philosophic basis when they courted with capitalism. At the same time also, the National Minority Movement held its fifth annual Conference under the presidency of Mr. Tom Mann, and reiterated its unswerving adherence to the policy of the class war.

The adoption of the report was moved on the fourth day of the congress by the secretary of the Congress, Mr. Citrine. He defended the action of the T.U.C. in entering into the conference on the broad ground that it was the logical development of the efforts of labour to obtain a larger voice in the control of industry—a demand for the satisfaction of which they could not wait for the breakdown of capitalism. He pointed out that in conducting these negotiations they were bringing themselves into line with the trade unions of other countries, which had actually taken the initiative in asking employers to discuss the reorganisation or rationalisation of industry; and he maintained that it was a positive advantage for them that the employers were non-representative, as this enabled them to discuss matters more freely.

The Opposition, which included two past presidents of the Congress, Messrs. Swales and Hicks, adopted two main lines of attack. One was to question the legal right of the General Council to enter upon the conversations without first consulting the individual unions. A motion to this effect was brought forward by Mr. Brownlie, the president of the Amalgamated Engineering Union, but it was defeated by 2,921,000 votes to 768,000. The second line of attack, of which Mr. Cook was the chief exponent, was to denounce all parleying with the employers on the subject of rationalisation as not being "scientific socialism," and as a betrayal of the workers. Mr. Clynes expressed the belief that the interests of the trade unions were perfectly safe in the hands of the General Council, and he was supported by Mr. Herbert Smith,

who, in the name of the Miners' Federation, flatly repudiated his whilom comrade. The motion to adopt the report was ultimately carried by 3,075,000 votes to 566,000.

One of the most important acts of the Congress was to expel the Seamen's trade union, of which Mr. Havelock Wilson was president, for gross indiscipline. The union had in the previous year supported with funds the schismatic Spencer union in the Notts coal-field, and had refused to desist at the bidding of the General Council. For the better enforcement of discipline in the future, the Congress passed a new standing order empowering the General Council to suspend a union between Congresses for action "detrimental to the interests of the trade union movement or contrary to the declared principles and policy of the T.U.C."

The Communistic elements in the Labour world also received short shrift at the hands of the Congress. On the opening day it unceremoniously refused to receive a deputation from a procession of unemployed organised by the Swansea Communists. On the second day it adopted a resolution instructing the General Council to institute a searching inquiry into the proceedings and methods of the disruptive elements within the trade union movement. On the last day it rejected by a very large majority a motion brought forward by one of the few Communists who had still managed to find their way into the Congress, urging it to seek a *rapprochement* with the Russian trade unions. The delegates had not yet forgotten Mr. Tomsy's behaviour towards the Congress of the previous year (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1927, p. 87). In the election of the new Council Mr. Cook retained his seat, but by a narrow margin only.

Memories both pathetic and painful were awakened by a slight act of courtesy which the Russian Government found itself at this time in a position to render to Great Britain. In the course of the summer a Soviet salvage expedition had raised the British submarine L55 which had been sunk in Kaprosky Bay in the Baltic with five officers and thirty-seven men during the naval operations in 1919. When the British Admiralty heard of the recovery, it proposed to send a cruiser to Kronstadt to bring home the dead. The Soviet, however, would not allow a warship from an unfriendly Power like England into Russian waters, so the Admiralty sent a merchant ship to take over the bodies at Kronstadt and transfer them to a British cruiser at Reval. Naval honours were paid to the cortege by the Russians at Kronstadt and the Germans in the Kiel Canal. The bodies were interred with great solemnity at the Haslar Naval Cemetery, near Portsmouth, on September 5.

On September 24 the General Council of the International Federation of Trade Unions at Amsterdam elected Mr. W. M. Citrine, the Secretary of the British Trade Union Congress, as its president. After its quarrel with Mr. Purcell in the previous year, the General Council of the I.F.T.U., had on more than one occasion

tried to elect a British representative as president, but the Council of the T.U.C. had always objected. On this occasion, however, no objection was raised, and the controversy between the two bodies, which had arisen originally over the question of admitting the Russian unions, and had lasted for some four years, was finally composed.

The election programme issued by the Labour Party in July (*vide* p. 69) was on September 24 supplemented by a report on banking and currency policy drawn up by a committee of the financial experts of the party. The report complained of the tendency of Parliament to leave the regulation of currency and credit entirely in the hands of the Treasury and the Bank of England, though this was a matter of vital national concern, as was shown by the effects of the deflation policy pursued between 1920 and 1925. It recommended that Britain should implement the resolutions passed at the Genoa Conference of 1922 for the purpose of stabilising prices and exchanges, and should avoid making an unnecessarily large drain on the gold resources of the world. It protested against control of the country's currency and credit policy being left in the hands of a purely private body like the Bank of England, and urged that control of the Bank should be vested in a public corporation containing representatives of the Treasury, the Board of Trade, industry, labour, and the co-operative movement. It also pleaded for the extension of municipal and co-operative banks for the benefit of people of small means. Finally, it threw out a somewhat hesitating suggestion that there should be on the part of the banks a " qualitative " and not merely " quantitative " use of credit, that is to say, that different financial treatment should be meted out to forms of productive enterprise according as their uses were of social advantage or the reverse ; in other words, that dog-racing tracks, for instance, should not be given the same financial facilities as agriculture. It was admitted that this somewhat Utopian proposal broke new ground and required further investigation.

The Conservative Party Conference, which met at Yarmouth on September 27, expressed the fullest confidence in the Government and unswerving loyalty to Mr. Baldwin. It showed no resentment at the fact that the Government had completely ignored the insistent demand of the previous year's Conference for a reform of the House of Lords (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1927, p. 99), and contented itself with urging that the certification of money bills should be made by a committee instead of by the Speaker. The subject in which the Conference this year showed the keenest interest was safeguarding. A motion calling for the widest extension of the safeguarding of industries consistent with the Prime Minister's pledge was carried unanimously, nor could the conference abstain from adding a rider urging special

consideration for the iron and steel industry, though the Government hitherto had always frowned on such a demand.

The Conference both by its formal resolutions and by the whole tone of its discussions showed that nothing would please it more than that safeguarding should be made the principal item in the Conservative programme. The Prime Minister, however, did not allow his hand to be forced. In his public address delivered in connexion with the Conference he merely reiterated the points he had laid down in his letter of July. As a battle-cry for the next election he gave his followers the defence of Constitutionalism and individualism against the challenge of Socialism. The advocates of Protection in the party recognised that the Premier had gone as far as he prudently could, with the general election so near at hand, and contented themselves with putting the most favourable construction possible on his remarks.

Towards the end of September a three days Bishops' Conference was held at Lambeth to deal with the situation created by Parliament's rejection of the Prayer-book Measure. It was resolved in effect to treat the rejection as null and void. It was declared that the use of the 1928 prayer-book, which Parliament had refused to sanction, would not be regarded by the Bishops as inconsistent with loyalty to the principles of the Church of England. Only those practices would be banned which were consistent neither with the book of 1928 nor the book of 1661. This flouting of the authority of Parliament immediately called forth strong protests from the two protagonists of the evangelical standpoint within and without the Church—Dr. Barnes, the Bishop of Birmingham, and the Home Secretary. At diocesan synods of the clergy also the policy of the Bishops was sharply criticised, and at some—notably that of London—it was decisively rejected. A few weeks afterwards the 1928 prayer-book was actually put in the press for publication.

At the annual Conference of the Labour Party which opened at Birmingham on October 1, the Executive, as in the previous year, entirely dominated the proceedings. Mr. Maxton had failed to arouse any great enthusiasm by his campaign in the country, and at the Conference itself he exercised very little influence. He was deserted at the outset by one on whom he might naturally have counted, if not for support, at least for sympathy, the chairman of the Conference, Mr. George Lansbury, a pronounced and ardent Socialist. Mr. Lansbury in his opening address admitted that " he had spent most of his life as a rebel acting with minorities," but he now pleaded strongly for unity within the party, for acceptance of the decisions of the majority, and for loyalty to the leaders. He had chiefly in mind the Communists and those who fraternised with them, but Mr. Maxton also took the hint, and uttered his subsequent criticisms of the Executive in a subdued tone which greatly disappointed the extremists. In spite

of Mr. Lansbury's warning, certain of the delegates protested against the steps taken by the Executive to purge the party of Communists, but their motions to "refer back" certain sections of the report were defeated by overwhelming majorities.

The Conference at its third day's sitting (October 3) commenced the consideration of the document "Labour and the Nation," which henceforth was to be the authoritative statement of the party's aims and proposals. Mr. MacDonald in moving its adoption said that it was not to be regarded as a manifesto merely for 1929, but for the years to come, and that it was pregnant with programme after programme. Its great value was that it would make their conception of society clear, and present their endeavours to the electorate not as a mere patchwork but as a systematic whole, finely re-creative and constructive. The programme was criticised by Mr. Maxton, Mr. Wheatley, and other Socialist speakers, as being merely an attempt to patch up the capitalist system, and as bearing a close family resemblance to the Liberal programme. For the bulk of the delegates, however, the tincture of Socialism which it contained was sufficient, and, after some alterations in detail had been proposed and partially accepted, it was adopted by a large majority.

When the memorandum on banking and currency was submitted to the Conference for discussion on October 4, Mr. Snowden strongly supported the proposals for stabilising the value of gold and for transferring the direction of the Bank of England to a public body under the control of Parliament. He remarked *en passant* that he believed they would get their Socialism largely in that way, viz., through public corporations owned by the public but controlled in the interests of the public by the best experts and business men whose brains and capacity could be commanded. With regard to the other banks, he was *in principle* in favour of their nationalisation also, but he thought the time was not yet ripe for this. A number of speakers expressed disappointment that the memorandum did not recommend the immediate nationalisation of all the banks, but they were curtly told by Mr. Pethick Lawrence that they were completely ignorant of the way in which the finances of the country operated. The memorandum was then approved.

A statement on the financial position which the Conference received from its secretary, Mr. Henderson, revealed the great weakness of the Labour Party in this field as compared with the other two parties. Its total income during the previous six years had been only £410,000, out of which, besides maintaining the activities of organisation, it had had to finance three general elections. The average number of members of affiliated trade unions who had "contracted in" to pay the political levy was over 60 per cent., which was rather more than the estimate made by the National Executive in the previous year. Even

so, however, the new regulation had meant a reduction of the normal income of the party from affiliation fees from £40,000 to £25,000.

The Conference of the National Liberal Federation, which met at Yarmouth on October 11, confirmed Mr. Lloyd George in the leadership of the Liberal Party and passed resolutions endorsing the policy laid down in the various books issued under his auspices. It also authorised the Executive Committee of the Federation to draw up, in conjunction with the leaders of the party, a manifesto to the nation, stating what the Liberal position would be in the next General Election.

The chief preoccupation of the delegates, however, was with the relations of the party to the Labour Party. The close resemblance between the Liberal programme as outlined in Mr. George's booklets, and the Labour programme set forth in the manifesto, "Labour and the Nation," inevitably suggested to many members of both parties possibilities of co-operation after if not also before the General Election. Mr. Snowden had shortly before written an article in the Press which showed him to be favourable to the idea in theory, though he doubted the possibility of giving to it any practical expression, at any rate before the General Election. Mr. MacDonald also had at least not so far evinced any hostility to it. To the more pronounced Socialists, however, the idea was naturally anathema. Mr. Lansbury, in his opening address to the Labour Party Conference, had gone out of his way to heap insult on the Liberal Party. Mr. Lloyd George, on October 12, announced the decision to which he had come after earnest consultation with the heads of the Liberal Party as to the attitude to be adopted on the question. He did not mention the possibility of any working arrangement between Liberals and Labour before the General Election, but only dealt with the situation which might be created if, as the result of the General Election, no one party secured a majority over the other two and the Liberals held the balance between the Tories and the Socialists. In that case, he said, it would be the first consideration of the Liberal Party to see that the King's Government was carried on, but on no account would they enter into any understanding, formal or informal, with any party to advance measures or policy in which they disbelieved. Whatever Government was in power, they would resist every attempt to overthrow the Free Trade fiscal system or to set up what was called the Socialist State, *i.e.*, to substitute the nationalisation of all the means of production, distribution and exchange for private enterprise. He recognised that there was a vast Parliamentary field in the cultivation of which men of progressive minds in all parties could unite, but if there was to be co-operation, it must be on terms honourable to all and humiliating to none, and the experience of the 1924 Parliament must not be repeated. This was generally taken to be a hint that **the Liberal**

Party would expect some seats in a Labour Government as the price of its support.

On September 27 a conference was held between the Home Secretary, the Minister of Transport, and the heads of both Departments to consider what steps could be taken to abate the ever-growing nuisance of noise in the streets, not merely in the Metropolis but throughout the country. The evil was directly due to the increase of motor traffic, and the Ministers concerned decided that draft regulations for abating the nuisance of motor-traffic noise should now be prepared. A similar sign of the times was the holding of a conference at Leicester, on October 13, under the auspices of the National Trust and other bodies, on the preservation of the English countryside. Since the war the rural charm of England outside of the industrial areas had commenced rapidly to disappear. While motor traffic was robbing the country of its peace, a thoughtless vandalism was destroying its beauty. Not only were the towns encroaching more and more on the country with ungainly suburbs, but everywhere the countryside was being defaced by unsightly bungalows erected in prominent positions, by "ribbons" of garish red-brick houses along main roads, by ugly arterial roads for motor traffic, by hideous petrol stations, by blatant advertisement hoardings, and by the litter left by inconsiderate motorists. Lovers of nature suddenly woke up to the fact that the amenities which they so highly prized were being filched from them before their eyes. The conference at Leicester was called chiefly for the purpose of educating public opinion and urging local authorities to make fuller use of the powers they already possessed for preventing the abuses complained of. Both Mr. Baldwin and Mr. MacDonald sent messages to the conference, expressing heartfelt sympathy with its endeavours, but the Premier gave no hint of Government action in the matter.

Before the Parliamentary vacation was far advanced, the foreign policy of the Government became the subject of a fierce attack from the Opposition Press and platform with results not a little damaging to its reputation—a trouble for which it had largely its own bungling methods to thank.

In the course of his speech on foreign affairs on July 30, Sir A. Chamberlain had remarked somewhat casually that France and England had settled their differences with regard to naval tonnage. The announcement was received with interest, and the publication of further details was eagerly awaited. Instead of this, however, the public was, in the course of August, presented with sensational and apparently inspired statements in the French Press to the effect that the two countries had formed a new entente with a virtual agreement to pool their navies in case of need, in return for which Britain would withdraw her opposition to the proposal that France should be allowed not to count her trained reserves as part of her land forces for disarmament purposes. The

Opposition Press, and some Conservative papers also, at once exclaimed against such an arrangement, and called loudly for further information.

The silence of the Government was first broken by a statement which Lord Cushendun made to the Press soon after his arrival at Geneva, whither he had gone at the end of August as British delegate to the meeting of the Council of the League of Nations. Lord Cushendun put quite a different construction on the alleged naval Pact from that which appeared in the French Press. The agreement, he said, had reference purely to the work of the Preparatory Commission for a disarmament conference. This work had long been held up owing to the difference in the draft conventions on naval disarmament submitted by France and Great Britain. For some months conversations had been going on, sometimes between Ministers and sometimes between experts, for the purpose of obviating these divergencies, and, as a result a single text had been agreed upon. This was the whole extent of the agreement ; it had nothing to do with policy, which had not been discussed at all. The new text had been submitted to the American, Japanese, and Italian Governments for their observations, and publication had naturally been delayed pending their replies.

In spite of Lord Cushendun's disclaimer, the French Press maintained its previous view, and the actual course of events soon afforded strong ground for thinking that the British understanding with France was a good deal closer than Lord Cushendun had indicated. The German delegate to the League of Nations Assembly—who on this occasion happened to be the Chancellor, Herr Muller—approached M. Briand with a view to opening negotiations on the evacuation of the Rhineland. M. Briand replied in effect that Germany would have to make an offer. When Lord Cushendun was approached on the same subject, he associated himself unreservedly with M. Briand, although in so doing he reversed the policy pursued for several years by England, of trying to act as a mediator between France and Germany and to reconcile their conflicting interests. This fact alone seemed to show that a new entente had been actually if not formally concluded between France and England ; and this notion was confirmed by the way in which Britain supported the French view in regard to Hungary, the Balkans and other matters.

Suspicion of the Government's designs was deepened by its continued failure to publish the terms of the proposed agreement with France, nor was it allayed by a speech made by Lord Cushendun to the League Assembly on September 11 in which he again referred to the matter. Speaking on disarmament, he gave the fullest assurances that it was the sincere desire of the British Government to carry out in the letter and the spirit the obligations of the Covenant. Britain, he said, was anxious to find a ground

for common action, and it was for that reason that they had striven for many months to reconcile their views with those of the French Government regarding naval disarmament. He felt confident that agreement could be reached if only they could all show less distrust of one another, and if critics were less ready to attribute to England hidden designs and ulterior motives of which she was entirely innocent.

Lord Cushendun's assurances might have carried more weight with the public if by this time it had not been enabled to form for itself a fairly clear idea of the nature of the proposed naval compromise from disclosures in the French and American Press. From these it appeared that the proposed agreement was by no means so innocent as had been represented. In respect of cruisers of 10,000 tons or over with guns of 8 in. calibre or more—the ships in which America was specially interested—the limitations fixed by the Washington Conference were to be maintained, but in respect of small cruisers, in which Britain was specially interested, and small submarines, in which France was specially interested, there was to be practically no limitation. The effect of the proposals indeed would be to place America at a distinct disadvantage as against a combined France and England. That America would become a party to such an arrangement seemed utterly out of the question, and speculation became rife as to why the Government had ever thought of submitting to her a proposal which was so certain to be rejected. The disclosures also confirmed the report that Britain had given way to France in the matter of trained reserves.

The American reply to the terms of the Anglo-French compromise on naval disarmament was handed in to the Foreign Office on September 28, and immediately afterwards made public, not by that body but by the American Embassy. It contained the inevitable rejection, couched, however, in somewhat more moderate terms than might have been expected. It pointed out that the British proposals at the Geneva Conference which America had found unacceptable were now presented in a still more objectionable form, as the principle of limitation as applied to important combatant types of vessels was now discarded altogether. By leaving unlimited so large a tonnage and so many types of vessels the new proposals, in the opinion of the American Government, would actually tend to defeat the primary object of any disarmament conference, as they would not eliminate competition in naval armament and would not effect economy. For all these reasons the United States Government felt that no useful purpose would be served by accepting as a basis of discussion the Anglo-French proposal.

The new direction which was being given to British foreign policy was viewed with the gravest apprehension by the friends of peace. Immediately after the delivery of the American Note a manifesto

was drawn up by the Executive of the Labour Party, giving a long list of the failures of the Government to advance the cause of peace and disarmament, culminating in the naval agreement with France and in the attitude taken up by Lord Cushendun at the recent Assembly of the League of Nations. The manifesto was submitted as a resolution to the Labour Party Conference on October 2 by Mr. MacDonald. He said that the condemnation of the Government fell under two heads, one that it had done nothing at Geneva of any effect—since 1924 it had done nothing but put obstacles in the way of an agreed peace—the other that it had surrendered the independence of British diplomacy and made compromises with other Powers. He criticised severely the new Anglo-French understanding and warned his hearers that the history of 1906-14 was repeating itself. He expressed the greatest contempt for the way in which the Government had conducted the negotiations as being neither open nor secret diplomacy, but a kind of hybrid for which he invented the designation "tail out of the bag diplomacy." Other speakers also denounced the agreement in no measured terms.

Documents containing the history of the attempt made by Britain and France to reach an agreement on naval disarmament were at last published by the Government as a White Paper on October 21. The version which they gave of the negotiations represented the two Governments as being actuated solely by a desire to promote the cause of peace, and as having no political designs which might be hostile to other countries. The draft agreement which had been so brusquely rejected by America owed its origin, according to the White Paper, to a suggestion made by Sir Austen Chamberlain to M. Briand at Geneva on March 9 that if France would accept Britain's scheme for the limitation of naval tonnage, Britain would waive her objection to the exclusion of trained reservists from the total of land forces. This had stimulated the French naval experts to devise a formula which both Governments had ultimately accepted as a basis of agreement. The draft agreement had been submitted to America in good faith, and in the hope that it would not prove entirely unacceptable. The delay in publication had been due solely to a desire to wait until the negotiations were complete; there had been nothing to conceal, no plot or conspiracy or secret understanding. The series of documents in the White Paper closed with a dispatch sent by Lord Cushendun on October 9 to British representatives in all countries represented on the Preparatory Commission, in order to acquaint them with the whole course of the negotiations. Reference was made in this to Lord Cushendun's statement on August 30, but no explanation was given why he had made no mention in it of the British concession to France in the matter of trained land reserves.

On October 26 a mass meeting was held in the Albert Hall to

celebrate the tenth anniversary of the foundation of the League of Nations Union. Lord Grey presided, and the chief speaker was Mr. Baldwin, the others being Lord Robert Cecil and Mr. Clynes. The King sent a message to the meeting expressing his deep interest in the work of the League.

By the time the White Paper was issued, public opinion had already shown itself decidedly hostile to the idea of a unilateral Anglo-French agreement which, it was seen, must be directed against America no less than Germany. The White Paper itself afforded fresh proof to the critics of the Government that the proposed Naval Pact was an amazing and inexplicable blunder, and it did not remove their suspicions that in spite of the dropping of the Pact, British foreign policy had taken a new and sinister turn. In the face of such imputations, both the Prime Minister and Lord Cushendun felt constrained to make public disclaimers of the most emphatic kind. Mr. Baldwin referred to the matter in his speech on October 26 at the Albert Hall. He said that there was no shadow of foundation for the statement current in some quarters that Britain had to some extent abandoned the position of impartiality and conciliation which she had assumed at the time of the Locarno Pact, and he asserted categorically that they had made no new engagements, and that there was no change in the orientation of their policy. He also denied that England had any idea of building ships against America. Lord Cushendun also, on the previous day at Blackpool, had declared that the Naval Pact had been drafted with the best intentions, and that there was no hidden understanding of any kind behind it. Unluckily, with a *gaucherie* which frequently marked his handling of foreign affairs, he summed up his defence by saying that there could be no new entente with France as the old one had never been dissolved. This brought the critics up in arms with the question whether after all they had been under a delusion in supposing that the Locarno Pact had replaced the old entente ; and Lord Cushendun had to make another speech to explain away the offending remark.

Public apprehension had been too deeply stirred to be allayed even by these assurances. There was still abundant ground for making a party issue of the Government's foreign policy, and from the tone of the criticisms which they had already expressed, there was every likelihood that the leaders of the Opposition would not refrain from this line of attack. As one who believed in the supreme importance of continuity of foreign policy, Lord Grey, in a speech delivered to the Liberal Council on November 5, told the Government what was expected of it if it was to regain public confidence for its foreign policy. He took the more charitable view of the Naval Pact—that it was an isolated blunder not related to policy, and not a wrong new departure in policy. Nevertheless its consequences had been disastrous, both in arousing suspicion in Italy and Germany and in estranging America. The

idea that America would ever consent to accept the proposed arrangement Lord Grey characterised as decidedly "simple." He called on the Government to recognise that it had committed a blunder, and to take steps to repair it by declaring immediately that the Pact was at an end—not only its naval part but its military part also—and also by making it clear that what had been said recently by the Prime Minister and Mr. Bridgeman about not competing in naval building against the United States held good at the Admiralty as well as on the platform.

While attending the League of Nations session at Geneva in September, Lord Cushendun had taken an important part in the conversations between certain of the delegates which eventually resulted in a tentative plan being put forward for forming a new committee to go again into the question of German reparations. The Government gave every encouragement to the design. In the third week of October Mr. Parker Gilbert, the Agent-General for Reparations, was in London for some days to discuss matters with the authorities. On October 19 Mr. Churchill paid a flying visit to Paris and discussed the composition of the proposed committee with Mr. Gilbert and M. Poincaré. The British Government gave a favourable consideration to the communication which it soon after received from the German Government regarding a possible revision of the Dawes reparation scheme. On October 31, Signor Pirelli, the Italian member-designate of the proposed new committee, arrived in London, where he had conversations with the Treasury officials and the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

On October 16 Lord Birkenhead resigned his position in the Cabinet in order to take up certain company directorships which were much more lucrative. He had been anxious to make this change for some time, as he found his emoluments as a Cabinet Minister quite insufficient for his requirements, and by the Cabinet's self-denying ordinance he was debarred from adding to them by journalistic activity. Owing to the work which was being done by the Simon Commission in India, he thought the time had come when he could be dispensed with at the India Office. Mr. Baldwin, who had originally included Lord Birkenhead in his Cabinet with some misgiving, now accepted his resignation with genuine regret, and praised him as one whose counsel had been invaluable, who had been a tower of strength in dark days, a generous colleague and a loyal friend. He was succeeded at the India Office by the First Commissioner of Works, Lord Peel, whose place in turn was taken by Lord Londonderry, a new recruit to the Government.

By his exchange of public service for the pursuit of private gain Lord Birkenhead surprised none and scandalised only the political purists. But a much wider public was offended by the fact that he proposed to retain his pension as an ex-Lord Chancellor without making the expected return of acting on occasion as a Law Lord. It was remembered that when Lord Buckmaster went

into the City after being Lord Chancellor, he refrained from drawing his pension till he again began to act as a Law Lord. Lord Birkenhead at first assumed a defiant attitude, declaring that he would do as he pleased with his own. Before long, however, he yielded to the pressure of public opinion, and announced that he would put his pension in trust for certain charities until he should again resume the performance of judicial functions in the House of Lords.

In the municipal elections held on November 1, Labour gained on the balance over 200 seats, mostly at the expense of the Conservatives. This success, coming on the top of a brilliant Parliamentary by-election victory at Ashton-under-Lyne, greatly encouraged the Labour Party and correspondingly alarmed the Conservatives. *The Times* and the *Observer* pointed to it as a warning to their party to put its house in order in time for the General Election. Labour spokesmen began to adopt a tone of unusual confidence. At a great Labour rally held at the Albert Hall on November 5, just before the opening of Parliament, Mr. MacDonald announced that Labour was cherishing hopes of obtaining a clear majority at the next election, and that it would put as nearly as possible six hundred candidates in the field.

CHAPTER IV.

THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BILL

PARLIAMENT assembled for its fifth and final session on November 6. The Government majority was still intact, but it was known that a new appeal to the country would be made by the summer, and members' thoughts were already directed towards the coming election. The Government, as was anticipated, decided to use the interval chiefly for securing the passage of the highly complex and intricate Local Government Bill which the Minister of Health had prepared in the vacation. The other bills mentioned in the King's Speech were for conferring on the Government new borrowing powers to meet the abnormal expenditure out of the Unemployment Fund caused by the displacement of labour from the mines ; for extending the Export Credits Guarantee scheme for a further period ; for authorising the appointment of two additional members of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council and one additional Lord of Appeal in Ordinary ; and for assisting agriculture in Scotland.

The references in the King's Speech to foreign affairs were couched in a hopeful tone. The Speech commenced by stating that Britain had been happy to accept the Treaty for the Renunciation of War in the form proposed by the United States, and it went on

to add that Britain had reduced its armed forces to the lowest point compatible with national safety, and had assisted the League of Nations to formulate general plans for disarmament. No mention was made of the friction which had arisen between England and America. Britain, it was announced, had reached an agreement with the Governments of Belgium, France, Germany, Italy, and Japan, that negotiations should be opened for a complete and definite settlement of the reparations problem ; she had also recognised in principle that negotiations should take place relative to the request of the German Government for the evacuation of the Rhineland.

Mr. MacDonald in opening the debate on the Address complained that the King's Speech gave a highly misleading idea of the Government's attitude towards the international peace movement. In spite of their fair words, the fact was that they had sabotaged the Kellogg Pact by their reservations, and they were not co-operating with the League of Nations in its endeavour to promote disarmament. The proposed Anglo-French Naval Pact was an agreement, not to limit armaments, but rather not to limit armaments. The way in which it had been announced was calculated to upset the confidence of the nations of Europe, the whole method of disclosure having shown a lamentable lack of candour. Mr. MacDonald concluded this part of his indictment by asking the Premier to state whether the agreement with France on the question of trained reserves had been dropped or not, and whether any reply had been sent to the American Note. In regard to home affairs he was very severe on the Government for postponing its long-promised Factory Bill.

The Prime Minister in reply first supplemented the King's Speech by announcing that the legislation of the Session would contain some Bills not mentioned there, notably one for giving effect to the recommendations of the Imperial Cable and Wireless Conference. He expressed deep regret at the omission of the Factory Bill from the programme ; this was due, he said, solely to want of time, as the Government judged it imperative to put through its scheme of Poor Law reform without delay. In regard to the Naval Pact he said he would reserve his defence till the Government was more formally censured in one of the amendments to the Address. Mr. Snowden characterised this proceeding as an act of grave discourtesy to the House and moved the adjournment of the debate. Mr. Baldwin denied that he had been wanting in respect to the House, as it had been the custom for many years that the debate on the Address should be of a general nature on the first day. He accepted the motion for the adjournment, which was thereupon carried.

On the next day (Nov. 7) the Prime Minister, in order to get the De-rating Bill out of the way as soon as possible, and so, as he said, " not to defer the dissolution," took the precaution of appro-

priating to the Government the whole time of the House up till Easter. Labour members protested loudly in the name of the rights of private members, and the Premier in order to pacify them promised that the Front benches, on his side at any rate, would not monopolise the debate to the same extent as formerly. The debate on the Address was then continued in the usual desultory fashion.

In the debate on the Address in the House of Lords, tributes were paid by Lord Parmoor and other speakers to the memory of Lord Haldane, who had died during the vacation (*vide* Obituary). The seconder of the motion for the Address, Lord Chaplin, was loud in his praises of safeguarding, which was not mentioned in the Speech, and urged that it should be extended to iron and steel. Lord Beauchamp thereupon asked what was the Government's attitude on the matter. He also inferred, from the absence of any reference in the King's Speech to the House of Lords, that the Government had no intention of carrying out its pledge in that matter. Lord Salisbury in his reply ignored the latter point, but in regard to safeguarding he repeated that the Government, while satisfied with this policy as far as it had gone, were not prepared to extend it to iron and steel. As to the naval agreement, he said that its reception had not been encouraging, and that it might be considered at an end.

Among the grievances of the Opposition against the Government at this time, two were pre-eminent—its handling of the unemployment problem and the Anglo-French naval compromise. The Labour Party, again as on the previous occasion, chose the former of these as the subject of its first amendment to the Address, and with even better ground, as the number of unemployed was now much larger than at the beginning of the year, and there was less prospect of an improvement in trade. The amendment charged the Government with failing to redeem its pledges with regard to unemployment, and Mr. Clynes in moving it (Nov. 8) insinuated that the failure of the Government to provide work for the unemployed was due less to want of ability than to want of will. He made great play with the fact that the Manchester City Council, a Conservative body, had come round to the Labour view that "unemployment was a national problem calling for a national solution." Otherwise he had no positive suggestion to offer save the resumption of trading relations with Russia.

The Government reply was given by the Chancellor of the Exchequer in the most serious speech which had yet been made by a Government spokesman on the subject. He did not minimise the evils of the existing situation, but laid the chief blame for them on the labour disturbances of 1926. He also pointed out that unemployment was a world-wide problem, and that no country was doing as much for its poor as England. Nevertheless he did not deny that the Government had a further duty in the matter, and

he went on to detail the steps which it was actually taking for the stimulation of trade and the relief of unemployment. These were, first, the rating relief scheme for agriculture and industry, with the railway rates relief which was to be introduced almost immediately. Secondly there was the policy of Empire migration, which was to be greatly accelerated and extended in the near future. Thirdly, there was the policy of safeguarding particular industries after they had made their case before the tribunal. Fourthly, the Exports Credits scheme introduced in 1920 was to be extended for two years. Fifthly, the Act passed two years ago for the improvement and extension of the electricity supply was now beginning to exercise an effect on employment and industry. The special needs of the displaced miners would be met by starting works on land drainage and coast erosion, and by the method of transference, which would be assisted by grants to local authorities willing to employ transferred men on public works. How many of the unemployed would be relieved by these means or at what cost, Mr. Churchill did not venture to estimate ; but he maintained that the Government at any rate had a policy, which it was interested in bringing to success.

Mr. Churchill closed his speech on a note of optimism by reminding the House of the actual increase in the number of employed persons, of the volume of the export trade still carried on by England, of the enormous investing power of the nation and the soundness of her finances and credit, and the undeveloped resources of the Empire. These considerations, however, could not countervail the depressing effect of the actual situation on the minds of his hearers. The debate was characterised by a general tone of despondency, the grounds for which were most clearly expressed in the speech of the Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Trade, Mr. H. G. Williams. At the beginning of the year, he told the House, the heads of all the banks had committed themselves to the statement that there was every sign of a trade revival. Responsible managers in every industry had expressed the same view. Yet within six months reports began to be received at the Board of Trade indicating that a slump of general effect had set in. Why it had happened he did not think anyone could say. There was industrial peace ; there was thrift among all classes ; more capital was available than had been available for many years ; the harvest was good ; and yet the trade reaction had set in.

Mr. Williams admitted that the measures proposed by the Government were only palliatives, but he claimed that they were an honest and fair attempt to relieve the situation. Mr. Snowden would not allow them even this credit, and poured scorn on the Chancellor's proposals, without offering any positive suggestion of his own, on the strange ground that that was not the business of the Opposition. Mr. Lloyd George dissented from this view, and

offered to the Government one or two suggestions, the chief of which was that it should make greater use of the credit of the country for development purposes. Mr. MacDonald said that the Labour Party had no need to offer the Government suggestions, since all its proposals were in fact taken from schemes drawn up by the Labour Government before it left office. Sir L. Worthington-Evans pointed out to Mr. Lloyd George that the Government was in fact using the national credit very largely for the purpose he advocated ; in the past four years it had been so used to the amount of 179,000,000*l.* in loans and guarantees. He accepted Mr. MacDonald's view that the Government policy was the Labour policy, and he asked Labour members on that account to assist it, and to put a desire to help the unemployed above their political animosities. The amendment was eventually defeated by 321 votes to 151.

The Labour Party was no less anxious to tackle the Government on the question of the Anglo-French naval compromise than on the question of unemployment; and the fact that the acting Secretary for Foreign Affairs was in the Upper House—Sir Austen Chamberlain being still abroad—gave it an opportunity of raising a debate on this subject also, and so forestalling the debate which the Liberal Party was to raise on it in the Lower House. On November 8 Lord Thomson made a comprehensive indictment of the Government's proceedings on a motion "that the negotiations disclosed in the White Paper on the limitation of armaments constituted a grave set-back to the cause of disarmament." The negotiations, he said, had resulted in something much more than a compromise between France and Britain, something which might be described as a "deal" by which Britain made concessions to France on the point of trained reservists and small submarines in return for their conceding a certain formula in regard to naval classification. The first effect of this deal was to excite suspicion in the United States and Italy. This seemed to him only natural, as the deal gave to Britain and France, acting together, a position which was almost irresistible in Europe, if not throughout the world. Against such a combination America would inevitably begin building large cruisers, and thus the deal would lead to a new competition in naval armaments. In conceding the French point with regard to trained reservists, Britain had abandoned a vital principle, and had virtually accepted the French thesis of "a nation in arms," since, under modern conditions, every mechanic up to sixty was in a sense a "trained reservist." Finally he pointed out that no reply had yet been given to a remark of M. Briand quoted in the White Paper, that in the event of other nations not agreeing to the Anglo-French compromise the British and French Governments would none the less be under obligation to ensure success by other means or to adopt a common policy. Did the silence of the Government mean consent ?

Lord Cushendun replied with a vigorous defence of the action of the Government. He began by describing as perfectly unauthenticated the statements in the French Press about a secret alliance or something of the sort, and stigmatised them as the source of all the mischief. He pointed out that there had been no secrecy whatever in the negotiations, and complained that the Government was at one and the same time being exhorted to compose international arrangements by agreement and denounced because it had adopted the only possible means of arriving at such agreement. The critics seemed to forget that under existing arrangements France could build as many cruisers and submarines, both great and small, as she pleased. The compromise would at least have extended the Washington agreement a little further. It was not all they would have liked, but it was the best they could get. The alternative would have been to confess that nothing at all could be done in the direction of disarmament. Nor were the Government so "simple," as Lord Grey had made out, in asking America to accept this arrangement. It was true that they proposed to forbid the arming of cruisers with eight-inch guns, which America had demanded at the Geneva Conference, but they offered to allow cruisers of 10,000 tonnage with a wide range of action, for which America was even more eager. As for the suggestion of M. Briand mentioned by Lord Thomson, the Government had not said ^{tc} "no" to it openly merely in order not to give offence. Finally, on the question of military reservists, he was afraid it would be impossible to induce France and the other military nations of the Continent to change their view, and if Britain did not give way on this point, no agreement on disarmament would be possible. Lord Grey still maintained that the Government should have known beforehand that their proposals would be utterly unacceptable to America, but otherwise he declared himself satisfied with Lord Cushendun's statement, which he took to mean definitely that the compromise was at an end, both on its naval and its military side. No objection was raised to this gloss, and Lord Thomson finally withdrew his motion.

The Prime Minister in his Guildhall speech on November 9 dwelt on the encouraging signs in the international situation and carefully kept out of sight the more disquieting features. He maintained that there had been a great improvement in international relations during the preceding four years. There were, it was true, grave economic problems still to be solved, but their solution was being approached in a new spirit of goodwill. They had all learnt a lesson of co-operation, of conciliation and of goodwill which he believed they would not soon forget. He scouted the idea that the new *rapprochement* between Britain and France was in any way opposed to the interests of other nations. The co-operation established at Locarno still formed the keystone of the European arch, and still constituted the policy of Britain.

Peace meant not less co-operation but more, and the fact that they so often began by seeking collaboration with their nearest neighbours did not mean that they were in the slightest degree less eager to co-operate with others.

Although Lord Cushendun had virtually declared the naval compromise to be dead, the Government was not yet allowed to bury the matter. The Liberal Party in the House of Commons, jealous of its prerogatives, ignored the debate which had taken place on the subject in the Upper House, and on November 13 duly brought forward its own amendment to the Address condemning the compromise. Mr. Lloyd George, who moved the amendment, denounced the agreement (which he persisted in calling a Pact) chiefly on the ground that it meant a departure from the spirit of the Locarno Treaty. He pointed to the deplorable effect which it had exercised on opinion in America and other countries, and asked where the country now stood. He declared himself not satisfied with the merely negative attitude adopted by the Government towards the French assertions that the arrangements still held good, and he called on it to declare categorically that England again had a free hand.

The Prime Minister in his reply protested once more that the intentions of the Government in drafting the arrangement had been perfectly honest and straightforward, and that if they had failed, they had failed in a commendable attempt. He paid no attention to Mr. George's questions, but instead seized on some remarks in that gentleman's speech inveighing against France, and—to the great gratification of the Ministerial benches—administered to him a sharp rebuke for his practice of making statements in his contributions to the foreign Press calculated to offend France and to bring Britain into discredit. Mr. MacDonald, who followed, pointed out that the Prime Minister had evaded the main points at issue. Foreign distrust of British diplomacy was engendered not by anything which he or Mr. Lloyd George said, but by certain passages in the White Paper over which the Prime Minister had skipped very lightly. He repeated Mr. George's question whether Britain had any commitments to France, and said that M. Briand's communication should have been replied to, and replied to in the House of Commons.

The assurances for which the Opposition was pressing were at last given to them in a more or less satisfactory form by Mr. Bridgeman in the closing speech of the debate. Since, he said, England and France had not got the other Powers to agree to their plan, they must make a fresh start. As for M. Briand's remark, while he could not say for certain what was in that gentleman's mind, it seemed to him to mean simply that if France and Britain had failed to provide a basis of discussion by the proposals which they had made, they must try some other way in order that disarmament might not be a failure. He confessed that

it was a disappointment that every well-meant effort to arrive at some solution of the naval problem was invariably met by the most unreasonable suspicions. Nevertheless they would not abandon their desire to reach agreement by any way possible, and they were prepared to consider any scheme that was possible for proceeding with the reduction of armaments.

The amendment was defeated by 326 votes to 163.

A third amendment to the Address, moved by Mr. Snowden on November 14, called attention to the omission from the King's Speech of any reference to safeguarding. Mr. Snowden did not conceal the fact that he raised this matter partly with the deliberate object of causing trouble in the Tory ranks; nor was he altogether unsuccessful. The Minister of War, it is true, in making the first reply for the Government, airily declared that his party were united in their policy, which could not possibly be mistaken for protection. The subsequent debate, however, belied at least the first part of this statement. Sir H. Page-Croft, speaking for a large section of the party, said that he and his friends were grateful to the Opposition for having afforded them the opportunity—which had been denied to them by the Government—of debating the question of the extension of safeguarding. He said that after the explicit pledge which the Government had given to the country, he was at a loss to understand why more had not been done. He asked in particular why they had failed to safeguard iron and steel, and called on the Government to give some assurance that they really meant business in the days to come. The Prime Minister in closing the debate ignored the complaints of his followers and devoted himself to showing once more that safeguarding was not the same as protecting, finishing with the statement that the Government intended to go forward with their programme. The party showed that it was still loyal to him by giving 309 votes in the division against the amendment, which received 158 votes.

The first act of the Government after the Address had been disposed of was to seek means for replenishing the Unemployment Insurance Fund, which was now perilously near to exhaustion. Of the 30,000,000*l.* which it was allowed by the Act of 1922 to borrow from the Treasury, over 29,000,000*l.* had been utilised. For some time past the expenditure of the Fund had exceeded its income by about 350,000*l.* weekly, and there was no indication that the drain on its resources would be moderated in the immediate future, unless indeed the benefits were reduced, which was hardly to be thought of. Equally out of the question was the raising of the contributions, or a grant from the Treasury. The only course left to the Government to meet the situation was to extend the borrowing powers of the Fund. Accordingly on November 14 a Bill was brought in to permit the Ministry of Labour to increase its indebtedness to the Treasury from 30,000,000*l.* to 40,000,000*l.*

in the course of the next two years. Mr. Betterton, who introduced the Bill, informed the House that the deficit had increased by about 25,000,000*l.* since the present Government took office. Of this sum, about 20,000,000*l.* might be attributed directly to the labour disturbances of 1926. The other five millions were due to the concessions made in the legislation of 1924. A number of Labour members prophesied that more money would be needed long before the two years were over, but otherwise no opposition was offered to the Bill.

Following the programme of the King's Speech, the Government next, on November 19, brought forward a resolution for extending for two years the Overseas Trade Act, which permitted the Government to give guarantees to exporters. Captain W. Hacking, the Parliamentary Secretary to the Overseas Trade Department, stated that during the two years in which it had been in existence the export guarantee scheme had been of great assistance to trade, and contracts were now being signed to the amount of 100,000*l.* a week. He intimated that the scheme was costing the State between 18,000*l.* and 20,000*l.* a year ; this was the price paid for giving direct assistance to exporters for a value approximating to 3,000,000*l.* a year, and indirect assistance to at least an equal amount by advice and information. He thought that sooner or later the business of insurance against the non-payment of debts ought to be handed over to private enterprise, but that private enterprise was not yet ready to provide the facilities required by traders ; and this was the view of most of the subsequent speakers. Labour members complained that the guarantees did not apply to Russia ; the exclusion was justified by Captain Hacking on the ground that the risk to the taxpayer's money would be too great.

The question of the Washington Hours Convention was once more raised in Parliament on November 19, when Lord Lytton in the House of Lords brought forward a motion urging the Government to inform the International Labour Office at Geneva of the precise points on which they desired a revision of the Convention. He was supported by Lord Olivier, who said that the silence of the Government was exposing it to the suspicion that its attitude was dictated by the National Federation of Employers' Organisations. Lord Londonderry, in reply, said that the Government was under no obligation of honour to ratify any Convention to which their delegate had agreed, and successive British Governments had in fact found the Convention unworkable. The present Government desired to make the Convention workable by removing its ambiguities and making it more elastic. It was, however, premature to publish the modifications they desired before the International Labour Office had received and discussed the report for which it had called on the working of the Convention. Lord Cecil found the explanation of the Minister very unconvincing ;

to say they desired revision and not to say what revision meant exposed them to the charge that they were not in earnest with their advocacy of the 48-hour week and the 8-hour day. The Government, however, would give no further satisfaction, and they were upheld by the House, securing the defeat of the motion by 39 votes to 17.

A debate which took place in the House of Commons on November 19 exhibited in a somewhat amusing manner Mr. MacDonald's difficulties with some of his followers. Owing to the amalgamation of the Diplomatic Service and the Foreign Office Service in 1919, members of the former were in danger of losing their pensions, and the Government, to relieve them from this risk, now proposed to regularise their pensions. Mr. MacDonald, and with him Mr. Thomas, supported the motion on the ground that it placed members of the Diplomatic Service on the same footing as other Civil servants. A number of Labour members, however, led by Mr. Kirkwood, protested against public money being spent for such a purpose when working men could not get pensions of ten shillings a week. In vain Mr. MacDonald and Mr. Thomas pointed out that the proposal was a mere act of justice, and, further, that it was in the interest of the Labour Party itself to make the Service attractive to young people of ability; the malcontents insisted on a division, in which 33 votes were recorded against the motion. In a subsequent debate on the same subject, however, Mr. Kirkwood, though protesting that he had not changed his mind, bowed to the authority of his leader.

In accordance with its decision announced in the summer, the Government on November 21 brought forward an Imperial Telegraphs Bill to enable it to transfer to a private company its Pacific, West Indian, and two Transatlantic cables and to lease to it for twenty-five years its recently installed Beam wireless service. The Labour Party made a last desperate effort to prevent a step which so flagrantly outraged their notions regarding the proper spheres of public and private enterprise. Mr. MacDonald moved the rejection of the Bill on the double ground that it sacrificed public utility to private gain, and that it was a violation of sound constitutional practice for a Government to introduce such a measure in the last days of a dying Parliament. The fact that the Imperial Conference had recommended the transfer weighed little with him. Not only was the Government not bound to accept the recommendations of such a Conference, but the *bona fides* of this Conference was open to considerable doubt. This charge was made much more pointedly by Mr. Baker, a member of the postal trade union who had made a special study of the subject. According to him, all the evidence showed that the Government had been compelled by big financial interests to call the Conference on their behalf. The charge was of course indignantly repudiated by Government spokesmen, but their

denials carried no conviction to the Labour Party. A point on which Labour speakers laid great stress was that the Postmaster-General, though present, took no part in the debate ; they took this as confirmation of the report which had reached them—and which was not denied—that he was opposed to the transfer. Sir J. Gilmour, who had been Chairman of the Conference, pointed out that the cables could not be allowed to go on losing as they were doing, and maintained that the solution proposed by the Conference, of transferring both cables and wireless to a merger company with proper Government control, was the only solution which would be satisfactory both to Great Britain and the Dominions. This view was ultimately endorsed by the House by 258 votes to 134.

Having failed to prevent the transfer of the Government's cables and wireless to private hands, the Labour Party in the Committee stage of the Imperial Telegraphs Bill tried to ensure that at least the Marconi Company should not obtain the property too cheaply. They proposed that the price for the cables should be not less than 2,500,000*l.* instead of the 450,000*l.* which the Government was asking. The Postmaster-General broke his silence to declare that in his opinion the Government was making a very good bargain, as they had been losing nearly 40,000*l.* a year on the cables for the last four years. He also strongly repudiated the Labour charges against the Conference of corruption and submission to outside influence. In the final debate (Dec. 10) Mr. Amery, who summed up the case for the Government, praised the measure as a great achievement of inter-Imperial co-operation, and the third reading was eventually carried by 235 votes to 97.

In fulfilment of its promise to the mining industry, the Government on November 22 asked the House of Commons for 1,000,000*l.* with which to compensate the railways for reducing as from December 1 their freights on coal and coke for export and for iron and steel works, also on certain other minerals and most kinds of agricultural produce. This sum, according to the Minister of Transport, would only carry them to the end of the year. For the further ten months which would elapse until the new de-rating scheme came into operation more than 3,000,000*l.* extra would be needed, but this amount the Chancellor of the Exchequer would try to get out of his own pocket. The rebates would be 10 per cent, on the carriage charges for agricultural and industrial traffic, and nearly 30 per cent, on those for coal. For the period with which they were dealing the concession worked out at an average of about *1*d.** per ton on coal for export and 10*d.* per ton on iron and steel coal. Strong exception was taken by a number of members of all parties—chiefly from the north-eastern mining district—against the exclusion from the benefit of the private railways which connected a number of collieries with the ports. The Government was of opinion that these collieries could very well

wait till the general de-rating scheme came into operation in ten months' time, and refused to make them any concession. An amendment to reduce the vote was defeated by 197 votes to 115. On the report stage of the Bill pressure was again brought to bear on the Government to include the private railways in the benefit, and this time it gave way.

Parliament was now able to turn its attention to the legislative *pttce de resistance* of the Session—the Local Government Bill. The text of this measure had been issued on November 13. It was based on the White Paper issued on June 29 containing the Government's proposals for the reform of local government and a new adjustment between local and national expenditure. It was a stupendous measure, consisting of 115 clauses and also 12 schedules, some of which were in themselves as long as an ordinary Act of Parliament. Its preparation had occupied the Minister of Health the whole of the autumn. In accordance with his promise, he had invited the opinion of local authorities and boards of guardians on his White Paper, and taken note of their criticisms. These had been on the whole not less stringent than had been prophesied by members of the Opposition in Parliament. Local authorities found the financial provisions suggested inadequate for their needs, and in many cases expressed apprehensions that the effect would be to increase rather than diminish the burden of their rates. Boards of Guardians also objected to being abolished in favour of some wider authority. To meet these objections Mr. Chamberlain made drastic alterations in the scheme as outlined in the White Paper. In spite of this, the reception of the Bill in the country when it was first published was not encouraging, and many Conservative members found that it certainly did not make them more popular in their constituencies.

The Local Government Bill came before the House of Commons for its second reading on November 27. Mr. Neville Chamberlain opened his speech in moving it with an assertion that it was to be reckoned among the greatest measures presented to Parliament for many years. Although it was planned originally as the final stage in the scheme of rating reform initiated by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, it was in reality nothing less than what its title implied—a measure for the comprehensive reform of local government, of which the readjustment of rates was only one part. That the existing system of local government required overhauling there could be little doubt. It was based on the Acts of 1888 and 1894, and in the interval the problems had been completely altered by a number of factors—the growth of population, the shifting of industry, the development of new services, and the improvement in means of communication. Consequently the machinery was in many respects obsolete and out of date. Mr. Chamberlain summed up its deficiencies under five heads. First there was the overlapping of the guardians of the poor with the other local

authorities ; secondly, the unfair burden of road maintenance which fell upon rural district councils ; thirdly, the lack of elasticity in the boundaries of the local districts ; fourthly, the inequitable system of rates which was strangling agriculture and industry ; and fifthly, the chaotic condition of the relations between national and local expenditure.

For all these evils the Bill proposed remedies. The anomalies of poor relief were to be removed by the substitution of county councils and county borough councils for guardians as the administrative authority. This, as Mr. Chamberlain pointed out, was no new idea ; it had been suggested by his father in 1888 when the county councils were first created, and it had been recommended by the Royal Commission of 1909. To preserve continuity, an essential part of the work would still be done by committees which would bear the name of guardians and which would be manned as far as possible from the existing guardians. Road maintenance and construction in the country districts was, like poor relief, to be transferred to the county councils ; and a certain power was to be vested in the Ministry of Transport to see that these bodies did not devote their whole attention to the main through roads and neglect the side roads. Greater elasticity was to be secured in the subdivision of the counties by a provision that every county council should at intervals of not less than ten years make reviews of the country districts, and recommend to the Minister such alterations in the boundaries as they thought were rendered advisable by the shifting of population or other causes.

Coming to the fourth defect which he had mentioned, Mr. Chamberlain pointed out that the rates levied on agriculture and industry were really inequitable in their nature, and had been borne patiently in the past only because those who paid them had found means to recoup themselves from their customers. Consequently the proposed relief of agriculture to the extent of the whole of the rates and of productive industry to the extent of three-quarters was not a mere charitable donation, but an act of justice which had been long delayed. Lastly, in regard to the relations between national and local finance, Mr. Chamberlain presumed that there was general agreement that the national contribution to local expenditure was not enough, and that such as it was, it was not properly distributed. He maintained that these defects would be remedied by the substitution of the block grant for the percentage grant according to the formula laid down in the White Paper. He admitted that the calculations of the effects of this were largely guesswork, but he stated that no better had been proposed, and that the local authorities, after, first objecting, had finally become reconciled.

Mr. Chamberlain's speech, which lasted two and a half hours, won unstinted praise from all sides of the House as a masterly piece of exposition and argument. It made the Bill much more

palatable than it had been to many members of his own party, and was thought to have materially improved its chances. In the course of the debate which followed, and which lasted three days, a number of Conservative " back-benchers " expressed their approval of the Bill as a whole, though nearly every one of them had some criticism to offer on it in detail. Labour members, led by Mr. Greenwood, condemned the Bill, chiefly because it left the old Poor Law system intact, only changing the authority by which it was administered. They also disapproved strongly of the substitution of a block for a percentage grant, maintaining that this would be especially injurious to the health services.

The financial provisions of the Bill were subjected to a searching analysis by Miss Susan Lawrence, who showed a mastery of its details not inferior to that of Mr. Chamberlain himself, and incidentally scored the greatest debating success which had yet fallen to the lot of a woman member. She proved to the satisfaction of her colleagues that the local authorities would lose by the Bill, and urged the Minister to confine it to the de-rating proposals and deal with the reform of local government later. Mr. Graham made the same plea. The most comprehensive criticism of the Bill was made by Mr. Sidney Webb, an acknowledged authority on local government, who found fault equally with its de-rating proposals and with its suggested reforms. Mr. Lloyd George was prevented from attending the debate by illness, but his place was ably filled by Mr. Harney, who made a strong plea for the Liberal plan of making unemployment a national charge. The Labour Party, after the speeches of Miss Lawrence and Mr. Webb, were confident that the Bill had been torn to tatters, but Sir K. Wood, who replied for the Government, could see no reason in the criticisms raised during the debate for making any change in the Bill. On a division the Labour amendment for rejection was defeated by 344 votes to 165. The amendment had the support of the whole of the Labour Party and the majority of the Liberals, but seven of the latter supported the Government. No Conservatives voted against the Bill.

On the next day (Nov. 30) Sir K. Wood moved a financial resolution authorising the expenditure of the General Exchequer Contribution involved in the new scheme. This was not to exceed in any year an amount equal to the total losses on account of rates and the total losses on account of discontinued grants of all counties and county boroughs in England and Wales, plus a fixed sum of 5,000,000*l.* during the first quinquennium, after which it was to be again determined by Parliament. The loss on rates was estimated by the Minister at 24,000,000*l.*, and on grants at 16,000,000*l.* The Exchequer contribution which altogether would amount to about 47,000,000*l.* was to be distributed to county councils and county borough councils according to the notorious " formula " ; the county councils were to pass on certain parts of their grant

to the local district councils. The total cost to the taxpayer for the refunding of rates and other accounts would be about 31,000,000*l.*, of which over 5,000,000*l.* would be recovered from the Road Fund. Mr. Snowden criticised the whole scheme on the ground that the transference of burdens from the local authorities to the Exchequer was more apparent than real. He maintained that the bulk of the relief would still come out of rates, and that the Treasury would lose very little. His arguments made no impression on the Ministerialists, and the second reading of the Bill was carried by a large majority.

On December 3 Sir J. Gilmour introduced the Local Government Bill for Scotland, which like its English counterpart, made a drastic reduction in the number of local authorities and placed the administration of poor relief in the hands of county councils, abolishing the parish councils which hitherto had performed this task. The Minister stated that the cost of de-rating in Scotland would be 4,125,000*l.* a year for the first quinquennium, of which 922,000*l.* would be new money. The Labour Party opposed this Bill also, largely on the ground that it would place local government in Scotland in the hands of a "strangling bureaucracy." They were especially concerned at the proposal to transfer the control of education from the *ad hoc* elected bodies to the county councils. They thought that this step would be detrimental to the cause of education, but it was defended by the Government on the ground, among others, that it would tend to the diminution of religious controversy in regard to education. The discussion, as was natural, was carried on almost exclusively by Scottish members, and seemed to show that opinion in that section of the House was fairly evenly divided. In the division, however, non-Scottish members turned the scale decisively in favour of the Bill, and the second reading was carried by 319 votes to 150. On the next day (Dec. 5) a money resolution, analogous to the one which accompanied the Local Government Bill for England, was passed for giving effect to the financial provisions of the Bill. According to the Minister in charge, its effect would be to distribute rates and Government grants in the proportion of 17,000,000*l.* for the former and 16,000,000*l.* for the latter, instead of the existing 20,500,000*l.* and 13,000,000*l.* respectively.

A vast number of amendments were put down for the Committee stage of the Local Government Bill—enough, as one member said, to occupy the House for fifty days. The Government, however, was desirous to commence the actual reform of local government both in England and in Scotland at the earliest possible moment, and with this object, and also in order not to delay the General Election, the Prime Minister on December 11 proposed a time-table allowing 13 days to the Committee stage of the English Bill, 3 days to the Report, and 2 to the third reading, and 8, 2, and 1 days respectively to the corresponding stages of the Scotch

Bill. The Labour Party protested strongly against this restriction of the liberty of debate, and they were supported on this occasion by some Conservative members, one of whom had himself put down twenty-six amendments. The Government, however, would make no further concession than to allocate the time somewhat differently from what it had at first intended, and to allow one more day to the Scotch Bill.

In the Committee debates on the Bill, the Opposition attack made little impression on the Government, while Conservative criticism was effectively kept in check by the Party Whips. Outside of Parliament, however, there was an opposition which could not be disposed of so easily. Objections against certain parts of the Bill continued to pour in from county councils **and** municipal bodies, and before Parliament rose Mr. Chamberlain announced that in the course of the vacation he would issue a White Paper containing important alterations.

After the statements of Lord Cushendun and Mr. Bridgeman, the Anglo-French naval agreement was regarded, in England at any rate, as completely dead. The estrangement between England and America to which it had given rise still, however, continued; in fact, official relations between the two countries were worse than they had been for a generation. It was significant that Mr. Kellogg when he visited Europe in August to sign the Peace Pact carefully avoided passing through London, and Sir A. Chamberlain just as pointedly omitted to visit Washington when he was in America a couple of months later. A counterblast to this wave of ill-feeling was provided by certain demonstrations of friendship between the two countries of which the American Embassy in London was the focus. On November 22 a banquet was given in honour of the American Ambassador, Mr. Houghton, who had resumed the post after unsuccessfully seeking election to the United States Senate. One of the guests, Lord Lee of Fareham, an ex-First Lord of the Admiralty, who had been one of the British representatives at the Washington Conference in 1921, took the opportunity to make a striking plea for a return to the old relationship between the two countries. He said that throughout the recent unhappy controversies over the cruisers and the so-called Anglo-French Pact, the one redeeming feature had been that the hearts and heads of the British people were sound, and the Government departments concerned were not representing either their views or their intentions. The British people would never sanction any pact, agreement, or understanding—with the French or any other Power—which could adversely affect the interests of the United States. The trouble, he thought, was due to two things. At Geneva in the previous year the experts and Admiralty representatives had predominated at the council table instead of the statesmen, with the result that the skeins of peace **and good understanding had been entangled almost beyond the pos-**

sibility of future unravelling. Then in the present year Britain had committed the mistake of linking herself with France in making her approaches to America. This was a sure way to make America uneasy and suspicious. In doing business with America, England had better do it alone, unhampered by any embarrassing partnership. He believed that any preferential relationship with France, or indeed with any Great Power in Europe, was as distasteful to the British people as it would be detrimental to their relations with America.

Shortly afterwards the American colony in London showed that it reciprocated Lord Lee's sentiments by inviting the Prime Minister to its Thanksgiving Day celebration—a rare compliment for a foreigner. Mr. Baldwin spoke of the historic ties which bound England to the United States, without, however, referring to the present estrangement. Mr. Houghton remarked that every difference between the two countries in the past had been followed by a strengthening of friendship, and he expressed his confidence that the same would be the case on the present occasion also.

In one of his speeches dealing with the Naval Pact, Mr. Baldwin had expressed the opinion that the estrangement between Britain and America was due in part to the lack of personal contact between the leading politicians on both sides. He was taken at his word by Mr. Britten, the chairman of the American Naval Affairs Committee, who wrote to him suggesting an interview. Mr. Baldwin excused himself tactfully by pointing out that his official position precluded him from entering into such an informal conversation.

Sir Austen Chamberlain, who after his breakdown in the summer had left England for an extended sea-cruise, returned at the beginning of December sufficiently restored in health to resume his duties at the Foreign Office. He signalled his return to Parliament by making a statement which exasperated the Labour Party and was not calculated to improve British relations with Germany. As he was about to attend the forthcoming League of Nations Council meeting at Lugano, some Labour members sought to obtain a promise from him that he would use his influence to bring about the speediest possible evacuation of the Rhineland. His reply was that Germany could not in law demand the evacuation, not having yet fulfilled the stipulations of the Treaty of Versailles concerning reparations, but as a matter of practical politics the British Government would welcome an agreement for the early withdrawal of the Allied troops. Sir Austen's linking of the question of evacuation with that of reparations caused general surprise, as only a few days before Mr. Churchill had stated categorically that in the opinion of the Government they were quite distinct. Labour members in the next few days repeatedly tried to make Sir Austen define his position more precisely, but they could obtain only renewed assurances that he desired the evacuation to

take place as soon as possible. He avoided committing himself on the interpretation of the treaty, and in the end went to Lugano with a free hand—which meant in effect freedom to support the French demands.

With the approach of winter a number of appeals were made to the public to come to the relief of the distressed population in the mining areas, especially in South Wales and the North-Eastern district. Mr. John Galsworthy, the well-known writer, had a short time before stirred the imagination of the public with a pathetic picture, drawn from personal observation, of a mining population ruined by forces utterly beyond its control, and lingering in its villages "idle, hopeless, and increasingly destitute." The Lord Mayor of London announced on November 1 that the fund which he had opened in April for the distressed miners had produced only 90,000l., a sum quite inadequate for meeting the needs of the population, and he urged the public to give more liberally. Towards the end of the month the Miners' Federation also made an appeal. On December 3 the Prime Minister informed Parliament that the Government had the subject constantly in view, but did not think it necessary as yet to make a special grant.

On December 5 a Conference of Lord Mayors and Mayors of England and Wales was held at the Mansion House to consider further measures for the relief of distress in the mining areas. The Minister of Health wrote the Conference a letter in which he said that the situation in the mining areas was without parallel in the memory of living persons, owing to the fact that as far as the mining industry itself was concerned the unemployment of a large number of its workers must be regarded as permanent. The ultimate solution of the problem, he thought, was the migration of the unemployed from the devastated areas to other places, whether in England or abroad, as indicated by the Industrial Transference Board, but this required time. Much was being done in the interval by the payment of unemployment benefit and poor relief, but there was also a vast field for voluntary assistance. The ex-Lord Mayor of London, Sir C. Batho, who had just visited South Wales, testified both to the sufferings of the population and the calm fortitude with which they were borne. It was ultimately agreed to support the Lord Mayor's Fund and to recommend the head of each municipality to consider the way in which help could best be given by the citizens of that municipality and to take steps accordingly. Shortly afterwards the Prime Minister supplemented the action of the Lord Mayor by circularising the Lords Lieutenant of counties in the same sense, and he also placed Government offices and an organiser at his disposal for the purpose of co-ordinating the various relief efforts.

Meanwhile renewed pressure was brought to bear on the Government to participate directly in the relief work, and before

long Mr. Baldwin came to the conclusion that it could no longer stand aloof. On December 17 he informed the House of Commons that the Government proposed to assist the removal of families of miners who had found work in new districts, and to add pound for pound to the Lord Mayor's Fund. Two days later a Supplementary Estimate for 295,625l., including 155,000l. for the Lord Mayor's Fund, 100,000l. for transference of unemployed work-people, and 20,000l. for distressed mining areas in Scotland, was laid before the House. The speech of the Prime Minister on the Report stage seemed to show that even this comparatively small sum was not given with too good a will. He laid stress on the efforts the Government was making on behalf of the miners by transference, by providing relief works, and by assisting emigration. For the rest he held that the chief responsibility lay on the community. He thought that the country was prosperous enough to absorb much of the surplus labour, also that it was a good thing on the whole for the work of relief to be left mainly to private charity ; "charity," he reminded his hearers, was identified in the Scripture with "love." Mr. MacDonaid, while assenting readily to the grant, did not miss the opportunity of reading the Government a lesson on its shortcomings. He countered the Premier's biblical reference with a Persian proverb which he regarded as more appropriate to the existing situation : "charity is a virtue that is required to overtake neglect and indolence," and he warned the Government that the unemployment problem still confronted them. Shortly afterwards the Prince of Wales made an appeal on behalf of the Lord Mayor's Fund (of which he assumed the Presidentship) and contributions began to flow in much more rapidly.

The report of the Street Offences Committee, which had been set up in October, 1927, was issued on December 10. The Committee after hearing a vast mass of evidence formed the conclusion that the existing law as it related to street offences against morality had worked reasonably well, but nevertheless it contained serious defects. They therefore recommended that the existing regulations should be repealed and replaced by a simple enactment against importuning for immoral purposes applicable to both sexes alike. It was further recommended that the evidence of one or more of the persons aggrieved should be essential to a conviction, and that magistrates should have power to increase penalties progressively for repeated offences.

A new scheme for reforming the House of Lords was propounded in that assembly on December 11 by a Conservative peer, Lord Clarendon. Its principal features were that 150 peers should be elected by the whole body of peers, and that 150 more should be nominated by the Crown for the life of each Parliament in proportion to the strength of parties in the Commons. In this way it was hoped that the House would be rendered an effective Second

Chamber in harmony with the Government of the day, to which ever party it belonged. Lord Clarendon said that the chief object of the resolution was to prevent the question of the reform of the House of Lords from being shelved and to "ginger up" the Government to deal with it during the course of the General Election. The Lord Chancellor, speaking for the Government, refused to have anything to do with the scheme, either at once or in the future. He pointed out that it would not command the assent even of the whole of the Conservative Party, much less of the other parties, and the Government were unwilling to change the constitution of the Upper House except on a plan which would command general agreement; this was the reason why they had not pushed through their own scheme in the previous year. Lord Salisbury at a later stage of the debate deplored the fact that the younger Conservatives in the House of Commons did not seem to realise the danger of a clash between the House of Lords as at present constituted and a non-Conservative Government; but he also was of opinion that until there was agreement in the Conservative Party itself, the Government could not move in the matter. The details of Lord Clarendon's scheme were adversely criticised by a number of speakers, but a motion affirming the principle that the number of members of the Upper House should be reduced and that steps should be taken to ensure to each political party a fair representation was carried by 52 votes to 8, the opposition coming from the Labour peers, who desired to leave matters *in statu quo*.

On December 12 the Minister of Health announced in the House of Commons that he had issued an order abolishing the subsidy on new houses which was still paid under the 1923 scheme and reducing by 25l. the subsidy payable under the 1924 scheme (*vide ANNUAL REGISTER*, 1926, p. 134). He said that the object of this step was not, as the Opposition would probably suppose, to save money to the Treasury, but to reduce the price of houses, experience having convinced him that this rose and fell automatically with the subsidy. On the other hand, he was equally convinced that the reduction of the subsidy made no difference to the rate of house building. Mr. Greenwood disputed the Minister's interpretation of the facts, asserting that the fall in the price of houses which took place after the reduction of the subsidy in 1926 could be explained by other causes, such as the fall in wages. Labour speakers prophesied that the new Order would injuriously affect the provision of small houses, but they could not prevent it from being sanctioned by a substantial majority.

On December 12 a debate took place in the House of Lords on the regulation of motor traffic. Lord Cecil brought forward a Bill, the chief object of which was to reduce the appalling number of casualties directly due to motor vehicles. Lord Cecil saw the chief danger from motor traffic in the craze for speed, and it was

against this evil that his Bill was largely directed. Other speakers pointed out that fast-moving vehicles were responsible for only a comparatively small proportion of the accidents, and criticised Lord Cecil's proposals as far too drastic. All, however, admitted that it was urgently necessary for something to be done, though whatever step was suggested seemed to be open to serious objections. In the end it was decided to give the Bill a second reading on the understanding that it should be referred to the Royal Commission which was then considering the question of motor traffic (*vide* p. 72), with a request that that body should give an early report upon it.

Some incidents occurred at this time which showed that the programme adopted by the Labour Party Congress in October by no means commanded the universal assent of the party. Although his campaign in the country had been a failure, Mr. Maxton remained president of the Independent Labour Party, and in that position continued to proclaim his own view of Labour policy and to criticise unsparingly the official programme. At the end of November a determined effort was made by the section of the I.L.P. which was loyal to Mr. MacDonald to bring that body into line with the heads of the Labour Party. Dr. Salter, the Labour member for Bermondsey, wrote a letter to the Press in which he denounced in scathing terms Mr. Maxton's disruptionist activities, comparing him to a pirate chief who flew his own "jolly Roger" at the masthead. This was followed by a meeting of the I.L.P. to consider Mr. Maxton's position (Dec. 6). Some plain speaking was indulged in, and when the meeting was adjourned it looked as if either Mr. Maxton would have to resign, or a large number of members would leave the party. When, however, the meeting was resumed a week later, all difficulties were amicably smoothed over. The episode ended in a complete victory for Mr. Maxton, who was allowed to continue flying his own flag while the loyalists looked the other way.

From another quarter came a revolt against the Free Trade doctrine which was an essential part of the Labour programme. At the end of November the textile trade unions of the South Yorkshire district decided by a small majority to support the employers in pressing for a safeguarding duty on imported dress pieces. Mr. Snowden and the other Labour members for the West Riding took a serious view of this step, and tried to induce the unions to rescind their decision, but without success. A little later the Labour leaders were placed in a still more difficult position by the request of the Iron and Steel Trades Confederation to allow it to press for a thorough inquiry by the Government into all proposals for improving the state of their industry, not excluding safeguarding. The Executive of the Labour Party discussed the question with a committee of the Confederation on December 19, and decided in the end to support the request of the Confederation for such an inquiry.

The session wound up (Dec. 18) with a statement by the Secretary for Foreign Affairs on the latest developments in that field. The work done at the recent session of the League of Nations at Lugano was, he said, purely tentative and explanatory, preparatory to negotiations which they hoped might eventually lead to an agreement. The policy of the Government was still to secure the evacuation of the Rhineland as soon as possible, and for this purpose he maintained that it was advisable for Great Britain to preserve the independence of its own point of view and not to be committed either to the French or the German thesis of the legal interpretation of certain clauses in the Treaty of Versailles. In their relation to Russia there was no change so far as the Government was concerned. Speeches recently made in Moscow showed that there was no change of heart or mind in the authorities there, and therefore he did not think it was of any use to reopen negotiations. He regretted the cloud that had come over Anglo-American relations, but refused to believe that it was more than transitory. Although the Arbitration Treaty which had lapsed in the summer had not yet been renewed, they still had the Bryan-Spring-Rice Treaty which he thought they might use in the near future much more than any arbitration treaty. The Government, he said, were considering the questions of disarmament and belligerent rights, but had not yet reached conclusions which would enable them to open negotiations with the United States. The Labour Party was greatly dissatisfied with the statement, but no time was left for raising a debate upon it.

The attempt to save the Lancashire cotton industry entered upon a new phase with the issue on December 4 of a draft report by the joint committee of cotton trade organisations. Since its unsuccessful efforts in the spring, this body had strengthened itself by the inclusion of representatives of the operatives. Its recommendations now were conceived in a wholly different spirit from those of the previous occasion. Not a word was said about reduction of wages or lengthening of hours. Instead the whole burden of reconstruction was laid on the capitalists. The two indispensable remedies, it was held, were a drastic writing down of capital and large-scale amalgamations of mills. Public opinion in the industry had been gradually prepared for these suggestions in the preceding six months, and, great as were the sacrifices they demanded, they found ready acceptance among millowners, directors, and shareholders. The Lancashire banks also expressed their readiness to assist. Certain London banks, however, which held the key of the situation, hung back, and through their hesitation the year closed without any definite step having been taken to re-organise the industry.

Like its predecessor, the year 1928 was one of profound peacefulness (judged by the standard of previous years) in the industrial world. The only labour trouble of sufficient importance to

attract the attention of the public was a local dispute in the Lancashire cotton trade in June, which was settled before it could assume serious dimensions. In the engineering and shipbuilding trades the workers were pressing throughout the year for a rise in wages, but they did not at any time use the strike threat. One factor which made powerfully for good relations between capital and labour was undoubtedly the Mond-Turner Conference. The influence of this body was, however, seriously jeopardised towards the end of the year by the long delay of the employers' associations in signifying their attitude towards the decisions which it reached in July (*vide* p. 05). In the December number of *Co-partnership* Mr. Turner wrote an article in which he expostulated with them on their prolonged silence, pointing out that it was seriously compromising the good work of the Conference. In spite of this appeal, however, the trade unions were still without knowledge of the employer's intentions when the year came to an end.

The year 1928 closed for England in an atmosphere of gloom owing not only to the distress in the mining areas but also to the serious illness of King George. His Majesty fell ill at the end of November and underwent an operation for pleurisy in the middle of December. Though he made progress, his condition was still critical the end of the year. When his illness commenced the Prince Wales, along with his brother the Duke of Gloucester, was in Central Africa on a hunting expedition, but on learning of the serious nature of his father's complaint, he immediately returned home post haste, his brother following him a few days later.

FOREIGN AND IMPERIAL HISTORY.

CHAPTER I.

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

GENERAL.

1928 has been a mixed year for the League with advances in some directions and set-backs in others, against a general background of the League being taken for granted as a permanent feature of the international landscape. The League has come to grips with the fundamental problems of securing world peace and world order, but cannot be said to have made much headway with any of them in the past year.

On the one hand, as regards the universalisation of the League Spain has returned to active membership and was elected to the Council in September with a declaration of re-eligibility. While the United States, Mexico, Turkey, and the Soviet Union have been collaborating more widely than ever in the League's activities. With the ending of the civil war stage in China and the dawn of negotiations on China's international status and on the advice and assistance she may require in internal reconstruction, the possibility of the Chinese using their membership of the League actively to promote their interests becomes greater, and the visit of the League deputy Secretary-General. M. Avenol, to China is in this connexion welcome and significant. On the other hand, none of the non-member States shows any sign of wishing to become a member, while the position in Latin-America is far from satisfactory. Mexico and Ecuador are not members, Brazil and Costa Rica have withdrawn from membership, the Argentine which has already retired from the Pan-American Union is said to be on the point of also announcing her definite withdrawal from the League, Chile, although a member of the Council, is believed to be not far from a similar course, while Bolivia and Peru have long ceased to attend the League Assembly or to take any active interest in its doings.

ARBITRATION, SECURITY, DISARMAMENT.

(1) *The Growth of Armaments.*—As regards disarmament there has been a good deal of preparation and discussion of texts but no sign that any important government is really willing to disarm,

The tendency in fact has so far been the other way, and during the past three years there has been a steady increase in the armaments budgets of all the Great Powers, and notably of Soviet Russia, Germany, France, Great Britain, Italy, and the United States. In several cases, including the British and French, the 1913 level, allowing for the difference in the purchasing power of gold, has been reached, while the United States have never spent so much money on preparations for war as they are doing now. On the other hand, popular opposition in the countries where public opinion is a force to be reckoned with is becoming stronger and more vocal. It has already resulted in cutting down the gigantic American naval programme to the relatively modest measure of 15 cruisers in 5 years. In Germany the building of one cruiser almost cost the Government its life. In France the Radical Socialists have joined the Socialists in opposing the present French armaments budget, and for the first time a strong body of opinion appears to be growing up in favour of a move toward reduction of armaments. The same may be said of Great Britain where in any case the Government though not fertile in plans for disarmament is doing very little building.

(2) *What has been Attempted.*—In the meantime what has already been done by the League Preparatory Commission has at least shown the points on which countries must have a positive policy if disarmament is to be achieved. These points are roughly categories, tonnage and gun calibre in naval armaments, total horse-power and number of units in air armaments, limitation of effectives in land as well as air and naval armaments, and limitation of material and budgets for all three. The Preparatory Commission rejected the Soviet Union's proposal for a convention providing for total disarmament by four stages of one year each. After this meeting an attempt was made by France and Great Britain to provide a basis for agreement on naval armaments, but as the proposed basis involved limitation of the heavy cruisers considered essential by the United States while leaving completely unlimited light cruisers and small submarines desired by Great Britain and France respectively, and granted the latter's demand for complete equality with Great Britain and America in these categories of armaments, it was rejected outright by the United States and so strongly criticised in Great Britain and elsewhere as to cause a revulsion of feeling in favour of the method of tackling the problem through the Preparatory Commission instead of by secret discussions between two or three great Powers.

(3) *Peaceful Settlement of Disputes.*—In the field of peaceful settlement of disputes the compulsory jurisdiction of the Court is steadily increasing, Germany, Spain, and Hungary have all adhered to the optional clause, and a number of new treaties providing for resort to the Court in disputes as to their interpretation or application. The 9th Assembly adopted and opened to

signature a text based on drafts framed by the Arbitration and Security Committee known as the General Act, and providing for the peaceful settlement of all disputes by conciliation, judicial settlement or arbitration. The General Act further makes it possible for States to accede with reservations concerning any of these modes of settlement or of certain categories of questions, but gives a definition of the reservations that are permissible and stipulates that the Court should have power to decide whether or not any given dispute comes under such a reservation. A Government may at any moment withdraw its reservations and adhere completely to the General Act, which is open to all States whether or not members of the League.

(4) *The "Outlawry" of War.*—The event that has attracted most attention in the past year is perhaps the signature of the so-called Kellogg Pact for the renunciation of war. This was welcomed at the 9th Assembly as being entirely in harmony with the provisions and spirit of the Covenant, but no attempt was made authoritatively to define its relation to that instrument and hence the interpretation binding on members of the League, partly because of the fears of certain Latin-American States and partly lest such action should jeopardise ratification of the Pact by the United States Senate. The Latin-American countries were afraid lest in renouncing war as an instrument of national policy the United States in view of the action of the British Government should reserve the Monroe Doctrine, and hence give this doctrine a new and dangerous interpretation in the sense that under it war might henceforward be used by the United States as an instrument of national policy against Latin-American countries. A further point much criticised is the endorsement by the British and French Governments of Mr. Kellogg's statement that sovereign States are alone competent to decide, regardless of treaty provisions, when recourse to war on their part is justifiable in self-defence. This, it is pointed out, is an accurate description of pre-war international law or rather anarchy, but the Covenant was devised primarily to put an end once and for all to the right of States to start hostilities on their own view of the rights of the situation. By the Covenant members of the League undertake *in no case* to resort to war before submitting a dispute to some form of procedure for peaceful settlement or until a certain period has elapsed after the giving of the award or against a State that has accepted such an award. In case of war breaking out it is *the community of nations* acting on the advice of the Council and *not* the individual belligerent which decides whether or not this fundamental obligation has been violated and which is further pledged to coerce into restoring peace a State that the community considers has unlawfully resorted to war. This provision is the basis of the whole Covenant, and the capital distinction between the pre-war anarchy and the post-war organised community of nations, and no interpretation of the

Kellogg Pact that ignores it is compatible with the Covenant or consequently permissible to members of the League.

On the other hand, it is argued that the adoption of the Pact will rule out private war altogether by making any war-maker also a treaty-breaker {i.e., a violator of the Covenant or the Kellogg Pact or both), and further that the members of the League would be pledged to coerce such a treaty-breaker into restoring peace while the United States would be morally pledged at least not to hinder the efforts of the League. It is also believed that the treaty may be regarded both in America and Europe as only a first step and lead to further co-operation between the United States and the League in building up the institutions of peace, reducing armaments, and promoting international co-operation and the pacific settlement of disputes.

ECONOMIC WORK.

A good deal was done during 1928 to put into practice the principles laid down in the World Economic Conference of May, 1927. Exactly a year after that date the first meeting was held of the Economic Consultative Committee, which is a replica on a smaller scale of the Conference, comprising as it does among its 55 members economists, bankers, representatives of commerce, industry, and agriculture, the Trade Union Movement and delegations from big international organisations, such as the International Chamber of Commerce, the World Co-operative Alliance and the Scientific Institute of Agriculture in Rome. The Consultative Committee is to meet annually in order to watch over the way the recommendations of the Economic Conference are being carried out by the technical bodies such as the Economic Committee and various committees and groups of experts in conjunction with the International Labour Organisation, the International Institute of Statistics and the other institutions mentioned.

The preliminary work has already been done and conventions framed, adopted, and opened to signature as regards export and import restrictions and prohibitions, the export and import of hides and bones and the supply of industrial and commercial statistics. The Soviet Union, Turkey, and the United States took part in the framing of the latter convention, which is obviously of prime importance, since a full, reliable and prompt supply of information on the world's production and trade in staple commodities must clearly be the basis for any organised international co-operation in this field. The removal of the vexatious export and import restrictions and prohibitions that have been hampering trade since the war will be another big step forward, while agricultural countries are particularly concerned with the carrying out

of the convention that practically puts an end to the obstacles hitherto thrown in the way of exporting hides and bones. In this connexion a veterinary convention is being drafted with the double object of securing on the one hand really efficient sanitary inspection so as to prevent the introduction of animal or plant diseases, and on the other of eliminating the excuse of the danger of introducing disease as a reason for shutting out the animal or vegetable products of other countries—a practice frequently indulged in at present with harmful results to trade.

A good deal has also been done to prepare a convention establishing a uniform customs nomenclature. Hitherto the same product has been classified in different ways in different countries, causing a good deal of uncertainty and vexatious delays to trade. A uniform classification is as important as a full and uniform supply of statistics for further action in the field of international economic relations.

Thus the work of preparing a convention that will give a uniform and wide interpretation to the most favoured nation clause in commercial treaties, in order to eliminate all forms of political chicane and discrimination, depends to some extent upon reliable statistics and uniform customs nomenclature to become effective in practice. The connexion is even closer when it comes to the work that has gone on in the last year to devise means for a general and co-ordinated reduction of tariffs. As a first step it is proposed to select a number of basic products, such as, *e.g.*, wood and wood pulp, leather, cement, semi-finished iron, on which there should be agreements for a reduction of tariffs. A uniform customs nomenclature must obviously be at the basis of any such action, which is regarded as the most feasible first step, without prejudice to the study of methods for achieving a general reduction of say 5 to 10 per cent, every few years on all tariffs.

Investigations have been launched into the state of the sugar and coal industries, on the view that in both cases the problem is essentially international, since similar conditions of apparent over-production exist all over the world.

Action is also being prepared to follow up the recommendations of the Economic Conference concerning supervision or at least the gathering of information about international cartels and combines and a study of the economic causes of war.

A draft convention on the treatment of foreign nationals and enterprises, and drafts aiming at the assimilation of laws on bills of exchange and cheques have been prepared.

The Financial Committee has watched over the progress of the refugee settlement schemes in Bulgaria and Greece, and fresh loans were issued by both countries in this connexion during 1928. The Financial Committee has also taken up the question of the purchasing power of gold in accordance with the recommendation of the Economic Conference and with a view to ascer-

tain whether it is possible to stabilise not only exchange but also price levels.

TRANSIT AND COMMUNICATIONS.

The Transit Organisation put the finishing touches to a scheme for the unification of road signals, pursued its examination of the rules of the road, and instituted an inquiry into two problems of interest to motorists—the system for the taxation of foreign tourists' vehicles and customs formalities for commercial motor traffic. It drew up a draft convention on certain aspects of river law and studied another on methods of certifying the nationality of vessels used in inland navigation. A special committee studied economic methods of co-operation between air traffic undertakings in the various countries. Definite recommendations on combined rail and air transport were submitted to Governments by the authorities concerned.

THE HEALTH ORGANISATION.

The Health Organisation continued to develop its manifold and far-reaching activities in the realms of epidemiological intelligence and public health statistics, study tours and individual missions for medical officers, inquiries into sleeping-sickness, relations between health insurance companies and public health services, malaria, infantile mortality, standardisation of sera, serological tests and biological products, cancer, smallpox, and vaccination, etc. A small expert conference was held at the Pasteur Institute in Paris to draw up the lines for an international investigation of the technique and efficacy of vaccination against tuberculosis by the so-called Calmette-Guerin bacilli.

OPIUM AND DANGEROUS DRUGS.

The 1925 Geneva Opium Convention came into force in 1928 with the deposit of sufficient ratifications, and the Central Board called for by this convention has now been appointed. This begins a new phase of the struggle against the drug evil, where the root difficulty is now seen to be the manufacture of quantities of habit-forming drugs many times greater than the amounts that can by any stretch of the imagination be considered as necessary for scientific and medical purposes.

THE PERMANENT COURT OF INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE

The growing prestige of the Court and the growing strength of the movement for making its jurisdiction compulsory in justiciable disputes have been touched upon above in connexion with arbitration. This year Charles Evans Hughes, former Secretary of State for the United States and perhaps America's most distinguished

lawyer, was elected by the Assembly and Council to replace Judge Moore, who had resigned. A committee of jurists has been appointed to consider in what respects the statute might be amended in the light of the seven years' experience of the Court's working and in view of the fact that a general election of judges will be held in 1931. For one thing it is considered desirable to stipulate that all the judges should be resident at The Hague and their salaries raised accordingly instead of the present system of small salaries, with allowances when a judge is present at The Hague. The need for this change is a tribute to the rapid growth of the Court's prestige and work.

THE PROGRESSIVE CODIFICATION OF INTERNATIONAL LAW.

A start was made in 1928 with the vast and indeed never-ending subject of codification of international law (never-ending because international law continues to grow and develop, with no limit in sight). After preliminary inquiries by a group of experts from Governments and International Law Associations, it was decided that the questions of territorial waters (limits of and jurisdiction within), nationality, and responsibility of States for acts committed in their territories against representatives of foreign States were ripe for codification by means of multilateral conventions. A questionnaire was accordingly framed and sent round to Governments, and by the end of the year some 30 replies have been received, which will be dealt with by a group of five distinguished jurists in February, 1929, with a view to classifying the material received so as to bring out points of agreement and difference and suggest the lines along which conventions might be framed. This material will then be referred for the adoption of conventions to a codification of law conference that will be held at The Hague in 1929 or 1930, according to the progress of the work involved and budgetary exigencies. In the meantime two further subjects, namely, the status and functions of consuls and the competence of national courts in regard to foreign States, have been selected as ripe for international regulation and will be submitted to the same procedure as the former three.

POLITICAL DISPUTES.

The Vilna dispute, after putting an end to the state of war between Poland and Lithuania by the Council last December, and the Rumanian squabble over Hungarian optants dragged their interminable length throughout 1928. In the former both parties have at last agreed to the direct intervention of the League through the Transit Organisation, whose recommendations concerning resumption of normal economic relations in the business interests not only of the two parties but of the international

community Lithuania will find it hard to resist, while Rumania and Hungary seem to be within sight of a settlement by direct negotiation. At the end of the year Bolivia and Paraguay started a spectacular quarrel with alarms and excursions, occupations of so-called forts, rumours of mobilisation, etc. M. Briand, the Acting President of the Council, in some strongly worded telegrams secured a recognition by both parties that they were bound by the Covenant not to proceed with hostilities before submitting their dispute to peaceful procedure. Reminded of this clear treaty obligation Bolivia found it impossible any longer to refuse to accept the mediation of the Pan-American Conference, to which Paraguay had all along been willing to submit. This demonstration of the League's moral authority is bound to have some effect in restoring its prestige in South America.

CHAPTER II.

IRELAND.

NORTHERN IRELAND.

THE most important political developments in Northern Ireland during the year took place outside Parliament. In view of the approaching General Elections all the existing Opposition parties were occupied in efforts to strengthen and extend their organisations, and new groups emerged which propose to make a bid for a place in the sun.

Though ten Nationalist members had been sitting in the House since the autumn of 1927 they had lacked the backing of a definite political organisation. This defect was remedied in May by the formation of the National League, and Mr. Devlin in announcing its programme declared on behalf of the Nationalist minority : " There is not, and there is not going to be, any attempt of any kind, much less a conspiracy, to force the people of Northern Ireland into a Dublin, or any other Parliament." Members of the League, however, declined to act as the official Opposition, and as the Labour Party had formally withdrawn from this position a curiously lop-sided position resulted in Parliament.

In July a manifesto was issued announcing the revival of the Liberal Party, and Sir Herbert Samuel at a meeting in Belfast stated that candidates will be run in Ulster constituencies for both the Imperial and the Northern Parliaments. A certain amount of organisation work has been done, but so far no selections for Parliamentary honours have been announced.

More serious from the point of view of the Government was the agitation, strongly pressed by a powerful section of temperance reformers, to compel Ministers to withdraw their veto against the

introduction of a measure of local option. In December the "Drys" took the extreme step of nominating a candidate in opposition to the official Unionist who had been selected to contest North Belfast at the Imperial Parliament election; and it is anticipated that other local optionists will be put forward for seats in the Northern Parliament. As the political "Drys" are overwhelmingly Unionist and command a large following in the Protestant Churches their intervention in the electoral lists might easily split the Government vote in several constituencies to the advantage of Nationalists and Labour.

The Protestant Churches also criticised the Government in relation to the administration of the Education Act, and in conjunction with the Orange Order agitated for an amending Bill to ensure that instruction in Scripture should be given in all schools where it is desired by parents and pupils, and that bodies transferring schools should have reasonable representation on borough and regional committees. At the end of the year negotiations were still in progress.

Mr. Pollock's Budget (May 21) showed a surplus of 248,615l. upon a revenue of 11,024,000l. after providing for sinking fund charges, administration expenses, and a contribution of 1,400,000l. to the cost of Imperial services. The Minister of Finance declared in his statement that the financial credit of Northern Ireland was unassailable.

The main subject of Parliamentary discussion during the year was the Representation of the People Bill. All parties were in agreement as to the central principle of the measure by which the Parliamentary franchise was extended to women of 21. Ministers, however, had included in the Bill a provision to confer the local government franchise upon limited companies, and this was bitterly resisted by the Opposition groups as a return to the system of plural voting. Every clause of the Bill was contested, and in the committee stage prolonged night sittings were the rule. Towards the close of the proceedings in committee (Nov. 22) a couple of Nationalist members who had been ruled out of order on a question of procedure by the Deputy Speaker refused to bow to the authority of the chair, and together with three Labour members and two Independent Unionists who had supported their action were removed from the Chamber by the police. As a protest against these suspensions the remaining Nationalist members declined to take further part in the proceedings of the House until the return of their colleagues. A few days later a public meeting was arranged in the Ulster Hall at which all sections of the Opposition spoke from the same platform in angry denunciation of the attitude of the Government "in forcing through highly contentious legislation without regard to the opinions or convenience of the Opposition."

The withdrawal of the Opposition secured an easy passage for

the Rating and Valuation (Apportionment) Bill modelled on the British de-rating scheme, which will relieve the farmers of Northern Ireland of rates to the amount of 512,000*l.* and industry to the amount of 120,000*l.* The loss in rates to the local authorities is to be made good by Exchequer grants, and the money, it is expected, will be provided by an adjustment of the contribution to the Imperial Treasury.

Once again the municipal difficulties of Belfast attracted more popular attention during the year than the deliberations of the Northern Parliament. In the early weeks of January a deadlock was created by the rejection on a plebiscite of the ratepayers of a Parliamentary Bill which the Corporation desired to promote. The Lord Mayor's special committee of six members, which was set up to deal with the situation, enlisted the services of Mr. Arthur Collins, the well-known expert on municipal problems, and his report, presented early in September, recommended drastic revisions of existing functions and procedure by which the Council would "serve as a deliberative body for the settlement of policy, delegating its executive powers and administrative acts to committees." After prolonged debates and in face of bitter opposition the majority of the Collins' recommendations were adopted, and it is proposed to embody those which require Parliamentary sanction in a new Bill to be promoted by the Council.

The position of critics who insist that the sole hope of reform depends upon replacing the Corporation by Commissioners on the Free State model was strengthened by the deplorable handling of the transport problem. Through a failure to make by-laws to safeguard the Corporation control of traffic inside its boundaries, scores of motor omnibus proprietors were enabled to run services in competition with the municipal tramways whose receipts began to dwindle at an alarming rate. Ultimately, with the assistance of the Ministry of Home Affairs, an agreement was arrived at (Nov. 2) by which the Belfast municipality secured a monopoly of city traffic. The proposal, as against the Corporation concession that licences should be limited in rural areas to protect operators who are providing a satisfactory service, met with strong objection from local authorities who threatened Parliamentary opposition to the agreement.

There was little improvement in economic conditions in the Six Counties during 1928. In shipbuilding Messrs. Harland & Wolff were busier than they have been for some years, and the re-opening of the yard of Messrs. Workman, Clark which had been closed down for some months helped to ease the burden of unemployment. Unfortunately the linen trade did not retrieve its position, as optimists hoped, and continental competition, especially in the American market, was so keen that Ulster manufacturers were forced to cut their rates in a fashion that left them the barest margin of profit. Throughout the year the total output

of linen goods showed a sharp decline. It was disappointing that while the home acreage under flax increased by 50 per cent. Ulster growers secured for their crops smaller prices than the figures paid for Russian flax which in pre-war times was always regarded as inferior. In agriculture generally, though the output of crops and stocks was fairly satisfactory, prices ruled so low as to hit the farmer hard.

The foundation-stone of the new Parliament and Administrative Buildings, which are being erected at Stormont out of funds provided by the Imperial Government, was laid (May 27) by the Duke of Abercorn who later in the year was sworn in for a second term as Governor of Northern Ireland.

THE IRISH FREE STATE.

Mr. Cosgrave's visit to the United States and Canada in the opening weeks of 1928 was in the technical sense entirely non-political. He went as the representative of the Free State to return thanks to the American people for their sympathy and support of the Irish cause at many critical junctures. But the visit proved to be of first-rate political importance, in that in addition to bringing home to large numbers of Americans a truer conception of the status of the Free State, it also opened the eyes of many Irishmen to the fact that while the President of the Executive Council is a party leader he is also the spokesman of the nation. This is a radically new development in Irish affairs which may have far-reaching consequences. On his journey to Ottawa Mr. Cosgrave and his party had a narrow escape through the de-railing of their train (Jan. 30).

Mr. de Valera had sailed to the United States some weeks before Mr. Cosgrave, but contrary to his practice on former visits he addressed few public meetings, and his efforts were directed to raising funds to enable him to start a new Republican daily paper in Dublin. On the eve of his return to Ireland the Fianna Fail leader stated in an interview at Boston that his party, if placed in power, "would inherit the Treaty with England and would have to do the best they could to change it." Mr. de Valera added "there would be peaceful negotiation, and it would not mean civil war."

This declaration confirmed the view of critics who argued that practical experience of the working of Parliamentary institutions would modify the attitude of the anti-treatyites. While they may still protest that they are in the Dail but not of it, the events of 1928 indicated that the party had definitely fitted itself into the existing political scheme. On the other hand, the Government formerly abandoned what was known as the stepping-stone policy, based on the assumption that the Free State was accepted merely as a preliminary to the establishment of a republic.

In a speech in the Dail (March 22) Mr. Ernest Blythe, who succeeded Mr. Kevin O'Higgins as Vice-President of the Executive Council and has steadily increased his political reputation during the year, thus defined the Cabinet position : " With regard to whether we aim at establishing an Irish Republic : we do not. We believe that this country within the British Commonwealth of Nations can enjoy greater freedom and security than outside it. Our policy within the Commonwealth is really to remove the anomalies that exist in the relations of the different members."

Though the gap between parties had been narrowing, there was no lack of hard hitting in Parliamentary encounters. The fiercest battles raged over a series of measures designed to effect changes in the Free State Constitution. In accordance with Article 48 of the Constitution Mr. de Valera presented a petition (May 1G) calling upon the Oireachtas to make provision to enable the people to exercise the Initiative, with the object, as he admitted, of obtaining by this means a popular vote on the retention of the oath of allegiance. The Government had previously announced their intention of introducing legislation to abolish both the Initiative and the Referendum, but Mr. de Valera was first in the field and his intervention created a very ticklish situation, from which Ministers were saved by Professor Thrift, one of the representatives of Trinity College, whose amendment that the petition should be postponed till regulations for the presentation of petitions under Article 48 had been prescribed, was carried by 12 votes.

The Government introduced (June 6) a measure to repeal Articles 47 and 48 of the Constitution which provided for the use of the Initiative and Referendum, and in addition submitted to the Dail a series of Bills amending the Constitution so as to give effect to the recommendations of a Joint Committee appointed to inquire into changes in the constitution of the Senate, its powers and the method of electing its members. Briefly the Government proposals were (1) that instead of election by a popular vote new members of the Senate should be chosen by the Dail and Senate voting together on the principle of proportional representation ; (2) that, save in the case of Bills to amend the Constitution, the Senate should not possess the power of demanding a Referendum ; (3) that its right to enforce the suspension of Bills should be increased from 9 to 18 months ; and (4) that the disqualification of Senators for membership of the Executive Council should be removed.

Mr. de Valera announced that his party in addition to offering the strongest opposition to the Constitution Bills would obstruct all Government business, thus making it easy for Ministers to enforce a stringent closure resolution. There were lively skirmishes in the Chamber, but on the whole Fianna Fail did not show much talent for obstruction on scientific lines, and the Bills were

carried by safe, if small, majorities, Labour members generally voting with Fianna Fail. Towards the end of the debates hostility was modified by a statement from the Government that proposals were under consideration to extend the period—fixed originally at 1930—during which the Constitution remains flexible and can be altered by legislation in the ordinary way.

Results in the first Senate elections under the new system were announced on December 4. The desire of all political groups to submit strictly party lists excluded a large number of aspirants, and only 26 candidates were forthcoming for 19 vacancies. Amongst the retiring Senators who did not seek re-election was Lord Glenavy who had acted as Chairman since the Chamber was set up in 1921. He was succeeded by the former Vice-Chairman, Mr. Westropp-Bennett. Fianna Fail, which carried its full quota of six candidates, was represented in the Second Chamber for the first time. The return of Mr. T. Johnson, the former leader of the Labour Party in the Dail, led to a breach in the Labour ranks, two Senators, Mr. Foran and Mr. Duffy, withdrawing from the party on the ground that preferences had not been allocated to a candidate representing the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union in accordance with an agreement arrived at between Labour supporters prior to the election.

During the autumn session of the Dail, which began on October 10, the most important piece of constructive legislation placed on the Statute Book was the Cork City Management Bill, under which the experiment was to be tried of entrusting executive powers in municipal affairs to a City manager controlled by a small elected council.

The Censorship of Publications Bill which passed its second reading without a division was raked with criticism by the majority of Irish intellectuals and literary men, who protested that it went far beyond its nominal purpose of suppressing pornographic publications, and might be used to prohibit the free expression of opinion. The measure proposed to set up a Censorship Board which, if four of its five members were agreed, could advise the Minister of Justice to prohibit the importation or sale of any book which was indecent or obscene or tended to inculcate "principles contrary to public morality." In regard to birth control propaganda it would not be necessary for the Censorship Board to make recommendations as literature of this type is declared by the Bill to be unlawful and may neither be sold, printed, nor distributed in the Free State. Mr. de Valera, while welcoming the measure in principle, was not satisfied with many of its details, and expressed the fear that the phrase "principles contrary to public morality" might be interpreted in a political sense hostile to Fianna Fail. The Government promised to revise this clause in Committee, and many amendments from its own side of the House have been tabled to the Bill.

The economic situation improved during the year, and though agriculture was still engaged in an uphill struggle, the adverse trade balance had been substantially reduced. In the Budget statement (April 26) Mr. Blythe estimated revenue from all sources at 22,993,869l., leaving a deficit of 1,148,803l., which he proposed to make good from sources that will provide revenue for only one year. According to the Minister for Finance, the total dead-weight debt of the Free State was about 20 millions, and he foreshadowed additional taxation in 1929 unless there was drastic retrenchment in expenditure and in addition an improvement in the yield of existing taxes.

To deal with the economic difficulties of the Irish-speaking areas (roughly, the old congested districts), the Government decided to transfer the Department of Lands from the Ministry of Agriculture to the Ministry of Fisheries. Under this arrangement a single Minister will control practically all the affairs of the Gaeltacht, as the districts are now called, and will be in a position to initiate schemes for the development of industries and the migration of groups of small farmers to more economic holdings.

The Free State was one of the original signatories of the American Treaty for the Renunciation of War, and Mr. Kellogg on his return voyage from France visited Dublin (Aug. 30) where he was honoured with a State procession and granted the freedom of the city. Now that the problem of maintaining order at home has ceased to absorb the energies of Ministers, they are devoting more attention to international affairs. Mr. McGilligan informed the Dail (Nov. 21) that it has been decided to establish Legations at Paris and Berlin. Mr. Timothy Smiddy, who was the first Free State Ambassador at Washington, was appointed High Commissioner in London, but had not taken up duty at the end of the year.

Free State Currency Notes were issued in September for the first time, and on the eve of Christmas these were followed by the new token coinage in silver, nickel, and copper. There has been a certain amount of criticism of the action of the Coinage Committee in selecting for representation the cow, the bull, the wolf-dog, and the hen, but there is no dispute as to the artistic merits of the designs executed by Mr. Percy Metcalfe. According to Mr. Blythe the Free State expects to make a profit of 600,000l. on the token coinage, and to clear 200,000l. annually from the currency notes.

Princess Mary, accompanied by Lord Lascelles, paid a visit in the first week of October to her husband's estates at Portumna, County Galway. A few days before she arrived in Dublin, an attempt, happily unsuccessful, was made by incendiaries to burn down Portumna Castle. Internal order has been so thoroughly established that the Government before the rising of the Dail in December repealed the drastic Public Safety Act passed after the murder of Kevin O'Higgins in July, 1927.

CHAPTER III.

FRANCE AND ITALY.

FRANCE.

AFTER many stormy years, 1928 was relatively uneventful for France. At the opening of the year the Poincare Ministry was still in power, and despite a *fausse sortie* it was to continue in power to the end. There were no further financial troubles : the franc was in fact, though not in law, stabilised. The negotiations for a Peace Pact—that is to say, a treaty under which it was agreed to renounce war as an instrument of national policy—continued. The French Foreign Minister, M. Briand, was strongly opposed to the multilateral pledges proposed by America, though he had initiated the discussion in 1927. France had hoped that a special link might be created between herself and the United States, by the joint signature of a somewhat meaningless paper. But Washington took the matter seriously. Not only was it sought to rule out warfare as between France and the United States, but it was also determined to secure the adhesion of all nations to a Peace Pact. France foresaw various diplomatic contingencies in which France's hands would be tied if the engagement were universal, and the proposed pact might prove to be inconsistent with existing alliances. Therefore (on Jan. 4) the Quai d'Orsay replied, suggesting that the multilateral pact should be considered later, and that France and the United States should, in the meantime, come to a private arrangement. The note pointed out that only aggressive war could be outlawed and that a definition of " aggression " was necessary.

On January 10 Parliament met in the last session before the General Election. The following day a decree was signed authorising the exportation of capital. This liberty had been suspended since 1918. The Russian Ambassador, M. Rakowski, in consequence of a Press campaign, had been recalled to Moscow, where he fell into disgrace on doctrinal grounds, in the autumn of the preceding year. There now came to replace him in Paris as Ambassador M. Dovgalevski; and Franco-Russian relations were not seriously disturbed. On January 13 a Kellogg note to M. Briand stated that the United States was unable to sign a pact confined to aggressive wars. Mr. Kellogg proposed that France should join the United States in a communication to the British, German, Italian, and Japanese Governments, with the object of eliciting their views. The French Government, in this month, took sterner steps to suppress Communist propaganda. Marcel Cachin and Paul Vaillant-Couturier, leaders of the Communist Party, were arrested after a debate in the Chamber, the Government demanding the suspension of their Parliamentary immunity.

They and others, Doriot, Marty, Clamanus, were sentenced to terms of imprisonment. On January 21 another Briand note was sent to Washington. It insisted on the liabilities of France in the event of aggressive warfare in various parts of Europe, and it suggested that there should be an agreement on sanctions. M. Briand turned his attention to another subject on February 2, replying to Herr Stresemann's demand for the evacuation of Rhineland. The conditions he laid down were that there should be permanent control of the demilitarised Rhineland zones, and a final settlement of the reparations problem. The following day M. Poincare, in an important speech in the Chamber, gave an account of his financial stewardship amid general approval.

It is well to make clear that the Arbitration Treaty between France and the United States, signed on February 6, is totally distinct from the Peace Pact which was still the subject of negotiations. Nevertheless in its preamble there are references to the condemnation of war as an instrument of national policy. It was provided that any dispute on which there could not be diplomatic agreement should be submitted to the Permanent International Commission, or, in certain conditions, to the Hague Court of Arbitration, or other competent tribunal. Exceptions to this procedure were made when the matter came within the domestic jurisdiction of the parties, or involved the interests of third parties, or touched the Monroe Doctrine, or concerned the obligations of France in accordance with the Covenant of the League of Nations.

The unrest in Alsace was becoming acute. The autonomist movement was gaining ground. M. Poincare therefore visited the province, and on February 12 delivered a speech which was at once conciliatory and comminatory. Further correspondence took place regarding the proposed pact—the note of Mr. Kellogg on February 27 firmly declaring in favour of a comprehensive pact. "I am reluctant to believe," wrote Mr. Kellogg, "that the provisions of the Covenant really stand in the way of the co-operation of the United States and members of the League of Nations in a common effort to abolish the institution of war." He trusted that France would not finally decide that the Covenant was in conflict with the idea of the abolition of war. These significant remarks greatly moved the French, though it was not until March 30 that the Quai d'Orsay expressed its willingness to accept the pact with reservations—that it should be signed by all nations, that violation of the treaty by one nation should automatically release all the signatories, that legitimate defence should be regarded as legal, that existing engagement should be respected. This note seemed to assure the conclusion of the pact.

The General Elections were at hand. On March 17 Parliament rose and the battle began in the constituencies. With the exception of the Socialists and Communists, members of the various

parties professed themselves Poincarist; and M. Poincare, in his speech at Bordeaux on March 25, was careful not to attack any of the parties. Radicals and Moderates fought each other, but they fought each other under the banner of Poincare. The Royalist Party, though without much political influence, was further discomfited by an order of the ecclesiastical authorities of March 29, forbidding the church celebration of marriages of adherents of the *Action Francaise* unless these adherents retracted their errors and submitted to the decisions of the Holy See. Ecclesiastical burial was likewise denied to the partisans of the *Action Francaise*, and the baptism of their children was forbidden.

The French aviators Costes and Le Brix created much enthusiasm when they landed at Le Bourget (April 14) after an extraordinary flight of sixty-thousand kilometres. They had spent 337 hours in the air. This exploit was held to redeem a long series of failures and diasters.

On April 22 and 29 the elections were held. The results showed a slight movement towards the Right, and appeared to confirm the policy of National Union. Variations in the precise figures are inevitable, but it may be taken that the composition of the Chamber is approximately as follows: 12 Conservatives, 140 Members of the Republican Federation, 22 Democrats, 94 Left Republicans, 64 Independent Radicals, 110 Socialist Radicals, 46 Socialist Republicans, 104 Socialists, 2 Socialist Communists, 14 Communists, 3 Regionalists. The Radicals lost seats as did the Communists, while the Socialists just held their own. The changes were negligible except in that they seemed to make a new Left Cartel in the present Chamber impossible. With the aid, however, of the Centre Parties, whom they hoped to detach from the National Union, Socialists and Radicals may yet contrive to form a precarious Government of the Left. For immediate purposes it suffices to say that the Government of M. Poincare continued to the end of the year.

The Alsatian troubles were emphasised when on May 1 the trial opened at Colmar of fifteen autonomists, including Dr. Ricklin and Joseph Rosse, who had been elected to the Chamber of Deputies—though they were invalidated. They were accused of conspiring against the security of the Republic. Their defence was that they were not opposed to France, but wished to maintain the acquired rights of Alsace and secure some measure of Home Rule within the framework of France. Undoubtedly there is a considerable body of feeling in Alsace against French rule—though this does not necessarily imply a preference for German rule. It is not easy to assimilate the recovered provinces and a number of grievances have been exploited. The ringleaders of the movement were condemned to a year's imprisonment but they were shortly afterwards released.

The 5 per cent, loan which was launched to repay advances

from the Bank of France to the State, and to redeem short-term bonds, was eminently successful. At the beginning of May it was announced that more than ten milliard francs had been subscribed. Encouraged by this mark of confidence, M. Poincare submitted a stabilisation Bill which passed the Chamber and Senate on the night following June 24. The rate that was adopted was equivalent to 25.52 to the dollar or 124.20 to the pound sterling. The actual value specified in the Bill was 65.05 milligrammes of gold alloy on the usual 90 per cent, basis. This return to the gold bullion standard ended the period of uncertainty which had lasted since the war and was hailed with satisfaction everywhere. The new franc is little more than one-fifth of its former value, pre-war parity rates being 5.18 to the dollar and 25.22 to the pound. These rates were slightly exceeded when the artificial pegging of the franc was removed after the armistice. Particularly in 1925 and 1926 did the currency slump, until it lost nine-tenths of its value. M. Poincare came into office in July, 1926, and there was an immediate improvement. The franc settled down in the neighbourhood of its present value by December of the same year. In legally stabilising the franc M. Poincare took advantage of a night sitting when the stock exchanges were closed. The Chamber passed the Bill by 448 votes against 18, the Socialists abstaining. The Senate ratified the project by 256 votes against 3.

Before the Chamber rose on July 9 it passed the Loucheur Housing Law—a measure designed to facilitate by loans the erection of habitations of which there is a serious shortage throughout France. In the meantime the correspondence between France and the United States on the subject of the Peace Pact proceeded. M. Briand issued a draft treaty on April 22 as an alternative to the American draft and these documents were studied by the principal Powers. In the French version there was still a reference to obligations under the Covenant and treaties of alliance. But the way had been sufficiently cleared for general consultations, and in the second week of July, in consequence of the exchange of views, France announced that she would accept the Kellogg Pact for the renunciation of war without insisting on the incorporation of reservations in the text. The note of July 14 intimated that the verbal interpretations given to the Pact by the United States Government were regarded as sufficient. These interpretations were resumed as establishing the right of self-defence, as safeguarding the provisions of the Covenant, the Locarno Pact, and the treaties of neutrality, as releasing the signatories should the Pact be broken. In the Salle de l'Horloge at the Quai d'Orsay on August 27, fifteen nations signed the treaty. Dr. Stresemann was the first to append his signature. M. Briand represented France, Mr. Kellogg the United States. Lord Cushendun represented Great Britain and the British dominions such as India which did not send special delegates. M. Hymans signed for

Belgium, Dr. Benes for Czechoslovakia, Mr. Mackenzie King for Canada, Mr. McLachlan for Australia, Sir James Parr for New Zealand, Mr. Smit for South Africa, Mr. Cosgrave for the Irish Free State, Count Uchida for Japan, M. Zaleski for Poland, Count Manzoni for Italy. These were the representatives present at the ceremony in Paris, but since then a large number of nations have signified their acceptance of the treaty. [For text of the treaty, see Public Documents in this volume.]

An aeroplane accident on September 2 deprived France of one of its ablest Ministers—M. Maurice Bokanowski [see under Obituaries]. As Minister of Commerce he had charge of aviation, and he felt it incumbent upon him to adopt, as frequently as possible, this method of locomotion. He had left a Ministerial meeting in an aeroplane. Through some inexplicable defect the machine crashed to the ground and burst into flames. The death of M. Bokanowski was made the occasion for a renewal of the demand for a separate Air Department, and while M. Cheron was appointed Minister of Commerce, M. Laurent Eynac was appointed Minister of Air.

On October 19 an important meeting was held at the French Ministry of Finance. M. Poincare, Mr. Winston Churchill, and Mr. Parker Gilbert, Agent-General for Reparations Payments, discussed the possibility of readjusting the Dawes Plan and of commercialising the German debt. In the preceding month M. Briand at Geneva had agreed with Dr. Stresemann to the formation of a Commission of Experts which should endeavour to arrive at what was called a "final and definitive" reparations settlement, and at the same time the question of evacuating Rhineland was raised. It was clear that M. Poincare proposed to conduct the preliminary negotiations personally—in full accord, however, with M. Briand. There was a series of conferences at the French Finance Ministry, and memoranda were exchanged by the Governments concerned. The French thesis was that France must obtain from Germany the wherewithal to pay her own debts to Great Britain and to the United States, and in addition should receive some indemnity for the devastated regions. As for evacuation of Rhineland, the possibility was admitted, but though the subject was to be treated separately, in practice the cessation of occupation depended on a satisfactory solution of the reparations problem. It also depended—at this stage—on the willingness of Germany to permit the establishment of a Commission of Rhineland Control, though whether that Commission should cease its functions in 1935 or later was a matter for debate. Until the end of the year there were repeated conversations, and it was finally made known that the French representatives on the Commission of Experts, who would be independent of the Government, were M. Moreau, Governor of the Bank of France, and M. Parmentier.

In the autumn political strife was renewed. It began on October 28, with the unveiling, by M. Herriot, of a statue to Combes, who stands out in the history of the Third Republic as the great anti-clericalist Prime Minister, at Pons. The Royalists made a demonstration of protest, and one of them was killed by the police. There was an outcry which was increased by the controversy over Articles 70 and 71, introduced into the Budget. These articles restored certain properties to religious organisations, and gave facilities for missionaries in French zones of influence abroad to establish their headquarters in France. They were proposed by M. Briand, who cannot be suspected of clericalism, were supported by M. Sarraut, and were eventually revised by M. Herriot—all Radical Ministers. Yet they were strongly criticised by the Radicals. At their Congress, in November, at Angers, the Radicals delivered an attack on the Government. A programme which M. Poincaré could not accept was voted on the night of November 5, and M. Poincaré felt that he had no alternative but to call upon his Radical Ministers—MM. Sarraut, Herriot, Queuille, and Perrier—to resign. Then he presented the collective resignation of himself and the rest of his colleagues to President Doumergue on November 6. There was great indignation in the country and in the Chamber. It was contended that a Ministry should be brought down by a Parliamentary vote and not by a party vote obtained in obscure conditions (for it was alleged that the Congress was packed by Radicals who were not accredited delegates) in a provincial town. M. Caillaux who had conducted the manoeuvres, M. Daladier, the titular head of the party, and MM. Montigny and Bergery, were chiefly blamed. The Budget had still to be passed. Practically every notable Parliamentarian advised the President to recall M. Poincaré, but M. Poincaré was not easily persuaded. Nevertheless, in view of the insistency of the call, he consented on November 11. Once more he asked the Radicals to join his Cabinet, but the Parliamentary group did not approve of his choice of Ministers. Thereupon he somewhat surprisingly formed a Cabinet without a single Radical. This was the first time for thirty years that the Radicals had not participated in power. In the reconstructed Poincaré Cabinet the Prime Minister left himself without portfolio, in order that he might devote his attention to the international negotiations. M. Chéron was appointed Minister of Finance, M. Briand remained at the Foreign Office, M. Barthou at the Ministry of Justice, M. Painlevé at the Ministry of War, M. Leygues at the Ministry of Marine, M. Loucheur at the Ministry of Labour, M. Laurent Eynac at the Ministry of Air, while M. Tardieu went to the Ministry of the Interior. Newcomers were M. Bonnefous, at the Ministry of Commerce, M. Forgeot at the Ministry of Public Works, M. Marraud at the Ministry of Public Instruction, M. Maginot at the Ministry of Colonies, M. Antierou at the Ministry

of Pensions, and M. Jean Hennessy at the Ministry of Agriculture. It was necessary to proceed quickly if the Budget was to be passed before the end of the year. M. Cheron piloted the Finance Bill through both Houses with remarkable skill, and on December 31, for the third year in succession, the Budget was adopted. It shows receipts of 45,430,717,348 francs and expenditure of 45,366,130,503 francs.

At the beginning of December a great financial scandal was revealed in which persons moving in political circles were implicated. A newspaper called the *Gazette du Franc* and the *Gazette des Nations* had cleverly exploited the ideas of financial stability and permanent peace as a facade for irregular operations. Its promoters captured the confidence of the public and induced the thrifty classes to place money in speculations of a more than doubtful character. Many millions were thus extracted. There were compromised the former Chef de Cabinet of a Radical Minister and a leading journal of the Cartel des Gauches ; and altogether the affair served to increase the discredit into which Parliament is in danger of falling in France.

ITALY.

The most important political event of the year 1928, and perhaps the most far-reaching in its effects since the march on Rome, was the " constitutionalisation " of the Fascist General Council. The draft of the Bill, prepared by Signor Mussolini in collaboration with Signor Rocco, Minister of Justice, was unanimously approved by the Grand Council after a lengthy session held on the night of September 20-21, and was introduced, in a form slightly amended by its authors, before the Senate on November 15. Although no criticism of the Bill was actually made by any speaker, the voting revealed the fact that nineteen Senators were definitely in opposition and that two other Senators had abstained from voting. The Bill was carried through the Chamber by acclamation in the course of its last session on December 8, and received the royal assent the next day.

The necessity for defining the powers and status of the Council, which has been in active existence since the beginning of 1923, was due to various causes, the most obvious being its responsibility under the new electoral law of March 17, 1928 (see below), for drawing up the final list of candidates of the Fascist Party which is to be submitted to the country in the spring of 1929. More important perhaps is the manifest intention of the measure to consolidate and perpetuate the dominance of the Fascist Party over Parliament and the nation, and to ensure its continuity in the event of the loss by death, or other cause, of its leaders, and especially of the Duce of Fascismo.

These preoccupations and ambitions are reflected in the various

clauses of the Act. The Grand Council is to be "the supreme organ co-ordinating all the various activities of the regime. . . . It has deliberative powers which are laid down by the law, and in addition it will advise on any political, economic, and social question submitted to it by the Government" (Art. 1). The precise deliberative powers of the Council, apart from the preparation of the party's electoral list, concern the statutes and organisation of the party and the appointment and dismissal of its officers. In addition, no measure involving constitutional issues may be brought before Parliament unless the Grand Council has been previously consulted. In order to ensure that this control is effectively exercised in practice, the law goes on to give a list of those questions which are to be considered as constitutional. They include "the succession to the Throne, the powers of the King and the royal prerogative ; the composition and working of the Grand Council, of the Senate and of the Chamber of Deputies ; the powers and prerogatives of the Prime Minister ; the right of the Executive to issue legislative rules ; the guild and co-operative organisations ; the relations between the State and the Holy See ; and international treaties involving changes in the territory of the State or of the colonies, or the renunciation or acquisition of territory." The Grand Council is not only to keep a tight hold on legislation, but also, according to Art. 8, on the composition of the Government. To this end the Council is to prepare and keep up to date a list of persons who, on the occurrence of vacancies in the Council of Ministers, are considered by the Grand Council as suitable for nomination as successors ; this last provision, and the right of the Council to be consulted in questions affecting the succession to the Throne have aroused the keenest criticism and even laid the Government open to the charge of attempting to weaken the prerogatives of the King. This point was referred to by Signor Mussolini when he intervened in the debate on the Bill before the Senate to protest the fervent loyalty of the Fascist Party to the Royal House, and the indisputable influence of their past policy in re-establishing the prestige of the Throne. Later articles of the law enhance the representative character of the Council by the addition of a number of *ex-officio* members, such as the Presidents of the Chamber and the Senate, the Under-Secretaries, administrative secretaries and members of the Directorate of the Fascist Party, as well as representatives of bodies of national importance, such as the Presidents of the employers' and workers' organisations, the President of the " Balilla " movement, and the President of the Special Tribunal for the Defence of the Realm. The Duce is responsible for summoning the Council and for settling the agenda for its meetings, which will be held in secret; members enjoy freedom from arrest and give their services without remuneration.

The importance of the law which, for the present does little

more than legalise an existing situation, lies not so much in its immediate practical effects, which are few, but in its aims, which are apparently to retain power in the hands of the Fascists by giving the Council control of the constitution of the Government and of legislation, and to ensure for Signor Mussolini, if not an individual successor, at least an oligarchy sharing his views and imbued with equal determination to carry through the policy he has initiated.

In accordance with Signor Mussolini's intentions regarding Parliamentary reform (see ANNUAL REGISTER, 1927, p. 151) a Bill was duly introduced in the Chamber on March 18, and was voted almost without discussion. On its presentation to the Senate in May it met with unexpected opposition based on its inconsistency with the Constitution of 1848. It was, however, carried by 161 votes to 46 after Signor Mussolini had made a vigorous defence of the right of a new generation to make new laws suited to its needs and mentality

The law differs slightly from the scheme as originally drafted. The thirteen great labour organisations are to submit to the Grand Council a list of 800 names ; another 200 names are to be proposed by authorised bodies of national importance engaged in work of a cultural, educational, or charitable nature. Out of the thousand names submitted, the Grand Council will draw up a single list of 400 candidates which will be presented to the nation for acceptance or rejection. The statute provides for the very remote contingency that the Fascist list may fail to obtain the bare majority necessary to secure election. The Commission of five Senators and five Deputies envisaged by the law and charged with the duty of nominating the bodies, other than the labour organisations entitled to present candidates, published its report on December 11. It has selected 23 such bodies, and has also allotted the 200 candidates among them according to their importance. No "charitable" organisations, strictly so-called, figure in the list, and a generous representation is given to the various organisations of ex-service men and disabled soldiers. The elections will be held in the spring of 1929, and the new Chamber will, as announced by Signor Mussolini at the autumn session of the Grand Council, meet on April 20, the eve of the birthday of Rome.

Thus the year 1928 witnessed the last session of Parliament meeting under the terms of the old Constitution. Before its dissolution it passed four "fundamental laws" (to quote Signor Mussolini), dealing respectively with the Labour Charter, the Grand Council, the Provincial Organisations, and Land Reclamation.

The law on the Labour Charter is of a purely formal character and provides for the "practical application" of the principles of this highly important piece of social legislation (see ANNUAL

REGISTER, 1927, p. 151, and Public Documents, p. 87). There remain to be noticed, in addition to the law on the Grand Council, dealt with above, the reform of the Provincial Organisations and the measures proposed for Land Reclamation.

In view of its belief in a strong all-controlling central Government and in the substitution of a system of "selection from above" for "election from below," the Fascist Government was inevitably bound to apply these principles to local government. By the reform of provincial government the old system of elected provincial deputations and councils has been abolished, and new administrative bodies are to be appointed by the State. They are to consist of a President and a Rectorate; the President to exercise the powers formerly wielded by the provincial deputations, and the Rectorate those of the former provincial councils. Signor Mussolini in introducing the Bill reminded the House that in England, the classic home of local government, the Justices of the Peace have always been nominated by the Crown.

By the last, and from the economic standpoint, the most far-reaching of the "fundamental laws," the Fascist Government initiated a project for a series of comprehensive national land improvement schemes (*bonifica integrale*). Efforts are to be made not only to drain malarial areas but also to bring them under cultivation through the establishment of farm colonies. Accordingly the plan includes not only drainage and irrigation but the provision of villages and farm buildings, the opening up of roads, and the supply of water and electric power. These operations are to be carried out by individual owners or by syndicates, but the State will step in with generous support, and will exercise the power it possesses of exercising compulsion on recalcitrant owners. The total cost is estimated to be 7,300,000,000 liras, of which the State will contribute 3,800,000,000 liras, to be paid in annual quotas covering a period of thirty years.

In launching this far-reaching and ambitious project the Government declared that it was actuated not only by the hopes reposed in it as a profitable economic investment, but also by the beneficial impulse it will undoubtedly give to the "ruralisation" movement, which has recently loomed so large in Fascist policy. A practical proof of Signor Mussolini's concern for the farmer was afforded in the autumn by the raising of the duty on wheat, which had fallen as a result of the valorisation of the lira, to 110 gold liras per metric ton, and it was explained that this measure would merely have the effect of restoring the duty to the figure at which it stood in 1925. The farmers who had been encouraged by the Government's "wheat campaign" (*Battaglia del Orano*) to increase production, were thus saved from the severe loss involved in selling their stocks at the prices then current. The success of the wheat campaign was shown by the increased figures for the 1928 crop, estimated at just under 64,000,000 quintals. An impressive

example of the Duce's rural sympathies was also afforded by the assemblage in Rome on November 3 of 80,000 farmers from all parts of Italy. In a short speech Signor Mussolini assured them that agriculture held a foremost place in the Government's sympathies, and promised that when they met again in December, 1934, they would find that the ties between the Government and the farmers were still closer. The Duce looks to the collaboration of the farmers to help him to combat the rural exodus, with the consequent fall in the birth-rate which is causing him and the present Government so much alarm. As a remedy for this evil it is proposed to give the municipal authorities of the large towns powers to repatriate immigrants from the country. At the same time the Government is actively encouraging the growth of population. The tax on bachelors has been doubled, and Signor Mussolini himself has given practical proof of his interest in a larger Italy by making personal contributions to heads of large families.

The monster gathering of agriculturists was followed the next day by a still more imposing demonstration of ex-service men who came to Rome to celebrate the anniversary of the Italian Armistice. In a rousing speech the Duce reminded his audience that intervention in the war was not forced upon Italy, but was the result of her own free initiative; while the ultimate victory, after intense sacrifice and suffering, was, he declared, "shiningly" Italian. Amid demonstrations of enthusiasm the crowd answered with a resounding "Yes" to Signor Mussolini's concluding question, "If necessary, would you do again to-morrow what you did yesterday?"

The Duce's policy of getting into direct and personal touch with sections of the population had been exemplified a few days previously when he summoned to Rome all the newspaper editors for personal conference. In a speech, which showed evident signs of the old journalistic hand, Signor Mussolini specified certain features in modern journalism, such as sensationalism, gossip, and morbid features which he considered particularly reprehensible, claiming at the same time somewhat paradoxically that "the Fascist Press is the freest in the world." In other countries the newspapers are controlled by plutocrats and political parties, but in Italy the Press is free because it serves a single cause and one regime only, and is able, within the limits of the law, to exercise functions of control, criticism, and stimulus. In the realms of art, literature, and music, party discipline did not enter, and writers could, for example, say with perfect impunity that, as a violinist, Signor Mussolini is but an "indifferent amateur!"

In the financial sphere the year was a period of adjustment to the new value of the currency. As a result of the stabilisation of the **lira** during the closing days of 1927, the **Government** was **able**

to remove the temporary ban on the raising of foreign loans. The authorisation of the Minister of Finance is, however, still required for long term loans, these being defined as loans for a period exceeding twelve months. At the same time it was stated that authorisation would only be granted if the loans were such as would improve the labour markets, increase exports, and promote the manufacture of goods which would otherwise have to be imported. In deciding on the applications for such authorisation the Minister of Finance is assisted by a Committee which includes the Minister of National Economy, the Director-General of the Bank of Issue, the Director-General of the Treasury, and a Director of the Foreign Exchange Institute. The Government has also paid special attention to the necessity for encouraging the amalgamation of various branches of the national industries as a preliminary step to promoting that "rationalisation," so essential in Italy as in other countries, for the improvement of the economic situation. The heavy taxes on company amalgamations deeds were reduced, and until June 30, 1929, registration can be effected at the nominal charge of 10 liras. In introducing this Decree to the Chamber on March 20, Signor Volpi declared that amalgamations involving a capital of 500,000,000 liras had already taken place, and that still more important groupings had been announced. In the chemical industries certain amalgamations had been carried out in the previous year : and the hydro-electric, shipping, artificial silk, and fertiliser industries were systematically following a similar policy. Italian industrialists were reminded by the Minister of National Economy that rationalisation in its initial phases brings unemployment in its train and must therefore be regulated by reference to the conditions of the labour market. He, however, emphasised the need for an immediate scientific re-organisation of the steel industries and remarked that the present depression in the automobile and engineering trades was due to high production costs dating from the period of inflation. With re-adjustment to the new value of the national currency the position would before long improve. That the State was also doing its share in helping the national recovery was made clear from the estimates for the financial year, 1928-29. These showed a reduction in actual expenditure as compared with the year 1926-27 of 3,642,000,000 liras. The decline in revenue was estimated at 3,807,000,000 liras, part of this loss being due to the transfer of the tobacco, salt, and quinine monopolies to a special administration recently set up, which would thus relieve the State of the expenses of this service. For these and other reasons experts estimated the real loss at something like 2,300,000,000 liras. The estimates for 1928-29 showed a surplus of 271,000,000 liras. Signor Volpi, Minister of Finance, pointed out in his speech before the Chamber that in the current and forthcoming financial years the nation was still bound to feel the effects of factors dating

back to the financial year 1926-27. It was impossible in a period of transition like the present to prepare exact estimates, and national accounts must be followed with the greatest care from month to month. In a meeting of the Cabinet held on July 23 Signor Mussolini announced that the third period of Fascist finance was opening. Its guiding principles were to be the following :—

The maintenance of the rate of exchange as now stabilised ; no fresh taxation ; no foreign loans to be raised by the State or public bodies ; close State control over foreign loans floated by private companies : no internal loans ; amortisation of the existing consolidated debt by means of present assets ; maintenance of State expenditure within the limits of the estimates ; simplification of State accounts and protection of savings ; no assistance for non-vital enterprises.

Important modifications had, however, been made in this programme with a view to combating unemployment. The schemes of the Autonomous Road Corporation for repairing 1,600 km. (about 992 miles) of Italian high roads were supplemented by a further programme of public works, the cost of which was estimated at 230,000,000 liras. These were to include aqueducts, water supply, harbour improvements, and town drainage plans. With a view to meeting this expenditure the tax on bachelors was doubled, and the consumption and excise duties on wine, beer, and spirits raised.

During 1928 Italy signed a new customs agreement with France, a pact of guarantee with Greece and with Turkey, an agreement with Finland, a treaty with China, an accord with Switzerland, and a convention with the Republic of Cuba. Italy was also one of the signatories of the Kellogg Pact for the outlawry of war. But Italian opinion is sceptical of the possibility of exorcising war by a mere stroke of the pen. Signor Mussolini in his speech on foreign affairs before the Senate on June 5, announced that discussions had been initiated during the year with France with a view to concluding a general pact of friendship and drafting several protocols on outstanding questions, such as the position of Italy in Tangier, the status of Italians in Tunisia, and the rectification of the western boundaries of Tripolitania. The negotiations are proceeding satisfactorily in spite of occasional outbursts of popular irritation between the two countries such as took place in November at the inadequacy, according to the Italian view, of the penalty of two years' imprisonment passed by the Seine tribunal on the murderer of Nardini, the Italian Vice-consul in Paris. The ratification by the Yugoslav Parliament of the Nettuno conventions greatly improved the relations between Italy and her Adriatic neighbour. The pact with Greece was signed during the visit of M. Venizelos to Rome in September. In reply to the British proposals on naval disarmament Italy

expressed her readiness to accept "any figure, however low, provided it was not exceeded by any Power on the Continent of Europe."

Three events occurred during the year which seemed to justify the Italian popular superstition that 1928 would be unlucky. One of these was the loss of the airship *Italia*, which in a second attempt to fly over the North Pole, a feat it had successfully achieved a few days previously, crashed on the ice, and after leaving the under-carriage and eight men behind, was driven by the wind, and was lost with the seven remaining members of the crew. After terrible privations, General Nobile and his companions, with the exception of a young Swede, Dr. Malmgreen, who died of exposure, were rescued, but at the cost of the lives of Amundsen, the well-known Swedish explorer, and his pilot, who had set out by air to find the missing men, as well as of Major Penso and his two companions, who on their return journey to Italy fell with their seaplane, *Marina II.*, into the Rhone and were drowned. In April sixteen people were killed and over 40 injured by the explosion of a bomb at the time when King Victor Emmanuel was passing on his way to open the Fair at Milan.

Lastly there was the unusually violent eruption of Etna, in November. Lava continued to pour from the mountain for a period of about three weeks, and, though happily only three lives were lost, a region of great fertility was devastated, the total damage being estimated at 170,000,000 liras.

CHAPTER IV.

GERMANY AND AUSTRIA.

GERMANY.

BY the end of 1927 the divisions in the Reich Cabinet between the representatives of the Centre and the Right Parties had become acute. In January, 1928, the Centre threatened to withdraw its Minister in consequence of the rejection of the Schools Bill. It was only through the intervention of President Hindenburg that the fall of the Coalition Government was delayed till the Budget discussions could be completed and some urgent legislation passed for the benefit of agriculture. In the final debate on the Budget the Government secured a majority only of thirty. The President decreed the dissolution of the Reichstag on March 31, as there was no prospect of its achieving any further legislation before the natural expiry of its term. The new election was fixed for May 20.

Even before the dissolution the growing pressure of the Opposition attack had brought about a change in the Cabinet. Herr

Gessler, who had been Minister of National Defence for eight years without interruption, was on account of serious official delinquencies replaced by Lieutenant-General Groener, who was politically in sympathy with the Democrats, and stood in high esteem, largely on account of his skilful diplomacy at the end of the war.

The need for a new election had long been felt in view of the change which was known to have taken place in public opinion. The result of it was a marked shifting of power to the Left. It was symptomatic of political conditions in Germany that no fewer than 31 parties put forward candidates ; the majority of these failed to secure a single seat. Some 75.5 per cent, of the voters went to the poll, the number of votes cast being 30,738,000. Of these the Social Democratic Party secured 298 per cent. (153 seats), the German National People's Party 14.2 per cent, (78 seats), the Centre 12.1 per cent. (61 seats), the Communist Party 10.6 per cent. (54 seats), the German People's Party 8.7 per cent.(45 seats), the Democrats 4.9 per cent. (25 seats), the Business Party 4.5 per cent. (23 seats), and the remaining parties 15.2 per cent, with 52 seats.

The new Reichstag consisted of 491 deputies, against 493 in 1924. As compared with the last Reichstag, the Social Democrats gained 22 seats, the Communists 24, and the Business Party 1. The German Nationals lost 29, the Centre 6, the German People's Party 5, the Democrats 7, and the Volkische and the Bavarian People's Party 2 each.

In face of the verdict of the election, the Marx Cabinet resigned on June 11. The Social Democrats, as the largest party, were naturally entrusted with the task of forming a Ministry. Their leader, Herr Müller-Franken, did not, however, succeed in establishing a Government on the firm basis of the "Grand Coalition," consisting of Social Democrats, Democrats, Centre, and German People's Party. The Social Democrats refused to make the concessions demanded by the Centre, chiefly in the matter of the Schools law. The Centre accordingly refused to accept any important ministerial posts, and only sent one representative into the new Government, which was formed on June 28, in order not to lose touch with it. The Cabinet was finally constituted as follows: Chancellor, Herr Müller-Franken (Social Democrat) ; Foreign Affairs, Dr. Stresemann ; Commerce, Dr. Curtius (German People's Party) ; Interior, Herr Severing (Social Democrat) ; Finance, Dr. Hilferding (Social Democrat) ; Justice, Dr. Koch (Democrat) ; Reichswehr, Lt.-General Groener (unattached) ; Labour, Herr Wissel (Social Democrat) ; Post Office, Dr. Schatzel (Bavarian People's Party) ; Food and Agriculture, Herr Dietrich (Democrat) ; Communications and Occupied Provinces, Herr von Guerard (Centre).

This Cabinet was at first meant to be only provisional. The

intention was that it should be transformed as soon as possible into a Cabinet of the "Grand Coalition." By the end of the year, however, this object had not yet been achieved. The German People's Party undertook to support the Government only on condition that the "Grand Coalition" should be formed, *i.e.*, that the German People's Party should enter the Government, in Prussia also, where since 1925 the Government had been formed by the Social Democrats, Democrats, and Centre only. This condition also remained unfulfilled during 1928.

The weakness of the Government was strikingly exposed by the struggle over the armoured cruiser which the Marx Cabinet had decided to build. The Muller-Franken Cabinet endorsed the decision, which thereupon became the occasion of a heated party conflict. The doom of the Government seemed to have been sounded when in November the Social Democrats voted against their own leader, the Chancellor. Only through the skilful tactics of the middle parties, which were against the building of the cruiser in itself, was a crisis narrowly averted.

The most important political problem of the year 1928—one which throughout engaged the attention alike of the Reich, of the provincial and the municipal authorities, and to a scarcely less degree of the general public also—was that of administrative reform and the unification of the State. Some preliminary steps in this direction were to be recorded in the course of the year. Thus the hitherto independent State of Waldeck was united with Prussia. The State of Thuringia simplified its government by dropping two Ministries and transferring part of its taxation to the Reich. The year-long struggle between Prussia and Hamburg came within sight of termination. In addition numerous arrangements for specific purposes were concluded between the Reich and the States.

Popular impatience was strongly manifested during the year at the existing arrangement by which Germany, as the result of historical circumstances, is still divided into 18 independent States. This is the number left by the Weimar Constitution; in the nineteenth century it was 26 and in the eighteenth 300.

Further reduction was demanded by nearly all business associations, which expected from a simplification of the administration increased business opportunities and a lightening of the burden of taxation. Two conferences on the subject were held in 1928 between representatives of the Reich and of the States. The following points were agreed upon by overwhelming majorities: (1) The authority of the Reich must be strengthened as against the States and the municipalities; (2) there should be a single Reich Parliament instead of the various State Parliaments; (3) the Reich should be partitioned into cultural, and economic units of suitable size; (4) the unsatisfactory relations between the Reich and Prussia, due to the double regime in Berlin, urgently

need to be improved ; (5) the scattered fragments of German States known as " enclaves " and " exclaves," and, numbering about 200, must be eliminated as soon as possible.

Contributions of special value for the theoretical solution of these problems were made by the Senor Burgermeister of Hamburg, Dr. Petersen, by the Prussian Prime Minister, Dr. Braun, and by the Prussian Ministerial Director, Dr. Brecht. The ex-Chancellor, Dr. Luther, induced about a hundred leading personages in politics and commerce to form a " League for the Renovation of the Reich," which advocated the amalgamation of the Government of the Reich with that of Prussia and the union of effete States with Prussia.

Strong opposition to this unifying tendency was offered by Bavaria and Wurtemberg. Here it was maintained that the inconveniences which were acknowledged to exist had their origin less in defects of the constitution than in the persistent encroachments of the Reich, especially in the domain of finance. Instead, therefore, of a reform of the Reich's federal system and a reorganisation of the administration, what was wanted, according to this section, was a limitation of the powers of the Reich, autonomy of the States and inviolability of their territories, and finally also greater legislative authority and financial independence for the States.

The South German Opposition was confronted with some very awkward facts. A Saxon memorandum on administrative reform, for instance, pointed out that in Dresden fifty separate Reich, State, and municipal taxes were being levied concurrently ; further, that the Saxony legal code, running to 6,000 pages, had been in circulation since 1914 side by side with the Reich code of 20,000 pages, with the result that the officials had the greatest difficulty in finding out what the law was. Again, the cost of administration per head was in Prussia 39 marks yearly, in Bavaria 54 marks, in Hesse 64 marks. The Bavarian State expenditure was in 1927 nearly two and a half times as much as the whole Bavarian tax revenue. Recognising the important bearing of such figures on Germany's financial problems, the Reich Finance Minister ordered detailed statistics to be compiled. They were not completed by the end of the year, but as far as they went they had already brought out the fact that the total financial requirements of the Reich, the States, and the municipalities had increased by about 100 per cent, over those of the last pre-war year. To make matters worse, the expenditure for liquidating the war, which without Reparations payments amounted in 1928 to over three milliards of marks, was still on the upward grade.

The dispute over the proper relations between the Reich and the States came to a head towards the close of the year in a struggle over the composition of the Board of Directors of the German Railway System, one most unfortunate result of which

was the resignation of the President of the Reich Court of Justice and former Minister for Foreign Affairs, Dr. Simons.

The problem of the railways, the income of which is pledged on behalf of the Reparation payments, showed in the clearest manner how closely the above-mentioned questions were bound up with those of the Budget and of Reparations. Although the financial position of the Reich at the beginning of the year was not unfavourable, the national finances were subjected to a severe strain as the year rolled on. In the first half of the year it was found possible to effect economies in the Unemployment Insurance Fund as the number of unemployed had sunk to half a million. The number rose, however, rapidly towards the end of the year to three times this figure ; this increase was not merely seasonal, but was due also to a general change for the worse in business conditions. The revenue was adversely affected by these conditions through a drop in the tax receipts, and the loss was felt all the more keenly as the normal reparation payments now came into force. Reparation payments for 1928 exceeded those for 1927 by 396 million marks ; in 1929 there was to be a further increase of 293 million, bringing the total up to 2.5 milliards of marks. An increase in taxation was hardly to be thought of, and the high figure of the credits already drawn on gave rise to anxiety. At the end of the year there was no prospect of balancing the Reich Budget for 1929. A considerable deficit seemed to be unavoidable. This situation explained the urgent demand for administrative reforms, as there was no other apparent means of counterbalancing the rise in expenditure.

The raising of the sums required for reparation payments was not attended with the same difficulties as the balancing of the Budget. On September 1 the Agent for Reparations reported that in the fourth year of the Dawes scheme Germany had met all her obligations fully and punctually. When Germany in September approached France with a request for the evacuation of the Occupied Territory, the latter country echoed the wish so often expressed by Mr. Parker Gilbert that the amount of reparations should be definitely fixed. As a result a proposal was made at Geneva on September 16 that a conference of experts should be called to deal with the question. In Germany the fixing of the number of annuities and the transformation of the reparation debt from a variable political debt into a fixed private debt was regarded as imperative in the interests of German finance and business. Naturally, therefore, the German Government made every effort to get the conference of experts constituted as soon as possible.

Hitherto the operation of transfer had been greatly facilitated for the Agent-General by the great influx of foreign capital into Germany. Apart from the doubtful productivity of many foreign loans, there could be no doubt that the existing foreign indebted-

ness of the country and the defective accumulation of capital constituted Germany's most serious economic problem. The authorities had constantly to consider how the transfer would be accomplished if German credit abroad became exhausted, or if the rate of interest in Germany sank too low to attract foreign capital. For Germany's domestic needs also, owing to the addition of 400,000 persons yearly to her working-class population, an accumulation of capital is indispensable. This problem is particularly acute where the scarcity of capital is aggravated by a chronic failure to secure a profit, as is largely the case in German agriculture.

As if the burdens of the internal and external war debts were not enough, the accumulation of capital is further hampered by the expenditure on social welfare, which has steadily grown since the war. In 1927 social services cost roughly 82 marks (against roughly 37 marks in England) for every 1,000 marks of the national income. The cost of making good the deficiency in houses caused by more than ten years' suspension of building and the expenditure entailed by the re-valuation of securities cannot yet be precisely computed.

An encouraging sign on the surface was the growth of savings-banks deposits by nearly 50 per cent. But this growth was no indication that business was profitable, as the savings-bank was the receptacle for the numerous fragmentary sums which workers, employers, and officials were fortunate enough to save. This ability they owed chiefly to the increases in wages in the year 1928 by an average of 7 per cent., while the cost of living went up only 1 per cent. The rise in wages had apparently reached its limit, as most undertakings had to restrict production. The increase in wages and the burden of taxation were felt all the more severely by the business world, as in nearly all lines rationalisation and concentration had been carried out to their full extent, and the rapid expansion which marked the years 1925 and 1926 had come to an end. As far as one can see, the brisk trade of 1927 was due to the single non-recurrent demand caused by rationalisation. The boom began already to abate in 1927; trade fell off still more markedly in the spring of 1928, and by the end of the year in a number of industries—in some more and in some less quickly—a slump had set in. The number of failures was half as large again as in 1927, and of liquidations more than twice as large.

In most cases reconstruction was possible only with the help of foreign capital. The number of German firms which became dependent on foreign support rose rapidly. Dr. Schacht, the President of the Reichsbank, carried on an energetic fight against the growth of foreign indebtedness, but he met with little success owing to the great gulf between the German and the foreign rates of interest. The German money market in 1928 witnessed a continuous substitution of foreign loans for Reichsbank credit, and

concurrently an expansion of the currency circulation while business was contracting. The Reichsbank with great skill managed to avoid making large deposits in spite of the scarcity of capital, to strengthen its gold reserves, and to maintain the discount rate at 7 per cent.

The decline in trade, which was due to a decrease less of consumption than of profits, led to wage disputes in some important industries. About 50,000 dock workers were on strike for several months, bringing almost to a standstill the shipbuilding industry which up to the previous year had been kept extra busy on the reconstruction of the German mercantile fleet. In the Ruhr district the ironmasters locked out 225,000 workers for four weeks ; this step was taken in the first instance as a protest against the Government's methods of arbitration and the policy of the Minister of Labour, in a secondary degree against wage increases which the industry could hardly afford. The arbitral award of the Minister of the Interior, Herr Severing, decreed a certain shortening of the working period and slight increases in wages which were likely to lead to a partial raising of the price of iron. This again was bound to exercise an adverse influence on the export trade which had experienced a revival in 1928, and which was urgently required by the iron industry if the works were to be kept anything near fully employed. Germany's iron production in the year was as high as at any time before the war, but the home market was much smaller.

The weakness of the home market was in part compensated by an increased export. While imports—chiefly of raw material—remained at much the same level as in 1927, exports—chiefly of manufactured goods—passed the pre-war figure. In spite of this, an adverse trade balance was unavoidable owing to the heavy influx of capital. The excess of imports in goods traffic, leaving out of account the reparation deliveries in kind, was in 1928 on an average 225 million marks a month against 327 million in 1927 (1926, 11 million, 1913, 57 million). The restrictions on trade between Germany on the one side and the Saar district and Upper Silesia on the other became more and more galling as time went on. The continued rise in the prices of manufactured goods also hampered trade. The price policy of the cartels, which was sharply criticised, led to the unpleasant result that, owing to the necessity of maintaining exports, lower prices were asked for goods abroad than could be obtained in the home market.

An important trade agreement was concluded during the year with South Africa. Agreements were also concluded with Lithuania, Estonia, China, and other countries. The negotiations which had already been on foot for some time with Poland continually met with new obstacles. In accordance with the resolutions of the League of Nations in 1927, further progress was made with the abolition of export and import prohibitions.

German foreign policy in 1928 was dominated by an endeavour to secure the early evacuation of the Rhineland as the natural fruit of the Treaty of Locarno. On January 30 Dr. Stresemann made a speech in the Reichstag in which he reminded France that the question of evacuation, though it had not been mentioned for a considerable time, was by no means relegated to the background. He pointed out again that the policy of Locarno was incompatible with occupation, and said that Germany demanded evacuation mainly in order to remove an invincible obstacle to Franco - German *rapprochement*. M. Briand's reply, which seemed to link the question of evacuation with that of reparations, made a painful impression in Germany, and the subject was dropped for the time being. The question was, however, reopened later in the year by Dr. Stresemann when he went to Paris in August to sign the Kellogg Pact, and by the Chancellor when he attended the League of Nations meeting at Geneva in September (in place of Dr. Stresemann, who was then ill). M. Briand again brusquely rejected the German demands, but France eventually consented to consider evacuation side by side with reparations as a parallel but independent question.

Germany signed the Kellogg Pact willingly, but without enthusiasm, owing to the disillusionment which had followed the high hopes built on the transactions at Locarno and Thoiry. In a speech delivered on March 29, Dr. Stresemann gave emphatic expression to the disappointment aroused in Germany by the continued failure of the other parties to the Locarno Treaty to take any steps in the direction of disarmament. This state of feeling reacted on the internal political situation by strengthening the influence of the more extreme section in the councils of the German Nationalist Party. A sign of this change was the substitution of the reactionary newspaper proprietor Herr Hugenberg for the more moderate and opportunist Count Westarp as head of the party. However, even when it shared the responsibility of office in the Marx Cabinet, this party was unable to effect any change in the direction of German foreign policy, which continued to be based on the principles of peaceful co-operation and mutual understanding among the nations.

AUSTRIA.

The stagnation produced by the bitter party warfare between the Clericals (Christian Socialists) and Social Democrats prevented any serious progress in the consolidation of the State during the year. The growing confidence of the Fascists (*Heimwehr*) threatened to bring about an armed clash in the autumn which was only averted by the presence of one-third of the Austrian Army in the danger zone.

The secret traffic in arms to Hungary was accidentally revealed

on two occasions during the year on Austrian soil. On January 1, Austrian Customs officials discovered five truck-loads of machine-guns, described as "machinery" in process of transit from Italy to Hungary in the Austrian frontier station of St. Gotthard. The Hungarians, however, declared that the discovery had been made too late and that the trucks were in the Hungarian part of the station and refused to return them. The affair had international consequences. (See "Hungary" and "League of Nations.") The second case occurred on December 11. A Socialist newspaper revealed on December 14 that two days earlier, in loading seven cases labelled "oil engines," workmen had observed in one, which accidentally broke open, a quantity of machine-gun belts, and that the police were investigating the matter. The cases were consigned to Budapest—five of them containing machine-gun belts, by an Austrian ex-Colonel, two containing machine-gun parts, by a Hungarian known to be regularly engaged in smuggling arms to Budapest. The consignment itself was quite unimportant except as being an outcrop of the subterranean stream of former Austro-Hungarian armaments which evaded the terms of the Peace Treaty and are continually passing secretly along the Danube waterway and other routes to Hungary and other countries.

On February 9 the North Tyrolesc deputies of the Christian Socialist (Clerical) Party insisted that the sufferings of the South Tyrolese under Italy should be discussed in the Vienna Parliament. The official Austrian attitude had for a long time been one of discouraging all reference to the oppression of their former subjects south of the Brenner for fear of Italian reprisals, particularly those of a financial and economic nature, but Dr. Seipel, the Chancellor, was forced to afford a safety-valve this time to the uncontrollable indignation of his supporters. Dr. Kolb, a Tyrolese priest, lead the debate and, avoiding all sensational details, confined himself to cataloguing some of the denationalising exactments of Fascist Italy which had suppressed the freedom of the Press, and the right of free speech and were gradually taking from the inhabitants the right to use their mother tongue (German) even in the religious instructions of children or on tombstones of their dead. Although Dr. Kolb expressly recognised the Italian annexation of South Tyrol as a *fait accompli*, disclaiming any desire to interfere in matters on the Italian side of the frontier, and although Dr. Seipel expressly declared that Austria could turn to no one for redress of the wrongs done to South Tyrol (since Italy had been allowed to annex the country without signing the Minorities Agreement), there were immediate diplomatic consequences. The Italian Minister in Vienna, Signor Auriti, was instantly recalled by Signor Mussolini and left for Rome on February 26. Although there had been no hint of threat or insult in the Austrian speeches, Signor Mussolini replied contemptuously in the Italian Chamber in a

phrase which caused great bitterness in Vienna—"Austria is—what she is"—and threatened "deeds, not words."

But the worst consequence was that always feared by Austria—financial pressure. Italy declined to join the other creditors of Austria in raising the general lien on Austrian State property acquired for the Relief Credits granted in 1919 to save the country from starvation. It was not until Dr. Seipel had made the rather humiliating declaration some months later that he recognised the question of South Tyrol to be a purely internal one for Italy and advised the South Tyrolese to regard Rome as the only forum for their grievances, that the Italian Minister returned to Vienna. Italian opposition to raising the Relief Credit lien was maintained. In the case of the United States it was necessary for Congress to pass a special Bill to release the lien, and the Presidential Election caused this to be postponed until the end of November. In consequence of this and of the Italian attitude, Austria was unable in 1928 to seek the foreign loan which she desired to secure for productive investments.

On March 25 the Archbishop of Vienna announced—with special permission of the Pope—that His Holiness had done everything in his power to secure that South Tyrolese children might be given religious instruction in their mother tongue and feared that further intervention would only add to their sufferings. On May 24, the anniversary of the entry of Italy into the war, the Italian Consul at Innsbruck ordered the hoisting of the Italian flag. Students succeeded in pulling it down, but the civil authorities were forced to hoist it again with military honours. The incident was followed by angry anti-Italian demonstrations by large crowds. Bitterness against Italy was continually expressed in North Tyrol—for instance, on the occasion of the Italian unveiling of a "Victory Monument" at Bozen, in South Tyrol, on July 11. Several Austrian tourists were arrested at various dates for crossing an invisible line in the Alps dividing North (Austrian) from South (Italian) Tyrol. Greater severity than ever was shown in South Tyrol as a result of the Austrian debate.

On April 26 the world learned that Béla Kun, the former Communist Dictator of Hungary, had been arrested in Vienna, from which city he had been deported to Moscow in July, 1920. Hungary's demand for Bela Kun's extradition was refused on the ground that his alleged offences were political. He was tried on July 26, on charges of founding an illegal organisation in Austria ("Hungarian Communist Committee"), and he was sentenced to three months' imprisonment and finally expelled again to Russia.

This being the "Schubert Centenary" year, the Tenth German Song Festival was held at Vienna in July. The opportunity was seized to make of it a great political demonstration in favour of the *Anschluss*, or union with Germany. Weeks in advance hun-

dreds of thousands of programmes of the "Anschluss Day " were printed, containing songs demanding the union of Austria and Germany, and the entire festival became a genuinely enthusiastic, although officially organised demonstration to the world of the unity of the racial Germans inhabiting the two countries. Hostile comments came in great number from France and Czechoslovakia, but Italy remained indifferent and Yugoslavia almost favourable.

Hardly was the demonstration of " Austro-German Unity " at an end, when an even more striking example of Austrian internal disunion was given to the world. The *Heimwehr* (Austrian Fascists) had announced their determination to bring 40,000 Fascists to Wiener Neustadt, a predominantly Socialist industrial town, thirty miles from Vienna. The Socialists regarded this as a challenge to Socialist Vienna itself, and ordered an even larger parade of their own equally illegal military force, the *Republikanischer Schutzbund*, for the same day. The Socialist Party later urged the Government to forbid both demonstrations and so avoid the dangers of a clash. The *Heimwehr*, whose leader, Dr. Steidle, President of the Upper House, had on an earlier date threatened to march on Vienna and end the Parliamentary obstruction of the Socialists by force, declared that they would not allow the Government to stop their march to Wiener Neustadt. Dr. Seipel clearly sided with the *Heimwehr*, and from this time on was regarded by them as a protector, instead of, as was formerly the case, a " weakling " to be replaced eventually by a " firmer hand." He declared that their march must take place. The Socialist counter-march was at first prohibited, but afterwards also sanctioned. In the end, some twelve thousand troops of all arms, provided with ample ammunition, machine-guns and even field artillery were moved into the tiny town. With the aid of barbed wire entanglements, they formed a barrier between the Socialist and Fascist armies which had also been brought to the town. Thanks to these elaborate precautions and a heavy downpour of rain, the farcical parades passed off without damage to anyone except the Austrian State, which had to foot a bill for some 60,000l. The Socialists subsequently offered to disarm if the *Heimwehr* would do the same, but the Chancellor declared that Socialist disarmament was not sufficient without the cessation of Parliamentary obstruction, the legal curbing of the powers of the Trade Unions, and the abolition of the existing restriction of rents to one-tenth of the pre-war figure. On this declaration, the negotiations fell through.

The question of filling the office of President of the Republic caused new party bitterness in December. President Hainisch, who had held office for the maximum legal period of two terms of four years each, was due to retire. The Socialists were not prepared to accept the conditions attached by the Chancellor to a fresh extension—an increase in the President's constitutional powers—believing that Dr. Seipel desired to mould the office on

dictatorial lines and eventually assume it himself. The Christian Socialist (Clerical) Party finally refused to agree to the re-election of Dr. Hainisch. When the actual balloting took place in Parliament on December 4, the Pan-Germans (colleagues of the Christian Socialists in the Coalition Government) voted for Police-President Schober, whom the Socialists profess to hold responsible for the bloodshed on July 15, 1927. Angered at this, the Socialists abstained from voting at the next ballot, allowing thereby the Christian Socialists to elect their own candidate, Herr Wilhelm Miklas, Chairman of the Chamber (and a pronounced Clerical), as President of the Republic. The Pan-Germans in turn were infuriated, partly because they have no love for extreme Clericalism, but mainly because Herr Miklas had often shown himself to be one of the few leading Austrians definitely opposed to the *Anschluss*. Towards the end of December there were (for the first time since the Revolution) some faint signs of Clericals and Socialists being prepared to adopt normal forms of Parliamentary controversy. A Government proposal of a change in the Rent Act was met with something like reasonable counter proposals from the Socialists.

There was a brief strike of panel doctors in June and a more serious "passive resistance" strike of postal, telegraph, and telephone officials from December 2 until December 8, which secured part of the demands of the officials.

The acquittals of, or very light sentences imposed on murderers and other serious criminals continued to be a remarkable feature during the year. Many complaints were made of the "politieisation" of the judiciary, and the judges made a formal protest against the poverty of their salaries, warning the country that it must inevitably affect the "quality of justice" meted out.

CHAPTER V.

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

THE SOVIET UNION.

THE year was not productive of any decisive events either in internal or external affairs. The Opposition had already been crushed finally at the end of 1927, and in January, 1928, its chief leaders were exiled. Trotsky was sent to the distant town of Vierny on the Russo-Chinese frontier. Some members of the Opposition soon capitulated. Zinoviev and Kamenev declared that a Bolshevik ought rather to surrender to the Communist party than cherish the idea of forming a new party. The Central

Committee began to overhaul the whole machinery of the party, and also that of the Komsomol (the Communists of the young). The new elections of the Soviets which were to take place in April were postponed in order that the lists of candidates might be purged of elements friendly towards the Opposition. Thus the real rulers of the country, Stalin, Bukharin, and Rykov, retained their power undiminished.

The session of the Central Executive Committee of the Russian Soviet Republic from March 30 to April 6, as also that of the Central Executive Committee of the Union of Soviet Republics from April 11 to April 23 dealt with the Budget, social insurance, questions of administrative reforms and so on. It was, however, really of less importance than the meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party in July. In consequence of the poor results of the crop deliveries to the State, it was resolved to make some concessions to the peasants. Higher prices were promised for cereals, and it was also announced that domiciliary visits to the peasants would cease. The grain districts were to be properly supplied with the commodities required by the rural population. These measures meant a confession of failure on the part of Stalin of the restrictive policy with regard to the peasantry inaugurated by him after his victory over the Opposition. This policy had somewhat surprised those who had followed the attitude of Stalin in the previous years, but it had been forced upon him by the new political situation after the defeat of the radical wing of the party. To obtain victory he had had to adopt the anti-peasant policy of the partisans of the Opposition, but now like Lenin in 1920 he had again to meet the interests of the agricultural class.

The new move was, however, not lasting. Stalin again adopted a pro-labour policy. His chief object was to force the systematic industrialisation of the country and by this means to create a big reliable army of industrial workmen. In the villages Stalin aimed at weakening the position of the Kulak (the well-to-do peasant) both economically and politically. In 1928 the idea of the socialisation of agricultural life gained much ground; New big collective farms (the so-called Sochosy) were organised; By this policy the Government intended to root out agrarian capitalism and to create instead groups of proletarian peasant workmen.

On October 19 at a meeting of the Central Committee of the party, Stalin uttered a warning against the Right tendencies in the party which were being fostered by the general conditions. He asked whether there was any possibility in Russia for the restoration of capitalism, and he replied that undoubtedly the ground was prepared for it. "We have," he continued, "not taken out the root of capitalism. There are now in Russia more factors making for capitalism than for communism." The Right

wing to which Stalin alluded was headed by Frumkin, an old member of the party, who had always occupied important positions in the Government. Frumkin sent a memorandum to the members of the Central Committee of the party and to the Control Committee in which he expounded his ideas. After depicting the situation of the villages he demanded more economic freedom for the peasant, the abandonment of socialisation in the village, the participation of the peasant in the State administration, and a gentler pace in the policy of industrialisation. These ideas of the Right wing seem to have found support in the Moscow section of the party. For on October 22 the Central Committee published a proclamation in which the Moscow group was warned against these new tendencies which were being spread by people ignorant of the class antagonism in the village. And on November 19 Stalin, in a second speech before the Central Committee, continued his polemic against Frumkin in the following terms : " The Opposition from the Right would in case of its success unchain the capitalist elements of the country. The Opposition from the Right must be combated just as that from the Left. The fight against the Opposition from the Right must, however, in the present state of things be confined to the field of ideas, as the Right wing of the party obeys the resolutions of the party and does not aim at fractionary activities on the lines of the partisans of Trotsky." Though Stalin proclaimed emphatically that there was no difference of opinion in the Central Committee with regard to industrialisation, the chief task of the Soviet policy, it was widely believed that there was a Rykov group, to which Kalinin also belonged, and which was not quite of the same opinion as Stalin. Even Bukharin's attitude towards Stalin was said to have undergone some change.

On December 3 to 17 the Central Executive Committee of the Union met in Moscow. The agenda included the Budget, the agrarian policy, and the new election campaign. The Budget was adopted at 7-73 million roubles revenue and 7-60 million roubles expenditure. The Central Executive Committee then adopted a law on the general principles of land distribution and land exploitation. It was laid down that the land belongs to the community, and there is no private ownership ; also that socialisation of agriculture should be fostered. The Kulaki (well-to-do peasants) were deprived of the right to be elected to the Soviets.

A delegation of the Soviet Government, headed by M. Litvinov, participated in the preliminary disarmament conference at Geneva from March 15 to 24. Litvinov put the question of general disarmament before the conference. In his report on the foreign policy of the Soviet Government held at the session of the Zik on April 21 Litvinov declared : " It was certainly an event of the greatest significance that, through the efforts of the Soviet delegate

in Geneva, for the first time in world history the idea of a full and general disarmament was discussed on a historic stage."

The conduct of foreign policy was on the whole spiritless and poor in results. The Commercial Treaty concluded with Greece in 1926 was rejected by the Greek Chamber on June 13. Relations with Poland did not improve. The negotiations with France made no headway; the French delegation entrusted with the conduct of negotiations was dissolved. The visit of the King of Afghanistan produced no visible results. Relations with Germany were strained for some time in consequence of the Schacht trial. Early in the year a group of 53 engineers and technicians were accused of the sabotage of the Schacht mines in the Donetz basin at the instigation of the former owners of the mines who had their headquarters in Paris and Warsaw. Among the accused were also three Germans. The trial began on May 18 and ended on July 6. Eleven persons were condemned to death, but six of them were recommended to mercy. Thirty-four of the accused were condemned to imprisonment from for one to ten years. Two of the Germans were acquitted and one was sentenced to one year's imprisonment. The Soviet Press asserted that German firms were also involved in the acts of sabotage, but in the course of the trial these charges were withdrawn. The court treated this matter with great caution, as the Soviet Government was not unaware of the harm that might ensue to Russo-German relations. The negotiations for the prolongation of the Russo-German Economic Treaty of 1925 which were begun early in the year but broken off owing to the imprisonment of German engineers in connection with the Schacht affair were again resumed towards the end of the year. On December 21 the negotiations were terminated in Moscow by a new agreement.

On May 8 the Vice-President of the Council of People's Commissaries, M. Tsiurupa, died. He was succeeded by S. K. Ordshonikidse, one of the partisans of Stalin and like him a Georgian.

BALTIC STATES.

In Latvia and Estonia the year was one of unusual tranquillity, both in domestic and foreign affairs. In the former country the Socialist Government which had resigned in December, 1927, was succeeded early in 1928 by a Coalition formed by the Moderate parties. Estonia celebrated the tenth anniversary of her independence on February 24. In the summer M. Toennisson, the head of the Estonian Government, paid a state visit to the King of Sweden.

Lithuania—which also celebrated the tenth anniversary of her independence on February 16—continued during the year to assert her claim to Vilna, and thus barred the way to any *rapprochement* with Poland. In response to a repeated request

from the Polish Foreign Minister, M. Zaleski, the Lithuanian Premier, M. Valdemaras, consented in February to the holding of a conference in Königsberg on March 30 for the purpose of establishing friendly relations between the two countries, according to the undertaking given to the League of Nations in December. The conference led to nothing, as did also a subsequent meeting at Warsaw (*vide* Poland). On August 26 M. Valdemaras in a public speech scouted the idea that the Polish-Lithuanian dispute was nearing settlement, and asserted once more that it was impossible to establish consular and diplomatic relations before the Lithuanians were masters of Vilna. In spite of this statement, however, negotiations were resumed at Königsberg on November 3—again without success.

In January, M. Valdemaras visited Berlin, and entered into preliminary discussions for a commercial agreement with Germany.

POLAND.

The year 1928 witnessed a considerable activity on the part of Polish diplomacy for the purpose of improving and consolidating Poland's relations with her neighbours. After the dramatic meeting of Marshal Pilsudski and M. Valdemaras, before the session of the Council of the League of Nations in Geneva, December, 1927, during which the Council passed a resolution requesting Poland and Lithuania to come to an understanding, the Polish Government sent a Note to Kovno (Jan. 12) proposing the opening of negotiations. The Lithuanian Government replied on the 17th, accepting in principle the proposal to open negotiations, but at the same time making a number of reservations which boded ill for the success of the *pourparlers*. The exchange of Notes continued till May, on the 21st of which month the first meeting of the Polish-Lithuanian Committee for economic, transport, and transit matters was held in Warsaw. Owing to the refusal of Lithuania to open her frontiers for direct traffic with Poland the Warsaw meetings led to no results, and when the Polish-Lithuanian question again came before the Council of the League of Nations on June 6, there was no progress to be reported. However, on June 28, the Polish-Lithuanian Commission met again at Kovno to discuss the question of security and indemnity. The Lithuanian Government persevered in its previous attitude, and the conference broke up on July 7 without having brought an understanding any nearer. A week later (July 14) the Economic Transport and Transit Committee also ended its work inconclusively. The only result of the strenuous efforts which had been made to reach an understanding was the initiating in Berlin on May 27 of a minor Polish-Lithuanian agreement on the secondary question of local frontier traffic.

The Lithuanian Government proposed in a Note of August 13 the convocation of a second joint conference, again attaching conditions which Poland found unacceptable. However, on September 8, during the League of Nations Council session, the Polish Foreign Minister, M. Zaleski, met the Lithuanian Premier, M. Valdemaras, and obtained his consent to the meeting of a Polish - Lithuanian conference at Königsberg on November 3. Again this meeting led to no results owing to the *non possumus* attitude of the Lithuanian Government, and when the matter again came before the League of Nations Council on December 12, the Council passed a resolution requesting the League of Nations Transit Committee to take a hand in the matter. The year ended with no prospects of an understanding.

Concurrently with the negotiations with Lithuania the Polish Government renewed its efforts to negotiate a commercial treaty with Germany and thus bring to an end the tariff war which had existed between the two countries ever since June 15, 1925, when the German Government declared an embargo on Polish imports. The negotiations were resumed on January 12, but failed once more owing to the opposition of the German agrarians to the import of Polish agricultural produce. Nevertheless the tension had been so far relaxed as to render possible the conclusion of certain minor agreements of a commercial nature between the two countries, the most important being the so-called timber agreement of December 10 by which Germany allowed a certain quota of Polish timber to be imported. The negotiations for the trade treaty which had been interrupted in June were resumed in Warsaw on September 10, but again broke down over the question of the prohibition, under the pressure of German agrarian interests, of the import of Polish agricultural products into Germany.

Poland's relations with the Soviet improved on the whole during 1928. On January 25 Polish plenipotentiaries left for Moscow to open negotiations for the conclusion of a trade treaty, and on February 22 an important Polish-Russian railway convention was signed at Vilna. On the very last day of the year the Soviet Government sprang a surprise on Poland by proposing the signing of a Special Protocol to the Kellogg Pact for the outlawry of war, to come into force at once as between Poland and Russia. The Polish Government agreed in principle, but insisted upon the inclusion in the Pact of all the other western neighbours of Russia, i.e., Estonia and Latvia as well as Rumania, notwithstanding the fact that up till then Russia had had no diplomatic relations with Rumania owing to the long-standing dispute over Bessarabia.

Poland's relations with other countries were further consolidated by the exchange of ratifications in Belgrade on May 15 of the Polish-Yugoslav Pact of Friendship signed at Geneva on September 18, 1926 ; by the signature on May 19 of a Treaty of

Friendship between Poland and China ; by the signature on June 12 of a Belgian-Polish Consular Convention ; by the acceptance on July 17 of the United States Government proposal to sign the Kellogg Pact; and by the signature at Washington on August 16 of the Polish-American Treaty of Friendship and Arbitration.

Internally the year was one of progress, especially in the economic sphere. Polish production increased considerably in all branches of industry, and in particular Poland maintained and strengthened her position as one of the principal coal-exporting countries in Europe. The new Polish port of Gdynia, the construction of which was begun in 1925, began to play an increasingly important part among the Baltic ports, its volume of traffic during the year having risen to two million tons. The finances of the State also continued to be in a satisfactory condition. But the country suffered from lack of the capital necessary to finance both industry and agriculture, and the end of the year left it looking to foreign bodies for aid.

Politically the year consolidated further the position of the Government, which underwent a slight reconstruction ; Marshal Pilsudski gave up the office of Prime Minister (June 25) and retained only the portfolio of Minister of War. The Deputy Prime Minister, M. Bartel, became Prime Minister in his stead. There was a Parliamentary election in March which was thought to have given a majority for Marshal Pilsudski. In the election of the Speaker, however, the Socialist M. Daszynski received 206 votes against 163 given for M. Bartel, the Government candidate. For a time there was some friction between Parliament and the Government, but the opposition never became serious. In the summer Marshal Pilsudski published an article in which he denounced the Polish Parliament in language of extraordinary virulence, prompted, it was thought, by the nervous malady from which he was suffering. M. Daszynski issued a dignified reply, and the incident blew over. After having voted the Budget, Parliament was prorogued on June 22 till January, 1929.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA.

The Svehla Government, formed in the autumn of 1926, remained *in* power throughout the whole of 1928. The two changes in its personnel which took place in the course of the year produced no essential changes in the policy of the Government and did not affect its majority.

In the spring (April 28) the official directing the Ministry of Commerce, who had occupied the same post in the preceding Cabinet, was replaced by a Parliamentary Minister, a representative of the National Democratic Party which had supported M. Svehla's Government from the very beginning. This new

Minister, M. Novak, had occupied a similar position in two preceding Governments. The other change occurred in the Ministry of Finance, which after the resignation of Dr. English, was entrusted to its Head Official, Dr. Vlasak (Nov. 25). Dr. English had been invited to become a member of the Cabinet as an expert, and had no support from any of the Coalition Parties. He was consequently unable to put into practice his economic principles when after settling the crisis in the sugar industry he came into conflict with agrarian interests. The main lines of Czechoslovak financial policy, however, remained unaffected.

Throughout this period the Prime Minister was indisposed, and Monsignor Sramek, leader of the People's Party and Minister of Social Welfare, acted as his substitute in the Ministerial Council. Like M. Svehla, Sramek relied on the Conservative Coalition of Czechoslovak and German parties, and was opposed by all the Socialist parties and some of the parties representing the racial minorities.

Up to the autumn political activity in domestic affairs was concerned almost exclusively with the amendment of the Workmen's Insurance Act, discussion on which had commenced as far back as the autumn of the previous year. The proposals of the Government aimed at making this measure less burdensome for the manufacturers, and less favourable for the labour element. The Socialist parties regarded the new adjustment as essentially contrary to the spirit of the original Act, which was passed in 1924 by a joint Coalition of Czechoslovak Bourgeois and Socialist parties, and they therefore started a violent campaign against the amendment both in Parliament and in the country. As a result of this political pressure and also in consequence of expert criticism of the Government proposals, the Coalition was compelled to make very substantial changes in the Bill, so that in the final form which emerged after long and stubborn debating, the amendment was deprived of a great deal of the anti-socialist tendency which its originators had imparted to it. The amendment was not passed until September, and the House was then able to proceed with another important social measure, namely the Private Officials' and Employees' Insurance Bill, which had been in preparation for a considerable time. The work on this Bill, however, was not completed in 1928.

The Budget for 1929, which was submitted by Dr. English and sanctioned at the autumn session, showed a slight reduction in expenditure, the preliminary estimate under this heading being 9,534,000,000 crowns, and with it a surplus of 36,000,000 crowns, which was greater than in the previous Budget, in spite of the fact that a number of new items of expenditure (new adjustment of Pensions, Reform of Public Administration, etc.) had to be incorporated into the Budget for 1929. This was the fourth year in succession in which the Budget showed a credit balance. Altogether, the

general position of the National Finances remained favourable. Employment rose above the level reached in 1927, and the number of applicants for unemployment benefit fell to the lowest figure hitherto recorded since the establishment of the Republic (32,585 persons in July). The advance in foreign trade also continued during 1928, the imports showing a greater rise than the exports. The financial authorities took advantage of the buoyancy of the Money Market to secure a favourable conversion of the floating debt. The American 7½ per cent. Loan of 1925 was also converted on the Home Market into a 5 per cent. Loan.

The first elections in the new Provincial and District Administrative Areas, on December 2, resulted in considerable gains for the Socialist Parties, which secured an actual majority. The Government was still able to retain its control of the Governing bodies of the areas by nominating members in accordance with its powers under the law. Nevertheless the Government Coalition was considerably weakened by this electoral defeat.

Czechoslovak foreign policy in 1928 was again characterised by active participation in the work of the League of Nations and the Little Entente. Dr. Benes, the Czechoslovak Foreign Minister, presided over the Security Commission of the League, and acted as *rapporteur* in the discussions on the treaties of non-aggression. Czechoslovakia was among the countries which signed the Kellogg Peace Pact at Paris on August 27. She also took part in the usual conference of the Foreign Ministers of the Little Entente States which was held this year at Bucharest on June 20 and 21. This conference denounced all attempts to modify the settlement of Central Europe established by the Peace Treaties, and at the same time announced its intention of extending the scope of the Little Entente to include economic, financial, and cultural aspects. This constructive co-operation was meanwhile evinced in the establishment of a Little Entente inter-Parliamentary Association and particularly in the conferences of Parliamentary representatives of Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia, for the purpose of drawing up a scheme of joint activity in economic and cultural matters. This year too, on November 19 at Geneva, the Treaty of Alliance between Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia was renewed for an indefinite period.

The defensive measures of the Little Entente were directed mainly against the revisionist tendencies which were so pronounced in Hungary and exerted so strong an influence on the foreign policy of that country. The demand for a revision of the Trianon Peace Treaty, which was systematically fostered from Hungary by a widespread and not altogether scrupulous propaganda, prevented the relationship between the two neighbouring States from assuming a genuinely amicable character. Matters were not improved by a series of other incidents like the St. Gothard affair concerning a consignment of fire-arms which were being transported to Hungary {*vide* Hungary}.

With the other neighbouring States and also with the great Powers the Czechoslovak Republic continued to maintain friendly relations, which were strengthened by visits of responsible statesmen (Chancellor Seipel visited Prague while Dr. Benes proceeded to London, Paris, and Berlin). With Germany an arrangement was reached by Czechoslovakia for a favourable settlement of the question of the Harbour Zones at Hamburg and Stettin which had been in dispute for several years owing to ambiguities in the terms of the Versailles Treaty. The number of States with which Czechoslovakia has concluded Arbitration Treaties was increased this year by the addition of U.S.A. and Spain.

HUNGARY.

The year opened with an event—known as the St. Gothard incident—which threatened Hungary with grave foreign complications. On January 1 several railway truck-loads of war material which had come from Italy were discovered at the Austro-Hungarian frontier. The cry was immediately raised in several neighbouring countries that the material was meant to form part of Hungary's secret armament, and the Little Entente, led by Czechoslovakia and supported by France, was not slow to seize such an opportunity of denouncing Hungary before the League of Nations (Jan. 19 and 31). The Council of the League, after heated discussions, decided on March 7 to send out a Commission of investigation to Hungary. The Hungarian Government, meanwhile, had ordered the cargo of machine-guns (or parts of such) to be broken up and offered for public sale, according to the rule of international law in such cases. A telegram from the League, however (Feb. 24), prevented the removal of the material, and the Commission arrived in time to examine the remains.

The Commission came to the conclusion that the dismantled parts of machine-guns found at St. Gothard were of no great military value ; that the Hungarian Government was within its rights in ordering their destruction and sale, and that there was nothing to prove that the destination of the material in question was really Hungary. The incident was in consequence closed (June 5), but nevertheless its evil effect on diplomatic relations between Hungary and France was felt throughout the year. Only towards the end of the year (Dec. 14) after an exchange of views with M. Briand at Lugano, was Count Bethlen able to report some improvement. Unfortunately a few days later (Dec. 20) an incident occurred which was calculated to undo the good results achieved. A second clandestine shipment of war material supposed to be destined for Hungary was discovered in Vienna. Thus by a strange fatality the year closed in the same atmosphere of suspicion as had marked its beginning.

The keynote of Count Bethlen's foreign policy throughout

the year was friendship with Italy. In the opinion of his critics—as expressed, e.g. by M. P. Rassay on November 8—a *rapprochement* with the Little Entente, and thus eventually with France, was more essential for the peaceful development of Hungary than unilateral devotion to Italy. The Liberals also argued—and even the left wing of the Government itself concurred with them—that no reliance was to be placed upon the somewhat ambiguous promises of Signor Mussolini to support a revision of the Treaty of Trianon, so long as the inviolability of that treaty formed the pivot of the Italian-Yugoslavian agreement. By no means all the sections of the Hungarian public viewed with favour the enthusiastic reception given to the delegation of the Italian Parliament which visited Budapest on April 18, even if they disapproved of the insults offered to the delegation by the Socialists when it appeared in the House of Commons (April 18).

It was to Count Bethlen's pro-Italian policy that the Opposition also ascribed the meagre results of the Government's diplomatic activity during the year, above all its failure to secure a settlement by the League of Nations of the ever-recurring question of the expropriation of the Hungarian landowners in Rumania. Hungary finally showed its good-will in this matter by accepting Sir A. Chamberlain's suggestion that it should seek a settlement through direct negotiations with Rumania. These were commenced at Abbazia on December 15.

The Opposition also expressed doubts as to the value of the Treaty of Arbitration and Friendship concluded with Poland, as, in spite of the pompous reception given to Hungary's Minister of Foreign Affairs in Warsaw, Poland soon after commenced conversations with Rumania the object of which could only be the enforcement of the Trianon Treaty. On the other hand, it was argued that it was precisely Poland which might be instrumental in bringing about an agreement between the Little Entente and Hungary. Other agreements of an international character signed by Hungary in the course of the year were the commercial, financial and navigation agreements with Yugoslavia (Feb. 25), Canada (April 20), Czechoslovakia (May 27), and Italy (May 26).

Although Lord Rothermere's agitation against the injustices of the Treaty of Trianon produced little fruit, he nevertheless remained the idol of the Hungarian nation, which greatly magnified his efforts on its behalf, and showed its appreciation of them by contributing 50,000 pengos towards the building of a "Temple of Revision" to be decorated with his coat-of-arms. His son, Mr. Harmsworth, received a rapturous welcome from representatives of 120 towns when he visited the country (May 9). When, however, Lord Rothermere in his Christmas message ventured to advocate the introduction of more liberal institutions into Hungary and the abandonment of the idea of the Habsburg restoration, the fervour of his admirers cooled considerably, and the Fascist-

nationalists gave vent to their feelings in acts of rank discourtesy. The saner elements of the country, however, recognised that if Lord Rofchemere's protection and services were accepted, his friendly warnings could not be rejected either.

The arrest in Vienna on April 27 of Bela Kun, the former Communist dictator of Hungary, caused a great sensation in Hungary. The Austrian Government refused the Hungarian demand for his extradition, but no complications followed.

In consequence of the dictatorial powers possessed by Count Bethlen, little interest was taken in the proceedings of the House of Commons, and its sittings were very sparsely attended. Owing to the impossibility of making any impression on the overwhelming Government majority, the Socialist leader Garami proposed on January 6 that the Opposition should abstain from taking part in legislative work, including sitting on committees and voting, and confine itself to the emphatic enunciation from the tribune of such principles as secret ballot, free elections, liberty of assembly, abolition of the " *numerus clausus* " law, etc., this being the only way, in a country where freedom of the Press was denied, to voice opinions at variance with those of the Government. This policy seemed to be justified by certain measures and speeches of Count Bethlen at the beginning of the year. Thus on January 13 members of the Government party were prohibited from openly expressing their political views without the previous permission of the party Executive (this step drove Messrs. T. Kallay and E. Nagy, formerly members of the Cabinet, to leave the party) ; and on January 19 Count Bethlen in a public speech openly condemned Liberalism and democracy as antiquated political forms.

In these circumstances the Opposition received with scepticism Count Bethlen's promise to suspend the Government's " *exceptional powers*," and refused to participate in the discussion of the Budget, leaving the House after scenes of great disorder (March 14). The Premier, however, induced them to return by withdrawing his project of an " *appropriation* " (March 20). The methods of the Premier, however, impelled even the Conservative J. Teleszky, formerly Minister of Finance, to declare in the Upper House that " *nothing more reactionary than the present Government could be imagined* " (Mar. 20). Count Bethlen was able to ignore such criticisms when he secured the adhesion of the Fascist leader, Gy. Gombos and his fifty followers (Sept. 6). Gombos was rewarded by being made Minister of Defence.

On March 28 a modification of the " *numerus clausus* " law was voted. It was violently opposed by the Liberals and Christian-Nationalists, the former finding it inadequate, the latter too liberal. The debate gave rise to the usual repercussions outside of Parliament, commencing with a strike threat from the Fascist students and culminating in bloody excesses against the Jewish students (Oct. 20), on account of the admission by Count Klebelsberg,

the Minister of Education, of 17 more Jewish students to the University of Budapest. This step was taken as the result of an interpellation of the Democratic leader Pakots pointing out that the application of the new " *numerus clausus* " law resulted in the exclusion of Jewish students who were able to pass the matriculation examination with honours, while Christian students who could just barely pass were admitted. Friction between Catholics and Protestants also continued during the year, the latter complaining of the intolerance and increasing influence of the Jesuits.

The renewed activity of the pro-Albrecht monarchists was also a cause of considerable uneasiness. It began early in the year with certain underground intrigues, but was subsequently carried on with greater boldness until Mr. Gyorky interpellated the Government (Dec. 4) on the ground of an alleged declaration of Archduke Albrecht that he expected to be King of Hungary within two years ! As the Archduke opposed no *dementi* to this allegation there was a general uproar in the legitimist-monarchist circles, culminating in a more than usually violent speech of Count Apponyi against Archduke Albrecht personally and any attempt at usurpation.

On the other hand, a Bill for revising the regulations governing debate in Houses of Parliament—including the censorship and the power of expunging speeches from the record—was viewed with suspicion by the Opposition, on the ground, amongst others, that it was intended to prepare the way for the legitimist Habsburg restoration. However, Count Bethlen emphatically repudiated this charge and the revision was voted and immediately applied (Dec. 20).

The more constructive work of Government and Parliament consisted in the elaboration, discussion, and sanctioning of a revised penal code (Jan. 10) ; a 5 per cent, increase in the value of the war bonds in the hands of paupers (Jan. 30); the grant of old age pensions and unemployment insurance, which the Opposition also supported (June 13) ; a reform of public administration (April 20); the Budget—considerably less favourable than last year's, which showed a surplus of 6.9 million pengos as against 0.2 million this year (Feb. 24) ; and finally the much criticised Swedish-American loan of 36 million dollars secured on the monopoly of matches (June 15). It was also decided, on the incentive of Count Klebelsberg and with the support of the Opposition, to make the 8-class elementary school universal (Dec. 5).

On the whole it could not be denied that honest efforts were made by the Government to ameliorate the conditions of the country, and if throughout the year the public—even the pro-Governmental sections—could not free itself from a feeling of profound depression and discomfort, this was due less to the strictly political activity of the Government—towards which the public

had become apathetic—than to its handling of the economic problems of the country. Count Bethlen himself felt this to be unsatisfactory and resolved in consequence to unite under a centralised leadership the economic departments of State (Sep. 8). Mr. Bud was nominated to this post as "Minister without portfolio" with a sort of dictatorial power over the Ministries of Commerce, Agriculture, and Finance. At the same time Mr. S. Wekerle was nominated Minister of Finance in his place.

One of the most urgent tasks of Mr. Bud was to remedy the alarming deficit in the trade balance—350,300,000 pengfts. For this purpose he created an official export office, although, as the Opposition pointed out, this was little in accordance with his programme (Sept. 25), which declared against the increase of bureaucracy and State interference with the conduct of trade. Mr. Wekerle also—according to Mr. Popovics, Governor of the Bank of Hungary—made little change in previous Governmental methods, and business circles continued to clamour for a revision of taxation, customs, and excise duties.

The situation of the Bank of Hungary, although not so good as last year, continued to be satisfactory in spite of the increase of the discount rate from 6 to 7 per cent. The harvest was also less satisfactory than in the previous year, and although the production of cereals, with the exception of maize, was fairly good, the long drought almost annihilated the fodder crops, thus causing an alarming diminution of the cattle and an increase of the price of food. These conditions led to an increase of 7·3 per cent, in the cost of living over last year's index number, and were largely responsible for the difficulty experienced in collecting the increasingly burdensome taxes. The fact that 550,000 distraints were necessary for this object was symptomatic of the economic state of the country. The only bright spot in the situation was an increase of about 350 million pengos in savings banks deposits.

Among the efforts made by the Government to stimulate trade were the creation of Chambers of Commerce in different countries, and the opening of telephone communication with London (Jan. 1), New York (Nov. 3), and Stockholm (Dec. 16) as well as the inauguration of the free port of Csepel (Oct. 20). The effect of these steps could not yet be judged by the end of the year.

The law records were not exempt this year either from the usual political trials, amongst which the case of the well-known critic and writer, Baron L. Hatvany, who was accused of having outraged the good fame of Hungary, was the most sensational. He was condemned to seven years' imprisonment and a fine of 500,000 pengos (Feb. 1). The severity of the sentence evoked protests and appeals from the leading literary circles of Europe and America, which induced the Supreme Court of Appeal to reduce his punishment to one and a half year's imprisonment and a fine of 150,000 pengos. The publicists Dr. Madzsar and L. Fenyes were

condemned for similar offences (June 29). Count Karolyi's petition for a revision of the sentence of confiscation passed upon him on the ground of new proofs of his innocence (such as declarations of Clemenceau, Benes, Archduke Joseph, etc.) was again rejected (June 27).

The sentence passed on the Communists of the group Szanto was finally confirmed (Dec. 2).

RUMANIA.

The year opened with Dr. Maniu and his National Tsaranist (Peasant) Party still condemned to inactivity under the Liberal dictatorship, despite the fact that the overwhelming majority of the population demanded the resignation of the Premier, M. Vintila Bratianu, and the installation of Dr. Maniu in his stead.

In January, Dr. Maniu began a very clever manoeuvre by sending representatives to foreign capitals to convey the warning that any loan granted to the Liberals would be money lent to an unpopular and inefficient dictatorship. At home the Tsaranists frankly declared that they would recognise no loan concluded by the Liberals after the inevitable fall of the latter. A campaign of protest meetings was commenced throughout the countryside, culminating in a great march of 50,000 peasants in national costume through the streets of the capital (March 26). Dr. Maniu and other leaders appeared before the Regency Council to convey a resolution calling upon the Regency to dismiss the hated Liberals. The reply was evasive, and for a moment there was a possibility of a resort to violence. But Dr. Maniu calmed his followers and persuaded them to disperse, promising to obtain a more satisfactory reply which should be given to the peasantry at a gigantic demonstration at the end of April. Alba Julia, where the National Council of Transylvania had voted the union with Rumania ten years earlier and where the late King Ferdinand had been crowned, was selected as the place of meeting. The marked contempt with which the Liberals professed to regard the whole campaign increased the general irritation.

That this contempt was assumed, but, in face of the growing anger of the country, not really felt, was shown by the fact that two days later, M. Bratianu received Dr. Maniu and intimated that he was prepared to make an electoral bargain of the kind so far usual in Rumanian politics. To this and the other countless suggestions of a similar sort Dr. Maniu turned a deaf ear, never wavering in his demand for the resignation of a "corrupt and illegal Government" and the holding of "free, honest, and legal elections."

In the councils of the Tsaranist Party the question of a refusal to pay taxes was openly discussed, and the use of force was secretly debated by the hotheads, but Dr. Maniu proved as insusceptible

to such suggestions as to those of compromise, with what he persistently described as an illegal and corrupt regime. The anxiety of the Government grew as the date finally fixed for the Alba Julia demonstration approached (May 6). Troops were moved to the vicinity, the censorship redoubled its efforts to prevent the truth from becoming known abroad, and preparations were unobtrusively made to impede the transport of the peasants by rail.

Over 100,000 people gathered at this amazing protest meeting, largely but not entirely peasants. Dr. Maniu's resolution was carried unanimously. It set forth that the Liberals were the enemies of the Rumanian people, and declared that, being in a state of legitimate defence, the latter was justified in employing any means to rid itself of its tyrants. The League of Nations was warned not to confound the Liberals with the Rumanian nation, and the right of the Cabinet to contract any foreign loan was denied. The Regency was called upon to act immediately. A solemn oath was taken by the 100,000 to drive out "this Cabinet, the Scourge of God." An attempt made by several sections to march on Bucharest was abandoned. Several Rumanian citizens who were correspondents of British, German, and other newspapers were flung into prison by the Liberals and kept there several weeks without trial for having telegraphed accurate details of the demonstration.

From the date of the Alba Julia Congress the Bratianu regime was doomed, although to the outer world Dr. Maniu seemed to have shot his bolt and merely made himself ridiculous. In point of facts, however, he had only to remain calm and await the fall of the ripe fruits of office into his lap. His first weapon, the financial, has already been mentioned. No censorship, of course, could prevent foreign capitalists from learning of the true state of affairs in Rumania. Although it was announced a dozen times during the year, that a loan had "practically" been secured in one quarter or another, negotiations always stopped short of completion. Not even M. Vintila Bratianu's complete *volte-face* from his six years' hostility to foreign capital availed in face of Dr. Maniu's firm refusal to alter his position of denying the right of the Liberals to contract loans.

His second weapon was the Council of Regency itself. Though appointed by the Liberals, it was not prepared to sink with them. The danger became apparent that the Crown itself, being too closely identified with the Liberals, might incur the odium which was their lot, especially among the Transylvanians, where many returned emigrants to the United States were quite open to consider an alternative system of Government.

The infant King Michael, though regarded with affection, could be no great figurehead around which men would rally while suffering from political oppression, economic distress, and the extortions of a corrupt officialdom. The ex-Prince Carol had,

despite his personal popularity with a part of the Army and in the popular imagination, done much to destroy the faith of thinking people in the institution of Kingship. Just at the moment of the Alba Julia Congress, he took it into his head to engage from England, where he was making a short visit, in a ridiculous adventure. Allying himself with certain English newspaper propagandists of pro-Hungarian sympathies, he allowed a manifesto to be printed for distribution by aeroplane in Rumania while the excitement over Alba Julia was at its height. In this he indicated that if he took the lead in Rumania, he would pay special attention to Hungarian interests. He appears to have planned a return to Rumania by aeroplane. This madcap scheme, with its adoption of Hungarian propaganda, naturally destroyed at one blow every trace of the dwindling but still considerable sympathy which was at his command in Rumania, and finally erased "the Carol Question" from Rumanian politics. The ex-Prince was requested by the British Home Office to leave England without delay. After this, Princess Helen abandoned her long opposition to the demands of the Liberals that she should cut the last tie uniting the Prince to Rumania, and in June the Bucharest courts pronounced a divorce against him in his absence.

From the date of Alba Julia, the relations between M. Vintila Bratianu and the Council of Regency grew steadily colder. The Regency, indeed was anxious to spare him the complete defeat which awaited him, but in view of the steadfast refusal of the Tsaranists to agree to anything which had not been submitted to an unfettered electorate, the Regents could do nothing. Finally they assured the Tsaranists that the Liberals would resign by November 30, by which date M. Bratianu asserted that his loan negotiations would be concluded. When the Prime Minister changed his mind, saying that he would not allow the Tsaranists alone to handle the proceeds of a loan which he would have contracted, the Regency demurred. Dramatically, M. Bratianu dropped the loan negotiations and confronted the Regency with his resignation on November 3. To his surprise, it was accepted.

The usual party intrigues set in to save the face of the Liberals and to secure through General Averescu and others of their placentmen that their hold on the country should secretly be maintained. The Tsaranists declined any such compromise. Dr. Maniu had formed a Cabinet on November 9. He immediately abolished all censorship on the telegrams of foreign correspondents and on November 16, on Rumanian newspapers. He abolished martial law, which for ten years had helped to maintain the power of the Liberals, except in such parts of a narrow frontier zone where the military authorities might insist on it, and dismissed thousands of the oppressive gendarmerie and secret police.

Free elections were held on December 12, as Dr. Maniu had promised. The party strength of the Liberals fell from 293 to 13,

while the Tsaranists secured 333 seats and their electoral allies, the Germans and the Social Democrats, secured 7 and 8 seats respectively. General Averescu and Professor Jorga, who had joined forces, obtained only 5 seats, Dr. Lupu's Independent Peasants 5, and the Magyars 16. Dr. Maniu raised the outlawry of the Communists, but they received less than 2 per cent, of the votes, and not a single seat.

The year closed with the Rumanian people for the first time in control of their own destinies, but faced with the debris of ten years of Liberal mismanagement and corruption, lack of funds, and no foreign loan. Dr. Maniu immediately began negotiations for this last, where M. Bratianu had dropped them. His attitude towards the long-drawn-out dispute concerning the Hungarian optants was so favourably regarded in Budapest that the Hungarian Government withdrew the question from the agenda of the League of Nations in favour of private settlement with Rtimania, negotiations for which had just begun as the year ended.

YUGOSLAVIA.

The year 1928 was marked by a succession of grand political and national crises in Yugoslavia, which were all inconclusive, but seriously loosened the national bond. In January a strong attempt was made to induce M. Stephen Raditch and the Croat Peasant Party to join the Cabinet, but it shattered on the personality of M. Vukitchevitch. On January 25 the position appeared more hopeful, but M. Vukitchevitch was not prepared to agree to all the terms put forward by the Croats, and on the next day M. Raditch left Belgrade for Zagreb. He promptly entered into an alliance with M. Davidovitch, the Democrat leader, to break up the Serbian Democrat-Radical Coalition, and on Feb. 1 the (Davidovitch) Democrat Ministers resigned, M. Marinkovitch heading those Democrats who disapproved of the Davidovitch group. The Cabinet, of course, was unable to carry on its work very long in this crippled state and resigned a week later (Feb. 8). The King first asked M. Vukitchevitch to form a broad Coalition Cabinet to include M. Raditch and then, on the latter refusing to serve with M. Vukitchevitch, asked M. Raditch himself to do so. The Croat leader attempted to form a Cabinet with a Radical or Democrat Prime Minister but failed, owing to the exigent demands of the Radicals. M. Davidovitch declined to attempt the task, M. Ninku Peritch, the President of the Skupshtina, and M. Marinkovitch failed in turn, and on February 23 M. Vukitchevitch patched together a third Radical-Democrat Coalition Cabinet. In the course of the crisis M. Raditch surprised all who knew his democratic convictions with a proposal that a non-political General should form a Government which should not be purely Serb. M. Raditch was later suspended for remarks alleged to be

insulting to the Throne. M. Pribitchevitch, the head of the dissident Democrats, composed of the racial Serbian ex-subjects of Austro-Hungary, as spokesmen for his co-leader in the Peasant-Democrat Coalition, M. Raditch, threatened to withdraw with their supporters from Parliament unless Belgrade accorded better treatment to Croatia.

During these internal political storms there came the problem of the loan negotiations and the important question of relations with Italy. The shadow of Italian policy in the Balkans was over the entire peninsula during the year, but it was darkest over Yugoslavia. The "Pact of Friendship" with Italy expired in January; feeling between the two countries then ran so high that a formal renewal was impossible. Furthermore, Italy pressed for the ratification of the Nettuno Conventions as a first condition. A prolongation of the Pact until July was adopted as a compromise. The Nettuno Conventions gave Italy a privileged position in Yugoslavia, while according—on paper—other privileges to Yugoslavia in Italy of which in practice she could take no advantage, and hostility to the ratification was accordingly great, especially among the Croats and Dalmatians, who were most affected. But on May 23 Dr. Marinkovitch, the Foreign Minister suddenly announced the decision of the Yugoslav Government to ratify at an early date. The announcement followed a single conversation with the Italian Minister in Belgrade, General Bordero, on his return from Rome.

Almost immediately serious anti-Italian rioting broke out at many places in Croatia, Dalmatia, and Slovenia. At Sebenico, Spalato, Ljubljana, Susak, Zagreb, and Ragusa riots occurred between May 2 and May 30 in the course of which many thousands paraded the streets, burned portraits of Mussolini, wrecked Italian shops and stoned Italian vessels in port. At Zara, the Italian port in the centre of the Yugoslav coast, Italians burned the Yugoslav flag. The police received orders from Belgrade to repress the riots very firmly; there were police charges and many wounded, several lives lost and a great many arrests. The rioting in its later phases became almost as much an anti-Serbian as an anti-Italian demonstration, the Croats raising the cry "Belgrade has sold us for a loan which is to go into the pockets of Serbian officials and has purchased security from Italy for Serbia along the Albanian frontier at the cost of the *pretchani* (Yugoslav ex-Austro-Hungarians)." There were violent disorders on May 30 in Belgrade, in which Croat and Slovene students came into contact with the police. Five protests were made by the Italian Minister in Belgrade, and the Yugoslavs readily accorded the compensation and apologies which were asked for, continuing to deal severely with the rioters. Father Korosets, a Slovene Clerical, who had joined the Cabinet as Minister of the Interior, was held responsible by the Opposition for the "violence" of the police.

The Croat Coalition adopted obstructionist tactics in Parliament, and after four days' prevention of business and a refusal to comply with an order of suspension, four of its members were dragged out of the Chamber by gendarmes. On June 16 the Nettuno Conventions were sent forward for ratification by Parliament, but all consideration of this burning question was swept aside on June 20 when the Serbian chauvinist deputy, Punicha Ratchitch, shot down the Croat leaders in the Chamber. Dr. Pernar, one of the victims, had been warned that his life was in danger ; a Serb chauvinist newspaper, *Jedinisvo*, had declared that it was essential to the salvation of Yugoslavia that M. Raditch and M. Pribitchevitch should be assassinated simultaneously. Insulting remarks made by Dr. Pernar during a violent speech by Ratchitch immediately preceded the shooting. Ratchitch shot M. Paul Raditch and M. Bassaritchek dead, and seriously wounded M. Stephen Raditch, Dr. Pernar, and M. Garija. Ratchitch walked out of the Chamber unnoticed but was subsequently arrested.

The Croat deputies left for Zagreb, proclaiming that they would never again enter the bloodstained Skupshtina until it had been purged by the resignation of the Government and the holding of fresh elections. There was furious anti-Serbian rioting in Zagreb, when the police fired on and charged the crowd, killing 5 persons and wounding 30. The King visited the bedside of the wounded Stephen Raditch and kissed him ; Raditch himself sent a message as a funeral oration for the dead deputies, still speaking of " Yugoslav unity," but it was obvious that no responsible Croat any longer thought of any unity which did not include autonomy for Croatia. No Government supporter was suffered to attend the funeral. The fury of Zagreb was increased by the calmness of Belgrade, and the Croats declared that secretly the majority of the Serbs were complaisant, if not definitely relieved, concerning the Skupshtina crime. The Government, by holding on to office as a matter of prestige until July 4, still further exacerbated the Croats, and the Serbs declined altogether to accede to the Croat demand for a dissolution and " honest " elections. The wounded Raditch declined to form a Coalition Government, and on July 9 he was moved back to Zagreb, where to the consternation of the Croats he died on August 8. A few days before, M. Ristovitch, a Serb chauvinist editor, was shot dead in the streets of Zagreb, the Croats declaring that he had come to their capital as a spy or as an assassin. Meantime, Father Korosets, the Slovene Clerical, had formed a Serb Coalition Government (July 28). His summoning of what Croats called " the bloody Skupshtina " for the purpose of passing the hated Nettuno Conventions in the absence of the dissident Croats added to the anger of Zagreb and ensured that his Cabinet should inherit the hatred felt for that of M. Vukitchevitch. The solemn tributes paid at the opening session to the victims of the

shooting did nothing to allay Croat anger. The Nettuno Conventions were passed on August 5 by the Skupshtina Committee.

"This is the end," declared M. Trumbitch, the Federalist leader and one of the founders of Yugoslavia who had joined forces with Messrs. Raditch and Pribitchevitch just before the death of the former. Raditch was given a Croat national funeral, attended by hundreds of thousands of peasants. Dr. Matschek succeeded M. Raditch as leader, and the Croats took up the position that henceforth there could be little more than a personal union of the Crown, such as had obtained between Austria and Hungary under the Hapsburgs, to unite them with the Serbs. Voices in Belgrade simultaneously became louder for the arrest of the Croat leaders on charges of high treason and the establishment of a severe military regime in Croatia, but no definite steps were taken by either side. Fresh rioting followed the Nettuno ratification. The proclamation of Ahmed Bey Zogu as King of Albania on August 25 was claimed by the Croats as evidence that the Serbs had sacrificed them to Italy, without in any way deflecting the Balkan aspirations of that Power. New Italian measures of denationalisation among the Yugoslavs of Istria and the parts-of Dalmatia subject to Italy strengthened their case. Feeling grew steadily worse between Serbs and Croats. A protest forwarded by Madame Raditch to the League of Nations angered the Serbs. On December 1, the anniversary of the proclamation of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, black flags were hoisted by students above Zagreb Cathedral where a service of thanksgiving for the union of the two races was to be held by the authorities. Rioting, which for a time threatened to become serious, broke out. A man was killed and a number of others wounded. Zagreb students organised a long protest strike and the University was closed. Colonel Maximovitch was appointed Governor of Zagreb on December 5; this was taken as the foreshadowing of a general military regime in Croatia, and ominous demands for a "Dictator" became audible in Belgrade. On December 26 a Serbian secret police agent was murdered in a Zagreb cafe. His assassin could not be discovered. The year closed without bringing any clearance of the clouds overhanging the country.

In March and April some progress was made with the negotiations for a Yugoslav Loan with the London house of Rothschild, but the internal troubles caused the matter to be postponed indefinitely.

A second son (Prince Tomoslav) was born to Queen Marie on January 19.

TURKEY.

The year 1928 in Turkey was one of peaceful progress in the process of "Westernising" the country according to the plans devised by Mustapha Kemal Pasha,

Special Commissions appointed in December, 1927, to investigate the financial scandals connected with the contract for the *Ooeben* floating dock and other naval matters decided on January 18 that Ihsan Bey, the former Minister of Marine, and the Deputy Dr. Fikret Bey (brother-in-law of Damad Enver Pasha) were guilty of taking and sharing a commission in this matter, and on January 26 the Grand National Assembly decided that they should be tried. Ihsan Bey threatened to shoot himself before the Assembly, but he was prevented and later arrested. The trial began at the end of February and concluded on April 8. Sentence of two years' imprisonment for receiving money in respect of the repairing of the *Ooeben* was passed on the ex-Minister of Marine on April 16, and lighter sentences on the other accused. The case attracted general attention by reason of the evidence which it afforded that the Ghazi Pasha was determined not to tolerate corruption or to shield those even in the highest places who had been guilty of it. A deputy, Ali Riza Bey, was sentenced to thirty months' hard labour and a fine of 14,700l., and Tazi Mahmed Bey, Parliamentary cashier, to five years' hard labour and eighteen months' imprisonment in May, on charges of embezzling State funds. Ali Jenani Bey, Minister for Commerce in the last Cabinet, was convicted of the misuse of public funds: he was fined 17,000l. and sentenced to one month's imprisonment, the latter part of the sentence being suspended.

Police and gendarmerie were as vigilant as ever in watching for signs of conspiracies against the regime of the Ghazi Pasha. Sixty-five Turkish Communists were placed on trial in January on charges of conspiracy; 70 Hungarian workmen were arrested during the same month on suspicion of having spread Communist propaganda; and 20 Bulgarian workmen were arrested at Smyrna on the same charge and subsequently deported. A man named Sabri Bey was arrested at Brusa early in April on suspicion of having conspired against the Republic in the interests of the exiled house of Osman. Nazim Hikmet Bey, a Turkish Communist leader who was sentenced in absence to fifteen years' imprisonment in 1924, was arrested just inside the frontier on July 31 on his return from Russia. He was tried together with another Communist, Mehmed Emin Bey. Each was sentenced to two months' imprisonment. A more serious dynastic plot was discovered during December, about which the authorities maintained a good deal of secrecy. Some hundred persons were arrested; two sons of Abdul Hamid were said to have been involved.

The series of earthquakes which occurred during the year at various times in the Balkans affected Turkey also. The worst shocks were felt at Smyrna in the early hours of March 30, when 30 people were killed, and mosques, houses, and public buildings destroyed. Adrianople and Konia were also affected. The damage in Turkey at no time approached that done in Bulgaria. Many

people were injured and villages badly damaged by fresh shocks in Anatolia in May.

Further steps were taken in many directions to continue the Ghazi Pasha's schemes for " Westernising " Turkey. The Prime Minister, General Ismet Pasha, and the President of the Assembly introduced a Bill, which the Assembly passed on April 10, still further disestablishing Islam and secularising the State machinery. Among other changes the oath to be taken by new elected deputies " in the Name of Allah " was altered to a secular affirmation. A Bill making the use of western (Arabic) numerals compulsory after January 1, 1929, was passed by the Assembly on May 20.

Western reforms in the Moslem religion were recommended by a University Commission in June. Among them were the introduction of seats, instrumental music and singing in the mosques, the substitution of Turkish for Arabic in prayers, and the abolition of the time-honoured custom of removing shoes when entering a mosque.

After a prolonged study, a Government Commission drew up and published, in August, a new Turkish alphabet written in Latin characters. It was not at once made compulsory, as the difficulties with the population, four-fifths of which are illiterate and speak a great variety of dialects, was too great. But the newspapers were ordered to publish several columns a day in the new script, post offices and public offices recognised it, and the Ghazi Pasha engaged personally in propaganda for this, the most revolutionary of all his reforms. All Government and semi-official employees were ordered to learn and employ the new alphabet by the end of October, and the Ghazi Pasha made an extensive tour, teaching and lecturing on the new alphabet. In November the Assembly passed a law making its use compulsory after December 1, 1928, and a number of schoolmasters were arrested for " carrying on propaganda " against it. Bank notes printed in Arabic characters continued to circulate, and in certain departments of public life these characters will be tolerated until June next; apart from this, Arabic characters disappeared from Turkey on November 30 with the punctuality which the Ghazi Pasha has insisted on in all his reforms.

In the field of foreign politics, relations with Italy were of the greatest interest during the year. In April, Tewfik Rushdi Bey, the Foreign Minister, had a private conference at Milan with Signor Mussolini and Signor Grandi, the Italian Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. The question of an Italo-Turkish Pact was discussed; among other matters probably also the differences between Turkey and France concerning the Syrian frontier, but no statement concerning the conversation was issued. On May 30 a Pact with Italy was signed, three days after the signature of another Pact with Afghanistan, the latter in connexion with the visit of King AmanuJJah. It was arranged to send a Turkish

military mission to Afghanistan to reorganise the Afghan army. On June 15 a Pact with Persia was signed at Teheran. Negotiations for a Turko-Greek Pact were initiated in the first half of the year, but made slow progress. In August, Tewfik Rushdi Bey met Count Bethlen and Dr. Walko (the Hungarian Prime Minister and Foreign Minister) at Budapest, and afterwards proclaimed the friendship of Turkey for Hungary. Unsuccessful attempts were made in September to bring about a meeting of the Turkish and Greek Prime Ministers. Grseco-Turkish relations grew worse as the year went on, owing to disputes arising out of the exchange of populations. The proclamation of Ahmed Bey Zogu as King of the Albanians was very ill-received in Turkey. The Turco-Italian Pact was ratified at the end of November, and on December 16, Signor Grandi arrived in Turkey, remaining there for ten days. It was apparent that his efforts were directed towards bringing Greece and Turkey nearer to each other. Turkish foreign debt obligations were fixed in an agreement which the Assembly ratified on December 1.

GREECE.

The history of the past year in Greece was dominated by M. Venizelos, whose reappearance on the political scene completely changed the aspect of the whole situation.

On January 23 General Mazarakis, the Minister for War, tendered his resignation to the Prime Minister, M. Zaimis. His object was to call attention to what he considered to be the neglect of the interests of the Army and the failure to provide sufficient sums in the Budget for its maintenance. A week later, however, he agreed to withdraw his resignation, after a conversation with the Minister of Finance. On February 3, M. Zaimis, in consequence of Cabinet dissensions, tendered his own resignation. Behind this lay a revolt against M. Papanastassiou, the most uncompromising Republican of the Cabinet, and eventually he had to be sacrificed, M. Zaimis taking office again on February 7 without M. Papanastassiou. On January 19 there had been a violent demonstration of Cretans against the system of taxation, and one of the basic principles of the new combination was to secure conciliatory treatment to the discontented Cretans. M. Venizelos, who was in Paris, expressed approval of the new Coalition and the hope that it would obtain the support of the Chamber.

Early in February the insistence of General Pangalos, the former Dictator, who was still in the prison of Izz-ed-Din, in Crete, that he would make no statement for the Parliamentary Committee which was investigating his conduct so long as he was kept in prison, met with its reward. It was agreed that he should appear in person before the Commission to plead his cause, and on

February 16 he was brought to Athens. His examination followed immediately. He put forward a lengthy and spirited defence of his actions, declaring that in setting up his dictatorial regime he had not overthrown any legal system, as the country was in an abnormal state bordering on disorder. On April 12 three officers and a number of non-commissioned officers were arrested on the charge of taking part in yet another Pangalist plot to restore the ex-Dictator.

Early in May the name of M. Venizelos (who had returned from Paris to Crete and finally to the Greek mainland) began to be mentioned more and more frequently in political circles, although the aged statesman maintained stoutly that the only thing which could bring him back into politics would be the danger of a monarchist, military dictatorship. Unless he saw this on the horizon he would continue his voluntary eight-year exile from politics. Nevertheless, it was realised that the Cretan statesman was meditating a declaration in a different sense for some days before May 20, when M. Kaphandaris, the Minister of Finance, suddenly resigned the leadership of the Progressive Liberal Party, stating that he could no longer remain under the "tutelage" of M. Venizelos. This revelation of the fact that the latter was already playing a part behind the scenes—he had been of great assistance to M. Kaphandaris in the delicate financial negotiations in Paris, and had continually extended his influence since—brought about the downfall of the Zaimis Coalition Government which as a combination of moderate Republicans and Royalists, had had office for eight months; it was quite impossible, of course, for Royalists of any shade to co-operate with the uncompromising Cretan Republican.

Various considerations were believed to have induced M. Venizelos to step forward again into the political limelight. Paris had looked with little favour on the progress made with preparations for an Italo-Greek Treaty of friendship, which it was feared would involve Greece in the network of Italian policy in the Balkans, and M. Venizelos was ever ready to lend an ear to the counsels of France. It was surmised that he would ensure that any pact with Italy should promptly be counterbalanced by another with Yugoslavia. Motives of internal policy—the disappearance of M. Papanastassiou, the growing influence of the Monarchists, the lack of homogeneity in a Parliament still split into many ineffective fractions, the reviving rumours of militarist plots—were probably most potent in influencing M. Venizelos in the decision which he now announced to return to public life and to take over the party leadership abandoned by M. Kaphandaris. He maintained, however, that except in the last resort, he had no desire to form a Government and eventually M. Zaimis again took office with M. Kaphandaris once more his Finance Minister. M. Venizelos' offer to retire into obscurity and leave Greece if

the Royalist leaders would sign an agreement finally adhering to the Republic was not accepted.

On June 28 M. Venizelos provoked a fresh Cabinet crisis by his opposition to the fiscal policy of M. Kaphandaris, expressed in the issue by the National Bank of a prospectus inviting subscriptions for 80,000 shares of 5,000 drachmas each in the new Bank of Greece. The Liberals held that advantage should have been taken of the provisions of the Geneva Protocol allowing the issue to be made in three instalments spread over two years. M. Zaimis resigned next day. M. Venizelos now urged the President, Admiral Konduriotis, to invite him to form a Cabinet, to abolish the system of proportional representation by decree and to hold fresh elections. On July 4 M. Venizelos formed his Government and, by Presidential decree, fixed August 19 as the date of the new elections. Admiral Konduriotis for a long time opposed M. Venizelos' contention that the system of proportional representation should be abolished in favour of a majority system in order to secure homogeneous grouping in the Chamber, but eventually the new Prime Minister had his way.

The election results surprised even the most optimistic Liberals. Out of 250 seats, 225 fell to the supporters of M. Venizelos, and 25 to his opponents. With such a sweeping triumph behind him, M. Venizelos was in a position to pursue a well-defined policy of reforms at home and of conciliation abroad. For the first time for many years Greece found herself in possession of a stable Government. M. Venizelos announced his determination to press forward with the drainage of the marshes of the Axios, the Strouma, and the plains of Philippi, and to settle on the recovered land those of the refugees from Asia Minor who were still homeless.

In foreign policy he turned first to the matter of the Italo-Greek Pact of Friendship and arbitration, negotiations for which had commenced under his predecessor. As soon as he had recovered from a serious attack of the dengue fever which ravaged Greece during the summer, M. Venizelos set off for Rome, and on September 23 he signed the new Pact there himself. It provided, amongst other things, for the neutrality of either party should the other be the victim of an unprovoked attack, for the mutual rendering of political and diplomatic assistance in the event of a threat of invasion to either, and an agreement to consult as to further measure to be taken in the event of international complications. The duration of the Pact was fixed at five years.

While the Pact was generally approved in Greece, M. Venizelos' declaration in Rome that the question of the Dodecannese was one concerning Italy and the inhabitants of those islands alone was received in many quarters in Greece as the betrayal of those inhabitants, under Italian pressure, to Rome.

After the signature, M. Venizelos hastened to Paris and to London to explain in both capitals the inoffensive nature of the

Pact and to emphasise his readiness to conclude similar agreements with other neighbours. He proposed to go to Belgrade to initiate negotiations to this end, but although the Yugoslav Government readily received him, the feeling in the country that the Italo-Greek agreement would be used to extort concessions from Yugoslavia made this part of M. Venizelos' tour fruitless. Nevertheless, on October 11 a preliminary Protocol was signed between the two countries, but further progress was delayed by tedious negotiations. M. Venizelos made known his readiness to enter into similar pacts with Turkey, Bulgaria, and Albania.

During the year Greece suffered severely from a series of violent earthquakes in Attica and the Peloponnese. The first shocks were felt on the night of April 22 at Corinth, which was almost entirely ruined. Kalamaki and Loutraki also suffered severe damage. Some 15,000 persons were rendered homeless by the first shocks, but the casualties were fortunately light. Emergency measures were taken to ameliorate the sufferings of the victims. British warships came to the rescue with tents and food, while many countries provided contributions in cash and in kind. More or less violent shocks recurred at intervals until April 29, and milder ones up till May 1. On June 7 there were further earthquake shocks among the ruins of Corinth.

The country was swept by a terrible outbreak of dengue fever throughout the summer months. The death-roll was comparatively light, but the whole economic life of hundreds of towns and villages was paralysed for weeks at a time owing to the high proportion of workers unable to follow their occupations. The epidemic even resulted in a deficit in the revenue returns for the first half of the financial year owing to the inability of the peasants to pay the usual taxes.

By a decree of May 12, the drachma was stabilised at 375 to the pound sterling, the Bank of Greece being obliged to buy and sell at this figure *plus* and *minus* 2½ drachmae per pound. A few days later the new Bank of Greece was opened.

On June 11 a serious strike of tobacco workers broke out at Cavalla and other places. A Cabinet Council was called to consider the situation and resolved to protect "blackleg" workers and to refuse negotiations with the strikers. Several collisions between strikers and police occurred on June 11, the latter firing their revolvers. At Pravishta a striker was killed. The next day disorder began at Cavalla, where 8,000 strikers tried to march through the town, but dispersed after being fired on. On the 12th the strike spread to Salonika, and unsuccessful endeavours were made to proclaim a general strike. Within ten days the strike had failed and the men returned to work on the granting of minor concessions. On December 12 riots at Corinth by earthquake refugees demanding the immediate payment of relief money, led to eleven rioters being wounded.

Brigands in Epirus became unusually daring, and in the month of August held to ransom two Parliamentary candidates. In October the Government decided to grant an amnesty for all political offences committed since 1925, thus covering the Pan-galists.

A GrsDco-Bulgarian convention concerning the payment of money due to Bulgaria on account of the properties of the exchanged populations was ratified in the Greek Chamber on December 17.

ALBANIA.

As the year 1927 was signalised in Albania by the Pact of Tirana and the closer union with Italy, so the year 1928 was signalised by the proclamation of the monarchy.

In point of fact the monarchy had existed in Albania since December 24, 1924, the day on which Ahmed Zogu entered Tirana on his arrival from Belgrade. The title of President of the Republic which he then assumed had not in any way prevented him from exercising an absolute power, and the existence of a Parliament, consisting of a Chamber of Deputies and a Senate, had not in the least given a constitutional, still less a Parliamentary character to the administration.

The stages by which the Republic was definitively transformed into a monarchy were as follows :—

On May 14 a conflict arose between the two Chambers constituting the legislative authority on a proposal for the creation of a Council of State. On the 21st of the same month, under pretext that the Constitution in force left the door open to such conflicts and was not explicit on the procedure to be followed in such cases, 44 deputies presented a motion urging the necessity of a revision of the Constitution. The Chamber of Deputies passed this motion unanimously, but it was evident that no one had any clear idea of the change which was required.

On June 2 the President issued a message prolonging the session of Parliament.

On June 6 the Chamber of Deputies took note of the resolution of the Senate relative to the necessity of a revision of the Constitution, and to the addition of a new paragraph to Article 141 of the Constitution in force. This additional paragraph conferred the right of revising the Constitution on the Constituent Assembly.

On June 7 the two Chambers sat together as a Legislative Assembly and decided that the right of revising the Constitution belonged to the Constituent Assembly. Should such revision be declared necessary, the two Chambers should be considered dissolved.

On the same day Parliament declared itself dissolved.

Following this decision, the President of the Republic ordered a new election for a Constituent Assembly.

On July 16 the election of the electors of the first degree commenced. These were in turn, as the "second college," to proceed to the election of deputies properly so-called. The elections passed off without the least excitement; there was no programme, no campaign, and above all no opposition on the part of the people. The candidates were adopted *en bloc* and without demur, exactly as they were designated by the authorities in power.

On August 16 the election or nomination of the members of the Constituent Assembly was concluded. Almost all the members of the last Parliament, both senators and deputies, were elected.

On September 1 the Constituent Assembly was opened. It immediately proclaimed a monarchy in Albania, with Zogu I. as King of the Albanians. At half-past ten a deputation waited on Ahmed Zogu to inform him of the decision taken by the Assembly. In the afternoon of the same day King Zogu I. took the oath, before the Assembly.

On November 22 the Constituent Assembly drafted and ratified the new Monarchical Constitution, and having completed its labours declared itself automatically transformed into a Chamber of Deputies.

The new Constitution contains 234 Articles. In future there will be only one Chamber, that of the Deputies, composed of one deputy for every 15,000 or fraction of 15,000 inhabitants. A Council of State is to be created consisting of ten members and two assessors, to be chosen by the King from candidates presented by the Prime Minister, the President of Parliament, and the Minister of Justice. The Council of Ministers depends on and is directly subordinate to the King, being responsible to him and to the Legislative Chamber.

The King sent a message to the Chamber of Deputies, which replied on December 24. In this reply it made mention of agrarian reforms.

In the field of foreign affairs the most noteworthy events were the signature of a treaty of arbitration with the United States and the signing of the Kellogg Pact against War.

BULGARIA.

During 1928 the most prominent feature of Bulgarian politics was the sanguinary feud between rival sections of the I.M.R.O. (Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organisation), which arose out of the murder of the head of the organisation, General Protogeroff, in Sofia on July 7. Of greater significance to Europe generally were the various manifestations of Italian support of Bulgaria in opposition to Yugoslavia in pursuit of the general policy of Italy in the Balkans. This included a demonstrative abstention of Italy from an Anglo-French *demarche* in Sofia on the subject of Macedonian outrages. The terrible earthquake of

April 14 and following days brought great suffering to large areas, and caused considerable loss of life. The successful flotation of the "League Loan" (Stabilisation Loan) at the end of November was the most important financial event of the year.

The question of Bulgarian disarmament was raised in academic form in January by the letter of M. Briand (in his capacity of President of the Council of Ambassadors) to the Council of the League of Nations dealing with the substitution of a League Supervisory Committee for the Inter-Allied Commission of Control. The letter called attention to Article 71 of the Bulgarian Constitution, which provides for universal compulsory military service and has never been changed—on the plea of the political excitement which would be involved in holding special "Constituent Assembly" elections for the purpose—since such service was abolished by the Treaty of Neuilly. The Government had pledged itself, however, to effect the necessary reform when conditions allowed. Unofficially, Bulgaria still urged at the same time that the treaty should be amended to allow of the introduction of liability to compulsory service in an Army not to exceed in strength the present "mercenary forces" on the plea that thereby half a milliard Leva would be saved annually. In this desire she received the discreet support of Italy.

While there was no sharp crisis with Yugoslavia during the twelve months under review, the promise of 1927 of an all-round improvement was not realised. Relations were strained on several occasions, thanks to the political assassinations by the I.M.R.O. and to their *komitaji* raids. But the respective Governments, if wary and suspicious of one another, still co-operated in preventing anything like the open clash sought by extremists on both sides. The I.M.R.O., perhaps relying on its success in arousing international sympathy for Macedonia in the days of the Turkish domination by assassinating Turkish officials, and then calling attention to the horrors of the massacres by the Turks which ensued, began the year's campaign against Yugoslavia by the assassination on January 13 of a Yugoslav police official at Skoplje. A speech of Dr. Marinkovitch, the Yugoslav Foreign Minister, which was made just afterwards, aroused resentment in Sofia, where it was interpreted as a veiled threat to Bulgaria. But M. Nechitch, the Yugoslav Minister in Sofia who since his arrival the year before had constantly poured oil on the troubled waters, allayed the excitement by his assurance that the speech had been misunderstood and that no Yugoslav *demarche* concerning the murder would be made. The British Legation, however, supplied to the Bulgarian Foreign Office a list of suspected members of the I.M.R.O. operating on the frontier near Petritch, and these were ordered to place themselves under police supervision in the interior.

The Macedonian troubles entered on a new phase with the assassination of General Protogerooff, the head of the I.M.R.O., on July 8.

The General, who had been responsible for many of the assassinations, and the raids into Yugoslavia of the I.M.R.O., incurred the enmity of Ivanche Mihailoff, one of the members of the "Triumvirate" of that organisation, an ambitious and much younger man, who decided on the General's death.

The grounds of the dispute are obscure. Mihailoff himself declared that it was to punish Protogeroff for the assassination of Todor Alexandroff four years earlier. For some time Mihailoff had become even more extreme than Protogeroff and had gained in influence within the organisation and in the Army, where he had many officer adherents. Feeling himself in a position to secure the leadership, he had Protogeroff shot dead in the main street in Sofia: Protogeroff's bodyguard, a secret police official, was also killed.

This assassination initiated a bloodthirsty feud in Bulgaria. Popchristoff was proclaimed leader of the I.M.R.O. in succession to the murdered General by the Protogeroffists; the Mihailoffists, who were in force in the frontier district of Petritch declared open war on their rivals. The Bulgarian Government was powerless to intervene in the series of desperate struggles in the mountains and the assassinations which ensued. Towards the end of the year victory rested with the partisans of Mihailoff, though they lost a good deal of the sympathy upon which Macedonians can generally count in Bulgaria. In Petritch Mihailoff established a sort of free-booter's kingdom of his own despite the apparently ineffective dispatch of Government troops, and when a second and a third shooting affray in the capital itself had involved innocent bystanders in wounds and death, it was not surprising that wild rumours arose in Sofia of possible attacks on the capital by the mountain *komitajis*, combined with a revolt of their sympathisers in the Army. Such procedure, however, has always been foreign to the I.M.R.O., which prefers to make its power felt behind the scenes rather than come into the open. On July 31 there was a sudden outburst of firing in a Sofia cafe, when a determined attempt was made by Mihailoffists, including the actual assassins of Protogeroff, to kill a Protogeroffist named Kaltcheff. On this occasion arrests were made. A bomb was hurled at police headquarters the same evening because the release of the assassins was refused.

The British and French Ministers on August 10 made a *demarche* to M. Bouroff, the Foreign Minister, on the subject of the I.M.R.O. They pointed out that the reason given by the Bulgarians on previous occasions for failing to take drastic measures against this body, namely, its tremendous power, could hardly hold good now that a split had occurred within its ranks. No doubt the fact that both Yugoslavia and Bulgaria were seeking a loan in the London markets furnished an additional motive for Great Britain to seek to curb the activities of the I.M.R.O., whose purpose it is to maintain the mutual distrust of these two countries, Great Britain

and France, urged the arrest of the leaders and the internment of all prominent members of the I.M.R.O., as well as the resignation of their protector, General Volkoff, the Minister of War. The *demarche* was hailed with joy in Yugoslavia as evidence that Great Britain had decided to give less support to Italian and more to French policy in the Balkans. The Italian Minister was invited to associate himself with his colleagues in this matter, but declined, on the instructions of his Government, to advise Bulgaria to take any particular action against the I.M.R.O. in order to satisfy Yugoslavia. The Italian Minister also declined to join in the British, French, Belgian, Czechoslovak, Hungarian, and Austrian joint protest on August 11 against a sudden increase of Bulgarian customs duties by 25 per cent. Turkey adopted the same attitude as Italy.

The Anglo-French *demarche* resulted in a Cabinet crisis. M. Bouroff definitely promised that this time something should be done about the I.M.R.O., disappointing public opinion, which would have liked him to have rejected "interference in an internal Bulgarian affair" and to have again pleaded inability. Allying himself with Professor Isanhoff, M. Liaptcheff's old enemy, and choosing a moment when the latter was himself unwell and his lieutenant, the Finance Minister, M. Moloff, away in Geneva, M. Bouroff demanded of the Prime Minister that General Volkoff, the Minister for War, should resign, declaring that he was the greatest obstacle to any action being taken against the I.M.R.O. The "Democratic Entente" was thereby split, for the Popular Party followed M. Bouroff, while 70 Democrats protested against any action being taken against General Volkoff, the organiser of the *coup d'etat* of 1923 which overthrew the Stambulisky Government. King Boris showed that he was not prepared to see the General sacrificed, and when General Volkoff declined to go, M. Liaptcheff himself placed his resignation in the hands of the King. He endeavoured at first to form a Cabinet without M. Bouroff. King Boris summoned M. Malinoff for a short conversation, and the fear that he might be called upon to form a Government led M. Bouroff suddenly to abandon all hostility to General Volkoff and the Cabinet was reformed as before. The crisis lasted from August 18 until September 11. The unity of the Democratic Entente has gone, rendering it improbable that the Liaptcheff Cabinet will long remain in office in its present form.

Meantime the slaughter of the Protogeroffists to the probable number of 300 to 400 went on in the districts where Mihailoff ruled. Many were killed in an ambush north of Mekhomia, and others sought refuge in Yugoslavia, despite their past offences against that country. By September, Mihailoff ruled supreme in Petritch, terrorising the entire countryside. Refugees reported actions between *komitajis* and Government troops, but Mihailoff's power was not shaken. Deputations threatened M. Liaptcheff with an

appeal for foreign aid if nothing could be done to protect them. At the end of October a number of Protogeroffist Voivodes signed a formal capitulation to the victorious Mihailoff.

On October 10 two Protogeroffist officers were assassinated in their quarters. Two days later four were wounded in the streets of Sofia and two were killed. Another, Naum Belief, a former Chief of Police, was murdered on November 21. An attempt to blow up Todor Alexanderoff's monument on November 5 failed, and a week later the body of a man, believed to have been responsible, was found dead with the usual notice that this was the "reward of traitors" pinned to his body. Even the Association of Reserve Officers protested against the Government's failure to put a stop to Mihailoff's activities. M. Liaptcheff, however, had removed the officer commanding the troops in the Petritch district and other officials suspected of supporting the I.M.R.O. there. Towards the end of the year it seemed probable, in view of the support of Great Britain, France, and the increasing unpopularity for the I.M.R.O. in Sofia, that the Government might take decisive action against Mihailoff and Volkoff.

The negotiations for the Stabilisation Loan were accompanied by internal as well as external difficulties. M. Gheorghieff, Minister of Railways, resigned on March 2 as a protest against the agreement arrived at between M. Liaptcheff and M. Bourroff on the one hand and the Finance Committee of the League on the other, providing for the establishment of the National Bank as a non-state corporation at a date to be subsequently fixed. Pending the change the League would appoint an "Adviser" with extensive powers to control the bank's operations. Difficulties arose over a prior claim of the *Disconto Oesellschaft* of Berlin, but this was also circumvented at Geneva and a final settlement postponed until after the issue of the loan.

On March 15 the League Council approved the loan of half a million sterling. The Sobranye adopted the Loan Protocol of the League on April 13 by 151 votes to 111, and the Loan Contract was ratified on November 15. The issue itself was successfully floated at the end of November.

Relations with Greece were satisfactory, and a frontier incident, involving the shooting of a Bulgarian soldier on Greek territory by Greek guards, was adjusted through the medium of the League "frontier surveillance officers." Italian influence (which was constantly used in support of Bulgaria in many international matters) contributed to drawing Turkey and Bulgaria closer together. M. Bourroff announced on July 12 that a Turkish proposal for an Arbitration Treaty with Bulgaria had been accepted, but that signature had been postponed.

On April 14 series of terrible earthquakes, which did damage amounting to some 6,000,000l. in a number of towns and villages in Southern Bulgaria, notably in Philipopolis, Stara Zagora,

Chirpan, and Borisovgrad. More than 30,000 houses were destroyed or rendered uninhabitable and 200,000 persons were left homeless. Between 50 and 100 people were killed and hundreds were injured. Tremors continued to occur until April 29, and were followed by a cyclone on May 1. The shocks of April 18 were the worst which have ever occurred in the Balkans. King Boris and members of the Cabinet spent several days in the stricken area: special relief measures involving great expenditure were undertaken. The Reparations Commission recognised the sufferings of the country by postponing payments of instalments of Reparations.

CHAPTER VI.

LESSER STATES OF WESTERN AND NORTHERN EUROPE: BELGIUM
—NETHERLANDS—SWITZERLAND—SPAIN — PORTUGAL —
DENMARK—SWEDEN—NORWAY—FINLAND.

BELGIUM.

ECONOMIC and financial conditions continued to improve in 1928. The measures taken for stabilising the franc had no unfavourable reaction of any consequence. The discount rate of the National Bank was reduced, there was an influx of foreign capital into the country, the unemployment figure was low, and a number of industries were very prosperous. There was only one serious strike, at the port of Antwerp. Wages rose correspondingly with the cost of living.

Being free from anxiety on this head, the Jaspar Government was able to give its whole attention to two pressing political problems, which it tackled with success, in spite of the Socialist opposition. One was the reorganisation of the army and the other the amnestying of those who had been condemned after the war as traitors for taking part in the Flemish separatist movement during the German occupation.

At the beginning of the year the military question, which at the end of 1927 had been the cause of a Cabinet crisis and the withdrawal of the Socialists from the Ministry, was still a source of acute irritation. The mixed Commission of parliamentarians and generals appointed by the Premier, M. Henri Jaspar, to study the question was in session from December 29, 1927, to April 3, 1928. During this time it held 33 sittings, at which it heard the views of a number of officers. The question to be decided was whether a reduction in the obligatory period of service of ten months would leave Belgium without the full number of effectives which she required for a mobilisation in case of sudden attack. The Socialists demanded a six months' period, alleging that since Locarno all immediate danger of war had been removed. The Commission

recommended that the period of service should be reduced from ten months to eight months for half the contingent, that it should be twelve and thirteen months for the members of the militia belonging to a technical corps, to the cavalry and to special arms, and fourteen months for the officers who were candidates for the reserve. There was also a linguistic side to the military problem. The Flamings demanded that there should be separate Flemish and Walloon regiments, as a first step to the eventual separation of Flanders and Wallonia. The Commission recommended recruiting by provinces, and the formation within the regiments of Flemish companies separated from the Walloons.

The recommendations of the Commission were embodied in a Bill brought forward by the Government. The Jaspas Cabinet insisted upon its being discussed immediately. The Socialists, who wished to postpone to October the examination of the military problem, thereupon commenced to carry on a systematic obstruction in the Chamber. They made interminable speeches, interrupted the members of the majority, created scenes, and absented themselves from meetings so as to prevent the formation of a quorum. On July 19 the former Minister of National Defence and Liberal leader, M. Albert Deveze, made a masterly speech on the situation in which he completely refuted the arguments of the Socialist leader, M. Emile Vandervelde. In the meanwhile the position of the President of the Chamber, M. Brunet, one of the most prominent members of the Labour Party, had become untenable, and on August 2 he resigned both from the Presidentship and the Chamber. At the instance, however, of his Socialist colleagues, he consented to remain in Parliament. To cloak their defeat, the Socialists interpreted the President's resignation as a protest against the design of the Government to prolong the Parliamentary session throughout the summer in order to carry through the military law. The Government Bill was passed by the Chamber at the beginning of September, and the discussion on it was finally closed when the Senate also accepted it on October 31.

In the course of its first session, the Chamber continued the discussion of rural leases commenced in 1927, and passed the Socialist Bill ordaining that all rural leases should be at least for nine years, notwithstanding any agreement to the contrary. The Senate, however, eventually reduced the period to three years.

On September 19 the Chamber commenced the discussion of the question of amnestying the Flamings. Two days later the Bill for this purpose with the amendments which had been put forward was referred to a Committee, and the Chamber adjourned till November 6. The Committee set to work immediately and terminated its labours in the first week of November. It adopted the proposals of the Catholic Minister M. Van de Vyvere; the Socialist Walloon deputies, Destree and Merlot, resigned from the

Committee in consequence. On November 6 this scheme was discussed by the Chamber. It was opposed by the Minister of Justice, M. Janson, and a split in the Cabinet became imminent. A crisis, however, was averted by a compromise agreement, by which all penalties were remitted save loss of civil rights, with the prospect, however, of eventual restitution of these also after trial. On November 29 the Government amendments were passed by the Chamber.

On November 3 the Liberal deputy for Antwerp, M. Richard Kreglinger, died, leaving no substitute, so that a by-election became necessary. The Flamings chose as their candidate M. Borms, one of the members of the notorious Council of Flanders which had been created during the war under German protection and which decreed the autonomy of Flanders. Borms was at the time in prison ; nevertheless he was elected. A storm of protests and demonstrations followed. As the elected candidate was not in the enjoyment of his political rights, the Government declared his election void.

In August the Second International held its congress at Brussels. The Belgian Socialists gave the German delegates a cordial welcome, which contrasted strangely with the incidents accompanying the inauguration of the library of the University of Louvain. This event reopened the wounds of the war which were in process of healing, and the majority of the Belgians expressed a desire to see placed over the edifice the much-discussed inscription recalling the ravages of the German invaders (*Furore Teutonico deruta dono Americano restituta*).

On February 21 the Minister of Foreign Affairs, M. Paul Hymans, in the Senate gave a review of the foreign policy of Belgium. Two days later he informed the Chamber of the Franco-Belgian commercial agreement which contained several tariff regulations calculated to place the customs relations between Belgium, the Grand Duchy of 1 Luxemburg, and France on a more stable footing. On March 28 the Chamber of Deputies passed by 107 votes to 19 with 2 abstentions the Bill for an economic agreement with France. On April 4 it was passed by the Senate by 94 votes to 17 with 4 abstentions.

On July 6, in the Chamber, M. Hymans and the former Minister of Foreign Affairs, M. Vandervelde, set forth the Government and the Opposition views on Belgian foreign policy. They found themselves in agreement as to the policy to be pursued by Belgium in relation to Holland. The Minister informed the House that negotiations had been resumed for a revision of the Treaty of 1839 dealing with the regulation of the Scheldt. He added that if the present situation continued, Belgium would seek in the international domain the guarantees which she had not been able to obtain in a bilateral agreement. He announced that the friendship which was at the basis of the union with the Grand

Duchy of Luxemburg, once attached to the economic regime of Germany, was becoming still more firmly cemented. He further declared that the Belgian army of occupation in Germany was an indispensable guarantee for the reparations to which Belgium was entitled. Here M. Vandervelde parted company with him, saying that the Socialists would continue to demand the evacuation of the Rhineland.

On November 22 Belgium signed a preliminary Treaty of Friendship and Commerce with China. On December 15 there was signed at Brussels a commercial arrangement with Spain, intended to replace the *modus vivendi* of October 26, 1925, which had been denounced by the Madrid Government.

In the course of the year the Catholic Party became once more united through the return to the fold of the Christian Democrats. These had always been regarded as forming the left wing of the Catholic Party, but on several occasions in recent years they had co-operated with the Socialists. The Christian Democrats, elected for the most part by the votes of Flemish peasants with Flamingant tendencies, obtained important linguistic concessions in the military and amnesty laws. Neither Catholics nor Liberals could refuse these concessions, owing to the presence in the Cabinet of two Christian Democrats, the Minister of the Interior, M. Carnoy, and the Minister of Industry and Labour, M. Heyman. These two Ministers exacted a high price for their support, and obtained a victory which they certainly could not have secured by collaborating with the Socialist Party, which comprises a good number of Walloons. The Liberals, who in spite of their small numbers in Parliament have been entrusted with four posts in the Ministry, enhanced their popularity in the country. Their leader, M. Deveze, attracted considerable attention by his speeches in the debates on the military question. The Socialists, having gone into opposition in November, 1927, were looking forward to the election of May, 1929, to restore them to power. Their position was, however, weakened by their reverse over the question of the reorganisation of the army, the six months' period of service having been an essential point in their election programme.

THE NETHERLANDS.

The problem of creating a stable parliamentary majority for any ministerial combination again baffled the efforts of the party leaders in 1928. The sectional tendencies of the Dutch people, favoured by the system of proportional representation, asserted themselves too strongly. From each of the Protestant parties a group seceded which would not hear of a coalition with the Roman Catholics. Within the Roman Catholic camp also a separate democratic party formed itself. The small farmers organised themselves independently. Rifts also began to appear in the serried ranks of the Socialists, and in Limburg a group actually

seceded. As for the Communists they had for a long time already formed two groups, one of which was recognised by Moscow. Among the eleven parties—six of them denominational—which were represented in the existing Second Chamber, there was little chance of forming a coalition which should include a majority of the members. Dr. Visser, the leader of the Christian Historicals, suggested a coalition of four parties in which his party and the Liberals should balance the Roman Catholics and the Anti-revolutionary party, but the other members of the former coalition would not hear of it.

In this state of affairs no attempt was made to replace the de Geer Cabinet, which had taken office merely as a stop-gap until a Government should be formed with a parliamentary majority behind it. Although many of its Bills were rejected, no Cabinet crisis of any kind ensued. The War Minister (who was at the same time Minister for the Navy *ad interim*) succeeded, indeed, in putting through his Bill for the amalgamation of the two departments into one Ministry of National Defence, albeit after a strenuous opposition in the First Chamber as well, by 27 votes to 18, but he had either to withdraw other Bills, or to amend them considerably in order to get them passed. A proposal of the Minister of Labour, Commerce, and Industry for a temporary increase of import duties to protect the ceramic industry of Limburg was rejected by the Second Chamber. The First Chamber rejected a Bill imposing taxation on Dutch subjects living abroad, although the Finance Minister, Jonkheer de (Jeer, had already made important modifications in his original draft, in order to obtain a majority for it in the Second Chamber.

The year 1928, like its predecessor, witnessed no legislative achievements of any great consequence. The most important Acts placed on the statute book included one on limited companies, under which shareholders obtained a greater voice in affairs, better control was secured of the management and of boards of directors, and their responsibilities were more clearly defined. In commercial circles the measure had been the subject of vigorous protests, which were loudly echoed in Parliament, especially in the First Chamber. That body passed the Bill only by 24 votes against 21. The electoral law was amended so as to enable those who have to be absent from their place of residence to vote by proxy. The Second Chamber, by 69 votes to 8, ratified the change in the composition of the Indian Volksraad (People's Council) which had already been approved of by that body. (*Vide Netherlands East Indies.*)

In foreign relations there was no change whatever. In regard to Dutch relations with Belgium, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Jonkheer Beelaerts van Blokland, informed the First Chamber, in the spring that it had not yet been found possible to open negotiations with that country for a new treaty. The renewed study

to which the questions left open by the rejection of the treaty of April 3, 1925, had been subjected since last spring, had not yet terminated. The reason why this study was taking more time than had been expected lay on the one hand in the number, variety, and importance of the questions involved, and on the other in the fact that such a great number of Departments and services had to be consulted. Any intention to postpone fresh negotiations with Belgium was quite foreign to the Government. For Belgium also it must be evident that careful preparation was a necessary condition for the formulation of an arrangement satisfactory to both countries.

In the course of the debates in the First Chamber the Minister declared further that it was necessary for him once more to emphasise the fact that Belgium, apart from what had been laid down in the treaties now in force, had no claim on the Netherlands. It was self-evident that the rejection of the treaty of 1925, owing to serious objections raised in the Netherlands to certain elements contained in the draft, did not justify Belgium in assuming that it had any claims on the Netherlands. Neither should the Netherlands, however, after that rejection, complacently wait to see whether Belgium, whose wishes were known, would make a proposal which took these objections into account. It would be gross shortsightedness to overlook the great political and economic interest which both countries had in arriving by mutual arrangement at a satisfactory solution of those questions which had been left open by the rejection of the treaty. It was in the interest of both countries and of Europe in general, that the discussions with regard to such a solution should not be delayed longer than was absolutely necessary for the creation of a firm basis. The unexpected delay caused by inquiries should not lead to the conclusion that there was little hope of a new treaty becoming law before the 1929 elections. On the contrary, Jonkheer Beelaerts van Blokland flattered himself that with goodwill on all sides this would prove possible, and he would regard it as inexcusable on his part if he did not make every effort to bring it about. The Minister held that good relations with their southern neighbours, with whom the Netherlands had so many interests in common, and with whom it might collaborate in so many respects, was of the greatest importance to the country.

On the occasion of the Assembly of the League of Nations at Geneva in September a meeting took place between Jonkheer Beelaerts van Blokland and his Belgian colleague, M. Hymans. This led to a conference of Dutch and Belgian experts, in order to exchange views regarding the possibility and desirability of a better connection of Antwerp with the Rhine, by making use of the already existing waters, more towards the West than the Antwerp-Moerdijk canal rejected by the First Chamber. In November the Minister informed the Second Chamber that discussions with

the Belgian Government had been opened which had thus far borne a provisional character and the object of which was to discover a basis for fresh negotiations. The Belgian Government had not yet made known its standpoint with respect to the findings of the inquiry. It was a well-known fact that the Dutch Government cherished the ardent desire to arrive at a satisfactory solution with Belgium. To attain this, it was necessary that the arrangement to be arrived at should be made as far as possible on a footing of reciprocity, so that both countries should be benefited. The Dutch Government had intimated to the Government at Brussels that its solicitude for Dutch interests need not prove an impediment to an arrangement whereby many Belgian requirements might be amply met.

M. Briand and Jonkheer Beelaerts van Blokland, the Foreign Ministers of France and the Netherlands, signed a Treaty of Arbitration and Reconciliation between the two countries under which the Netherlands and France agree always to settle pacifically all disputes and conflicts of any nature whatsoever, if it is found impossible to arrive at a satisfactory result along diplomatic lines. A Bill was introduced to ratify this treaty.

Bills were further laid before Parliament to empower the Government to join the Kellogg Pact, which was concluded at Paris on August 27, 1928 ; to provide for approval of the Reconciliation Treaty between the Netherlands and Finland, concluded at Geneva on June 9, 1928 ; for ratification of the Commercial and Shipping Treaty concluded at Angora between the Netherlands and Turkey on July 25, 1928 ; and for the Netherlands joining the Convention signed at Paris on October 13, 1919, for the regulation of aerial navigation, as also the Protocols of London, of October 27, 1922, and June 30, 1923, amending articles 5 and 34 of the said Convention. A Bill was also passed to ratify the treaty concerning intellectual co-operation between the Netherlands and Belgium, concluded on October 26, 1927.

The country's financial situation remained favourable ; the Government, nevertheless, considered it necessary to exercise caution, as taxation was still high (about 100 florins per capita of the population). The year 1926 showed a surplus of 68*1 million guilders, instead of 56.6 millions as had been anticipated. For 1927 a surplus of only 2.8 millions had been estimated originally ; by the end of the year the estimate had risen to 30 millions, and by the end of 1928 the surplus was known to exceed 64.5 millions.

In accordance with the new Accountancy Act, the 1929 Budget is no longer divided into an " ordinary " and an " extraordinary " Service, but into an Ordinary Service and a Capital Service. This latter service will only include expenditure which will lead to the formation of capital. For 1929 the Revenue for the Ordinary Service was estimated at 601.8 million guilders, and the Expenditure at 593.7 millions, thus leaving a surplus of 8.1 millions of

guilders. Revenue was estimated at 6-6 millions more than last year, although the revenue from Income Tax was estimated at 5 millions less, on account of the recent reduction of that tax. The Capital Service showed a deficit of 145 million florins, partly owing to 100 million florins being destined for special redemption of the dollar loan.

The total floating debt amounted to 194-8 millions, whilst, on the other hand, the Government's claims aggregated 177-8 millions. A new loan of 42 millions was voted by the Second Chamber in order to amortise the 6 per cent. 1923 loan.

A Bill was passed providing for a reduction of the excise on spirits by 40 per cent., the present very high rate offering too much inducement for smuggling.

SWITZERLAND.

The chief domestic event of the year was the election of a new National Council (Nationalrat), and the partial election of a new Cantonal Council (Standerat) on October 28. Elections to the National Council were on the basis of proportional representation, each Canton forming an electoral unit with a number of representatives proportionate to their population (one for every 20,000 inhabitants). The election made little change in the representation, as the parties had long since reached a position of equilibrium. The results were : Radicals 58 (previously 59); Socialists 50 (49); Catholic Conservatives 46 (42); Peasants', Artisans', and Citizens' Party 31 (31); Liberal-Conservative 6 (5); Social-political 3 (5); Communists 2 (3); Evangelists 1 (1); Business Protection 1 (1).

In the partial election for the Cantonal Council (which took place either by popular vote or by nomination of the Cantonal Parliament, according to the choice of each Canton), the Social Democrats lost the two seats they had hitherto held. The new Cantonal Council was made up of Radicals 20 (20); Catholic Conservatives 18 (18); Peasants', Artisans', and Citizens' Party 3 (2); Liberals 1 (1); Social-political 1 (1); Business Protection, 1 (0).

As required by the Constitution, the National Council and the Cantonal Council were convened in a joint Federal Assembly to elect a new Federal Council (Bundesrat). Practically this amounts to a re-election of the Council, with the replacing of those members who retire on account of age. Bundesrat Chuard, the head of the Department of the Interior, a Radical from the Vaud, retired. The three largest Cantons (Berne, Zurich, and Vaud) having a prescriptive right to one Council member (Bundesrat), the joint Assembly on December 13 elected the Vaud Radical, M. Pilet-Golaz; the others were re-elected. Bundesrat Haab became by rotation President of the Federation for 1929. The Bundesrat was composed as before of 5 Radicals and 2 Catholic Conserva-

tives. The Social Democratic Party again declined a place in the Bundesrat; the Peasants', Artisans', and Citizens' Party on the other hand affirmed its right in principle to a place.

On May 20 a new Article (44) was added by popular vote to the Constitution, by which naturalisation is conferred not only by the *jus sanguinis* as hitherto, but also by the *jus soli*, i.e., the son of a foreigner and a Swiss woman who is born in Switzerland becomes *ipso facto* a Swiss.

The Popular Initiative for again permitting, under certain restrictions, games of chance in the Kursaals (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1927, p. 211) was made into a substantive law by a popular vote on December 2 by 285,402 votes to 274,528, and 14½ Cantons to 7½.

The Popular Initiative which was launched at the end of 1927 a forbidding all Swiss citizens living in Switzerland by a law of constitution from accepting foreign decorations (a step provoked by the excessive enrolment of Swiss in the French Legion of Honour) obtained in 1928 about 75,000 signatures (only 50,000 being necessary), without any campaign being organised to solicit them. A Bill for the purpose is to be laid in 1929 before Parliament, and then before the people.

One of the oldest political institutions in Switzerland ceased to exist in 1928, viz., the "Landsgemeinde" of Uri. On the first Sunday in May the Uri "Landsgemeinde," which according to ancestral custom met at Schattdorf, decreed its own dissolution. The free electors of Uri will no longer meet together under the open sky to determine their government and enact their laws. This will in future be done by the ballot box and voting paper. The old German institution of the Landsgemeinde now survives in Switzerland only in the ha If-Cantons Obwalden and Nidwalden, in Appenzell-without-Rhode and Appenzell-within-Rhode, and in the Canton of Glarus.

The long-desired Administration Court came into being in 1928. The final draft of a Federal Criminal Code was completed, and a discussion of it was commenced in the National Council. Progress was made in Parliament with the revision of the laws relating to alcoholic liquors and with the legislation on Old Age and Dependents' Insurance. Having seceded from the Latin Monetary Union, Switzerland in 1928 made preparations for changing over from bimetallism to a pure gold standard. The currency remained stable during the whole year and very near to gold parity. The economic condition of Switzerland was satisfactory; industry, trade, and tourist traffic all did well.

On the other hand, the international agrarian crisis affected Switzerland also. There was great discontent among the peasantry, and their Press spoke in an excited, almost revolutionary tone. The Social Democrats sought to win the peasants over to their own side by promising them the cancellation

of mortgages. There was a danger that the peasants would vote Socialist in the election of the National Council. In order to restore the allegiance of the peasantry to their leaders, the Delegate Conference of the Bernese Peasants', Artisans', and Citizens' Party decided on August 21 to convene a peasant assembly on September 9 in Berne "not to make fiery speeches and toy with revolution, but to show the authorities and the people who it is that stands behind our leaders and that we are in deadly earnest with our claims and demands." About 20,000 peasants from the Canton of Berne, along with delegations from other Cantons on the afternoon of September 9, filled the Parliament Square in Berne. The procession and the assembling were carried out in the orderly manner characteristic of the Bernese. Only the leaders made speeches, in which they formulated the demands of the peasants. On the previous day the Bundesrat had *dec* to send a message to Parliament recommending the granting of credit of 10 million francs for providing loans without interest for necessitous peasants. The credits were sanctioned, and the relief was extended also to necessitous artisans. In addition the Bundesrat had laid an embargo on the import of slaughter cattle in order to keep up the price of meat. The ostensible reason given for the embargo was the existence of cattle disease abroad. In the election to the National Council the Bernese peasantry voted for the Peasants', Artisans', and Citizens' Party.

Progress was made during 1928 with the settlement of the "Zone" dispute between Switzerland and France. The French Senate at length on April 6 gave its assent to the Arbitration Agreement with Switzerland of October 30, 1924, which referred the disputed interpretation of Art. 435 of the Versailles Treaty concerning the free customs zones at Geneva to The Hague Court of Arbitration (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1924, p. 232 ; 1927, p. 214). This rendered possible the exchange of ratifications of the agreement, and the delivery in Paris of Switzerland's formal declaration that she waived her right to the neutralisation of the Haute Savoie. The French customs boundary, it is true, still remained on the political frontier of the Canton of Geneva at the place to which it had been pushed forward in defiance of international law, while Switzerland, in conformity with the treaty, abstained from levying any duties on the goods entering from the free zones. This situation continued to create great irritation in Switzerland, but it was all to the good that the affair had been transferred from the diplomatic to the juristic sphere. In the course of the year juristic memoranda on the Zone question were handed to The Hague Court, which was expected to give its interpretation of Art. 435 of the Versailles Treaty in 1929.

The general Arbitration and Conciliation Treaty with France which was signed in Paris on April 8, 1925, and ratified by the Swiss Chambers on September 25, 1925, has not yet been ratified

by the French Chambers. France is the only neighbour of Switzerland with whom she has no Arbitration Treaty in force.

Economic relations with France, which at the end of 1927 had become so strained as to lead to the threat of a tariff war by Switzerland (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1927, p. 214), materially improved. Two provisional agreements were concluded regarding the export of Swiss watches, embroidery, and textiles. A proper trade agreement, however, which alone can place the commercial intercourse between the two countries on a firm basis, is still lacking.

The cordiality of Switzerland's relations with Italy was frequently affirmed officially by both sides in the course of the year. The Italian Premier, Signor Mussolini, in his great speech to the Senate declared that it was to Italy's interest that there should be a free, independent, and neutral Switzerland, and also that the Canton of Ticino should belong to Switzerland. This pronouncement was very favourably received by the semi-official Swiss Press which reflected the sentiments of the Government, but other papers were more reserved, and a few pointed out that the question whether the Canton of Ticino belonged to the Swiss Federation was not under discussion.

The relations between Switzerland and Italy were complicated by the fact that Switzerland is permeated with a number of centrally directed Fascist organisations (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1927, p. 213). The appearance of these Fascists in black shirts and their occasional formation of processions has been regarded as provocative by the Swiss population and has led to counter-demonstrations (*e.g.*, in Zurich and Bale). The Swiss Press found occasion more than once to criticise the Fascist *Squilla Italica* appearing in Berne for discussing the internal affairs of Switzerland with greater freedom than befitted a paper in the enjoyment of Swiss hospitality. The position is further complicated by the traditional Swiss practice of granting an asylum to political refugees. Although the Italian refugees in Switzerland are under police supervision, the Italian Government considers it necessary to have them watched on its behalf also, so that a kind of illegal Italian secret police exists in Switzerland.

Matters were brought to a head by the case of Cesare Rossi, which led to a thorough ventilation of the subject in the Swiss Press, and to its discussion in Parliament. For some weeks it greatly agitated public opinion in Switzerland, and it also led to an exchange of Notes between Berne and Rome. Cesare Rossi, who had once been a trusted colleague of Mussolini, but had been thrown over by him at the time of the Matteotti affair and had then turned against him, had on August 27 made his way from France to Lugano by means of a false passport in company with a Frenchwoman, Marguerite Durand. On August 28 he was arrested while paying a visit to the Italian enclave of Campione, and was conveyed

over Swiss territorial waters to Italy. The Ticino police ascertained that the preparations for the arrest had been made by an Italian with a forged passport in Lugano. The delivery of Rossi's luggage was also managed through a telephone conversation between Durand and the hotel manager instigated by the Italian police; the Italian with the forged passport brought Rossi's luggage from Lugano to Campione, *i.e.*, to the heads of the Italian police. Verbal representations having proved fruitless, the Swiss Bundesrat saw itself compelled on September 19 to hand in a Note at Rome which set forth the facts of the case, protested against the insult offered to Swiss territorial sovereignty (through the preparations for the arrest), and declared it to be intolerable that either foreigners or Swiss in Switzerland should be watched by persons directly or indirectly in the service of the Italian police. At the same time the Bundesrat ordered the expulsion of two men who had been proved to be police spies.

The Italian reply declared emphatically that Italy had the fullest respect for Swiss territorial sovereignty, and assured the Bundesrat of the cordiality of the Fascist Government's feelings towards the Federation, but denied that the territorial sovereignty of Switzerland had been impaired in the Rossi case. A second Swiss Note, which gave further details of the affair, had no better success. The Italian Government stated in a brief reply that the incident was quite insignificant, and in no wise calculated to disturb the cordial relations between the two countries. With these words the Italian Government on its side declared the incident to be closed. The Bundesrat also did not press the matter any further, as it was clear that Mussolini could not disavow those who had brought Rossi into his power. All the same Switzerland had given it to be understood most clearly that she would not tolerate Italian encroachments. The Italian Government also recalled an official of the Italian Embassy in Berne, Signor Signori, who had been discovered to be the prime mover in the activities of the Italian secret police in Switzerland.

The issue of the Rossi affair showed that Italy could not be induced by diplomatic means to give up its secret service in Switzerland. As this could be used for the supervision not only of anti-Fascists but also for other purposes, its continuance was not without danger for the safety of the Federation. As the Federal Constitution of Switzerland allows the Bundesrat no police force of its own, that body is unable to keep a watch on foreign agents and spies. It has to depend on official communications from the Cantons, some of which are too small and—as is the case precisely with the border Cantons—financially too weak to maintain a special police for political purposes. However necessary the supervision of foreign agents by a centralised Federal police might be considered, it could only be brought about by an alteration of the Constitution which had little chance of being accepted when put to the popular vote.

In 1928 the Federation appointed an embassy in Angora the first task of which was to enter into negotiations for a settlement and trade agreement, as also for an arbitration treaty. The Government of the Soviet Union has not yet been acknowledged by the Swiss Bundesrat.

In the autumn the first Swiss exhibition for women's work (Saffa) was held. It was very successful and drew crowds of visitors. It gave a new impulse to the demand of a number of Swiss women for political rights. As, however, the grant of the franchise to women would entail an alteration of the Constitution requiring a popular vote, there is little prospect of its realisation.

SPAIN.

The year began favourably with a Budget surplus, the first in twenty years, of some 12,000,000 pesetas ; it was to end with a surplus about ten times as large, on the estimates for 1928. Accordingly, at its outset and at its close, the period under review is stamped as one of financial and perhaps economic, rather than political, importance. The Dictatorship, having in former years given the country peace abroad and being given in return a continuance of peace at home, was able to make definite advance in its programme of Budget reform and public works construction, unhindered by political troubles.

The opening session of the National Consultative Assembly, held on January 16, confirmed the absence of any national interest in purely political questions. An interpellation on Catalan regionalism merely gave the Marques de Estella an opportunity to reaffirm his determination to put down any attempt at Separatism, an attitude in which the Government may be said to have the whole-hearted support of the country. The confidence felt by the Dictator in his security from political intrigue and his indifference to the opposition of the former politicians were strikingly shown by the meeting held on March 6 at the Spanish Royal Academy to celebrate the centenary of the birth of Canovas del Castillo, the statesman who was the main author of the Constitution of 1876. The occasion was remarkable for the presence, side by side with the most prominent ex-Parliamentary leaders and supporters of constitutional practice, of King Alfonso and his Prime Minister, who had overthrown that Constitution. General Primo de Rivera claimed that he had done so, and that he continued to do so, with the tacit consent of the nation.

That this claim was no idle boast had been proved only shortly before by the success of the loan of 500,000,000 pesetas, issued on February 3 for the purpose of covering extraordinary expenditure. The Government had rightly estimated the concern of the nation to lie in the economic, rather than the political, sphere. The decision, taken on March 22, to rejoin the League of Nations met

with public approval, and the monthly plenary sessions of the National Assembly that began on March 27 were marked merely by the somewhat acrid criticisms levelled by Count Mortera, the son of the late Conservative Prime Minister, Don Antonio Maura, against the form of its procedure. A further loan for the conversion of one milliard pesetas of permanent into redeemable debt, operations in which began on April 7, proved by its success the stability of the regime and the prosperity of the country.

Public interest was concentrated on the great undertakings which promised to revolutionise the economic life of the country. The vast programme of public works which the Dictatorship with a freer financial hand had in the past years already begun to translate from schemes on paper into actual practice continued to be prosecuted and was even increased. With an eye on the forthcoming great exhibitions to be held at Seville and Barcelona, particular attention was devoted to the improvement of communications. Existing railway lines were reorganised and the building of large new trunk lines pushed forward. The improvement of old and the construction of new roads proceeded on an equally large scale. Finally, on April 18, tenders were opened for the monopoly of the air lines in Spain, and on May 24 a direct Anglo-Spanish telephone service was established. The great economic activity of the Government found a ready response on the part of semi-official bodies, such as the River Confederations, and large companies, particularly those engaged in land reclamation, irrigation, and hydro-electric undertakings.

The political calm was barely ruffled by the exchange of open letters (early in May) between Senor Cambó, the leader of the Catalan Regionalists, and the Prime Minister. The latter maintained his refusal to allow the former to lecture in the Catalan language. Larger issues were opened at the session of the Assembly held on May 21, at which a woman member made the request to the Government to suppress the work being carried on in Spain by international institutions and associations. Though the Dictator declared himself to be unwilling to prevent the diffusion of foreign culture, a decree published on the same day, granting greater autonomy to the universities, also gave to two large clerical institutions, the Jesuit school at Deusto and the Augustinian school at the Escorial, facilities for obtaining University degrees for their pupils. This measure, a patent sign of the close connection between Church and State, laid the Dictatorship open to the reproach of reactionary tendencies in education and widened the breach between Liberal opinion and the unconstitutional Government.

When the engagement of the Marques de Estella to Senorita Castellanos, which had been announced on April 17, was broken off early in June, the rumours of a forthcoming change of Government became more insistent. But they did not last long. When on

June 12 the Prime Minister recovered from a week's indisposition, he declared that, to prevent any return of the old political parties, he would remain in office for at least two years more, until the new Constitution had been drafted. On June 23 the Marques de Estella addressed a long message to the Union Patriótica, the organisation he had created with a view to its ultimately taking over the reins of Government. The address, which was originally intended to be delivered on September 13, the fifth anniversary of the Dictatorship, was published by him at the earlier date in order to reply to criticisms of the party and to set forth the political programme of the Government. This may be summarised as the establishment of a new Constitution, a Parliamentary regime with one Chamber chosen on a corporative basis, and approval of fundamental laws by popular referendum. Stress is also laid on the importance of balancing the Budget, fostering national industry, reorganising the Army, and increasing the efficiency of the Navy; on the need of the collaboration of women in dealing with social questions; and, in foreign policy, the desirability of establishing closer relations with the Hispano-American countries. This message, though received without enthusiasm, roused no opposition, and the Socialist Party in their Congress early in July—the first held since the advent of the Dictatorship—decided to continue their system of minimum collaboration with the Government.

At the end of June the National Assembly went into recess for three months, and early in July the Court left Madrid for Santander and San Sebastian. The summer season, when the Government disperse and political activity may be expected to decrease, had set in. As usual, however, this season brought disturbance in the form of a plot to overthrow the Government, but as in former years the plot was detected in time to be easily suppressed. The plotters had intended to make trouble at the opening of the Canfranc tunnel under the Pyrenees. But on July 18 King Alfonso and the French President were able to perform the ceremony of inaugurating the new railway undisturbed. The occasion was marked by a typical speech of King Alfonso. He boldly alluded to the suppression of the Constitution in Spain and the abnormal situation thus created, but nevertheless claimed that Spain was a champion of equality before the law and invoked her respect for the rights of citizens.

Early in August the Government took measures to defend the peseta exchange and opened credits for that purpose in London and New York; the London credits were used in the second half of the year, and the exchange was virtually stabilised at 29.60 pesetas to the pound.

On September 13 the fifth anniversary of the *coup d'etat* was celebrated by a monster demonstration at Madrid. The proceedings were conducted throughout by the Patriotic Union, the

somewhat colourless organisation brought into being by the Government on non-party lines and sedulously fostered by the authorities and the Church. In a lengthy manifesto, published on October 3 and entitled "The Epilogue to the Commemoration of September 13," the Marques de Estella outlined his programme for the next five years and predicted a rosy future for Spain under the Dictatorship and the Patriotic or "Sacred Union," as it was henceforth to be styled.

Political action, however, was limited to the wide reorganisation of the Cabinet carried out on November 3, whereby the Ministry for Foreign Affairs was reduced to a Secretaryship under the Presidency of the Council and the important new Ministry of National Economy was created. On November 16 the estimates for the biennial Budget of 1929-30 were drawn up by the Government for submission to the National Assembly. Finally, the application of the new tariff, which the Government intent on economic questions and anxious to foster national industry had been preparing throughout the year by the revision of existing Commercial Treaties, was held over for another year in view of the opposition raised by the trading community and the alarm felt by the public in general at the continual rise in the cost of living.

The year will long be remembered in Spain because of the tragic fire at the Novedades Theatre of Madrid, which occurred on the evening of Sunday, September 23, and caused the death of over seventy persons and injury to some 300 more. It was followed shortly by other disasters: the explosion of a powder magazine at Melilla on September 26, by which forty-one people were killed and 235 injured; a collision near Baeza on September 28 between the up and down expresses on the Madrid-Algeciras service, with a total of thirty-eight casualties; and the collapse, in the same black week, of a tunnel under construction near Saragossa, in which fifteen workmen were buried.

PORTUGAL.

Throughout the year Portugal was governed by a Military Dictatorship. Notwithstanding the tolerance and leniency shown to the old politicians, conspiracies continued, fostered to a great extent by that clique of political refugees, headed by a former President of the Republic, Dr. Bernardino Machado, with its headquarters in Paris.

At the close of 1927 the then Minister of Finance, General Sinel de Cordes, as representing the Government, applied to the Council and Financial Committee of the League of Nations for a reconstruction loan of 12,000,000l., having as its main object the stabilisation of the Portuguese currency and finances. A Committee of Inquiry visited Lisbon and devoted some weeks to a

detailed study of the financial and monetary position and reported favourably to the League. The conditions laid down by the League for the floating of the projected loan, contained, however, conditions which were considered humiliating, and they were immediately rejected. Public opinion and the Press unanimously supported this action.

In the spring the Worshipful Company of Vintners accepted an invitation from the Oporto Chamber of Commerce to visit Portugal, and more especially Oporto. It was the first time any of the big City Companies had ever left England. The Vintners received a very cordial reception from all the Portuguese authorities, from the President downwards, and visited the port wine producing vineyards of the Douro where they were regally entertained by the various owners. As a memento of their visit they presented each of the cities of Lisbon and Oporto with a pair of their Thames swans.

On March 25 General Carmona, by a popular vote, was elected President of the Portuguese Republic ; nearly 750,000 votes were registered in his favour, the highest ever recorded at a Presidential Election in Portugal, notwithstanding the fact that there was no opposition candidate.

An agreement between Portugal and the Vatican was reached in May regarding Church appointments in the East. One of the principal points of agreement was that the Archbishop of Bombay should be alternately Portuguese and British. A Portuguese Archbishop has already been appointed.

On May 4 Mr. C. W. Malan, the South African Minister for Railways and Harbours, arrived in Lisbon accompanied by his technical advisers. The object of the visit was to discuss the basis of a new convention between Mozambique and the Union of South Africa, more especially referring to the supply of Portuguese native labour to the Rand and the working of the Lourenço Marques Railway. The negotiations were subsequently continued at Pretoria, and the result has been an agreement honourable and satisfactory to both parties.

During June it became evident that trouble was brewing, and several important arrests were made. It was the old story of the disappointed politicians chafing at the military Dictatorship on this occasion urged on by the Portuguese freemasons. On Friday evening, July 20, another revolution commenced by the insubordination of the troops quartered at St. George's Castle. The Government, already warned, had surrounded the Castle, stopped all traffic into the city from the suburbs and forestalled any attack contemplated by the rebels by attacking first. During the night there was only desultory gun-fire, but much rifle and machine-gun fire in some of the districts of Lisbon. When dawn broke a heavy bombardment of the Castle commenced which continued unceasingly until twenty minutes to nine on the morning

of the 21st, when the rebels hoisted the white flag and surrendered. Very few lives were lost. The official list gives 7 killed and 30 wounded all told, but much damage was done to dwelling-houses in the immediate vicinity of the Castle, by the attacking artillery fire.

During the year there have been several political crises, and many Ministerial portfolios have changed hands, but the present Prime Minister, Col. Jose Vicente de Freitas, has maintained his position throughout.

On the eighteenth anniversary of the proclamation of the Republic which occurred on October 5, the Government amnestied over 1,000 army officers and civilians who had taken part in the revolt of February 7, 1927, reinstating them in their previous situations on condition that each should serve for two years in the Colonies.

By dint of the strictest economy and the suppression of many sinecures, the present Minister of Finance, Dr. Oliveira Salazar, brought the finances and credit into a position they have not known since 1913.

DENMARK.

In 1928 the economic life of the country reaped the benefit of the measures of retrenchment passed by Parliament towards the middle of 1927. In a number of public statements made at the turn of the year 1928-29 it was placed beyond doubt that the year 1928 had witnessed a distinct advance in the direction of better operating conditions for manufacturers. Similarly, the year had been a better one for agriculture ; the improvement was probably due in the first instance to a better balance of production as a result of market changes and also to the extraordinarily good harvest, but it was also accelerated by the Government's policy. The consequence of all this was that there was much less unrest over economic matters ; the demands which had previously been raised by various industries for a change of attitude on the Tariff question—away from the time-honoured Free Trade policy towards measures of a more or less Protectionist character—were this year much less conspicuous and of no great urgency.

In the political sphere also the year was more calm than its predecessor. The Liberal Madsen-Mygdal Government formed in 1926 represented what in Denmark is a new political system, known in the country as "Minority Parliamentarism." It was supported by only one party, which had not a majority in Parliament, and it had no positive agreements with other parties for securing a majority. At first this system gave rise to a certain amount of uneasiness which threatened to make legislation difficult. Nevertheless, at the end of its second Parliamentary session, in April, 1928, the Government was able to congratulate itself on the solution of a number of problems which for many

years had proved stumbling-blocks to Government and Parliament. The Government was able to bring about a working co-operation with the keenest of the opposing groups, the Social Democratic Party.

The year saw no great changes in the Government's composition or in the Parliamentary basis of its existence. On account of a difference on a matter of no great moment the Minister of Trade resigned from the Cabinet, and his portfolio was taken over by the Minister of Public Works, who thus had charge of both departments. At an election which took place in September, when one half of the mandates to the Upper House (the Landsting) were to be renewed, there was some movement towards the Left, in favour of the two parties forming the Opposition (Social Democrats and Radical Liberals), but this movement was not strong enough to prevent the Government Party (the Moderate Liberal) in conjunction with the Conservatives, with whom it mostly co-operated, from continuing to command a majority in the Upper House as well as in the Lower House (the Folketing).

When the year closed, the most important political issue was unquestionably that of the organisation of the national defence. At the beginning of the session in October the Government brought forward the same proposals as had been discussed in the previous session, and the object of which was to reduce the estimates so as to bring them into conformity with the higher value of the krone, at the same time securing increased effectiveness by means of better organisation. When the proposals came up for the first reading in the Folketing they were the subject of a somewhat heated debate, in the course of which much stress was laid upon the rapid development in the technique of aerial warfare. The Conservative Party criticised the Government's proposals somewhat severely and demanded a much bigger defence organisation, whereas the Opposition parties held tenaciously to the views they had expressed under the previous Government and demanded a very heavy reduction of the existing defence system. After the close of the debate in the Lower House the question was made the subject of an exceedingly lively controversy in the Press, in the course of which signs seemed to emerge of the possibility of a compromise between the Government party or parts of it and the Opposition parties. It was, however, difficult to decide whether these approaches were sincere or were merely party manoeuvres.

In foreign politics the year of 1928 was marked by a general strengthening of peaceful relations, especially with Germany. During the year there were no questions at issue, properly speaking, between the two countries, but the relations between the nationalities on both sides of the new frontier fixed by the Treaty of Versailles still caused some uneasiness. In North Sleswig, the province that was returned to Denmark, thanks to the measures taken by the Government to ease the credit situation, and thanks

also to the improved markets for agricultural produce and to good crops, the unrest which had prevailed for some years quieted down. Whilst at the General Election to the Folketing in 1926 the German minority mustered 15.4 per cent, of the votes recorded, the percentage was only 14.6 per cent, at the Landsting election in 1928. To the Danish minority on the German side of the frontier the year brought a considerable improvement in the form of a reorganisation of the educational system, which to all intents and purposes met its wishes and which won general appreciation in Danish quarters.

With her northern neighbours Denmark continued to be on especially intimate terms, and in 1928 some preliminary steps were taken towards a restoration of the monetary union between Denmark, Norway, and Sweden which was interrupted by the confusion in the exchanges brought about by the war.

In the relationship between Denmark and Iceland there was no change of importance in 1928. In the Act which was passed in both countries in 1918 as the basis of their union under a single sovereign, it is provided that either of the parties may, not later than in 1940, give notice to terminate the arrangement in 1943. At the instance of a single Icelandic politician a debate was started in the Icelandic Parliament in the summer on this question, and the Government and the leaders of all parties expressed themselves in favour of discontinuing the arrangement. The question, however, was not yet regarded as one of practical politics, and the whole discussion was viewed in Denmark with equanimity.

SWEDEN.

The year 1928 was an eventful one in Sweden both politically and economically. It witnessed an exciting General Election, and was rendered noteworthy by the inauguration of a new relationship between the employing and working classes.

The Ekman-Lofgren Ministry, although it commanded no majority in the Riksdag, was allowed to remain in office during the whole of the 1928 session, and was not even seriously threatened on a single occasion. The non-Socialist parties not associated with the Government adopted on the whole a friendly attitude towards its measures, and the Social Democrats. opposition was milder than could have been anticipated after the sharp clashes which had taken place in the preceding year between them and the Government in connexion with its Bill for the safeguarding of industrial peace. This year also it was over the safeguarding of industrial peace that the sharpest tussles arose. After the investigations held in 1927 the Government submitted to the Riksdag at the end of February a Bill the purpose of which was **to place** the relations between workers and employers on **a more precise** legal basis. This measure contained provisions for col-

lective agreements and labour courts of arbitration ; its primary object was to prevent disputes arising from the legal interpretation of collective agreements from developing into open conflicts, and to procure the settlement of all such disputes by a central court of arbitration. The Social Democrats, both inside and outside the Riksdag, raised against this measure an opposition so violent as to defeat its own ends and to reconcile the Right with the measure. After receiving in the Committee stage certain modifications designed to meet the most weighty objections from the workers' side, it was accepted by the majority in the Riksdag against the votes of the Social Democrats and the Communists. The Government was also successful in finding a solution of the problem of local taxation which for several decades had been a subject of discussion.

An election for the Second Chamber was due in September. The main division of parties was between the Social Democrats and the Communists on the one hand, and the non-Socialist sections on the other. In the existing Chamber the Social Democrats and Communists together commanded 109 seats (105 and 4 respectively) out of 230. Although the Social Democrats differed widely in outlook from the Communists, yet they did not definitely repudiate them, and allowed them to sail under their own flag. Consequently, the other parties were genuinely alarmed lest the election should result in a Social Democratic majority dependent on Communist support. They accordingly made vigorous, and as it proved successful, efforts to prevent such a result by improving their organisation and forming a semi-official *bloc*.

The polling was probably heavier than on any previous occasion, about 70 per cent, of the total electorate registering their votes. The result was a set-back for the Social Democrats. Instead of gaining, as they had expected, they lost no fewer than 15 seats, of which 4 went to the Communists. The Right won 8 seats and the Conservative Farmers' Party, 4. The Ministerial parties lost 1 seat. The new Second Chamber which was to meet on January 10, 1929, was, therefore, made up as follows :—

Right, 73 seats ; Farmers' Party, 27 ; People's Party, 28 ; Liberals, 4 ; Social Democrats, 90 ; and Communists, 8.

The Ekman-Lofgren Ministry after the elections retained almost the same parliamentary authority as before, and the gains which had been made by the Right and the Farmers' Party were not sufficient to give these parties a majority in the Second Chamber. Here and there in the Conservative Press, however, demands were raised for the Government's resignation and for the formation of a non-Socialist Coalition Ministry based on the *bloc* which had been formed at the election. These demands, however, did not command any great support. The Social Democratic Press on the other hand, urged that the Right should take over the Government in accordance with the verdict of the elections.

Meanwhile the Ministry gave in its resignation soon after the results of the elections became known. The deciding reason for this step was the fact that the Foreign Minister, Mr. Lofgren, had lost his seat, and the Liberal members in consequence felt that they were not justified in remaining in office.

Thereupon the King invited the leaders of the Right in the Lower and Upper Chambers respectively, Admiral Lindman and Mr. Trygger, to undertake the formation of a non-Socialist Coalition Ministry. Their efforts failed, owing to the refusal of the out-going Ministerial parties to join. Admiral Lindman, accordingly, at the King's invitation, formed a Ministry of the Right, of a very moderate complexion. The portfolio for Foreign Affairs was taken over by Mr. Trygger.

In its declaration of policy, which was brief and couched in general terms, the new Ministry intimated that it intended to lay down a course of action which should command the greatest possible measure of general assent. The most important points of the Ministry's programme were the maintaining of the external and internal security of the country, together with its economic development, the lessening of unemployment by means of measures for increasing production, and above all, the creation of a feeling of solidarity between employers and employed.

In the brief but strenuous election contest between the non-Socialist *bloc* and the Social Democrats passions had become so inflamed that the prospects were not favourable for the new Government's efforts to promote mutual understanding. Better feelings, however, soon prevailed. Even in the ranks of the Social Democrats it was in many cases realised that the formation of the non-Socialist *bloc* was in truth directed not so much against them as against the Communists, and that no such *bloc* would ever have come into existence if the Social Democrats had made clear the dividing line between them and the Communists. Consequently the new Government was accorded an unexpectedly friendly reception even in the Social Democratic Press, and its position seemed to be fairly secure.

The new Ministry surprised the Left by its moderation, and its more important steps met with general approval. Foremost among these were its measures for promoting industrial peace. The need for such action had been impressed on all parties by a series of great and troublesome labour conflicts with which the year had opened, and which had brought to a standstill some of the country's most important industries—mining, wood-pulp, saw-mills, and paper. In the three last work had not been resumed till April, while in the mining industry the stoppage had continued till August. The losses involved in these long-drawn-out conflicts had furnished to both parties involved in them a severe **lesson on the unsuitability of the methods hitherto pursued for settling disputes, and had created in both sides a desire to find some effective way of bringing about industrial peace.**

The labour policy of the retiring Ministry had been opposed by the Social Democrats and had roused little enthusiasm among the members of the Right. The new Ministry tackled the problem on the lines of "Mondism," and sought to ascertain whether a solution of all the delicate and intricate questions involved might not be attained rather through voluntary agreement and mutual understanding than through legislation. The sympathy of labour for such a policy was assured, since the Chairman of the Social Democratic Party had declared in the Budget debate in the 1928 Riksdag that industrial peace was more likely to be obtained if the Ministry were to try and bring employers and workers together in council than if it proceeded with its contemplated legislation. Even in labour circles there had been a tendency of recent years to doubt whether the relations of the labour market could not be regulated by some better method than ruinous trade disputes.

This movement bore fruit at the end of November, when at the invitation of the Minister for Social Questions, Mr. Liibeck, about 200 representatives of workers and employers met for a three days' discussion on the measures which should be adopted to ensure lasting peace in industry. The conference, which was presided over by Mr. Liibeck in person, was of a very practical character, and formulated several interesting proposals for furthering the desired ends. Both on the side of the workmen and of the employers it was acknowledged that much valuable information was elicited at the sittings and that the discussions provided a good basis for a continued exchange of views between experts.

The conference left a general impression that the chances of a voluntary agreement which should form a basis for industrial unity and solidarity were better than any one had previously ventured to hope. Its results, therefore, were greeted in a remarkably optimistic spirit by the entire Press, regardless of party standpoints. The Communists alone expressed a hostile view. Before the conference broke up it adopted Mr. Lubeck's proposal that a delegation should be formed to co-ordinate the different views expressed and proposals submitted and to shape them into a definite programme. Within a fortnight, at Mr. Liibeck's invitation, both the Workers' and the Employers' Associations nominated five members each to represent them on this delegation, and at the close of the year the Government also appointed its representatives, likewise to the number of five. The delegation was to hold its first meeting in the second half of January, 1929.

On June 16 the seventieth birthday of the King of Sweden was celebrated with genuine warmth of feeling throughout the whole country. It was universally recognised that King Gustav had carried out his duties with the utmost conscientiousness and with fine tact, and that he had striven with unquestioned loyalty and goodwill to live up to his motto *Med folket for fosterlandet*—

" With the People for the Fatherland." In order to enable the entire population to show its appreciation, a national fund was instituted, the proceeds of which were presented as a memorial gift to the King on his birthday, to be used by him at his discretion for some suitable purpose. The sum collected amounted to over five million kroner, and the King decided that it should be used for combating cancer in Sweden and for the furtherance of scientific investigation into this disease.

The sense of international solidarity which is so highly developed in Sweden was exemplified once more in 1928 by the efforts and sacrifices which she made to relieve and save the men who took part in the ill-fated *Italia* expedition. No fewer than three separate expeditions were sent out by the Swedish Government, comprising two steamers and six flying machines, manned by numerous and well-qualified crews. These efforts were at least partially successful, for the Swedish airmen succeeded first in supplying the Nobile group with arms, ammunition, and the necessities of life, and later in succouring General Nobile, the leader of the expedition.

The long list of conciliation and arbitration treaties entered into of recent years by the Swedish Government with neighbouring countries and other foreign States was enlarged in 1928 by the signing of similar treaties with France, Spain, and the United States of America. In all, Sweden has now made 15 conciliation and arbitration treaties as well as 12 conciliation treaties of the modern type.

Sweden's good relations with her northern neighbours were maintained and still further strengthened during the year, while her cultural and social co-operation with them was developed. The economic and cultural ties with Finland in particular were considerably improved, partly through the coming into force of the commercial treaty contracted in 1927, and partly by means of the telephone cable between the two countries in the construction of which both countries co-operated, and which was inaugurated at the close of 1927 by a conversation between the King of Sweden and the President of Finland. By means of this telephone cable—the longest submarine telephone cable in the world—telephonic communication with Russia and the Baltic Republics was also made possible. Sweden's telephonic communication with other countries likewise was greatly developed during 1928. At the beginning of the year direct telephonic communication was established with America.

During the year commercial and shipping treaties were contracted with Hungary and Turkey, and commercial connexions were established with Persia and Colombia. In addition the status of the Soviet Commercial Delegations was regulated by the ratification of the treaty respecting them contracted in 1927. In common with a number of other States Sweden established

direct relations with the new National Chinese Government and signed a customs treaty with it.

Economically the year ended more satisfactorily than had at one time seemed likely. The unfavourable conditions during the first half of the year were partly made good by the great increase in production and the greatly increased trade turnover during the concluding months. This in some measure was due to the fact that branches of industry which were most affected by the great labour conflicts in the early part of the year put forth redoubled efforts afterwards to make up for the time that had been lost. The timber paper-pulp and paper industries were, therefore, able to show about the same results as to production and sales as 1927, but the iron ore exports for 1928 amounted to less than half the total in 1927. The balance of trade was thus considerably less favourable, showing a loss of nearly 200 million kroner. The keen activity shown in the concluding months of the year when almost complete peace had been restored in the labour market resulted in a decrease in unemployment in comparison with 1927.

The State's financial position was marked by a substantial improvement. The Budget for the year 1928-1929 balanced at close on 745 million kroner, although there were not inconsiderable reductions in both direct and indirect taxation. In spite of the unfavourable economic conditions during the year 1928 the State's financial position was so good that the Government submitted to the Riksdag for 1929 a proposal for considerable further reductions in taxation.

NORWAY.

The first month of the parliamentary session witnessed some dramatic changes in the political situation the like of which Norway had not experienced since 1905. When the new Storting assembled in the middle of January, the Conservative Premier, Ivar Lykke, resigned, and advised the King to send for the leader of the Farmers' Party, Johan Mellbye, with a view to the formation of a Coalition Government, representing the three bourgeois parties, which together commanded a large majority in the Storting. Mr. Mellbye, however, did not succeed in forming a Coalition Government, the Radical Left refusing to co-operate with the other bourgeois parties. The King then sent for the chairman of the Labour Party in the Storting, and a Labour Government was appointed on January 27 with Christopher Hornsrud, Vice-President of the Storting, as Premier, and Edvard Bull, Professor of History at Oslo University, as Minister of Foreign Affairs.

On January 31 the new Premier announced the policy of the Government. He emphasised the fact that it represented the Labour Party, the definite aim of which was to establish a Socialist community in Norway. The Government realised, however, that a radical transformation of the social system was impossible at

present owing to the composition of the Storting; it intended therefore only to prepare the way for and facilitate the transition to a Socialist community. Among the proposals which would be submitted to the Storting the Premier mentioned a Bill reintroducing the grain monopoly abolished last year, and another Bill repealing the provisions in the penal code for the protection of volunteers during strikes. The Government also proposed that all military training should be suspended this year, and a commission be appointed to report on the question of complete disarmament. The Premier further proclaimed his intention of increasing the grants to help unemployment, of repealing the economies effected last year in the expenditure on education, and of introducing several other measures which would necessitate increased taxation.

The somewhat aggressive tone of the Premier's speech and the prospect of increased taxation created considerable uneasiness in the business and banking world, and the leading bourgeois papers denounced the declaration as "a proclamation of war against the large majority of the nation." In a meeting of the Storting on February 8, the leader of the Radical Left, Johan Ludwig Mowinckel, proposed a vote of censure in the following terms: "The Storting regrets that the Government in its declaration of policy professes itself to be the representative of only a part of the nation, and also that the Government does not possess the confidence which is necessary for the restoration of the public finances and the stability of the economic life of the country." After a debate lasting two days, this resolution was carried by 86 votes to 63. The minority consisted of the Labour Party, the Communists, and one member belonging to the Radical People's Party.

Mr. Hornsrud at once tendered the resignation of his Government, and the King entrusted Mr. Mowinckel with the task of forming a new Government. Mr. Mowinckel's Cabinet was appointed on February 14, and was composed as follows: Johan Ludwig Mowinckel, Premier and Minister of Foreign Affairs; Per Lund, Minister of Finance; O. M. Mjelde, Minister of Public Works; L. Oftedal, Minister of Commerce; H. J. Aarstad, Minister of Agriculture; H. M. Evjenth, Minister of Justice; T. Vaerland, Minister of Social Affairs; S. M. Hasund, Minister of Education and of Public Worship; T. Anderssen Rysst, Minister of Defence. All these Ministers belong to the Radical Left.

Mr. Mowinckel made his statement of policy in the Storting on February 21. It laid stress on financial reconstruction as the main part of the task of the Government. A vote of censure proposed by the Labour Party was defeated, all the bourgeois parties voting against it.

Although commanding the allegiance of only about one-fifth of the members of the Storting, the Mowinckel Government maintained itself in power throughout the year.

One of the most important decisions taken by the Government was the return to gold parity as from May 1. The decision was ratified by the Storting by a considerable majority (84 votes to 64). The Opposition consisted of the Labour Parties and three deputies belonging to the Farmers' Party. The bourgeois block of the Storting was thus practically unanimous in supporting the Government. The Budget as adopted by the Storting balanced with an income and expenditure of 372 million kroner. The direct income tax, payable to the State, was reduced by 10 per cent. The Budget provided a considerable sum for extraordinary repayment of the national debt.

Among the Bills passed by the Storting in 1928, the Land Act and the Grain Monopoly Act were the most important. They were both carried by the Radical and Labour Parties against the Opposition of the Conservatives and the Farmers' Party. The Land Act provides that a rural municipality may, subject to the assent of the Government, demand the cession of land for the laying out of farms where the owner is not resident in the municipality concerned. The cession of land may be required also of residents within the municipality, if the land is not being utilised for agricultural purposes or is in excess of what the owner can reasonably be considered capable of cultivating. Ordinary farm properties are exempt from compulsory expropriation, and for land thus expropriated compensation is to be paid according to the estimate of a commission. The Act also contains provisions for the abolition of the ancient cottier system of land tenure.

The Grain Monopoly Act reintroduces the monopoly which was abolished by the Conservatives and the Agrarians in 1926. This Act, which takes effect from July 1, 1929, provides that the State shall have the monopoly of importing wheat, rye, barley, oats and every ground product thereof. It also vests in the State the exclusive privilege of exporting these products. Norwegian cereals are to enjoy a certain measure of protection, the Grain Monopoly being obliged to buy all the Norwegian-grown rye, barley, wheat, and oats offered to it, provided such corn is fit for human consumption. The price to be paid to the Norwegian producer shall be equal to that at which the Grain Monopoly sells these products. The Monopoly is managed by a director under the supervision of a board of seven members, who are nominated by the Storting.

In spite of the treaty concluded some years ago, there is still considerable disagreement between Norway and Denmark concerning Greenland. Replying to an interpellation by Mr. Mellbye, the leader of the Farmers' Party, in the middle of May, Mr. Mowinckel, the Premier and Minister of Foreign Affairs, said that the number of open harbours in Western Greenland had been increased from three to five. This was, however, not sufficient for Norway, and the Government had sent Denmark a Note

asking that more harbours should be opened and that fishermen and whalers should have access to Western Greenland on the same conditions as in other countries. Denmark is anxious to meet the wishes of Norway as far as the existing legislation allows. The negotiations between the two Governments are continuing.

The decision of the British Government to recognise Norwegian sovereignty over Bouvet Island in the Antarctic was hailed with great satisfaction by the Norwegian Press as a new proof of British friendship and sense of justice.

The Norwegian delegation, headed by Mr. Mowinckel, took a very active part in the Ninth Assembly of the League of Nations in September. During the debate on the report of the Council, Mr. Mowinckel delivered a speech in which he criticised the Council for contenting itself with making provisional arrangements rather than discovering final solutions for the grave conflicts of a political nature with which the League had been called upon to deal. He also took occasion to caution the Secretariat not to forget that they were in the service of the League and of no one else ; it was the duty of the Secretariat to be absolutely impartial.

The municipal elections which took place in the country districts in October and in the towns in December showed a general increase in the votes cast for the Labour Party, which, nevertheless, did not succeed in obtaining a clear majority in any of the big towns or in the most important county municipalities. The new municipal council in Oslo, the capital, is composed of 42 Labour representatives, 40 Conservatives and 2 Radicals. The Radicals having refused the invitation of the Conservatives to co-operate with them, Labour obtained the chairmanship and with it the casting vote.

In accordance with the law on local option, passed by the Storting in 1927 after the repeal of the prohibition of spirits, a plebiscite was held in December in 18 towns to decide whether the sale of spirits should be instituted or not. The following towns pronounced themselves dry : Halden, Lillehammer, Sandefjord, Larvik, Skien, Porsgrund, Notodden, Kristiansund N., and Narvik, while the following nine voted in favour of the sale of spirits : Drammen, Horten, Fredrikstad, Moss, Kristiansund S., Kongsberg, Arendal, Bodo and Tromso.

Industrially the year was very peaceful, no big strikes or lock-outs occurring. A comparatively small strike in the building trade in the spring, however, caused some commotion owing to its political character. 3,000 men stopped work at the end of May because they would not accept an award made by the Arbitration Court. This strike was, of course, illegal, and several trade union leaders and Labour members of the Storting were fined for promoting or assisting it. In July the negotiations between the workers and the employers were resumed, and the strike came to an end, agreement having been **reached on a new wages tariff in the building trade.**

FINLAND.

The Agrarian Cabinet of M. Sunila maintained itself in office during the greater part of the year, though with increasing difficulty. Its weakness was exposed at the very opening of the session in February by the fact that a Coalitionist, M. Virkkunen, was elected Speaker, and a Socialist and a member of the Swedish party, Deputy Speakers. When the Diet reassembled after the vacation in November, the Ministry suffered several defeats on details of the Budget, especially in connexion with military expenditure. On December 13 it asked for a vote of confidence, but failed to obtain one, being deserted by the Labour and Swedish parties. M. Sunila thereupon tendered the resignation of his Cabinet.

At the beginning of February, rumours having been set afloat that the formation of a Baltic *bloc* was contemplated, M. Procope, the Foreign Minister, issued a statement to the Press to the effect that Finland had no intention of joining such a *bloc*, should it be formed. Finland was, of course, anxious to maintain good and close relations with the Baltic States, but she was equally desirous of preserving a good understanding with the Scandinavian States and other countries. The foreign policy of Finland was to the best of her ability to participate in the general friendly work between nations and to maintain peaceful and friendly relations with other countries, especially her near neighbours.

Early in the session an attempt was made to alter the method of electing a President. According to the Constitution, a special Chamber has to be elected for this purpose, and this was the method followed in the election of President Relander in 1925. The Socialists objected to this method as involving the expense and trouble of a needless General Election, and on March 2 brought in a Bill for amending the Constitution in such a way that the Diet, constituting itself an electoral Chamber, should have the privilege of electing the President. It was objected to this proposal that it would upset the balance of power between the Executive, represented by the President, and the Legislature, represented by the Diet. The motion was narrowly defeated by 93 votes to 92, with 13 abstentions.

A strike of stevedores which took place in the summer, though of no great importance in itself, had a peculiar political repercussion. On July 12 the Danish Labour Union announced a blockade of Finnish ships in order to support the strike. The blockade was declared illegal by the Danish Arbitration Court, and thereupon the Chairman of the Danish Labourers' Union, Hr. Lyngsie, made a bitter attack on Hr. Detala, the Finnish Minister in Copenhagen, insinuating, among other things, that he or the Finnish Government had bribed the Danish Arbitration Court to decide in favour of the Finnish employers against the Danish

dockers. Hr. Lyngsie subsequently withdrew the charges, but the Danish Government took so serious a view of the matter that it offered an apology to the Finnish Government. The publication of the Danish Note caused great satisfaction in Finland.

In April the police arrested fifty Communists, including two members of the Diet, on the ground that they were implicated in a Bolshevik plot. Their trial commenced on July 17 and judgment was delivered on September 25. All but three were found guilty and sentenced to imprisonment with hard labour for periods of from six months to fifteen years. The Finnish Press did not treat the affair very seriously.

On February 28 the Diet passed by a large majority certain amendments to the Prohibition Law rendering its provisions more rigorous in order to cope with the ever-increasing smuggling and bootlegging. The police were given greater powers to search private houses and doctors were subjected to stricter control in the prescribing of wines and spirits for medical purposes. A report published by the Government in the winter showed that there was still in the country a great deal of drunkenness, which often led to crime.

CHAPTER VII.

THE MIDDLE EAST AND INDIA : PEKSIA—AFGHANISTAN—IRAQ— PALESTINE—SYRIA—ARABIA—INDIA.

PERSIA.

THE year 1928 saw the end in Persia of the capitulations. In accordance with the decision of the Mejliss, announced a year previously (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1927, p. 233), they were formally abrogated on May 10. The day was observed as a holiday and Teheran was decorated for the occasion. On the same day, in order, as it said, "to dispel possible anxiety on the part of foreign nationals resident in Persia," the Government issued a statement setting forth a number of safeguards by which the liberty of foreigners would still be protected. The Persian Government undertook to follow the rules of international law in all its relations with them. They were not to be arrested nor their premises searched without a warrant, and they were not to be kept more than twenty-four hours in prison without being brought before a magistrate. In all civil or commercial cases in which one of the parties was a foreigner, only written evidence was to be admitted, and only Courts subordinate to the Ministry of Justice were to be competent to deal with such cases.

Great Britain on the same day signed a treaty with Persia embodying these judicial safeguards and recognising the tariff

autonomy of Persia. This example was followed in a few days by France, Belgium, Germany, the United States, and Holland. Most of these treaties were denounceable in thirty days, but it was expected that they would be replaced by permanent treaties within a year.

The treaty between Persia and Britain put an end to a state of friction between the countries which had lasted for some time and in the early part of the year had become acute. The cause was the withdrawal by the Persian Government late in 1927 of the facilities which it had originally granted to Imperial Airways in connexion with its proposed route from Britain to India. The tension was increased when in January the Persian Government made an unexpected demand on Britain to cede to it the Bahrein Islands in the Persian Gulf, *i.e.*, to withdraw her protection from the Arab chiefs who ruled there. As Persia had exercised no domination over the islands since 1783, Britain could see no reason for acceding to her request. Shortly afterwards Britain sent Persia a Note again requesting facilities for Imperial Airways and making other demands—that Persia should recognise Iraq, that she should restore the Sheikh of Mohammerah, and that she should repay the £2,000,000 spent on the South Persian Rifles. These demands were refused by the Persian Government, but in regard to Imperial Airways, it expressed itself willing to give the required facilities provided the proposed service to India could be made to embrace Teheran, Ispahan, and other cities in the country. Relations between Britain and Persia then began to improve. The renewed friendship was further cemented by the visit to London in July of Taimur Tash, the Shah's Minister of Court and chief confidant.

The internal peace of the country was disturbed in the course of the year by two or three risings of minor importance. In January the peasants in the province of Arabistan in South Persia, which the Government had renamed Khuzistan, rose in revolt in consequence of the rapacity of the Persian tax collectors. A conflict took place at Tasbah, at the head of the Persian Gulf, in which 60 insurgents were reported to have been killed. The population was pacified by a reduction in the taxes and the appointment in February of General Farraj Ullah Khan, formerly Director of Conscription in Teheran, as Governor of Khuzistan. At the beginning of April the Lurs to the south of Khurammabad murdered the Persian Minister of Public Works, Mirza Abdullah Khan Tahmasp, who was supervising some road construction in their province, and carried out some sporadic raids. The Shah proceeded in person to Luristan, and by the end of the month the chief revolting sheikhs had made their submission. In October and November the Beni Turuf tribe near Ahwaz gave some trouble, but normal conditions had been restored by November 21 when the Shah visited Khuzistan to open the new road from

Khurammabad to Disful. Owing to the disturbed condition of the country, however, the Shah thought it prudent to cancel his proposed visit to the Anglo-Persian oil refineries at Abadan.

Persian relations with Turkey, which had been severely strained in the previous year (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1927, p. 232) underwent a marked improvement during 1928. After the frontier incidents that had taken place in the autumn of 1927, Mirza Mohammed Ali Khan Farughi, the Zoka ul Mulk, who had been Minister of War in Persia till the preceding June, went to Turkey to settle outstanding questions, but met with no success. At the beginning of 1928 negotiations had come to a standstill, but they were resumed soon after and this time brought to a successful conclusion. In June the Turkish Ambassador in Moscow, Tewfik Bey, visited Teheran along with the King of Afghanistan, and there signed a Treaty of Friendship with Persia similar to that between Turkey and Afghanistan.

Relations with Iraq continued to be strained. The Persian Government demanded for Persian subjects resident in Iraq privileges which the Iraq Government considered to be excessive, and failing the grant of these refused to recognise Iraq. The Iraq Government made a gesture of friendship by closing its frontier to the Khuzistan rebels in January. In return the Persian Minister of Finance, Prince Firuz, when he visited Abadan in April as the guest of the Anglo-Persian Oil Company, peremptorily ordered certain Iraqui port officials to withdraw from the Persian side of the river Shatt-el-Arab (the boundary between Iraq and Persia), although they were there only for the convenience of the Oil Company. The Persian delegate to the League of Nations, Ali Khan Farughi, made a bitter attack on the Iraq administration at Geneva in September, alleging that Iraq pilgrims spread disease in Persia and that Iraq territory was being used as a base for brigands. These charges were denied by General Jaffer Pasha, ex-Prime Minister of Iraq and Iraq representative in London, who again made a plea for a more friendly spirit.

The Persian Government in January offered the post of Director of the administration of Persian finances in succession to Dr. Millspaugh to Dr. E. D. Kellenberger, financial expert to the Swiss Federal Finance Department. Dr. Kellenberger was willing to accept, but the Swiss Government, by a more attractive offer, managed to retain his services. The appointment was finally given in April to Dr. Lindenblatt, a German banker, who left soon after for Teheran. In the course of the year contracts were signed with various firms for the construction of the first sections of a trunk railway from the Caspian to the Persian Gulf; the section abutting on the Caspian was entrusted to a group of German firms, and the one abutting on the Persian Gulf to a group of British and other firms.

Persia was elected in September a non-permanent member of the Council of the League of Nations.

AFGHANISTAN.

In continuance of their foreign tour (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1927, p. 234) the King and Queen of Afghanistan with their suite, after completing their stay in Egypt, proceeded to Italy, arriving in Rome on January 8. Two State banquets were here given in the King's honour, and he also had an interview with the Pope. While in Italy he visited Milan and a number of other cities, paying special attention to engineering and motor works. From Italy he went through the Riviera to Paris, where he was officially received by the President of the Republic. Here, as elsewhere, the official visit was succeeded by a much longer unofficial stay. In the course of February visits were paid to Belgium, Switzerland, and Germany, and on March 13 the royal party crossed over to London, where the crowd gave them an enthusiastic welcome. State banquets were given in the King's honour at Buckingham Palace, the Guildhall, and the Foreign Office, and no effort was spared by the authorities to impress him with the value and sincerity of British friendship. On March 23 he went with Queen Souriyah to Oxford, where a brother of the Queen was an undergraduate, and received there the degree of Doctor of Civil Law.

The King left England on April 5 for the East of Europe. On his way he found it necessary to stay in Berlin to undergo an operation for tonsilitis. While in Germany he was presented by the German Government with a specially upholstered Junkers aeroplane, and discussed with Professor Junkers the subject of an air line between Afghanistan and Persia. From Berlin the King and Queen proceeded to Warsaw (April 29), and thence two days later to Moscow, where they received a royal welcome in spite of the anti-royalist professions of their hosts. While in Russia they paid a visit to Leningrad, where they witnessed the Baltic Fleet manoeuvres at Kronstadt. The next country to be visited was Turkey, which King Amanullah regarded with peculiar affection. At a banquet given in his honour at Angora on May 20, the Ghazi, Mustafa Kemal Pasha, laid stress on the close ties between the Afghan and Turkish peoples, and King Amanullah replied with a speech expressing admiration of the work accomplished by the Ghazi.

From Angora the royal party proceeded to Constantinople, and after spending a few days there sailed in a Turkish steamer to Batum, with an escort of Turkish and Russian warships. On June 9 they arrived at Teheran, where they were greeted by the Shah and his son the Valiahd in the presence of large crowds. On June 16 they left Teheran for Meshed by motor-car, and thence journeyed via Herat, Farah, Kandahar, Mukur, and Ghazni partly by car and partly by aeroplane to Kabul, where they arrived on July 1, after an absence of nearly seven months. A

huge crowd had gathered from all parts of the country to welcome them, and their return was made the occasion for great festivities.

During the absence of the King the country had remained perfectly peaceful. A pretender to the throne, who claimed that he was a grandson of the Ameer Mahomed Yakub, appeared in Kabul in June, but he was soon discovered to be an impostor and secured no following. The chief event which had taken place was the conclusion on May 25 of a close Treaty of Friendship and security, to be valid in the first instance for ten years, between Afghanistan and Turkey. In April an agreement had been concluded between Afghanistan and Russia for an air service between Kabul and Tashkent.

Shortly after the King's return, complaints reached his ear that he had spent on his tour money which could ill be spared from the public treasury. He silenced such murmurings by pointing out that he had brought back presents far outweighing in value the expense of the tour. He could also boast truly that he had made Afghanistan known to the world as a country with great potentialities, and one whose friendship was worth cultivating. Among the definite results of his trip he was able to announce the impending conclusion of treaties with thirteen states, agreements with French and German companies to undertake a survey preparatory to the construction of a railroad linking Kabul, Kandahar, Herat, and Kushk, and the acquisition of over 50,000 rifles, over 100 cannon, six model machine-guns, six tanks, and five armoured cars. The bulk of this armament, however, did not reach Afghanistan within the year.

King Amanullah's tour had impressed on him more strongly than ever the advantages of European civilisation. Contact with the great personages of the West had put a keen edge upon his reforming zeal, and he came back to his country determined to follow as closely as possible in the footsteps of his distinguished co-religionist, the Ghazi Mustafa Kemal. Dazzled by the latter's success, he overlooked the fact that there was a fundamental difference between Turkey and Afghanistan: the Turks were a fairly homogeneous people with a long tradition of obedience to a central authority, whereas the Afghans were a conglomeration of diverse tribes accustomed to a certain measure of autonomy and attached to their local customs. He was advised by the foreigners at his court and the most prudent of his counsellors to proceed slowly with his reforms, but in his eagerness to Westernise the country he resolved to make the pace even more rapidly than his Turkish confrere.

The first-fruits of their Majesties' tour were made apparent to their subjects a few days after their return when the Queen sat through a State banquet without the *purdah* or religious veil. The Mullahs were greatly scandalised and remonstrated with the King. He pointed out to them that the working women in the

villages did not wear the *purdah*, and bade them see to their own flocks. They were nonplussed for the moment, but were none the more reconciled to the King's innovations.

A grand *Jirga* (assembly of the people) was held in August at Paghman, and discussed a number of the reforms proposed by the King. It was decided among other things to replace the Council of State with a National Assembly of 150 members selected from the Grand Assembly for three years, and to which Government servants should be ineligible ; that the period of compulsory military service should be extended from two to three years and all exemptions abolished ; that preaching certificates should be introduced for Afghan mullahs and that mullahs from neighbouring countries should be excluded ; and that persons entering the Government service in future should not have more than one wife. It was also resolved that Afghanistan should adopt a tricoloured flag in place of the present black flag, which was said to be an emblem of mourning, not fitting for Afghanistan since she had achieved her independence. The King also desired to prohibit the marriage of youths before 22 and girls before 18, but he could not persuade the assembly to agree to this.

Hardly was the *Jirga* over when a number of mullahs began to preach sedition among the people. The King promptly arrested the ringleaders, and on October 30 the chief Kadi of Kabul and three other mullahs were executed. The King meanwhile proceeded with his scheme of reforms. He had already decreed that education up to a certain point should be compulsory for all and free for the poor. By the end of October several roads and bridges were being constructed, telegraphs and telephones were working between Kabul and the chief towns, and college buildings were being erected in Kabul and Kandahar. For the improvement of the Army, 65 officers had gone to Russia, France, and Italy, and 20 more were to go to England, while a Staff College was to be opened at Khurd Zabitan. For the furtherance of the King's various schemes numerous foreigners were invited to the country. The King was desirous to introduce the system of Cabinet government, but Sher Ahmed Khan, to whom he entrusted the task, was unable to form a Cabinet, and he had, as he said, to be his own Prime Minister.

The reforming activities of the King were brought to a sudden stop by the revolt towards the end of November of the Shinwaris, a powerful tribe in Eastern Afghanistan, much under the influence of the Mullah of Chaknaur. They assembled in force in the neighbourhood of Jelalabad, and besieged that city. The King found that in the hour of need he could not rely upon his army, which was disaffected because its pay was in arrears. He therefore, after some indecisive fighting, began to parley with the rebels in order to induce them to lay down their arms. A truce of ten days was declared early in December, during which the tribesmen

considered the King's proposals. As he would not consent to abandon his reforms, they again took up arms at the end of the truce. At the same time (December 17) other tribesmen, acting apparently without any concert with the Shinwaris, gathered in force near Kabul. They were led by a brigand named Habiullah, but familiarly known as Bacha-i-Saqao or "son of the water-carrier," and were joined by numbers of disaffected persons, both soldiers and others, from Kabul itself. Kabul was reduced to a state of siege, and the King and Queen judged it prudent to retire within the Arg, the fortified part of the Palace.

Although the rebels disclaimed any hostility to the members of the British Legation, the Legation buildings, which were situated outside of the town in the zone of fighting, suffered damage from stray shots. The position being regarded as dangerous, five British aeroplanes on December 23 flew across from Peshawar and took off all the women and children to the number of about a dozen. Between that date and the end of the year the women and children from the other Legations were rescued in a similar manner. The gallantry of the British airmen made a great impression throughout Europe. The Russian women and children were conveyed northwards by Russian aeroplanes.

On Christmas Day Bacha-i-Saqao suddenly retired with his troops to the mountains, and the King considered himself out of danger; the Queen had already made her escape to Kandahar. His last act in the year was to reward his troops at Kabul with two months' pay and to increase the pay of his bodyguard from 14 to 20 rupees a month.

IRAQ.

Before the end of the previous year it was manifest that the treaty negotiated with Great Britain did not meet with universal favour in Iraq, and it had already led to the resignation of two members of the Cabinet. In the first week of the year 1928 the remainder of the Cabinet resigned, the reason given by the Prime Minister being that he objected to the postponement of the introduction of conscription. A new Cabinet was formed by Abdul Muhsin Bey es Sa'dun, who had previously been Prime Minister, with the general belief that nothing more would be heard of conscription. The new Government in its statement of policy based itself on the Anglo-Iraqi Treaty. The recent Income Tax Act, it was foreshadowed, would be repealed. Within a few days of the new Cabinet's accession to office Parliament was dissolved and in the subsequent elections the Government obtained an overwhelming majority. One result of the widespread fear of conscription was a movement on the part of *fellahin* in Southern Iraq towards acquiring Persian nationality in the hope that they would thereby be protected against military service. Fifteen sheikhs

were arrested on this account in January, and it was said that they represented at least four thousand supporters. These people proposed to emigrate to Persia. Incidentally nothing further was heard of the conscription proposals. There were other troubles with Persia, which still refused to recognise the existence of Iraq as a state, during the earlier part of the year, and the relations between the two Governments were by no means satisfactory. One of these troubles came to a head in April when the Iraqi authorities were requested to remove from Abadan, an island on the Persian shore of the Shatt-el-Arab, where a few Iraqi officials were accustomed to live and an occasional British vessel to lie. This difference was, however, soon settled without any serious change in the previous arrangements.

The main differences with the Persian Government related to the nationality of Persian residents in Iraq who under the Iraqi nationality law became Iraqi subjects unless they had adopted Persian nationality before the end of the year 1927, and the claim by the Persian Government for the extension to subjects of Persia of the judicial agreement whereby Europeans were entitled to British judges. These differences led to formal complaints by the Persian representatives at the League of Nations, who stated that territory in Iraq was used as a base of operations for brigands and rebels who were making trouble in Persia. Both cholera and plague came from India, and they almost always reached Persia through Iraq. A raid from Persia into Iraq in March was of little consequence.

The more serious differences with the tribes of Nejd are dealt with under the heading Arabia. The Government of Iraq was represented in the negotiations conducted later by Sir Gilbert Clayton on behalf of the British Government, with the Wahabi King, and Sir Gilbert Clayton was later appointed High Commissioner on the retirement of Sir Henry Dobbs.

The finances of the state were very satisfactory, the financial year closing with an accumulated surplus of over two million pounds. The local Government, however, strongly objected to making any contribution towards the cost of the meagre British forces that remained in Iraq.

At the beginning of the year the Iraqi Parliament granted a long lease of a large area of land to ex-King Ali of the Hedjaz, a brother of the King of Iraq, who had settled in Iraq after his expulsion from his dominions.

PALESTINE.

The earlier part of the year 1928, like its predecessor, was noticeable for a cloud of financial depression that hovered over the country, modified by a great reduction in the volume of unemployment which had been effected largely by a programme of

Government relief works, so great as seriously to strain the resources of the Government. The feeling of depression was also somewhat relieved by the exuberant optimism of Lord Melchett (then Sir Alfred Mond) who paid a visit in January and set an example by his investment in orange plantations. He was followed by others, and this policy introduced a certain amount of much-needed capital into the country.

Lord Melchett's visit was in part connected with the Jewish Agency proposals on which so much hope was based at the end of the previous year. The reports of the body of experts that had examined conditions on the spot in the course of the year 1927, were considered by a small committee of non-Zionist Jews—for the most part from the United States—in June, and as a result this committee recommended that the non-Zionist Jews whom they more or less represented should participate both in men and money in the Jewish development of Palestine, provided certain changes were accepted. These changes in some respects went counter to the policy hitherto pursued by the Zionist Organisation, and a meeting of the governing body of this organisation was held in the month of July to consider them. Against considerable opposition and only with very great difficulty was the approval of this body secured. The decision was doubtless influenced by the increasingly difficult financial situation of the Zionist Organisation. The representatives of the American non-Zionists also accepted the recommendations, and at the end of the year preparations for the formation of a Jewish Agency, practically representative of Jews of the world to take the place in Palestine of the Zionist Organisation, were proceeding.

The improvement in the relations between the Arabs and the Jews, which had been noticeable for some time back, continued during the earlier part of the year. The Arabs clearly regretted their former intransigence, and in particular their refusal to co-operate in a legislature when the opportunity was offered to them. A few days before his retirement from the office of High Commissioner (July 30), Lord Plumer received the Arab Executive who presented a Memorandum asking for Parliamentary government based on the entire Palestinian population irrespective of race and creed. This was by no means the first of such documents, but the occasion was the first on which no protest against the terms of the Mandate was included. There was a party in Palestinian Jewry also that supported the Arabs in their demand for a legislature, and it seemed that the *rapprochement* between the two peoples would rapidly grow closer, when an unfortunate incident that occurred at Jerusalem on the Jewish Day of Atonement at the end of September suddenly undid most of the reconciliation that had been so patiently and laboriously pursued. The Jews are accustomed on this Fast to pray at the Wailing Wall, the only surviving relic of Herod's Temple which is also the outer containing wall of

the Dome of the Rock, the principal Moslem sanctuary. The congregation meets in a public pathway, which, however, is Moslem ecclesiastical property. There has never been any objection to the Jews meeting there, but permission has always been refused to the erection of impediments in the street. It has often happened that chairs, tables, etc., have had to be removed. This year a screen was placed across the road, and at once ordered to be removed. The Jewish authorities promised to remove it, but neglected to do so, and the police thereupon proceeded to do so themselves. This was all the more necessary in view of the threatening attitude of the Moslems, who saw in the encroachment an attempt to create an additional vested interest in a site in which they were deeply concerned. The removal took place in the midst of an exceptionally important prayer and led to very strong protests on the part of Jews in all parts of Palestine against what they termed a sacrilege. The protests were accompanied by demands that the site should be handed over to Jewish custody. For a time the excitement was intense, but in due course it passed away.

Lord Plumer retired at the end of July from his office of High Commissioner and was succeeded by Sir John Chancellor until recently Governor of Southern Rhodesia, who, however, did not arrive in Palestine until the beginning of December. At the same time a new Chief Secretary was appointed in the person of Mr. H. C. Luke, the Colonial Secretary of Sierra Leone, who had had previous experience in Palestine.

In the late spring there had been local troubles among the Moslems. The International Missionary Conference at Easter, in Jerusalem, had aroused suspicion that a widespread missionary campaign among Moslems was intended. No trouble arose while the conference was still meeting, but shortly afterwards riots broke out in several Moslem centres although little harm was done.

A threatened plague of locusts in the spring fortunately did not eventuate in any serious misfortune.

The long-expected treaty between Great Britain and Trans-Jordan was signed in February [see Public Documents]. The independence of the Emirate was recognised, but it was very limited. The status of the country is in fact a protectorate although it is nowhere so designated. The Emir agreed to be guided by British advice in all matters concerning the foreign relations of his country, the management of its public finances, its legislation in so far as it may effect the rights of British and foreign subjects, and the grant of concessions and leases of land to foreigners. The British Government may maintain or raise troops in Trans-Jordan for the defence of the country, and the Emir agreed to contribute towards their cost.

The treaty did not obtain a unanimous welcome in Trans-Jordan,

and there were meetings of protest in all the principal towns. It was felt that the independence of the Emirate was too narrowly limited. These objections, however, had no effect. Five months later an electoral law was published, under which a legislative body for which all male Trans-Jordanian residents of eighteen years of age and upwards were entitled to vote was instituted. This was followed by another meeting of influential Trans-Jordanians, including representatives of the Bedouin tribes. They demanded complete independence with the Emir Abdullah as ruler, they rejected the Balfour Declaration and the Jewish National Home, recognising the British Mandate only as a form of technical assistance to the country. They insisted on the Government being responsible to a Parliament freely elected. Conscription might be established only by a national Government which should in no way finance foreign forces in Trans-Jordan. The country must have a free hand in her financial policy and management.

The Emir refused to receive a deputation sent to him by the conference, and proceeded with the elections which, however, did not go altogether smoothly.

SYRIA.

The first days of the new year saw the resignation of the Lebanese Ministry and the appointment of a successor, consisting of three members instead of seven. This reduction in numbers was hailed as a welcome economy and a no less welcome check to the pernicious system under which every interest with any influence had to have a representative in the Ministry. A month later the Syrian Ministry resigned, the President being apparently reluctant to preside over the then impending General Elections. A new Government, with the Kadi of Damascus at its head, was formed. The programme of the new Government, as approved by the French, was early General Elections, preceded by the abolition of the Press censorship and martial law, and the grant of a wide amnesty to political offenders. The Constituent Assembly to be elected was to draw up a Federal Constitution under which the economic interests of all of the French Mandated States were to be safeguarded. Still later the mutual relationship between France and these Mandated States was to be defined. The elections resulted in a remarkable Nationalist success, many of the leaders of the recent rebellion being chosen. However, the Nationalist Party seemed to have become reconciled to the French regime, and their sincere co-operation with the Mandatory Power was not doubted. In due course the Syrian Constituent Assembly met in Damascus (June 9), and immediately set about drawing up a Constitution. Its principal articles set forth that Syria was an independent Sovereign State, its territory co-extensive with **that** detached from the Ottoman Empire—such divisions as **had**

been made since the war were not recognised; that it was a political entity, one and indivisible; that it was a Parliamentary Republic under a President, with its capital at Damascus, and its religion that of Islam. The Syrian flag was described in detail.

Such a constitution was obviously not in accordance with the views of the Mandatory Power, and after an ineffectual attempt to secure an agreement, the High Commissioner suspended the Assembly (Nov. 11).

There were throughout the year difficulties with the Turkish Government over the Northern Frontier. This frontier, apart from a small portion in the East, had been fixed by the Angora Agreement. The portion left over had been made the subject of arbitration which had been decided in January, 1928, in favour of Syria, but the Turkish Government which was in occupation of the territory in question had failed to evacuate. This territory was claimed by the Turkish Government to be of vital importance to them, inasmuch as through it only could the Kurdish population of Asia Minor be controlled. The French although unable to occupy the district have never acquiesced in the Turkish contention. In October and November much excitement was caused in Turkish official circles by, first, a Press campaign in which the official periodical took part, accusing the French authorities of encouraging and assisting the incursion of brigands across the Syrian-Turkish frontier, and a fortnight later, by a declaration by Mustafa Pasha Kemal himself in the Grand National Assembly that security did not reign along the Syrian frontier, and that an effective, practical and radical solution of the question would have to be found. The "brigands" in question were Kurdish residents in Syria whose lands were in the disputed territory and who were anxious to recover possession of them. The French authorities deliberately declined to control these Kurds so long as they did not pass beyond the disputed territory. At the end of the year new negotiations between the two Powers were entered into with a view to a settlement of the dispute, but they soon reached a deadlock.

ARABIA.

The raids into the Iraq territory on the part of tribes more or less loosely under the control of the King of Nejd which had commenced in the previous November continued throughout the spring. There were threats, or rumours of threats, also against the territory of Trans-Jordan, but the situation was never as bad as the stories that came from the East suggested. At one time it was even said that the Wahabi king had declared a *Jihad* or Holy War against his neighbours both on the north-east and the north-west. In the early days of the year the Royal Air Force was flying over the desert in search of the main body of the raiders, but it was not until February 19 that they were located and severely

punished, after another raid into Iraquian territory. A few weeks earlier Wahabi raiders into Koweit territory were met and repulsed by the forces of the Sultan of Koweit. It was said at one time that the Wahabi king himself would take the field against Faisal al Dawish, of the Mutair tribe, the chief of the raiders, and that he had declared him a rebel and an outlaw ; but this, if ever contemplated, did not eventuate.

On the Trans-Jordan side the trouble was of minor consequence. The Beni Sakhr, a Trans-Jordan tribe, was attacked while encamped within Nejdian territory and suffered heavy casualties. This incident was solitary so far as the north-western region was concerned and without political significance. The relations between Great Britain and the Wahabi king were, however, still not absolutely smooth, and Sir Gilbert Clayton who had already paid two visits to the King of the Hedjaz and had negotiated the treaty of the previous year was sent again to Arabia. As the official communiqu6 says : " Negotiations were opened at Jeddah in May with a view to settling certain outstanding matters between the Nejd, Iraq, and Trans-Jordan. Satisfactory progress was made in several of the questions under discussion. But owing to the approach of the pilgrimage season, it became necessary to suspend negotiations." Unfortunately these negotiations came to naught.

The Iraqi delegates were ready to recognise Ibn Saud's sovereignty over the Hejaz, to agree to the Hejazi demand for the extradition of political offenders, and to abandon all claims to compensation for the losses suffered by the Wahabi raids into Iraq earlier in the year. But they could not abandon their claim to maintain the police posts which were considered necessary for the preservation of order on the frontier. These posts are from thirty to seventy miles within Iraq territory and are intended to prevent not only raids into the settled districts of Iraq by desert tribesmen, but also—in accordance with a formal undertaking given to Ibn Saud—raids into his territory by those sections of the Shammar tribe which took refuge in Iraq after they had been defeated by the Wahabis in 1921. Ibn Saud claimed that the maintenance of such police posts was contrary to an agreement of 1922, which forbids the fortification of desert wells on the frontier. On these conflicting claims the conference broke down.

A treaty of goodwill and friendship prepared by Ibn Saud was accepted by the British and Iraquian delegations. Another conference of a minor character—between representatives of the Wahabi state on the one hand and the Palestine and Trans-Jordan Governments—also broke down, about the same time. It was intended to be of a technical character and to be concerned solely with the working of the railway which is in the territories of the three Governments. The Wahabi representatives, however, raised the question of the ownership of the entire railway to which they

laid claim on the ground that it is a wakf or religious foundation. The other experts were not entitled to discuss such a claim and the conference was thereupon indefinitely suspended.

The relations between the British and the Imam Yahya of Sanaa still remained undefined and caused a little worry in the course of the year. The Imam of Sanaa had been in occupation of parts of the Aden Protectorate for some years. Protracted negotiations had taken place for a settlement of the question, and, in 1926, the British Government despatched a mission to Sanaa with this object. The Imam, however, refused to withdraw from the Protectorate. He was informed that, while the British Government were anxious to secure a friendly settlement of their differences with him, they could not recognise that he had any rights whatever within the Aden Protectorate, and they warned him that his continued occupation of parts of it would render him liable to retaliatory measures. In spite of this communication, armed Zeidi forces penetrated farther into the Protectorate in September, 1927, and only withdrew on being warned that air action would be taken against them. Warnings were then dropped on certain towns in the Yemen that, in the event of further incursions being made into the Protectorate, air action would be taken against them. On February 9 the Zeidis kidnapped the Alawi Sheikh and a relative of the Koteibi Sheikh, both of whom are entitled by treaty to British protection. After 48 hours' notice air action was taken against Kataba, in Yemen territory, which was understood to be headquarters of those Zeidi forces directly responsible for the outrage. This action had the effect desired. The two prisoners, whom the Imam's followers had taken were released and brought with them a request by their captor for a truce. This was granted and the Acting Resident at Aden proceeded to Taiz, in Yemen territory, to open negotiations, but found that the Imam's representatives there were empowered to carry on informal discussion only, and not to negotiate a treaty. Subsequently an offer of a treaty confined to (1) recognition by His Majesty's Government of the Imam's independence in the Yemen; (2) recognition by the Imam of the frontier of the Aden Protectorate with certain modifications in his favour; and (3) a promise to the Imam of such assistance as His Majesty's Government could render him within the limits of their international obligations, was made by the British representative. An extension of the time allowed for a reply was asked for and promised, subject to the evacuation of the town of Dhala. This was, however, not accepted and air attacks were therefore made on Taiz and other centres.

The forces of the Imam were driven not only out of Dhala, with the assistance of the Emir of that district, but out of the whole of the Aden Protectorate. Disaffection also arose in the dominions of the Imam, but this appears to have been suppressed. Before this had happened the Imam had, however, recovered from his

northern neighbour, the ruler of Asir, the port of Hodeida and the remainder of the coastal territory of which he had been deprived.

Early in the summer the administration of Aden, which had hitherto been controlled from India, was reorganised. The responsibility for political and military matters is now vested in the British Government, while the internal municipal administration remains the responsibility of the Government of India. At the same time a new Resident was appointed in the person of Sir Stewart Symes, Chief Secretary to the Government of Palestine.

INDIA.

The tours of the Statutory Commission on Indian Reforms, appointed in November, 1927, and the efforts made to boycott the inquiry, raised the political temperature of a year marked by increased difficulties of Government with the Legislative Assembly, and also by much labour unrest fomented by extremist agitators.

Sir John Simon and his six Parliamentary colleagues of the Statutory Commission left London on January 19 for two months preliminary tour in India. Efforts to bring about a general *hartal* (day of mourning) when the Commission landed in Bombay on February 3 were unsuccessful, though there was some rioting in Calcutta and Madras, and in the latter city 2 persons were killed and 17 injured by the police having to fire on the demonstrators.

In a letter to the Viceroy, dated February 6, Sir John Simon outlined a plan of co-operation by means of a "Joint Free Conference" of the British Commissioners and a corresponding body of representatives chosen by the two houses of the Indian Legislature. For the tour of the provinces each local Legislative Council should be asked to constitute a similar body. Evidence from public and representative bodies, from individuals and on behalf of the various Governments would normally be given to the conference as a whole, but on occasion each side of the conference would require to meet by itself. A number of party leaders immediately issued a statement adhering to the boycott decision. At varying intervals the Council of State and the provincial Legislatures, excepting that of the Central Provinces, agreed to the co-operation proposed by Sir John Simon, but it was refused by the Legislative Assembly on February 18 by a majority of six.

After the return of the Commission to England an important change in procedure was made, on the suggestion of the Committee appointed by the Punjab Legislative Council. The Committee intimated that they felt it would be difficult adequately and properly to discharge their duties if a distinction was to be made between them and members of the Commission in the matter of examination of witnesses or access to documentary evidence. Sir John Simon's reply, dated June 24, intimated that no such dis-

tion would be made. The reservation in his letter of February 6 could adequately be secured by his power to protect any witness, and to exclude the Press from joint sittings when necessary.

During the summer months in England the Commission was mainly engaged in the collation of memoranda, the submission of which it had invited. An auxiliary Committee was constituted under the chairmanship of Sir Philip Hartog to investigate one of the specific issues—that of the growth of education under the reforms. On September 25, in a farewell speech prior to returning to India, Sir John Simon stated that some 500 memoranda had been received, and that with very few exceptions every organised class of the Indian community had set itself with the greatest zeal and thoroughness to inform the Commission of its views. The Commission reached Bombay on its second visit on October 11. Five days earlier a bomb which was being taken to Bombay to be thrown at the Commissioners exploded on a train at Manmad, killing six persons and wounding eight. The Indian Central Committee, presided over by Sir Sankaran Nair, and consisting of three members elected by the Council of State and six chosen by the Viceroy mainly from members of the Assembly favouring co-operation, joined the Commission at Poona, where the first sittings were held. Cordial relations between the two wings of the inquiry were established from the first.

The Commission arrived at Lahore on October 30, and in the attempt of a hostile demonstration to enter a prohibited route, some of the leaders received slight injuries from the police. One of them, Lala Lajpat Rai, after pursuing his usual activities and visiting Delhi for a political gathering, died on November 17. Suggestions in the Indian Press that his death was due to police handling on October 30 were shown by public inquiry to be unwarranted. A tragic sequel at Lahore was the shooting on December 17 of Indian youths, by way of reprisal, of a young assistant superintendent of police, Mr. J. P. Saunders. A Sikh clerk, Charan Singh, who pluckily tried to arrest the assailants was also shot. After leaving Lahore the Commission took evidence at Karachi, Peshawar, New Delhi, Lucknow, and Patna, usually having an ungracious reception on arrival from bands of youths. At the end of the year, Mr. W. T. Layton, Editor of the *Economist*, went out to join the Commission as its financial assessor.

While the boycotting sections remained technically staunch to their decision, they took care by ceaseless propaganda in the Press and formulation of their own proposals to counter the evidence offered by Moslem, non-Brahman, Indian Christian, Sikh, and other witnesses, including representatives of the depressed classes. What was termed an "All-Parties" Conference meeting in Bombay in May directed a Committee, presided over by Pandit Motilal Nehru, to draft a Constitution for India. The report, printed in book form, outlined a scheme of Dominion status, which

was considered at another conference at Lucknow early in September. The resolution adopting the scheme, subject to some revision, was carried with the proviso that it was not to be held to restrict "the liberty of action of those political parties whose goal is complete independence."

Much controversy ensued, and at a meeting of the All-India Congress Committee at Delhi on November 3 a resolution was passed favouring severance of the British connexion. The independence party, led by Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar (formerly Advocate-General, Madras), was able to weaken the position of the Congress leader, Pandit Motilal Nehru. The latter presided at the 43rd annual session of the Congress held at Calcutta at the end of the year. A boycott of British goods was recommended, and on the motion of Mr. M. K. Gandhi it was resolved that if by the end of 1929 the British Government had not accepted the Dominion status Constitution drafted by the Nehru Committee in its entirety, the Congress would organise a non-co-operation movement, including the non-payment of taxes. The National Liberal Federation meeting at Allahabad gave general support to the Nehru report.

Under the chairmanship of H. H. the Aga Khan, the All-India Moslem Conference opened at Delhi on December 31, in conformity with his suggestion early in the year that the Moslem members of the Legislatures should constitute a permanent nucleus for the expression of Mohammedan opinion, and provide a platform on which Moslems of various schools might unite to study the constitutional problem. The gathering was remarkably representative and, recommending a federal Constitution, demanded the maintenance of separate Moslem electorates for, and reservations of seats in, legislative and local bodies; and safeguards against communal legislation and unfavourable amendment of the Constitution.

The malevolent spirit excited by the boycott agitation had many reactions in the Legislative Assembly. Sir Basil Blackett, the Finance Member, early in the spring session essayed the introduction of a fresh Indian Reserve Bank Bill, providing for a shareholders' bank on lines of a territorial distribution of capital and limitation of individual holdings. The President (Mr. V. J. Patel) refused the motion on the ground that the old Bill, providing for a stockholders' bank, had not been formally withdrawn. The efforts of Sir Basil to superimpose on the latter the changes indicated were defeated by a wrecking amendment carried by a majority of one vote, and the long discussed reserve bank project was withdrawn. By the same bare majority on February 21 the Assembly negatived the Naval Discipline Bill, designed to enable a beginning to be made with the formation of the Royal Indian Navy, for which statutory provision was made by the Imperial Parliament in 1927. Government announced on June 7 that the limited

powers inherent in the existing Indian law would be used to complete within two years the reconstitution of the Royal Indian Marine as a combatant force, assuming the functions and serving under the conditions intended in the proposed Navy.

On March 8 the Commander-in-Chief (F.M. Sir W. Birdwood) announced to the Assembly the decisions of the Home and Indian Governments on the proposals of the Indian Sandhurst Committee. The number of direct vacancies at Sandhurst open to Indians would be increased from 10 to 20 a year. A further number of vacancies—varying from five to ten—would be reserved for officers with Viceroy's commissions. Indians would be eligible for cadetships at Woolwich and Cranwell as well as Sandhurst, and would be trained with a view to the formation of Indian Artillery, engineer and air units. The Rawlinson scheme of eight Indianised units would be continued, and Government could not fix a definite date for the creation of an Indian Sandhurst.

The sixth and last Budget of Sir Basil Blackett, presented on February 29, crowned his many financial achievements by the final extinction of the much-disliked provincial contributions to central revenues, which had been tentatively remitted in the previous year. The only change in taxation was the abolition of the import duties on mill stores and machinery, which were remitted in the previous September. Fears at one time entertained that the Budget estimates would be falsified by a poor monsoon did not materialise, for though there was shortage of rain in some provinces the amount was sufficient, generally speaking, to give satisfactory crops, except in the south and south-west portions of the United Provinces.

Sir Basil Blackett left India at the end of March and was succeeded early in November by Sir George Schuster, Sir B. N. Mitra having acted as Finance Member in the interval. Mr. S. R. Das, Law Member, died in October and Sir Bijendra Lai Mitter was appointed in his place. Another great loss to the Administration was the sudden death of Sir Alexander Muddiman, on June 17, little more than five months after succeeding Sir William Marris as Governor of the United Provinces. Sir Malcolm Hailey was transferred to the vacancy from the Governorship of the Punjab, and Sir Geoffrey de Montmorency was appointed in his place. In December Sir Leslie Wilson's term as Governor of Bombay expired, and he was succeeded by Major-General Sir Frederick Sykes.

In the September session of the Indian Legislature the difficulties of Government *vis-h-vis* the Assembly multiplied. The Public Safety (Removal from India) Bill, giving powers for the expulsion of Communist and other agitators not being British Indian or Indian State subjects, was declared by Government to be urgently needed. The report of the Select Committee proposed certain safeguards. A motion for its consideration on September 24 resulted in a tie. The President gave an adverse casting vote,

on the ground that Government had not convinced the House of the necessity for the measure. The Viceroy did not exercise his powers of certification.

Later, the Assembly referred to a Select Committee an unofficial Bill providing that by the end of five years the coasting trade should be reserved to tonnage in which the controlling interest is vested in British Indian subjects. Speaking at Calcutta on December 17, the Viceroy said he did not favour the development of Indian enterprise by the heroic and dangerous methods proposed in the Bill. The President, holding that certain criticisms of his rulings were contrary to the dignity of the House, withdrew the gallery and lobby tickets of two British journalists. On September 22 the Home Member (Mr. Crerar), as Leader of the House, denied allegations that any officials had engaged in propaganda against the President, and stated that Government had had no reason on any occasion to question the strict impartiality of his rulings. The President outlined his repeated efforts to secure that the staff of the House, instead of being under the Legislative Department of the Government of India, should be responsible through him, to the Assembly. It was announced on December 14 that Lord Peel (who returned to the Secretaryship of State for India on the retirement of Lord Birkenhead from the Cabinet in October) had sanctioned a separate secretariat for the Assembly.

Hindu-Moslem riots occurred at Kharagpur (Bengal), where 16 persons were killed and 25 injured, at Surat and other places, but were less widespread than in the two previous years. On the other hand, there was much labour unrest. The stoppage of the Bombay spinning mills from April 16 to October 5 was the greatest and longest factory strike in the history of modern India, and it all but paralysed the industrial life of the city. The settlement reached in October provided for an independent committee of inquiry into the conditions of work in the mills, and for resumption of output on the basis of the wages paid in March, 1927 ; but the factory area was disturbed to the end of the year by sporadic terrorism and strikes at individual mills.

At the workshops of the East India Railway system at Lillooah and Asansol a strike and then a lockout lasted 134 days, to the accompaniment of clashes with the police and attempts to wreck trains. On July 7 an express was derailed near Belur, seven miles from Calcutta, a rail having been removed and another twisted out of its alinement. Eight persons were killed and 32 seriously injured. In spite of the efforts of the Tata firm to set an example of benevolence to other Indian employers, its great steel works at Jamshedpur were immobilised by strikes from the end of April to the middle of September.

A challenge to constituted authority, bringing danger of similar efforts throughout rural India, was the no-tax campaign in the Bardoli *taluka* of the Surat district, in consequence of a

careful revision of the land assessment, after the usual 30 years interval, giving an average enhancement of 20 per cent. In the spring Mr. Vallabhai Patel (brother of the President of the Assembly) organised a campaign for the non-payment of land revenue. The cultivators were compelled to remain, along with the cattle, within their houses, barred and locked, to prevent seizure and attachment. Extreme pressure, in the shape of fines, threats, and boycott, was brought to bear upon any that showed a disposition to pay and also upon the subordinate revenue staff and village servants. The Governor of Bombay, Sir Leslie Wilson, visited Simla in July to confer with the Viceroy. Government plans to fight the challenge vigorously led to a settlement early in August. A fresh inquiry into the assessment was ordered on the conditions laid down in the first instance by Government, viz., that the whole assessment due should be paid and that the agitation should immediately cease.

The Indian States Inquiry Committee, under the chairmanship of Sir Harcourt Butler, assembled at Delhi on January 15, and informally visited most of the principal States. The Committee arrived in London early in May, and was followed by a number of Indian Princes, including the Rulers of Patiala (Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes), Kashmir, Bhopal, Nawanagar, and Kutch (members of the Standing Committee of the Chamber), who, with many other rulers, had briefed Sir Leslie Scott, K.C., to represent their case before the Committee. In July Sir Leslie submitted the opinion of himself and other leading counsel on the legal and constitutional aspects of the relationship between the States and the Crown. Subsequently the Princes in London, in consultation with several Ministers of States, decided not to present at this stage a detailed scheme of readjustment, such as had been drawn up as a basis for discussion at a conference of Princes held in Bombay in April. At sittings of the Butler Committee held thrice weekly from October 15 to November 27 Sir Leslie Scott outlined a large number of instances, given in voluminous printed material, in which it was held that the existing machinery had worked defectively from the standpoint of the treaty rights and interests of the States. The Committee decided that its terms of reference precluded the hearing of a small deputation which claimed to speak for a conference of State subjects, and also of a representative of one of the lesser rulers under Indian Princes.

Another inquiry of great importance was brought to conclusion ; at the end of June the report of the Royal Commission on Agriculture in India, under the chairmanship of the Marquis of Linlithgow, was issued. It outlined a comprehensive programme of agricultural betterment and of village uplift, to be largely directed by an Imperial council of agricultural research. A conference of provincial Ministers of Agriculture and agricultural and co-operative experts, opened by the Viceroy at Simla on

October 6, accepted the report as a basis for rural reconstruction and agricultural advance, and approved the application of the main recommendations as the circumstances of each province permit.

The report of the Road Committee recommended a vigorous policy of improved communications, and co-ordination of railway and road programmes. The Indian members of the Cinematograph Committee reported in favour of a qualified quota system for Indian films for ten years, but the European members dissented. The Tariff Board presented reports on the match industry and on certain aspects of the oil industry, recommending no great changes in the import schedules.

Many great public undertakings were advanced, and in December Sir Malcolm Hailey inaugurated the Sarda Canal for irrigation in Oudh, which, with 4,000 miles of irrigation channels and 1,500 miles of drains, constitutes the world's longest canal system. On December 28 the Viceroy opened the great new dock at Calcutta named after the King-Emperor.

The enthronement on Christmas Day of Mgr. Lima as Archbishop of Bombay marked the close of the Portuguese *Padroado* (right of ecclesiastical patronage) regime under which many thousands of Roman Catholics in Western India have lived for more than three centuries. Under an arrangement made in Rome in May, the Archbishops of Bombay will in future be alternately Portuguese and British subjects.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE FAR EAST : CHINA—JAPAN—THE DUTCH EAST INDIES.

CHINA.

THE year 1928 witnessed the termination of the long-drawn-out civil war between the " South " (Kuominchun) and the " North " (An-kuochun) factions, and the unification of the country, 'if not for internal administration, at least for purposes of foreign policy and representation abroad.

When the year opened, there were still two Governments, one at Peking and one at Nanking, claiming to speak in the name of the Chinese Republic. At the former place Chang Tso-lin, the ruler of Manchuria, was virtual dictator. At Nanking the Kuomintang (Nationalist Executive) had in December induced Chiang Kai-shek to accept the post of General-in-Chief of their armies, but only on the understanding that he would lay it down as soon as the war against the Northern faction was finished. On January 5 he entered Nanking and lectured the Kuomintang on its " lack of confidence and over-conceit." Shortly afterwards he reorganised the Ministry, appointing General Huang-Fu as

Foreign Minister in place of Mr. C. C. Wu, and Mr. J. V. Soong as Finance Minister in place of Mr. Sun Fo, the son of Dr. Sun Yat-sen. On January 25 Dr. Wu and Mr. Sun, with a party of fifteen other members of the Kuomintang, left Shanghai on a world tour in order to study political and economic conditions in other countries. The Centre Party of the Kuomintang was thus left in control in Nanking.

On February 3 a plenary session of the Kuomintang opened at Nanking. The Kwangsi or southern section showed a disposition to hold aloof, but eventually the meeting was attended by 29 members of the Central Committee—ten more than were required to form a quorum. On February 10 the meeting issued a long restatement of the party's policy, in which stress was laid on the need for asserting the supremacy of law and for eliminating faction. Attention was called to the deplorable effects of the participation of immature youth in political and social strife. The prosecution of the northern expedition was reaffirmed to be an essential part of the Kuomintang programme. Communism was emphatically repudiated, and the "unequal treaties"² were denounced in forcible though restrained language.

Immediately afterwards (Feb. 18) General Chiang Kai-shek paid a visit to General Feng Yu-hsiang, the ruler of Honan in Changteh, to concert measures with him for a joint advance northwards. Feng was willing, but before a move could be made it was necessary that Chiang should assure himself against attack from the rear by his nominal ally, General Li Chai-sum, the ruler of Canton. Li proceeded to Nanking in the middle of March, and made a stay there of about a month, in the course of which matters were satisfactorily arranged between the three generals.

Meanwhile the Northern faction had struck the first blow. On April 10 Sun Chuan-fang, who was reported to be the ablest of the Northern generals, and who had recently been placed in command along the Tientsin-Pukow railway line, made an advance south-westwards into Honan, his object being to cut the Lunghai railway and roll up Feng Yu-hsiang's right wing, while the Fengtien (Manchuria) armies attacked him from the north. He was at first successful, but in pushing forward he left his flank exposed to Chiang Kai-shek, who had meanwhile penetrated into Shantung. At the same time Feng turned on his pursuer, and as a result of the combined attack Sun suffered a severe defeat at Tsining, one of his armies being annihilated (April 17-19). He fell back with the remnants of his army first on Taianfu and then on Tsinan, the capital of Shantung. He was followed by Chiang Kai-shek, and on April 30 was forced to evacuate Tsinan, which on the next day was occupied by the Southern troops without incident.

The road to Peking was still barred to the Southern forces by the Fengtien armies of Chang Tso-lin, the ruler of Manchuria. These on May 19 inflicted a heavy blow on Feng Yu-hsiang, and

on May 30 on his ally, Yen Hsi-shan, the ruler of Shansi. Chang was, however, unable to follow up these successes. A large part of his officers secretly sympathised with the Nationalist cause, and he judged it prudent, even after his victories, to keep his armies close to Peking. Meanwhile Japan was pressing him, through her Minister in Peking, to withdraw to Mukden. He held out for a time, but at last on June 1 he gave a farewell interview to the Diplomatic body, who thanked him for the way in which he had kept order in Peking, and on June 3 he left, accompanied by his whole Cabinet, except the Minister of the Interior and the Minister of Foreign Affairs. He had been dictator in Peking since June, 1927. As his train approached Mukden, it was blown up by a bomb, and Chang received injuries from which he died a short time afterwards. He was succeeded by his son, Chang Hsueh-liang. The perpetrators of the outrage were never discovered, though suspicion fell on some Japanese guards in the neighbourhood.

When Chang left Peking, it was not immediately taken over by the Nationalists, owing to the mutual jealousies of their leaders, but was left for a few days in charge of one of his lieutenants, General Pao. At length on June 8 it was peacefully occupied by the Shansi troops of Yen Hsi-shan, while General Feng with his troops remained in the suburbs. General Chiang Kai-shek was at this time still in South Shantung, whence he had been unable to advance since his capture of Tsinan. His way was blocked by the Japanese. Soon after his troops entered the city, they came into conflict with the Japanese garrison there, which had been strongly reinforced (*vide* Japan). After some days of fighting, they were ignominiously driven out with considerable loss. The Japanese general forbade all Chinese troops to approach within seven miles of the Shantung railway. This prevented Chiang from moving northwards, and he consequently took no part in the occupation of Peking. When he heard of the fall of that city, he considered that the object of the expedition had been attained, and he laid down his office of Commander-in-Chief, according to his pronouncement in January. He met the other Nationalist leaders in Peking early in July, and with them paid homage to the remains of Dr. Sun Yat-sen.

After taking Peking, the Southern forces turned against Tientsin, where the Northern generals Chang Chung-chang and Chu Yu-pu had established themselves with the remnants of the Chihli-Shantung army. The merchants of Tientsin, however, by means of a donation, persuaded them to evacuate the city, which then declared for the South. Their troops drifted northwards, and tried to enter Manchuria, but they were prevented by the Japanese and also by the Fengtien troops, who turned against their former allies. They accordingly remained along the railway between Tientsin and Manchuria. At one time they threatened

the Kailan coal mines at Tongshan, a Sino-British concern, and a detachment of British troops was sent to protect the property. In September General Pai Tsung-hsi led a Nationalist force against the remnants of the Chihli-Shantung army, and in the course of a fortnight succeeded, in co-operation with Fengtien troops, in finally disbanding them.

With the exodus of Chang Tso-lin's Cabinet, Peking ceased to be a seat of Government. The Kuomintang authorities showed no desire to transfer themselves from Nanking to the ancient capital, which had fallen sadly into decay owing to the troubles of the last few years. On the contrary, they took steps to weaken its prestige and reduce it to a secondary position. They changed its name from Peking (Northern Capital) to Peiping (Northern Peace) ; they began to remove the archives stored there to Nanking ; and they dismissed large numbers of experienced civil servants who had been trained there. No expense was spared to make Nanking into a capital which could take the place of Peking. The difficulties in the way of such a change were, however, very great, and by the end of the year success had not yet been assured.

After the fall of Peking, the Kuomintang Committee in Nanking bestirred itself to deal with the urgent problems of reconstruction in the country and especially with the financial chaos. On June 20 it called an Economic Conference of merchants and bankers in Shanghai to advise it on financial and economic questions. The conference recommended a comprehensive plan of army disbandment; recognition of all foreign obligations in order to restore credit abroad ; dollar coinage, a single mint, and purification of the currency ; also the presentation of a budget and rigid control of expenditure. On July 1 a National Financial Committee of officials from all provinces met at Nanking to discuss the question of the allocation of national and provincial revenues, but it was unable to agree on any points of importance. On August 8 a quorum was with great difficulty obtained for the fifth plenary session of the Executive Committee of the Kuomintang. The meeting had before it a strongly-worded memorandum from Mr. T. V. Soong, the Minister of Finance, which stated that since January the military expenditure had averaged 320,000 dollars (£32,000) a day, that there was no control of expenditure and no one knew where the money went, and that all the Government's available resources were pledged up to the hilt. Before the Committee could take any effective steps for dealing with the situation, the session was brought to an untimely close on August 15 by the withdrawal of the Kwangsi group controlling Canton and Hankow, which prevented the formation of a quorum. In spite of this breakdown, a commencement was actually made with financial reform by the establishment on November 1 of the Central Bank of China at Shanghai, with a capital of 30,000,000 dollars (silver) raised on

the security of the returned German Boxer Indemnity. It was to issue notes, and be a bankers' bank, commercial banking being prohibited.

One of the most notable features of the session was the insistence by the Law Codification Bureau on the necessity for a new Constitution which should define the relative position of Central Government, Provinces, Ministers, and people. In fulfilment of this demand, a Government Organisation Law, laying down a new Constitution for China, was promulgated at Nanking on October 3. This Constitution was not meant to be final, but to train the people in the exercise of political powers, and to expedite the handing over to them of such powers by the Kuomintang party. The "five powers" or branches into which Government had been divided by the Revolution were henceforth to be entrusted not to Committees but to Councils, viz., an Executive Council, which should have charge of the various Ministries; a Legislative Council, composed of from 49 to 99 members who were to be appointed by the Government and hold office for two years; a Judicial Council; an Examination Council, which should test candidates for the public service; and a Supervisory Council, which should exercise powers of impeachment and auditing. Over all these was to be the State Council of from 12 to 16 members, from whom the Presidents and Vice-Presidents of the five Councils were to be chosen. The Chairman of the State Council was to be *ex-officio* President of the National Government, and Commander-in-Chief of the Army, Navy, and Air Force. A new Government on this basis was installed on October 10, with Chiang Kai-shek as President. Sixteen State Councillors were appointed, among them being Feng Yu-hsiang and Chang Hsueh-liang. Ten Ministries were formed under the control of the Executive Council; among the best-known Ministers were T. V. Soong (Finance), C. T. Wang (Foreign Affairs), Feng Yu-hsiang (War), Sun Fo (Railways), and Yen Hsi-shan (Interior). The President of the Legislative Council was Hu Han-min, the colleague of Sun Yat-sen. The new Government practically represented the whole country (including Manchuria) with the exception of certain districts in the far west, where Wu Pei-fu and other generals still held aloof. Manchuria cemented its union with Southern China by hoisting the Nationalist flag on December 31.

However bitterly they might quarrel among themselves, all the Chinese factions were at one in their detestation of the "unequal treaties" with foreign Powers and their determination to put an end to them. The unification of the country which was achieved after the capture of Peking at length afforded an opportunity of realising this long-cherished desire. On July 7 the Nationalist Government issued a Mandate announcing that all unequal treaties between the Republic of China and other countries which had expired were *ipso facto* abrogated, and should

be replaced by new treaties ; that the Government would immediately take steps to terminate those treaties which had not yet expired and conclude new treaties ; and that interim regulations would be applied in the case where old treaties had expired and had not yet been replaced by new ones. In accordance with this declaration, interim regulations were promulgated on the next day, making foreigners subject to all Chinese laws and regulations and to the jurisdiction of the Chinese courts. At the same time notice was given to the Danish and Italian representatives that their Treaties of 1863 and 1866 respectively had expired on June 30, and inviting them to enter into negotiations for new agreements on a basis of equality. Similar notifications were made shortly afterwards to the French and Japanese representatives.

The high-handed action of China in unilaterally abrogating the treaties, contrary to express provisions contained in them, created some resentment in the other Powers concerned. China's position was, however, greatly strengthened soon afterwards by the action of the United States in recognising the Nationalist Government and concluding with it a treaty granting to China complete tariff autonomy, provided only that no discrimination should be exercised against American nationals (July 25). In August a similar agreement was concluded with Germany, and in the course of November and December the example of America was followed by ten other European nations, viz., Norway, Belgium, Italy, Denmark, Portugal, Holland, Britain, Sweden, France, and Spain. All these treaties recognised China's tariff autonomy, subject to a proviso against discrimination. Extra-territorial rights were, however, allowed to remain, at least for the time being. In the treaty with Britain [see Public Documents in this volume], the Chinese Government undertook to abolish coast trade duties, likin, and all other irregular levies as soon as possible. On the day on which it was signed (Dec. 20), Sir Miles Lampson presented his credentials to Chiang Kai-shek amid great demonstrations of friendship on both sides, this constituting Britain's formal recognition of the new Government in China.

The only country with which difficulties arose over treaty revision was Japan. Not only did Japan deny the right of China to abrogate the existing treaty unilaterally, but she stated that she would enter into no negotiations for treaty revision until both the abrogation and the interim regulations were withdrawn. With regard to the latter, the Nanking Government temporised. It did not withdraw the regulations, but gave it to be understood that they would not be enforced against Japanese subjects. Shortly afterwards conversations were opened between representatives of the two Governments on all the questions outstanding between them, but by the end of the year they had led to no definite result [*vide* Japan].

The conclusion of the treaties with the United States and Great Britain was facilitated—in fact, it was only rendered possible—by a settlement somewhat earlier in the year of the Nanking incident of March 24, 1927. On March 5 Sir Miles Lampson, the British Minister in Peking, arrived in Shanghai after paying a visit to Canton, where he had had a very cordial reception from the local potentate Li Chai-sum, and immediately opened negotiations with General Huang Fu, the Nationalist Foreign Minister, for securing reparation for the damage suffered by British subjects at Nanking. The Chinese authorities showed themselves not unwilling to meet the British requirements. On March 18 they issued two Mandates, one containing a formal expression of regret for the outrages, which were ascribed to a part of the army and local riff-raff acting under the instigation of Communists, and giving a list of 19 officers and 51 "local desperadoes" who had been executed; the other declaring that the protection of foreign life and property was the duty of the Government, and enjoining strict vigilance to this end on all military and civil authorities. Unfortunately they insisted further on an expression of regret from the British side for the protective barrage put down by British warships to save the lives of foreign residents, and also on linking the question of reparations with that of treaty revision. Sir Miles Lampson would not agree to these conditions, and negotiations were broken off. Meanwhile negotiations for a similar purpose had been started with the American Minister, Mr. McMurray. Taught by its experience with the British representative, the Nanking Government was now satisfied with an expression of regret that it should have been necessary for the American men-of-war to fire, and with the assurance that the United States was willing and anxious to consider the question of treaty revision as soon as there was a settled Government in China. In return it apologised for the outrage and promised compensation; and on these lines a settlement was signed on March 24. In the summer negotiations were again taken up between Dr. Wang, as Chinese Foreign Minister, and Sir Sidney Barton, the British Consul-General at Shanghai, and on August 9 a settlement was arrived at similar to that with America. On October 17 France and Italy followed the same course.

Early in the year Mr. T. V. Soong, as soon as he became Minister of Finance at Peking, reinstated the foreign directors of the Salt administration, who had been dismissed by his predecessor. He announced, however, that the Nationalist Government would be responsible for the payments on the loans secured on the Salt Gabelli, and that the inspectors would merely collect the revenue under his Department. The Legations concerned protested against this setting aside of the arrangement of 1913, under which the foreign directors were responsible for the payments. The Nanking Government, however, persisted, and in November Mr.

Hussey Freke accepted the post of Associate Chief Inspector of the Salt Administration under the new conditions, as the best means of maintaining the service intact. Another act of the Nanking Government which caused considerable friction with foreign representatives was the issuing of an order in March that all trade marks were to be registered in Nanking, even though they had already been registered in Peking. Foreign merchants protested on account of the expense which this would involve, and secured the postponement of the registration till April, 1929. On December 8 a new tariff schedule, to come into force on February 1, 1929, was promulgated. The rates were those agreed upon at the Tariff Conference in Peking in 1926, and ranged from $7\frac{1}{2}$ to $27\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.

The revenue collected by the Maritime Customs for the whole year was Hk. Tls. 82,332,000, which was about $13\frac{1}{2}$ millions more than in 1927 and 4 millions more than in 1926. The problem of finding an Inspector-General of Customs to succeed Sir Francis Aglen, who had resigned at the end of 1927, was not satisfactorily solved. The Communists again gave great trouble in the Southern provinces, but they were not able to repeat their coup at Canton in December, 1927. Banditry was rampant, and there were some daring acts of piracy. On November 10 the British Government ordered that guards of soldiers of the Defence Force should be placed on all British river steamers, and ten days later the order was extended to British shipping in all pirate-infested waters.

In the northern province of Kansu a terrible revolt of the Mohammedan population broke out in April. It was anti-nationalist in character, and gave General Feng Yu-hsiang great trouble. It was not suppressed till December, and was said to have cost the lives of 200,000 persons. A similar revolt broke out among the Barga Mongols early in August, but it was soon suppressed.

JAPAN.

When the Imperial Diet resumed its sittings on January 21 the strength of parties was as follows : Seiyukai (Government), 188; Minseito (Opposition), 219; other parties, 52.

A motion of no-confidence in Baron Tanaka's Government was at once brought forward by the Opposition. From the other side, however, a motion was submitted praying the Emperor to dissolve the Diet. Through the support of the Jitsugyo Doshikai (Business Men's Party) this motion was carried, and the Government thus escaped the vote of censure and continued in office over the election.

In the election campaign the chief ground of the Opposition attack on the Government was its conduct of foreign affairs, especially in connection with China. The General Election—the first to be held under the new law which had increased the

electorate from 3,000,000 to about 11,000,000—took place on February 20. The results were as follows: Seiyukai, 221 ; Minseito, 214; Independents, 16 ; Labour, 8; Jitsugyo Doshikai, 4 ; and Kakushin Club, 3 ; making a total of 466.

No less than 81 per cent, of the electorate voted : 4,218,000 votes were cast for the Minseito, 4,185,000 for the Seiyukai, and 447,000 for the five Labour groups.

The Diet met on April 20, and on April 28 the Opposition brought forward a vote of censure on the Home Minister, Mr. K. Suzuki, for having unduly interfered with the elections. It was alleged against him that on February 19, on the eve of the polls, he had issued a statement that the Opposition were aiming at undermining the Imperial authority and investing the Diet with power which the Constitution did not confer upon it. Party feeling was at this time running very high, and there had been a good deal of political rowdiness in the country since the election. The Premier, who was very unwilling to lose Mr. Suzuki, at first tried to stave off the vote of censure by proroguing the House for brief intervals. When this device no longer availed, he allowed Mr. Suzuki, on May 3, to resign, and by this sacrifice saved the Cabinet.

Mr. Suzuki's place was filled by Mr. Mochizuki, the Minister of Communications, and to succeed him Baron Tanaka appointed Mr. Kuhara, a business man and a personal friend of his, the same who in the previous year had been sent on a commercial mission to Moscow (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1927, p. 255). Mr. Kuhara's promotion to Cabinet rank was openly opposed by the other Ministers, and Mr. Mizuno, the Minister of Education, tendered his resignation in protest. Baron Tanaka brought pressure to bear on Mr. Mizuno from the side of the Emperor to remain in his post. This use of the Imperial audience was denounced on all sides as a piece of "incredible levity," and Mr. Mizuno finally resigned on May 25. Mr. Shoda, a former Finance Minister and another personal friend of the Premier, was appointed to succeed him.

The Government's position remained precarious till the beginning of August, when a split in the Opposition afforded it a welcome relief. On August 1 Mr. Tokonami with some thirty other members seceded from the Minseito Party, chiefly on the ground that its attitude on the Chinese question was not firm enough. With the support of this group Baron Tanaka was able to maintain himself in power without difficulty till the end of the year. Mr. Tokonami's secession was followed by internal disputes within the Minseito Party, as a result of which four influential members were expelled.

The Budget estimates as finally approved by the Cabinet on October 30, provided for an expenditure of 1,752,000,000 yen (about £175,000,000). There was a slight increase in both Army

and Navy estimates. On the first presentation of the Budget on April 25, Mr. Mitsuchi, the Finance Minister, had at the same time introduced Supplementary Estimates to the amount of 72,000,000 yen (£7,200,000), of which nearly 16,000,000 yen were for the expenses of the coming Coronation. The amount of loans to be issued during the year was put at just under 200,000,000 yen, which included 64,000,000 yen for earthquake reconstruction and 51,000,000 yen for the Imperial Railways. Mr. Mitsuchi reported that of the 38 banks which had closed owing to the financial crisis of 1927, 25 had reopened or were preparing to reopen. On April 21 the total amount advanced by the Bank of Japan to banks closed under the Emergency Law was 304,000,000 yen.

The protection of Japanese interests in China again formed one of the main problems of the Japanese Government in 1928, and also one of the chief issues of party politics within the country. In his address to the Diet on January 21, Baron Tanaka laid down once more the principles governing Japanese policy in China. The Japanese Government, he said, did not intend to interfere with the domestic affairs of China, but would not hesitate at any moment to take proper measures to insure their rights and interests, and to safeguard the lives and property of their nationals in China. Japan, he said, had to take into special consideration Manchuria and Mongolia, where her policy would be to maintain the "Open Door" and "to co-operate with the Chinese authorities and people for the economic development of the region."

For the first two months of the year, relations between Japan and China were singularly peaceful. In March some local broils occurred at Amoy owing to the action of the Japanese Consulate police in raiding the houses of Korea residents and arresting two Koreans who were suspected of plotting against Japan, and who happened to be officers in the Chinese armies. Serious trouble began in April as the result of the advance of the Chinese Nationalist forces into Shantung. A situation arose similar to that of June, 1927, and the Japanese Government decided that the same measures were again necessary (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1927, p. 255). Three companies of soldiers were sent down from Tientsin to Tsinanfu, arriving there on April 20, and in the course of the next week a brigade of 5,000 troops was sent from Japan to guard the neighbourhood of Tsinanfu and Tsingtao. At the same time the Japanese Foreign Office issued a statement that "Japan had no intention of countenancing any faction or party in China," and that "the dispatch of troops was an unavoidable measure of self-protection, and did not imply anything like unfriendly intentions towards China, or interference with the military operations of either the North or the South,"

In spite of this declaration, the Chinese, of whatever party, bitterly resented the presence of Japanese troops upon their

soil. It was not long before this feeling led to an outbreak. On May 1 the Nationalist army of Chiang Kai-shek occupied Tsinanfu. For a couple of days perfect order prevailed, but on May 3 Chinese soldiers commenced to loot a Japanese house. Trouble rapidly developed, and in the course of the next few days there was much fighting between the Japanese and Chinese troops in which the former were reported to have lost 40 officers and men killed and 143 wounded, in addition to 14 Japanese residents killed and fifteen wounded. The Chinese casualties were put at 2,000, besides 200 civilians killed. By May 11 all the Chinese troops had been driven out of Tsinanfu.

The Japanese Government apprehended that this incident would be the prelude to a general outbreak of anti-Japanese riots throughout China, similar to the anti-British riots of 1925. In order, therefore, to protect its nationals, it sent a division at war strength—15,000 to 18,000 men—to Shantung, and dispatched additional warships—27 in all—to various places in China where Japanese were living. The Japanese concession at Hankow was put in a state of defence. These precautions proved to be unnecessary. Indignation against the Japanese did not lead to anything worse than a few boycotts, and the Tsinanfu trouble was successfully localised. On June 21 the Tokyo Government judged it safe to order the withdrawal of the additional ships from Chinese waters. On May 28 the Japanese Government had sent to the League of Nations a report on the incident in which it once more affirmed its intention of withdrawing the troops as soon as the necessity for their presence ceased to exist. In accordance with this promise, 6,000 men were actually withdrawn in the middle of July, and by the end of October the total number of Japanese troops in the country, which had once been as high as 20,000, was not more than 6,000.

The settlement of the Tsinanfu incident proved to be a matter of considerable difficulty. On May 15 the Japanese Commander-in-Chief in Shantung demanded a formal apology from General Chiang Kai-shek and punishment of those responsible for the outrages. His demands were afterwards reiterated by the Japanese Consul-General at Tsingtao, but neither obtained any satisfaction. On July 18 the Japanese Consul-General at Shanghai invited the Nanking Government to dispatch delegates to Tsinan to meet Japanese delegates and discuss the terms of settlement, which now included an apology from the Nanking Government (instead of from Chiang Kai-shek), the indemnification of Japanese victims, and guarantees for the future. Mr. Wang refused to negotiate before the Japanese troops were completely withdrawn, and a deadlock ensued.

The Chinese Nationalist Government chose this juncture to deal another blow at Japanese interests in China. On July 19 it abrogated finally the Sino-Japanese Treaty of 1896, without

seeking Japan's consent. In this way it claimed jurisdiction over 200,000 Japanese resident in China. Baron Tanaka at once sent a Note to the Nanking Government (Aug. 1) stating that Japan was unable to accept the Chinese demand, and could not even agree to a revision of the Treaty until China withdrew the notice of abrogation. The Nationalist Government adopted a defiant attitude, and for a time relations between the two Governments were severely strained. Neither side, however, wished to push matters to an extremity. The Chinese Government recognised the importance of retaining Japan's friendship, and Japan on her side was greatly impressed by the action of the United States and Britain at this time in consenting to make new treaties with China. She also felt the effects of the Chinese boycott on her commerce and industry. Accordingly, at the end of August a more friendly spirit began to manifest itself.

After certain soundings had been taken in September, informal negotiations were opened in October between Mr. Yada, the Japanese Consul-General in Shanghai, and Mr. T. V. Soong, the Nationalist Minister of Finance, with whom was soon after associated Mr. C. T. Wang, Minister of Foreign Affairs. The negotiations covered all the chief questions pending between the two Governments, including the Nanking, Hankow and Tsinanfu incidents, the Japanese occupation of the Shantung railway, Treaty and Tariff revision, the future status of Manchuria, and the loans made by Japan to the Peking Government. In November, however, a coolness again arose between the two countries, and no progress had been made with the negotiations by the end of the year.

To protect her interest in Manchuria, Japan interfered even more decisively than in Shantung. On May 18, shortly after Chiang Kai-shek's entry into Tsinanfu, the Japanese representatives handed to the Peking and the Nanking Governments a Memorandum which was in effect a warning to both parties that Japan would not tolerate the spread of the civil war to Manchuria, and would be prepared to take any steps necessary for the maintenance of peace and order in that province. Simultaneously with the presentation of the Memorandum Japanese women and children were withdrawn from the Peking-Tientsin area, and the Japanese garrison at Tientsin was increased from about 450 to about 4,500 men. The Japanese Minister ordered Chang Tso-lin to retire from Peking to Mukden, and the latter after some resistance complied. The Nationalist Government protested that the Japanese warning constituted an interference in China's domestic affairs, but it made no attempt to move its armies forward into Manchuria, and Japan found it unnecessary to send any troops there.

A new situation was created two months later when Chang Hsueh-liang, who had succeeded his father, Chang Tso-lin, after

the assassination of the latter in May, made preparations for joining the Nationalists. At first the Japanese authorities warned Hsueh to think twice before taking such a step, but subsequently, on August 9, Baron Tanaka stated that Japan had no intention of opposing the union of the Mukden and Nanking Governments, though she would not endorse it. The need of caution was impressed on the Japanese Government by statements made in the British Parliament that the British Government regarded Manchuria as an essential part of China and did not recognise Japan as having any special interests there, other than those conferred by treaty and by geographical proximity.

Relations with other foreign countries were friendly. As a result of Viscount Goto's mission to Moscow, a Fisheries Agreement with the Soviet Government was concluded in January and ratified in May. Japan accepted the Kellogg Peace Pact without reservations ; she also approved of the naval agreement between France and Britain which was rejected by the United States. In the autumn Count Uchida was in London and made overtures, which were favourably received, for closer co-operation between Britain and Japan in China. In April a Commercial Treaty was concluded with Germany and a Treaty of Friendship with Afghanistan. In June the problem of Japanese immigration into Canada was amicably settled.

The religious enthronement of the Emperor Hirohito was carried out with the traditional ceremonial in the ancient capital of Kyoto on November 10. The Emperor and Empress returned to Tokyo on November 27, and numerous festivities were held there in the ensuing fortnight. The Emperor's Rescript read on the occasion of his enthronement on November 10, stated that it was his resolve to endeavour to promote the education of his people and their moral and material betterment, and to cultivate friendly relations with all nations, so as to contribute to the maintenance of world peace and the advancement of the welfare of humanity.

The authorities in Japan were greatly concerned at the spread of Communism in the country during the year. On February 13 the Korean Communist trial, which had been proceeding for two years at Seoul, terminated with the sentencing of 84 of the accused to terms of imprisonment ranging from six years to eight months ; twelve were acquitted. On March 16 the police made an extensive " round-up " of Communists, arresting over a thousand, of whom 26 were committed for trial. On April 10 the Government dissolved a number of alleged Communist organisations, stating that the Communists were trying to subvert Japan's national system and substitute a dictatorship of workmen and peasants. On April 25 General Tanaka stated that the police had evidence of a plot to overthrow the Constitution, and that the Government was establishing special police departments in all

cities to deal with the Communist danger. On June 28 an Ordinance was issued making conspirators against the Constitution liable to the death penalty instead of a maximum of ten years' imprisonment as hitherto. Soon after attempts were made to strike at the root of Communist propaganda by establishing a special anti-Communist intelligence service, by deporting suspect Russians, and by taking steps "for the proper control of dangerous thought" by means of supervision in factories and high schools.

The process of "rationalisation" went on apace during the year in banking and industry. By this means the country gradually recovered from the effects of the banking crisis of 1927, and by the end of the year its financial position was probably sounder than at any time since 1920. The financial history of the year was marked by an exceptionally grave scandal affecting the Municipal Council of Tokyo, nearly half of whose members were towards the end of the year thrown into prison on charges of corruption.

NETHERLANDS EAST INDIES.

During 1928 the endeavours to create easier and more rapid communication between Holland and the Dutch East Indies were prosecuted with marked success. Five aeroplanes carrying mails accomplished the journey in the autumn, thus proving the possibility of a regular air service for passengers and mails in the near future. For this purpose the Second Chamber voted a credit of 200,000 florins, to be contributed to the capital of the Royal Aerial Navigation Company (Koninklijke Luchtvaart Maatschappij). The experiments with wireless telephony also proved exceedingly successful, and a service was to be opened to the public in January, 1929.

The Communistic disturbances which occurred at the end of 1926 and the beginning of 1927 had had the effect of focussing public attention throughout the world on the Archipelago, with the result that in 1928 it was visited by a number of prominent politicians and economists who sought to obtain information about it from personal observation. The list of distinguished visitors included Mr. Ormsby Gore, British Under-Secretary for the Colonies, who, at the suggestion of the Government at Batavia, extended his oriental study tour to the Netherlands East Indies. The report which he published on his trip showed that his impressions were favourable. By the end of the year the Belgian Crown Prince and Crown Princess had arrived in the Netherlands East Indies likewise for an extensive study tour.

At the opening of the session of the Volksraad (People's Council) on May 15, the Governor-General, Jonkheer de Graeff, was able to affirm that the political position had considerably improved. As far as could be ascertained, there had been no further development of the revolutionary tendencies in the Sarekat Islam Party.

The Governor-General referred with satisfaction to the strong opposition spontaneously offered by the population to the revolutionary movement. This testified to a healthy political sense and the consciousness that a quiet and orderly development was necessary in the highest interests of the country. Only so would the Government be in a position to prove that Dutch rule, which would be indispensable to Insulinde for a long time to come, was fulfilling its great task of bringing happiness and prosperity to the population and of gradually raising its social, economic, and political standard to such a level that effective Dutch authority could be dispensed with.

The Governor-General concluded that although the political position necessitated constant watchfulness, the prospects for the near future were nevertheless brighter. The general economic position also gave cause for satisfaction.

Jhr. de Graeff announced that 1927 had been an exceedingly prosperous year, with a Budget surplus. He anticipated, however, that in 1928 the State finances would be adversely affected by the drop in the prices of tin and rubber, so that the Government would be obliged to restrict new measures for 1929 to a minimum. Although the Government did not consider itself justified in increasing the burden of taxation, a reduction of taxation, more especially as regards the surtax on the income and company taxes, was out of the question.

In his Explanatory Memorandum on the Budget the Governor-General reverted to the constitutional question, in order to make it as clear as possible to those who were advocating an early separation between the Netherlands and Insulinde, that they would have no support from the Government. The withdrawal of Dutch rule from India was not a question of practical politics and could not be discussed by the Colonial Government. Only on the basis of the unimpaired maintenance of Dutch authority could the native movement in its various expressions meet with the practical consideration and the sympathy of the Government. Such had been the standpoint of the Government from the beginning. The Government's attitude to the native movement continued to be fully in accord with its previous statements. It was very far from distrusting the native movement as such, although it could not deny that a noxious element was at work within it. The Government had data in its possession which proved conclusively that among those who called themselves non-co-operators there were advocates of the policy of violence. Non-co-operation, however, was quite a different thing from "personal activity." The former contained a positive element of animosity towards Dutch authority, and for this reason the standpoint adopted by the Governor-General and the Government had been indicated in unmistakable terms. The Government expected that the said movement, in so far as it contained a noxious element, would die

a natural death if the colonial policy at present followed was steadily continued.

The affairs of the Netherlands East Indies occupied a prominent place in the debates in the Dutch States General.

Although the new Constitution of the Volksraad, which that body itself had adopted (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1927, pp. 257, 258) was still vehemently opposed by the European Press in the Netherlands East Indies, the Second Chamber, on October 18, ratified it by 69 against 8 votes, as also the enlargement of the Council of India by two members, in order to create the possibility of appointing non-Dutch subjects. An enlargement of the number of members of the Volksraad, which that body had asked for, was not deemed expedient by the Government and was not recommended by the Second Chamber.

Socialist and Communist members repeatedly put forward motions for the abolition of capital punishment in the Netherlands East Indies, for the termination of the internment of political prisoners, and for the abrogation of penal sanction. All these motions were rejected by overwhelming majorities.

On the occasion of a discussion in the First Chamber regarding the granting of four oil concessions to the Netherlands Colonial Petroleum Company, which is affiliated to the Standard Oil Co., the Minister for the Colonies declared that such matters as the granting of oil concessions, penal sanction, hereditary leasehold (*emphyteusis*), and agrarian legislation were to be considered as imperial interests, in regard to which the Volksraad could not decide independently. The States-General would have to be consulted on such important problems. On this same occasion the Minister stated that the Netherlands remained ready to admit American capital into the Netherlands East Indies, and to grant concessions to American subjects and conclude agreements with them under Article 5 of the Indian Mining Act, on the understanding that the American Government would act on the same principle in regard to Dutch capital and Dutch subjects. The American Government had already declared its entire readiness to adopt this principle. This declaration secured a large majority for the Bill in the First Chamber. The Government of the United States in turn informed the Netherlands Government that it recognised the Netherlands as a reciprocating State within the terms of the Mineral Leasing Act of February 25, 1920.

In the course of the year Mr. Max Huber, as arbitrator of the differences which had arisen between the United States of America and the Netherlands with respect to the sovereignty of the island of Palmas (or Miangas), rendered his award which, by Special Agreement, signed at Washington on January 23, 1925, was submitted to the Permanent Court of Arbitration at The Hague. The arbitrator decided that the island of Palmas (or Miangas) forms, in its entirety, a part of Netherlands territory.

With regard to the financial situation of the Netherlands East Indies, the entire 1926 account showed a surplus of 47.58 and that of 1927 a surplus of 12.78 millions of guilders. For 1928 a deficit of 53.6 millions was estimated. The 1929 Budget shows the following figures: Ordinary Budget: Revenue, 810.23 millions; Expenditure, 807.97 millions; surplus, 2.26 millions. Extraordinary Budget: Revenue, 5.56 millions; Expenditure, 61.83 millions; deficit 56.27 millions.

CHAPTER IX.

AFRICA I THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA—SOUTH-WEST PROTECTORATE—SOUTHERN RHODESIA—MOZAMBIQUE—MOROCCO—EGYPT.

SOUTH AFRICA.

PARLIAMENT assembled on January 25, to face the possibility of another stormy session, since public resentment of General Hertzog's native policy (embodied in four Bills introduced in the previous March, see ANNUAL REGISTER, 1927, p. 262) had not weakened during the recess. Native fears of the Premier's drastic proposals found wide expressions in unrestful murmurings.

Dr. Jabavu, an enlightened and educated Bantu, voiced representative native opinion by describing the proposed measures as the expression of a "policy of positive repression due to a baseless fear." He urged that the Bills should not be made conditional upon one another. He argued that the Land Act was the Bill which really mattered, and that it should not be made to depend on the distant settlement of the contentious Franchise Bill. In suggesting that all the Bills should be submitted to an inter-racial national convention, Dr. Jabavu said Sir Abe Bailey, whom no one would accuse of being a negrophilist, had recently championed a proposal of this character. Among church-people, irrespective of creed and denomination, opposition was based on ethical grounds. Thus obstructed from without and menaced from within by Labour dissensions, which threatened the solidarity of his party, the Premier discreetly dropped his proposals. He informed Parliament on April 25 that he did not intend to proceed with the Bills that session. It had been agreed between the Government and the Opposition that the Bills should be taken out of Select Committee in order to allow the public time to examine them in their amended form.

Another attempt was made during the session to secure the enfranchisement of women. Upon this occasion the proposal was sponsored by General Byron, D.S.O., and unlike many of its predecessors it maintained a surprising amount of vitality until it

reached the report stage. Here, however, it was reposing in suspended animation when the House rose on June 6. Reference to a committee of the whole House, a course urged by the Government by every plausible argument, undoubtedly killed the Byron Bill, for the Premier wished it out of the way while he grappled with the native problem, which in Government eyes had assumed paramount importance. Nevertheless, the Premier was not opposed to the principle of votes for women, and he encouraged the enfranchisement section of Parliament by promising to introduce a similar measure in the next session, if returned to power.

As Parliament progressed, however, signs were not wanting that a Government majority at the General Election in 1929 was being jeopardised by Labour dissension. Even before Parliament met, relations between the Cabinet section and the non-parliamentary representatives of the rank and file of the party in the provinces had become so strained that Colonel Creswell, Minister of Defence and leader of the party, announced his intention of declining to stand for election to the National Council, thereby indicating his disinclination to tolerate the pressure which the left-wing extremists, alleged to be under the influence of Moscow, were endeavouring to exert on individual policy and party activities. In Johannesburg, on March 12, a conference of Transvaal delegates, said to represent 80 per cent, of the province, declared the election of the executive opposed to Colonel Creswell null and void, and elected a new one. This body was thereupon empowered to investigate a peace proposal, emanating from Cape Town, that the National Council should abdicate in favour of an emergency council which should set up a tribunal of inquiry.

The Nationalists watched these developments with growing concern. It was daily becoming more and more evident that a split would make the pact between the Nationalists and Labour parties unworkable and thus menace Nationalist re-election prospects. Mr. Tielman Roos, Minister of Justice, intervened on behalf of the Government on the ground that as a result of the quarrel both groups of the Labour Party were putting up candidates in various constituencies without waiting for the rearrangement between Nationalist and Labour, made necessary by the new delimitation. Moreover, there was a very lively Nationalist fear that the South African Party would benefit by the split voting strength of the pact. Mr. Roos proposed (1) a reorganisation of the National Council in order to provide for the equal representation to the two contending groups of Labour; (2) an inquiry by the new Council into the constitution of branches with a view to eliminating those found to be illegitimate; (3) that the Council should decide the number of branches permissible for each electoral division and reduce any in excess; (4) the appointment of a committee at the next Labour Conference, with outside impartial assistance, to scrutinise the claims of delegates

representing branches and the claims of branches to such representation ; and (5) the Council to make it clear that all sitting Labour members will be unopposed at the next election so far as the Labour Party is concerned.

The split, however, had widened too completely thus to be bridged. Colonel Creswell's conference at Bloemfontein, on June 30, made this obvious. The meeting elected a new governing council of fifteen (five of whom were parliamentarians and representative of the four provinces of the Union), and delegated to this body " full powers to carry on the work of the South African Labour Party in all respects as if they were the duly elected National Council of the Party." A week or so later, at Durban, the National Council extremists retaliated by expelling Colonel Creswell, Mr. T. Boydell (Minister of Labour), and twenty of their parliamentary supporters from the party.

At the end of October there occurred an incident which not only brought the crisis to a head but definitely and seriously involved the Government in the issue. It arose out of what was described as a matter of Cabinet discipline. Mr. Madeley (Labour Minister of Posts and Telegraphs and Public Works), one of Colonel Creswell's bitterest opponents in the National Council, incurred the censure of the Premier by acting contrary to the policy of the Government in the administration of departmental duties. Failing a satisfactory explanation, the Prime Minister intimated that he was no longer prepared to co-operate with Mr. Madeley, whose resignation thereupon became imperative.

Mr. Madeley, however, declined to give way to pressure obliquely applied, and argued the principle that as he was not appointed to the Cabinet as an individual selected on personal grounds, but as a definite and specific representative of the Labour Party, his resignation was a matter for the consideration of the National Council. Probably of far greater weight than this question of principle was the confident assertion of the National Council that in 25 Nationalist constituencies it held the balance of votes. The Premier's predicament was acute, and he sought relief from it by following General Botha's historic precedent of 1912, when he, as the then Prime Minister, resigned office in order to rid himself of General Hertzog. At Pretoria, on November 6, General Hertzog tendered his resignation to the officer administering the Government (Sir William Solomon), acting in the absence of the Governor-General, the Earl of Athlone), and was immediately invited to form a new Cabinet. The only alteration made by General Hertzog was the exclusion of Mr. Madeley, whose portfolio was accepted by Mr. H. W. Sampson, O.B.E., Labour member for the Jeppes division of Johannesburg, and a supporter of Colonel Creswell.

For the moment the Government appeared to have healed the breach in its defences, but, politically, the year closed in doubt

and uncertainty. Conservative opinion was disturbed by the narrow interpretation given to the terms of the settlement following the adoption of the Flag Bill (see ANNUAL REGISTER, 1927, p. 261), and certain ministerial utterances made during the recess revived the suspicion that the old Nationalist ideal of secession was dormant and not dead. Even more revealing as an indication of political tendencies were the terms of a trade treaty proposed between the Union and Germany. The agreement was published towards the end of the year and was immediately assailed as an open violation of the spirit of the Imperial Conference and a direct blow at the principle of Imperial preference in inter-dominions trade.

General Hertzog's announcement in the House on April 26, that Capt. B. E. H. Clifford, the Imperial Secretary to the High Commissioner, had been appointed as the representative of the British Government in the Union, came as an interesting political revelation. The Premier's statement was the first public intimation that the decision of the Imperial Conference of 1926 regarding Dominions status had been brought into operation and that the Governor-General had ceased to represent the British Government and had become solely the representative of the King.

Early in June the Governor-General and Princess Alice, Countess of Athlone, sailed from Cape Town for England on leave. Prior to their return in November they were entertained by the members of the South African Luncheon Club in London, when the announcement that the Union Government had asked for and had obtained the consent of His Excellency to remain in office for another two years was received with widespread gratification. Also, with the approval of the Government, a popular subscription fund was inaugurated for the purpose of presenting Their Excellencies with a silver wedding anniversary present from all sections of the South African community.

SOUTH-WEST PROTECTORATE.

The Permanent Mandates Commission at Geneva, in June, raised a question regarding the Union Government's definition of the term "possesses sovereignty" (see ANNUAL REGISTER, 1927, p. 264), and in the House of Assembly in the early part of the session General Hertzog made a lengthy statement thereon. He said the Council of the League had been anxious to ascertain whether in the view of the Union Government the expression in question was regarded as implying "only the right to exercise full powers of administration and legislation in the territory of South-West Africa under the terms of the Mandate and the subject of its provisions, and to those of Article 22 of the Covenant, or whether it implies that the Government of the Union regards itself as being sovereign over the territory itself," General Hertzog further

explained that the Council had adopted the report thereon of the Netherlands representative, which report recorded the opinion that the position was quite clear from all practical points of view. It stated :—

" The Covenant, as well as other articles of the Treaty of Versailles, the mandates themselves and decisions already adopted by the Council on such points as the national status of the native inhabitants of Mandated Territories, the extension to Mandated Territories of international conventions which were applicable to the neighbouring colonies of the Mandatory Powers, the question of loans and the investment of public and private capital, and that of State lands formerly belonging to the German Government, all have their part in determining or in giving precision to the legal relationship between the Mandatories and the territories under their mandate. This relationship is clearly a new one in international law, and for this reason the use of some of the time-honoured terminology in the same way as previously is perhaps sometimes inappropriate to the new conditions."

The Union Government, added the Premier, had been asked to make further comment, but their reply was that they had noted the observations of the report and in view of the opinion expressed therein had no further comment to offer thereon.

Mr. A. J. Werth, Administrator of the South-West African Protectorate, visited Geneva for the purpose of attending the Assembly of the League and the September session of the Mandates Commission. At the request of the latter he furnished information regarding the settlement of Boers from Angola in the Gobabis district, and answered a number of questions relating to the rising of the Rehoboths, to railways and harbours administration and the terms of the agreement with the diamond-producing syndicate.

After protracted negotiations agreement was reached between the Portuguese and Union Government on the vexed question of the Angola-South-West Africa frontier line. On November 25 the Colonial Minister in Lisbon received intimation that 47 marks had been set up along the 200 miles boundary, the first of which is on the left bank of the Cunene river, near the falls. The frontier then runs to the east, and the last mark is on the right bank of the Okavanga, at Kakeri, 38 miles from Kirinsgkuru. The belt is 30 feet wide and is to be kept cleared. The old neutral zone is now non-existent.

SOUTHERN RHODESIA.

Considerable importance was attached to the publication early in April of a Memorandum of an unofficial conference between two of the elected members of the Northern Rhodesian Legislative Council and Ministers of Southern Rhodesia relative to the question of the amalgamation of the two colonies (see ANNUAL REGISTER, 1927, p. 265). Mr. Moffat, the Prime Minister, in a prefatory note, emphasised that the Government of Southern Rhodesia was in favour of the broad principle of union. The

main idea they had in view was unification under one Government, with pooled resources for the purpose of building a greater and more powerful State than could be accomplished separately or individually. "From an Imperial and British point of view," added the Prime Minister, "one united Rhodesia will be a source of greater strength and power than two separate colonies."

The Memorandum set forth under fifteen heads the general conclusions arrived at. The Ministers agreed with the view advanced by the northern delegates that there should be no division of Northern Rhodesia. With regard to the legal codes, the position is that whereas Roman-Dutch law is operative in Southern Rhodesia, English Common Law prevails in the northern colony. The Attorney-General considered it would be better to have a uniform law, but stated that in any case there could be no bar to English solicitors continuing to practise in Northern Rhodesia. On the point of parliamentary representation, the Ministers expressed themselves favourable to according at the outset a larger number of members to Northern Rhodesia than the strict quota on a population basis, and it was also conceded that Northern Rhodesia should have direct representation in the Cabinet. The northern members asked for an assurance that the Sinoia-Kafue railway would be constructed, but the reply was that this work must wait further traffic development. As a preliminary to the railway, however, a system of mechanical transport penetrating Northern Rhodesia was foreshadowed, together with an all-weather motor road from Salisbury. The Ministers registered regret that efforts to acquire the British South Africa's Company's mineral rights in Northern Rhodesia had failed, and they intimated preparedness again to raise the question and to use their best endeavours to acquire these rights after amalgamation. They favoured acquiring the B.S.A. Company's land rights in Northern Rhodesia "if they can be acquired on reasonable terms." It was agreed that the land settlement policy now in force in Southern Rhodesia should be applied to Northern Rhodesia.

The seventh session of the Legislative Assembly was opened by the Governor, Sir John Chancellor, on May 14, a few weeks prior to his departure from the colony to become High Commissioner of Palestine and Trans-Jordan. He was succeeded in the Governorship of Southern Rhodesia by Sir Cecil Hunter Rodwell. Polling took place on September 19 for the election of the second Parliament since the grant of responsible government. The Prime Minister was returned unopposed for his own constituency of Victoria, and for the 29 contested seats there were 66 candidates, of whom 30 were supporters of the Rhodesian, or Government Party, and 22 members of the Progressive Party. The Rhodesian Party won 22 seats, the Progressives 4, Labour 3, and the Independents 1, a result which gave the Government a majority of 16 over any possible combination.

MOZAMBIQUE.

Commercial relations between the Portuguese colony of Mozambique and the Government of the Union of South Africa have now assumed a more friendly footing, with a new Convention as the basis of understanding.

Colonel Pereira Cabral, the Governor-General, in opening the new session of the Government Council at Lourenco Marques, in January, referred to the then position of uncertainty owing to successive failures to negotiate a treaty between the two countries (see ANNUAL REGISTER, 1927, p. 265), and this reference to the *impasse* prepared public opinion for his departure for Lisbon to discuss convention prospects with his Government. At the same time Mr. C. W. Malan, Union Minister of Railways and Harbours, was the guest of the Republic in the Portuguese capital, and his presence created the opportunity for a series of conferences on points at issue. So satisfactory was the progress made that it was announced on May 13 that an agreement had been reached. This draft convention was signed before Mr. Malan's departure from Lisbon for Cape Town on May 21. South African approval, however, modified itself upon publication of the terms. General Smuts voiced this attitude of reserve during the debate in the House, to which the Prime Minister replied in a long explanation. On August 20 Colonel Cabral headed a Portuguese delegation to Pretoria for the purpose of negotiating the draft, and on the 11th of the following month the text of the completed agreement was signed.

A considerable portion of it deals with the question of native recruiting for the mines ; it also regulates customs dues and charges on exports and imports through Lourenco Marques, and stipulates the percentage of rail and sea-borne tonnage which that port is to be assured by the Union Government.

MOROCCO.

Morocco was on the whole very peaceful in 1928. Early in March the Ait Wadrim, an important tribe in the South of Morocco about 12,000 strong, announced its entire and unconditional surrender to the French authorities, thus opening out a new area to European influence. There was, however, during the year a good deal of brigandage in the French zone which evoked strong protests from the French Press of Morocco. In the Spanish zone complete tranquillity prevailed. It was reported in June that 61,616 rifles had been surrendered to the Spanish authorities since the end of the Rifi insurrection in 1926. The only disturbing incident was a gunpowder explosion which took place in the fort of Melilla on September 26, and by which a large number of people were killed and injured.

On March 3 the negotiations between France and Spain relative

to the status of Tangier (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1927, p. 267) were brought to a successful conclusion. It was agreed that the Statute of 1923 should be left in force, but that certain modifications should be introduced for the purpose of safeguarding the interests of Spain in her own zone. For this purpose a Spanish officer was to be nominated as Inspector-General of Security with the special task of preventing the smuggling of arms and contraband from the Tangier zone to the Spanish zone and the hatching of plots in the Tangier zone against the Spanish rule. It was also agreed that a Spanish officer should replace the Belgian as head of the gendarmerie which was contemplated in the 1923 Statute but had not yet been created.

The next step was to obtain the consent of Britain and Italy to this arrangement, according to the plan suggested by Sir Austen Chamberlain in 1926. A "Four-Power Conference" met for this purpose in Paris on March 20. The conference had to consider not only the Franco-Spanish agreement, but also a number of demands put forward by Italy, who did not consider the share given to her in the administration of Tangier by the Statute of 1923 commensurate with her interests in the place—a view shared by the bulk of the inhabitants. The conference accepted the Franco-Spanish agreement and satisfied the Italian requirements. The International Assembly was henceforth to include three Italian members (instead of two) and an Italian Vice-President; also an Italian assistant administrator was to be nominated to perform judicial functions, with the title of Director, while one of the judges of the Mixed Tribunal and one of the clerks of the Court were to be Italians. Broadly speaking, Italy was given the same status as Britain in the administration of Tangier. In return she agreed to come into line with the other Powers by transforming her diplomatic representative into a Consul-General. The new agreement also contained financial provisions for preventing the new administration from entailing increased burdens on the population. These were the more necessary as the customs receipts of Tangier showed a considerable decline in 1928, trade having been diverted to the ports in the Spanish zone.

EGYPT.

The relations between the Egyptian and British Governments became dramatic in the first days of March. Sarwat Pasha, the Egyptian Prime Minister, had returned from England before the end of the previous year with the draft of an agreed treaty in his pocket. But he had before him in Cairo a more difficult task than that which he had faced in London. Sarwat found that he had neither his Cabinet nor the Egyptian Parliament behind him. The proposed treaty covered the following points: (a) An offensive and defensive alliance between Great Britain and Egypt. (6) The

British Army of Occupation as defence of Imperial communications. If at the end of ten years no agreement had been reached as to where it was to be stationed the matter to be referred to the League of Nations, (c) Great Britain to support Egypt in obtaining the consent of the Powers for a reform of the Capitulations, (d) Great Britain to undertake to secure the admission of Egypt to the League of Nations, (e) The British representative in Egypt to be an Ambassador with precedence over all other foreign representatives. (f) Egypt to be free to make commercial treaties, but political treaties to have the previous approval of Great Britain, and the Egyptian diplomatic representatives abroad not to follow a policy contrary to that of Great Britain. (g) All foreign officers employed in the Egyptian Army to be British, and its armament and training to be the same as in the British Army, (h) The present police arrangements to be maintained until the reform of the Capitulations, (i) The Financial and Judicial Advisers to remain, and the European Department of the Ministry of the Interior to retain its present status until the reform of the Capitulations, (j) Great Britain to retain the duty of protecting foreign interests in Egypt, (k) The system established in 1899 to remain in force in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, and Great Britain to guarantee Egypt her present and future water requirements.

The opposition centred mainly on the retention of a British garrison and the proposed ultimate reference of disputed points to the League of Nations. In the end the treaty was rejected outright and Sarwat Pasha resigned.

A new Cabinet was formed by Mustafa Pasha Nahas, the leader of the Wafd or party of Zaghloul's followers (March 16). It contained two Liberal members, although the Liberal Party did not extend to it its support. The new Prime Minister, in his statement of policy, said that he intended to maintain the complete rights of Egypt and the Sudan in accordance with the national dignity, and that the Cabinet did not intend to accept or admit anything encroaching on the complete independence and sovereignty of Egypt. Before the new Cabinet had been formed, however, the British Government had sent a warning to Cairo calling attention to the misgiving with which the British Government had viewed for some time past "certain legislative proposals introduced in the Egyptian Parliament which, if they were to become law, would be likely seriously to weaken the hands of the administrative authorities responsible for the maintenance of order and for the protection of life and property in Egypt," The Note continued that so long as there was any prospect of the early conclusion of a Treaty of Alliance between the two countries "which would define anew the responsibilities and rights of the two parties," the British Government were content to refrain from all comment. "But now that conversations with the Egyptian

Government have failed to achieve their object, His Majesty's Government cannot permit the discharge of any of their responsibilities under the Declaration of February 28, 1922, to be endangered whether by Egyptian legislation of the nature indicated above, or by administrative action, and they reserve the right to take such steps as in their view the situation may demand."

The Note mentioned specifically the Public Assemblies Bill and its deprivation of the Executive of powers to deal with demonstrations and public meetings, the law introducing the election of *Omdas* or village headmen and thereby loosening the Executive control in the villages, and that authorising a wider carrying of arms, all three of which seemed on the point of becoming law.

The British Note had a considerable effect on public opinion, and gave a shock to the more sober elements. The effect on the students and other irresponsible elements was otherwise. Riots broke out at Cairo and elsewhere, but they were quickly suppressed. So far as the British Note was concerned the Government remained recalcitrant. In its reply the Egyptian Government objected to the interference in the internal affairs of Egypt, which it considered the British Note to imply. It claimed that British relations with Egypt should be on the same diplomatic basis as those of other countries, and gave assurances that it was the intention of the Egyptian Government and Parliament to maintain public security and protect foreign interests. While the reply did not expressly repudiate the Declaration of February 28, 1922, it clearly implied an intention to disregard the basis of the present regime in Egypt. The Note, it said, constituted "a perpetual interference with the internal conduct of Egyptian affairs, paralysing the exercise by Parliament of its right to legislate and to control administration and rendering impossible the existence of a Government worthy of the name. For these reasons the Egyptian Government cannot admit the principle of an intervention which would be tantamount to its veritable abdication. As the Government of a sovereign and independent State, it is fully conscious of the duties which devolve upon it. It intends to fulfil them strictly, and, with the help of God, to the satisfaction of all."

Lord Lloyd, in his reply, pointed out that since the negotiations for a treaty had failed, the *status quo ante* continued, and the British Government still reserved the four points as hitherto, namely: (a) The security of the communications of the British Empire in Egypt; (b) the defence of Egypt against all foreign aggression or interference, direct or indirect; (c) the protection of foreign interests in Egypt and the protection of minorities; and (d) the Sudan.

The Government seemed determined to proceed with the obnoxious legislation, and the British Government thereupon gave a final warning which was emphasised by orders to warships to

proceed to Alexandria. The Egyptian Government was granted three days in which to give a satisfactory reply. Otherwise the British Government "will consider themselves free to take such action as the situation may seem to them to require." The Egyptian Government surrendered, and the measure on which the British objections had been concentrated for the time being was withdrawn from Parliament for the duration of the session.

These incidents did not strengthen the position of the Cabinet or consolidate the two wings of the Coalition. The position of the Liberal members had never been very easy, representing as they did little more than themselves. The acceptance of the British ultimatum practically coincided with the resignation of one of these two Liberal Ministers, the Minister of Finance, who under pressure withdrew his resignation. The rift was, however, clearly not healed by this withdrawal, and the Liberals in the House actually joined the Nationalists in their attacks on the Government. The unity of the Government was patently unstable.

In June Mohamed Pasha Mahmud, the liberal Minister of Finance, again resigned, to be followed within a few days by the only other Liberal member of the Cabinet, the Minister for War. The Wafdist Prime Minister took steps to fill the two vacant offices with members of his own party, when suddenly the Nationalist and Liberal Press published documents which, if genuine, involved the Prime Minister, the Wafdist President of the Chamber, and another prominent member of the Wafd Party not only in unprofessional conduct as members of the Bar but also of offering to use their political positions to further the interests of a client, this client being Prince Seif ed Din who had attempted to murder the present King of Egypt thirty years ago and had been confined in a lunatic asylum in England from which he escaped three years ago. The Minister of Justice at once resigned and the Prime Minister and remainder of the Cabinet were dismissed by the King. The new Government was formed by the Liberal Mohamed Pasha Mahmud, whose resignation was the first step in the dissolution of the recent Government, and was drawn from all parties except the Wafd. He immediately secured the prorogation of Parliament. Within a few days Parliament was dissolved and the Constitution suspended for three years.

There were some protests against the new Government and its actions. A strike on the part of the Egyptian lawyers was rendered ineffective by the steps taken by the Government. The intemperate political tendencies of the students and schoolboys were likewise countered. The dismissed Prime Minister and the Wafd Executive held a meeting of protest at Tantah, one of the Wafd centres, but in consequence of the precautions taken by the Government, nothing untoward happened. It was, however, necessary to warn Nahas Pasha that he would be held personally responsible for any excesses that might occur. A threatened

attempt on the part of the Wafdist deputies and senators to meet in the Parliament building did not eventuate. The dispossessed members of Parliament, however, held a private meeting at which they protested against the suppression of Parliament. The general acceptance of the new situation by the people at large, an acceptance made manifest by the Press and delegations from all parts of the country, afforded the Government valuable support.

The new Government showed its firmness towards its friends as well as its enemies. In a very bitter discussion which arose between two newspapers, warnings of possible suppression were issued to the supporter of the Government as well as to its opponent, on the ground that the discussion was engendering serious discords. Ultimately two Wafdist newspapers were suppressed for persistently circulating false and harmful statements. The Wafd on its part encountered serious internal difficulties, and in October it expelled four of its prominent members who had expressed their disapproval of the course the leaders were pursuing. In foreign affairs also the Government showed its independence. In common with all other sovereign states, Egypt was invited by the United States Government in August to adhere to the draft treaties of arbitration and conciliation. The British Government in giving its adhesion had excluded Egypt from the jurisdiction of the treaties on account of the special British interest in that region. The British Government in reply to the invitation it had received had said, that there were "certain regions of the world the welfare and integrity of which constitute a special and vital interest for our peace and safety. . . . His Majesty's Government have been at pains to make it clear in the past that interference with these regions cannot be suffered. Their protection against attack is to the British Empire a measure of self-defence. It must be clearly understood that His Majesty's Government in Great Britain accept the new treaty (for the renunciation of war) upon the distinct understanding that it does not prejudice their freedom of action in this respect."

The Egyptian Government, however, in its acceptance of the invitation, ignored any special interest on the part of Great Britain or any other Power in Egyptian affairs.

The Mahmal and the Egyptian Holy Carpet again did not go to Mecca, since no agreement with the Wahabi King as to the conditions of their journey to the Holy Places had been reached.

January and February saw operations of a very minor character in the far south of the Sudan. These fell into two parts, the one secured the capture and punishment of the murderers of Captain Fergusson, a District Commissioner, who had been treacherously killed at the end of the previous year. The other was directed to securing the suppression of the Witch doctors or Wizards who were usurping the power of the constitutional chiefs. As late as July a Government post was attacked unsuccessfully by

a large party of supporters of one of these Witch doctors. An incident of a more satisfactory character that also occurred in January was the inauguration of a bridge connecting Khartoum with Omdurman and a tramway system and water supply to serve both cities.

CHAPTER X.

AMERICA : THE UNITED STATES—CANADA—THE PAN-AMERICAN CONFERENCE — ARGENTINA — BOLIVIA — BRAZIL — CHILE — MEXICO—NICARAGUA—OTHER AMERICAN STATES.

THE UNITED STATES.

BY all odds the most significant development of the year in the United States was the headway made, both at home and abroad, by the proposal to "outlaw war." This alone will give Mr. Coolidge's colourless last four years in office some claim to a place in history.

The scheme was not Mr. Coolidge's. Its author was a private American citizen, Salmon Oliver Levinson, a Chicago lawyer known chiefly for his skill in reorganising American corporations when in difficulties. During the latter years of the war, Mr. Levinson—with two sons at the front—began a private study⁷ of the problems of war and peace which finally led him to the conviction that the usual international machinery of arbitration and conciliation was hopeless as a preventive, and that the only logical and practical remedy was, by international agreement backed by democratic conviction, to "outlaw war" as a weapon for nationalist grievances, just as duelling had been outlawed by civilised countries. Wars have heretofore been perfectly legal. Why not try making them absolutely illegal?

It was in 1918 that Mr. Levinson outlined his theory in the pages of *The New Republic*, a New York weekly, where it met with a favourable response. Then he started out energetically to popularise it, touring the country, broadcasting leaflets and forming local committees to carry on the work. There was already in existence a nation-wide network of pacifist societies of every complexion, from advocates of non-resistance to the sterner protagonists of "wars to end war" and "leagues to enforce peace." One by one these fell in with the new scheme.

But in official circles Mr. Levinson made no headway until he converted Senator Knox of Pennsylvania, a one-time client, to his views. Senator Knox was a conservative Republican, and stood high in administration circles. His speech in the Senate on the novel idea made a sensation, not only in the Senate but in the Cabinet. The next convert was Senator Borah, Chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations. This brought to-

gether, in complete agreement on the novel doctrine, the two wings of the Republican Party, and the President promptly followed. The problem was to embody the view in international treaties. Its domestic political advantages were obvious, for it promised to substitute, at one stroke, a direct American pressure toward international peace, for the difficult, oblique, and unsatisfactory pressure heretofore exerted.

In the meantime the indefatigable Mr. Levinson had been in Europe, "button-holing" statesmen and familiarising them with the idea. Among his converts, of a sort, was M. Briand, who adopted the idea for a bilateral treaty between the United States and France. A formal proposal to this effect, with the text of a treaty as drafted on the Levinson lines by two Americans (see *ANNUAL REGISTER* for 1927, p. 275), reached Washington in December, 1927, but on December 28 Mr. Kellogg replied that the United States much preferred a multilateral treaty embracing all the great Powers.

Further correspondence ensued, M. Briand suggesting that such a broad treaty should be aimed solely at "aggressive" warfare. Mr. Kellogg replied on January 11 that this limitation seemed to him to mark a change from the original Briand proposal which was for a treaty aiming at the "unqualified renunciation of all war as an instrument of national policy." What the French Government had proposed for a bilateral treaty with the United States was precisely what the United States wished to sign with all the great Powers. Furthermore, said Mr. Kellogg, it would be very hard to define "aggressive warfare," and he feared that such a reservation would nullify the whole force of the proposed treaty. He begged France to tender to the other great Powers the very same treaty which she had offered to the United States.

France demurred, pointing out on January 22 that a multilateral treaty of so sweeping a character would undermine the Covenant of the League of Nations which clearly established the duty of members to use force to check attempted breaches of the Covenant. Mr. Kellogg, in a Note dated February 27, dissented from this view, and amplified his argument in a speech made in New York on February 27. But the French Government was unconvinced, and on March 31 replied, waiving the objectionable word "aggressive" but suggesting the following reservations: (1) that the proposed treaty should not come into effect until all countries had signed it; (2) that each country retains the right of "legitimate defence"; (3) that should one country violate its pledge not to engage in war, all other countries are automatically released; (4) that the new treaty should in no way interfere with the previous obligations of France under the League Covenant, the Locarno agreements or her neutrality treaties. On April 21 France made public an alternative draft

embodying her reservations. The two Governments agreed to submit their correspondence to the great Powers, and the United States, finding that France was unwilling to sponsor the original Briand draft, formally tendered it on April 13 to Great Britain, Germany, France, Italy, and Japan as its own proposal.

Here, then, were two rival schemes, and an issue was apparently joined. One by one the European Foreign Offices replied tactfully, smoothing out the difficulties. The British Government's reply on May 19 accepted the American proposal without reservations, pointing out that these seemed quite unnecessary since Mr. Kellogg had made it clear that in the American view the right of self-defence is inalienable, and would not be contravened by such a treaty. The British Note also pointed out that for the British Empire the right of self-defence included that of protecting "certain regions of the world" whose welfare and integrity were vital to the Empire, and His Majesty's Government assumed that this right was well understood and accepted by the United States. The latter made no demur. Germany accepted on May 27, pointing out that the right of self-defence was inalienable, and observing pointedly that of course if any State broke the treaty, the others would automatically recover their freedom of action. Italy accepted on May 5, offering "cordial co-operation." The drift of events was strongly toward the adoption of the American text without textual changes though with the various national points of view and reservations clearly stated in the binding notes which accompanied the various acceptances.

Mr. Kellogg accepted the situation and on June 24 the American Government sent out to fourteen other Governments, including the signatories of the Locarno agreements and the British Dominions, a revised draft of the American text with a new preamble embodying the French proposal that any violation of the anti-War Pact automatically released the other signatories. In addition, a covering letter specifically covered the various points raised and made it clear that the United States understood and accepted them.

This was satisfactory, and on August 27 the "Briand-Kellogg Pact," as it was called, was solemnly signed at Paris by Mr. Kellogg, for the United States, and by the accredited representatives of Great Britain, India, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, the Irish Free State, France, Germany, Italy, Belgium, Poland, and Czechoslovakia. [The text of the Pact will be found in this volume under "Public Documents."] At the same time identical Notes containing the Pact and invitations to sign it were presented by the United States to forty-eight other countries—in some instances, as in that of Soviet Russia, through French diplomatic channels.

Within the United States the outcome of the long negotiations was received with mixed emotions. The various reservations were

regarded suspiciously, if not cynically, as so many loopholes in the original scheme, but the general opinion seemed to be that the Pact was a sound beginning and that public opinion in the various countries could be trusted, in time, to close up the gaps. Mr. Kellogg himself, in a vigorous defence of the treaty on November 11, took this position.¹ The Pact did not figure in the presidential campaign.

But throughout the year the Pact was dogged by the question of naval disarmament in various forms. At home the pacifists and the "Big Navy" advocates were at loggerheads as to the wisdom of a big increase in the country's effective cruiser strength. The latter during 1927 had contended for twenty-five cruisers, five aircraft-carriers, nine destroyer leaders, and thirty-two submarines. This proposal provoked a storm of protests from the churches and the women's clubs, which culminated in February, 1928, when, overwhelmed at the volume of protests, the House Committee on Naval Affairs cut the figures down to fifteen 10,000-ton cruisers and one aircraft-carrier.

But that marked, perhaps, the height of pacifist influence on Congress. In August the American public became aware of the Anglo-French conversations as to a common policy on naval disarmament to be submitted ultimately to the proposed meeting of the Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference. The prolonged secrecy in which those conversations were wrapped aroused considerable cynicism as to the sincerity of European professions regarding disarmament. On September 29 the United States Government published a Note to Great Britain describing a "summary" which it had received of the compromise reached by His Majesty's Government and France; in this Note the American Government said it had no objection to such an agreement, but it "decisively" rejected its application to itself and at considerable length re-stated the American position. Another Note on September 28 amplified the American objections. The proposed agreement, which the American Government felt should be one for the limitation of all combatant tonnage, actually left the way open for unlimited building of 6-inch gun cruisers, of destroyers, and of submarines of 600 tons or less. But the concluding paragraph suggested that perhaps a solution for the conflicting views might be found in a re-consideration of the informal French proposal of 1927 that the "global" tonnage of combatant units might be agreed upon and the number and size of the units left to the judgment of each country. There the issue remained for the rest of the year.

In November Senator Borah attracted attention with a proposal that the strained relations between Great Britain and the

¹ The Pact was ratified by the Senate on January 15, 1929, without change of any sort, and Mr. Coolidge signed it two days later.

United States over the question of their respective naval necessities might be healed and the whole problem freshly attacked by a joint consideration of the question of "freedom of the seas." He proposed the calling of an international conference on maritime law which should evolve a common agreement for the absolute protection of all commerce, both neutral and belligerent, in time of war (see ANNUAL REGISTER for 1927, p. 273). Then Great Britain, he argued, would no longer fear a blockade and her heavy naval burden would be enormously lightened. "Freedom of the seas," he contended, "should be made an international concern, and not that of the two leading naval Powers." But if commerce is to remain the prey of belligerents in time of war, then naval competition is inevitable. The United States would then need, not fifteen cruisers, but fifty. This view appears to be growing steadily in popularity in the United States.

In November negotiations were initiated looking toward American participation in the World Court of International Justice with suitable reservations providing that the United States assumed no obligations under the League of Nations and should not be pressed to submit, without her consent, any question in which she was concerned. This marked a certain small advance, for the official position has hitherto been that the Arbitration Tribunal at The Hague was sufficient machinery for the adjudication of international disputes.

Advocates of the cancellation of the war debts made no headway during the year. M. Poincaré's reference, in a speech at Châtenay on October 1, to the connexion between reparations and the war debts brought a sharp unofficial rejoinder from the White House, reiterating the American view that the two were essentially distinct and must be kept so. French failure to ratify the Berenger agreement for the payment of the French debt led a prominent New York bank to decline to renew a credit for 100,000,000 dollars previously extended.

Later in October the question of German Reparations emerged once more, with the conversations which took place in Paris between M. Poincaré, Mr. Winston Churchill, and Mr. Parker Gilbert, but no official comment was made. American participation in any conference recasting the Reparation arrangements was taken for granted.

On July 27 the United States and China signed in Peking a new tariff treaty, to come into effect on January 1, 1929. This treaty recognised the new Chinese Government's right to "complete national tariff autonomy."

Pan-American problems held the President's attention during much of the year. On January 13 he and Mrs. Coolidge, accompanied by Mr. Charles Evans Hughes, sailed for Havana to attend the sixth annual conference of the Pan-American Union. American intervention in Central America was intensely unpopular

throughout all South America, and the President was well aware that a blanket resolution condemning all forms of intervention, " diplomatic or military," was on the agenda of the conference.

In his speech on January 16 the President did his best to create a favourable atmosphere for the American delegation. He declared that " the rights of small nations are respected in this hemisphere ; all countries, both great and small, are on terms of absolute equality." He pleaded for friendship and mutual understanding.

After his departure the next day, the conference, first in committee and then in plenary session, attacked the problem of a blanket resolution against all forms of intervention. The debate lasted for days, with Mr. Hughes the almost solitary protagonist of the American view that such intervention as had taken place had been disinterested, temporary, and had in every case left good feeling behind. When the conference broke up on February 20 the American view, if it had not gained adherents, had at least led the Convention to postpone the resolution for one year. But the discussion made history, for it drew from the American delegation the assurance that the United States felt a " special responsibility " only toward those Central American countries which lie north of the Panama Canal in the Caribbean area. American intervention, it was pointed out, had been confined to Cuba, Haiti, Santo Domingo, and Nicaragua. The Committee on Public and International Law pointed out that this was a distinct limitation on the Monroe Doctrine, and as such was a gain for the hemisphere. The Convention reluctantly assented, and the question accordingly went over for fuller consideration.

The Convention, conscious of the war clouds in various parts of South America, passed a resolution providing for the compulsory arbitration of all international disputes in the Western hemisphere. In accordance with that resolution Mr. Kellogg, on June 20, invited twenty-one Pan-American nations to a conference on conciliation and arbitration which subsequently opened in Washington on December 10 and continued for some weeks.

But it was unquestionably the critical attitude revealed at Havana which prompted President-elect Hoover, immediately after the November election, to request permission to make a tour of the Central and South American countries in a special effort to promote good feeling and a better understanding. The battleship *Maryland* was placed at his disposal and he sailed from San Pedro, California, on November 19 on a tour of the Latin-American countries which lasted for some weeks. He was hospitably received, and his speeches made a favourable impression. But the most significant development took place in Buenos Aires where, according to the account in the official newspaper, *El Epoca*, Mr. Hoover, in a conversation with President Irigoyen, declared that American intervention was a " thing of the past,"

and that Mr. Coolidge had been obliged to intervene in Nicaragua only by pressure of circumstances, to protect American lives, and that in the future there would be no intervention whatever on behalf of economic interests.

In Porto Rico all these developments were followed with intense interest, owing to the local agitation for independence. On February 3 the popular aviator, Colonel Charles Lindbergh, during the course of a " goodwill " flight through the Central American and Caribbean countries, arrived in Porto Rico, where he was given an immense ovation. The Legislature invited him to listen to an address of welcome which, somewhat to his surprise, concluded with the request that he take to Washington the formal petition of the island for independence from American rule. " The message of Porto Rico to your people is : Grant us the freedom that you enjoy, for which you struggled, which we deserve, and which you promised us."

The youthful aviator agreed to carry the message and did so, but President Coolidge, in a letter to Governor Horace Towner, rejected the plea with emphasis. In substance, he replied that the Porto Ricans were now enjoying more liberty than they had ever before known in their history, that their material and moral conditions have improved in the thirty years of American rule, that they now had at least as much autonomy as they are capable of managing, that their present economic difficulties were entirely due to the unwillingness of the Governor to veto foolish laws passed by the Porto Rican Legislature, and that their present close affiliation with the United States, bringing them within the tariff boundary, was of enormous economic benefit to them which would vanish if they were isolated, and that they had no cause to complain of taxation since all taxes were spent in Porto Rico and much more besides which was contributed by the United States Government.

But some sections of the American Press, while subscribing to this view, suggested that after all it might be better, in view of the agitation, to promote Porto Rico to the same status as Cuba by the adoption of another Act similar to the Piatt Act which granted Cuba local autonomy, subject to restrictions as to the incurring of debt and the making of treaties.

Relations with Mexico were greatly improved by the signing, on March 27, by President Calles, of a law repealing the retro-active clauses of the Constitution of 1917, which confiscated oil and other concessions previously granted.

Nicaragua was the centre of public interest for many months. On January 1 the rebels, under General Sandino, ambushed a patrol of U.S. Marines, killing five and wounding twenty-three. A month later, on February 27, the rebels again ambushed the Americans, killing five and wounding eight. But the Marines replied vigorously with airplane attacks, and by July the back-

bone of the revolt was apparently broken. On July 19 some 600 rebels surrendered to the Marines, but very few of them, it was noted, brought their arms with them.

In the meantime the American authorities had made considerable headway in their efforts to have the civil war converted into an ordinary political struggle to be decided at a presidential election to be held, without intimidation, in November. The suggestion made was that the American Marines should guard the polls and prevent disorder, leaving the issue as to the presidency to be decided by free and secret ballot. The House of Delegates refused to sanction American supervision of the election, but the President, by executive decree, superseded the National Congress and gave the Americans full control of the plebescite. The election, which took place on November 4, resulted in a sweeping victory for General Jose Moncado, the Liberal, though the Conservatives captured a majority of the Upper House, and very nearly a majority of the Lower. The election itself passed off without incident, and the country, which had suffered severely from the prolonged disorders, settled down with relief to a more peaceful regime. About three weeks later, on November 24, when President-elect Hoover on his tour of the Central and South American Republics, visited Corinto, he entertained on board the battleship *Maryland* the leaders of the two factions which had been for more than a year in arms against each other; they were President Adolfo Diaz, the Conservative, and President-elect Moncado, the Liberal. This meeting on neutral ground of the two erstwhile foes was received with immense relief and pleasure in the United States where the Nicaraguan intervention had caused considerable criticism, in Congress and out.

In the meantime the State Department, recognising that the rebellion had plunged the country and its Government into financial embarrassment, sent a special investigator, Dr. W. W. Cumberland, to survey the condition of Nicaragua, especially with reference to the need for a loan. He recommended on November 30 a loan, not to exceed 30,000,000 dollars, and the Administration took it under advisement.

The popular preoccupation of the year was undoubtedly the presidential campaign. Despite his very downright refusal to consider a third term, the admirers of President Coolidge persisted in their efforts to persuade him to accept the Republican nomination, not desisting until the Senate, on February 10, adopted by 56 to 26 a resolution affirming that any departure from the old principle that no president should occupy the office for a third time would be "unwise, unpatriotic, and fraught with peril to our free institutions." This ended the agitation and left the field to the two outstanding figures, the inevitable choices of the two major parties.

On June 22 the National Democratic Convention at Houston,

Texas, nominated as their presidential candidate Governor Alfred E. Smith of New York State. It was a daring choice, for Governor Smith was a devout Roman Catholic, and was outspoken in his condemnation of the Prohibition experiment. But he was a man of immense personal popularity, and his reputation as a fearless and honest administrator was high. The fact that New York State, though overwhelmingly Republican, had four times elected him Governor, impressed the country.

One week earlier, on June 15, the Republican Convention at Kansas City, had nominated Herbert E. Hoover, Secretary of Commerce, and of almost world-wide reputation as an administrator, as the Republican candidate, with Senator Charles Curtis of Kansas for vice-president. The campaign opened as soon as the Democrats nominated Governor Smith, and continued with great intensity to the day of election, November 6.

The religious issue, though officially repudiated by the Republicans, played a sorry part in the struggle, as did also the bitter issue of "wet" versus "dry." Neither of the candidates stooped to personalities, but their followers were less restrained. Governor Smith again and again denounced the "whispering campaign," which he felt was being directed against him. Both parties made great use of the wireless, and the two candidates repeatedly addressed the country in nation-wide "hook-ups" of sending stations on a scale never before dreamt of. The result was a "landslide" for Mr. Hoover, who carried the country—as represented by electoral votes—by 444 against 87 cast for Governor Smith. For the first time since the Civil War several Southern states went Republican. In all, forty out of the forty-eight states were carried by the Republicans. However, the popular vote was much closer, Mr. Hoover getting 21,429,109 against Governor Smith's 15,005,497.

It was, on the whole, a year of declining prestige for the Ku Klux Klan, which was forced to defend itself against lawsuits in several states. To conciliate public opinion, the Klan, on February 22, issued an official edict forbidding members to wear masks and gowns and changing the name of the organisation to the "Knights of the Great Forest." The new name, however, failed to make headway. Suit was brought against the KJian in the U.S. District Court of Pittsburg to demand a public accounting for 30,000,000 dollars alleged to have been collected from adherents, but the Federal Court decided that this was an issue for the State Courts, though severely criticising the organisation as "directly responsible for the breaking down of the fundamental principles on which the Government is founded." The Ku Klux Klan was avowedly active against Governor Smith during the presidential campaign in November, but it appears to have helped that candidate as much as it hurt him.

Agitation over the failure of Prohibition continued. Public

opinion was particularly disturbed over the ruthlessness of the Federal Prohibition agents who frequently used guns and revolvers—on one occasion, machine-guns—in their raids upon resorts believed to be making or selling liquor illegally. During the eight years since the passage of the Volstead Act, Federal agents, it was found, had killed 128 people, mostly in the Southern states, which were more strenuously "dry" than the Northern states. Finally, the Federal Government, impressed by the charge frequently made that they were hiring ex-criminals to enforce the law, established a system of finger-prints for all their agents. The Bar Association of New York City, on February 14, passed strong resolutions demanding the repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment, the Volstead Act, and the other orders and regulations, and suggesting that the enforcement of Prohibition should be left to the various states. But in Congress the "wets" made little headway. On February 15 the House of Representatives by a vote of 281 to 61 refused to weaken the Volstead Act, and Congress in December appropriated 35,000,000 dollars to be turned over to the Treasury Department for the enforcement of the Act.

"Fundamentalism" faded rapidly from public consciousness. It was only revived when, on November 21, the State Superintendent of Public Instruction of Arkansas ruled that "Webster's International Dictionary" could not legally be used in the public schools since, in defining the term "evolution" it contains the following language, condemned by the Anti-Evolution Statute: "The theory, which involves also the descent of man from the lower animals, is based on facts abundantly disclosed by every branch of biological study."

In the field of applied science, great advances were made in television. On January 18 experiments in television between New York and London were successfully carried out, and on September 18 the first dramatic performance ever broadcasted for both eye and ear took place in the laboratory of the General Electric Company at Schenectady. The play, "The Queen's Messenger," a two-character piece by J. Hartley Manners, was performed in one room, a sound-proof studio, and quite easily seen and heard by the spectators in a distant room. The figures of the actors were, however, small, and it was stated that the next step will be to amplify the figures—very much as sound is amplified—so as to make them life-size.

CANADA.

The second session of the sixteenth Parliament was opened by Viscount Willingdon, Governor-General, on January 26. Among the distinguished company in the Senate Chamber were the Et. Hon, L. S. Amery (visiting the Dominion) and an increased

number of representatives of foreign Governments headed by Mr. Wm. Phillips, the United States Minister.

The Speech from the Throne referred to the provision made for direct communication between the Government of Canada and the other Empire Governments as contemplated by the conclusions of the last Imperial Conference and the further implementing of these conclusions by the appointment to Canada of a representative of H.M. Government in Great Britain and Ministers in France and Japan. The return to the Prairie Provinces of the control of their natural resources, increased immigration, progress in the development of civil aviation, plans for Atlantic port improvements, the establishment of an airship base at Montreal, the inauguration of an Air Mail between Rimouski and Montreal, the continuation of money grants to the Maritime Provinces, and the consideration of railway problems, were also alluded to, while legislation was promised for the amalgamation of the Departments of Health and Soldiers Civil Re-Establishment in a single Department of National Health and Veterans' Welfare, and for more favourable trade relations between Canada and certain foreign countries, together with substantial assistance to industrial and scientific research.

After the reading of the Speech by His Excellency, both in French and in English, the members of the House of Commons returned to their Chamber where the two new members elected during the recess were formally introduced.¹

Mr. Cosgrave, President of the Executive Council of the Irish Free State, arrived in Ottawa from the United States on a visit (Jan. 30) and was officially banqueted. He was present in the House of Commons when Mr. R. B. Bennett made his first extended speech in his new capacity of Leader of the Opposition. Referring to Canada's Imperial and foreign relations as indicated in the Speech from the Throne, Mr. Bennett deprecated the suggestion that there should be an interchange of Ministers between London and Ottawa, involving, as he thought, implications fraught with great dangers. He objected particularly to the proposed appointment of a Minister to Tokyo. Mr. Bennett also pointed out that while imports were increasing, exports were decreasing, and added a warning against the exhaustion of irreplaceable resources. In respect of immigration, the Opposition Leader called attention to the preponderance in recent years of arrivals from the Continent of Europe as compared with those from Great Britain, and suggested that a special Parliamentary Committee should investigate the whole problem, including the administration of the Immigration Department. Finally, Mr. Bennett urged the abolition of the Sales Tax, the immediate return of control of her

¹ Standing of parties on January 1 was: Liberals, 118; Liberal Progressives, 12; Conservatives, 89; United Farmers, 21; Labour, 3; Independent, 2,

natural resources to Alberta, and a general reduction of taxation with a specific plan for the amortisation of the national debt.

Replying to these criticisms, Mr. Mackenzie King, Prime Minister, quoted at some length official statistics and declarations of industrial and financial leaders bearing on Canada's prosperity, remarking that the balance of trade of 151 million dollars was the largest of any country in the world. The Prime Minister forecasted substantial tax reductions, and announced that negotiations were proceeding with the United States respecting the proposed power and navigation development of the St. Lawrence River along the international boundary. He intimated that the Courts would be asked to determine the respective rights of the Provinces of Ontario and Quebec and the Federal Government in connexion with the ownership and operation of power rights on the St. Lawrence.

Dealing with the question of Canada's appointment of Ministers Plenipotentiary to France and Japan, Mr. King declared that this was merely carrying out the principles laid down at the 1926 Imperial Conference and was only consonant with Canada's increased responsibilities as one of the equal nations of the Empire. As regards France, it was only fitting that the position now held by the Canadian High Commissioner in Paris, where he was accorded by courtesy the privilege of direct approach to the Government and Ministers, should be raised to Ambassadorial status, thus increasing his influence and facilitating personal contacts between the two Governments. Canada, he said, had never contemplated the appointment of a Minister to represent the Dominion in London, but desired that the present arrangements, with a Canadian non-Ministerial representative in London, should be supplemented by a corresponding British Government representative in Ottawa, to secure the closest possible personal contacts and maintain direct communications, as between the Governments, thus making for mutual co-operation. With regard to the exchange of diplomatic representatives between Japan and Canada, Mr. Mackenzie King remarked that the Dominion's trade with the Orient was steadily growing while her political responsibilities and other relationships were increasing. Canadian Trade Commissioners had not the right or authority to approach foreign Governments or Ministers and had repeatedly appealed for a higher status as being helpful to their negotiations for a larger trade. The Canadian Minister at Tokyo would act, in a measure, for the whole Asiatic Continent. Mr. King pointed out the difficulties with Oriental problems. He believed Canada could be helpful therein, and he strongly deprecated the resolution passed by the Conservative Convention at Winnipeg declaring for Oriental exclusion. He considered admixture of races most undesirable, but restrictive immigration measures were best secured through friendly negotiation between the Governments concerned.

After a visit of five weeks, during which he had personal consultations with the Prime Minister on points arising in connexion with the resolutions of the last Imperial Conference and delivered notable speeches at many representative gatherings on Empire trade and Empire policy as affecting Canada, Mr. Amery, the Dominions Secretary, left for England on February 4.

The Debate on the Address in reply to the Speech from the Throne concluded on February 9, the Address being carried without a division.

The main Estimates, totalling 374 million dollars, for the ensuing fiscal year were then tabled by Mr. Robb, the Finance Minister. Increased provision was made for Agriculture (7 million dollars), Immigration (3,283,000 dollars), Pensions (40 million dollars), and National Defence (18,726,000 dollars). Votes for the Department of Trade and Commerce included 160,000 dollars for exhibition purposes, 130,000 dollars for scientific and industrial research, 75,000 dollars for commercial intelligence services and a similar sum for an exhibition storage building in London. For diplomatic representation in Paris the vote was 75,000 dollars and for Tokyo 50,000 dollars. Other provisions included 1,500,000 dollars for terminal facilities at the eastern end of Lake Ontario, 500,000 dollars for new customs buildings at Toronto, and 650,000 dollars for a new Post Office at Montreal.

On February 16 Mr. Robb delivered his Budget statement. He announced taxation reductions for the coming fiscal year at an estimated aggregate value of 19,000,000 dollars, including Sales Tax reduction from 4 to 3 per cent, and further reductions on Income Taxes; surplus revenue 55,000,000 dollars over all expenditure; a net debt reduction of 38,815,000 dollars after writing down 16,000,000 dollars on Soldier Land Settlement Loans, and an important list of tariff changes, mainly reductions on the textile groups and on textile machinery.

No announcement was made in respect of changes in the excise duties on liquor and tobacco, as was generally expected. The figures for revenues and expenditures and the trade situation generally, Mr. Robb said, manifested the "solid growth and solvency of the basic industries of Canada and the sound position of the Dominion's balance sheet."

With respect to taxation reductions the Minister said that the Dominion Government intended gradually to lighten the load of taxpayers in the income tax field. Last year a reduction of 10 per cent, was made on all income tax rates. Another 10 per cent, reduction would be made for the coming fiscal year, while a further exemption of 500 dollars was to be granted to those supporting dependents over 21 years of age incapable of self-support on account of mental or physical infirmity. In the case of Corporations and Joint Stock Companies income tax would be reduced to 8 per cent,

Mr. Robb estimated the total revenue for the year at approximately 419 million dollars, including 6,716,000 dollars from Reparation payments, a total revenue of 19 million dollars over the last fiscal year. The estimated expenditure was 364 million dollars, of which 21 million dollars were on capital account. " Thus during the period of five years ending in March next and after the writing down of certain assets we will have succeeded in reducing our net debt by 114,700,000 dollars."

In regard to Canada's international trade, Mr. Robb noted that there had been an increase in imports, while the exports had decreased in the past year. This was attributable principally to a greater domestic demand under conditions of general prosperity. In respect of Empire trade, the Minister said that the figures showed that the major portion of Canada's imports from the British Dominions and possessions consisted of non-competitive and raw products. " As practically all of our 94 million dollars of exports to these British dominions and possessions are fully manufactured, the value of working for closer trade relations within the Empire is surely apparent."

Mr. Robb announced that in order to foster Empire trade there was a general tendency on the part of the Dominions and the Mother-Country to increase the percentage of cost of production requirements on goods receiving the benefit of the British preferential tariff. At present Canada required that 25 per cent, should be Empire labour and material. It was proposed to double this percentage (as from 1st February, 1929) with similar increases in the percentages required on goods entering under treaty rates and the Intermediate tariff.

The Budget debate (in which 127 members participated under a new rule limiting speeches to 40 minutes) was concluded on March 14. In the final speeches Mr. Bennett deprecated interference by outside representatives in the tariff problems of Canada as exemplified by the appearance before the Tariff Advisory Board at Ottawa of representatives of the British Textile Industries, and advocated a scheme of debt conversion under statutory provisions for the setting aside annually of a specific sum for debt retirement with a view to achieving greater economy in expenditure for public services and new public works. Referring to statements of Liberal leaders that the Conservative Party advocated higher tariff protection, Mr. Bennett said the history of his party refuted this. The Reciprocity Treaty with the United States had been opposed because it meant the establishment of trade channels that could be destroyed at the caprice of the United States and terminated at a moment's notice. The aim of his party was to make Canada no longer dependent on foreigners or upon the caprice of a powerful neighbour for its sources of supply.

Mr. Mackenzie King, winding up the debate, referred to the

successive surpluses of the past five years and the steady reduction of taxation. The Conservatives opposed the Government because it had not increased the protective tariff while the Progressives accused it of keeping the tariff too high. He believed that despite income tax and sales tax reduction the net revenue for the coming fiscal year would show an increase, and he appealed to the Progressives for co-operative action with the Government along the fundamental lines of the tariff policy, deprecating aloofness of party or group in co-operating freely with the Government for the general welfare of the Dominion according to their practically common principles. The Budget was carried by a Government majority of 24 votes.

In the Senate (March 23) a resolution moved by Senator Tanner of Nova Scotia caused a debate which revealed a preponderance of opinion in that chamber sympathetic to the idea of union between Newfoundland and Canada. Senator Tanner pointed out the similarity of interests in Newfoundland and the Maritime Provinces, and declared that he entertained a vision of a great consolidated Dominion embracing all British countries on their side of the Atlantic. Sir Allen Aylesworth reviewed the circumstances under which the Labrador territory was awarded to Newfoundland, thus being lost to Canada, and supported Senator Tanner's motion.

Senator Pope, also supporting the resolution, declared that if Canada wanted the restoration of Labrador through union with Newfoundland no time must be lost because the United States was taking a keen interest in the development of the natural resources of Labrador.

Foreign affairs again came before Parliament when the Prime Minister made a statement in the House of Commons (March 30) regarding the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty arising from a speech made by Lord Salisbury in the British House of Lords regarding Dominion responsibility in the results of the treaty. Mr. King maintained that it was quite open to Canada to become a party to the treaty or not. He gave a summary of the confidential dispatches and quoted a British White Paper to prove that the Dominions beyond the seas were included in the first draft treaty. Following representations made by Canada the treaty was limited in application to Great Britain and Northern Ireland. The Government of Canada insisted that it could not contemplate recommending that the treaty should include Canada. The Premier declared with emphasis that Canada was not involved in this treaty.

The Dominion's treaty-making powers were further discussed on the occasion of resolutions to secure Parliament's approval (in the same month) of the Geneva Opium and International Sanitary Conventions. Mr. Cahan (Conservative) raised the question whether approval of the Conventions made them part of the public law of Canada and suggested that the reservations attached did not diminish the moral responsibility to carry out

the obligations. Discussing the negotiation of treaties he said that the Imperial Conference Resolutions of 1926 seriously amended the Resolutions of 1923 and urged that the latter should be submitted to the Canadian Parliament. British Ministers could still negotiate treaties, and if Canada, which was kept advised of the course of negotiations, raised no objections, it would be bound by the terms. In regard to the Locarno Treaty, he argued that, although the Prime Minister never submitted the treaty to Parliament, Mr. Lapointe's action in supporting the resolution at the last Imperial Conference expressing unanimous approval of the British Government's course, implied moral support of the treaty.

Mr. Lapointe, Minister of Justice, defended the Government's action in not submitting the last conference resolutions to Parliament on the ground that the British Government, although observing the changes, had not itself submitted them. He reviewed the history of events connected with the Locarno Treaty and said Canada's decision had been withheld pending a discussion at the Imperial Conference when the Dominions were asked to accept the treaty. Canada took the stand that she would not accept the treaty and had since been supported by one or two other Dominions. There was no resolution seeking to bind the Dominions by the treaty. After stating that he did not believe it would be good policy for Canada to guarantee boundaries outside her own country—although he considered Locarno was a good treaty for European peace—the Minister added, " I am free to admit that as a member of the League of Nations Canada has certain obligations, and if she is ever called upon to fulfil them, or if there is a war in regard to any of these boundaries, Canada must consider her obligations. We are a member of the British Commonwealth of Nations and quite willing to assume all our obligations and responsibilities in that respect..'

The resolution approving the Conventions was carried.

In the debate on the much-discussed St. Lawrence Waterway Scheme (April 11) Mr. Mackenzie King stated that no commitments had been made of a character prejudicial in the slightest degree to the interests of the Dominion or of any of its Provinces. The Government had from the outset taken the view that the St. Lawrence project was the largest which Canada had ever faced and felt that it was necessary to proceed in the preliminary negotiations with the utmost caution and in a manner which would permit public opinion gradually to take shape and to express itself.

After suggesting that, pending the publication of the correspondence with the Government of the United States, it would be inadvisable for anybody to formulate a final view, he moved the adjournment of the debate, which was accepted. The Prime Minister then announced that the Supreme Court of Canada would hear the constitutional references to water powers on May 28 and

that an appeal would probably be taken to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council.

The Report of the Government Survey Party operating in Hudson Bay and Straits last year was tabled in the House on April 20. In connexion with the navigation service to be inaugurated on the completion of the railway to Fort Churchill, the Report recommended the provision of two icebreakers in the Hudson Straits, the establishment of direction-finders, and further hydrographic tidal surveys. Reviewing general navigation conditions the Report stated that ice was found in the Straits until July 26, but there was nothing to prevent commercial ships passing through provided that they were cautiously navigated.

On April 26 the House passed a measure providing for the capital expenditure of three million dollars and an annual expenditure of 200,000 dollars for fifteen years for the improvement of the Dominion capital, including provision for a large central park facing the eastern entrance to the Parliament Buildings. The general scheme as outlined by the Prime Minister indicated that ultimately the capital would be made a Federal District under the control of a Commission similar to that of Washington, with fine approaches to Parliament Hill, making Ottawa one of the most picturesque capitals of the world.

Some acrimony was shown in the controversy arising (May 3) from the moving of a vote by Mr. Elliott, Minister of Public Works, for the improvement of the Governor-General's quarters in the Citadel at Quebec at a cost of 80,000 dollars for structural repairs and 70,000 dollars for new furnishing. Several members attacked the vote as unnecessary, Mr. Chaplin (Conservative) declaring that one residence was sufficient for a Governor-General, and Mr. Woodsworth (Labour) protesting against an attempt to provide a style of living in respect to quarters for the Governor-General "which was out of conformity with the ideals of the vast majority of the Canadian people, when funds were not available for necessary social expenditure."

Mr. Mackenzie King pointed out that the Duke of Connaught and all his predecessors had been in the habit of spending a part of each year at the Citadel, but the practice had ceased during the war. Lord Byng had desired to resume it, but finding that the repairs necessary would involve heavy demands on the public purse at a time when resources were strained by the problem of re-establishing ex-soldiers, he had abandoned the idea. Lord Willingdon when he arrived had expressed a desire to reside in Quebec for a part of each year. The Conservatives objected to the introduction of the Governor-General's wishes as support of the vote, but eventually the Government carried the motion by a narrow margin (75 votes to 64).

Some days later in the vote for the maintenance and improvement of Rideau Hall (the Ottawa residence of the Governor-General)

at a total cost of 129,000 dollars, similar heated protests were made and a number of amendments put forward, but the original estimate was subsequently adopted.

Canada's relations with Russia were discussed, following a resolution moved (May 24) by Mr. Bourassa that the Government had not yet fully carried out the recommendations of the last Imperial Conference, also that Canada's severance with the Soviet was merely to conform with English diplomacy. Replying, the Prime Minister said it was necessary that some time should elapse before all the recommendations of the Imperial Conference could be put into practice. Respecting relations with the Soviet, Mr. King said that Canada had acted on her own initiative. When the Soviet agent came to Canada following the Trade Pact he had brought a large amount of subversive literature, some attacking religion, some organised economic society and generally of a character opposed to the welfare of Canada. The Premier remarked that Canada would welcome the representatives of Russian firms who came to trade with the people of Canada, but the Government could not countenance a repetition of the propaganda of the previous Soviet Trade Mission which had claimed immunity from examination.

The Canadian reply to the United States Note on the "Kellogg Peace Pact" was published in Ottawa on June 1. The document, signed by Mr. Mackenzie King, expressed the conviction of the Government that it was speaking for the whole Canadian people in welcoming the outcome of the discussion on the proposed pact. The reply concluded by stating that the Government of Canada would have pleasure in co-operating in any future negotiations with a view to becoming a signatory to the treaty when the invitation was extended.

After making exhaustive inquiries, a Committee of the House of Commons made its report (June 6) on immigration problems. The Committee unanimously recommended the modification of the system of medical inspection of British immigrants, the calling of a conference between representatives of the Canadian and British Governments and Atlantic Steamship Companies for reduction in ocean passage rates, the extension of the age limit for boy immigrants under existing schemes, an annual return to Parliament giving details of special immigration permits (allegations having been made of serious irregularities in this connexion), and a comprehensive study by the Government of the possibilities of increasing still further industrial and agricultural developments, with a view to attracting capital and providing more opportunities of employment for newcomers.

The evidence showed that the Immigration Department was spending sixteen dollars for each British immigrant secured as compared with eleven cents for each immigrant from continental countries.

During the discussion on the Immigration Estimates (June 9) the Prime Minister announced that, following negotiations with the Japanese Government, the Japanese Foreign Minister had given the assurance that henceforth the number of Japanese emigrating to Canada, including the wives and children of Japanese already domiciled there, would be limited to 150 each year.

It had been expected that Canada's relationship with Mexico would be the cause of lively debate arising from accusations made early in the year against Sir Henry Thornton, President of the Canadian National Railways, who had paid a visit to that country concerning railway problems in the latter part of 1927 with the consent of the Canadian Government. A bitter protest made by Bishop Fallon, head of the Irish wing of the Roman Catholic Church in Ontario, against Canada's official mission to assist " the iniquitous Calles Government " had been taken up by certain sections of the Press which urged the withdrawal of the Mexican Consul-General in Ottawa, but the event, though referred to in the House of Commons by Mr. C. Marcil (a former Liberal Speaker) failed to create an issue of major importance.

Parliament was prorogued by the Governor-General (June 11) after a debate on the establishment of a Canadian Legation in Tokyo arising from an amendment moved by Sir George Perley (formerly High Commissioner in London), when the Supply Bill came up for the third reading, to reduce the vote for the proposed Legation by 49,000 dollars. Sir George declared that it was inadvisable for Canada to appoint Ministers to foreign capitals except in the cases of Washington and Paris. Elsewhere Canada should act diplomatically in co-operation with Great Britain and the other Dominions.

Mr. King refuted this, claiming that the British countries were all united in a common allegiance. The apprehension of separatist tendencies was unfounded, and it was all-important that there should be some one in Tokyo who understood the Canadian situation and who could voice Canadian opinion.

During July Mr. Bennett carried out a political tour in Southern Quebec, delivering many speeches on the necessity for a uniform protectionist tariff, the dangers of establishing channels of trade through commercial treaties which might be destroyed at the caprice of any nation, and the defects of the existing reciprocal trade treaty with Australia and New Zealand. Speeches along these lines were also delivered by Mr. Bennett in the West two months later.

In British Columbia a Provincial General Election was held on July 17 when the Liberals were defeated in the greatest turnover of votes which had occurred in the Province for twelve years. The returns were : Conservatives, 35 ; Liberals, 12 ; Independent, 1. Three of the former Ministers were defeated, including the Premier, Dr. Maclean, whose place was taken by Dr. S. F. Tolmie

—a former Federal Cabinet Minister—who withdrew from the Dominion House of Commons to take up his new post. This reverse was attributed to the desire for a change and the feeling that the Government was dominated by the party machine. The failure of Dr. Maclean to conclude a definite sale or lease of the Pacific Great Eastern Railway to the Canadian National Railways was also a factor in the Conservative victory.

In a tour through the Western Provinces during August, Mr. King reviewed the last session of Parliament, stressing the attempts that had been made to deal adequately with the divergent problems of tariff, immigration, and national unity. Respecting immigration, the Prime Minister said the Government had to avoid two extremes urged upon it, namely from one class desiring unrestricted labour and the other class unduly restricting the flow of immigrants, keeping up wages, and preventing a needed influx for the development of Canada's vast resources and sparsely settled districts. The Government was endeavouring to find the happy mean between the two.

In the same month Mr. Ramsay MacDonald was officially entertained as a visiting British statesman, and delivered addresses in Winnipeg and Ottawa. Lord Lavat, Under-Secretary of State for the Dominions, also spent some weeks in the Dominion during August and September, and held conferences with the Minister of Immigration, the Prime Minister of Ontario, and other authorities regarding the acceleration of British immigration. With Lord Peel at the head, a large deputation of members of the Empire Parliamentary Association were warmly welcomed in their extensive tour across the Dominion (August), meeting Federal and Provincial Parliamentarians officially and at social functions, acquainting themselves with Canadian affairs and exchanging views on Empire problems.

At Geneva, before a full Assembly of the League of Nations, Mr. Mackenzie King delivered (Sept. 7) one of the most memorable speeches of his career in support of the Multilateral Pact for European Peace to which he had just been a signatory in Paris. Mr. King outlined the history of the peaceful relations between Canada and the United States of America which he commended as a concrete example of the principle of renunciation of war as an instrument of national policy. He reviewed the various treaties between the two countries and the smooth arbitral working of the International Joint Commission, emphasising the importance of the long undefended boundary as a symbol of mutual trust.

Sir William Clark, the first British High Commissioner to Canada, arrived in Ottawa on September 22 to assume his new post and was welcomed by Mr. Lapointe, Acting Prime Minister, and other official representatives. His appointment, carrying duties similar to those of the High Commissioner in London was a direct outcome of the recommendations of the last Imperial

Conference to establish supplementary channels of communication as between Government and Government, leaving the Governor-General as the purely personal representative of the Sovereign.

The opening of the Japanese Legation in Ottawa (Sept. 27), the arrival in Ottawa (November 16) of M. Jean Knight to take up his duties as the first French Minister to Canada, and the elevation of Mr. Philippe Roy to the status of Minister Plenipotentiary in Paris, where his credentials were received by M. Briand on September 28, further implemented the diplomatic expansion which had been foreshadowed by the Speech from the Throne.

In Nova Scotia the Conservative Premier, Mr. Rhodes, was re-elected (October 1) with a small majority in the Provincial General Election, the Conservatives securing 23 seats and the Liberals 20. In the last Legislative Assembly (whose Upper Chamber had been abolished during the year) the Liberals had only three members, and among those who lost their seats were three members of Mr. Rhodes' Cabinet. The election was fought mainly on the Government's administrative record, the Liberals advocating that the Province should participate in the Federal Government's Old Age Pension Scheme. In the same month Mr. Earl Lawson, Conservative, was returned unopposed to Ottawa for the constituency of West York, Ontario, in succession to Sir Henry Drayton.

An agitation—principally in the Western Provinces—for gaining the right of women to sit in the Canadian Senate resulted in the subject being brought before the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council who granted leave to appeal (Nov. 16). Arising from the interpretation of the word "persons" in the British North America Act, 1867, the question was originally referred to the Supreme Court of Canada, which ruled that women were not eligible for appointment as Senators. The Attorney-General of Canada, however, gave every facility for prosecuting a further appeal, and the decision of the Privy Council was regarded as having an important effect upon a far-reaching issue.

By-elections took place in Joliette, P.Q., where Mr. C. E. Ferland, the Liberal candidate, was returned (Dec. 17) by a majority of 2,263 votes over the Independent Liberal candidate, in the place of Mr. J. J. Denis, who had been appointed Judge of the Supreme Court; and in Victoria, B.C., Mr. D. B. Plunkett, Conservative, was elected by a majority of 83 votes over Mr. J. D. Maclean, Liberal, for the seat at Ottawa rendered vacant by Mr. Tolmie's acceptance of the provincial premiership.

In a Christmas message from the Government of Canada to H.M. The Queen, rejoicing in the partial recovery of the King from his grave illness and expressing the love and devotion of the Canadian people, Mr. Mackenzie King announced the restoration of penny postage Valready in operation within the Dominion) on

communications from Canada to all parts of the British Empire as " an enduring expression of this unity of feeling and to the nearness and relationship of our country to all other parts of His Majesty's Dominions."

THE PAN-AMERICAN CONFERENCE.

The sixth International Conference of American States was held in 1928 at Havana in Cuba, beginning on January 16. As had been generally expected, it turned out to be a critical one for the Pan-American Union, which was more or less on its trial throughout the proceedings. In the five years which had elapsed since the previous Conference at Santiago in Chile, the apprehension with which the Latin American States had for some time been viewing certain aspects of the foreign policy of the United States had become greatly intensified, chiefly in consequence of the behaviour of that country first to Mexico and then to Nicaragua. In particular, the interpretation placed by the United States on the Monroe Doctrine was regarded by all the other States as a menace to their sovereignty and independence. All of them sent delegates to the Conference, which was convened by the Executive of the Pan-American Union sitting at Washington, but they came less with the purpose of co-operating with the United States than of ventilating their grievances against that country and putting a curb if possible on its expansionist tendencies.

The Conference was opened with an address from the President of the United States, who had journeyed to Havana in a warship, accompanied by Mr. Kellogg and other notabilities. Mr. Coolidge enlarged upon the blessings of Pan-Americanism, but carefully avoided all reference to the suspicions which the other Republics harboured against the United States. The Latin delegates duly appreciated the compliment he had paid them by attending the Conference, but did not allow themselves to be diverted from their purpose. The Executive of the Conference, which was completely under United States influence, had done its best to exclude from the programme all controversial matters, and to confine the agenda either to purely general resolutions or to such innocuous subjects as co-operation in hygienic regulations and map-making. The South American delegates, however, were not to be baulked. They found their opportunity in a phrase used in a resolution on the codification of international law : " No State may intervene in the internal affairs of another." The discussion of this resolution on February 4 was very heated, and the United States was pointedly charged with contravening its spirit. On subsequent occasions also the same issue was raised. But nothing concrete emerged from the protests. The Latin delegates, while united in hostility to the United States, showed a complete lack of solidarity

among themselves. On the other hand, Mr. Charles E. Hughes, the head of the United States delegation, managed the case of his country with conspicuous ability and tact, and prevented the hostile motions from coming to the vote. Although the Conference drafted a new Convention for the Union [see Public Documents], it did nothing to free the Executive from United States influence, nor did it register any formal protest against the U.S. interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine. The chief results of its five weeks' labours were certain useful but non-political resolutions on intellectual co-operation and similar matters.

One split took place at the Conference, but it was over a pure side-issue. Dr. Pueyrredon, the head of the Argentine delegation, insisted that the Convention under which the Pan-American Union was to be reorganised should contain a clause condemning high tariff barriers between American States. The proposal found no support in the Conference, and Senor Pueyrredon thereupon resigned. This act, however, was generally regarded as a gesture intended to impress the Argentine public, which was greatly incensed against the United States tariff wall.

One of the resolutions passed by the Conference declared that "the American republics adopt obligatory arbitration as the means which they will employ for the pacific solution of their differences of a juridical character," and also provided that a later meeting should take place in order "to give conventional form to the realisation of this principle." In accordance with this provision a Pan-American Conference of arbitration and conciliation met at Washington on December 10. It was attended by delegates from all the American republics except Argentina. After having sat for nearly four weeks, the Conference drew up a general treaty of inter-American arbitration and a general convention on inter-American conciliation, which was signed by all the delegates.

ARGENTINA.

The outstanding political event of 1928 was the election of a new President to succeed Dr. de Alvear. The Conservatives, Democrats, and Radicals formed a coalition called the "United Front" which put forward as its candidate Dr. Leopoldo Melo. The Socialists also put forward a candidate. Shortly before the date of the election, the veteran Dr. Hipolito Irigoyen—now in his seventy-fifth year—announced that he would stand as a candidate. He issued no programme and made no speeches, relying for success purely on his personal prestige. In the event, this proved sufficient to secure him an overwhelming victory. The election was held on April 2, and passed off without incident, though excitement had run high previously. Over 77 per cent, of the electorate went to the poll—in the city of Buenos Aires over 91 per cent.—and two-thirds of the votes were cast for

Dr. Irigoyen—that is to say, for electors pledged to vote for Dr. Irigoyen. The Irigoyenists were successful even in Buenos Aires, which was regarded as a Socialist stronghold, and in the province of Cordoba, where the "United Front" had been confident of victory.

Dr. Irigoyen was duly elected President by the Electoral Colleges on June 12 by 245 votes to 73, and Senor Francisco Beir6, Vice-President. Senor Beir6 died on July 23, and was replaced by Senor Martinez. The new President formally took over the reins of office from Dr. de Alvear on October 12 in the presence of a gathering which included the representatives of foreign States.

The year was on the whole barren both of legislative achievement and of economic progress. On September 18 the Chamber of Deputies passed a bill for the expropriation of all private petroleum concessions throughout the country. Congress, however, adjourned before the measure could be debated in the Senate. In August the Government ordered the Southern Railway to reduce its tariffs for the benefit of the up-country farmers. It also drew up a scheme for the construction and working under State control of a system of grain elevators at an estimated cost of 80,000,000 pesos gold. Otherwise nothing was done to develop the resources of the country or to foster immigration.

Riots took place on May 22 at the port of Rosario as the result of a dockers' strike there. The strike was settled a day or two later, but similar trouble again broke out in July. On May 23 a terrible bomb outrage was committed at the Italian Consulate in Buenos Aires, by which some nine persons were killed and forty injured. The outrage was commonly believed to be the work of anti-Fascists, but the perpetrators were never discovered.

The question of Argentina's adhesion to the League of Nations occupied much attention in 1928. On July 6 the Foreign Minister, Dr. Angel Gallarda, requested the Chamber of Deputies to come to a final decision on the subject.

The Chamber, however, showed itself in no hurry to make up its mind, and on August 12 the President repeated the request of the Foreign Minister. Meanwhile Argentina paid her annual contribution to the League—£25,000—as in previous years. A similar payment was inserted in the Budget for 1929, but on September 26 the Senate and Chamber of Deputies both refused to sanction it. This marked Argentina's definite withdrawal from the League.

As a counterblast to the "imperialism" of the United States, President de Alvear in June instructed the Argentine representative on the Disarmament and Security Committee in Geneva to declare that Argentina did not regard the Monroe Doctrine as a regional but only as a unilateral declaration. Subsequently, in his valedictory message to Congress on August 12, he called special attention to the fact that this declaration had been made. He

also commended the attitude taken up by the Argentine Delegation at the Pan-American Conference at Havana, in having affirmed that the Republic continued to maintain the same doctrine of respect as in the past for the sovereignty of States and for their independence. The Argentine Government, he added, with an oblique reference to the intervention of the United States in Nicaragua, considered that this mutual respect was essential in order that the young American nations might gain experience of self-government.

When Mr. Hoover announced his intention of visiting the Argentine in December, apprehensions were felt lest he might become the victim of an anarchist outrage. Elaborate precautions were accordingly taken to guard him while he was in the country. His reception, however, by the Government and the general public was most cordial.

In May an " Argentine Society of English Culture " was formed in Buenos Aires for the purpose of teaching the English language and diffusing English culture in all its aspects. There were already in existence similar organisations for the propagation of French, German, Italian, and Spanish culture. Another mark of Argentine interest in Britain was given on June 4, when President de Alvear opened an Exhibition of British Artists which had been organised by Sir J. Duveen and Sir Malcolm Robertson, the British Ambassador. Senor de Alvear said that the exhibition was the most important ever held in South America. On October 27 the British community in Buenos Aires lost its " doyen " and one of its best-known members through the death of Mr. Charles P. Lumb at the age of 100. He was born in the country, and had played a prominent part in its industrial and commercial development.

BOLIVIA.

Early in January a revolutionary plot was formed against the President. It was discovered in time, and on January 15 a number of prominent citizens and Deputies were arrested. Several of them were soon after deported. The country remained outwardly quiet, but for some time there was great political unrest, owing chiefly to the serious plight of the national finances and the bad state of trade. In consequence of the plot, the whole of the Cabinet tendered their resignation, but the President assured them that they enjoyed his confidence, and only the resignation of Dr. Tomas M. Elio, the Foreign Minister, was allowed to stand.

In the early part of the year Bolivian and Paraguayan delegations met to discuss the frontier between the two countries in the El Chaco region, which had been a matter of dispute between them for fifty years. In May the delegations separated without having come to an agreement. Argentina thereupon suggested that the question should be settled by arbitration and that mean-

while all soldiers should be withdrawn from the frontier. The suggestion was ignored ; the soldiers remained in the forts, and on August 22 a Paraguayan patrol took prisoners a party of Bolivian officers who were exploring on the Otuquis river in territory which they asserted was unquestionably Bolivian. A somewhat acrimonious exchange of Notes between the two Governments followed, and meanwhile the war spirit was fanned by the Press of both countries. Matters were brought to a head by a skirmish on December 6 in which 25 Bolivian soldiers were alleged to have been killed or wounded and 5 Paraguayans wounded. As before, each side asserted that the other were the trespassers. Paraguay proposed that the dispute over the boundaries should be referred to a mediator. Bolivia refused and severed diplomatic relations, handing to the Paraguayan *Charge d' Affaires* his passports at La Paz on December 9. Both sides then began to prepare actively for war, and thousands of volunteers were enrolled.

As both countries were members of the League of Nations, that body deemed itself called upon to intervene. On December 11 the League Council sent a Note to both Governments expressing its full conviction that the dispute would not become serious and reminding them of their obligation under the Covenant of the League to seek a solution by pacific methods. Bolivia in her reply asserted that Paraguay was the aggressor and called for reparation. Paraguay asked for the summoning of the Commission provided for in the Treaty of May 3, 1923, for the purpose of avoiding conflicts between American States. Bolivia now adopted a very bellicose tone, and appointed a War Cabinet. Numerous clashes, some of a serious character, occurred on the frontier, and for a time war appeared to be unavoidable. When, however, the Pan-American Conference on Arbitration and Conciliation offered to mediate, Paraguay accepted almost immediately (Dec. 17), and Bolivia on the next day. It was thought that the danger of war had been definitely averted, but a frontier incident took place on December 27 and the situation was still considered dangerous at the end of the year.

BRAZIL.

Politically the year 1928 was uneventful. Peace reigned throughout the country, and the President, Dr. Washington Luis, was able to devote his whole attention to the task of putting the currency and the public finances upon a sound basis. In his message to Congress on May 3 he declared again that it was an urgent duty of the Government to endow the country with a currency convertible into gold. It was impossible to effect any improvement in economic conditions when the value of the milreis varied from 6*d.* to 1*s.* The Government, he said, was accused of having fixed the exchange at too low a rate in December, 1926,

and of having involved producers in monetary losses in order to maintain a fixed rate. This he entirely refused to admit. The financial and economic advantages of the change were now beginning to show themselves. They were reflected in the export trade for the last two years, when the country had received more milrises for a larger tonnage, and had taken in a lesser quantity of sterling, which, of course, was also to the advantage of Brazil. Exports, it was true, had been only to the value of 88,689,000l. in 1927 against 94,254,000l. in 1926. The apparent diminution was due to the lessened import of coffee, but this also would show an increase of eight millions sterling if the agricultural year was taken into consideration. There had been fewer bankruptcies, and the high prices of internal and external Brazilian bonds was a good sign. On December 31 the balance in the Treasury had been almost 560,000 contos of reis (14,000,000l.), a figure which had been unknown for many years.

In the Budget for 1928, revenue was estimated at 2,088,933 contos and expenditure at 2,088,816 contos. In the original estimates sanctioned by Congress, expenditure had considerably exceeded revenue, but the President had used his prerogative to make some drastic reductions, especially in the items for Navy and transport. The President announced in his speech that there was a surplus in the accounts for the year just closing of 25,580 contos. Later in the year it was discovered that this was a mistake due to a falsification of the accounts, and that there had really been a deficit. As the result of a report of the financial committee of the Senate on the matter, the President in November dismissed Senhor Francisco d'Auria, the chief controller of the Treasury. This was not the only financial scandal of the year. It was discovered about the end of May that a large quantity of notes which had been withdrawn from circulation had been stolen from the Casa Amortisacao, and were again in circulation. Further investigation showed that the pilfering had been going on for years, and involved a sum of 150,000 contos (about 3,750,000l.). In consequence several arrests were made. On July 24 the President summarily suspended a number of Customs officials in the Federal capital for alleged grave irregularities in conjunction with certain firms.

In March Brazil declined a request from the League of Nations to rejoin that body, from which she had retired in 1926. The Brazilian Foreign Secretary, however, in his telegram to the Secretary, remarked that the Brazilian Government continued to hold the League in the same high esteem as before, and in spite of her absence Brazil would still endeavour to co-operate with it effectively in the realisation of its ideals.

In the course of the year a Hundred Years' Peace was signed between Brazil and Argentina, amid great rejoicings and demonstrations of friendship on both sides. More friendly relations were

also established with Paraguay as a result of an official visit paid to Brazil by Dr. Guggiari, the new President of Paraguay. A boundary treaty was signed with Colombia, by which Brazil recognised the latter's perpetual right to free navigation on the rivers Amazon, Paqueta, and Putumayo, receiving equal rights in Colombian waters. Brazil also gave an enthusiastic reception to Mr. Hoover when he visited the country in the course of his tour in December. She showed no disposition, however, to sign the Kellogg Pact.

In March an alarming landslide took place in the mountain of Montserrat, by which about 100 people were killed in the town of Santos. In June the bodies of a number of Brazilian sailors who had died in Dakar during the war were brought back to Brazil and reinterred with great ceremony. On December 3 a great public reception was planned for M. Santos Dumont, the aeronautical pioneer, on his return to Brazil, his native country, after an absence of many years. The affair was marred by an unfortunate accident. A seaplane carrying several prominent personages which went out to meet the incoming boat fell into the sea, causing the death of fourteen passengers, and the day of rejoicing was turned into one of national mourning.

CHILE.

The regime established by Colonel Ibanez in 1927 continued without interruption throughout 1928. In the early part of March the Government announced that it had discovered a Communist plot fostered by Senor Alessandri, the ex-President, and Dr. Santos Salas, the Minister of Health, both of whom were in Paris. Two Chilean military officers who were arrested on their return from Europe were said to have brought instructions and documents to local leaders for the purpose of organising a general strike throughout the nitrate, industrial, and coal centres with a view to overthrowing the Government. Among those implicated were the two sons and a son-in-law of Senor Alessandri. Several arrests were made, but there were no disturbances.

Early in the year Congress passed the Bill—which had been brought forward at the end of the previous year but held up through the opposition of the United States copper companies (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1927, p. 297)—for imposing a duty of 3 pesos, rising eventually to 21 pesos, per ton on imported petroleum. The same law provided for the creation of a Consejo de Fomento Carbonero to look after the interests of the Chilean coal industry, to protect which a duty was further imposed on imported coal, briquettes, and coke of 15 pesos per ton.

In the spring the Ibanez Government announced an ambitious programme of public works, involving the expenditure of no less than 1,575 million pesos between 1928 and 1933. Of this sum

287 million pesos was to go to port works, 183 million to railways, 157 million to irrigation works, 427 million to building, 397 million to various other projects, and 123 million to water supplies and drainage. The railways projected were two Transandine lines, one in the north and the other in the south of the country, which were to link up with corresponding lines in the Argentine. These lines had long been under consideration, and work had already been commenced on the Argentine sections, but hitherto the Chilean Government had not seen its way to incur the necessary expense.

In response to a note from Mr. Kellogg, Chile in the summer agreed to renew diplomatic relations with Peru, and on July 13 an official announcement was made to the effect that this had been done. Seventeen years had passed since relations had last been broken off. The *rapprochement* between the two Governments was carried a step further by the agreement, announced on October 10, to suspend for four months the operations of the Tacna-Arica Boundary Commission "in order to give time to permit of negotiations between the Governments for a settlement" of the dispute regarding the ownership of this territory.

On December 1 a destructive earthquake took place by which the towns of Talca and Constitucion were reduced to ruins, and great damage was done at Chilian, Curico, Pelequen, and Santa Cruz. About 250 people were killed and 600 injured. Congress immediately voted two million pesos for relief, and also passed bills prohibiting speculation in building materials and fixing the conditions on which the reconstruction of the towns was to be carried out.

On December 11 Mr. Hoover, the President-elect of the United States, was entertained by President Ibañez at a banquet at Santiago. Replying to the welcome accorded to him, he said that the borrowing of money for productive purposes was to be encouraged, and compared the influx of capital into Chile to the financial assistance given to the United States by Europe after the Civil War.

MEXICO.

The friendly relations which Mexico had inaugurated with the United States towards the end of 1927 (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1927, p. 302) were continued without interruption throughout 1928. President Calles and Mr. Dwight Morrow, the new American Ambassador, remained on the most cordial terms, and displayed a spirit of co-operation which was equally beneficial to the Mexican Government and to the American interests in the country. Through the friendship of Mr. Morrow, the President enjoyed the support of the United States Government, and this assured him a decisive superiority in the munitions of war over any actual or potential domestic adversary. It also exercised a favourable if

indirect effect on the national finances. For these advantages General Calles did not consider it too high a price to modify his intransigent attitude towards foreign exploitation of the country, and to grant to the American oil companies the facilities which they demanded for this purpose.

The oil controversy between the United States and Mexico was brought to an end—at any rate in the opinion of the American State Department and of Mr. Morrow—by the signing by President Calles on March 29 of the regulations which made the amended petroleum laws effective. These laws had been passed by the Congress and the Senate at the end of the previous year, and had been published in the official *Gazette* on January 11. The new regulations recognised the validity of titles which were legal before May 1, 1917, and confirmed them in perpetuity. In addition, they accepted the definitions laid down by the 1923 Conference of "positive acts," that is, of physical works on lands necessary for the retention of titles and mineral rights on lands. Thus the contentions of the American State Department were accepted on all the essential points in the dispute. The actual rights possessed by the foreign oil companies on May 1, 1917, were still to be determined, but Mr. Morrow declared himself of opinion that any differences on this point could be satisfactorily settled by the Mexican Governmental Departments and the Mexican Courts.

In the earlier part of the year the Central provinces, especially Jalisco, were in a very disturbed state. Numerous sporadic outbreaks took place, and the Federal troops fought many engagements with the rebel bands, usually inflicting on them more or less severe loss. On one occasion, at the end of March, a "band of 300 insurgents" was surrounded at a place in the State of Guanajuato, and after twenty-nine hours' fighting, 95 of them were killed and 40 wounded. By the end of May the revolt seemed to have died out, but there was occasional fighting later in the year, and banditry was rampant.

The Government ascribed the outbreaks to Catholic hostility to the Calles regime, and asserted that in many cases the insurgents were led or instigated by Roman Catholic priests. The Catholics on their side denied that they encouraged violence, though they still protested vehemently against the anti-clerical laws. During the period of the revolt numbers of Catholic clerics were arrested and either imprisoned or deported; not a few also were executed. The sufferings of the Catholic clergy in Mexico evoked many expressions of sympathy in foreign countries. Nevertheless the attitude of the Catholics did not command among their co-religionists abroad such unqualified approval as they expected, and they accordingly began to consider whether they could not without violence to their conscience show a greater measure of conformity to the law; the fact that the Protestants found no difficulty in complying with the law seemed to prove that this was possible.

At the end of May a feeling was prevalent that a *modus vivendi* between the Government and the Catholics might be found, but the murder of General Obregon in July put an end to such hopes for the time being.

Through the elimination of Generals Serrano and Gomez in the previous year (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1927, p. 301) General Obregon had been left the sole candidate in the field for the Presidential election of 1928. Obregon represented the Agrarians, and for some months before the election, Senor Luis Morones, the Secretary for Commerce and Industry, and the most influential member of the Government next to the President, tried to organise an opposition against him through the Labour Party and the Regional Confederation of Mexican Workers (commonly called the Crom) of which he was the head. President Calles, however, showed no sign of going back on the pledge which he had given to Obregon, and no new candidate ventured to appear. More than one attempt was made, however, during the election year to assassinate the prospective President, who had naturally made many enemies during his career. To the Catholics he was if anything more odious than Calles himself; he had mortally offended them by declaring in a speech early in the year that the three enemies of Mexico were drink, gambling, and wicked Roman Catholics.

The day of the Presidential election, July 1, passed off without any disturbance whatever, and General Obregon, as the only candidate, was declared duly elected. On July 17 he went to the township of San Angel, twelve miles from Mexico City, to be present at a luncheon organised in his honour by members of the Congress of the State of Guanajuato. He was followed by a young drawing master, named Jose de Toral, who had for some time been harbouring designs on his life. While he was drinking tea in a restaurant in Angel, Toral came up to him and showed him some sketches, and while he was looking at them took out a revolver and shot him dead. Toral was immediately arrested, and was with difficulty saved from being lynched by an infuriated crowd.

The assassination of Obregon opened the floodgates of the animosity harboured by the Agrarians against the Crom. The Obregonists immediately asserted that the murder of their leader had been instigated by the Labour Party. Feeling between the two sections ran high, and only a strange coincidence prevented the immediate outbreak of a violent conflict between them. Earlier in the summer a young Mexican airman, Captain Emilio Carranza had returned Colonel Lindbergh's "visit of goodwill" by flying from Mexico to Washington. For this and other feats he was idolised in Mexico, and he was hardly less popular in the United States. On July 12 he started on a return flight from New York to Mexico, but had not gone far when he met with a fatal accident while

making a forced landing in New Jersey. The body was brought to New York, and there accorded a state funeral on July 18, the day after the assassination of Obregon. The general mourning for Carranza caused a truce to hostilities to be observed in Mexico City. General Calles was thus afforded a breathing space which he used with good effect for preventing the threatened outbreak of anarchy.

His first step was to replace the existing Chief of Police by General Daniel Rios Zertuche, a member of the Obregonist party. This was a kind of pledge to Obregon's followers that no obstacle would be placed in the way of an investigation into the circumstances of the murder. He then tried to divert suspicion from the Labour Party to the Catholics ; on July 20 a categorical statement was issued from the police headquarters fastening responsibility for the murder on the Catholic clergy. Toral meanwhile persisted in asserting that he had acted solely on his own initiative, and refused to incriminate anyone. A strict censorship was established in Mexico City, troops were kept in readiness to preserve order, and saloons and theatres were closed.

The Agrarians in the meanwhile carried on their vendetta against the Labour Party without resort to arms. On July 20 fifteen hundred members of their party and of the Union Revolutionary Party paraded the streets in a demonstration against Senor Morones and the Crom, under the leadership of Senor Soto y Gama, head of the Agrarian bloc in the Chamber of Deputies. Senor Soto y Gama declared that they considered the head of the Labour Party and the directors of his group as the " psychological authors " of the crime, and demanded the complete exclusion from public power of the Labour Party, as the only means of preventing civil war. The threat proved effective. On the next day the three principal Labour members of the Government resigned : Senor Luis Morones, General Celestino Garca, Director of Ordnance, and Senor Eduardo Moneda, Chief of the Government printing department. President Calles accepted their resignation with regret, as he was largely dependent on Labour support. The Agrarians went on to call for the complete elimination of all Labour members from the Executive branch of the Government, but President Calles was able to withstand further demands.

The demise of General Obregon had left the country face to face with a grave constitutional problem. According to a recent law, no one could become President who had held office in the Government during the twelve months previous to the election. This rule seemed to put out of court all the likely candidates. The most obvious solution of the difficulty was to find some means of keeping President Calles in office for a time after the expiry of his term on December 1, he being the one man who enjoyed general confidence. The President himself, however, frustrated this scheme by making it known that he would accept no

prolongation of his tenure of office, whether by an extension of the term or by appointment as Provisional President. An active campaign was thereupon started by the various candidates for this office.

In his speech to Congress on September 1, President Calles made a striking appeal for civil and constitutional government. He professed to have observed an awakening of the middle classes to their responsibilities and a newborn interest of the rural masses in political affairs. He therefore thought that the time had arrived for Mexico to pass from the category of a country governed by "caudillos" (military dictatorships) to the more dignified, useful and civilised condition of a people of institutions and law. Now for the first time in Mexican history was the opportunity for a truly democratic contest, free from military control. The death of General Obregon had indeed produced a grave political crisis, but the absence of an outstanding leader with military power made it possible to direct the policy of the country into institutional channels. Having declared that he himself would never, for any reason or in any circumstances, return to the Presidency, he called upon Congress to select a man of proven civic virtue who would realise the necessity of ruling by law and not by force.

The appeal was successful. Contrary to expectation the military candidates were all passed over, and the choice of Congress fell on a civilian, Senor Emilio Portes Gil, the Minister of the Interior. Senor Gil entered upon his office of Provisional President without incident on December 1, with the understanding that in ten months time an election was to be held for the Presidency.

The trial of Toral was heard on November 2 and the following days. He was accompanied in the dock by Madre Concepcion Avecedo y de la Lata, the head of the Espiritu Santo Convent, who was accused of being the "intellectual author" of the assassination. Toral insisted that he had committed the crime of his own volition "in order that Christ might rule in Mexico again." His assertion that he aspired to the martyr's crown was greeted in court with jeers and hisses. Outside, however, he commanded a great deal of sympathy, and the authorities thought it prudent to suppress reports of the proceedings at the trial as far as possible. He was eventually condemned to death, but his execution had not yet taken place by the end of the year. Madre Concepcion was also found guilty and sentenced to twenty years penal servitude, the Mexican code not allowing capital punishment for women.

Shortly before his election, Senor Gil had announced that it was his fixed intention to follow the policy of Calles in religious matters. The Roman Catholic laity replied with a manifesto pleading for friendly co-operation between Church and State. The claims of the Church to give religious instruction, to maintain

public worship and to hold property were temperately but firmly stated ; only in Mexico, it was declared, throughout the civilised world were these rights denied to the Catholic Church.

President Calles created a sensation at the end of May by ordering the arrest and dismissal from his post of General Jose Alvarez, his Chief of Staff, for having smuggled contraband into Mexico. He received many requests to treat General Alvarez leniently on account of his past services, but he determined to make an example of him in the interests of "honest administration." As a result of such administration he was able to hand over to his successor on retiring \$540,438 (about 54,000*l.*) in the Treasury after salaries had been paid to all Federal employees up to December 1 and wages of the Army for the first week of December.

In November a new oil decree was issued providing for thirty year concessions with automatic extensions up to twenty years. In December a Bill was passed by Congress authorising the President to negotiate with foreign Governments for settlements covering all claims against the Mexican Government for damages sustained during revolutions. The Anglo-Mexican Claims Commission had already commenced to sit in August to hear the claims of British subjects.

NICARAGUA.

During the greater part of 1928 Nicaragua was administered in accordance with the terms of the provisional arrangement made by Mr. Stimson in May, 1927 (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1927, p. 304). General Diaz continued in office as President with little more than nominal powers, while order was kept by a force of United States Marines assisted by a native gendarmerie which was gradually trained by them. Brigadier-General McCoy remained in the country to "supervise" the preparations for the Presidential Election which was to be held in November, and to protect United States interests in general.

Over the greater part of the country no organised attempt was made to disturb the peace which had been enforced on the warring factions by Mr. Stimson. In the north, however, the rebel General Sandino kept up a guerilla warfare with not much more than a thousand followers, as far as could be estimated. At the beginning of the year he managed to ambush an American force and kill a few Marines. The American forces were thereupon strengthened, and they soon cleared him out of all the towns in the north of the country. He held his ground, however, in a strongly fortified position in the woods, from which he made incursions into the surrounding country. In April he raided the La Luz gold mine, and carried off much booty along with an American named Marshall who was an assistant manager at the

mine. With the advent of the rainy season fighting became less active. In June some rebel chiefs surrendered on promise of an amnesty. In July it was reported that Sandino had retired into Honduras, but his followers gave evidence of their presence in Nicaragua on July 26 by firing on a patrol of five United States aeroplanes at the confluence of the Poteca and Coco rivers, near the Honduras border.

Early in the year General McCoy caused a Bill to be introduced into the Nicaraguan Parliament for giving the United States supervision over the next Presidential Election in accordance with the Stimson arrangement. The Bill passed the Senate, but when it came before Congress, it was vigorously opposed by the ex-President General Chamorro, who had formerly been a devoted partisan of the United States, but who had turned against that country when it refused him recognition after his *coup d'etat* in 1925 (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1926, p. 328). Chamorro's influence turned the scale against the Bill, and to the general surprise it was rejected on March 13 by 23 votes to 17. It was brought up again on the next day with the same result. General McCoy, however, began to make his preparations for the election without paying regard to the decision of Congress. He was supported by a considerable section of public opinion, and in April President Diaz replaced his Cabinet with one more friendly to the United States. The partisans of Sandino in the capital carried on an agitation against the election, and in July General McCoy took the precaution of sending for reinforcements, so that by the end of that month there were nearly 6,000 U.S. Marines in the country.

Early in October both President Diaz and General Moncada, the Liberal leader, declared themselves perfectly satisfied with the scrupulously fair manner in which General McCoy had carried out the registration of voters. The election took place on November 4 with a complete freedom from disturbance of any kind. The candidates were General Moncada for the Liberals and Senor Benard, a rich coffee planter, for the Conservatives. The former was elected by an unexpectedly large majority; he was the first Liberal to hold the office for eighteen years.

On November 27 Mr. Hoover, the President-Elect of the United States, put in at Corinto in Nicaragua. He received an enthusiastic popular welcome. During his brief stay he effected a reconciliation between President Diaz and General Moncada on the one hand and General Chamorro on the other, inviting all three to luncheon with him on board the *Maryland*. In the course of the luncheon he declared that the American people would co-operate with the Nicaraguan people for the building up of Nicaraguan prosperity. President Diaz and General Moncada subsequently advocated the building of the Nicaraguan Canal by the United States at the earliest possible moment.

OTHER AMERICAN STATES.

Ecuador.—A civil war took place in the summer. Early in September it was announced by the *de facto* Government that the leader of the revolutionists, Juan Valcscó, and two of his lieutenants had been killed, and that the revolutionary movement had been stamped out.

Honduras.—In October Dr. Vincente Colindras and Senor Rafael Chavez, the Coalition candidates, were elected President and Vice-President respectively.

Paraguay.—In May Dr. Josef Gugiari, the Liberal candidate, was elected President.

Venezuela.—Serious student riots took place in Caracas in March as a protest against the granting by the Gomez administration of concessions to foreign oil companies. Hundreds of arrests were made.

CHAPTER XI.

AUSTRALASIA : THE COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA—NEW ZEALAND.

THE COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA.

THROUGHOUT the year federal politics in Australia were dominated by the fact that 1928 was the third year of a triennial Parliament and that a General Election was due in November. Mr. Stanley Bruce, at the head of a Nationalist and Country Party Coalition, had a majority in both Houses, and the early part of the year was devoted to passing some important Government measures, one of them being a Bill ratifying the financial arrangements between the Commonwealth and the States, negotiated at a conference between Mr. Bruce and the State Premiers and Treasurers in the previous June. The Bill was passed on March 21 without amendment, after a debate in which Dr. Earle Page, the Commonwealth Treasurer, emphasised the importance of a common management for borrowing and the permanent establishment of a Sinking Fund for the elimination of competition between the States in the money market. The necessity for such an agreement was emphasised by the fact that the Australian public debt totalled more than 1,000,000,000l., the annual interest being 53,000,000l.

On April 23 Mr. Bruce informed the House of Representatives that the Government had been successful in finding a purchaser for the Commonwealth Shipping Line, which had been sold to Lord Kylsant, on behalf of the White Star Line, for 1,900,000l. The price represented 300,000l. for each of the five Bay ships and 200,000l. for each of the Dale ships. When the ships were handed over to the Australian Shipping Board in 1923 their value was written down by 8,000,000l., but continual losses were incurred on the working of the vessels, the loss in the year **ending March, 1926,**

being 558,975l. Mr. Bruce described Lord Kylsant's offer as fair and reasonable and, in due course, the ships were transferred to the White Star Company, thus ending the war-time experiment which began with Mr. Hughes's purchase of ships to market the Australian harvest. Profitable in its inception, the deal finally cost the Australian Commonwealth many millions of pounds. First, 2,000,000l. was lost upon wooden ships and then 10,500,000l. was lost through writing down the value of the remaining vessels and losses in working. Australian sentiment undoubtedly fostered the ideal of an Australian mercantile marine, but, in practice, the experiment proved too costly.

Problems of migration attracted much attention, particularly the coming of a large number of Italians among the non-British settlers. At a National Convention in Sydney, Mr. Hughes, the ex-Premier, made a bitter attack upon the policy of admitting the influx of Southern Europeans, and his speech was the cause of an angry debate at the Convention on March 31, when Sir Neville Howse, V.C., Minister for Home and Territories, replied to Mr. Hughes's attack on behalf of the Federal Government. The feeling against Italian migrants, however, was so strong and so general that Mr. Bruce, on May 29, announced a Government plan for restricting foreign immigration. During the coming year, he stated, less than half the number which came during the previous twelve months would be admitted, the quota of Italians being 3,000. Moreover, these would be confined to relatives of Italians already resident in Australia. The plan, added Mr. Bruce, had been discussed with the Fascist Government in Italy and had been accepted by them with the utmost goodwill.

Another measure considered in the Federal Parliament was the Amending Electoral Bill, removing the obligation upon newspapers to sign leading articles and reports of election meetings, not containing comment. The obligation to sign articles other than leading articles, which comment upon the issues of an election, the candidates or the parties, remained.

After an adjournment on June 15, the Federal Parliament met again at Canberra at the end of August for the consideration of the Budget. Dr. Page's speech to the House of Representatives was made on August 30, and disclosed a cash surplus from the financial year 1926-27 of 3,000,000l., of which two millions sterling was set aside for naval construction. The year 1927-28 showed receipts totalling 60,832,461l. and expenditure 63,462,698l., revealing a deficit of 2,630,237l. The deficit was due to the estimate of Customs and Excise receipts not being realised, owing to a lesser consumption of luxury goods, a result of temporary depression. Dr. Page said that the services of the coming year would require a total revenue of 63,610,000l., of which he expected to derive 43,300,000l. from customs, 15,100,000l. from direct taxation, and 5,200,000l. from other revenue. An interesting passage in Dr.

Page's Budget showed how the people of Australia made their savings during the spell of depression. During 1927-28 duties on jewellery and fancy goods decreased by 106,591l. ; on vehicles, including motors, by 805,818l.; on musical instruments, by 156,156l. ; on textiles, felts, furs, etc., by 429,358l. ; and on ales, spirits, and beverages, by 88,435l. There was no saving upon cigarettes and tobacco.

Another measure introduced by the Commonwealth Treasurer was the National Insurance Bill. It followed the British scheme closely, but excluding unemployment insurance on the ground that the data in Australia was insufficient to justify an experiment at present. The Australian scheme is limited to beneficiaries with an income of less than 416l. a year, and offers males a sickness allowance of 27s. 6d., females 20s., and unmarried minors of both sexes 15s. Child allowances are also given during the sickness of an insured person, while widows have an allowance of 20s. a week, until the youngest child is sixteen years old. Superannuation allowances at the age of sixty-five replace the existing old-age pensions. For the privileges given to males, both employer and employee pay a shilling a week, females paying sixpence. The administration is through approved societies, and payment is by stamps.

The Governor-General issued his proclamation dissolving Parliament as from October 9, and polling for the General Election was arranged for November 17. Earlier in the year, a Federal Conference of the Australian Country Party had accepted the reciprocal agreement negotiated by Mr. Bruce and Dr. Page on behalf of their respective parties for the conduct of the elections. Mr. Matthew Charlton, leader of the Labour Opposition, had resigned in March, and his deputy, Mr. James Scullin, had succeeded him; Mr. E. G. Theodore, a former Premier of Queensland, was defeated by a narrow majority for the office of deputy leader by Mr. A. Blakeley, somewhat to the surprise of politicians, as Mr. Theodore was believed to be in the running for the leadership of the Federal Labour Party when he withdrew from Queensland politics. Mr. Scullin is a Victorian, has been in active federal politics for about fourteen years, and has established a Parliamentary reputation as a forceful debater. Both parties were, therefore, ready for the General Election. The issue was, however, confused at the last moment by a series of labour disputes, recalling the shipping troubles of the previous year, when the waterside strike and lockout had thrown a hundred thousand people out of work. As a result of the earlier strikes an Arbitration (Amendment) Bill had been passed on June 12, after seventeen days' debate, providing increased penalties for doing " anything in the nature of a lockout or strike," and making it an offence to declare goods or places " black." The Labour Party fought the measure clause by clause, particularly Clause 44,

ordaining a secret ballot on the demand of any ten members of a union on any subject concerning the conduct of the union. Mr. Scullin declared the clause impracticable and urged that it would ruin the larger trade unions. In spite of the amended Arbitration Act trouble arose on the Tasmanian shipping trade in June, owing to a strike of cooks on the question of a free selection of galley staffs. It was followed in September by further strikes, making ships idle in the principal Australian ports. The issue in September was the enforcement of an arbitration award by Judge Beeby, permitting the owners of vessels to "pick up" dock labour at the wharves twice a day instead of once, as had been the case before Judge Beeby's award. When the waterside workers announced their decision of evading the terms of the award, Australian ship-owners refused to discuss the matter or to be parties to its non-observance. Immediately, Mr. Bruce promised that the ship-owners should have the protection of the law, while the primary producers were assured that the Commonwealth and State Governments would do everything possible to ensure shipment of wool and other cargoes. On September 23 a Transport Workers' Bill was passed by the House of Representatives and Senate, providing for the protection of free labour on the waterfront and continuity of employment for free labourers after the strike. In an address to the Ministerialist Party, Mr. Bruce stated that the strike was the culmination of a series of hold-ups which must be ended. All volunteers would be registered under the Act and ship-owners would be forbidden to employ any but registered men. This would provide for the future of volunteers and protect them from victimisation. In Melbourne and Adelaide, in particular, there were many attacks upon those who offered to work the ships, and, in some cases, volunteers were injured by strikers, necessitating police intervention. The strike ended on October 19 after six weeks, when the Port Philip Stevedores' Association decided to register under the Transport Workers' Act and offered themselves for work under the award of Judge Beeby. Bomb outrages in connexion with the waterside dispute continued in Melbourne until early in December, the bomb outrages in Melbourne numbering no fewer than nine. An interesting sidelight on the waterside strike was offered by the action of Mr. Thomas Walsh, general secretary of the Seamen's Union, who had led the previous seamen's strike. In June Mr. Walsh announced that he had become an adherent of the Industrial Peace Union, founded by Mr. Havelock Wilson in England, and proposed to form a branch in Australia. In spite of this decision Mr. Walsh was elected to the secretaryship of the Seamen's Union, which he had resigned after the defeat of the earlier strike. The election of Mr. Walsh showed that a large majority of Australian seamen were out of sympathy with the extremists who had precipitated the labour disputes. This peace-in-industry movement received a further impetus in December

when Sir Hugo Hirst and Sir Arthur Duckham, members of an industrial commission visiting Australia, attended a meeting of employers and employees and explained the operations of the Mond Conference, which was working to prevent trade disputes in Great Britain.

The General Election on November 17 was held before the ill-feeling aroused by the maritime strikes had fully subsided. Mr. Scullin outlined his party's programme at a meeting in Melbourne on October 4. Among his proposals were the reimposition of the land tax, which the Bruce Government had remitted, and an extension of the tariff, with a view to the better protection of Australian workers. He pointed out that the Labour Party stood for the unlimited legislative powers of the Commonwealth, with delegated powers to the States. Labour had never taken the stand that Australia should be closed to immigration, but artificial aids to increase immigration were unsound. Mr. Scullin denounced the Transport Workers' Act, and stated that the Labour Party would amend the Arbitration Act if returned to office. Compulsory military training he described as a sham and a waste of money and would be abolished. Mr. Bruce's policy speech, opening the Federal Ministerial campaign, was made at Dandenong on October 8. Replying to the defence policy of the Labour Party, the Federal Prime Minister said that it would be a humiliating position for Australia to be entirely dependent upon Britain and the British Navy for the protection of her overseas trade. The country was bound to share alike the privileges and responsibilities of nationhood. The association of sections of the Australian Labour Party with the Pan Pacific movement, Mr. Bruce described as meaning that "constitutional systems drawn from Russia would take the place of Australia's present free institutions of Parliament." The reorganisation of the Tariff Board, the co-operation of States and Commonwealth, unemployment, air communication and uniform divorce legislation were other subjects touched upon in Mr. Bruce's policy speech.

The elections resulted in the gain of seven seats by the Labour Party, leaving the Ministerialists with forty-four seats, compared with thirty-one of Labour, the Nationalists in Mr. Bruce's Coalition numbering thirty-one, and members of the Country Party thirteen. After the General Election, Mr. Bruce pointed out that the Ministry had been returned in 1925 by the largest majority on record in Federal politics and that some reaction was inevitable. In the Senate twenty-nine members were Ministerialists and seven Labour. After the election Mr. Bruce added Mr. H. S. Gullett to his Cabinet as Minister for Trade and Customs, in succession to the late Mr. Pratten. Mr. Gullett, who was once a journalist, was Director for Migration in Australia.

In connexion with Australian defence, the annual report of the Inspector-General (Lieutenant-General Sir Harry Chauvel) called

attention to the fact that, if the decline in the value of money were taken into account, the Australian Army received only about a 1,000,000l. a year from the Estimates, compared with 2,277,000l. in the year before the World War. He described the Defence Department as "down to the bedrock of bare maintenance." One outstanding need was a supply of senior officers, a class which had previously been recruited from men with war experience, but which was diminishing. During 1927-28 defence expenditure in the Commonwealth, apart from World War expenditure upon such items as war pensions, was estimated to be 6,633,000l., of which 2,305,000l. was naval, 1,746,000l. military, and 581,000l. for the Air Force, 1,000,000l. being a special vote. The Australian Air Force was the subject of a special inquiry by Air Marshal Sir John Salmond, who was lent to the Federal Ministry by the British Air Council for the purpose. After inquiry Sir John Salmond proposed that a nine years' programme should be undertaken, under which the 581,000l. already spent should be increased to 1,139,000l. a year. In a report published on October 8, Sir John Salmond made some sharp criticisms concerning existing equipment and training in the Australian Air Force, and was emphatic in recommending a full time and permanent unit. The necessary standard of fitness could not possibly be reached by operational units, composed chiefly of Citizen Force personnel doing 25 days' service a year. If his recommendations were carried out Sir John Salmond promised the Commonwealth an Air Force capable, not only of meeting the requirements of the Army and Navy, but also of providing a considerable measure of defence against sea-borne attack. The Federal Ministry adopted the report so far as it related to the first three years of the nine years' programme, but no action was to be taken to give effect to the main provisions until the coming financial year. A statement of Government policy in regard to the Australian Air Force was made by Mr. Bruce on November 20.

Apart from Federal activities, a considerable body of political happenings was associated with State legislatures and ministries. A conference of State Premiers met at Sydney in mid-June, where the matters discussed included the relation of migration to unemployment, road making, and grants from the Federal Exchequer towards the upkeep of inmates in the State hospitals and mental institutions. The proposal made was that a grant of 16s., being the equivalent of the pension which the inmates would have received if they had not chanced to be sick or mentally afflicted, should be given to the States. In New South Wales, Mr. Bavin, the Premier, delivered his Budget speech in the Legislative Assembly on October 10. An expenditure of 20,776,000l. was balanced by receipts amounting to 20,829,000l., but business undertaking were placed in a special budget, thus reducing the apparent total Government Budget from 45,000,000l. to 20,000,000l. On September 2 the New South Wales electors de-

cisively rejected Prohibition after a vote by referendum. Another matter of interest in New South Wales politics was a charge of corruption in connexion with a contract given by the Sydney City Council in 1925 for power-house plant. This was the subject of an inquiry by a Royal Commission, which made its report on June 22 and found that the charge of corruption was proved in the case of the general manager of the Municipal Electrical Department and the Australian manager of one of the British tenderers.

In Victoria the State Parliament met on July 4, when Lord Somers, the Governor, delivered the customary speech setting out the proposed legislation for the coming session. The State Budget was introduced by Mr. Hogan, the Labour Premier, on October 2, showing a revenue of 26,566,000l. and an expenditure of 27,730,000l. For some time the State Ministry had been the object of attacks by Sir William McPherson, leader of the Opposition, and, on November 14, the Hogan Ministry was defeated in the Legislative Assembly, after a debate upon a vote of confidence motion, moved by Sir William on behalf of a combination of non-Labour parties. The motion was based upon the policy of the Ministry towards the Police Department, the criticism of the Opposition being directed to the fact that the Government, owing to its-Labour sympathies, had not provided an adequate police force during the waterside disorders arising from the strike. After suffering a second defeat on November 20 Mr. Hogan requested Lord Somers to grant a dissolution. The Governor, however, preferred to commission Sir William McPherson to form a Nationalist Ministry, which was made up as follows :—

Premier and Treasurer	-	-	Sir William McPherson, M.L.A.
Chief Secretary and Minister for Health			Dr. Argyle, M.L.A.
Attorney-General and Solicitor-General	-		Mr. Macfarlan, M.L.A.
Minister for Lands and Water Supply			Mr. Angus, M.L.A.
Minister for Agriculture, Markets, and Immigration	-	-	Mr. Pennington, M.L.A.
Minister for Railways, Electric Supply, and Labour	-	-	Mr. Groves, M.L.A.
Minister for Public Works and Mines			Mr. Chandler, M.L.C.
Minister for Education	-	-	Mr. Cohen, M.L.C.
Honorary Ministers	-	-	Mr. Cuthbertson and Mr. Morley, M.L.A.'s., and Mr. Menzies, M.L.C.
Secretary to the Cabinet	-	-	Mr. Kent Hughes, M.L.A.

In South Australia, the Budget speech was delivered by the State Premier on September 20 and showed an estimated deficit for 1928-29 of 618,000l., the revenue being 11,688,000l. and the expenditure 12,306,000l. The deficit was the more disappointing as the Government had made a special effort to balance the State accounts, and failed owing to a moderate harvest and the general

restriction of trade. Mr. R. L. Butler, the Premier, was insistent upon the need for a Federal financial grant which would enable taxation in South Australia to be reduced. The heavy local taxation in South Australia is likely to become important when the Federal financial agreement is submitted to a referendum of the South Australian people for ratification. Another matter of special importance to South Australia, though having a Federal interest as well, was the reduction in the Wine Export Bounty Duty. South Australians dispute the justice of reducing the bounty.

The Queensland Budget statement was made on September 7, when Mr. W. McCormack disclosed an estimated revenue of 16,867,000l. and an expenditure of 17,040,000l. The deficit was funded as the Government was opposed alike to further taxation and the reduction of the wages and salaries of State employees. The principal Bill of the Parliamentary session related to land tenure in connexion with the cattle industry of the State, a matter which had been the subject of inquiry by a Royal Commission. The Governor's Speech from the Throne on July 25 described the Government's policy as directed to the encouragement of the settlement of grazing farmers. The policy of refusing to grant extensions of big pastoral leases had been the cause of anxiety in the Queensland cattle industry, which regarded the Government plans as hostile to those who had financed the industry in recent years.

In Western Australia Mr. Collier, Premier and Treasurer, delivered his Budget speech on September 27, showing an estimated revenue of 10,222,000l. and an expenditure of 10,317,000l. Mr. Collier reported that the State had had a prosperous year and a good season was in prospect. Mr. Gepp, Chairman of the Development and Migration Commission, visited Perth in June and announced a development scheme involving the creation of 3,500 farms. For the purpose seven million acres of the land lying between Southern Cross and Esperance, wheat-growing and sheep carrying country, would be opened up.

In Tasmania, the Lyons Ministry resigned on June 15, after defeat at a General Election, and a Government was formed by Mr. McPhee, the Nationalist leader. The policy of the new Cabinet was announced on August 22, the principal measure relating to co-operative societies, required for the better marketing of the agricultural produce of the State, and the rendering of credit facilities to producers through a rural bank. The question of shipping facilities between Tasmania and the mainland also attracted attention, and was considered by Mr. Bruce when he paid a flying visit to the island in October. The Federal Prime Minister promised Tasmania an air mail service, which would carry letters between the mainland and the island in 5½ hours. Plans for the development of Northern Australia were placed before the House

of Representatives at Canberra by Sir Neville Howse, V.C., on March 29. The land proposed for primary development is the fertile belt between the Queensland and West Australian borders, including several thousands of square miles of what Sir Neville described as "splendidly grassed country in which droughts are unknown." The north-eastern section of the Territory was explored during the year by an expedition led by Dr. Basedow, which left Sydney in April for Arnhem Land. Another expedition, led by Dr. Keith Ward, the South Australian Government geologist, made a two months' tour with view to the development of Central Australia, north of Alice Springs, with special reference to stock routes and water supply. It may be added that the visit of two Japanese warships to Australian ports in July under the command of Vice-Admiral Kobayashi gave Australians an opportunity of showing their regard for their allies in the World War. Prince Takamatsu was among the visitors, and his speeches emphasised the importance of Australia and Japan, as Pacific Powers, maintaining their present excellent relations.

NEW ZEALAND.

In New Zealand, as in Australia, 1928 was the year of a triennial General Election. Parliament did not meet for its final session until June 28, and the primary political interest in the earlier part of the year was centred upon Western Samoa, which New Zealand administers under a League of Nations mandate. The genesis of the trouble was set out in the ANNUAL REGISTER of 1927 (p. 314). The action of the Administrator, Sir George Richardson, was fully vindicated by a commission of inquiry, but the trouble in the island continued and it was judged desirable to appoint Colonel Stephen Allen in place of Major-General Richardson. Sir George proceeded to Geneva, where he represented New Zealand before the Permanent Mandates Commission of the League of Nations. In announcing Colonel Allen's appointment on March 22, Mr Coates, the Dominion Prime Minister, paid a generous tribute to the tact, patience, and firmness of the late Administrator. On his arrival at Apia on May 4 Colonel Stephen Allen was welcomed quietly, and a party of Marines, which had been left in the island by the cruisers *Dunedin* and *Diomedé* was withdrawn. In a report to the New Zealand Parliament, which was tabled on July 19, the ill-effects resulting from the activities of the Mau, a League of Samoans organised by certain white settlers, were disclosed. "To advocate self-government for the Samoans was to advocate the impossible," said Mr. Coates. New Zealand's policy would be based upon watchful toleration, but should this policy fail the Administration must ultimately fall back upon stronger measures.

Following upon the Industrial Arbitration Amendment Act,

which was introduced in 1927 and failed to become law, Mr. Coates convened an industrial conference as a result of a meeting of all parties in January, 1928. The conference comprised employers, producers, and representatives of the leading trade unions, twenty-five delegates representing the interests of the masters and twenty-five those of the men. The conference met on March 27 and quickly divided itself into committees for the intensive study of the problems involved. When the conference resumed on May 16 three reports were presented. The first suggested that the Government should study the Ontario system of workers' compensation in cases of injuries. The second, which was concerned with unemployment, urged that the Government should provide out of the consolidated fund any monies necessary to meet the situation. On the question of immigration, the third committee, while recognising the responsibility of New Zealand in connexion with the redistribution of population within the Empire, recommended that the strictest supervision should be exercised, and that the flow of migrants should be regulated in accordance with the state of the labour market in New Zealand. The three reports were agreed to by the full conference without dissent, but on the question of conciliation and arbitration there was a marked divergence of opinion. The employers desired the optional reference of disputes to the Arbitration Court, while the workers favoured compulsory reference to the Court. The debate was conducted with good temper, but the difference of opinion between the parties could not be bridged, and the conference ended without agreement upon the main point, to the manifest disappointment of the New Zealand people. On May 3 Mr. Coates announced the abolition of the board system of railway control and the appointment of Mr. H. H. Sterling, recently manager of the New Zealand Co-operative Dairy Company, as general manager. At the same time it was announced that steps would be taken to stop waste due to rail and roadway competition.

The session which commenced on June 28 was short but included such debatable issues as the liquor referendum, the Samoan Royal Commission report, and the matter of Bible-reading in schools. The Religious Exercises in Schools Bill arose from the fact that the New Zealand Education Act of 1877 ordained that the teaching in the State schools should be "free, compulsory, and secular." This was interpreted as meaning that all religious teaching should be left to private effort. In recent years, however, there has been a movement in favour of the State schools opening with the Lord's Prayer and a hymn, and a considerable number of New Zealand Parliamentarians, who were pledged to maintain secular education, felt themselves free to approve a Bill allowing a modified form of religious exercises. Mr. Coates, personally, has opposed the Bill since it was first introduced in 1926, but a section of his party has insisted upon a rediscussion each session. With

regard to Samoa, the Governor-General, Sir Charles Fergusson, stated that the policy of the Administration was to exercise the utmost possible patience consistent with the due observance of the law.

The principal Government measures were the annual Budget and a Bill for the provision of pensions for old age and widowhood and of insurance against old age and invalidity. The cost to the State was estimated at 325,000l., employers and employees contributing the other two-thirds of the total cost. Mr. Downie Stewart, Minister of Finance, made his Budget statement to the House of Representatives on August 7. The estimates for 1928-29 showed a revenue of 23,868,000l. and an expenditure of 23,608,000l. income tax, land tax, stamps, and beer duty all showing increases. The State railways, which were the subject of a separate statement, showed a revenue of 7,725,000l. and expenses totalling 7,388,000l., but the addition of interest charges upon the borrowed capital made the expenditure exceed the railway revenue by no less than 1,793,000l., apart from which the railway accounts received considerable credits-in-aid. The financial position of the railways necessitated the elimination of road competition.

Speaking in the Budget debate, Mr. Coates justified public expenditure upon such development work as hydro-electric schemes and railway extension. He predicted that the water-power schemes would be returning 8,000,000l. or more above the capital charges within twenty years, and justified the present railway subsidy on the ground that the development of transport was essential to the Dominion's welfare. Mr. Stewart's statement showed that at the end of March, 1928, the public debt amounted to 251,396,000l., compared with 245,000,000l. at the end of the preceding financial year, 71,970,000l. being war debt. Of the total, 107,000,000l. was raised in New Zealand and 139,000,000l. in London. The interest charge amounted to just over 11,000,000l. a year, of which 6,750,000l. came from interest-earning accounts and 5,750,000l. from the taxpayer, the greater part of the latter being on account of war debts.

The trade returns of the Dominion showed that the unfavourable balance of 4,613,000l. at the end of 1926 had become an excess of exports, amounting to 3,713,000l. at the end of 1927, the imports for the year being 44,782,000l. and the exports 48,496,000l. During 1928 the financial stringency which hampered the import trade passed away.

Another interesting measure was the Mental Defectives **Bill**, passed by the House of Representatives on September 26, after an all-night sitting, at the end of which the Minister of Health, Mr. J. A. Young, withdrew two clauses in order that the country might have time to consider them further. These covered the examination of children whose mental development had been retarded, and a proposal to prohibit marriage in cases of persons **registered as defective and permit their sterilisation. Under the**

Bill sterilisation might have been carried out, under the direction of the Board, with the consent of the parents or guardians or of the afflicted person. In introducing the measure Mr. Young expressly stated that the sterilisation proposal was included because it had been recommended by a committee which reported upon mental defectives, but the Government did not intend to force the issue if public opinion was not found to favour it.

During the debate in reply to the Speech from the Throne a vote of no confidence, moved by the Labour Opposition, was defeated in the House of Representatives by forty-eight votes to fourteen. Before the General Election, however, a third party made a dramatic appearance in New Zealand politics, under the leadership of the ex-Prime Minister, Sir Joseph Ward. The basis of the new United Party was the old-time Liberal Party, and Sir Joseph opened his election campaign before a crowded meeting in Auckland on October 15. That the United Party would deprive Mr. Coates of considerable support was expected, and certain New Zealand Liberals even feared a victory for the Labour Party, in consequence of split votes. What no one expected was such a defeat for the Government that Sir Joseph himself would be able to take office. Indeed, Mr. Coates, speaking in August, after Sir Joseph accepted the leadership of the rival party, proposed that the United Party, with its fifty prospective candidates, and his own Reform Party should unite to present a solid front to Labour. The principal plank in Sir Joseph Ward's platform was a proposal to borrow about 6,000,000*l.* a year, for the next ten years as advances to settlers and workers, and the expenditure of another 10,000,000*l.* upon the completion of the main railways in the Dominion, thereby relieving unemployment. Sir Joseph argued that the major part of the loan would not necessitate any increase in taxation, as all interest and loan charges would be borne by the settlers, while the more speedy development would enable New Zealand to put 300,000 more people on the land during the next ten years. The United Party also favoured subsidies for secondary industries, rather than the undue extension of protective tariffs, and they proposed the ultimate abolition of company taxation. Mr. Coates, in his policy speech and election manifesto on behalf of the Reform Party, made at Wellington on October 15, also dwelt upon schemes for encouraging development, mentioning that 16,000,000*l.* had been spent in five years upon advances to settlers. Mr. Coates added that he hoped that the establishment of small holdings on a considerable scale would help to reduce seasonal unemployment, though he pointed out that this unemployment was much less acute in New Zealand than in most countries. The Government's methods for increasing production included a progressive transport policy, the development of water power and afforestation, the establishment of a scientific research department and small holdings for part-time rural workers. The existing economic situation, added Mr.

Coates, necessitated an almost complete cessation of assisted immigration. Mr. Holland, the Labour Party leader, made his policy speech at Masterton on October 10, and attributed the unemployment in New Zealand mainly to the Government's immigration policy. State-assisted immigration, he said, was only justifiable when immigrants were permanently employable at standard rates without displacing other workers.

On the eve of the polling on November 14 New Zealand politicians were still assured that the Coates Ministry would be returned with a working majority, though it was feared a deadlock was possible, owing to none of the three parties securing a definite majority, especially as there were thirty-three other candidates of various types. A further problem arose when an effort was made to calculate the effect of the women's vote. Feminine franchise has been in operation for thirty-five years in New Zealand and by no means echoed the opinion of the male population. In all, there were 212 candidates for the eighty seats; forty were triangular contests, ten of the constituencies having four candidates. In the result the Government lost twenty-four seats without displacing a single opponent, the votes cast for the official candidates of the three main groups being almost exactly proportionate to the number of seats won, that is thirty-six per cent, for Reform, thirty-one per cent, for the United Party, and twenty-six per cent, for Labour, the balance going to Independents. The explanation of the Government debacle is not any marked dislike for Mr. Coates's policy. Rather, it was due to many electors believing that the loss of a few seats, in view of the Government's large majority, would be salutary. Instead of a big majority being slightly reduced, it was wiped out. On the eve of the election the parties in the House of Representatives were divided: Reform 55, Liberals 11, Labour 13, Independent 1. After the polling, the parties were: Reform 29, United Party 27, Labour 19, Independents 5, of whom three were pledged to support Sir Joseph Ward. The United Party had previously declined to consider a Coalition Government, so a no-confidence amendment was proposed by Sir Joseph Ward when Parliament met, and was carried on Dec. 7 by fifty votes to twenty-eight. Mr. Coates at once resigned and Sir Joseph Ward formed the following Cabinet:—

Prime Minister, Finance, and External Affairs	- Sir Joseph Ward.
Lands and Agriculture	Mr. G. W. Forbes.
Public Works	Mr. E. A. Ransom.
Justice and Defence	Mr. T. M. Wilford.
Labour and Mines	Mr. W. A. Veitch.
Railways and Customs	Mr. W. B. Taverner.
Native Affairs and Cook Islands	Sir Apirana Ngata.
Postmaster-General	Mr. J. B. Donald.
Education	Mr. H. Atmore.
Internal Affairs	Mr. P. A. de la Perelle.
Immigration, Marine, Industries and Commerce	Mr. J. G. Cobbe.
Health	Mr. A. J. Stallworthy.
Attorney-General	Mr. T. K. Sidey.

In connexion with the polling for the General Election a referendum of the people was taken in regard to licensing reform. It resulted as follows : for continuance of present system, 374,502 votes ; for State control, 64,276 ; for Prohibition, 294,453. Grave inconvenience has arisen from the fact that the triennial poll coincides with the General Election, and many New Zealanders are in favour of extending the term of years between each referendum, a change which would also give holders of liquor licences more certainty of tenure and enable them to carry through pressing reforms which, at present, are disregarded owing to the possibility that prohibition may be carried at the next triennial poll. The referendum in 1928 showed a substantial swing away from prohibition, as compared with the voting in 1925.

Addressing the House of Representatives after assuming office, Sir Joseph Ward explained that an important London transaction, connected with loans maturing in 1929, would necessitate a review of the financial policy he had outlined on behalf of the United Party before the General Election. He explained, moreover, that this policy would not involve borrowing 70,000,000l. in one year, but meant that 60,000,000l. would be spent in eight or ten years upon loans to settlers, while the 10,000,000l. needed to complete the live railways-would be spent within four or five years. " It is not the intention of the Ward Government to abuse either its powers or its credit." After this statement and the grant of the necessary financial powers to inaugurate the policy of the United Party, Parliament adjourned until February.

The visit of the Bishop of London to New Zealand in February was an interesting event in the Dominion's social life. In February, too, the Australasian Medical Congress of the British Medical Association met in Dunedin, four hundred practitioners being present, among them a number of Australians and visitors from Britain. The visit of a Japanese training squadron and the Argentine training ship, *President Sarmiento*, in July allowed of exchanges of international courtesies. Lastly, Captain Kingsford-Smith and Mr. Ulm, the Australian airmen who had previously flown across the Pacific, covered the 1,300 miles separating Australia and New Zealand on their aeroplane " Southern Cross." The airmen reached Christchurch on September 11, after a rough crossing. After his visit to Australia, where he reported upon the Commonwealth aviation service, Air Marshal Sir John Salmond visited Wellington. In a statement on October 10, the Air Marshal gave it as his opinion that the gap between Australia and New Zealand would soon be bridged regularly by air, though experimental work, including upper air research, was a preliminary requirement. Sir John advocated the continual development of the air sense in New Zealand, in order that the Dominion might **come into line with** the rest of the Empire when the projected **Empire air** services became **an** actuality.

PART II.

CHRONICLE OF EVENTS

IN 1928.

JANUARY.

I. In the New Year's Honours List Baronies were conferred on Lt.-Col. the Et. Hon. G. A. Gibbs [Lord Wraxall of Clyst St. George in the County of Devon]; the Et. Hon. Sir Frederick Lugard [Lord Lugard]; and Sir Gerald Strickland [Baron Strickland of Sizergh Castle in the County of Westmorland]. Five Baronetcies and fifty knighthoods were also conferred.

3. The cold spell with which 1927 ended gradually came to an end. Widespread and heavy rains hastened the thaw which had set in and was responsible for flooding many districts.

4. Floods were still rising.

5. The rising of the Thames caused serious flooding at Reading, Maidenhead, and other places.

6. The successful design for a new Shakespeare Memorial Theatre **was** by a woman architect, Miss Elisabeth Scott.

7. The River Thames overflowing its banks, flooded many low-lying places in the City of London, Southwark, and Westminster, and was responsible for 14 deaths in London. Many people homeless.

— Mr. T. E. Ferens, of Hull, made a gift of 22,500l. to Hull University College.

II. At the by-election at Northampton Col. Malone gained the seat for Labour from the Conservatives.

13. The War Office abolished the lance as a weapon of war.

14. *The Times* announced that the Lord Mayor's Fund for the relief **of sufferers from** the flooded Thames amounted to over 20,000l., **and the fund of** the Mayor **of** Westminster to 23,000J.

17. Prof. Arthur Hutchinson, Professor **of Mineralogy in Cambridge,** **was** elected Master of Pembroke College.

19. At the invitation of Miss Margaret Beavan, Lord Mayor of Liverpool, nine of the thirteen women mayors throughout the country visited Liverpool.

23. Canon 6. E. Newsom was appointed Master of Selwyn College, Cambridge.

25. A bequest of 35,000l. was made to the University of Edinburgh by the late James Sanderson of Galashiels, to be applied to research in chemistry and engineering.

26. Mr. H. F. Lancashire and Mr. George Spencer, two leading hosiery manufacturers in Nottingham, made a gift of 20,000L to University College, Nottingham, for the endowment of a Chair.

— At the by-election at Faversham the Conservatives retained the seat, but by a reduced majority—1,684 against 5,251.

28. Dr. P. H. Winfield was appointed to the newly established Rouse Ball Professorship of English Law at Cambridge.

FEBRUARY.

1. Announcement of the fusion of the *Daily News* and the *Westminster Gazette*.

3. At the by-election at Bristol West the Conservatives retained the seat, but by a reduced majority.

7. The Chancellor of the Exchequer announced that an anonymous donor, with the object of starting a fund to repay the National Debt, had made a gift of 500,000l. to the nation, the capital to accumulate at compound interest over a long period of years.

9. Mr. W. Marshall Brown, of Edinburgh, was elected a Royal Academician of the Royal Scottish Academy.

II. At the by-election at Lancaster, the Liberals wrested the seat from the Conservatives.

11. The severe gale which had set in on the 10th reached its height in a storm that was described as one of the worst of this present winter; much damage was done and many accidents with loss of life were caused.

— Thirteen men who formed a search party lost their lives at the Haig Pit, Whitehaven.

14. King George appointed the Prince of Wales " Master of the Merchant Navy and Fishing Fleets."

16. The National Institute of Industrial Psychology received an anonymous gift of 4,000l. towards the cost of its new premises.

18. *The Times* announced that the brothers of the late Lord Northcliffe, Lord Rothermere and Mr. Cecil Harms worth, have presented a sum of 30,000l. to the centenary fund of University College, London, for the purpose of endowing a Chair of Modern English Literature as a memorial to the late Lord Northcliffe.

21. Mr. Bert Hinkler, who left Croydon in a biplane on February 7, arrived at Port Darwin, Australia.

23. *The Times* announced that Miss Grace Caird, of Dundee, had bequeathed 300,000l. to the Dundee Town Council, partly for the acquisition of land and partly for scholarships.

24. At the by-election at Ilford the Conservatives retained the seat, but by a reduced majority.

29. Mr. Charles Ricketts, A.R.A., painter, was elected a Royal Academician.

MARCH.

3. The Bishopsgate Automatic Telephone Exchange, the second automatic exchange in London, was opened.

7. At the by-election at Middlesborough the Liberals retained the seat by the slender majority of 89 ; while at St. Ives Mrs. Runciman gained the seat for the Liberals from the Conservatives. The return of Mrs. Runciman to the House of Commons provided the first case of husband and wife sitting in the House at the same time.

— The trustees of the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial, established by Mr. John D. Rockefeller in memory of his late wife, voted a gift of five million dollars for the purpose of acquiring another United States national park.

11. Silver half-crown, florin, shilling, and sixpenny pieces with new designs were issued to the public.

21. Mr. Richard Sickert, A.R.A., was elected President of the Royal Society of British Artists.

— Mr. J. M. Henderson, Glasgow, and Mr. A. E. Borthwick, Edinburgh, were elected Associate Members of the Royal Scottish Academy.

21. An anonymous donor sent 1,000l. to the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

24. King George V., accompanied by Queen Mary, formally opened Lloyd's new building in Leadenhall Street.

30. An anonymous donor sent two 1,000l. Treasury Bonds to the Chancellor of the Exchequer towards the reduction of the National Debt.

30. The dignity of Baron Culloden, Earl of Ulster, and Duke of Gloucester, was conferred upon Prince Henry, the third son of King George V. and Queen Mary.

31. Cambridge beat Oxford in the Boat Race by ten lengths.

APRIL.

5. At the by-election at Linlithgow Labour recaptured the seat from the Conservatives.

— The Venerable William Stanton Jones, Archdeacon of Bradford, appointed Bishop of Sodor and Man.

7. *The Times* reported that Mr. Joseph John Crosfield had presented the sum of 10,000l. to the King Edward Hospital Fund for London.

9. The twentieth annual display of the London Van Horse Parade Society had 689 entries, the largest since the Great War.

11. Capt. Koehl, Baron Huenefeld, and Commandant Fitzmaurice began their attempt to fly across the Atlantic in the German aeroplane " Bremen " from Baldonnel Aerodrome near Dublin.

13. The crew of the " Bremen " landed on Greenly Island off the coast of Labrador.

— *The Times* published particulars of the will of Mr. Thomas R. Dickinson in which he left 10,000l. to the University of Sheffield.

18. The Garter was conferred on the Earl of Athlone, the Duke of Abercorn, and Lord Desborough,

— *The Times* announced that a Charter had been granted to the British Association for the Advancement of Science.

19. The Oxford English Dictionary completed.

20. *The Times* reported that Capt. G. H. Wilkins had arrived at Spitzbergen after having flown over the Arctic from Point Barrow in Alaska.

21. Blackburn Rovers beat Huddersfield Town in the final round of the Football Association Cup competition at Wembley by three goals to one. King George and Queen Mary were present, and it is said that some 90,000 people witnessed the match.

21. Summer time commenced at 2 A.M. [See under October 7.]

23. At the by-election at Hanley, Labour retained the seat by a majority of 8,532 as compared with a majority of 1,554 in 1924.

26. The new building of Madame Tussaud's was opened.

27. Mr. Gerald L. Brockhurst, painter, Mr. David Muirhead, painter, and Mr. Harold Knight, painter, were elected Associates of the Royal Academy.

28. The foundation-stone of the new University College at Hull was laid by the Duke of York.

30. At the by-election at Marylebone the Conservatives retained the seat by a majority of 6,138 as compared with a majority of 15,527 in 1924.

MAY.

1. The longest regular non-stop railway service in the world, between King's Cross and Edinburgh, a distance of 392½ miles, was commenced by the London and North-Eastern Railway.

5. *The Times* announced that Mr. Thomas Ogden had made a gift of 5,000l. for the purpose of erecting a Douglas Haig memorial home near Liverpool.

9. The Commons of Bramshaw, Furzley, Penn, Cadnam and Winsor, in the New Forest, have been vested in the National Trust.

10. Liverpool University celebrated the twenty-fifth anniversary of its foundation.

14. The international tercentenary celebrations in honour of William Harvey began; the delegates attending the celebration were received by King George V. at Buckingham Palace.

— Miss J. D. L. Mann, Vice-Principal of St. Hilda's College, Oxford, was elected Principal of the college.

16. The new headquarters of the Trades Union Congress and the Labour Party—Transport House, Smith Square, Westminster—was opened by Mr. Ramsay MacDonald.

17. Lady Heath arrived at the Croydon aerodrome after having flown in a small Avro-Avian light aeroplane from Cape Town, which she left on February 11.

19. The foundation-stone of the new Parliament House for Northern Ireland was laid by the Governor, the Duke of Abercorn.

21. Sir Gomer Berry, Chairman of the Committee of Management of the Infants' Hospital, Vincent Square, made a gift to that hospital of 50,000l.

23. At the annual general meeting of the Royal Colonial Institute it was decided, by 68 votes to 22, to change the name to the Royal Empire Society.

28. The tercentenary of the birth of John Bunyan was celebrated at Bedford.

JUNE.

1. For the second year in succession the Newdigate Prize at Oxford was awarded to a woman, Miss Angela M. F. Cave, of Lady Margaret Hall.

— *The Montreal Gazette*, the oldest continuously issued newspaper in Canada, completed its 150th year of publication.

4. In the King's birthday honours list Peerages were conferred on Sir Rowland Blades, Lord Mayor of London in 1926-27 [Baron Ebbisham, of Cobham in the County of Surrey], on Sir Alfred Mond [Baron Melchett, of Landford in the County of Southampton], and on Sir James Remnant [Baron Remnant, of Wenhaston in the County of Suffolk].

6. Sir H. Cunliffe-Owen's colt, Felstead, won the Derby at Epsom by a length and a half over Flamingo. The weather was perfect.

14. *The Times* announced that Ashridge Park, with the house and grounds of about 80 acres, had been presented to the Conservative Party by Mr. Urban H. Broughton, for use as an educational and political training centre.

16. Viscount Grey of Falloden was elected Chancellor of the University of Oxford in succession to the late Lord Cave.

18. Miss Amelia Earhardt and Mr. Wilmer Stultz crossed the Atlantic, having flown from Newfoundland to South Wales. This was the first time that a woman had accomplished the Transatlantic flight.

20. Magdalene College, Cambridge, celebrated the 500th anniversary of its foundation.

21. King's College, London, celebrated the centenary of the first meeting called for the purpose of founding the college.

25. *The Times* announced that an anonymous gift of 10,000l. had been made to the National Playing Fields Association.

27. In a railway accident at Darlington twenty-three people lost their lives.

28. At the by-election at Holborn the Conservatives retained the seat by a reduced majority.

29. At the by-election at Carmarthen the Liberal candidate was elected by a majority of 47 over Labour.

30. Lady Margaret Hall, Oxford, celebrated its jubilee.

— The jubilee of the *Statist* was celebrated by the issue of a **special number**.

JULY.

3. Mr. Washington Singer made a gift of 25,00l. to University College, Exeter, for the building of a chemistry laboratory.

— Lord and Lady Inchcape made a gift to the nation of 500,000l., the residue of the estate of their daughter, the Hon. Elsie Mackay, who perished in attempting the passage of the Atlantic by aeroplane. This sum was to be placed in trust, and after accumulating for a period of about fifty years, to be ultimately applied in reduction of the National Debt.

4. Sir Alexander Grant gave a further sum of 100,000l. for the erection of additional buildings to house the Scottish National Library. This was Sir Alexander's second gift, the first of 100,000l. having been made in June, 1923.

5. At the Epsom by-election the Conservatives retained the seat by a reduced majority.

— The longest non-stop flight on record was completed by the Italian airmen, Capt. Arturo Ferrarin and Major Del Prete, who reached Brazil after having left Rome on July 3.

10. The *Economist*, founded in 1843, together with a number of other financial papers, was bought by a new company, Financial Newspaper Proprietors, Ltd.

— King George V., accompanied by Queen Mary, opened the new buildings of University College, Nottingham.

— It was announced that the Chief Magistrates of Nottingham, Leicester, and Stoke-on-Trent were to bear the style and title of Lord Mayor.

11. The temperature reached 84 degrees in the shade, the highest recorded for this year or last.

13. At the Halifax by-election Labour captured the seat from the Liberals.

15. The temperature was higher than for the three years past; 91 degrees was measured in London.

16. At the by-election in the Hallam Division of Sheffield the Conservatives retained the seat by a reduced majority.

17. The *Daily Chronicle* was sold to the Inveresk Paper Co. Ltd.

23. The night was the warmest for several years in Southern England, registering temperatures of 66 degrees.

24. The Rt. Hon. H. A. L. Fisher, Warden of New College, Oxford, was elected President of the British Academy in succession to Lord Balfour.

25. The Roads Beautifying Association established, with the object of promoting the adornment of highways by planting trees and shrubs.

25. Ingmire Hall, near Sedbergh, in Yorkshire, was totally destroyed by fire.

— While travelling on an excursion train from Liverpool to London Mrs. Davies, of Liverpool, gave birth to a child.

28. The Olympic Games, the ninth modern Olympiad, were opened in Amsterdam.

31. July was an unusually dry and sunny month, with an unbroken run of fine, warm weather for three weeks, from the 6th to the 26th.

AUGUST.

1. The Westminster Bank was granted a coat of arms.

3. 11,000 men and women set out, under the auspices of the British Legion and British Empire Service League, on a pilgrimage to the battle-fields of France and Belgium.

6. *The Times* reported that the estimated number of Freemasons throughout the world is 4,400,000.

9. Mr. F. M. Powicke, Professor of Medieval History in the University of Manchester, was appointed Regius Professor of Modern History in the University of Oxford in the room of the late Mr. H. W. C. Davis. [See Obituaries under June 28.]

— Mr. W. R. Morris, head of the firm of motor-car manufacturers, made a gift of 38,000l. for the extension of the Radcliffe Infirmary, Oxford.

— The Rev. Richard Downey was appointed Catholic Archbishop of Liverpool.

10. The telephone between Berlin and Spain and Portugal, the longest in Europe, was opened.

14. The first motor-coach service in Europe to provide sleeping bunks for passengers was put into operation between London and Liverpool. Twelve passengers did the journey.

17. At the by-election in North Aberdeen, Labour retained the seat by an enhanced majority (5,950 against 4,704 at the General Election in 1924).

18. Miss Ivy Hawke, of Surbiton, swam the Channel in 19 hours 16 minutes.

24. Miss Hilda Sharp, a Brighton nursemaid, whose home is at Lewis-ham, swam the Channel in 14 hours 58 minutes.

SEPTEMBER.

1. An Egyptian, J. Helmy, swam the Channel for the sixth time; he was 23 hours and 40 minutes in the water.

6. The Prince of Wales and the Duke of Gloucester left the country for a tour in East Africa.

7. *The Times* reported that about 14 acres of freehold property, part of Jackhurst Down, on the North Downs, had been presented to the National Trust.

8. Flatford Mill, East Bergholt, Suffolk, with Willy Lott's cottage and the adjacent ground, was made a national possession in memory of John Constable, E.A.

10. New currency notes of 10s., 1l., and 5l. were issued for circulation in the Irish Free State.

— The rooms occupied by John Wesley in Lincoln College, Oxford, were restored and presented as a gift to the College by the Methodist Churches of America.

19. A terrible hurricane swept over Florida and the West Indies, hundreds of people losing their lives.

20. Mr. Oswald Dobell made a gift to the nation of 10,000l. towards the reduction of the National Debt.

21. Mr. Bernhard Baron created a trust of 500,000l. to be used for hospitals and for homes for orphans and crippled children during the next twenty years.

24. Third-class sleepers were utilised for the first time in English railway history.

25. An anonymous donor sent 15,000 dollars' worth of United States Steel Corporation 5 per cent. bonds to the Chancellor of the Exchequer as a contribution towards the payment of interest on the British debt to the United States of America.

26. At the Cheltenham by-election the Conservatives retained the seat by a majority of 3,760 votes as compared with a majority of 2,763 in 1924.

29. Sir Kynaston Studd was elected Lord Mayor of London.

OCTOBER.

1. It was announced that the International Education Board of the Rockefeller Foundation had made an offer of 700,000l. to the University of Cambridge, including 250,000l. for the proposed new university library on condition that the University should raise another 229,000l.

1. It was announced that Lord Woolavington had made a gift of 125,000l. to the Middlesex Hospital for the provision of middle-class wards, and of 50,000l. for the equipment of St. George's Chapel, Windsor.

7. Summer time ended at 2 A.M. [See under April 21.]

10. King George V., accompanied by Queen Mary, visited Newcastle and Gateshead and opened the new Tyne Bridge.

— It was announced that Lady Houston had made a gift of 10,000l. to the building fund of Liverpool Cathedral.

— The Chancellor of the Exchequer announced that an anonymous donor had sent 416l. as a contribution towards the reduction of the National Debt.

— Dr. R. R. Marett was elected Rector of Exeter College, Oxford.

11. *The Times* announced that Mr. George Bosch had given 220,000l. to the University of Sydney for the promotion of medical and surgical knowledge.

11. The Earl of Lonsdale was appointed a Knight of the Garter, and the Earl of Strathmore and Kinghorne a Knight of the Thistle.

13. *The Times* announced that Mrs. Moss (the widow of a member of the Mersey Docks and Harbour Board) of East Hill, Liss, Hants, had given 20,000l. to the building fund of Liverpool Cathedral.

— An alarming railway accident occurred near Charfield, in Gloucestershire, where the London, Midland and Scottish mail train from Leeds to Bristol was involved in a collision. Fourteen people lost their lives. This was the twenty-fourth serious railway accident in the current year.

15. The Graf Zeppelin Airship, which had left Friedrichshafen at 6.50 on the 11th inst., landed at Lakehurst, near New York, having completed her Transatlantic flight in 112 hours.

20. It was announced that Mr. Chester D. Pugsley, a New York banker, had presented to the Harvard Law School a trust fund of about 500,000 dollars to endow sixty international law scholarships.

25. *The Times* announced that Sir Abe Bailey had offered to provide an income of 5,000l. a year in perpetuity to the Royal Institute of International Affairs.

— It was announced that Mr. G. Vaughan Morgan had contributed 5,000l. to the fund for the rebuilding of Middlesex Hospital.

— A railway accident occurred near Dinwoodie on the London, Midland and Scottish Railway as a result of a collision. Four railwaymen lost their lives.

26. *The Times* announced that an anonymous donor had executed a deed of gift of approximately 150,000l. in favour of the British **Humane Association**.

26. As a result of a collision involving the Simplon-Orient Express travelling westward from Bucharest 27 people were killed.

29. In the Ashton by-election Labour captured the seat from the Conservatives.

31. *The Times* announced that Sir Leybourne Davidson had made a gift of 5,000l. to the University of Edinburgh for the Endowment of a Research Fellowship in Bacteriology and Immunology.

— It was announced at a meeting of the Court of Glasgow University that Mr. William C. Teacher, of Cove, had made a gift of 10,000l. for the foundation of a Lectureship in Bacteriology at the Glasgow Royal Infirmary.

NOVEMBER.

1. The Graf Zeppelin, the German airship which had crossed to America, landed at Friedrichshafen, having covered some 4,850 miles in over 71 hours.

— Celebrations commenced of the 150th anniversary of the opening of Wesley's Chapel in City Road, London.

1. An eruption of Mt. Etna began and lasted several days ; thousands were rendered homeless and many villages were destroyed.

3. Dr. J. H. Clapham, Fellow of King's College, Cambridge, was elected to the newly established Professorship of Economic History in the University.

10. *The Times* announced that a gift of 3 million dollars had been made to Harvard University.

11. Resignation of Sir Charles John Holmes as Director of the National Gallery; he was succeeded on December 31 by Mr. Augustus Moore Daniel.

11. The resignation of the Archbishop of Canterbury (which had been announced on August 25) took place on the occasion of the celebration of his golden wedding. He was succeeded by Dr. Lang, the Archbishop of York, who in turn was succeeded by Dr. Temple, Bishop of Manchester, who in his turn was succeeded by Dr. Warman, Bishop of Chelmsford. The King conferred a Barony of the United Kingdom [Lord Davidson of Lambeth] on Dr. Davidson, and a national gift was also made to him which Mr. Baldwin presented.

13. The Swedish Academy awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature for the year 1927 to M. Henri Bergson, and for 1928 to Mme. Sigrid Undset, the Norwegian novelist; and the prize for Chemistry for 1927 to Prof. Heinrich Wieland, of Munich, and for 1928 to Prof. Adolph Windaus, of Gottingen.

— The *Vestris*, on a journey from New York to South America, foundered with the loss of 115 lives.

15. Archdeacon Gilbert Joyce elected Bishop of Monmouth, and Archdeacon Thomas Lloyd elected Suffragan Bishop of St. Asaph.

— The *Mary Stanford*, the Rye lifeboat, capsized a mile from the shore, and her crew of 17 men were all drowned.

16. A strong gale, blowing at the rate of 90 miles an hour, swept over the country, doing much damage to buildings on land and to shipping, and causing much loss of life.

18. Mr. G. S. Gordon was elected President of Magdalen College, Oxford.

21. The Hon. Trevor Bigham, C.B., appointed Chief of the Criminal Investigation Department, in place of Sir Wyndham Childs retired.

— Indisposition of King George V.; first bulletin issued to the public.

— A bequest of 10,000l. was made to the University of Manchester by the late Mr. Robert Ottley for the purpose of higher commercial education.

— The new Spitalfield market opened by Queen Mary, who later in the day also opened the restored Old Hall of Lincoln's Inn.

21. Issue of Bank of England 1l. and 10s. currency notes to replace the Treasury notes in circulation.

— An anonymous donor sent 1,000l. to the Chancellor of the Exchequer towards the reduction of the National Debt.

23. Another gale swept the country, resulting once more in much material damage.

— Mr. J. F. Cameron was elected Master of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge.

27. Sir Otto Beit offered 50,000l. to the King Edward Hospital Fund for London for the purchase of radium for use in hospitals.

28. *The Times* announced that the cottage at Kirriemuir in which Sir James Barrie was born, had been acquired for the nation by Major R. D. Lauder, of Kensington.

— *The Times* reported that the Goldsmiths' Company had made a gift of 10,000l. to the University of Cambridge.

29. Dr. Ernest de Selincourt of University College was elected Professor of Poetry at Oxford.

DECEMBER.

1. An earthquake in Chile had disastrous results all over the country; 221 people were killed and 535 injured.

3. *The Times* reported that Dover's Hill, near Chipping Campden, in Gloucestershire, had been bought for the nation by the National Trust.

4. Owing to the King's illness six Councillors of State were nominated—the Queen, the Prince of Wales, the Duke of York, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord Chancellor, and the Prime Minister—for the purpose of summoning the Privy Council and for the transaction of other business on behalf of His Majesty.

— Dr. Cosmo Gordon Lang was enthroned Archbishop of Canterbury.

5. Mr. William Reid Dick, A.R.A., sculptor, and Mr. Augustus John, painter, were elected Royal Academicians.

6. Mr. A. W. Pickard-Cambridge, Fellow of Balliol College, Oxford, was appointed to the Professorship of Greek at the University of Edinburgh.

— King Edward VII. Hospital, Windsor, received a gift of 20,000l. from Sir William Berry and Sir Gomer Berry.

9. Cromwell House, a 16th century building, in High Street, East Grinstead, was destroyed by fire.

10. The new underground station at Piccadilly Circus was opened.

— Sir William Llewelyn, K.C.V.O., R.A., was elected President of the Royal Academy.

11. It was announced that Lincoln College, Oxford, had received a gift of 5,000l. from Mr. Edward Harkness, of New York, for the erection of new buildings.

17. Celebration, both in London and New York, of the 25th anniversary of the first aerial flight made by Mr. Orville Wright in an aeroplane.

20. The Rhodes Trustees made a gift of 10,000l. to the University of London.

— Violent gas explosions, followed by fires, caused damage to roads and property in the area between Kingsway and Shaftesbury Avenue ; as a result of injuries received one man died.

— Association formed for attracting foreign visitors to Great Britain.

31. The University of Cambridge received a gift of 250,000l. for scientific research under the will of Mr. John Humphrey Plummer.

— During the year 1928 the Royal National Lifeboat Institution gave rewards for the rescue of 572 lives.

— At the Rothamsted Experimental Station 17138 hours of sunshine were registered for the year, being 161.1 hours above the average.

RETROSPECT

OF

LITERATURE, SCIENCE, AND ART IN 1928.

LITERATURE.

(Books marked with an asterisk are specially noticed at the end of this section.)

BOTH for quality and quantity the output of the year's books was eminently satisfactory. According to the *Publishers' Circular*, a total of 14,399 books was published during 1928, as compared with 13,810 in 1927, and 12,799 in 1926. These figures in themselves would not necessarily be impressive, but when it is remembered that during the year we had first-rate contributions from Mr. George Bernard Shaw, Mr. H. G. Wells, the late Mr. Hardy, and Mrs. Virginia Woolf, there is reason for the opinion that the year's literary harvest can compare with the best.

Biographies were particularly abundant; pride of place, both because of its bulk and prominence, must be given to Lord Ronaldshay's *Life of Lord Curzon*, which probably reached very many readers. The task of conveying a sympathetic yet unbiassed picture of that persevering man, its hero, was well achieved. To a suggestion of Lord Balfour's we owe Lord Oxford's *Memories and Reflections, 1852-1927*, which fortunately was completed before his death. Here, in beautiful English, was the record of a man who was in his own words "quite clear . . . as to what is right and what is wrong." There was little of self in the second volume, which was mainly about the War. Asquith was one of the three politicians whom Lord Gladstone, in his *In Memory of my Father* considered to be more free from rancour than the Grand Old Man of Victorian politics; the other two were Hartington and Lord Balfour. The book revealed the man beneath the stiffness and pomposity he displayed, and refuted the ridiculous assertions that were latterly made about Gladstone. The Queen was always unkind to him than he was about her. "Can the G.O.M. not be roused to some sense of honour?" she wrote with liberal italics and capitals, to Lady Wolseley, whose husband was in command when the troops were to be withdrawn from Khartoum without avenging Gordon. We read this in the third volume of the second series of *The Letters of Queen Victoria*, edited by George Earl Buckle, covering the years 1879-1885. Mr. Buckle's editorship was admirable. The volume closed on a dignified note, with the Queen, after Gladstone's defeat in 1885, offering him an earldom in terms which moved him very deeply.

The "G.O.M." also received attention in Mr. Philip Guedalla's *Gladstone and Palmerston*, whose correspondence from 1851 to 1865 he edited with an Introduction and Commentary. In a very adroitly written eighty pages, Mr. Guedalla extracted all the meat from the letters and made some piquant observations. We heard more of the storms that Gladstone navigated in Mr. T. M. Healy's *Leaders and Letters of my Day*, the record of a very active half-century, which saw the great struggle against Irish Landlordism, itself actually the beginning of Home Rule. *The Life of William O'Brien, the Irish Nationalist*, by Michael MacDonagh, told us more about the land struggle in Ireland, and the part O'Brien took in it when Parnell gave him the leadership of United Ireland. Despite the description of the last tranquil days at Mallow, however, Mr. MacDonagh failed to convince us that his inconsistent subject was an apostle of conciliation and peace. Another Victorian of note found adequate appreciation in Miss Kamsay's excellent biography, *Sir Robert Peel*, one of the best volumes in the series, "Makers of the Nineteenth Century." A man whose earlier experience admirably fitted him to discharge his later task was Walter H. Page, as we learnt in Mr. B. J. Hendrick's book, *The Earlier Life and Letters of Walter H. Page, 1855-1913*. It was as a journalist under the dominant Samuel McClure that his enthusiasm for democracy and literature found their outlet, and that he acquired the wide experience and understanding which he brought to bear later on the problems arising out of the Great War. The origins of some of these was made clear in Prince Lichnowsky's *Heading for the Abyss*. This book contained all Lichnowsky's dispatches from London, for the first time in an available translation. The Prince became at times a little strident; but this seemed very human when it was realised that his independence in stating unpalatable truths cost him his career. Another distinguished German who deserved better of his efforts was revealed in *The Memories of Prince Max of Baden*.

We heard more of the American view of the War in the third and fourth volumes of *The Intimate Papers of Colonel House*, arranged as a narrative by Charles Seymour. He was of invaluable help to Wilson, and it was always through House that he was approached at Versailles. To this day, House can only conjecture the causes of his parting from Wilson. It was never a break, and House throughout is never unkind or impatient about him. Diligent research was shown in *The War Guilt*, by H. W. Wilson, who investigated every possible avenue from 1871 to 1914. A parallel study might be found in the fifth volume of *British Documents on the Origins of the War, 1898-1914*, dealing with the Near East, the Macedonian Problem and the Annexation of Bosnia, 1903-1909, edited by G. P. Gooch and Harold Temperley, with the assistance of Lilian M. Penson. A document of no small value, likewise as it were an appendix to history, was Lord Morley's *Memorandum on Resignation, August, 1914*.

Mr. Lansbury gave us some charmingly boyish memories in *My Life*, and Mr. H. W. Nevinson betrayed his versatile personality in *Last Changes, Last Chances*, his third volume of reminiscences. *A Diplomat in the East* was another collection of reminiscences, from the pen of Sir A. Hardinge.

Biography was also well served in a book that was justly acclaimed as one

of the best of the year, *The Memoirs of a Fox-Hunting Man*, whose author, anonymous in the first edition, was revealed in the second to be Mr. Siegfried Sassoon. This was not Mr. Sassoon's only contribution to the literature of the year; *The Heart's Journey* was probably its most ultimately valuable poetry. Considerable notice was also attracted by *The Enormous Room*, by Mr. E. E. Cummings, an American hitherto only known in this country by his verse, the seeming incoherence of which has been explained and defended by Mr. Robert Graves. *The Enormous Room* was a personal record. Mr. Cummings and a friend were fatuously imprisoned in France while serving with the American Army, and suffered great privations and injury to their health. This account of the extraordinary characters and incidents in the room in which they were imprisoned was written in entirely individual language and made remarkable reading. Remarkable war reminiscences of a different kind—intimate and horrible, yet full of understanding—were set forth in Mr. Edmund Blunden's. *Undertones of War*, an altogether rare book.

Mrs. Hardy's *Early Life of Thomas Hardy, 1840-1891*, told the story of her husband's career to the approaching publication of *Tess of the D'Urbervilles*, with the storm about to burst. It was an invaluable document, as there was so much of Hardy in it. Mrs. Hardy's narrative was simply a framework for his notes and observations, which he probably wrote more out of duty as a novelist than with personal reflectiveness, but which nevertheless are entirely himself. There was an expected sadness in these reflections of Hardy's, but an unexpected sadness, almost a desperation, was discovered in *Letters from Conrad, 1895-1924*, edited by Mr. Edward Garnett. They were unrelievedly unhappy, and showed that the beautiful certainty of his art was most of the certainty he possessed, for the letters revealed painful doubts and questionings. Further light was thrown on Conrad in Mr. Richard Curie's *The Last Twelve Years of Conrad*. The book was written throughout in an admiring spirit, yet this admiration was well-balanced on account of Mr. Curie's intimacy with his subject during his lifetime. It was interesting to know that Conrad's work was greatly premeditated, that in later years he considered three hundred and fifty words a good output for a day, and that his manuscripts and proofs looked like a battlefield after he had corrected them.

The centenary of Rossetti's birth was marked by several books. Mr. Evelyn Waugh showed in his *Rossetti* a sympathy and respect for his subject's life and painting which has frequently been lacking in much older critics. Sir Hall Caine had the advantage of knowing Rossetti personally; his book is perhaps a more intimate picture. The ultimate effect of both books on the reader was to convince him that Rossetti was largely maligned and sorely tried by exaggerated criticisms which almost amounted to slander. An attempt to discover Rossetti's psychology was made by Mr. R. L. M^groz in *Dante Gabriel Rossetti; Painter Poet of Heaven and Earth*. A valuable modern view of an ill-judged contemporary of Rossetti's was Mrs. Amabel William-Ellis's *The Tragedy of John Ruskin*. Mr. Osbert Burdett, in his *The Brownings* dealt handsomely with Browning the poet, the lover and the husband, no less than with Mrs. Browning, whose personality he depicted

with much sympathy and understanding. In *Stalky's Reminiscences*, Major-General L. V. Dunsterville challenged his biographer, Mr. Rudyard Kipling, by telling in hard fact the story round which Mr. Kipling draped his fancy. *The Life of Charles M. Doughty*, by Dr. D. G. Hogarth, was a dignified biography worthy alike of the biographer and of his subject. Mr. Ralph Straus's conscientious *Dickens* came in for inflated notice as its publication followed immediately upon a rather slanderous novel on Dickens' life by "Ephesian," entitled *This Side Idolatry*, which aroused considerable public indignation. Mr. E. V. Lucas, in his *The Colvins and Their Friends*, drew on Sir Sidney Colvin's *Memories and Notes* for an account of his boyhood, when he dreamt of becoming "a Ruskin and a Matthew Arnold rolled into one." Subsequently Mr. Lucas told of the rebuff from Ruskin, the friendship with Burne-Jones and Rossetti, and most importantly of the friendship with the Stevensons and Henley. Dealing with an earlier age, Mr. Whitley in his *. Artists and Their Friends in England, 1700-1799*, afforded his readers an opportunity for a most interesting study in contrasts.

The two most important, purely critical books of the year, came encouragingly from newcomers to this field of literature. Mr. George H. W. Rylands' *Words and Poetry* and Mr. Herbert Read's *English Prose Style* were the two works in question. Mr. Rylands succeeded in conveying to us some of the reasons for our delight in poetry, and the happiness of that delight. Mr. Read, more austere analytically, considerably simplified our ideas on his subject. Mr. T. S. Eliot, in *For Lancelot Andrewes, Essays on Style and Order*, was responsible for a volume of thoughtful essays whose general point of view he described as "classicist in literature, royalist in politics, and Anglo-Catholic in Religion." Two valuable additions were made to the new series issued by the Hogarth Press under the title of *Hogarth Lectures*: Mr. Edwin Muir's *The Structure of the Novel* and Mr. F. L. Lucas's *Tragedy*. *The Strange Necessity*, by Miss Rebecca West, contained some brilliant essays, and those who ran to read were not disappointed in Mr. H. G. Wells' *The Way the World is Going*, Mr. Belloc's *A Conversation with an Angel*, and Mr. Chesterton's *Generally Speaking*. Professor Oliver Elton's *Survey of English Literature* and W. P. Ker's posthumous *Form and Style in Poetry* were both valuable, though larger notice on this count must be accorded to Mr. Edmund Blunden's *Leigh Hunt's Examiner Examined* and to Mr. G. Lowes Dickinson's and Miss F. Melian Stawell's *Goethe's Faust*, undoubtedly the best English Commentary so far. If English scholars turned to the great German, at least one German scholar reviewed anew the Great Englishman, Shakespeare; Professor Gundolf in his *. Shakespeare, Sein Wesen und Werk*, presents points of view to which English readers might well in due course have access. It only remains to mention Mr. Humbert Wolfe who did not quite succeed in using dialogue as an instrument of criticism in *Dialogues and Monologues*, his first venture into criticism.

There was a good harvest of historical works. Mr. Hilaire Belloc, whom few years see absent from this form of writing, was represented by his *James the Second*, a welcome book to the many who are interested in the

Stuarts and seventeenth-century England, and by the third volume of his *History of England*. This was as refreshing as its predecessors, despite its theological bias. Mr. Belloc makes the interesting statement that Louis XIV. "stood for popular monarchy against the wealthier classes everywhere"; this is largely borne out in *Louis XIV.*, by Mr. C. S. Forester, a book engagingly written for the general reader. Two great Americans were commemorated in Mr. W. E. Woodward's *George Washington* and Mr. Albert Y. Beveridge's *Abraham Lincoln, 1809-1858*, two refreshingly balanced studies from which their respective subjects emerged with commendable clearness. A man of very different calibre was revealed in *The Amazing Career of Edward Gibbon Wakefield*, by Mr. A. J. Harrop, who confirmed his subject as a great colonist without mitigating his thoroughly villainous early career. Mr. John Buchan wrote in *Montrose* an enlargement of his shorter work on his great fellow-countryman, and Mr. Milton Waldman excellently contributed to the series he edits in his *Sir Walter Raleigh. Wellington*, by Mr. Oliver Brett, proved to be a character-study in which the author successfully discussed the man apart from "the actions of his military and public life," and "the glamour of his surpassing fame." Mr. John Drinkwater, in his *Charles James Fox*, although rather idolatrous, like most of Fox's biographers, wrote an extremely readable book despite this unoriginal attitude. One was also grateful for Sir John Fortescue's continuation of his edition of George III.'s correspondence, which showed that monarch again in a better light than that to which he has been accustomed. Mr. G. R. Stirling Taylor encouragingly avoided conventional judgments in his *Oliver Cromwell*, and in *Elizabeth and Essex*, Mr. Lytton Strachey struck, as usual with greater clearness than all those who work on similar lines, the note that was eagerly expected of him. Two historical books of wide appeal were Mr. E. F. Benson's *Alcibiades* and the translation of Count Corti's *Rise of the House of Rothschild*. Mr. G. B. Harrison's *An Elizabethan Journal* gave a most vivid picture of the England of Shakespeare's day, while Mr. C. Delisle Burns's *Short History of the World, 1918-1928*, was a courageous attempt to paint a picture of the last decade. Sir W. Beach Thomas's *The Story of the Spectator* deserves to be mentioned; it was published for this year's centenary of that sturdy weekly.

Of more monumental works Sir Arthur Evans's second volume of *The Palace of Minos* was a brilliant elucidation of the history of a lost civilisation, and the fruits of specialisation blossomed in Professor Tout's third and fourth volumes of his *Chapters in the Administrative History of Medieval England*. The seventh volume of *The Cambridge Ancient History* was published, and the third volume (with the second to follow) of *The Cambridge History of India*. A history which had a great popular appeal was Mr. Esme Wingfield-Stratford's *The History of British Civilisation*. Professor J. W. Allen betrayed much learning in his *History of Political Thought in the Sixteenth Century*.

Art and the Reformation, by G. G. Coulton, brings us to religious history. Dr. Coulton's book was a sincere investigation, while further matter for thought on the period was provided in the second volume of Dr. James Mackinnon's *Luther and the Reformation*. Professor F. M. Powicke's

Stephen Langton was a delicate and sympathetic study of a noble figure. A well-translated and interesting interpretation was M. Edmond Fleg's *The Life of Moses*.

Mr. Clive Bell's *Civilisation* (Chatto & Windus) advocated a new way of life under the dominion of a new aristocracy, in the bright manner which characterises this author's books on art. Two controversial books came from Judge Ben B. Lindsey and Mr. Wainwright Evans, . *The Revolt of Modern Youth* and *The Companionate Marriage*. Professor S. de Madariaga's experience as an official of the League of Nations was illuminatingly used in his *Englishmen, Frenchmen, and Spaniards*, a most interesting study in national psychology. Mr. Alfred Zimmern, in his *Learning and Leadership*, pleaded for international intellectual co-operation, a phrase which is taken from the book's sub-title. Mr. A. I. Carhill in his *Rods and Axes* attempted to demonstrate the dangerous weakness of certain aspects of modern democracy. For a clear, comprehensive, and stimulating analysis of Modern Democracy in wellnigh all its aspects, thoughtful people of both sexes consulted Mr. George Bernard Shaw in his . *The Intelligent Woman's Guide to Socialism*, which may be written down as among the most valuable books of the year.

The problem of the cosmic process interested not a few people who found a reliable guide in Professor A. S. Eddington, who in his *The Nature of the Physical World* made the newest physical theories the basis of a philosophical outlook in the most stimulating book that he has yet given us. *The Soul and its Faculties* was the sub-title of Dr. F. R. Zermant's *Philosophical Theology*, which was a first instalment dealing mostly with philosophy. In *Theistic Monism*, Mr. Joseph Evans strove, with great honesty, to determine the relation of mind and body. *Sibyls and Seers*, by Dr. Edwyn Bevan, was a survey of some ancient theories of revelation and inspiration, a most interesting excursion for the interested speculator on these subjects. Mr. Bertrand Russell collected a number of miscellaneous papers in his . *Sceptical Essays* which others than sceptics will be bound to read with interest.

Several West End theatrical successes were produced in book form, notably *Young Woodley*, by John Van Druten. Mr. Noel Coward, in his *Three Plays and a Preface*, delivered in the Preface a clever but rather unjustified assault on English audiences. The plays themselves were the best he has written, exhibiting his neatness of construction and facility of dialogue. Mr. St. John Ervine in *Four One Act Plays* made one regret that he does not write more for the theatre, at the expense of writing less about it. The most powerful published play of the year was undoubtedly Mr. Eugene O'Neill's . *Strange Interlude* ; while Mr. Wilder's . *The Angel that Troubled the Waters* was, although not entirely successful, an interesting and beautiful experiment in dramatic writing.

The event of the year in poetry, and indeed in literature, was the death of Thomas Hardy, whose . *Winter Words* proved that his genius never flagged to the end. Mr. W. B. Yeats showed in . *The Tower* that his youthful dreams have not gone, but have only been subdued, and are no less sublime than of old. Mr. Siegfried Sassoon, the most promising of our

younger poets, sustained every one's hopes of him in *The Heart's Journey*, wherein his bitterness of the war period gave way to a moving and beautiful observation. Mr. Laurence Binyon followed up his mastery of the ode which he had displayed in *The Sirens* some years ago, with the *Idols*, which, though not so successful as the previous poem, kept admirably alive the odic tradition, which is in such danger of neglect. "A. E.," in *Midsummer Eve*, illustrated his soaring mysticism, and Mr. John Masfield gave us *The Coming of Christ*, a moving cathedral play, and *Midsummer Night*, a presentation of the Arthurian legend breathing vividly the English spirit which its author voices so well. Mr. Humbert Wolfe was in melodious voice in *This Blind Rose* which showed his craftsmanship to perfection, and Mr. W. H. Davies delighted his many admirers with his *. Collected Poems*.

In American poetry, the loss of Elinor Wylie was brought home to us particularly in *Black Armour*, one of her three books published in this country during the year. Miss Edna St. Vincent Millay's *The Buck in the Snow* beautifully revealed her lyrical gift, and Mr. Edward Arlington Robinson's long poem *Tristram*, a most distinguished work, attracted the recognition that has only so recently come to its author in this country.

In the fiction of the year there was a great deal that was of first-rate quality, some of which may be expected to possess permanency. Mr. H. G. Wells, impishly untiring, was represented by *. Mr. BleUsworihy on Ram-pole Island*, which satisfyingly recalled his earlier comedies, and Mr. John Galsworthy, with his serene artistry, ended the "Forsyte Saga" with *. Swan Song*, in which the death of Soames Forsyte was recorded, making one feel the passing of a living and familiar personality. Mrs. Virginia Woolf scored one of her biggest successes with *. Orlando*, an exquisite and original piece of work which enjoyed a wide circle of readers. Of Mr. Aldous Huxley's *. Point Counter Point* it was said that his characters talk inordinately. Their living counterparts, however, do talk inordinately, and he reflected them entirely faithfully. Mr. R. H. Mottram increased his reputation with *. The English Miss*, in which he successfully painted a big canvas and displayed an excellent sense of form. If Mr. Henry Williamson can achieve Mr. Mottram's technique, he may become a great novelist. With no great hopes to justify from his early fiction, he wrote *The Pathway*, his first book since he won the Hawthornden Prize with *Tarka the Otter*. It was one of the most moving novels of the year, and received great praise, as did *The Case of Sergeant Grischa*, which was translated from the German of Arnold Zweig; its humanity and literary excellence made it one of the best novels published during the year.

The novel which raised most laughter was Mr. Evelyn Waugh's *Decline and Fall*, a brilliantly malicious picture of a disreputable Welsh school and of the younger members of society. This first novel displayed Mr. Waugh's versatility, as he also wrote the *Rossetti* mentioned earlier in this chronicle. His brother, Mr. Alec Waugh, showed a welcome return in quality to his earlier work in *Nor Many Waters*. Mr. William Gerhardi's *Jazz and Jasper*, although described in some quarters as lacking in originality, had that individual flavour which prevents one regretting how often he repeats *The Polyglots*, which is twin sister to *Jazz and Jasper*.

Considerable public agitation, resulting in its suppression, was caused by Miss Radclyffe Hall's *The Well of Loneliness*, which was opportunistically used as a sensation by a Sunday newspaper. The book, despite its merits, had too much the air of a personal crusade to compare favourably with its author's previous prize-winning book, *Adam's Breed*. Mr. Compton Mackenzie's *Extremes Meet* and Mr. Somerset Maugham's *Ashenden* were both about war-time Secret Service, and both made excellent reading. Mr. Mackenzie also published in a limited edition *Extraordinary Women*. Its high price and the restricted number of copies probably saved it from the fate of Miss Radclyffe Hall's novel. Mr. D. H. Lawrence took refuge in a limited private edition for his book, *Lady Chatterley's Lover*. This very unreserved work may have the virtue of clearing Mr. Lawrence's pen of various impediments that were worrying him, and enable him to write with a lightened burden. He also published a book of short stories, *The Woman who Rode Away*, in which he proved once more that there is no greater English short story writer. Mr. E. M. Forster's short stories in *The Eternal Moment* were somewhat disappointing, but they were from his early work, and Mr. C. E. Montague's posthumous stories in *Action* (Chatto & Windus), was given a mixed reception. Mr. A. E. Coppard's *Silver Circus* adequately continued his reputation; and Mr. St. John Ervine's admirers were pleased at his collecting his short stories and sketches in *The Mountain*. *Escape We Never*, by John Presland (Mrs. Gladys Skelton), was a novel of Vienna which did not receive its due meed of recognition. Mrs. Naomi Mitchison cleverly continued her recrudescence of ancient Greece in *Black Sparta*, although appreciation of her stories needs a special palate. Mr. Hugh Walpole's *The Silver Thorn* contained some good stories, though his novel *Wintersmoon* enjoyed more limelight. Miss Dorothy Edwards followed up her remarkable first book of short stories, *Rhapsody*, with a novel *Winter Sonata*, and was not quite so successful in this more spacious medium. Lady Oxford's first novel *Octavia* was interesting and worthy of notice on its own merits apart from the notice which any book from its author would inevitably attract. Other first novels of merit were Miss Sarah Salt's *A Tiny Seed of Love*, Mr. O'Donnell's *Islanders*, Miss Norah Hoult's *Poor Women*, Miss Eleanor Scott's *War among Ladies*, and Miss Theodora Benson's *Salad Days*.

Mr. Con O'Leary wrote an extremely successful novel, half fantasy, in *This Delicate Creature*. Miss Margaret Irwin could not do so well in *Fire Down Below*, in which she attempted to break away from the style of her previous books. Two novelists, whose steady progress deserves greater success, published novels this year—Mr. Bruce Marshall, *The Little Friend*, and Mr. Charles Lloyd-Jones, *The Matriarch*.

Although her earlier less satirical manner may be preferred, Miss Rose Macaulay's *Keeping up Appearances* truly represented her powers of expressing wit and wisdom. Mr. A. P. Herbert was consistently humorous in *The Trials of Topsy*, an achievement for a writer who has weekly to amuse the readers of *Punch*. Mr. Ronald Fraser, although he still has to acquire full control of his gifts, made a promising advance with *The Vista*; Mrs. Sarah Gertrude Millin sent two notable novels from South Africa, *The Coming of*

the *Lord* and *An Artist in the Family* ; Miss Naomi Royde Smith was represented by *Children in the Wood* and *The Lover*, both moving books, while her husband in the intervals of acting wrote a first novel, *To Kiss the Crocodile*, which was rather maudlin and garishly coloured, but showed considerable feeling. Mr. Ernest Bramah continued his Chinese entertainments in . *Kai Lung Unrolls his Mat*, and Mr. Norman Douglas in . *In the Beginning* amused his readers with gentle irony by picturing the lives of the Gods on high.

Mr. Robert Nicholls celebrated a rare appearance amongst writers of fiction in a short and strange novel, *Under the Yew*, which in a suitably elaborate prose told of the spiritual experience of a gambler a hundred years ago, who having lost his all, was cured of a lifetime's obsession for play by a vision he experienced on the moonlit ride home after his ruin. Mr. Edward Sackville-West's *Mandrake over the Water-Carrier* was even stranger, as it is to contemporaries that he ascribes equal oddnesses. Mr. Hilaire Belloc wrote two novels—one a jest called *But Hush, We are Observed!* illustrated by Mr. G. K. Chesterton, and the other *Belinda*, an elegant excursion, exquisitely done. Mr. Arnold Bennett was represented by a trifle, *The Strange Vanguard*. Mr. T. F. Powys, with his . *House with the Echo*, and Mr. James Stephens, with his appropriately named . *Etched in Moonlight*, were favoured as much as ever by those who are interested in first editions. Mr. Wyndham Lewis produced the first of a volume of a triptych, *The Childermass* (Chatto & Windus), which it is unfair to comment on until the whole has appeared. Suffice it to say that Mr. Lewis is far less incomprehensible in his straightforward philosophical works than in this fiction, which is written with great and partially deliberate clumsiness, and periodically in the manner of Mr. Joyce, who can achieve it better.

Other novelists with familiar names did well during the year. Miss Sheila Kaye-Smith was good as a sound historian in *Iron and Smoke* ; Mr. Ford Madox Ford's *Last Post* was a sequel to his Tietjens series ; Mr. Francis Brett Young enhanced his reputation with his lengthy *My Brother Jonathan* ; Mr. Frank Swinnerton's *A Brood of Ducklings* gave pleasure to his many admirers ; Miss E. M. Delafield's *The Suburban Young Man* and *What is Love ?* worthily maintained her reputation ; in *Farewell to Youth* Miss Storm Jameson showed that her manner has lost none of its attraction ; Mr. Conal O'Riordan made a good showing in *Soldier of Waterloo* ; Miss Tennyson Jesse cultivated her own particular patch in *Many Latitudes* ; Miss G. B. Stern's *Debonair*, Miss Hilda Vaughan's *The Invader*, and Mr. W. B. Maxwell's *We Forget Because we Must*, were worthy of their best writing ; Mr. Maurice Baring told a readable tale in . *Comfortless Memory* ; Mr. Liam O'Flaherty's *The Assassin* was in his usual manner ; and Mrs. Beatrice Kean Seymours' *Youth Rides Out* maintained her reputation for strength. *The History of Egg Pandervill* deservedly found many admirers of Mr. Gerald Ballert's skill as a story-teller.

American writers contributed adequately to the fiction of the year. Mr. Claude McKay, a negro, reached a high level in his *Home to Harlem*, remarkable for its spontaneity and rich language. Mr. Ernest Hemingway gratified his small but devoted band of admirers in this country with a

book of short stories, *Men Without Women*. Mrs. Edith Wharton and Mr. Sinclair Lewis were represented respectively by *The Children* and *The Man Who Knew Coolidge*. Despite a proportion of high praise, Miss Susan Glaspell's *Brook Evans* was not her best novel. Mr. Joseph Hergesheimer's *Quiet Cities* was, like all his work, pleasing and colourful. Mr. Ring Lardner's *The Love Nest*, and Mr. Van Vechten's *Spider Boy* were accounted humorous.

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 Life of Lord Curzon, by Lord Ronaldshay, three volumes (Benn).—This model biography was rightly divided into three sections—Curzon's first forty years, then a judiciously complete volume of the six years in India, and lastly the remaining years. Dispassionate yet sympathetic, Lord Ronaldshay showed the intense energy and ambition which led Curzon to be so misconstrued, without omitting to demonstrate the little-known qualities which gave him a generally unsuspected humanity. "How could the public know . . . that he bubbled over with animal spirits, danced, joked, did all those things that high-spirited youth in love with life and with a consuming passion for laughter insists on doing the wide world over? Or that he possessed a spirit of hospitality that made him the most charming of hosts and a sense of humour that rendered him inimitable as a raconteur?" The biography is particularly interesting when it describes Curzon's charming love story, and how he none the less determined to carry out his plan of travelling in the East before he could marry, because he had fixed his ambitions and beliefs in that quarter. There is no doubt that the tremendous labour he brought to his Vice-royalty bore many fruits in the way of improved administration, but it is doubtful if he ever won the affection, or even the complete trust, of the peoples of India. He failed to become Premier, but he deserved a dukedom. Although he never achieved completeness, a life of such concentrated, impassioned effort surely deserved a greater worldly fulfilment, when this hollow distinction than the Premiership would have meant so much. Lord Ronaldshay's volumes are worthy of their subject.

Sir Robert Peel, by A. A. W. Ramsay (Constable).—Miss Ramsay had already shown her prowess a year or two previously in her *Idealism and Foreign Policy*, proving that she could write well and acutely on Victorian politics. *Sir Robert Peel*, the most recent addition to the admirable "Makers of the Nineteenth Century," edited by Professor Basil Williams, is a worthy successor to the earlier book. In it a number of ungenerous myths are exploded, and the ultimate Tightness of Peel's conduct in regard to Catholic Emancipation and The Corn Law Repeal questions is proved. A North countryman, who never lost his Lancashire accent, Peel never properly

understood the Irish or the Scottish, which largely accounts for the failure of his policy in both of these countries. It was only through the power of his abnormal intelligence that he later discarded the narrow Toryism, which he had inherited from his rather priggish upbringing as a rich North countryman's son destined for politics. Lord Ashley remarked that to dine with Peel was "like the neighbourhood of an iceberg with a slight thaw on the surface"; even Gladstone said he was "the most conscientious man I ever knew in spareness of eulogium," and it was to a friend's fear of being rebuffed that he said nothing about the viciousness of the horse Peel was riding as he rode past him to his death. The public intuitively showed its gratitude to one of Peel's inaugurations by nicknaming policemen after him; he restored the currency, steadily promoted factory legislation, improved taxation, and most importantly of all, started the huge expansion of British trade by his Free Measures. Such facts as these help one to understand Disraeli's dictum that Peel was "the greatest Member of Parliament that ever lived," and it is these facts that Miss Eamsay brings out with great skill in her very readable biography, which does justice to Peel both as a man and as a politician.

Undertones of War, by Edmund Blunden (R. Cobden-Sanderson).—With *The Waggoner* Mr. Blunden was admitted without question into the fellowship of English poetry. With *The Bonadventure* it was clear that, like his favourite Romantic poets, he was also a prose writer of a rare personal distinction. In his earlier poems the war came as a memory shattering his dreams, and in this present volume he has endeavoured to disburden himself of it. For ten years there has been a hushed taboo on the expression of war feeling, but in this stock-taking year it is almost as though we have reluctantly admitted the failure of our hopes of a literary renaissance, and have turned back to evaluate the experiences of the war. A legend is growing up. Some have written to urge that the war mattered only to those who fought in it, some that it was a glorious adventure, some that the hardships were experienced by civilians, by generals at headquarters, by men in internment camps, and by neutrals. We are even prepared to learn that the enemy felt much as we did; but only one writer, and that Mr. Blunden, has given a plain unsentimentalised picture of a simple human experience. The "Shepherd" whose poems of peace and war received the Hawthornden Prize in 1922 tells how, as a boy of 19, he joined the 11th Royal Sussex at Festubert in 1916, and one of his chapters is entitled "Coming of Age." It is a deep, a generous, a modest, a tender book, whose reticences and understatements will remind warriors of much that dared not be spoken, and whose delicate poetical exactness will inform others of the terrors, of the silences, of the grenades "cooing like pigeons," of mines "twittering" before they collapse, of ruins "that ought to have fallen but stood grimacing." An individual is caught up in a vast process, "a harmless young shepherd in a soldier's coat" adjusts himself to an alien compulsion, and helped by the vaster movement of the seasons, the fish and wild flowers, the companionship and the songs of human beings, and Young's *Night Thoughts on Life, Death, and Immortality*, he returns to give us in prose and verse a fit monument for those as young

as himself, to whose past and present he now adds a future. When the mists clear away from those strange years, the war will be seen more clearly and perhaps remembered more tenderly, because Mr. Blunden wrote of it.

Artists and Their Friends in England (From 1700 to 1799), by William T. Whitley, two volumes (The Medici Society).—To all lovers of Art, not only as an expression of a type of genius but as a very essential human occupation and human interest, these two magnificent volumes of life and gossip will come as a great boon. However the aesthetes may rage, however passionately they reserve holy niches for their artistic idols, the larger body of human beings will be made devotees of Art and worshippers of artists through the warm details that cling to the lives of great painters. It may be a lamentable fact that more persons know of Cellini the wild and the daring and the unmoral, than Cellini the sculptor, the goldsmith, and the master technician. More Englishmen know of the gossip around Mrs. Siddons than those who have paused to study the methods of Gainsborough. But it is certain that many are attracted to the work of painters because of their romantic careers or perhaps by the homelier details of their lives. Many, however, who are serious students of Art will be eager to follow the development of a painter and his school by careful study of the contemporary life and habits which called forth the artist's talents, and which determined his subject-matter. The hundred years which this book scans were of peculiar value to English painting and to English life. To England's political and economic expansion, to her social changes, was also added an urbanity and rich social panorama in which the artist who was also a gentleman could play an interesting part. To be a painter was not merely to be a peculiar person, peculiarly endowed, but an interesting fellow who by his sensitiveness not only could satirise the age, but could also flatter the individual. Mr. Whitley does justice to this thickly populated period of English artistic life, adding to the gossip on great lives an enormous amount of information about the life of the times. He makes known to many a host of names of minor painters who without the author's efforts would be relegated to the oblivion of obscure books and discarded portfolios.

Shakespeare, Sein Wesen und Werk, von Friedrich Gundolf (Georg Bondi in Berlin).—Professor Gundolf's latest and most ambitious work is a remarkable contribution to Shakespearean studies. His previous books on Julius Caesar, Kleist, and Goethe have given him a huge public following despite the difficult language, the packed thought, and comprehensive erudition they contain. His revision of Schlegel's translation has acquainted him minutely with Shakespeare's text and his survey of German Shakespearean interpretation (now in its twenty-ninth thousand !), while orientating him, has relieved him of the necessity of recapitulation. A change has come over German literary scholarship : the textual and bibliographical minuteness has been taken over by French and American thesis-writers, and these 900 pages of pure and pertinent analysis, without a single footnote or reference, are as rich in stimulus as they are unlike the old heaviness. Professor Gundolf regards Shakespeare as the world's type-figure of poetical creativity, as a unified and distinct organism. He deplores the sectional

approaches of the source-hunter, the archaeologist, the biographer, the psychologist and the philosopher, and endeavours to establish the essential structure of this all-comprehending and universal genius, seeking, by intense analysis of the works, to recreate the age of which he is the symbol and the fruit. This is a bold task, but play by play is examined chronologically, picking out the threads, tying them together until the mental, the dramatic, the theatrical, the technical, the philosophical, the social, and finally the personal threads weave together the most profoundly elaborated tapestry-portrait of Shakespeare that Germany has ever given us. Professor Gundolf seems not only to have read the whole of ancient and modern literature, but has it ready to apply in concise characterisations, masterly summaries, and exact definitions to whatever portion of the Shakespearean fabric he is examining. His most interesting treatments are of *Love's Labour's Lost*, of *Richard III.*, of *Henry IV.*, of *Hamlet*, and of *King Lear*. The book is difficult reading, even for Germans, and some of his enthusiasms may take him beyond orthodox English comprehension and acceptance, but no more serious or more comprehensive treatment of Shakespeare has come from England or Germany of recent years.

Elizabeth and Essex, A Tragic History, by Lytton Strachey (Chatto & Windus).—Mr. Strachey's latest work is in all respects true to its subtitle. It is indeed a tragic history; three tragic histories, to be precise, even if one excepts the Virgin Queen herself—the failure of Philip of Spain, epitomised in the dying scene in the Escorial, which is perhaps the most vivid piece of description in the book, the tragedy of the unfortunate Bacon, and lastly Essex himself, the unbalanced favourite, who fell because he was heard to say of his Queen that "her conditions were as crooked as her carcass." One of Mr. Strachey's great gifts is the art of merging history in his characters. However much this portrait of the vacillating Queen may shock her ardent worshippers, it is everywhere alive. Essex the headstrong is alive, Bacon is so human that present-day comparisons leap to the mind, and even Robert Cecil, rather a mystery hitherto, emerges from his gloom behind the throne. Such is the interest aroused by these and other characters that the loose historical progression of the book is barely noticeable. Mr. Strachey knows how to dwell on or to accelerate incidents so cunningly that time, the reader feels, must itself have been harnessed to the characters in the story. It might perhaps be said that while in Bacon a very fair villain has been created, Mr. Strachey is unable or unwilling to paint a hero. To which it might be replied that heroes, however heroic, are often dead, dull, wooden things, whereas Elizabeth and Essex, as they appear here, are live figures, full of the weaknesses and foibles which distinguish human beings from painted idols. The imaginative sketch of Elizabeth's emotional life and her vanity of heart, to which Essex's fall is attributed, is particularly deserving of our gratitude. It is here that the woman, who proved too much for Spain and Rome, but who deceived herself to the end over her feminine charms, becomes most truly human. If a prophecy may be ventured, Mr. Strachey's book will find an appreciative public for many a long day.

The Cambridge Ancient History, Vol. VII. : The Hellenistic Monarchies

and the Rise of Rome (Cambridge University Press).—Mr. M. P. Charlesworth has replaced the late Prof. Bury as one of the three editors of this series, which has won for itself a well-deserved reputation throughout the English-speaking world and beyond. The seventh volume, which runs to 988 pages, is roughly divided into two parts, the one surveying the trend of events in the three great Hellenistic monarchies which arose out of the confusion following on the death of Alexander the Great—Macedon, Egypt, and Syria ; and the other telling the story of the rise and early history of Rome. As in the previous volumes, movements in thought and letters are accorded adequate treatment, side by side with political affairs ; indeed, an effort is made to trace the history of the one upon the other. Where there is so much that is of special merit, it were invidious to single out particular sections for praise ; none the less, Prof. Ferguson's survey of the Leading Ideas of the New Period and Principal H. Stuart Jones's study of Roman institutions possess peculiar and attractive qualities of their own. The story of the conflict between Rome and Carthage will be found related in two excellent chapters ; while the sections explaining Stoicism and Epicureanism will receive admiration for their freshness and stimulating quality.

The History of British Civilisation, by Esme Wingfield-Stratford; two volumes (Routledge).—In these two stately volumes Dr. Wingfield-Stratford has rendered a great service to the discerning general reader by providing him with a story of this country's history which he will read with enjoyment. The chapter headings will at once attract: " The English Justinian," " Merrie England," " Spiritual Bolshevism," " The Skin Game of Commerce," " Feet of Clay," " Tammany and Common Prayer " are a few examples. The story of the development of any country naturally remains the same for all time, but each generation needs to have it presented—and interpreted—anew in terms it can best understand. Dr. Wingfield-Stratford has been singularly successful in interpreting the history of England to his own generation. In his survey he includes not only political development, but economic forces, art (in colour and in sound), literature, and religion. He evaluates all the influences which have combined to produce the England of to-day—Catholic, Saxon, Celtic, Norman ; all the strains in British civilisation receive their due meed of attention. The narrative is inclined to be racy and full of colour ; the author frequently uses modern terms to describe old-world phenomena. The publishers claim that here there is provided an important and original survey of a mighty Subject. The publishers are right, and they have done their share to give the presentation a worthy appearance ; the type and the binding of the book will add to the pleasure of reading it.

The Revolt of Modern Youth, by Judge Ben B. Lindsey and Wainwright Evans (Brentano's).—Attention should be directed to this book, not because of its style, which is rugged and unpolished, but because it presents a series of human documents which are a sign of the times. Judge Lindsey is famous throughout the United States for his work at the Juvenile and Family Court of Denver, over which he presides ; and the " cases " he cites in his book are not inventions of the imagination, but are taken from

actual life. They really happened, and their theme may be said to be the growing pains of adolescent girls and boys, with all the difficult problems attendant upon them. The intimacies of the sexes, from mild flirting to more serious aspects, are elaborated in this book, and Judge Lindsey shows that, in the United States at any rate, young people have thrown over the established standards of conduct in regard to personal modesty and have allowed themselves to be swayed by all the winds that blow. Judge Lindsey pleads for kindly and sympathetic consideration of these rebels of the new generation, with their sex delinquencies, their secret troubles, their apparently insoluble problems ; he urges that the conspiracy of silence in these matters on the part of the adults should cease, and that infinite love and infinite patience should be exercised by parents and teachers in dealing with a problem which appears to have taken on wide dimensions in the United States. And not in the United States only. The book attracted much notice and circulated largely among thoughtful and intelligent people.

The Intelligent Woman's Guide to Socialism and Capitalism, by Bernard Shaw (Constable).—This was unquestionably one of the few outstanding books of the year ; in it Mr. Shaw was at his very best. His style is attractive, his thought incisive, his treatment illuminating. The book is more than a guide to Socialism and Capitalism ; it is the author's complete view of life, including politics, economics, religion, philosophy. The book may possibly come to be regarded as Mr. Shaw's greatest gift to his generation—a sort of New Testament for the twentieth century. The genius of the man is apparent on every page in his simplicity of statement and his magic capacity to make the reader think. It is of little moment whether or no Shaw's proposal for equal distribution of income finds acceptance ; that is a minor matter. The important fact is that the reader is here made to see an attitude to life, and it will be a dull person who will not admire it. Perhaps it is not too much to say that the majority of those who read the book are bound to be influenced by it. That is where Mr. Shaw's genius scores. He becomes the Great Teacher of the new generation.

Sceptical Essays, by Bertrand Russell (Allen & Unwin).—This was a most trenchant book from one of the acutest and most provoking minds in Europe. Mr. Russell's arguments are probably not only unpalatable, but also unacceptable to a great many people. He is too much the enemy of smugness and too clear-sighted about the accepted order of things to be welcomed by more than a small minority. Yet the truth of his views about the present-day English education and parenthood is becoming increasingly apparent. His prophecy, though modestly put forward, about the two Great Powers of the future, the communal power of China and Bussia, and the individual power of America, are alarming and carry conviction, despite the fact that he has observed quite differently from other travellers in China. Most of us must become conscious of our limitations when Mr. Russell takes us in a " simple " way into the higher realms of thought, as the knowledge of mathematics, physics, philosophy he presupposes on **our** part before he admits that his subject is becoming technical, is **tragically**

flattering. Mr. Russell has with justice been called the Voltaire of our age, and it would at best be a stimulus, and at worst do no harm, if every headmaster and many parents in the country were made to read this book.

Strange Interlude, a play, by Eugene O'Neill (Jonathan Cape).—Despite its bulk and a certain ponderousness, Mr. O'Neill's play makes very interesting reading, if it is read quickly. In a slow perusal one is likely to miss its impressionistic import, and one would have thought that this would have militated against its success on the stage, were it not for the fact that the work was popular when recently played in New York. Mr. O'Neill has here employed the soliloquy; the characters speak their own thoughts as well as the words they have to speak to others. Unfortunately, Mr. O'Neill allows them to usurp the privilege of soliloquising by causing them to make thinly disguised theatrical persuasions, though this fault is redeemed by the general powers of the play. The play is entirely concerned with an erotic woman called Nina, who having loved her father before the play opens, becomes the mistress of a maimed and unhappy man, because she was, through his death in the war, thwarted of her first great love for Gordon. She then marries Sam Evans, to have a child in Gordon's image, only to procure abortion for the child on discovering that her husband is an inheritor of insanity, and to have another child by Dr. Darrell, whom she brings up to fulfil her dream of Gordon. Ultimately, on Sam's death, she does not marry Darrell, but an old friend for whom she had no love in her youth, but whom she now marries in a reversion to her first filial love. In some inexplicable fashion, the play grips the reader from the first.

The Angel that Troubled the Waters, by Thornton Wilder (Longmans).—Mr. Wilder, having caused the literary sensation of 1927 with his *The Bridge of San Luis Rey*, has surprised his readers with a work totally different from that book or its predecessor, *The Cabala*. *The Angel that Troubled the Waters* is a series of dramatic dialogues. Mr. Wilder, in a most interesting preface, says that he has discovered a literary form which satisfies his passion for compression. Yet the dialogues do not conform to the conventions of the stage or of dialogue. They can best be described as prose poems in dramatic shape. Two of the pieces are survivals of a youthful plan for a book of "Three Minute Plays for Three Persons"; three of a series of footnotes to biographies, represented here by the Mozart, Ibsen, and St. Francis plays; and two of a plan to annotate dramatically Diirer's two sets of woodcuts illustrating the Passion. So, in roughly dramatic form, Mr. Wilder has given us a series of sketches, largely on spiritual subjects, which have exercised him from time to time. It is in such a piece as "The Angel of the Ship" that his pity, and his gift for vivid compressed description is best illustrated. Three castaways on a ship pray to the figurehead for rescue, and when it comes are terrified of the miracle and discuss destroying the figurehead. This has dramatic quality, and so has the story of how Mozart came to write his Requiem. Some of the other sketches are not so successful. Still, Mr. Wilder is experimenting in a new form of expression, and perfection will come in time.

Winter Words in Various Moods and Metres, by Thomas Hardy

(Macmillan).—It is somewhat ironical that "the last of the great Victorians" was almost unknown to the general reader in his capacity as a poet. If he were asked to name one of Thomas Hardy's poems, he might reply "The Dynasts," but it is extremely doubtful, and even if he could name it, it is probable that he would never have read it. *Tess* and *Under the Greenwood Tree*, he would, of course, have read; but Hardy the poet would be an unknown quantity to him. Such a reader will be well advised to possess himself of Hardy's last volume of poems, containing, as it does, among its 105 collected poems, some that reach perfection. In almost every one the thought behind the words is nearly always Hardy at his best, with his wonderful insight into the heart of things. Among so much that is good it is invidious to particularise; but two of the poems—the first and the last in the volume—stand out conspicuously from the rest: "The New Dawn's Business" and "He Resolves to Say no More." Both are true poetry, and both have that remarkable touch of individuality which make Hardy so truly great as an author.

The Tower, by W. B. Yeats (Macmillan).—Mr. Yeats has chosen a peculiarly fitting title. A tower is an admirable place for the poet to meditate and to set down his meditations in his later years. Mr. Yeats shows less desperation in this book, but nevertheless one cannot but apprehend a sorrow underlying these latest poems which is unusually moving. The poet says of himself, "Decrepit age that has been tied to me," and of his resentful intellect, "fastened to a dying animal," bringing melancholy to his readers; but fortunately all the poems are not in that key, since some introduce the happenings of the time, discontents and commotions, and the imagination remains free and symbolic; in one notable instance, the poet is confident in his observation and his quickness, proclaiming it better than ever before. There is a lovely use of words in some of these poems, words used as probably no other living writer could use them. The Alexandrine metre, so infrequently met with, is beautifully present in the book.

The Collected Poems of W. H. Davies, 1928 (Jonathan Cape).—This collection contains over four hundred poems (chronologically arranged), taken from almost a score of books—including "The Hour of Magic," "A Song of Life" and "Songs of Joy," "Secrets," "A Poet's Alphabet,"—which Mr. Davies has written since 1905. Mr. Davies is essentially the poet, and the thinker. An ordinary incident of nature can delight and excite him into creative imagination. He stares, and from the trance, his "Songs of Joy come one by one." He is happiest in singing of the fields, of birds or trees or flowers: the kingfisher, whose lovely hues came from the rainbow; of "streams full of stars"; of leaves "drinking" rain; the rainbow's "jewelled arm"; heaven's face on a summer's night, "twitching" with the thousand stars; of sparrows coming to breakfast; of the sky's "orchard" of lights; of a tree's "lovely limbs." He sees Nature, not through literary allusion, but without mediator, directly. He interprets Nature in its own terms. To him, Beauty is Joy, Joy Beauty. Life is a perpetual wonder. To-day's the thing. If Life is "all too short for

Love," away with ugliness and hate and sorrow ! The most exquisite lyrics of Mr. Davies are short, simple and direct. Herein lies his true power. The magic moment finds a magic phrase. Yet it comes merely from the ordinary words—often the monosyllables—of daily speech which, by a sort of subtle beauty—as in the well-known " Leisure "—are transmuted into the extraordinary, and become charged with poetic meaning. Mr. Davies, beginning comparatively late in life his career as a poet, is one of the few true Nature poets of our allusive age. His lyrics are truly " Songs of Joy " to which one turns and turns again. For he " lifts the veil from the hidden beauty of the world."

FICTION.

Mr. Blettsworthy on Rampole Island, by H. G. Wells (Benn).—The story of Mr. Blettsworthy, and his life on Kampole Island, can be appreciated in two ways : firstly, as a good tale well and truly told after the manner of Fielding, seasoned by the fantasy of H. G. Wells ; or, secondly, as the exposition and illustration of an obscure and not very convincingly applied medical theory.

To take the latter first, the theory of the " Interpretative Reverie " as affecting the case of Mr. Blettsworthy, is that of a mind " so wounded and shocked at its first onset on life " that one component of the dual personality which exists in every one takes refuge in the fiction that the rudeness and hardness which had befallen Mr. Blettsworthy were really only qualities of a remote corner of the earth—in effect, Rampole Island. The other component continued to function slowly and automatically to the dictates of a normal existence for nearly five years, while Mr. Blettsworthy's warped mind lived the weird, grotesque life among the savages by which it chose to interpret the world around him. And then one day Rowena, the slave, rescued from the cannibal warrior, Ardum, became a very beautiful American, whom Mr. Blettsworthy had fished out of the Hudson, as she was attempting to drown herself and whom he proceeded to marry. That is the theory, but to work it out satisfactorily, the book has to be read twice, once to find out what it contains and then to discover why. Neglecting the theory, there is realism and fantastic humour in abundance in the description of Rampole Island. Megatheria stalk fearfully on the heights, cannibalism is practised under the naive euphemistic title of " partaking of the gift of the friend "—" the friend has given of his best to-day " politely described an especially " bonne bouche "—and a Swift-like satire is introduced in the aimless warfare between the tribes, which is Blettsworthy's " reverie " interpreting the Great War itself. The explanations and sequel may be tedious, but Rampole Island itself is an experience that would readily be prolonged; in describing the experience Mr. Wells is at his best.

Swan Song, by John Galsworthy (Heinemann).—Here was the end of the Forsyte Saga. Soames has not been so convincing in the latest books, but very few of his generation and character carry conviction to-day. The younger generation are as well drawn by Mr. Galsworthy now as he drew the older in the past. Fleur is entirely representative of a large proportion

of the prosperous, unenergised young wives of to-day. It is natural to miss the definite characters of the earlier Forsytes, and the romantically beautiful portrait of Irene, but they would be unnatural figures in Mr. Galsworthy's contemporary picture. In this final book, which introduces incidentally the General Strike, Fleur meets young Jon, now married to a "sweet" American wife, and after hectic skirmishes seduces him in the wood at Robin Hill. Jon's wife tells Jon she is going to have a child, and the truth about Jon and Fleur is harrowed out and forgiven. The thwarted Fleur returns to Soames, who with his own experience is well qualified to sympathise with unsuccessful passion. Fleur casts her cigarette down in Soames's picture-gallery, and in the ensuing fire Soames single-handed throws his most treasured pictures out of the window, and when at last he evacuates the house, the Goya which has lodged on the sill falls, and to save Fleur, who is innocently beneath, Soames draws her away, and in doing so is fatally hurt. There is here the old charm, the capacity to create atmosphere and to make characters live before our eyes. Mr. Galsworthy's hand has lost none of its cunning.

Orlando, A Biography, by Virginia Woolf (Hogarth Press).—*Orlando* is a gift to the simple-minded, to the unspeculative lover of the beautiful. Page by page, it is justified without reference to the form of the story, to the story itself or its meaning. *Orlando* is no book for the unraveller of detective plots; such a one will be mystified, shocked, baffled, and will finally put down the book in despair when the hero unaccountably turns into a heroine and the centuries continue to unfold with no ageing influence on Orlando's appearance, which, while conforming to a certain likeness in the illustrations, seems but to change its raiment. The biography of Orlando is much too fine a romance for dogmatic speculation. He—or is it she?—must be allowed simply to live his deathless life, inheriting and successively enjoying the characteristics of one age after another. The fantasy, impossible but delicious, exists in its own right by the colour of imagination and by an exuberance of life and wit, with which Mrs. Woolf carries us along in a breathless journey. Orlando begins life as a young Elizabethan nobleman, becomes an Ambassador in Turkey, where he mysteriously changes into a woman, and retains this sex through varying scenes and centuries, until she finally marries and finds happiness in our own times. A certain continuity is supplied by "The Oak Tree," a work it takes three centuries to complete and which proves a great literary success, and by the country mansion, which we see changing with the years, as Orlando herself, while it preserves its distinctive character, which in Orlando likewise is vivid and recognisably the same throughout her many mutations. The individual descriptions of persons, events and social tendencies are so full of colour and unconscious of historical difficulties that we are borne smoothly and pleasantly through the centuries on the wings of Mrs. Woolf's romance, till we regretfully leave Orlando on the threshold of to-morrow. Mrs. Woolf's *Orlando* was undoubtedly one of the most admired books of the year.

Point Counter Point, by Aldous Huxley (Chatto & Windus).—A novel of the rare type which has not suffered from a lack of the conventional

novel form. It has not the usual cycle of events with a rounded climax. Most of the characters are ideas rather than people, yet this is true of their living counterparts. Mr. Huxley is an idealist, an anti-modern, and our most weighty defender of virtue. His weapon is disgust, which he expressed in this book through the character of Rampion, with many of whose views he clearly identifies himself. It is directed chiefly against moral looseness, which he unsparingly describes in this long exposure of frailty, with its plea for strength echoing his adjuration to the younger generation in *Proper Studies*. His characters flounder and fail, and illuminate the necessity he expresses for the love that is so unheeded nowadays in their native circles. The construction of the book is brilliantly suited to its contents. The loose ends indicate the characters' inevitable lack of finality. Their talk, without any descriptive aid, brings them to reality. Fortunately, it is only a small section of society that is depicted—people living together lovelessly, lascivious old men, young men with dissipated energies, humbugs and perverts of every kind—yet it is through their mouths that he can best point the moral to the opposite yet enlightened way of life that he advocates with passionate intelligence.

The English Miss, by R. H. Mottram (Chatto & Windus).—Mr. Mottram here displays all his mastery of form, although the content of the story was not so considerable as that we have become accustomed to hope for in his work, and revealed certain backslidings in writing. Such a passage as this : " Then at last, whistles were blown and doors slammed, and amid clatter and waving hands the train bore them on, out of tutelage to their destiny " ; or this : " The new knowledge that had come to her, for all her deep reserve, showed in her face and figure, made her eyes starry and her movements conscious, like those of a young colt," is not the kind of thing we expect to find in a novel by Mr. Mottram. Nevertheless, despite blemishes of this kind, the book is well worth reading, and is a triumph of compression. Although we doubt her importance, some of Mammy Childers' poses in this book are life-like, and some revealing.

Wintersmoon, by Hugh Walpole (Macmillan).—Although not a great novel, *Wintersmoon* was an exceedingly good one, one of the best that Mr. Walpole has given us, and reminiscent of Thackeray. Not only is Lord John Beaminster akin to Major Pendennis and Colonel Newcome, but the chapters which describe the bachelor world of St. James's, and the greater success with which Janet Grandison's world is portrayed than her sister Rosalind's, definitely recall *Vanity Fair*. Janet Grandison stands for the old order's ideas, duty and loyalty and personal affections ; Rosalind for the modern ideal of personal independence, and the inalienable right of the individual as an entity, to be ultimately independent of everyone. Janet, caring for no one but Rosalind, whom she loves passionately, agrees, in order to escape their life of poverty, to marry on a mutual basis of nothing but friendship Wildherne Poole, the son of the old Duke of Romney. Once this premiss, unlikely enough in life, is allowed, the story is extremely good. At Poole Janet antagonises the Duchess, falls in love with her husband, whose love she cannot win, but fortunately becomes very fond of the old Duke, who is also well loved by his son. This saves the situation, as Wildherne Poole is brought to realise his

selfishness before the death of his child, which anyhow nearly cripples him. Janet stays and nurses him back to humanity, neglecting a call from Rosalind, who after a final rupture with a husband who worshipped her, but who shared none of her ideas, receiving no reply from Janet, runs off with a man named Charles Ravage, an example of the dispassionate young man of to-day. Mr. Walpole cannot conceal his association with Janet's ideals, and for that reason he cannot fairly present Rosalind's. Yet throughout the book there breathes a hope that there may emerge from the struggle something good, though probably it will be different from the ideals of either.

This Delicate Creature, by Con O'Leary (Constable).—This was Mr. O'Leary's second novel, and it was entirely successful. In the first half of the book a picture was drawn of a woman superficialised by post-war surroundings of wealth and material comfort, an elderly husband and an insincere lover. The thoughtlessness of a section of post-war society is admirably drawn. In the second half of the book, in which Mr. O'Leary masters the dangerous use of fantasy, the woman, Boda, has out of curiosity taken a weird drug, and for reward has to go in turn through the experiences of the people whom she has wronged deliberately through callousness. We see her as her own rival in her love affair, her own under-parlourmaid, a chorus girl she has harmed through pique, a wife in the slums, a prostitute, a saleswoman, a boy she had hurt badly when he had loved her, the daughter of one of her father's ill-treated tenants, and, on the sporting side of her life, she finds herself a cast-off pet sacrificed for vivisection, then trying to escape the hounds, then a pheasant nourished to be shot, then a mouse, then a race-horse. Fantasy is abandoned once it has served its purpose for a poignant ending to unify the book. The versatile observation of the lives of rich and poor, and the human sympathy revealed, place Mr. O'Leary in the front rank of the younger novelists.

Keeping up Appearances, by Rose Macaulay (Collins).—Miss Macaulay would probably like to burn her earliest novels, and yet they are to many readers preferable to her later satires, of which *Keeping up Appearances* is typical. Although they reveal their period, her earlier works were sincere, moving, and, of all unexpected qualities in the light of her later work, romantic. It is difficult not to feel that some shock or disappointment converted their author to satire, to which she brings the necessary malice, without, however, conviction or sprightliness. Daisy, in *Keeping Up Appearances*, overcomes her inferiority complex by projecting her own personality into various others which are imaginary, such as Marjorie Wynne, the novelist and journalist, and Daphne, the witty sister she became to herself to compete with the scholarly Folyots, who were actually unimportant people, and unworthy to unloose the shoe of Daisy's common mother, of whom she was vastly ashamed. Despite the encouraging presence of her self-imagined sister, Daisy's attempts to live herself down are unsuccessful, but not futile, as they are meant to be. The only character in the book who awakens the slightest sympathy or interest is the unsubtle and vulgar mother. Miss Macaulay, always a close observer of the life around her, has drawn a picture of a middle class milieu with no little sympathy and with a great sense of humour.

Kai Lung Unrolls his Mat, by Ernest Bramah (Richards Press).—It seems that Kai Lung will not unroll his mat again, for he says, before telling his last story, as he offers his guests the few shrivelled fruits in his orchard, "Had we been earlier the fare might have been more full-flavoured, but who shall blame the tree that has already of its nature yielded crops, when autumn finds it wanting?" The moving thing about this is that the old man was dreaming to himself, and he had no audience at all. In this book Kai Lung discovers that his house has been burnt and his helpmate **Hwa-mei** abducted by his enemy Ming-Shu. Happily he regains all that he has lost through his "admitted capacity as narrator of imagined tales," and "the serviceable way in which the aptitude had extricated him from a variety of unpleasant transactions in the past." There is no modern form of roguery for which Mr. Bramah cannot find a Chinese ceremonial phrase. The book closes, touchingly and appropriately, with the mellow summons of Kai Lung to his "evening rice." This, the last of the series, is as amusing and entertaining as ever.

In the Beginning, by Norman Douglas (Chatto & Windus).—Mr. Douglas. books convey a feeling of beautiful irresponsibility to the reader. He is living in the sun itself, in a place where he is aided through the climate and natural and human surroundings to convey to his readers a feeling of unmorality and calm licentiousness. He feels that he is descended from one of the dreamers he describes in this delightful mythology, so much more entertaining than most older mythologies, who escaped the poisonous dew of goodness which the Great Father, irritated by the magnificence of Queen Symira's reign, caused to fall upon mortals. "They called themselves good," he says, "and forthwith began to act in accordance with frantic notions engendered by the disease." Those who were sufficiently clear-headed to avoid the disease "looked backward into the days when the earth was full of tranquillity, when satyrs, sprinkled over the land in amicable groups, made it by their wisdom a peaceful and pleasant abode." There is no need to look for allegorical explanations in this book of Mr. Douglas'. It is just an untroubled chronicle of a care-free world, governed by the Great Father and the Great Mother, and entertained by such things as the gossip of the wind and the witticisms of the Earth God. Everybody is naked and happy; there are half-gods, such as Linus, conceived of the Fish-Goddess Derco, who fell in love with a mortal who deserted her and subsequently married his own daughter by her, Symira; much of the book is occupied by the gay chronicle of their reign. Mr. Douglas' brilliant flippancy is a great treat.

The House with the Echo, by T. F. Powys (Chatto & Windus).—Mr. Powys' stories of life in the countryside partake of the nature of idylls of country life, and in each of the twenty-six stories in this book readers of *Mr. Weston's Good Wine* will find reminiscences of the "atmosphere" of that charming book. Mr. Powys possesses a craftsmanship which enables him to combine sympathy and understanding of his characters, yet he is sufficiently detached to see and to convey the humour or the tragedy of their daily existence. Take "The Lonely Lady" for example: with what economy of language does the author depict the peculiar mentality of two simple folk. Or again, how in "The Two Horns" the author illustrates

a humorous situation with skilful ease. All the stories are eminently readable and will give pleasure to discerning lovers of careful writing.

Etched in Moonlight, by James Stephens (Macmillan).—Those who are acquainted with the work of Mr. James Stephens will find these seven short stories in the author's best manner. There is delicate allusion rather than direct description; an economy of words in conveying a picture; and a simplicity of phrasing that marks the style as being out of the ordinary. There is sympathy too, as in "Darling," and mystery, as in "Desire," and in the story that gives the collection its title; and humour, as in "The Boss." It may be said that the writing is for the eclectic; certainly the eclectic will derive pleasure from the volume.

Comfortless Memory, by Maurice Baring (Heinemann).—Mr. Baring has probably kept the highest level of contemporary prolific writers, so that it is high praise to say that this is one of his best books. He has a most charming way of surveying the Georgian scene in an Edwardian manner and with Edwardian grace. The scene of this book is Borne, whither a middle-aged literary man, Horace St. Clair, and his wife have flown from his sudden and tempestuous success. They meet a brilliant young painter, Charles Donne, who becomes a great friend of Horace's and Jenny True, an old friend of Teresa's, who as a childless widow had lived with an old man who was unable to marry her, and had since achieved a certain amount of notoriety. Charles Donne falls in love with Jenny True, whom Mr. Baring makes fascinating and lovely, and Horace and Teresa scheme to save him. Throughout this, with delicate artistry, Mr. Baring reveals Jenny True's love for Horace, and Horace's refusal to recognise his own love for her, although he is less convincing in the former revelation. Horace's scepticism breaks Jenny's heart, and she dies "of love." Her posthumous appearance in the charity performance in Rome is Mr. Baring's treatment of a familiar legend. This short, beautifully sophisticated tale is as good as anything Mr. Baring has done.

Brook Evans, by Susan Glaspell (Gollancz).—Miss Glaspell can never fulfil the claims of her more extravagant admirers, as unfortunately her style lacks beauty. Strong meat, however, is so acceptable to the contemporary reader that he does not mind if it be a trifle clumsily served. This is not Miss Glaspell's best novel. Naomi Kellogg consummated her love for the man she was to marry one summer night by the brook, and after his death married the puritanical Caleb Evans, who loves her sufficiently to marry her and save her from the stigma of an illegitimate child. Brook Evans, the child, in later years discovers her history, as Caleb contends with her mother against the freedom which she, having been robbed of it herself, wishes to allow the child. Brook has a revulsion against her mother's too passionate crusade for her, and even turns from her intended elopement when she finds that her mother had plotted it. Then we see Brook as the widow of an English officer electing for a life of adventure, to which her son acquiesces, sitting by the brook where the story opened. It is impossible in reading this, as in reading Miss Glaspell's other novels, to forget her previous achievement—that extremely good play, *The Verge*—or not to feel that she is essentially a dramatist, with a deep regret that she has deserted drama for a medium which suits so much less well.

SCIENCE OF THE YEAR.

THE BIOLOGICAL SCIENCES.

THE year 1928 was one of enormous activity in the field of biological study, and there was perhaps an unprecedented publication of books and research memoirs. The greater part of this work was descriptive of new data or the filling in of gaps in previous knowledge, but it consisted of investigations of such quality that many would, in a more ordinary year, seem outstanding. A very striking feature of the year was the increase in publication of research from the newer Eastern European countries, and perhaps especially from the U.S.S.R., where facilities for biological investigation have been established on an imposing scale. From that country have come some of the more important biological memoirs of the year, more particularly in the applied aspects of the science.

Evolution and Genetics.—Problems of human evolution received comparatively little attention, the only noticeable tendency being to push back the inception of man to a more remote period. Rhodesian man and his associated remains were fully described, and a new genus, *Cyphanthropus*, about which there was some dispute, was created by Pycraft for his reception.

In general genetics considerable attention was paid to the problem of species values and the question of the experimental formation of new species and varieties either by hybridisation or by mutation. There now seems little doubt that hybridisation has been a very potent factor in the origination of new forms. On the other hand evidence is practically conclusive that the characters of organisms are causally related to genes which reside in the chromosomes of the nucleus, and that qualitative alterations in the genes and therefore in the characters may occur. Muller, in what was probably the most outstanding genetical work of the year, showed that the rate of mutation is dependent upon temperature, and that genes may be modified or mutations be induced by exposure of the organism to X-rays.

Numerous memoirs on the genetics of particular species or genera were published, and many students made attempts to correlate the data of genetics with cytology on the one hand and general evolutionary issues on the other, with the result that the position of genetical science in relation to its cognate regions can now be more clearly visualised. The principles underlying the breeding of cereal and other crops for resistance to disease were further clarified, and considerable attention was paid to the obverse side of this problem, the genetical study of the parasites themselves. Knowledge of the genetics of fungi and bacteria has been in a very obscure condition,

but all the data obtained seem to fall into line with those derived from the study of higher organisms. A research carried out by Dodge, in which he was able to cross two species of the fungus *Neurospora* and obtain fertile hybrids, was of special interest.

Zoology.—No leading lines were apparent in the year's zoology except perhaps tendencies towards a more behaviouristic outlook and an emphasis on field study which led to the investigation of such problems as instinct and intelligence on the one hand or towards ecological researches, such as those on cave life, aquatic biology, coral reef investigations, field studies of birds, etc., on the other. A considerable amount of attention, however, was given to strictly morphological and anatomical study in the laboratory, although many of these investigations showed a strong developmental bias.

Entomologists as usual were extremely active, and published numerous books and memoirs dealing with all phases of the subject. A field of research to which a very great amount of study was devoted was the biological control of insect pests and noxious weeds.

Perhaps more attention than usual was given to the study of the lower invertebrates, but the great majority of these researches were of descriptive nature : there was little attempt at synthesis, and no obviously new fields of research were thrown open.

Fisheries investigation received much attention, considerable study being given to the food of the herring and methods of age estimation, and to the sex of eels.

General Physiology.—General animal physiology has for some years been divorced from zoology and linked with human physiology and biochemistry, and in this wider field an enormous amount of research was carried out. The greater proportion of this was simply descriptive of more or less isolated phenomena, and added to the burden of analytic knowledge rather than helped in synthesis or illumined new paths. Fortunately there are massive compilations which alone make this field of research possible, and these were added to valuably during the year.

Certain particular lines of research stood out perhaps more than others ; work, for example, on the physiology of muscular activity, on the culture of tissues *in vitro*, on the blood groups of man and other animals, and on the detailed physiology of protoplasm. Much work was done on the vitamins, but mention can be made only of the valuable researches of Green and Mellanby, who showed that vitamin A functions as an anti-infective agent.

Botany.—Botanical research during the year was relatively enormous. A very large number of systematic memoirs were published, many of these dealing with the flora of non-European countries and being scientific works of first rank.

Several important morphological studies appeared, and in these there was a distinct tendency to emphasise the more general organisation of plant structures rather than to describe elaborate detail. Many students dealt with nuclear cytology, but there were welcome indications of an arising interest in problems of cytoplasmic structure and cell differentiation, a field of plant research that has been seriously neglected. In the study of fossil plants, valuable results were obtained from investigations on the

Carboniferous rocks of Australia, the Karroo beds in Africa, and various coals in Japan. The ferns and mosses received comparatively little attention during the year, but of first importance was a volume by Bower.

The lower flowerless plants continued to receive the attention which has been devoted to them now for some years, more particularly from systematic, cytological, and physiological viewpoints, and two important volumes appeared from Klebs and Kniep. Problems of the genetics of the fungi and bacteria especially were studied, and there can now be no doubt of the extreme complexity of these organisms and of the fundamental importance of research into the whole field of microbic dissociation.

For some years plant physiology has been the most prominent aspect of botany, and there has been a welcome and increasing tendency to investigate the more practical issues such as the physiological problems involved in the growth of cereal, orchard, and other crops, the storage of fruits, etc., and during the year several important contributions were made. On the more pure type of problem both Lundegårdh and Dangeard incorporated many years of work in their important memoirs on photosynthesis. During the last few years an increasing amount of attention has been paid to problems of plant correlation. Following the investigations of animal physiologists into the function of hormones, search has been made in plants for analogous substances, and during the year, both Niethammer and Went succeeded in showing the presence in plants of substances which apparently function as hormones, valuable researches which open up a new field in the study of plant correlation. Other aspects of physiology to which considerable attention was given are the effect on growth and differentiation in plants of different light intensities and periods of illumination, as well as the actual penetration of plant tissues by light and the effect of electric currents on plant growth.

Ecology, which to-day is perhaps second only to plant physiology in importance and the position it occupies in botanical science, made considerable progress, especially in its descriptive and more economic aspects, and to this field especially the Eastern European countries and the U.S.S.K. contributed. Of great interest and promise is the increasing use of the aeroplane in botanical surveying, especially with regard to the economic development of new countries.

Looking over the botanical science of the year, by far the most important general tendency has been the continuation of the movement towards the applied side. For many years economic problems have been eschewed by the great schools of botany, but even in this country, resistance to this movement is now less apparent in academic centres, whilst in most other countries, especially the newer or more agricultural ones, the vast importance of the study of the more applied aspects of botany is widely recognised. This movement has been helped generally by the beneficent activities of the International Education Board, and, more particularly within the British Empire, by the Empire Marketing Board.

Microbiology and Disease.—The study of the lower invertebrates, especially the eel-worms and protozoa, of the bacteria and of the lower cryptogams, especially the parasitic fungi, are now often separated from

botany and zoology into a convenient artificial category, " Microbiology," which is usually linked with the study of animal and plant diseases of unknown causation or caused by " Viruses." In this wide and diffuse field an enormous amount of research was carried out during 1928, but fortunately extensive compilations also appeared. No particular development or single memoir stands out of the great mass of publication on fungus or bacterial diseases of plants, except perhaps the increased recognition of the widespread prevalence and importance of strains of fungi, more particularly in the rusts and smuts. The most striking development in plant pathology was the amount of study given to virus diseases, the increasing recognition of the need for the exact analysis of mixed viruses and symptoms, and the attention paid to the interesting, but as yet entirely obscure, intracellular bodies associated with certain virus diseases. In bacteriology, by far the most interesting development was the recognition of the developmental and structural complexity of the organisms and the fundamental importance of the study of bacterial dissociation. The older ideas, still widely accepted, concerning bacterial simplicity, must now be entirely surrendered. The fermentation activities of bacteria and fungi, which are so important in industry, continued to receive attention, more particularly with regard to their utilisation in the fermentation of waste vegetable matter and refuse for the production of manure, power alcohol, and so forth. Fungi and bacteria have been shown to occur in the soil in almost incredible numbers, and although the bacteria have until recently been considered to be by far the more important, it has now become clear that, under the usual conditions of well-aerated soil, the fungi must take an equal status if not precedence, especially in regard to the decomposition of vegetable remains. It is very necessary to be able to estimate numerically the microbic population of soil, and during the year much attention was paid to this problem, accurate direct and indirect methods being devised.

Among the enormous number of contributions during 1928 to knowledge of animal diseases there were two outstanding researches. In the first place the dreaded distemper of dogs has at last been found amenable to control, and Laidlaw and Dunkin elaborated a vaccine treatment, practicable on a large scale, whereby two successive inoculations give complete resistance to the disease. The second contribution was made by Murphy, and announced at the Imperial Cancer Conference held in London in July. By treating the testicles of normal fowls by the same technique as resulted in the separation of the active agent from fowl tumours, Murphy obtained a preparation that causes malignant tumours when inoculated into normal fowls. This is a striking advance in our knowledge of the origination of certain forms of cancer, and opens up quite a new avenue of investigation.

The field of biological research is becoming so vast, and the number of contributions to knowledge each year is so enormous, that it is quite impossible for any single investigator to be *au fait* with more than his own personal line of research. This situation has led to the establishment of numerous abstracting and review journals; but more than this is required, and the lack is to a certain extent met by great compilations in which each author " writes

up " his own field. During 1928 very valuable treatises of this order were published on all the main branches of biology, either new editions or completely new works, and certain of these were almost monumental in scope.

Surveying the general perspective of present-day biology three large trends of development seem to emerge. One is the general acceptance of the idea that ^k. applied " science is just as important and presents just as fundamental scientific issues for investigation as " pure " science. The second is a tendency towards a more " biological " approach to the study of nature rather than the biochemical and statistical approach which has tended to dominate much experimental biology during the last few years. The third is a tendency towards synthesis and constructive correlation of biological data rather than the mere compilation of analytic data.

THE PHYSICAL SCIENCES.

The outstanding developments in the Physical Sciences during the year were not of immediate public interest and they will be dealt with later. The possibilities of television attracted some attention, and a company was formed to exploit the Baird process ; no public transmissions were made during the year. In the United States, however, a number of experimental broadcasts were given from several transmitting stations. In the autumn the British Broadcasting Corporation started the transmission of stationary pictures by the Fultograph process and decided to continue the experiments until October, 1929. The most interesting development in wireless telegraphy was the invention of a method of multiplex working on short waves by Senatore Marconi and G. A. Mathieu ; the new process made it possible for one transmitter and one receiver to deal with at least three messages at the same time.

Talking films, *i.e.*, films accompanied by a record of music and speech reproducible in synchronism with the action of the film, began to be produced in considerable numbers, and a few of the principal cinema theatres were equipped with the necessary apparatus for sound reproduction. Several processes involving different modes of recording and different reproducers were used. Interest in the therapeutic properties of ultra-violet light increased, and several firms marketed apparatus suitable for tonic light baths in the home.

The British Association was granted a Royal Charter in April and met, 3,000 strong, at Glasgow on September 5. The President, Sir William Bragg, chose, as the subject of his address, Craftsmanship and Science. The President of Section A (Mathematics and Physics), Professor A. W. Porter, dealt with the Volta effect, and Professor E. C. C. Baiy, President of Section B (Chemistry), discussed Fluorescence, Phosphorescence, and Chemical Reaction. Here, and in an earlier lecture at the Royal Institution (Feb. 3), he described the experimental work on the photosynthesis of the carbohydrates carried out in the Chemical Department of the University of Liverpool. This very remarkable result was attained by bubbling carbon dioxide through water containing a coloured salt (nickel carbonate) in suspension and irradiated with ordinary light, *e.g.*, from a tungsten

filament lamp. The function of the suspensoid is merely to provide a large surface on which the carbon dioxide is absorbed and brought into a molecular state in which it can absorb from the light the energy required for the final reaction. If the light is too strong the surface is poisoned by the excess of oxygen set free and the reaction ceases.

Owing to his continued ill-health the general treasurer of the Association, Dr. K. H. Griffiths, resigned his office, and Sir Josiah Stamp was nominated to be his successor.

The fourth General Assembly of the International Research Council was held at Brussels on July 13. The general secretary, Sir Arthur Schuster, reported that, in accordance with the resolution passed at the extraordinary general meeting in 1926, Germany, Austria, Hungary, and Bulgaria had been invited to join the Council. Hungary alone had accepted the invitation; Bulgaria had pleaded poverty; the Austrian Academy of Sciences desired to consult the Verband der Deutschen Akademien, and Germany had not given any definite reply, but had raised vague objections on the ground that the Council is an association of governments rather than of scientific bodies.

The International Astronomical Union at its meeting at Leyden (July 5-13) resolved that the term G.M.T. (Greenwich Mean Time) should no longer be used but be replaced by G.C.T. (Greenwich Civil Time), W.l. (Weltzeit) or U.T. (Universal Time) for time reckoned from Greenwich Mean Midnight, and by G.M.A.T. (A = astronomical) for time reckoned from Greenwich Mean Noon. The second International Congress of Radiology at Stockholm (July 23-27) was noteworthy for the splendid hospitality extended to the delegates; for the first considerable exhibition of X-ray apparatus by British manufacturers at a conference outside this country, and for the adoption of an international unit of X-ray intensity—to be known as the Rontgen. Among other international conferences were those relating to Geography (Cambridge, July 17-25), Mathematics (Bologna, Sept. 3-10), and Fuel (London, Sept. 23-Oct. 6).

The twenty-fifth anniversary of the foundation of the Faraday Society was celebrated on Nov. 9 when Sir Oliver Lodge delivered the first Spiers Memorial Lecture at the Royal Institution. The Society published the papers read at its discussion on Cohesion last year, including the valuable summary of our present knowledge of the subject by Professor Desch. A discussion on Homogeneous Catalysis was held at Cambridge on September 28 and 29.

In his presidential address to the Royal Society at the anniversary meeting on November 30, Sir Ernest Rutherford dealt for the most part with matters bearing on the penetrating radiations discovered by Hess and Kolhorster and investigated by Millikan and his colleagues during the last three years. As a result of further experimental work in the Andes, at Gem Lake, and at Lake Arrowhead (California), Millikan and Cameron find proof of the existence of three bands in the spectrum of the cosmic rays (ANNUAL REGISTER, 1925, p. 60). The absorption coefficients of these bands, namely 0.35, 0.48, and 0.04 per metre of water, Millikan considered to be those characteristic of the radiations generated when helium, oxygen, and

silicon are formed from hydrogen. Rutherford, however, pointed out that we had no experimental evidence of the behaviour of such radiations. Direct experiment in the laboratory was limited to radiation having, at the utmost, an energy equivalent to 3 million electron volts, and extrapolation to the thousand million volts of the cosmic rays was a speculative process. Such experimental evidence as was available appears to support the absorption coefficients calculated by Klein and Nishina of Copenhagen using a form of Dirac's wave mechanics. If this be true, and if the extrapolation is permissible, the most highly penetrating radiation found by Millikan and Cameron corresponded to that emitted in the transformation of the internal energy of the proton into radiation. Millikan's experiments showed that the radiations come from beyond the Milky Way, and he estimated that the total energy they impart to the earth is about one-tenth of that given by starlight and heat. In order to extend the voltages available for experimental work an attempt was made near Lugano to utilise electricity collected from thunder clouds. During one thunderstorm a 4 metre spark was obtained. This corresponds to a potential difference in excess of one million volts.

Experiments by Boche and Franz in Berlin tended to support the views of Rutherford and Chadwick in their controversy with the Viennese school of physicists (ANNUAL REGISTER, 1927, p. 48).

In pure physics the most interesting work of the year was that by Davisson (Bell Telephone Laboratories, N.Y.) and G. P. Thomson (Aberdeen) on the wave characteristics of the electron, and that of C. V. Raman and his students (Calcutta) on the scattering of light by pure substances. In Professor Thomson's experiments a fine stream of electrons was directed normally on to a metal film less than one-millionth of an inch thick, and thence on to a photographic plate. If the electrons behaved like discrete particles a blurred spot would be seen on the plate after development; instead, however, there appeared a central spot surrounded by a concentric series of light and dark rings which were displaced when a magnet was brought near the plate during the exposure, just as the electrons would be displaced. The experiments showed that the electron is accompanied by a train of waves for which the atoms in the metallic film act as a diffraction grating. The wave-lengths of the waves, about 3×10^{-10} cm., is of the same order as those of the γ -rays from radioactive substances. Davisson and Germer arrived at very similar results by a reflection method. The results are in agreement with the wave theory of de Broglie, but Sir J. J. Thomson has given an alternative explanation in terms of the classical theory (G. P. Thomson, *Proceedings of the Royal Society*, and *Nature*, Aug. 25; J. J. Thomson, *Beyond the Electron*, Cambridge University Press, and *Philosophical Magazine*).

Raman found that when an intense beam of light of one or more definite wave-lengths penetrated a pure substance (water, glycerine, benzene, alcohol, ice, carbon-dioxide gas, etc.) scattered light showing a sharp line spectrum could be detected by a prolonged photographic exposure. The lines in this scattered light were, as a rule, of longer wave-length than the incident light, and measurements of the wave-lengths showed

that they are produced by the absorption of part of the incident quanta by the molecules of the substance (which are thereby raised to a higher energy level), while the remainder of each quantum thus depleted reappears in the scattered light as a quantum of lower frequency. Thus the difference between the frequencies of the incident and scattered light corresponds to a definite characteristic frequency of the molecule. The results have been verified by several workers in Germany and by R. W. Wood in the U.S.A. The discovery opens up a new and important field of research and provides a powerful method for the investigation of characteristic frequencies in the extreme infra-red region of the spectrum (*Indian Journal of Physics; Philosophical Magazine*).

In March Schrödinger gave four lectures (afterwards published) on wave mechanics at the Royal Institution showing, *inter alia*, how it replaces ordinary mechanics in dealing with very tiny systems and how it gives a consistent explanation of Bohr's stationary energy-levels. The best treatment of the subject for general readers was that contained in an address by Professor H. S. Allen at St. Andrews University (reprinted *Nature*, Dec. 8), while an article by H. F. Biggs (*Nature*, Mar. 31) may be mentioned as giving, as simply as is practicable, some further aspects of the present position of the mathematical theory of matter.

Sommerfeld applied the statistics of Fermi and Dirac to the electron theory of metals with considerable success. In particular, he showed that the contribution of the electrons to the specific heat of metals is only about one-sixtieth of that indicated by the classical theory; thereby removing a difficulty which had been so serious as to render the electron theory of metals moribund. Heisenberg applied the quantum theory to the problems of magnetism.

In the Guthrie Lecture delivered to the Physical Society in March Sir J. J. Thomson described some very remarkable investigations which he had made on the electrodeless discharge, and in the *Proceedings of the Royal Society* Professor T. R. Merton described an entirely new form of electric discharge. This was obtained in a tube containing helium, at 30-40 mm. pressure, together with a cloud of carbon particles. In certain circumstances a luminous disc formed in the tube, persisting for as long as ten minutes at a time, and movable in either direction along the tube by superimposing on the alternating discharge current a suitable potential bias. Merton considered that the phenomena he had observed might provide a clue to the mystery of globular lightning.

J. Thibaud (*Phys. Zeit.*, May) developed a method for the investigation of X-ray spectra by diffraction at grazing incidence from a ruled grating (500-2,000 lines per cm.), and obtained measurements of wave-lengths in agreement with those deduced from observations on crystals. Kapitza made a study of single crystals of bismuth, in particular of their electrical resistance in strong magnetic fields. His results differed very considerably from those indicated by the theories of Ganz and Sommerfeld. He found evidence for the existence of two crystalline modifications of bismuth of which only one is, at present, known (*Proc. Roy. Soc*).

Professor O. W. Richardson put forward a hypothesis to explain the

emission of electrons by cold conductors in strong electric fields (*Proc. Roy. Soc.*, Feb.). V. Karpen (*Comptes Rendus*, Jan.) described a form of voltaic cell with electrodes not attacked by the electrolyte which, nevertheless, yields a current and appears not to conform to the second law of thermodynamics. Professor P. E. Shaw continued his researches on ordinary frictional electricity and found many facts at variance with text-book statements, notably that it is impossible to arrange solids in a tribo-electric series (*Proc. Roy. Soc.*).

Professor Keesom (Lcyden) found that the anomalous change in the density of liquid helium at 2.3° A. (see ANNUAL REGISTER, 1926, p. 61) is due to the existence of two modifications—liquid helium I., stable above 2.3° A., and liquid helium II., stable below that temperature; the heat of transformation from II. to I. being 0.13 cal. per gm. One triple point was found—liquid I., liquid II., vapour—but it was not certain whether the boundary curve between I. and II. on the p - t plane cuts the solid line.

Professor Hildebrand of California, in conjunction with Dr. Sayers and Mr. Yant of the U.S. Bureau of Mines, developed a method of using helium in place of nitrogen for caisson working and deep-sea diving. Less soluble in the blood than nitrogen helium permits higher pressures, deeper working, and more rapid release from high pressure.

A new comparison of the imperial standard yard and the international prototype metre made at the National Physical Laboratory gave the result: 1 metre equal to 39.370147 inches.

In his presidential address to the Chemical Society on the Constitution of Liquids, Professor H. B. Baker described further observations on the behaviour of liquids dried for several years with phosphorus pentoxide. The increase in molecular complexity suggested by earlier experiments was confirmed and, as suggested by a hypothesis due to Sir J. J. Thomson, a similar increase was produced by applying a potential difference across platinum plates immersed in the liquid (*e.g.*, benzene). T. W. Richards and M. Francon confirmed earlier determinations of the atomic weight of caesium, namely 132.81. Aston found it to be 132.81 ± 0.1 . This element has no known isotopes, and accordingly presents an unusually large departure from the whole number rule.

In the first Henry Wills Memorial Lecture at the University of Bristol Sir James Jeans dealt with the *Physics of the Universe*, a subject he treated also in an admirable book entitled *Eos* and published in the *Today and Tomorrow* Series (Kegan Paul).

In the Halley Lecture Dr. H. Shapley of Harvard discussed certain features of our galactic stellar system. Recent work confirms the conclusion that gravitational and rotational centre lies in the southern Milky Way where the constellations Scorpio, Ophiuchus, and Sagittarius corner together. Unfortunately this region is obscured by dark nebulosity so that it is impossible to see whether or not there is a massive galactic nucleus; there is, however, definite evidence for the rotation of the system about the centre. The sun appears to be some sixty thousand light years from the centre of the system, *i.e.*, about half-way out towards the periphery of the discoidal system. It is now generally accepted that the dark nebulosity is

of the nature of meteoric dust, and recent spectroscopic work at Harvard has revealed the existence of absorption bands probably due to the absorption of starlight by infalling meteors. The earth receives some twenty or thirty million "shooting stars" per day; the sun probably receives a million million a second, and the intake by some of the stars may easily be sufficient to balance or even to reverse the radiative degeneration.

Plans for a 200-inch reflecting telescope have been drawn up by the California Institute of Technology with the co-operation of the Mount Wilson Observatory and the financial aid of the International Education Board. A new type of telescope mirror, consisting of a thin spherical shell of glass fitted to the upper surface of a honeycomb structure built up from glass plates, has been devised by Professor Ritchey of the Paris Observatory; the optical system, which is said to give good definition over a large field, having been worked out by Professor Chretien.

ART, DRAMA, CINEMA, AND MUSIC.

I. ART.

THE collection of pictures bequeathed to the nation by Lord Iveagh, who died in October, 1927, was formed at vast expense, but for his own pleasure and without ostentation. As its exact constitution was known to few during Lord Iveagh's lifetime (for his gallery was never shown) the announcement that he had left it to the nation aroused curiosity as well as interest. The curiosity was soon allayed to some extent by the publication of a list of the pictures, but not entirely until they were all exhibited in January, at Burlington House ; together with a collection of the works of seven deceased members of the Royal Academy, Sir Luke Fildes, Mark Fisher, J. W. North, Ambrose McEvoy, F. Cayley Robinson, Sir J. J. Shannon, and Solomon J. Solomon.

Ali these were fairly represented, and the best of their pictures, which included such favourites of past years as " The Doctor," by Sir Luke Fildes, and the " Samson," by Solomon, were duly admired ; but the interest of the exhibition centred in the Iveagh collection. Its pictures, about sixty in number, filled the Third Gallery (the principal room at Burlington House) and the Central Hall. In the Third Gallery were placed the majestic full-length portraits of Lady Louisa Manners, Mrs. Musters as " Hebe," and the Hon. Mrs. Tollemache, by Reynolds ; of the Countess of Albemarle and her son, by Roniney ; and of Lady Brisco and Mary Countess Howe, by Gainsborough. In the Third Gallery also were two of the chief treasures of the collection, a fine self-portrait of Rembrandt when old, and a picture, " The Lute Player," by that rare artist Jan Vermeer. Lord Iveagh's noble bequest, included, as well as the pictures, a house for their exhibition and a liberal endowment for its upkeep. The house, Ken Wood, Hampstead, in which Lord Iveagh had resided, was opened in the summer and the pictures placed on view. It is a fine eighteenth century mansion, standing in seventy acres of grounds, and of historic interest. Purchased in 1755 from Lord Bute, by the first Earl of Mansfield, it was almost entirely rebuilt by him from the designs of the brothers Adam, the famous architects of the Adelphi. To such a house the Iveagh pictures make fitting adornments, and they are hung in its rooms probably much as they were in the days of their late owner ; but not in the lights they deserve. Few of them can be seen to the best advantage in their present positions.

The Selection Committee for the summer exhibition of the Royal Academy was composed of the President, Sir Frank Dicksee ; Mr. Arnesby Brown, Sir E. L. Lutyens, Sir Frank Short, Mr. Alfred Drury, Sir H. Hughes

Stanton, Mr. George Henry, Mr. Russell Flint, Mr. Charles 8. Jagger, **and** Mr. Walter Tapper. The duties of the Committee were heavier than usual, as 10,952 works were submitted to their judgment; 1,088 more than in 1927. Of these more than three-quarters were rejected, and the remainder, 2,145, passed on to the Hanging Committee, which found room for 1,249 of them in the exhibition, in addition to 287 contributed by members. The oil paintings were arranged by Mr. Oliver Hall, Mr. Arnesby Brown, Sir H. Hughes Stanton, and Mr. George Henry; the water-colours, works in black and white, and miniatures by Sir Frank Short and Mr. Oliver Hall; the architectural drawings by Sir E. L. Lutyens, and the sculpture by Mr. Alfred Drury.

For the second year in succession no pictures or works of art were bought from the exhibition for the Chantrey collection, a lapse to which there has been no parallel since the first purchases were made in 1877. The ordinary sales were rather below the average, and only one really highly priced canvas found a purchaser, Sir William Orpen's sardonic and somewhat puzzling picture, "The Black Cap, or the Passing of his Lordship." This was sold for 2,100l. The five mystical paintings by the late Charles Sims, R.A., which attracted more attention than anything else at the Academy, were all sold for 300l. each; and the other sales included: "The Head of St. John the Baptist" (400l.), by Mr. Charles Ricketts; "Le Jongleur de Notre Dame" (400l.), by Mr. Glyn Philpot; "A Dorset Landscape" (420l.), by Mr. Algernon Newton; "The Nurse" (375l.), by Mr. L. Campbell Taylor; "The Valley" (315l.), by Mr. Arnesby Brown; "Looking on the Cagnes, A. M. France" (350l.), by Sir H. Hughes Stanton; "November Morning" (262l. 10s.), by Sir George Clausen; "Autumn in the South of France, Hautes Alpes" (300l.), by Mr. Adrian Stokes; "The Old Vine Inn, Weston Turville" (250l.), by Mr. Alexander Jamieson; "Silent Watchers" (257l. 10s.), by Mr. Arthur Wardle; "Autumn" (250l.), by Mr. Joseph Farquharson; and "A Bridge on the Brent" (200l.), by Mr. R. Vicat Cole.

It was a wonderful year in the saleroom, and records were cut both here and in New York, where Sir Joseph Duveen paid 72,000l. for Gainsborough's "Harvest Waggon," a price unparalleled for a landscape sold by auction. This is the picture painted by Gainsborough in the winter of 1784-5, and bought from the artist by the Prince of Wales in 1786. Its last previous appearance in the auction room was in 1913, at Christie's, when it realised 20,160l., a record price for a landscape up to that time. Rembrandt was the painter whose pictures fetched the highest prices at Christie's in 1928. Four works by that great master were included in the Holford collection and were sold for prices that averaged nearly 40,000l. The highest bid was 50,000l. for "A Man Holding the Torah." Cuyp's long landscape, "Dordrecht," from the same collection, realised 21,000l., and the full-length of the Abbe Scaglia, by Vandyck, 31,500l. The sum-total for the Holford sale was more than 400,000l., and that for the sale of Captain Tatton's pictures, more than 110,000l. The latter figures are remarkable because his pictures were sold with others only a fortnight before Christmas, on December 14, when the total for the day's sale was 145,745l., a total unapproached at such a date in the annals of Christie. On that day 8,245l.

was paid by Messrs. Agnew for Turner's water-colour "The Righi at Sunset" (the "Red Righi"), which as recently as 1912 went for only 2,100*l.* in the J. E. Taylor sale. "The Righi at Sunset" is one of the drawings that Turner brought, in a roll in his pocket, to Griffiths the dealer in 1842, and asked him to try and sell them for eighty guineas each. And at that price Mr. Munro of Novar bought the "Red Righi," the drawing which at Christie's was knocked down at 8,245*l.*—a record for a water-colour by Turner. On the same day four Canalettos, all views of Venice, were sold for 6,720*l.*, 6,615*l.*, 6,300*l.*, and 6,090*l.* respectively; another Turner, in oil, "Bonneville, Savoy," 6,090*l.*; a full-length of the Marchioness of Townshend by Sir Joshua Reynolds, 13,125*l.*; a portrait by Vandyck of a Genoese officer in armour for the same price; and a portrait group by Zoffani of the family of Sir William Young, Governor of St. Vincent, 7,350*l.*—another record. A feature of the sales of this year was the advance in value of the work of the lesser English artists of the eighteenth century, and of the painters of sporting subjects. At the sale of December 14, at Christie's, a picture of Newmarket Heath by Wootton was bid up to 2,100*l.*; a pair of pictures, "The Belvoir Hunt," by Sartorius, to 3,255*l.*; and a portrait of Miss Leicester, by James Northcote, R.A., to 2,835*l.* A week later Messrs. Colnaghi paid 2,100*l.* for a picture by W. R. Bigg, R.A., "A Lady and her Children Relieving a Cottager." The series of pictures by another eighteenth-century artist, F. Wheatley, R.A., "Maidenhood," "Courtship," "Marriage," and "Married Life," fetched 8,505*l.* Other interesting sales were those of a sixteenth-century carpet for 23,100*l.*, and of the fifteenth-century chapel windows from Ashridge for 27,000*l.*

The Ashridge windows were presented by their generous, and anonymous, purchaser to the Victoria and Albert Museum, where in the summer was held an exhibition that contained a noble work of art belonging to the nation, the possession of which is also due to the munificent gift of a donor whose name has never been revealed. This is Holbein's superb portrait of the Duchess of Milan, bought for the National Gallery in 1909 through the National Art Collections Fund, for 72,000*l.*, of which 40,000*l.* came from an unknown source. The Holbein was shown at the Victoria and Albert Museum with the many other pictures and objects of art of various kinds that have been presented to our museums and galleries through the agency of the National Art Collections Fund. The exhibition was held to celebrate the twenty-fifth anniversary of that most excellent institution. Another interesting exhibition, held at the Victoria and Albert Museum in the autumn, celebrated the bicentenary of the birth of Francesco Bartolozzi, the distinguished Italian engraver, the best part of whose working life was spent in England.

Gainsborough's bicentenary had passed unnoticed in London in 1927 although it was celebrated in Ipswich, a town in which the great artist lived only from 1752 to 1759. But this year Messrs. Agnew made some amends for London's previous neglect by showing at their gallery in Old Bond Street a group of Gainsborough's stateliest full-length portraits, and other representative works from his hand, including several lent by the King from the Royal collection at Windsor. One of the Royal contributions

was the large oil sketch of "Diana and Actseon," once at Carlton House, which realised 2l. 3s. at Mrs. Gainsborough's sale of her husband's pictures in 1797. Among the full-lengths was one of the Countess of Sefton, shown originally at the first exhibition of the Royal Academy in 1769; and another of the artist's two daughters, painted when they were young women in the twenties, probably at Bath.

The acquisitions to the National Gallery were not of special interest, but the year witnessed the opening of a new gallery built for the accommodation of the fine collection of pictures bequeathed by Mr. Ludwig Mond, which he wished to be hung together, in a separate room. The gallery containing the Mond collection was opened in January, and in October it was announced that the long-overdue extensions to the National Portrait Gallery, as well as additions to the Tate Gallery and to the sculpture rooms at the British Museum, were to be provided at the expense of Sir Joseph Duveen, by whose benefactions the nation's picture galleries have already profited.

Many interesting private exhibitions were held, the largest of which was organised by the proprietors of the *Daily Telegraph* and held at Olympia in July. It contained an immense collection of old furniture, statuary, bronzes, porcelain, and objects of art of all kinds, some of which was of great rarity. Pictorial art was represented well though not largely. Its principal feature was the priceless diptych from Wilton House, six hundred years old and still in perfect condition. Two exhibitions were held at the Burlington Fine Arts Club, one of Spanish art, and the other of a general collection of pictures and furniture of various schools and periods. The attention paid to Mr. Max Beerbohm's exhibition, "Ghosts," at the Leicester Gallery, proved that the artist had lost none of his old-time popularity during his three and a half years' absence from London. Although few or none of his clever little portraits of people more or less eminent were topical, they were interesting even to the younger visitors to the exhibition, who except from hearsay knew nothing of many of the originals. Other exhibitions at the Leicester Galleries included those of drawings in colour by Mr. Paul Mak, and of lithographs by Toulouse-Lautrec.

At Messrs. Knoedler's gallery in Old Bond Street a remarkable collection of old sporting pictures was on view in the summer. It included eight examples of the work of that great artist, George Stubbs, A.R.A., lent by the Duke of Westminster, Lady Desborough, Lord Londonderry, and others; as well as paintings by Wootton, F. and J. N. Sartorius, Dean Wolstenholme, senior, Ben Marshall, James Barenger, Henry Aiken, and J. F. Herring. Miss Emma Ciardi showed some clever Venetian pictures at the Fine Art Society's gallery; and Mrs. Elyse Lord held an exhibition at the Lefevre Gallery of her curious and interesting drawings and colour prints in the Chinese manner. A notable exhibition at the Goupil Gallery was that of sculpture, drawings, and wood engravings by the French artist, M. Aristide Maillol.

II. DRAMA.

In many respects the year 1928 was very disappointing for those who take the drama at all seriously. There was a multiplicity of plays, but the number of failures was out of all proportion to the successes, and most of the failures were deserved. It was also unsatisfactory to find managers turning so frequently to America for their plays. In fact, the year saw the London stage more Americanised than ever, though, as will be noted later, the number of plays thus imported which secured a long run were comparatively few.

Before considering the quality of some of these foreign plays it is necessary to pass in review the more notable productions of our own playwrights. First on the list, if only because of the length of its run, one should perhaps place "Young Woodley," a play written by a young author, John van Druten, which created a good deal of discussion, chiefly because the Censor first saw fit to ban its production. Yielding to some pressure of expert opinion, after the play had been privately performed at the Arts Theatre Club, he wisely rescinded a decision concerning a play which a large body of intelligent playgoers appreciated for the author's sensitive treatment of a theme which, less delicately handled, might have justified official interference. A very young actor, Frank Lawton, created an excellent impression in the difficult part of the boy who fell in love with his schoolmaster's wife. Another play, called "Diversion," by the same author, while by no means uninteresting or ineffective, fell considerably below the level of "Young Woodley." Nor was the success of the latter play repeated with his adaptation of Rebecca West's novel, "The Return of the Soldier."

Next in importance to "Young Woodley"—indeed, many playgoers preferred it—one must rank Monckton Hoffe's "Many Waters," although this interesting and refreshingly unconventional play really dates back to 1926, when it was given an experimental performance by the Repertory Players under another title. Rescued from oblivion by Leon M. Lion, it enjoyed considerable favour at the Ambassadors, with Nicholas Hannen and Marda Vanne in the two chief parts. In a considerably lighter vein was another native play which deservedly won the public's favour. This was John Drinkwater's "Bird in Hand," a comedy in which the author's inventiveness in humorous characterisation, aided by a gift for natural dialogue, gave vitality to a story almost naively old-fashioned.

Disappointing, on the other hand, as coming from the author of "Conflict" and "The Fanatics," was Miles Malleson's "Four People," and even more disappointing, in view of its author's status, Arnold Bennett's "The Return Journey," a modern version of the Faust legend—produced by Gerald du Maurier at the St. James's Theatre—which sadly missed fire after a first act full of promise. In the list of disappointments one must **further** include Ashley Dukes's "The Fountain Head," which would probably read better than it acted. Another native dramatist, Ben Levy, descended badly from the level of his most agreeable comedy, "This **Woman** Business," in "Mud and Treacle," in which he adopted a cynical

style. In an adaptation of Hugh Walpole's "A Man with Red Hair" he succeeded merely in being horrible in a revolting way—being ably assisted to that end by the vivid acting of Charles Laughton. But, in "Mrs. Moonlight," this author, coming under the far more benign influence of Barrie, produced a pleasant essay in the fanciful-sentimental.

Among plays by authors whose names as yet are not familiar was "Thunder in the Air," in which Robins Millar made a very creditable attempt to work out an idea that proved beyond his capacity of treatment, while that very promising young Irish dramatist, Percy Robinson, revealed a keen sense of the theatrically effective in a piece entitled "To What Red Hell," which incidentally served as a kind of tract against capital punishment.

In the way of very light entertainment the year brought pleasant examples in J. Hastings Turner's "Lord of the Manor," Harold Dearden's "Two White Arms," "Skin Deep," a promising little comedy by a new author, Ernest Enderline, "A Damsel in Distress" (Ian Hay and P. G. Wodehouse), H. E. S. Davidson's "The Truth Game," and "Plunder," a very amusing farce in which Ben Travers found fresh scope for the excellent humours of Ralph Lynn and Tom Walls in the capacity, new for them, of crooks. Perhaps one should add to the category of lighter home-made plays Walter Hackett's "Other Men's Wives," and "77 Park Lane," seeing that, although an American, the author by long residence in this country, in which he has written so many plays, might fairly claim to be British.

The supply of crook and mystery plays seemed inexhaustible. Most of them came from America, but one representative English author, A. A. Milne, adventured into this field with a play called "The Fourth Wall," which differed from most others of its kind by not throwing dust in the eyes of the spectators. The play, however, was a trifle too much over-weighted with dialogue to be completely effective. Perhaps the best, as certainly one of the most successful, of our detective plays was Michael Morton's "Alibi," founded on Agatha Christie's "The Murder of Roger Ackroyd." Charles Laughton's performance as the French detective was characterised by extraordinary skill. Two other dramatisations of novels of the thriller type were those made by A. E. W. Mason of his "The House of the Arrow" and "No Other Tiger." Edgar Wallace was again prominent in the ranks of melodramatists. "The Squeaker" was a play that showed him at his best.

Of the American plays designed both to mystify and thrill, unquestionably the best was Bayard Veiller's "The Trial of Mary Dugan," a most ingeniously contrived piece of which the chief novelty lay in the fact that the whole action took the form of a trial for murder. But in some respects the best of the "strong" American plays brought to London was "Spread Eagle" (by George Brooks and Walter Lister), which was really a powerful and most moving indictment of war, but more especially of wars engineered for gain. A somewhat similar theme was treated by Channing Pollock in a play called "The Enemy," but with considerably less reticence and effect. Curiously enough, one of the best of the American plays which came to this country proved one of the least successful. This was an enter-

taining comedy by Robert Emmet Sherwood, called "The Road to Rome," which derived its fun from the idea of making characters of ancient history talk in modern colloquialisms on current affairs. Another light comedy, "The Patsy," was a welcome vehicle for introducing Helen Ford, an American actress of no little charm. Nor should one omit from the list of plays by American authors Elmer Rice's "The Adding Machine," a kind of dramatic fantasy which, with grim humour and irony, attacked a machine-made civilisation as typified chiefly by an overworked little ledger clerk.

No record of plays other than native which were seen during the year would be complete without a reference to a wholly charming comedy, most delicately imagined and wrought, by the Quintero brothers, called in the excellent translation made by Mr. and Mrs. Granville Barker, "One Hundred Years Ago." In this play, done at the Lyric, Hammersmith, Horace Hodges gave a beautiful performance as the protagonist. The list of foreign plays should further include Harry Graham's neat version, entitled "By Candle Light," of an Austrian comedy which, as most adroitly acted in the chief parts by Yvonne Arnaud, Ronald Squire, and Leslie Faber, proved brilliantly successful.

From among plays which, even though they failed to make a lasting impression, call for passing mention, one may select "The Man They Buried," which, adapted from a piece by Madame Karen Bramson, set out to be more serious in theme than the average play, but just fell short of its high purpose; while another work that failed to achieve all that it attempted was Richard Pryce's adaptation of Christopher Morley's novel, "Thunder on the Left." More successful was another adaptation (by Ashley Dukes) called "Such Men are Dangerous." In this play, which dealt with the crazy Tsar, Paul I., a striking performance was given by Matheson Lang.

Apart from new productions, events worth noting were Sir Barry Jackson's modern-dress version of "Macbeth," which lent itself far less well to treatment on those lines than "Hamlet"; the observance of Ibsen's centenary; and a visit from the Moscow Art Theatre—a remarkable body of players. Welcome, too, were Leon M. Lion's revivals of two Galsworthy plays, "Justice" and "Loyalties," and revivals at the Lyric, Hammersmith, of "She Stoops to Conquer" and "The Critic."

III. THE CINEMA.

The year 1928 was extremely important in the world of the cinema. The Talking Picture developed from a possibility into a practical reality. This means that the whole cinema technique must be altered, and it is anticipated by some in America that in a few years' time no more silent pictures will be made. Others, however, are of opinion that the enormous box-office success of the "Talkies"—the hideous word is slipping into the language—is only due to their novelty.

The new invention necessitates big changes. Producers must know something of stage work, players must have good voices, and the old studios are useless. America is busy building "sound proof" stages, and a tremendous programme of synchronised pictures is scheduled for 1929.

A distinction must be made between the sound picture, which supplies orchestra, effects, and occasional singing, and the dialogue picture which is more in the nature of a stage play.

In some studios at present a sound and silent version is made of every picture, so as to supply the needs of the smaller houses which are not yet "wired." In America, Western Electric cannot keep pace with the demand for wiring, just as the producers at the moment cannot supply sound pictures quickly enough. In England the public have not yet really had a chance to judge whether they like the novelty, for only some fifteen houses in the whole of England and Scotland have, as yet, a working apparatus. Within the next six months the number will be enormously increased.

There are already at least twenty reproduction inventions on the market, and many more are anticipated. There are two main systems. The Disc method consists of synchronising a gramophone with the film, the sound being recorded either at the same time as the film is made or afterwards. The second is the sound-on-film method, to record the sound photographically either on the margin of the picture or on a separate film. The two best-known systems offer an example of each method. The Movietone is "sound-on-film," the Vitaphone is "sound-on-disc."

At Wembley British Talking Pictures are being made, though so far they have been confined to two-reelers. British International Pictures are building a sound stage at Elstree. There are four British owned systems on the market: Phototone; British Talking Pictures; British Acoustics; and British Sound Films.

All the systems have their problems. Cutting, particularly with the disc, is a difficult matter. No system is entirely free from "scratch," the subsidiary noise that accompanies most mechanical reproduction. In dialogue films the pace of speaking must still be very slow, and pauses are necessary between one speaker and another. Finally, there is, as yet, very little modulation of tone. That these difficulties are being rapidly overcome will be noticed by anyone who saw the first and the latest talking productions. The progress, within a few months, was amazing.

Warner Brothers led the van, but started off badly with "The Terror." It moved at a funeral pace, and the players had to stand quite still facing the microphone while speaking. Matters rapidly improved. From the same firm came "The Jazz Singer," in which Al Jolson varied the silent action with songs, and "The Singing Fool," which had more songs and more dialogue. This picture proved enormously popular and played for months at London's newest and most decorative cinema, "The Regal," opened in December, 1928. "The Home Towners" followed, an all-dialogue American comedy, still rather slow but better than its predecessor. "On Trial" showed a still greater advance, and "Interference" (Paramount) provided the most polished "Talkie" to date. Universal contributed "The Melody of Love" which was unpretentious but pleasing.

All the big stars are planning to speak. Chaplin announces that his next comedy will be silent, but that at the end he may address the audience from the screen in his own person. Mary Pickford is making "Coquette"

which is to be a dialogue picture. For "The Man in the Iron Mask" Douglas Fairbanks has a novel idea. He will not speak himself, but will have something in the nature of a Greek chorus to supply a running commentary.

For "topical" work the talking pictures have proved very popular, and it is here that they have so far been at their best. A talking record taken of George Bernard Shaw was particularly excellent.

The full effect of the Cinematograph Films Act, 1927, was felt during the year. There was considerable activity in the British studios, and the output exceeded the quota requirements, so that exhibitors could not complain of a lack of choice in their compulsory pictures. The level of production, however, remained very poor, and there was a tendency to imitate the worst American methods. The exceptions included "Shooting Stars," by Anthony Asquith, which showed the possibilities of the screen in the hands of our younger intellectuals. His second picture "Underground," though not so good, was also interesting. It dealt with a real phase of London life, whereas the normal tendency is to specialise in events which might have their setting anywhere. Another typically English picture, which exploited to the full the possibilities of the Devon coast, was "Widdicombe Fair," a charming production, the work of Norman Walker, who in an earlier picture, "Tommy Atkins," had given no indications of his true quality. The best British war picture of the year was "Q Ships." (There have on the whole been distinctly fewer Great War pictures.) "The Ware Case," under the direction of Manning Hayes, told a good murder story exceptionally well. "The Constant Nymph," the joint production of Basil Dean and Adrian Brunel, made it appear that in Mabel Poulton a new star had been discovered. "Bolibar," a Peninsular War subject, directed by Walter Summers, proved unusual and interesting. A. E. Dupont was imported to make "Moulin Rouge," but it was a pretentious rather than a successful picture. Other importations at work at Elstree are Percy Marmont, Monty Banks, and Anna May Wong. From India we had an all-native offering in "Sbiraz" (shown at the New Empire, now definitely converted into a picture house), which though amateurish in technique had the advantage of unique backgrounds.

The Continent continued to supply the best pictures. "Mother," perhaps the outstanding production of the year, came from Russia, but owing to censorship restrictions, could only be shown to the members of the Film Society. Some twenty other Russian pictures are in London but may not be shown. "Thou Shalt Not," a French version of Zola's "Therese Raquin," was the next most outstanding offering, and drew big audiences to the Avenue Pavilion, the cinema which specialises in pictures for the discriminating patron. It proved such a success that several provincial towns decided to try a similar experiment. "Berlin," by Walter Ruttmann, showed a day in the life of the city, and made constructive use of the expressionist technique with which the younger group of continentals have been so long experimenting. "The Edge of the World," by Carl Grune, was an imaginary war picture, set in a no-man's land, in which the desire for bread and life triumphed over the will to kill. A realistic picture

of the Great War came from France with Leon Poirier's "Verdun." In "The Spy" Fritz Lang made a burlesque melodrama.

Most of the best American pictures of the year were made by imported artists. Emil Jannings, under the direction of his compatriots in Hollywood, made two fine pictures: "The Last Command," produced by Joseph von Sternberg, and "The Patriot," produced by Ernst Lubitsch. F. W. Murnau made "Sunrise," in which he did not reach the excellence of "The Last Laugh," and later in the year "The Four Devils," which likewise fell below his previous productions. The best purely American offering was "The Crowd," made by King Vidor, a true picture of the life of New York's workers. The comedians were not idle. Charlie Chaplin was at last able to deliver "The Circus," Buster Keaton scored heavily with "Steamboat Bill, Jun.," and Harold Lloyd made "Speedy," a picture which indicated that his invention was running a little thin.

Great controversy was aroused over "Dawn," in which Herbert Wilcox retold the story of Nurse Cavell, with Sybil Thorndike in the leading role. The Censor refused to grant the picture a certificate, but the L.C.C. gave permission for it to be shown in the London area. For the rest of England it had to be submitted to the local authorities, with varying success.

There have been fewer travel films than usual, the best being "Lost in the Arctic," a wonderful record of an expedition in search of some trace of the men who perished in the Stefansson expedition. "Simba" was another Martin-Johnson African adventure, with some excellent studies of lions. "With Cobham Round the Cape" was a record of Sir Alan's flight round Africa.

IV. MUSIC.

A vast amount of music of one kind and another was to be heard in London during the year. Yet the events of really outstanding importance were few. In the domain of opera nothing new was brought to light and, incidentally, opera-lovers who had been looking forward to the completion of Sir Thomas Beecham's scheme for placing opera in this country on a permanent foundation had to be content with the assurance that his plans were making steady, if slow, progress. The usual cosmopolitan season at Covent Garden proceeded along familiar lines. On the whole the performances maintained the traditions of the house, more especially the cycles given of the "Ring," under Bruno Walter. The second cycle was made particularly memorable by Frida Leider's magnificent singing as Briinnhilde.

In a season chiefly dependent, as a matter of course, on foreign singers, it was especially gratifying that an English artist, in the person of Eva Turner, should achieve a signal success. Miss Turner could not be regarded as a newcomer, seeing that for many years she had been known as a leading member of the Royal Carl Rosa Company. But, curiously enough, the public had been rather inclined to overlook her exceptional gifts. Her singing in "Turandot" and in "Aida"—in which she had previously made a great impression in Italy—won for her tributes from the London public that had been long overdue. The season introduced a new and in

many respects excellent *Madame Butterfly* in Rosetta Pampanini, and particularly eventful nights were those upon which the mighty Chaliapin appeared as Boris Godounov and as Mephistopheles in "*Faust*."

There was a welcome, but not strikingly successful, revival of Gluck's "*Armide*," while another opera revived after a considerable interval was Charpentier's "*Louise*." This was found to have dated badly. In the centre of London no opera performances were given in English during the year. But regular performances, all of them good in their unassuming kind, were given at the Old Vic, where a comprehensive repertory included "*The Magic Flute*," "*Lohengrin*," "*Il Trovatore*," "*Hansel and Gretel*," and "*La Bolrf'me*." There was also produced towards the end of the year a kind of dramatic fantasy called "*Adam's Opera*," written by Miss Clemence Dane, with music composed by Richard Addinsell, which was mostly simple and in keeping with the demands of the play.

Several new works were heard by concert-goers. For the production of some of the more important of these the British Broadcasting Company were responsible. At one of the concerts given under these auspices Granville Bantock conducted his new oratorio founded on "*The Pilgrim's Progress*." It was found that the difficulties inevitably attending an adaptation of Bunyan's narrative had only been partially overcome, and that the composer, for his part, had not been fully equal to a very ambitious flight. His music had scholarly distinction rather than the glow of imagination which such a subject demanded. A more interesting novelty (also produced by the B.B.C.) was Leos Janacek's "*Sinfonietta*," a work in five movements calling for a very large orchestra, but by no means relying for its effectiveness on the employment of big resources. Rich alike in colour and variety, it showed that at over seventy, when he wrote it, the Czechoslovakian composer was still mentally very vigorous. The characteristics of his idiom and style were also present in "*Tar as Bulba*," an orchestral rhapsody performed under Sir Henry Wood at a concert at which the distinguished singer, Emmy Destinn, made her reappearance.

Of exceptional worth in the list of unfamiliar foreign music was Ernest Bloch's "*Israel*" Symphony, not a very recent example of the composer's highly personal gifts, yet unquestionably a representative one, strongly tinged with the spirit of Judaism and conveying a sense of something deeply felt. Considerably less important, but still to be mentioned, was a Respighi novelty—also introduced by the B.B.C.—called "*Vetrate di Chiesa*," which hardly carried the composer higher in the estimation of experts. It showed him again to be a master of orchestral technique, but possessed of little inspiration upon which to exercise his craftsmanship. On the other hand, Medtner, in his piano concerto, which he played at a Philharmonic concert, revealed far less command of orchestral resources, but higher, as well as more individual, qualities than were to be found in the Italian musician's score. Another concerto—that for violin and orchestra—composed by Casella, though dexterously written, failed to make anything like a strong impression.

To return to native composers, it was reserved for Gustav Hoist, in his "*Egdon Heath*," to give the public a work which in some respects must

rank as the most noteworthy of the year's British novelties. Inspired by a passage from Hardy, the music, with its sombre colouring and suggestions of wide spaces and solitude, reflected most skilfully the right atmosphere. The Eoyal Philharmonic Society, under whose aegis "Egdon Heath" was heard, also produced in the course of their season a Symphonie Concertante by one of the youngest of our composers, William Walton, who in that work gave further tokens of the promise he had already shown. A few interesting novelties were also introduced during the season of Promenade concerts conducted by Sir Henry Wood. Undoubtedly the most striking of them was Sibelius's symphonic poem "Tapiola," while an excellent impression was also made by Kodaly's exhilarating suite, "Hari Janos."

Apart from orchestral works that were new to this country the public heard several unfamiliar compositions in the domain of chamber music, notably Bela Bartok's first Quartet—which, though difficult to grasp at a solitary hearing, was yet found to contain arresting qualities—and Paul Hindemith's Quartet (No. 4). Among native chamber works, by no means the least representative was Arthur Bliss's Quintet for oboe and strings, which on the whole showed him at his best, while mention may be made here of Arnold Bax's third piano sonata in G sharp minor, an admirable example of that composer's fertility of resource. Incidentally there were recitals by several distinguished quartet parties, notably the Flonzaleys—a superb combination now disbanded—the Leners, the L.S.Q., the Pro Arte, and the Viennese Quartet.

In the way of choral music there was nothing of any special significance to record. A noteworthy event, however, was the revival of Dame Ethel Smyth's Mass in D by the R.C.S. The Bach Choir gave some excellent performances, and the London Choral Society revived "Les Beatitudes" of Cesar Franck, whose fame will certainly not rest on that work, though it contains some characteristic beauties. There was a season of Russian Ballet, in the course of which Stravinsky's "Apollo Musagetes" was produced, without, however, adding to the composer's reputation.

In several ways and by any number of concert-givers the centenary of Schubert's death was honoured, and incidentally Sir Thomas Beecham, in command of the London Symphony Orchestra, brought to a hearing a symphony by Kurt Atterberg, a Swedish musician, which had been awarded the Columbia Graphophone Company's centenary prize of 2,000l. The symphony, which excited a considerable amount of discussion, proved to be not much more than a sound **and** competent piece of work.

FINANCE AND COMMERCE IN 1928.

THE year 1928 marked the end of the first and worst decade of economic reconstruction following the Great War. It witnessed further recuperation in many directions, and it helped to make clear the fact that, so great had been the devastation and destruction wrought by the war, considerably more than ten years would be required to restore a fair measure of general prosperity to Europe. At home the tendency of events in industry and trade, while not untoward, was rather disappointing. For instance, the number of unemployed, which had been greatly reduced in 1927, following the grave labour troubles of 1926, was larger at the end of 1928 than at the beginning; the number was 1,520,700, as against 1,332,300. This increase in unemployment was largely due to the chronic depression and the reorganisation of the coal trade, and the depression in the heavy industries, though overseas trade steadily improved as the year advanced. The increase in unemployment, while very disappointing, was not accompanied by a decrease in total employment, and it must be attributed in the main to industrial readjustments rendered necessary by the war and its consequences. Industry in the ten years following the war began a revolution that was destined to become not less important than that which followed the Napoleonic wars, and in 1928 that became more apparent than in previous years. Before the war there were signs that the digging up of coal, its conveyance in its raw state over great distances in expensive wagons and ships, was a crude and uneconomic method of extracting from it its principal products, light, heat, power and chemicals. The war gave a great impetus to its more economic use, and coal came to be treated more as a composite chemical product to be broken down on the site.

In 1928 more light, heat, and power was consumed than in any previous year, but all the British railways carried vastly smaller quantities, thanks to more efficient methods of using coal. The higher extraction from coal has made it go farther; hence less of it has been required and more unemployment has resulted, but the coal industry is gradually forcing its way into a more economical and prosperous future. Further amalgamations were arranged amongst the collieries, Lancashire and Welsh collieries being specially affected. But though the consolidation of the coal industry has been carried some way, it will not be complete until the whole industry is organised nationally and not merely by counties. No one can accuse the colliery owners of excessive speed in meeting these post-war difficulties: they demanded lower wages—the time-honoured method of mid-Victorian

employers for getting them out of a difficulty—but when they got them they merely had the effect of reducing still further their selling prices and forced still more reductions, until in 1928 coal was selling below the pre-war level, the miners were badly paid, and the owners, on an average, lost about ninepence per ton on every ton produced during the year.

But the chief users of coal, gas, and electricity works continued to prosper, as they did during all the years of difficulty in the coal trade. Gradually it dawned on the colliery proprietors that their industry required reorganisation in modern lines to meet the altered conditions of business, so that they and their employees should not alone bear all the losses of post-war industrial readjustments. Generally the amalgamation movement in industry made important progress in 1928. It was carried a great deal further in the iron and steel industry—Yickers-Armstrongs taking the lead—in the electrical manufacturing industry, and it even reached the Lancashire cotton industry, the American section of which had been reduced to a parlous position by foreign competition, chiefly Asiatic, and by a bad system of finance. The most interesting amalgamation of the year, however, was the fusion arranged between the Eastern Telegraph Company and its associated cable companies and Marconi's Wireless Telegraph Company. The invention of the beam system of wireless revolutionised telegraphy and cut so seriously into the cable companies' business that they deemed it advisable to make terms with the Marconi company. A merger was arranged, a new company being formed to take over the assets of the amalgamating companies. The capital of this company was fixed at 53,700,000*l.*, of which the cable companies got 36,350,000*l.* and the Marconi company 17,350,000*l.* At the time the merger was arranged the Government had already convened a conference of Empire Governments to consider the relations existing between them in regard to cable and wireless services and the future of Empire Communications. The Canadian Government had opposed the doubling of the Pacific cable in 1923, on the ground that wireless might become the cheaper method of communication, and in 1927 the beam took a lot of business away from the Cable companies, including the Pacific Cable Board (which was jointly owned by the British Government, the Canadian Government, the Australian Government, and the New Zealand Government). The Canadian Government—which had been in a minority in its prophetic vision—suggested that the position should be reviewed. Hence the conference. Having regard to the fact that the American cable and wireless interests were organising themselves into powerful world units, the conference decided that the cable and wireless merger was a good scheme, and recommended that the merger company should take over the Governments' cable and wireless interests—namely, the Atlantic cable and the Pacific cable, the West India cables, and the beam wireless stations in this country owned by the Post Office, especially, as Government operation had proved inefficient. The last named, however, were only leased to the merger, which was compelled to buy out the Government cable businesses, all of which were losing money. A special communications company was formed, to acquire all the cable and wireless communication assets of the companies and the Governments,

Abroad the chief events were the amazing prosperity of the United States, and the still more amazing speculation which developed on the New York Stock Exchange, which even affected some European centres, and the return of France to the gold standard. France decided to devalue the franc, and the new rate chosen was 124f. 21c. to the pound (the pre-war rate was 25f. 22|c). The operation was carried through (in June) quite successfully, the gold reserves of the Bank of France being ample to meet all contingencies. Germany successfully completed the fourth year's working of the Dawes Reparation Plan, and almost as soon as the fifth year (the first standard year, when the annuity rises to 125,000,000L) had begun it was proposed and accepted that another and second Dawes inquiry should be held for the purpose of finally determining Germany's reparation liabilities. The Dawes Plan had merely fixed the amount of the yearly payments, leaving the total number of payments unspecified. The new inquiry will be held and completed in 1929. The successful discharge of Germany's obligations in the four Dawes years was mainly due to Germany borrowing abroad. She actually borrowed more than she paid, so that there was no difficulty of transfer whatever. The actual payment of the sums in German marks presented, of course, no difficulty; having wiped out her old debt, Germany was, it was found on inquiry, easily able to find 100,000,000L a year. It must be remembered that before the war she expended an enormous amount of energy on her army and navy, representing the labour of many hundreds of thousands of people which made no contribution to the country's wealth; that same energy expended on wealth production must represent an enormous gain to Germany far in excess of 100,000,000.. a year.

Commodity Prices.—Commodity prices in Great Britain again declined, and to a greater extent than in 1927. On the year the fall amounted to 3 per cent. We reproduce below, as usual, *The Times* index number of commodity prices for December 31, 1928, and December 31, 1927, based upon sixty quotations, together with the number in April, 1920 (when the highest point was touched), and at the close of each of the last eight years :—

Month.	Food.	Materials.	Total Index Number.	Inc. or Dec, per Cent.
December, 1913	100	100	100	-
April, 1920	301-2	382-8	352-9	-
December, 1921	168-1	158-8	162-1	— 54-0
1922	163	1561	158-6	— 2-2
1923	1691	1691	1691	6-7
1924	178-1	1801	179-3	6-0
1925	1601	148-6	152-8	→ 14-8
1926	148-4	138-5	1421	— 7-0
1927	147-7	138-5	141-9	— 0-1
1928	141-6	135-2	137-5	— 3-1

The actual prices in 1928 and 1927 of the commodities included in the calculations are given below:—

Commodities.		Dec. 31, 1928.	Dec. 31, 1927.
FOOD.			
Wheat, Eng., Gaz., Av.	- - -	-112 lb.	9s. 6d.
" No. 2, N. Man.	- - -	-496 lb.	49s. 3d.
Flour, Ldn., Straights.	.	280 lb.	35s. 6d.
Barley, Eng., Gaz., Av.	- - -	- 112 lb.	10s. 2d.
Oats/Eng., Gaz., A	v. . . .	112 lb.	9s.
Maize, La Plata, ex Rhip	.	480 lb.	40s. Qd.
Rice, No. 2, Burma	.	cwt.	15s. 9d.
Beef, English sides	.	8 lb.	5s. id.
" S. Amer., chilled	.	8 lb.	4s. 2d.
Mutton, N. I., frozen	.	8 lb.	5s.
Bacon, Irish lean	.	cwt.	106s.
" Amer. Oumb.	.	cwt.	78s.
Fish	.	stone	5s. 6d.
Eggs, English	.	120	17s.
Sugar, Eng. ref., cubes	-	cwt.	27s. 3d.
" W. Ind., cryst.	.	cwt.	24s. 3d.
Tea, Ind., Auctn. Avg.	- - -	- lb.	1s. 5½d.
Cocoa, Trinidad, mid.	.	cwt.	58s.
Cheese, English Cheddar	.	cwt.	126s.
Butter, Danish, fine	.	cwt.	200s.
Lard, Amer. ref., pails	.	cwt.	67s.
Potatoes, English good	.	ton	6l.
MATERIALS.			
Pig iron, Hemt., M'bro	- - -	ton	70s.
" Cleve'd, No. 3	.	ton	66s.
Iron, marked bars, Staff.	.	ton	12l.
" Com. bars	.	ton	10l.
Steels, rails, heavy	.	ton	81. 10s.
" boiler plates	.	ton	10l. 10s.
" galvzd. sheets	.	ton	13l. 10s.
" tinplates	.	box	18s.
Copper, electrolytic	.	ton	77l.
" strong sheets	.	ton	98l.
Tin, stand., cash	.	ton	225l. 15s.
Lead, English	.	ton	23l. 5s.
Spelter, foreign	.	ton	26l. 17s. 6d.
Coal, lge. steam. Cardiff	.	ton	19s. 3d.
" best gas, Durham	.	ton	14s. 9d.
" best hse., Yorks	.	ton	20s. 6d.
Petlm., Amer., rid., brl	.	gal.	10½d.
Cotton, Am., mid.	.	lb.	10-59d.
" Egypt, f.g.f. Sak.	- - -	- lb.	19-45d.
" yarn, 32's twist	- - -	- lb.	15½d.
" 60's, " Egp.	- - -	- lb.	27½d.
" shirtings, 81-lb.	.	piece	12s. 6d.
" prnt., 17 X 17, 32 in.	125 yards	- piece	32s. 6d.
Wool, gsy. merino, 00's	- - -	- lb.	20. d.
" gsy., crossbd., 46's	- - -	- lb.	18d.
" tops, 64's	.	lb.	46d.
" tops, 40's	.	lb.	23d.
Flax, Livonian,	1.K.	ton	90l.
Hemp, N. Zeal., h.p. fair	.	ton	30l.
Jute, first marks, sliipmt.	- - -	ton	32l. 5s.
Hides, Eng., Ox, first	- - -	- lb.	8. d.
" Cape, dry.	.	lb.	15jd.
Timber, gd. deal, 3 x 9	- - -	- stand.	24l.
" W'cot oak	.	lin.ft.	1s. 4d.
Cement, best Portland	.	ton	2l. 6s.
Rubber, Plant, sheet	.	lb.	S ¹ / ₁₆ d.
Linseed oil	.	ton	29l.
Soda crystals, bags.	.	ton	51. 5s.

• Average price of plaice, cod, and haddock.

Commercial Failures.—There were fewer failures in business. The total number was 7,251, against 7,336 in 1927 ; while the amount of the liabilities was about the same at 4,773,058l., the assets being nearly 200,000l. larger at 2,225,609l.

Industrial Profits.—The profits of industry, which had been reduced by the troubles of 1926, quickly recovered. Reports issued in 1928 of industrial companies showed a considerable expansion in profits. Taking the accounts of 1,709 companies analysed by the *Economist*, we find that they earned an aggregate net profit of 179,642,747l., an increase of 12,060,339l., or 7.2 per cent., on the previous year. Of the total profits, 105,898,242l., or 58.9 per cent., was distributed amongst the Ordinary shareholders, 33,679,115l., or 18.8 per cent., was paid in Preference dividends, and 40,065,390l., or 22.3 per cent., was placed to reserves. The total profits were equal to 11.1 per cent, on the Ordinary and Preference capital combined, against 105 per cent, in 1927 and 11.3 per cent, in 1926.

The floating debt was further reduced during the year, from 825,010,000l. to 816,325,000l. On March 31, 1928, the total National Debt was 7,714,284,000l., against 7,554,750,000l. a year before. The composition of the floating debt is shown below ; the total on March 31, 1920, was 1,312,205,000l., which shows how large the reduction has been :—

Floating Debt.	December 31, 1928.	December 31, 1927.
Ways and Means Advances :—	£	£
From Bank of England		20,000,000
From Public Depts.	28,340,000	154,260,000
Treasury Bills	787,985,000	650,750,000
Total	816,325,000	825,010,000

The large increase shown in 1928 in Treasury Bills was due chiefly to adjustments connected with the transfer of the Currency note issue to the Bank of England. Further conversion operations were undertaken in 1928 for the purpose of providing for the maturity of short-term obligations of the Government. At the beginning of the year the Government made an issue of 4½ per cent. Treasury Bonds at 101, the bonds carrying an option which was very largely exercised to convert into 4 per cent. Consols in July, 1928, at the price of 86l. 6s. 6d. and in January, 1929, at 88l. 4s. The issue was a notable success, cash applications amounting to 86,100,000l. and applications from holders of maturing bonds to 123,000,000l. In August an issue of 35,000,000l. of Treasury Bonds was made for the purpose of providing for the unconverted balance of 5 and 4 per cent. National War Bonds maturing on September 1. The rate of interest on the new bonds was 5 per cent., and they were offered for sale by tender, the minimum price being 101. Applications amounted to 45,720,000l., and the average price obtained was 101l. 0s. 11.65d. Towards the end of the year an offer of 4½ per cent. Treasury Bonds was made at 99, carrying conversion rights into 4 per cent. Consols in the second half of July, 1929, at the price equivalent of 88½. The offer was well received, cash applications amounting to

46,150,000l. and conversion applications to 103,516,000l. This operation was designed to dispose of the last of the National War Bond issues.

Banking.—In finance and banking 1928 easily established fresh records. It was an extraordinarily active year. The grand total of bills, cheques, etc., which passed through the London Bankers' Clearing House in 1928 was 44,204,729,000l., an increase of 2,654,188,000l., or 63 per cent., on 1927, which previously held the record. October was a record month, the record week that ended July 4, and the record day December 31. The factors mainly responsible for the increased turnover of money were Government conversion operations, such as the issue of Treasury Bonds, greater activity in the short loan and discount market due to relatively cheap money, the banks having become freer lenders in the discount market, increased activity on the Stock Exchange, the larger volume of new issues, and the greater requirements of traders in certain lines of business. Altogether financial factors and not trade or industrial factors were mainly responsible for the great monetary energy of 1928. The figures for the past two years of the London Bankers' Clearing House are subjoined :—

	1928.	Increase on 1927.
	£	£
Grand total	44,204,729,000	2,654,188,000 (or 6·3 per cent.)
Town clearing total -	39,311,117,000	2,491,435,000 (or 6·7 per cent.)
Metropolitan clearing total	1,854,190,000	96,158,000 (or 5·4 per cent.)
Country cheque clearing total -	3,039,422,000	66,595,000 (or 2·2 per cent.)

The totals of the eleven provincial clearings for 1928, compared with 1927, were as follows :—

Clearing.	Total.	Inc. or Dec.
		Per Cent.
Birmingham	137,295,000	+ 3·5
Bradford	68,609,000	- 3·9
Bristol -	62,638,000	+ 3·1
Hull - - -	45,839,000	- 1·3
Leeds	49,540,000	- 7·1
Leicester	43,236,000	+ 1·8
Liverpool	426,736,000	- 4
Manchester -	681,307,000	- 3·7
Newcastle-on-Tyne	75,834,000	- 2·7
Nottingham	32,624,000	- 0·7
Sheffield - -	49,786,000	- 11

Taking the aggregate of the eleven provincial clearings and analysing it into quarters, the following results are obtained, compared with 1927 : first quarter, 448,208,000l., an increase of 34 per cent. ; second quarter, 413,723,000l., an increase of 1·1 per cent. ; third quarter, 391,226,000l., a decrease of 6·5 per cent. ; fourth quarter, 420,287,000l., a decrease of 6·3 per cent. The combined total was 1,673,440,000l., a decrease of 36,427,000l., or 2·1 per cent., on 1927. The New York Clearing House for

the twelve months ended November 30 showed an approximate total of 76,255,323,001., being an increase over 1926-27 of 13,567,463,0001. The Bank of England's minimum rate of discount remained at 4½ per cent, throughout the year. In the early part of the year gold flowed in freely, but it flowed out in equal volume later in the year, owing to dearer money in New York, Germany, and elsewhere. As a result of cheaper money, London did a very much larger acceptance and bill business, and more nearly returned to its pre-war position than at any time since 1914. The figures of the monthly statements of the ten London Clearing Banks for each month are given below :—

Month.	Deposits.	Cash.	Money at Call and Short Notice.	Bills.	Investments.	Advances.
	£	£	£	£	£	£
January -	1,784,120	201,263	149,818	259,552	260,123	938,244
February -	1,734,437	192,530	145,832	226,148	259,289	932,982
March	1,709,009	190,068	149,791	197,903	250,623	944,583
April -	1,727,991	191,206	156,361	199,451	248,055	948,917
May -	1,725,350	191,885	150,908	201,192	247,814	951,290
June -	1,768,522	197,696	157,585	236,047	246,705	944,723
July -	1,786,090	197,051	150,050	258,506	250,932	947,497
August	1,768,179	195,459	140,338	256,364	252,134	947,073
September -	1,768,857	197,224	145,226	246,282	259,254	945,540
October -	1,789,660	196,107	147,460	250,331	257,995	953,780
November	1,788,660	196,957	146,381	250,590	255,987	956,643
December -	1,843,405	207,128	164,674	261,008	259,478	960,131

000's omitted.

As a whole the year was a difficult period for the ordinary banks. The troubles of the heavy industries continued to affect them, while the plight of the cotton industry imposed heavy losses upon them. Competition for deposits amongst the banks grows keener every year, and a larger proportion of the money left with banks earns interest than ever before, while the rates allowed for fixed deposits are higher than in the past.

New capital issues were far in excess of those of previous years. Indeed, if allowance be made for the big difference in the value of money (in 1920 it was worth less than half of its present value), the total in 1928 was greater than in 1920, and therefore greater than in any year. Excluding British Government borrowings, the total issues reached 362,519,000., an increase of 48,000,000.. on 1927, of 109,000,000.. on 1926, and of 143,000,000.. on 1925. The geographical distribution of the new capital was as follows :—

	1928.	1927.	1926.
	£	£	
United Kingdom -	219,135,000	176,043,000	140,862,000
India and Ceylon	7,748,000	1,363,000	2,061,000
British Dominions and Colonies -	78,362,000	86,381,000	49,949,000
Foreign countries -	57,274,000	50,927,000	60,394,000
Total	362,519,000	314,714,000	253,266,000

The whole of the increase in the home demand was of a commercial character, but many of the flotations were highly speculative. There was a large output of patent companies, mostly to engage in luxury businesses of one kind or another, and judging from the alleged rapid absorption of the issues many of the subscribers were either gamblers or very innocent investors.

In the Money Market the outstanding event of the year was the amalgamation of the currency note issue (the Government notes first issued in August, 1914, to meet the exceptional demands in that month for currency owing to the war) with that of the Bank of England. A Bill was passed earlier in the year providing for the fusion of the notes and fixing the fiduciary portion at 260,000,000\$, which represented approximately the then existing amount of uncovered notes with a margin of safety. The amalgamation of the note issues took place on November 22, 1928, the Bank of England issuing 11. and 10s. notes on that day in place of currency notes of those denominations. The latter continued to circulate, but were withdrawn as rapidly as possible owing to confusion and loss arising from the fact that the new 10s. note was in colour similar to the old 11. note, and the old 10s. note similar in colour to the new 11. note. Prior to the amalgamation the profits of the Bank of England's note issue were retained by the Bank, but as from the date of the fusion it was arranged, on the initiative of the Bank, that the whole of the profit from the combined note issue should go to the Government. This enlightened step on the part of the Bank conforms with the best financial opinion—namely, that in the twentieth century no private institution should make profits out of a nation's paper currency. As from the date of the amalgamation of the note issues the Bank of England introduced certain improvements in its weekly statement, with the object of making it more informative. In view of their historic interest we reproduce the last Bank of England return prior to the amalgamation and the first return following the amalgamation :—

Nov. 21, 1928.	Amount.	Nov. 28, 1928.	Amount.
Rest	3,204,147	Rest -	3,254,001
Public deposits	14,898,189	Public deposits	21,452,051
Other deposits	99,472,105	Other deposits :—	
Government securities -	48,340,327	Bankers' -	62,379,409
Other securities	34,757,491	Other accounts -	37,185,203
Reserve - - - -	49,032,214	Government securities	52,180,327
Note circulation	132,802,375	Other securities :—	
Coin and bullion -	162,084,589	Discounts and ad-	
Proportion	42\$ per cent.	vances	13,586,293
		Securities -	20,214,855
		Reserve -	52,844,838
		Note circulation -	314,913,351
		Coin and bullion -	159,845,986
		Proportion -	43 ¹ / ₁ ¹ / ₆ Per cent.

In the next table are shown the principal figures of the Bank of England return made up at the end of December, 1928, comparison being made with the end of December, 1927, figures :—

	End Dec, 1928.	End Dec, 1927.
	£	£
Rest	3,440,783	3,382,834
Public deposits	22,336,385	14,561,638
Other deposits :—		
Bankers' -	84,016,042	123,975,164
Other accounts	38,030,396	
Government securities	62,636,855	48,678,992
Other securities :—		
Discounts and advances	47,745,162	
Securities -	16,962,554	74,448,730
Reserve	35,035,050	33,447,429
Note circulation -	378,294,483	138,711,420
Coin and bullion -	153,329,533	152,408,849
Proportion -	24 $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.	24 $\frac{1}{8}$ per cent.

The principal changes made in the return are the sub-division of deposits other than those made by the British Government, and of securities other than those of the Government deposited with the Bank of England as security. The other deposits show the amount of bankers' deposits—that is to say the amount of the cash reserves held at the central institution by the chief joint stock banks whose business is mainly confined to Great Britain—separately from other private deposits. The separation of other securities has for its object the disclosure of the indebtedness of the money market to the Bank of England from time to time in respect of the market's borrowings on loan and the discounting of bills. There was again a keen Continental demand for bills throughout the year, and the English banks by endorsing bills facilitated the investment of foreign moneys in the London market. The average rates current in the Money Market were as follows, comparison being made with the previous six years :—

1921.	1923.	1924.	1925.	1926.	1927.	1928
BANK RATE AVERAGE.						
£ s. d. 3 14 0	£ s. d. 3 9 10	£ s. d. I 4 0 0	£ s. d. I 4 11 6	£ s. d. 5 0 0	£ s. d. 4 13 0	£ s. d. 4 10 0
DISCOUNT RATE (3 MONTHS' BANK BILLS) AVERAGE.						
2 12 9	2 14 2	3 9	3 4 2 3	4 8 3	4 4 9	4 3 4
BANKS' DEPOSIT RATE AVERAGE.						
1 13 10	1 9 9	2 0 0	2	1 1 6 3 0 0	2 13 0	2 10 0
SHORT LOAN RATE AVERAGE.						
2 5 11	1 18 4	2 13 0	3 1 1 3	4 0 0	3 14 6	3 12 9
TREASURY BILL RATE AVERAGE.						
-	-	3 7 11	4 1 11	4 10 1	4 5 2	4 2 9

Foreign Exchanges.—The foreign exchanges were, of course, much steadier, as in the previous year, and the return of France to the gold standard was an important factor which contributed to the greater stability of the exchanges. In the early part of the year the exchanges

generally moved in favour of sterling, with the result that the Bank of England received a very large addition to its gold stock, mainly new gold from South Africa, but in the second half of the year practically the whole of the gold influx went out again, owing to higher monetary rates in Germany and America. Germany took very large amounts of gold, Germany acquiring the power to take it through heavy borrowing abroad, especially in France and England. The Spanish exchange fluctuated rather wildly, and the peseta was finally less valuable at the end of the year, in spite of the large gold stocks held by the Bank of Spain. Greece and Norway returned to the gold standard in 1928, the former to a new parity of 375 drachmas to the pound, instead of 25dr. 22½, and the latter to the old parity of 18kr. 1590.

The following table, extracted from *The Times Annual Financial Review*, gives the London rates of exchange at the end of 1928 and 1927, together with the highest and lowest quotations of the past year :—

Place.	Par of Exchange.	Dec. 31, 1928.	Dec. 31, 1927.	Highest 1928.	Lowest, 1928.
New York	\$4-86 ² / ₃	4-85¼	4-88.	4-88 ¹ / ₃ ⁵ / ₂	4-84¾
Montreal	\$4-86 ² / ₃	4-86½	4-89	4-89 ⁵ / ₈	4-84 ¹ / ₃
Paris	124f. 21c.	124-03	12400	124-30	123-92
Brussels	35	34-88½	34-90¾	3505	34-89
Milan	921r. 46c.	92-68	92-39½	92-91	91-92
Berne	25f. 22½c.	2518}	25-27½	25-35	25-15
Athens -	375	375	3661	375¾	365
Helsingfors -	193m. 23pf.	192 ⁷ / ₈	193 ⁷ / ₈	194-20	192-37 ¹ / ₂
Madrid -	25m. 22}pf.	29-74½	28-89	30-27	28-03
Lisbon -	—	109}	—	1161	104
Amsterdam	12fl. 107c.	12-07 ¹⁵ / ₁₆	12-07¼	12-12¾	12-07 ³ / ₈
Berlin -	20m. 43pf.	20-38½	20-45¼	20-48½	20-33¼
Vienna	34kr. 58½c.	34-45½	34-55½	34-75	34-38
Budapest	27kr. 82c.	27-83½	27-91½	2801	27-77
Prague	24kr. 02c.	163}	163¾	164 ⁷ / ₈	163}
Warsaw -	43m. 38pf.	43½	431	43¾	43 ¹ / ₈
Riga	25m. 22}pf.	25181	25-20	25-35	25-08
Bucharest	251ei. 22}c.	8081	790	855	765
Constantinople	110	9871	940	995	920
Belgrade	25d. 22}c.	275 ¹ / ₁ ³ / ₆	2761	278	275½
Kovno -	48.66	49	49	491	48 ¹ / ₃
Sofia	25d. 22}c.	672	6771	680	667
Reval	18159	18-08½	18-20	18-40	18-00
Oslo	18kr. 159	18-19¾	18-33½	18-35	18-18
Stockholm	18kr. 159	1813	18-10	18-20½	18-09
Copenhagen -	18kr. 159	1817}	18-20.	18-22½	18-17
Alexandria -	97½	971	97½	97 ⁹ / ₁₆	97 ⁷ / ₁₆
Bombay	18d.	1/6.	1/6.	1/61	1/5 ²⁷ / ₃₂
Calcutta	18d.	1/6.	1/6 ⁷ / ₆₄	1/61	1/5 ²⁷ / ₃₂
Madras -	18d.	1/6.	1/6	1/6 ¹⁵ / ₈	1/5 ²⁷ / ₃₂
Hong-kong -	—	2/0 ¹¹ / ₃ ⁷ / ₂	2/0 ¹¹ / ₁₆	2/1 ¹⁵ / ₁₆	1/11}
Kobe -	24-58d.	1/10	1/11 ¹ / ₆₄	1/11¾	1/10 ⁷ / ₃₂
Shanghai	—	2/7	2/7.	2/10¾	2/6¾
Singapore	2/4	2/3 ² / ₃ ⁹ / ₂	2/4.	2/4.	2/3 ¹¹ / ₁₆
Batavia -	12107	12-08¾	12-05¾	12-14 ⁵ / ₈	12-06¾
Manila -	24-066d.	2/0.	2/0.	2/0.	2/0¾
Rio de Janeiro	—	5 57/66	5 ²⁹ / ₃₂	561/64	5 ²⁷ / ₃₂
Buenos Aires	47-577d.	47 ¹ / ₃ ¹ / ₂ D.	47 ⁵³ / ₆₄	47 ¹ / ₃	47.
Valparaiso -	40	39-64	39-36	39-73	39-33
Montevideo -	51d.	50¾	51	51¾	49 ⁷ / ₈
Lima -	Par.	19 ¹ / ₃	19 ¹ / ₃	24 ¹ / ₅	19½
Mexico -	24-58d.	23¾	24	24 ¹ / ₅	23

90 days, † Premium.

Stock Exchange.—The year was one of very great activity in securities—and in-securities—and with two notable exceptions, Home Railway stocks and Rubber shares, the course of values was upwards. It may be said that the year's advances were a continuation of a movement that began in 1925. The aggregate value of 365 representative securities, which in December, 1927, was 6,811,859,000l., rose to 7,069,603,000.. in December, 1928, a rise of 257,744,000l., or 3.8 per cent. Fixed interest bearing stocks rose by 43,000,000l., or about 1 per cent., and variable dividend securities by 215,000,000l., or about 8 per cent. Wall Street reflected some of its glory upon Throgmorton Street. American investors took a growing interest in British industrials, and during the year a large number of the principal shares were introduced to the Kerb Market. Even fixed interest stocks of high-class character were bought by Americans, and the British Government's 4 per cent. Funding Loan and the 5 per cent. War Loan were listed on the New York Exchange. American electrical and financial interests bought the control from British investors of a number of public utility companies operating in South America, including the Chili Telephone and United River Plate Telephone Companies and the Pearson light and power companies. Home railways lost about 9,000,000l. in gross receipts, and though substantial savings were made dividends were reduced in most cases. Gramophone shares had a spectacular rise, and artificial silk and tobacco shares had some good rises. Rhodesian copper shares were strong.

Coal, Iron, and Steel.—The year was one of the very worst in the coal industry—worse than the previous year ; prices fell further, there was more unemployment, and the industry as a whole again worked at a loss. Production amounted to 241,200,000 tons, against 255,400,000 tons in 1927, and 287,400,000 tons in the record year 1913. The number of men employed fell from 967,400 to 898,000. Indeed, the industry gave less employment than in any year since 1906. Of the year's output about 50,000,000 tons, a decrease of 1,100,000 tons, was exported. Our lost markets were mostly supplied by Poland. A large number of collieries were closed and driven to liquidation ; no fewer than 540 pits were abandoned. Wages averaged between 9s. and 9s. M. per man shift worked, against 10s. per shift in 1927. In the March quarter the average price of coal was 13s. 5.09d. at the pit, against 17s. 4.33d. in 1927, and the fall increased as the year progressed. Taken as a whole, the industry is reckoned to have lost about 11,500,000l. in 1928, against 5,378,000l. in 1927. The output of pig iron and steel was smaller than in 1927, when the production of steel, however, reached the exceptional total of 9,097,100 tons; of pig iron the output was 6,611,300 tons, against 7,292,900 tons; and of steel ingots and castings, 8,525,100 tons, against 9,097,100 tons. In the following table is shown the output of pig iron and steel for the past four years, comparison being made with the 1913 figures :—

Year.	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	7,292,900	9,097,100
1928	6,611,300	8,525,100

Prices were low owing to severe Continental competition; they were no more than 123 per cent, above 1913 prices in December, 1928. But makers were better able to meet competition, and imports dropped from 232,800 tons to 183,600 tons. A decline in pig iron imports was significant, for it showed that where labour costs are small British makers could meet Continental makers.

Textiles.—The cotton industry had its eighth successive bad year. In the American section demand was so poor that 30 per cent, of the machinery was idle. Foreign competition grows keener every year, and towards the end of the year mill-owners got together at last and arranged some big amalgamations for the purpose of reducing costs. The banks gave valuable help, and the Lancashire Textile Corporation was formed to amalgamate a large number of mills which were in difficulties. Other schemes of amalgamation were set on foot. There was a fresh slump in wool values, and foreign competition was keener. The mills worked at about 75 per cent. of capacity. Towards the end of the year there was a persistent demand for protection. The linen trade was very depressed owing to the competition of cheaper substitutes, and production was only 30 per cent, of normal. Production of artificial silk out-stripped a 10 per cent, growth in consumption, and stock was increased by about 6,000,000 lb. Prices were reduced appreciably, but this failed to stimulate sufficient fresh demand to restore stability. Many of the new companies finished the year in grave difficulties. There was an important consolidation movement in the film and cinema industry, which continued to expand.

Cereals.—For the third year in succession the world was favoured with a large wheat harvest. There was a record Canadian crop, amounting to 68,800,000 quarters, and in the United States the output was 112,850,000 quarters. The price of No. 1 Northern Manitoba wheat fell from about 57s. in January to 46s. 3d. in September, and recovered to 49s. at the end of the year.

Foreign Commerce.—The overseas trade of the country was not unsatisfactory in 1928; the volume was maintained, and the final balance was more favourable to this country. The marked increase in unemployment was not due directly to foreign trade, though this may indirectly have affected it. Imports during the year decreased by 21,400,796l. (or 1.7 per cent.) to 1,196,940,354l., but exports increased by 11,745,844l. (or 1.4 per cent.) to 843,779,946l. The increase in exports of British goods was greater,

these showing an expansion of 14,346,192l. (or 20 per cent.); re-exports of Colonial and foreign goods, which were reduced by 2,600,348l. (or 2.1 per cent.), accounted for the difference. The apparent adverse balance for the year was 353,160,000l., against 386,277,000l. in 1927 and 462,819,000l. in 1926. The official estimate of Great Britain's trade balance in 1928 amounted to a credit of 149,000,000l., against 96,000,000l. in 1927, and a debit of 7,000,000l. in 1926, the year of the coal stoppage. Below is a summary of the items comprising the Board of Trade estimates for 1928 and 1927:—

	1928.	1927.
Invisible Exports:—	£	£
Excess Government receipts from overseas	13,000,000	
Net national shipping income .	130,000,000	140,000,000
Net income from oversea investments	285,000,000	270,000,000
Net receipts, short interest, and commis-		
	65,000,000	63,000,000
Other net miscellaneous receipts	15,000,000	15,000,000
Total invisible exports	508,000,000	488,000,000
Deduct:—		
Excess imports of merchandise and bullion	359,000,000	392,000,000
Net total credit balance	149,000,000	96,000,000

It will be seen that our invisible exports were estimated at 508,000,000l., while the visible adverse balance of trade was 359,000,000l.

Shipping and Shipbuilding.—The shipbuilding industry was more active, the output being the largest since 1921. There were launched 426 vessels of 1,444,000 gross tons; this compares with 1,225,873 tons in 1927. The world's output was 2,660,000, as against 2,285,679 tons. In the shipping industry there were marked fluctuations. Cargo ships had a poor time in the first half of the year, but there was a recovery in the autumn. The freight index number, which stood at 115.9 in December, 1927, rose to 124.3 at the end of 1928, after having been down to 102.4 in May, 1928. The improvement in the autumn was mainly due to a widespread inquiry for ships to load crops. In the regular liner trades, passenger traffic on the North Atlantic route was again very large, and the companies did well.

Insurance.—In the insurance world the steady expansion of life business continued, and in many instances the figures showed new high records. The cost of industrial assurance was further reduced, while bonuses generally showed a rising tendency. The marine insurance market continued to yield poor profits. Attempts to put the insurance of ships on a better basis met with some success, but little was done in the case of cargo insurances. Fire damage in Great Britain last year was estimated at 8,130,000l., an increase of over 1,500,000l. on 1927.

LAW.

IT is safe to say that the year 1928 will not stand out in the annals of the law, although there were matters more or less directly concerned with the legal world which on more than one occasion excited the public interest. The increase in divorce petitions continued to provoke comment in the Press and elsewhere, but, save for a certain revival in County Court work, legal business did not shake off the depression of the last few years, a slight increase in King's Bench causes being balanced by a proportionate decrease in the Chancery cause lists. As a result, there were practically no arrears in the Court of Appeal towards the end of the Michaelmas term. In the two final appeal courts, from whom death took three effective members in the persons of Lord Haldane, Lord Cave, and Lord Oxford, things were not proportionately advanced, but by the close of the year hopes could reasonably be entertained of the safe passing of the Appellate Jurisdiction Bill introduced in November. This Bill provided for the appointment of an additional Lord of Appeal in Ordinary as well as for the two judges with special Indian experience, the delay in whose appointment to the Privy Council had caused grave inconvenience.

Foremost amongst the judicial changes of the year were the elevation of Sir Douglas Hogg to the Woolsack with the title of Lord Hailsham and the appointments of Sir Thomas Inskip and Sir F. B. Merriman as Attorney-General and Solicitor-General respectively. In February Mr. Justice Sankey was promoted from the King's Bench to the Court of Appeal in the place of Lord Justice—now Lord—Atkin, and in November Mr. Justice Salter died. [See under Obituaries.] The two King's Bench vacancies thus created were filled by the appointment of Mr. Justice Hawke and Mr. Justice Macnaghten, while in February Mr. Justice Charles and Mr. Justice Humphreys were appointed as additional judges. In the Chancery division the elevation of Mr. Justice Russell to the Court of Appeal was followed by the appointment of Mr. Justice Maugham. Early in 1928, also, the Bar was made the poorer by the decision of Sir John Simon to devote all his energies to the Indian Commission, of which he was Chairman.

On the County Court Bench there were several changes, while the Metropolitan Police Courts lost through death Mr. Ratcliffe Cousins and Mr. Rooth, two familiar London figures. That the Stipendiary Bench of the Metropolis has been seriously overworked of recent years has been matter of common knowledge; in the year 1928 two remedial steps were taken in the appointment of two additional magistrates and the setting up by the Home Office of a Committee to enquire into the working of the

courts and to consider whether changes are necessary in their work or its organisation.

An unusual amount of attention was during the year directed towards the police and their relations with the public, and a certain credence was given to sweeping indictments of police administration. At the very beginning of the year the force gained publicity through the St. Helens inquiry as a result of which the Chief Constable of that town was completely exonerated from charges brought against him by members of the Watch Committee. On the other hand legitimate criticism was aroused by the action of the Metropolitan Police in connexion with the arrest of Major Murray, afterwards compensated, and more particularly in connexion with their interrogation of Miss Savidge who had been previously acquitted on a Hyde Park charge. An enquiry under the Tribunals of Enquiry (Evidence) Act into the action of the police in their interrogation of Miss Savidge was followed with considerable interest both by lawyers and the general public. Although the three members of the Committee, which was presided over by Sir John Banks, were not unanimous throughout, they agreed in condemning certain parts of the police procedure, and their report was followed almost immediately by the issue of fresh provisional instructions for the examination of witnesses in cases where their own character was the matter chiefly involved, and the appointment of a Royal Commission on Police methods whose wide terms of reference included a consideration of the functions of the Director of Public Prosecutions. This Committee had not reported at the close of the year. Another point which should be noted in connexion with police administration was the appointment about the same time of Lord Byng as Chief Commissioner of Police. Finally, late in the year, serious charges were brought against a police officer engaged in supervising the conduct of night clubs in the West End.

Two reports which received a large measure of attention were those of the Shops Acts Committee and the Street Offences Committee. The former was followed by the passing of the Shops (Hours of Closing) Act, 1928, which retained 8 P.M. as the general closing hour on five days a week while permitting an extension on those days to 9.30 P.M. for confectioners' and tobacconists' shops. The dissenting memorandum of Mrs. Hilton Philipson advocating special concessions to shopowners employing no assistants received a good deal of sympathy, but was rejected in the general interest. The second report, that on Street Offences, was not issued till December. It recommended legislation under which it would be necessary for solicitation, to be an offence, to amount to obstruction or molestation. This condition once fulfilled, regard would be had to neither the sex nor the previous character of the offender. In the report of the Committee on Legal Aid no very constructive proposals were included and no steps were taken thereon, while, in spite of pressure from the Bar Council and the Law Society, no action was initiated by the Government on the Crown Proceedings report submitted to them in April, 1927. The attention of the profession was drawn to the question of coroners' inquests as a result of the much-talked of Pace case, and the enquiry into the conduct of two officers of the *Royal Oak* suggested the possible need of reform in service regulations.

A development of Divorce work of social as well as legal interest was the campaign launched by the Lord President against fictitious charges and collusive actions in Divorce.

In the legislation of the year, one measure stood out as having unusually wide social effects, namely, the Representation of the People (Equal Franchise) Act, which extended the franchise to women on the same terms as men and put women in a numerical superiority over men voters. Another all-important statute was the Companies Act, 1928, which embodied the recommendations of the Company Law Amendment Committee. The section forbidding share-hawking came into force at once, and another facilitating the redistribution of share capital, in February, 1929; the rest of the Act remains inoperative until one measure can be passed codifying the entire body of company law. Important new provisions not yet operating permit the issue of redeemable preference shares and shares at a discount; others prescribe clearly the particulars which a company's accounts must show. Of the Act as a whole it may be said that, while placing no unnecessary obstacles in the way of companies, it tends to increase the responsibility of those exercising any important functions towards the general body of shareholders. Other acts with important consequences in very different directions were the Agricultural Credits Act, which enables farmers to obtain loans on the security of their stock, and the Racecourse Betting Act, which legalises the use of the totalisator. The Finance Act, not generally a popular measure, this year contained one very welcome provision, that giving additional relief from income tax in respect of children. The interests of fair dealing were well served by a short statute enacting that members of Industrial and Provident Societies should not without their previous consent in writing be bound by amendments of the rules made after they became members and entailing on them an increased liability to contribute to share or loan capital, while the interests of the public and the general body of solicitors were alike safeguarded by a short Act calculated to suppress the practice by which solicitors struck off the rolls did on occasion continue to act by becoming managing clerks to other solicitors or otherwise. Such persons cannot in future be employed in positions of the kind unless the consent of the said Society has been obtained. A useful measure appointing a fixed date for Easter is, like the Companies Act, not yet in operation.

Cases of unusual professional interest were not numerous in 1928, but among the decisions should be noted that of the House of Lords in *Gosse Millard Ltd. v. Canadian Merchant Marine Ltd.* The crux of the case was the interpretation of the expression "management of the ship" in the Carriage of Goods by Sea Act, 1924. The House of Lords held that "act, neglect, or default in the management of the ship" could properly relate to want of care of vessel indirectly affecting cargo but not to want of care of cargo, this distinction forming a general principle applicable in cases of doubt. Although not the only point in issue in the case, an interesting question on the interpretation of the new Moneylenders' Act arose in *Verner-Jeffreys v. Pinto*, where the term to be defined was "such agent" in Sect. 5 (3),

which provides that no moneylender shall employ any agent or canvasser and no person shall act as such agent or canvasser, etc. It was held that "such agent" meant a person employed by a moneylender, and that a person was not prohibited by the sub-section from acting as a tout without the authority of the moneylender. In *Re Villar* it was held impossible to regard as void for uncertainty the limiting of an interest in such a way that it vested within twenty-one years of the death of the last survivor of the descendants of Queen Victoria who should be living at the testator's death.

Revenue decisions again took an important place in 1928. The decision of the Court of Appeal in *Todd v. Egyptian Delta Co.* was reversed by the House of Lords, with the result that the place where the actual business is carried on has been established as the cardinal test of "residence" in a company—a legal decision which is in accord with common sense. Two other Court of Appeal decisions bearing on residence, but this time of individuals—the cases of *Levene* and *Lysaght*—were referred to the House of Lords. The decisions in these two cases seem to indicate that residence is a matter rather of fact than law and that "ordinarily resident" implies residence in a place with some degree of continuity and apart from casual absences. A Revenue decision with curious consequences was that in *Attorney-General v. Luncheon and Sports Club* in which it was held by the Court of Appeal that the totalisator was not a bookmaker within the meaning of the Finance Act, 1926, and was not subject to betting duty. In *Morley v. Law jord* further light was thrown on the meaning of a "business expense" for the purpose of deduction from profits, it being held that a subscription to the guarantee fund of the Wembley Exhibition made with the sole purpose of obtaining contracts might be so regarded.

Among cases which drew popular attention was *Reckitt v. Barnett, Pembroke and Slater, Ltd.*, a case arising out of the dealings of Lord Terrington with the funds of Sir Harold Reckitt, for whom he held a power of attorney. It was laid down unanimously by the House of Lords that third parties may not retain as against the principal the proceeds of cheques drawn by an agent under a power of attorney if they know that the power is not being exercised for the discharge of the principal's debts or in the conduct of his business but in payment of the attorney's private debts. This imports the theory of constructive notice and negatives the idea that a power of attorney is an absolute protection. *Ear die and Lane v. Chilton and Others*, which was also followed with great interest, dealt with trade protection associations. There the Court of Appeal found the practice legitimate by which such associations offer a delinquent trader the option of contributing to the funds by way of penalty or having his name placed on their "stop-list." The position brought about by this decision is interesting in that there is a contrary decision of the Court of Criminal Appeal. More interesting than either of the above to the "man in the street" was the case of *Leng Ltd. v. Sillitoe*. There the proprietors of a paper of substance, the *Sheffield Daily Telegraph*, conducted a football coupon competition and their conviction by the justices of an offence under the Football Betting Act was upheld by the King's Bench. It having been established that some part of the price of the paper must be inferred to have been paid

for the coupon, it did not, it was held, afford a defence to plead that betting was not the substance of the business carried on by the newspaper. *R. and H. Hall Ltd., and W. H. Pirn (Jr.) and Go's. Arbitration* which dealt with the sale of goods afloat deserves mention as laying down that where a defendant knows it to be not unlikely that his breach of contract will result in the breach of a sub-contract the plaintiff can rely on the sub-contract to augment damages. *More v. Weaver*, on the other hand, was useful as deciding that privilege attaches to statements in letters addressed by a client to his solicitor with a view to obtaining his advice, provided the statements are relevant.

There remain for notice one or two decisions on the Rent Acts, which have already proved such a fruitful source of litigation. In this connexion importance attaches to the Court of Appeal decision in *Roe v. Russell*, reversing the court below, that a "statutory" tenant may sublet even the whole of the premises, and to the group of cases bearing on decontrol in which judgment was given by the Court of Appeal in July. In *Lloyd v. Cook*, one of the most important of the group, the vexed question of the meaning of "landlord" in Sect. 2 of the 1923 Act was considered, the decision being that the term there means "owner" or "freeholder" and is not to be construed in the strict sense of a person having a tenant holding under him.

PUBLIC DOCUMENTS.

I.

THE GENERAL PACT FOR THE RENUNCIATION OF WAR.

(Signed in Paris, August 27, 1928.)

THE President of the German Reich, The President of the United States of America, His Majesty The King of the Belgians, The President of the French Republic, His Majesty The King of Great Britain, Ireland and the British Dominions beyond the Seas, Emperor of India, His Majesty The King of Italy, His Majesty The Emperor of Japan, The President of the Republic of Poland, The President of the Czechoslovak Republic,

Deeply sensible of their solemn duty to promote the welfare of mankind ;

Persuaded that the time has come when a frank renunciation of war as an instrument of national policy should be made to the end that the peaceful and friendly relations now existing between their peoples may be perpetuated;

Convinced that all changes in their relations with one another should be sought only by pacific means and be the result of a peaceful and orderly process, and that any signatory Power which shall hereafter seek to promote its national interests by resort to war should be denied the benefits furnished by this Treaty ;

Hopeful that, encouraged by their example, all the other nations of the world will join in this humane endeavour and by adhering to the present Treaty as soon as it comes into force bring their peoples within the scope of its beneficent provisions, thus uniting the civilised nations of the world in a common renunciation of war as an instrument of their national policy ;

Have decided to conclude a Treaty and for that purpose have appointed as their respective Plenipotentiaries :

The President of the German Reich :

Dr. Gustav Stresemann, Minister for Foreign Affairs ;

The President of the United States of America :

The Honourable Frank B. Kellogg, Secretary of State ;

His Majesty The King of the Belgians :

Mr. Paul Hymans, Minister for Foreign Affairs, Minister of State ;

The President of the French Republic :

Mr. Aristide Briand, Minister for Foreign Affairs ;

His Majesty The King of Great Britain, Ireland and the British Dominions beyond the Seas, Emperor of India :

For Great Britain and Northern Ireland and all parts of the British Empire which are not separate Members of the League of Nations :

The Right Honourable Lord Cushendun, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, Acting Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs ;

For the Dominion of Canada :

The Right Honourable William Lyon Mackenzie King, Prime Minister and Minister for External Affairs ;

For the Commonwealth of Australia :

The Honourable Alexander John McLachlan, Member of the Executive Federal Council;

For the Dominion of New Zealand :

The Honourable Sir Christopher James Parr, High Commissioner for New Zealand in Great Britain.

For the Union of South Africa :

The Honourable Jacobus Stephanus Smit, High Commissioner for the Union of South Africa in Great Britain ;

For the Irish Free State :

Mr. William Thomas Cosgrave, President of the Executive Council;

For India :

The Right Honourable Lord Cushendun, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, Acting Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs ;

His Majesty The King of Italy :

Count Gaetano Manzoni, His Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary at Paris;

His Majesty The Emperor of Japan :

Count Uchida, Privy Councillor ;

The President of the Republic of Poland :

Mr. A. Zaleski, Minister of Foreign Affairs ;

The President of the Czechoslovak Republic :

Dr. Eduard Benes, Minister for Foreign Affairs ;

who, having communicated to one another their full powers found in good and due form have agreed upon the following articles :

ARTICLE I. The High Contracting Parties solemnly declare in the names of their respective peoples that they condemn recourse to war for the solution of international controversies, and renounce it as an instrument of national policy in their relations with one another.

ARTICLE II. The High Contracting Parties agree that the settlement or solution of all disputes or conflicts of whatever nature or of whatever origin they may be, which may arise among them, shall never be sought except by pacific means.

ARTICLE III. The present Treaty shall be ratified by the High Contracting Parties named in the Preamble in accordance with their respective constitutional requirements, and shall take effect as between them as soon as

all their several instruments of ratification shall have been deposited at Washington.

This Treaty shall, when it has come into effect as prescribed in the preceding paragraph, remain open as long as may be necessary for adherence by all the other Powers of the world. Every instrument evidencing the adherence of a Power shall be deposited at Washington and the Treaty shall immediately upon such deposit become effective as between the Power thus adhering and the other Powers parties hereto.

It shall be the duty of the Government of the United States to furnish each Government named in the Preamble and every Government subsequently adhering to this Treaty with a certified copy of the Treaty and of every instrument of ratification or adherence. It shall also be the duty of the Government of the United States telegraphically to notify such Governments immediately upon the deposit with it of each instrument of ratification or adherence.

In Faith Whereof the respective Plenipotentiaries have signed this Treaty in the French and English languages, both texts having equal force, and hereunto affix their seals.

Done at Paris the twenty-seventh day of August in the year one thousand nine hundred and twenty-eight.

[Seal] GUSTAV STRESEMANN.

[Seal] J. S. SMIT.

[Seal] FRANK B. KELLOGG.

[Seal] LIAM T. MACCOSGAIR.

[Seal] PAUL HYMANS.

[Seal] CUSHENDUN.

[Seal] ARI BRIAND.

[Seal] G. MANZONI.

[Seal] CUSHENDUN.

[Seal] UCHIDA.

[Seal] W. L. MACKENZIE KING.

[Seal] AUGUST ZALESKI.

[Seal] A. J. MCLACHLAN.

[Seal] DR. EDUARD BENES.

[Seal] C. J. PARR.

II.

CONVENTION OF THE PAN-AMERICAN UNION.

(Adopted at Habana, Cuba, February 20, 1928.)

Their Excellencies, the Presidents of the Republics of Peru, Uruguay, Panama, Ecuador, Mexico, Salvador, Guatemala, Nicaragua, Bolivia, Venezuela, Colombia, Honduras, Costa Rica, Chile, Brazil, Argentina, Paraguay, Haiti, Dominican Republic, United States of America and Cuba ;

Through their respective plenipotentiary delegates, have agreed upon the following Convention, which shall be signed in the manner provided in the final article.

CONVENTION.—The American Republics, whose moral union rests on the juridical equality of the Republics of the Continent and in the mutual respect of the rights inherent in their complete independence, desirous of promoting efficaciously the harmonious development of their economic interests, and the coordination of their social and intellectual activities, and recognising that the relations between peoples are regulated by law as well as by their legitimate individual and collective interests :

Agree to continue their joint action of cooperation and solidarity by means of periodic meetings of the International Conferences of American States, as well as by means of organs established by international agreements, and through the Pan-American Union, which has its seat in Washington, and whose organisation and functions shall be regulated by the present Convention, in the following terms :

ARTICLE I.

Organ of the Union of the American States.

The Union of the American States tends to the fulfilment of its object through the following organs :

- (a) The International Conference of American States.
- (b) The Pan-American Union under the direction of a Governing Board, with its seat in the city of Washington.
- (c) Every organ that may be established by virtue of conventions between the American States.

Each State enjoys, as of right, representation at the Conferences and on the Governing Board.

ARTICLE II.

The International Conference of American States.

The Conferences shall meet at periodic intervals. The Governing Board of the Pan-American Union shall determine the date on which they shall meet, provided that in no case shall a longer period than five years elapse between Conferences, except in case of *force majeure*.

ARTICLE III.

Governing Board.

The Government of the Pan-American Union shall be vested in a Governing Board composed of the representatives that the American Governments may appoint. The appointment may devolve upon the diplomatic representatives of the respective countries at Washington.

Besides his own country, a member of the Governing Board may serve as special representative of one or more countries, in which case such representative shall have as many votes as countries represented.

The Board shall elect its Chairman and Vice-Chairman annually.

ARTICLE IV.

Executive Officers.

The Governing Board shall appoint the following officers :

A Director-General, who shall have charge of the administration of the Pan-American Union, with power to promote its most ample development, in accordance with the terms of this convention, with the regulations, and with the resolutions of the Board, to which body he shall be responsible.

The Director-General shall attend, in an advisory capacity, the meetings of the Governing Board, of the committees appointed by the Board, and of the International Conferences of American States, for the purpose of giving such information as may be required. The necessary expenses shall be paid out of the funds of the Pan-American Union.

An Assistant Director, who shall act as secretary of the Board.

The Director-General shall prepare the internal regulations by which the various divisions of the Pan-American Union shall be governed, in accordance with the provisions of the present convention, and shall submit them to the Governing Board for approval.

The Director-General shall present to the Governing Board annually, at the regular session of the Board in November, a detailed budget for the ensuing fiscal year.

The Director-General shall submit to the consideration of each Conference of the American Republics a detailed report on the work of the Pan-American Union during the period preceding the meeting of the Conference.

The Director-General shall appoint, with the approval of the Governing Board, the personnel necessary to the work of the Pan-American Union, endeavouring as far as possible to distribute the positions among nationals of the countries, members of the Union.

ARTICLE V.

Maintenance of the Pan-American Union.

The Governing Board of the Pan-American Union shall determine the quota which is to be paid by each of the Governments, members of the Union, for the maintenance of the Pan-American Union. But increases in the budget of the Pan-American Union exceeding by more than 25 per cent, the budget of the preceding year shall be approved by the unanimous vote of the Governing Board, the representatives being given time to consult their respective Governments. The quota shall be determined proportionally on the basis of the latest official statistics of population in possession of the Pan-American Union on the first day of July of each year. The budget shall be communicated to the Governments, members of the Union, before the first day of the ensuing calendar year, with an indication of the quota which each country shall pay, which shall be paid before the first of July of that year.

The Governing Board shall elect from among its members a Committee charged with examining, on the dates determined by the Board, the accounts of the expenditures of the Union, in conformity with the provisions established by the regulations, and the opinion of three experts to be appointed for the purpose.

ARTICLE VI.

Functions of the Pan-American Union.

The Governing Board and the Pan-American Union shall exercise the functions conferred by this Convention, subject to the condition that they shall not exercise functions of a political character.

The functions of the Pan-American Union are :

1. To compile and distribute information and reports concerning the commercial, industrial, agricultural, social, and educational developments, as well as the general progress of the American Republics.

1. To compile and classify information referring to the Conventions and Treaties concluded among the American Republics and between these and other States, as well as to the legislation of the former.

3. To assist in the development of commercial, industrial, agricultural, social, and cultural relations, in the study of the problems of labour, and of a more intimate mutual acquaintance between the American Republics.

4. To act as a Permanent Commission of the International Conferences of American States ; to keep their records and archives ; to assist in obtaining ratification of the Treaties and Conventions; to carry out and cooperate in securing compliance with the resolutions adopted by the International Conferences of American States, within the limit of its powers, and to prepare, in agreement with the Governments, the programme of the International Conferences of American States, and submit to the Conferences a project of regulations.

5. To perform such other functions entrusted to it by the Conference or by the Governing Board by virtue of the powers conferred upon it by this Convention. When a State believes that its vital interests are involved in a question, or that an obligation may be imposed upon it, such State may require that the resolution of the Board be adopted by unanimous vote.

6. The Governing Board may promote the meeting of International Conferences of Experts to study problems of a technical character of common interest to the countries, members of the Union, and to this end may request the governments to appoint experts to represent them at these Conferences, which shall meet at the place and time determined by the Board.

To carry out the purposes for which the institution is organised, the Governing Board shall provide for the establishment of such administrative divisions or sections within the Pan-American Union as may be deemed necessary.

ARTICLE VII.

Deposit and Exchange of Ratifications.

The instruments of ratification of the treaties, conventions, protocols, and other diplomatic instruments signed at the International Conferences of American States shall be deposited at the Pan-American Union by the respective representative on the Governing Board, acting in the name of his Government, without need of special credentials for the deposit of the ratification. A record of the deposit of the ratification shall be made in a document signed by the representative on the Board of the ratifying country, by the Director-General of the Pan-American Union and by the Secretary of the Governing Board.

The Pan-American Union shall communicate to all the States, members of the Union, through their representatives on the Board, the deposit of the ratification.

ARTICLE VIII.

Communication of Official Documents to the Pan-American Union.

The Governments of the countries, members of the Union, shall transmit to the Pan-American Union two copies of the official documents and publications which relate to the purposes of the Union, as far as the internal legislation of the respective countries may permit.

ARTICLE IX.

Cooperation with Official Pan-American Organisations.

For the purpose of coordinating the results of the work of other official Pan-American organisations, and establishing relations of close cooperation with them, the programme of work and the development of their activities shall, wherever possible, be the subject of agreement between their directive bodies and the Governing Board of the Pan-American Union.

The Governments, members of the Union, which may not have an efficient organ for the study and investigation of Pan-American Affairs, shall establish a committee composed of persons of experience in such matters, or an office attached to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, to be entrusted with Pan-American affairs.

These committees or offices shall have the following duties :

(a) To cooperate with their respective Governments to obtain ratification of treaties and conventions, and to give effect to the resolutions adopted by the International Conferences of American States ;

(b) To furnish the Pan-American Union promptly with the information it may need in the preparation of its work ;

(c) To present to the Union through the proper channels, such projects as they may consider adapted to the purposes of the Union.

ARTICLE X.

The Governing Board of the Pan-American Union shall prepare the regulations and fix the status of the members of the staff, determining their salaries and conditions of retirement.

ARTICLE XI.

All correspondence and matter transmitted through the mails to the Pan-American Union, which bears the frank used by the Union, and all correspondence or matter transmitted by the Pan-American Union, shall be carried free of charge by the mails of the American Republics.

ARTICLE XII.

The contracting States may withdraw from the Pan-American Union at any time, but shall pay their respective quotas for the period of the current fiscal year.

ARTICLE XIII

This Convention cannot be modified except in the same manner in which it was adopted.

ARTICLE XIV.

The present Convention shall be ratified by the signatory States, and shall remain open for the signature and ratification of the States represented at the Conference that may not have been able to sign.

The President of the Conference, through the Government of the Republic of Cuba, shall send to the Governments represented at the Conference an authenticated copy of the present project of Convention in order that, if the Governments approve, it may receive their adhesion. For this purpose, the Governments that may adhere to the Convention shall authorise their respective diplomatic or special representatives in the city of Havana to sign the Convention. All the States having signed, the Convention shall be submitted by each State for ratification. The present Convention shall become effective when all the States represented at the Conference receive notice that all the ratifications have been deposited with the Pan-American Union, and that the adhesions and ratifications of the twenty-one American Republics have been received.

III.

AGREEMENT BETWEEN HIS BRITANNIC MAJESTY AND HIS HIGHNESS THE AMIR OF TRANS-JORDAN.¹

(Signed at Jerusalem, February 20, 1928.)

Whereas His Britannic Majesty in virtue of a Mandate entrusted to him on the 24th of July, 1922, has authority in the area covered thereby ; and

Whereas His Highness the Amir of Trans-Jordan has set up an Administration in that part of the area under Mandate known as Trans-Jordan ; and

Whereas His Britannic Majesty is prepared to recognise the existence of an independent Government in Trans-Jordan under the rule of His Highness the Amir of Trans-Jordan, provided that such Government is constitutional and places His Britannic Majesty in a position to fulfil his international obligations in respect of that territory by means of an agreement to be concluded with His Highness.

Now therefore His Britannic Majesty and His Highness the Amir of Trans-Jordan have resolved to conclude an Agreement for these purposes, and to that end have appointed as their Plenipotentiaries :

His Majesty the King of Great Britain, Ireland and the British Dominions beyond the Seas, Emperor of India,

¹ Printed by permission of the Controller of H.M. Stationery Office from Parliamentary Paper Cmd. 3069.

For Great Britain and Northern Ireland :

Field-Marshal the Right Honourable Lord Plumer, G.C.B., G.C.M.G.,
G.C.V.O., G.B.E.;

His Highness the Amir of Trans-Jordan :

Hassan Khaled Pasha Abul Huda ;

who, having communicated their full powers, found in good and due form,
have agreed as follows :—

Article 1. His Highness the Amir agrees that His Britannic Majesty shall be represented in Trans-Jordan by a British Resident acting on behalf of the High Commissioner for Trans-Jordan, and that communications between His Britannic Majesty and all other Powers on the one hand and the Trans-Jordan Government on the other shall be made through the British Resident and the High Commissioner aforesaid.

His Highness the Amir agrees that the ordinary expenses of civil government and administration and the salaries and expenses of the British Resident and his staff will be borne entirely by Trans-Jordan. His Highness the Amir will provide quarters for the accommodation of British members of the staff of the British Resident.

Article 1. The powers of legislation and of administration entrusted to His Britannic Majesty as Mandatory for Palestine shall be exercised in that part of the area under Mandate known as Trans-Jordan by His Highness the Amir through such constitutional government as is defined and determined in the Organic Law of Trans-Jordan and any amendment thereof made with the approval of His Britannic Majesty.

Throughout the remaining clauses of this Agreement the word " Palestine," unless otherwise defined, shall mean that portion of the area under Mandate which lies to the west of a line drawn from a point two miles west of the town of Akaba on the Gulf of that name up the centre of the Wady Araba, Dead Sea and River Jordan to its junction with the River Yarmuk ; thence up the centre of that river to the Syrian frontier.

Article 3. His Highness the Amir agrees that for the period of the present Agreement no official of other than Trans-Jordan nationality shall be appointed in Trans-Jordan without the concurrence of His Britannic Majesty. The numbers and conditions of employment of British officials so appointed in the Trans-Jordan Government shall be regulated by a separate Agreement.

Article 4. His Highness the Amir agrees that all such laws, orders or regulations as may be required for the full discharge of the international responsibilities and obligations of His Britannic Majesty in respect of the territory of Trans-Jordan shall be adopted and made, and that no laws, orders or regulations shall be adopted or made in Trans-Jordan which may hinder the full discharge of such international responsibilities and obligations.

Article 5. His Highness the Amir agrees to be guided by the advice of His Britannic Majesty tendered through the High Commissioner for Trans-Jordan in all matters concerning foreign relations of Trans-Jordan, as well as in all important matters affecting the international and financial obligations and interests of His Britannic Majesty in respect of Trans-

Jordan. His Highness the Amir undertakes to follow an administrative, financial and fiscal policy in Trans-Jordan such as will ensure the stability and good organisation of his Government and its finances. He agrees to keep His Britannic Majesty informed of the measures proposed and adopted to give due effect to this undertaking, and further agrees not to alter the system of control of the public finances of Trans-Jordan without the consent of His Britannic Majesty.

Article 6. His Highness the Amir agrees that he will refer for the advice of His Britannic Majesty the annual Budget law and any law which concerns matters covered by the provisions of this Agreement, and any law of any of the following classes, namely :—

- (2) Any law imposing differential
- (3) Any law whereby persons who are nationals of any States Members of the League of Nations or of any State to which His Britannic Majesty has agreed by treaty that the same rights should be ensured as it would enjoy if it were a member of the said League, may be subjected or made liable to any disabilities to which persons who are British subjects or nationals of any foreign State are not also subjected or made liable.
- (4) Any special law providing for succession to the Amir's throne, or for the establishment of a Council of Regency.
- (5) Any law whereby the grant of land or money or other donation or gratuity may be made to himself.
- (6) Any law under which the Amir may assume sovereignty over territory outside Trans-Jordan.
- (7) Any law concerning the jurisdiction of the Civil Courts over foreigners.
- (8) Any law altering, amending or adding to the details of the provisions of the Organic Law.

Article 7. Except by agreement between the two countries there shall be no customs barrier between Palestine and Trans-Jordan, and the Customs tariff in Trans-Jordan shall be approved by His Britannic Majesty.

The Government of Palestine shall pay to the Trans-Jordan Government the estimated amount of customs duties levied on the part of the goods entering Palestine from territory other than Trans-Jordan which subsequently enters Trans-Jordan for local consumption, but shall be entitled to withhold from the sums to be paid on this account the estimated amount of customs duties levied by Trans-Jordan on that part of the goods entering Trans-Jordan from other than Palestine territory, which subsequently enters Palestine for local consumption. The trade and commerce of Trans-Jordan shall receive at Palestinian Ports equal facilities with the trade and commerce of Palestine.

Article 8. So far as is consistent with the international obligations of His Britannic Majesty no obstacle shall be placed in the way of the association of Trans-Jordan for customs or other purposes with such neighbouring Arab States as may desire it.

Article 9. His Highness the Amir undertakes that he will accept and give effect to such reasonable provisions as His Britannic Majesty may consider necessary in judicial matters to safeguard the interests of foreigners.

These provisions shall be embodied in a separate Agreement, which shall be communicated to the Council of the League of Nations, and, pending the conclusion of such Agreement, no foreigner shall be brought before a Trans-Jordan Court without the concurrence of His Britannic Majesty.

His Highness the Amir undertakes that he will accept and give effect to such reasonable provisions as His Britannic Majesty may consider necessary in judicial matters to safeguard the law and jurisdiction with regard to questions arising out of the religious beliefs of the different religious communities.

Article 10. His Britannic Majesty may maintain armed forces in Trans-Jordan, and may raise, organise and control in Trans-Jordan such armed forces as may in his opinion be necessary for the defence of the country and to assist His Highness the Amir in the preservation of peace and order.

His Highness the Amir agrees that he will not raise or maintain in Trans-Jordan or allow to be raised or maintained any military forces without the consent of His Britannic Majesty.

Article 11. His Highness the Amir recognises the principle that the cost of the forces required for the defence of Trans-Jordan is a charge on the revenues of that territory. At the coming into force of this Agreement, Trans-Jordan will continue to bear one-sixth of the cost of the Trans-Jordan Frontier Force, and will also bear, as soon as the financial resources of the country permit, the excess of the cost of the British forces stationed in Trans-Jordan, so far as such forces may be deemed by His Britannic Majesty to be employed in respect of Trans-Jordan, over the cost of such forces if stationed in Great Britain, and the whole cost of any forces raised for Trans-Jordan alone.

Article 11. So long as the revenues of Trans-Jordan are insufficient to meet such ordinary expenses of administration (including any expenditure on local forces for which Trans-Jordan is liable under Article 11) as may be incurred with the approval of His Britannic Majesty, arrangements will be made for a contribution from the British Treasury by way of grant or loan in aid of the revenues of Trans-Jordan. His Britannic Majesty will also arrange for the payment of the excess of the cost of the British forces stationed in Trans-Jordan, and deemed by His Britannic Majesty to be employed in respect of Trans-Jordan, insofar and for such time as the revenues of Trans-Jordan are insufficient to bear such excess.

Article 13. His Highness the Amir agrees that all such laws, orders or regulations as may from time to time be required by His Britannic Majesty for the purposes of Article 10 shall be adopted and made, and that no laws, orders or regulations shall be adopted or made in Trans-Jordan which may, in the opinion of His Britannic Majesty, interfere with the purposes of that Article.

Article 14. His Highness the Amir agrees to follow the advice of His Britannic Majesty with regard to the proclamation of Martial Law in all

or any part of Trans-Jordan and to entrust the administration of such part or parts of Trans-Jordan as may be placed under Martial Law to such officer or officers of His Britannic Majesty's forces as His Britannic Majesty may nominate. His Highness the Amir further agrees that on the re-establishment of civil government a special law shall be adopted to indemnify the armed forces maintained by His Britannic Majesty for all acts done or omissions or defaults made under Martial Law.

Article 15. His Britannic Majesty may exercise jurisdiction over all members of the armed forces maintained or controlled by His Britannic Majesty in Trans-Jordan.

For the purposes of this and the five preceding Articles, the term "armed forces" shall be deemed to include civilians attached to or employed with the armed forces.

Article 16. His Highness the Amir undertakes that every facility shall be provided at all times for the movement of His Britannic Majesty's forces (including the use of wireless and land-line telegraphic and telephonic services and the right to lay land-lines), and for the carriage and storage of fuel, ordnance, ammunition and supplies on the roads, railways and waterways and in the ports of Trans-Jordan.

Article 17. His Highness the Amir agrees to be guided by the advice of His Britannic Majesty in all matters concerning the granting of concessions, the exploitation of natural resources, the construction and operation of railways, and the raising of loans.

Article 18. No territory in Trans-Jordan shall be ceded or leased or in any way placed under the control of any foreign Power; this shall not prevent His Highness the Amir from making such arrangements as may be necessary for the accommodation of foreign representatives and for the fulfilment of the provisions of the preceding Articles.

Article 19. His Highness the Amir agrees that, pending the making of special extradition agreements relating to Trans-Jordan, the Extradition Treaties in force between His Britannic Majesty and foreign Powers shall apply to Trans-Jordan.

Article 20. This Agreement shall come into force so soon as it shall have been ratified by the High Contracting Parties after its acceptance by the constitutional Government to be set up under Article 1. The constitutional Government shall be deemed to be provisional until the Agreement shall have been so approved. Nothing shall prevent the High Contracting Parties from reviewing from time to time the provisions of this Agreement with a view to any revision which may seem desirable in the circumstances then existing.

Article 21. The present Agreement has been drawn up in two languages, English and Arabic, and the Plenipotentiaries of each of the High Contracting Parties shall sign two English copies and two Arabic copies. Both texts shall have the same validity, but in case of divergence between the two in the interpretation of one or other of the Articles of the present Agreement, the English text shall prevail.

¹ The Agreement has not yet been ratified.

In faith whereof the above-mentioned Plenipotentiaries have signed the present Agreement.

Done at Jerusalem, this twentieth day of February, one thousand nine hundred and twenty-eight.

(Signature in Arabic.)

HASSAN KHALID ABOLHOUDY.

PLUMER, F.M.

IV.

ANGLO-CHINESE TREATY.

(Signed at Nanking, December 20, 1928.)

His Majesty the King of Great Britain, Ireland, and the British Dominions beyond the Seas, Emperor of India, and his Excellency the President of the National Government of the Republic of China,

Desiring to strengthen the good relations which happily exist between them and to facilitate and extend trade and commerce between their respective countries,

Have resolved to conclude a treaty for this purpose, and have appointed as their Plenipotentiaries :—

His Majesty the King of Great Britain, Ireland, and the British Dominions beyond the Seas, Emperor of India ;

For Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Sir Miles Wedderburn Lampson, K.C.M.G., C.B., M.V.O., His Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the Republic of China ;

His Excellency the President of the National Government of the Republic of China ;

His Excellency Dr. Chengting T. Wang, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the National Government of the Republic of China ;

Who, having communicated their full powers found in good and due form, have agreed as follows :—

Article 1. It is agreed that all provisions of existing treaties between the High Contracting Parties which limit in any way the right of China to settle her national Customs tariff in such way as she may think fit are hereby abrogated and that the principle of complete national tariff autonomy shall apply.

Article 1. The nationals of either of the High Contracting Parties shall not be compelled under any pretext whatsoever to pay in China and the territories of His Britannic Majesty to which the present treaty applies respectively any duties, internal charges, or taxes upon goods imported or exported by them other than or higher than those paid on goods of the same origin by Chinese and British nationals respectively, or by nationals of any other foreign country.

Article 3. His Britannic Majesty agrees to the abrogation of all provisions of the existing treaties between the High Contracting Parties which

limit the right of China to impose tonnage dues at such rates as she may think fit.

In regard to tonnage dues and all matters connected therewith, British ships in China and Chinese ships in those territories of His Britannic Majesty to which the present treaty applies, shall receive treatment not less favourable than that accorded to the ships of any other foreign country.

Article 4. The present treaty shall be ratified and the ratifications shall be exchanged in London as soon as possible. It shall come into force on the date on which the two parties shall have notified each other that ratification has been effected.

The English and Chinese texts of the present treaty have been carefully compared and verified ; but in the event of there being a difference of meaning between the two, the sense as expressed in the English text shall be held to prevail.

In witness whereof the representative Plenipotentiaries have signed the present treaty in duplicate, and have affixed thereunto their seals.

Done at Nanking, the 20th day of December, 1928, corresponding to the 20th day of the 12th month of the 17th year of the Republic of China.

(Signatures) M. W. LAMPSON.
CHENGTING T. WANG.

INTERPRETATION OF TREATY.

Attached to the treaty are four annexes consisting of letters exchanged between Mr. C. T. Wang and Sir Miles Lampson. Annex I. is a letter from Sir Miles Lampson in the following terms :—

With reference to the treaty concluded this day between His Britannic Majesty and the President of the National Government of the Republic of China, I have the honour to request that your Excellency will be good enough to confirm my understanding that:—

(1) Articles produced or manufactured in those territories of His Britannic Majesty to which the present treaty applies, and imported into China, and reciprocally, articles produced or manufactured in China and imported into the said territories of His Britannic Majesty, from whatever place arriving, shall receive, as regards import duties, internal taxation, transit duties and all matters connected therewith, treatment no less favourable than that accorded to goods produced or manufactured in any other foreign country.

(2) Articles produced or manufactured in China and exported to those territories of His Britannic Majesty to which the present treaty applies, and reciprocally, articles produced or manufactured in the said territories of His Britannic Majesty and exported to China, shall receive, as regards export duties, internal taxation, and transit dues, levied before export, and all matters connected therewith, treatment not less favourable than that accorded to goods exported to any other foreign country.

Mr. Wang, acknowledging the letter, confirms Sir Miles Lampson's understanding as correct. Annex 2 is as follows :—

1. *From His Majesty's Minister at Peking to Chinese Minister for Foreign Affairs.*

With reference to the treaty signed this day between His Britannic Majesty and the President of the National Government of the Republic of China, I have the honour to assure your Excellency, on behalf of his Majesty's Governments in Canada, the Commonwealth of Australia, New Zealand, the Union of South Africa, and the Irish Free State, and the Government of India, that the rights of those Governments to benefit by those provisions of existing treaties which limit in any way the right of China to settle her Customs tariff or to impose tonnage dues at such rates as she may think fit are renounced by His Majesty as from the entry into force of the treaty.

I have also the honour to assure your Excellency that His Majesty similarly renounces his rights in respect of Newfoundland, Southern Rhodesia, and all his non-self-governing Colonies and Protectorates.

I shall be glad to receive the assurance of the National Government of the Republic of China that goods produced or manufactured in any of the parts of His Majesty's territories mentioned above or in any of the territories under their administration or in any territory under His Majesty's suzerainty or in any territory in respect of which a Mandate is exercised by His Majesty's Government in Great Britain, the Commonwealth of Australia, New Zealand, or the Union of South Africa will be accorded most-favoured-nation treatment in China, so long as goods produced or manufactured in China receive in such territory treatment as favourable as that accorded to goods produced or manufactured in any other foreign country.

I shall also be glad to receive the assurance of the National Government of the Republic of China that articles produced or manufactured in China and exported to any of the territories mentioned above will receive most-favoured-nation treatment as regards export duties, internal taxation, or transit dues, levied before export, or matters connected therewith, so long as goods produced or manufactured in such territory and exported to China receive in corresponding matters treatment as favourable as that accorded to goods exported to any other foreign country.

/ 1. *From Chinese Minister for Foreign Affairs to His Majesty's Minister at Peking.*

I hereby take note of the renunciation by His Britannic Majesty of the rights of his Governments in Canada, the Commonwealth of Australia, New Zealand, the Union of South Africa, and the Irish Free State, and of the Government of India, as from the entry into force of the treaty signed this day between His Britannic Majesty and the President of the National Government of the Republic of China to benefit by the provisions of existing treaties which limit in any way the right of China to settle her Customs tariff or to impose tonnage dues at such rates as she may think fit. I also take note of the renunciation by His Majesty of his rights in

respect of Newfoundland, Southern Rhodesia, and all his non-self-governing Colonies and Protectorates.

I have the honour, on behalf of the National Government of the Republic of China, to assure you that goods produced or manufactured in any of the parts of His Majesty's territories mentioned above or in any of the territories under their administration, or in any territory under His Majesty's suzerainty, or in any territory in respect of which a Mandate is exercised by His Majesty's Government in Great Britain, the Commonwealth of Australia, New Zealand, or the Union of South Africa will receive most-favoured-nation treatment in China, so long as goods produced or manufactured in China receive in such territory treatment as favourable as that accorded to goods produced or manufactured in any other foreign country.

I have also to assure you, on behalf of the National Government of the Republic of China, that articles produced or manufactured in China and exported to any of the territories mentioned above will receive most-favoured-nation treatment as regards export duties, internal taxation, or transit dues, levied before export, or matters connected therewith, so long as goods produced or manufactured in such territory and exported to China receive in corresponding matters treatment as favourable as that accorded to goods exported to any other foreign country.

THE NEW CHINESE TARIFF.

The following is the text of Annex 3 :—

From His Majesty's Minister at Peking to Chinese Minister for Foreign Affairs.

With reference to the treaty concluded this day between His Britannic Majesty and the President of the National Government of the Republic of China, I have the honour to state that it is my understanding that the *ad valorem* rates of duty or rates based thereon in the national Customs tariff to be adopted by the National Government are the same as the rates which were discussed and provisionally agreed upon at the Tariff Conference of 1926, and that these are the maximum rates to be levied on British goods : furthermore, that these will remain the maximum rates on such goods for a period of at least one year from the date of enforcement of the tariff : that two months' notice will be given of the coming into force of the said tariff.

I shall be glad if Your Excellency will be good enough to confirm the correctness of the above.

In view of the doubt and anxiety that may arise amongst my nationals in regard to the effect which the new tariff may have on their trade if the various levies other than Customs duties now being collected remain in force after the coming into operation of the national tariff rates, I would remind your Excellency of the proclamation issued by the National Government of the Republic of China at Nanking on July 20, 1927, announcing their intention to take as soon as possible the necessary steps effectively to abolish *lihin*, native Customs dues, coast trade duties, and all other taxes

on imported goods whether levied in transit or on arrival at destination, and I should welcome some assurance on behalf of the National Government that it is their intention that goods having once paid import duty to the Maritime Customs in accordance with the rates imposed in the new or in any subsequent national tariff will be freed as soon as possible from any levies of the nature specified in the above-mentioned proclamation.

Chinese Minister for Foreign Affairs to His Majesty's Minister, Peking.

With reference to Your Excellency's note of to-day's date, I have the honour to confirm the correctness of your understanding that the *ad valorem* rates of duty or specific rates based thereon in the national Customs tariff to be adopted by the National Government are the same rates which were discussed and provisionally agreed upon at the Tariff Conference in 1926 and that these are the maximum rates to be levied on British goods : furthermore, that these will remain the maximum rates on such goods for a period of at least one year from the date of enforcement of the tariff; and that two months' notice will be given of the coming into force of the said tariff.

Furthermore, I am glad to be able to confirm, on behalf of the National Government, the terms of their proclamation of July 20, 1927, and to give you the assurance which you request that it is their intention that goods having once paid import duty to the Maritime Customs in accordance with the rates imposed in the new or any subsequent national tariff will be freed as soon as possible from any levies of the nature specified in the above-mentioned proclamation.

Annex 4 consists of a letter to Sir Miles Lampson in which Mr. Wang, on behalf of the National Government, declares " that it is their intention to apply the new customs tariff uniformly on all land and sea frontiers of China, and that, as from the date of coming into force of the new tariff, the preferential rates at present levied on goods imported or exported by land frontier will accordingly be abolished." In acknowledging the note Sir Miles Lampson writes that the British Government is in full agreement with the declaration.

OBITUARY

OF

EMINENT PERSONS DECEASED IN 1928.

JANUARY.

1. **Thomas Hardy**, aged 87, famous poet and novelist, was born in Dorset of Dorset parents and was educated at Dorchester, where at the age of 17 he became apprenticed to an ecclesiastical architect. After working later in the offices of Sir Arthur Blomfield, at the age of 23 he was prizeman of the Royal Institute of British Architects, and of the Architectural Association. He began his literary career with poetry, but, with the exception of certain of those incorporated in "Wessex Poems" (published 1898), most of his early work was lost. In 1871 his novel "Desperate Remedies" was published by Tinsley, and in the next year "Under the Greenwood Tree," both without his name. In 1873, under his name, "A Pair of Blue Eyes" appeared in Tinsley's Magazine. The *Cornhill* commissioned him for a serial, "Far from the Madding Crowd"—which was published in two volumes by Smith, Elder in 1874. During the next twenty-three years he published ten novels and three collections of stories, amongst which were "The Return of the Native" (1878), "The Mayor of Casterbridge" (1886), and "The Woodlanders." In 1891 appeared "Tess of the D'Urbervilles," and in 1896 "Jude the Obscure." Both were hotly attacked, and he published no more fiction except "The Well-Beloved." He then returned to poetry and published two volumes of lyrics, "Wessex Poems" and "Poems Past and Present" (1902). In 1904 appeared the first part of a colossal epic drama of the war with Napoleon, in 3 parts, 19 acts, and 130 scenes. The third part appearing in 1908, the "Dynast," was generally held to be one of the greatest works in English literature. In 1909 Hardy published "Time's Laughing Stock," in 1914 "Satires of Circumstance," and in 1919 "Mounts of Vision." Two more volumes appeared after the war, and in 1922 "Late Lyrics and Earlier," and in 1925 "Human Shows." In 1923 his poetic play "The Famous Tragedy of the Queen of Cornwall at Tintagel in Lyonesse" was produced at the Dorchester Corn Exchange. His last poem was "Christmas in the Elgin Room," which appeared in *The Times* on Christmas Eve, 1927. In 1910 he was given the Order of Merit; he also held various academic honours. He married twice; first in 1874 Emma Lavinia Gifford, niece of Dr. Gifford, Archdeacon of London; and secondly, in 1914, Florence Emily Dugdale, who survived him.

8. **Sir Alfred George Temple**, aged 79, director of the Guildhall Gallery (London), son of Josiah Temple, was educated at Denmark Hill Grammar School, and after two years in an underwriter's office obtained a post in the Town Clerk's Department at the City Guildhall. By attending evening classes he passed through courses at the Lambeth School of Art and the South Kensington Museum Schools, and was appointed first Director of the Guildhall Art Gallery on its establishment in 1868. He arranged the various loan exhibitions for which

the Gallery was lent from 1890 and took an active part in the various international exhibitions; in 1907 he was Chairman of the Art Section of the Irish International Exhibition in Dublin. He received a knighthood in 1920. In 1880 he married Elizabeth Mary Harriot, daughter of Edwin Crossley, who died in 1923 leaving one son.

9. **Sir Fairfax Cartwright**, aged 70, British Ambassador at Vienna before the Great War, after being educated at Clifton College and Clare College, Cambridge, entered the Diplomatic Service in 1881. He held a variety of diplomatic posts, including that of Councillor of Embassy at Madrid (1905), and Minister Resident at Munich (1906). In Munich his successful study of the German mentality and his grasp of the general situation in Central Europe caused Sir Edward Grey to recommend him as successor to Sir Frank Lascelles at the Berlin Embassy. The nomination not being acceptable to the Kaiser, he was appointed Ambassador in Vienna in 1908. Here he worked strenuously to improve the strained relations between Austria and Russia consequent upon the former's annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the proclamation of Bulgarian independence. In 1913 he was obliged to retire from the public service owing to failing eyesight. He was created K.C.M.G. and sworn of the Privy Council in 1908, was made G.C.V.O. in 1909 and G.C.M.G. in 1914. While Secretary at Teheran he had issued in a privately printed edition "The Mystic Rose from the Garden of the King," a fragment of the Vision of Sheikh Haji Ibrahim of Kerbela. This was published for general circulation on 1925. In 1898 he married Donna Maria, daughter of the Marchese Chigi-Zondodari, Senator of Italy, and had, with other issue, a son.

14. **Archibald Cary Coolidge**, a distinguished historian, was born in Boston on March 6, 1866, and educated at Harvard, Paris, Berlin, and Freiburg. Impelled by a desire to study foreign countries in order to appreciate their history, he travelled extensively, not only throughout the Continent of Europe, but also over the East, partly in his private capacity and partly as an official of the United States Department of State. In 1908 he was appointed Professor of History at Harvard, and three years later Director of the University Library. Of his association with the Library it has been said that "he found it a great Library and left it one of the few greatest." He was Harvard lecturer at the Sorbonne in 1906, Harvard exchange Professor at the University of Berlin in 1913-14, and member of the American Peace Delegation in Paris in 1919. He was perhaps best known as the first editor of *Foreign Affairs*. Professor Coolidge was unmarried.

— **Francis Herbert Stead**, aged 70, social worker, reformer and Warden of the Browning Settlement, Walworth, was the son of the Rev. William Stead, and brother of Mr. W. T. Stead, the well-known journalist. At the age of 17 he became a reporter on North country papers, and in 1876 studied for the Congregational Ministry at Owens College, Manchester, and Airedale College, Bradford. After graduating from Glasgow and studying at Berlin and other German Universities, in 1884 he became a pastor at Leicester until in 1890 he became editor of the *Independent and Non-Conformist*. In 1894 he was appointed Warden of the Birmingham Settlement and joined the *Review of Reviews* (edited by his brother), remaining assistant editor till 1911. In 1887 he married Bessie Macgregor and had one son and three daughters.

16. **James Edward Harting**, aged 86, at one time Librarian and Assistant Secretary to the Linnsean Society, was the son of a Roman Catholic solicitor and himself followed that profession for some years. Educated at Downside College, he graduated at London University and began the study of birds. His "Birds of Middlesex" was the first county history of birds. In 1871 he became naturalist editor to *Field*, and in 1873 he helped to draft an Act of Parliament for the protection of wild birds. He devoted much time to falconry, and in

1877 Prince Rudolph of Austria, while on a visit to London, received instruction from him in the management of trained hawks. On the opening of the Natural History Museum at South Kensington, he took over the formation of the zoological library. He edited the *Zoologist* for several years and was the author of "British Animals Extinct within Historic Times" and "Bibliotheca Accipitraria." In 1868 he married Elizabeth Lynch who died in 1907. A son and daughter survived him.

20. Edward Kay Robinson, aged 72, well-known writer on natural history, was a son of the Rev. Julian Robinson, of the Honourable East India Company's service. After being educated at Cheltenham he became a journalist and joined the staff of the *Globe*. He also contributed to *Land and Water*, and was at one time editor of the *Sporting Times*. In 1884 he went to India as assistant editor of the *Pioneer* and later became editor of the *Civil and Military Gazette* at Lahore, Kipling being his assistant and co-worker. In 1895 he returned to London and the *Globe* in which he originated the famous "By the Way" column. He then settled in Norfolk in order to observe nature, and in 1901 appeared "To-day with Nature," and four years later, "The Country Bay by Day." In 1903 with Harmsworth he founded *The Countryside*, a weekly illustrated paper at one penny. Later this became a quarterly published by the British Empire Naturalists' Association, founded by Robinson. He lectured on natural history and undertook several regular courses through the B.B.C. In 1906 he expounded his Darwin-based philosophy of life in "The Religion of Nature." In 1887 he married Florence Theresa Gordon and had three sons of whom two survived.

— Admiral Sir Edmond Slade, aged 68, distinguished naval officer, and a director of the Anglo-Persian Oil Company since 1914, was the eldest son of the Rev. George FitzClarence Slade, Bt. He went to Eton, but left in 1872 to enter the Royal Navy, becoming a midshipman two years later. After serving successively in the flagships of Rear-Admirals Lord John Hay and Rowley Lambert, he was eventually promoted lieutenant in 1879. He was then employed as junior surveyor in the sloop *Fawn* in the Red Sea, serving in 1882 under Captain A. K. Wilson in the *Hecla* during the Egyptian War. Then specialising in the torpedo branch on the *Vernon*, he became torpedo lieutenant on the flagship of the Channel Squadron. After a term as staff officer in the torpedo training ship *Defiance* at Devonport, and holding various appointments on different ships, he was promoted captain in 1899 and in 1902 was appointed to the cruiser *Diana* in the Mediterranean and in the following year was created M.V.O. In 1904 he was appointed to take command of the course for senior officers at the Royal Naval College, Greenwich. In 1907 he became Director of Naval Intelligence at the Admiralty, and in the following year Rear-Admiral. In 1908 he represented Great Britain at the International Maritime Conference which resulted in the Declaration of London. From 1909 to 1912 he served as Commander-in-Chief in the West Indies, and instituted successful measures for the suppression of contraband traffic in arms and ammunition between various ports in the vicinity of the Persian Gulf. In 1911 he was created K.C.I.E. and after the Durbar in 1912 K.C.V.O. He returned home in that year, and in 1914 the Admiralty nominated him a director in the Anglo-Persian Oil Company of which he later became vice-chairman. In 1917 he became a full admiral and retired, but was employed on special service till the end of the war. In 1887 he married Florence Madeleine Carr Saunders, and had two daughters.

— Sir Dyce Duckworth, aged 87, eminent physician, was the youngest son of Robinson Duckworth and brother of the late Rev. Robinson Duckworth, Canon of Westminster. Educated at the Royal Institution School, Liverpool, and Edinburgh University, he took an appointment in 1862 as a clinical clerk at St. Bartholomew's Hospital under Sir George Burrows. In 1863 he graduated M.D. at Edinburgh and was appointed resident physician to the clinical wards at the Royal Infirmary. In 1864 he entered the Royal Navy as assistant surgeon,

but being appointed medical tutor at St. Bartholomew's he never served afloat, but settled in London and was shortly afterwards appointed physician to the Royal General Dispensary. In 1867 he was elected assistant physician at Barts and later physician, holding the office for twenty-two years until he resigned in 1905 and was placed on the consulting staff. From 1884 to 1891 he was Treasurer of the Royal College of Physicians and from 1886 to 1891 the representative of the Royal College on the General Medical Council. From 1890 to 1901 he was Honorary Physician to King Edward VII. and the Prince of Wales. In 1886 he received a knighthood and in 1909 was created a baronet. He specialised in gout and rheumatic affections of the joints. Among his various honorary posts was that of President of the Clinical Society of London (1891-93) and Chairman of the Royal British Nurses' Association. He married twice, and left one son.

20. Sir John Michael de Roebeck, aged 66, Admiral of the Fleet, who commanded the Allied naval forces in the Dardanelles and at Gallipoli in 1915-16, was an Irishman of Swedish descent, his father being the 4th Baron. He entered the Royal Navy in 1875 and in 1895 became first lieutenant of the *Cordelia*, being promoted commander in 1897. He was then appointed to the destroyer *Desperate* in the Nore Flotilla. In 1900 he was in command of the light cruiser *Pyramus* and was advanced captain in 1901. From 1902 to 1911 he held three commands, and was then appointed Inspecting Captain of Boys' Training Ships, holding the post until promoted Rear-Admiral at the end of that year. In 1912 he was selected for the new post of Admiral of Patrols. On the outbreak of the Great War he was appointed to command the Ninth Cruiser Squadron from the Reserve, and being engaged on commerce protection at Finisterre Station, at once captured the North-German Lloyd steamer *Schlesien*. Early in 1915 he was appointed second in command in the Dardanelles Expedition, and took part in the bombardment of the Forts from the *Vengeance*. Within a month he succeeded to the supreme command with acting rank as Vice-Admiral, and conducted the naval attack of March 18. He remained in command till after the final withdrawal in January, 1916. At the end of that year he was appointed Vice-Admiral Commanding the Second Battle Squadron of the Grand Fleet, a position he held until the break-up of the Fleet in April, 1919. For his war services he was created G.C.B. and G.C.M.G. In 1919 he was made Commander-in-Chief in the Mediterranean, acting meanwhile as British High Commissioner at Constantinople pending the signature of peace with Turkey. His appointment to command the Atlantic Fleet was gazetted in 1922, he hauled down his flag in 1924 and was made G.C.V.O. He was promoted Admiral of the Fleet in 1925. In 1922 he married Hilda, Lady Lockhart.

21. Major-General George Washington Goethals, well known as the engineer mainly responsible for the construction of the Panama Canal, was born in Brooklyn, N.Y., in 1858. He went first to the College of the City of New York and later to West Point where he graduated in 1880. He was attached to the Corps of Engineers at Willet's Point, N.Y., and later worked on the Ohio River as assistant to Lieutenant-Colonel W. E. Merrill. In 1891, reaching the rank of captain, he was given his first big work—the construction of the Muscle Shoals Canal on the Tennessee River. In 1894 he went to Washington as assistant in the office of the Chief of Engineers and remained there till, on the outbreak of the Spanish-American War in 1898, he was appointed chief engineer of the First Army Corps. Later, as a major in the Regular Army, he was in charge of fortifications at Newport, R.I., and in 1905 graduated from the Army War College. As a result of President Roosevelt's visit to Panama in 1904 he was appointed chief engineer in charge of the Panama Canal Works. In 1914 the canal was officially opened and Goethals was made first civil governor of the Canal Zone; in the following year he was made Major-General. He resigned the governorship in 1916 and was appointed chairman of the Board constituted to report on the Adamson Eight-Hour Law. On America's entry into the Great War, he was

made Manager of the Emergency Fleet Corporation but resigned three months later. Late in 1917 he became acting Quartermaster-General and was awarded the D.S.O. In 1918 he was appointed Chief of the Division of Purchase, Storage and Traffic, and was made a member of the War Industries Board. In 1919 he retired from the Service.

28. **Vicente Blasco Ibanez**, aged 61, Spanish novelist of world-wide fame, was trained as a lawyer but never practised. He became a fervid agitator, suffered various terms of imprisonment, and was several times elected a Deputy for Valencia. He possessed every qualification for a "big seller," and his war story, "The Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse" is an excellent example of his style. As a film it became world-famous. Others of his books are "Mare Nostrum," "The Shadow of the Cathedral," "Blood and Sand," "The Torrent," "The Mayflower," and "The Enemies of Women." His violently Republican work "Spain under Military Terror: Alfonso XIII. Unmasked," which appeared in 1924 and which was translated into English in 1925 caused him to become a person of political importance. He was married twice; his first wife died in 1925; his second was Donna Elena Ortuzar Bulnes.

29. **Earl Haig**, Viscount Dawick and Baron Haig of Bemersyde, Co. Roxburgh, aged 66, Commander-in-Chief of the British Army during the Great War, was the youngest son of John Haig of Cameron Bridge, Fife, sixth in descent from Robert Haig, second son of the 17th Laird of Bemersyde. Educated at Clifton College and Brasenose College, Oxford, he passed thence into the R.M.C., Sandhurst. In 1885 he received his commission in the 7th Hussars and went to India where he was appointed adjutant of his regiment and eventually selected to be A.D.C. to the Inspector-General of Cavalry. In 1894 he qualified for entrance to the Staff College and entered as nominee of the Duke of Cambridge in the following year. In 1897 he was attached to the Egyptian Army, receiving a brevet majority after the Omdurman campaign. On his return he was made Brigade-Major of the Aldershot Cavalry Brigade. In 1899 as Staff Officer to Sir John French he took part in the Natal operations and worked out the Colesberg operations. He was given a brevet lieutenant-colonelcy and appointed to command the 17th Lancers. From 1903 to 1906 he was Inspector-General of Cavalry in India, being promoted Major-General in 1904. In 1906 he was successively Director of Military Training and Director of Staff Duties at the War Office. In 1909 he returned to India as Chief of Staff, later Chief of the General Staff, and was made Lieutenant-General in 1910. In 1912 he succeeded Sir Horace Smith-Dorrien as General Officer Commanding the Aldershot Command and in the following year was created K.C.B. In 1914 he went to France with the 1st Army Corps, was promoted full General after the first Battle of Ypres and at the end of the year was made Commander of the newly-formed First Army. In 1915 he took over the command of the British Armies in France and directed his efforts towards the re-organisation, training and re-inforcement of the British troops in France and Flanders. His skill as a staff officer was displayed to the full in his preparations for the Somme battle. Critics and detractors of his reputation were not wanting during the campaigns of the following years, but Messines re-established his popularity, and in 1918 he reached the height of his military achievement. It was at Haig's own suggestion that Foch was given supreme command over the Allies in this year to ensure effective co-operation. After the war he devoted himself to the interests of ex-service officers and men. After various vicissitudes he ultimately succeeded in founding a single organisation—the British Legion—non-political and non-sectarian. In 1919 he was appointed Field-Marshal Commanding-in-Chief the Forces of Great Britain, and innumerable honours—military, academic, patriotic and civic, were conferred upon him. From France he received the *Medaille Militaire*. He was created Earl Haig in 1919, and in 1921 Bemersyde House was presented to him by the nation, and he became 29th Laird of Bemersyde. In 1905 he married the Hon. Dorothy Vivian, daughter of the 3rd Lord Vivian. She survived him with three daughters and one son.

30. Dr. Johannes Fibiger, aged 60, pioneer of cancer research, was Professor at the University of Copenhagen. His researches into cancer in rats and cockroaches began in 1913 and he was appointed Vice-President of the Danish Cancer Committee and of the International Association for the Investigation of Cancer. He was the first to furnish the means of producing cancer experimentally at will with a definite agent, and was the pioneer in the experimental inquiry into the etiology of cancer. In 1927 he was awarded the Nobel Prize.

FEBRUARY.

4. Professor Hendrik Antoon Lorentz, aged 74, eminent Dutch physicist, graduated at Leyden in 1875, and became Professor of Mathematics at that University at the age of 25. He held the Chair for forty-five years and then became Director of Research at the Teyler Institute at Haarlem. He lectured in England at various times, received the honorary degree of Sc.D., Cambridge, and was awarded the Rumford and Copley medals in 1908 and 1918 respectively by the Royal Society, of which body he was a member. His chief work was concerned with the theory of electrons and the constitution of matter considered as an electro-dynamic problem. Amongst his books may be mentioned two early studies on light (in 1892 and 1895) embodying the first systematic appearance of the electro-dynamic principle of relativity; in 1909 came his "Theory of Electrons"; in 1916 he issued an account of statistical thermodynamic theories; and in 1920 he brought out "The Einstein Theory of Relativity: A Concise Statement." In 1902 he shared the Nobel Prize for Physics with Professor Pieter Zeeman.

8. Thomas Bailey Saunders, aged 67, translator of Schopenhauer and Harnack, was the son of Deputy-Inspector-General George Saunders, C.B. He was educated at King's College, London, and University College, Oxford, and in 1886 was called to the Bar by the Inner Temple. Between 1889 and 1896 he produced several volumes of translations from Schopenhauer, and in 1893, with Huxley and Lord Leighton, he published a volume of Goethe's "Maxims and Reflections." From 1896 to 1901 he was engaged on translations of Harnack's works. In 1902 he formulated a reply to the orthodox critics of Harnack in "Professor Harnack and His Critics." He was for many years on the staff of the *Athenaeum* and a contributor to the Dictionary of National Biography. In 1898 he was appointed Secretary of the Statutory Commission for the re-organisation of the University of London. Later he was elected a Fellow and member of council of King's College and of the Senate of the University of London. He was also Chairman of the trustees of the Sladen Memorial Fund for assisting scientific research. In 1887 he married the Contessa Elena Alborti di Poja who predeceased him.

10. Liula Yovanovitch, aged 63, a distinguished Radical, was an Austrian national who, guilty of high treason in his youth, had found a home in Serbia and devoted himself to that country's interests. He was an eager promoter of the idea of a Yugo-Slav union, and founded various national associations. He was Professor of History at Belgrade University, obtaining fame by his "History of the Serbian People," and he was President of the Academy of Sciences. In various Radical Ministries he was Minister of the Interior and Minister of Education and Religion, and for many years he presided over the Skupschtina. He was regarded as the obvious successor to Pashitch, but the latter brooking no rival, Yovanovitch with nineteen adherents seceded from the Radical Party proper and founded the Independent Radical Club. In connexion with the war guilt question he wrote a pamphlet—"The Blood of the Slavs"—in which he took the view that the Serbian Government of the day was cognisant of the attempt at Serajevo.

11. Sir David Barbour, aged 87, a distinguished Indian Civil servant, was the son of Mr. Miller Barbour of Co. Tyrone. After being educated at Queen's College, Belfast, he went to Bengal as a member of the I.C.S. in 1861. In course of time his aptitude for finance found scope on his appointment as Under-Secretary to the Government in the Financial Department. Later he was Accountant-General and Commissioner of Paper Currency, first for the Punjab and then successively for Madras and Bengal. In Bengal he officiated as Secretary of the Finance Department and later of the Revenue and General Departments. In 1882 he became Secretary to Major Evelyn Baring (afterwards Lord Cromer), Finance Member. In connexion with the serious condition of Indian finance, in 1885 he published his "Theory of Bi-Metallism," advocating the double standard. On the appointment of a Royal Commission in 1886 to investigate the relation of gold and silver, he represented the Government of India. In 1888 he became Finance Member of Government and gradually he came to reverse his opinion on bi-metallism, and in 1893 he took steps to establish the gold standard in India by closing the Indian mints. In 1912 he published "The Standard of Value," which explained his change-over, and in 1913 appeared "The Influence of the Gold Supply on Prices and Profits." At the expiry of his five years of office he returned home and was appointed to the Royal Commission on financial relations with Ireland. After serving on various other financial commissions and committees, he went out after the South African War to investigate the finances of the Orange River Colony and the Transvaal. He was then created K.C.M.G., having been made K.C.S.I ten years before. From 1903 to 1905 he was Chairman of the Royal Commission on London Traffic; in 1907 he was appointed a member of the Royal Commission on Shipping Rings, and he also sat on the Inchcape Committee on Indian Railway Finance and Administration. For many years he was Chairman of the East India Railway Company. In 1883 he married a daughter of Mr. Thomas Gribble and had three sons and a daughter.

15. Lord Oxford (Herbert Henry Asquith), aged 75, Prime Minister at the outbreak of the Great War, and a politician who engaged universal respect for his learning and his character, was the eldest son of Joseph Dixon Asquith, Liberal and Nonconformist millowner. He was educated at the City of London School and Balliol College, Oxford. During his distinguished academic career he was President of the Union and ultimately became a Fellow of Balliol. In 1876 he was called to the Bar by Lincoln's Inn, taking silk in 1890 and making a signal success by his conduct of the defence of Mr. Cunningham Graham and Mr. John Burns on a charge of notorious conduct in Trafalgar Square. In 1886 he entered Parliament for East Fife as an advanced Liberal and Home Ruler. In 1892 he was again returned, and on the resignation of Lord Salisbury he was appointed Home Secretary in Mr Gladstone's Administration. He supported the Second Home Rule Bill and proposed the Welsh Disestablishment Bill in 1894. He served in Lord Rosebery's Government (1894-95) and then went into Opposition for ten years. Joining the Imperialist wing of the Liberals, he backed Sir Alfred Milner as High Commissioner to South Africa. In 1901 he and Sir Edward Grey joined Lord Rosebery in founding the Liberal League. When the Liberal split healed in 1904 he became the champion of orthodox free trade and the defeat of tariff reform was largely due to his efforts. In 1905 he became Chancellor of the Exchequer under Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman, whom he succeeded as Prime Minister in 1908, with Lloyd George as Chancellor of the Exchequer. In 1910 he returned with a weakened party and quarrels in the House during the next year centred round the question of the creation of peers. He returned however in 1911 and his Parliament Bill passed into law. In 1912, 1913, and 1914 he proceeded with his third Home Rule Bill. Ulster proving obdurate, Colonel Seely resigned the Secretaryship of War, and Asquith took that office himself, until the Great War supervened, when Lord Kitchener succeeded. Asquith remained Prime Minister of the "First Coalition" for eighteen months and introduced conscription. Dissensions finally caused him

resignation in favour of Lloyd George, he himself going into patriotic opposition with Lord Grey. A division arose on the question of Sir Frederick Maurice's charges against Lloyd George, and this ultimately led, during the "Khaki" Election of 1918, to the defeat of Asquith. He continued to lead the official Liberal Party, and in 1920 secured a bye-election victory at Paisley. In 1923 the two Liberal wings re-united with Lloyd George serving under Asquith, thus preserving the balance of power first as part of the Opposition during Baldwin's Ministry and later during Mr. MacDonald's. In 1924 Asquith was defeated at Paisley. In the following year he accepted a peerage, entering the House of Lords as the Earl of Oxford and Asquith. He was also appointed a member of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, was made a Knight of the Garter and received the freedom of the City of London. Serious differences between Lloyd George and himself during the General Strike of 1926 caused him to resign the leadership of the Liberal Party. He was a D.C.L. of Oxford, Lord Rector of Glasgow and Aberdeen, and a F.R.S. Lord Oxford was twice married; first, in 1877, to Miss Helen Melland, who died in 1891, and by whom he had four sons (three surviving) and a daughter; and again, in 1894, to Miss Margaret Tennant, daughter of Sir Charles Tennant, who survived him with a son and a daughter.

16. **Alexander Siemens**, chief representative in England of the Siemens' electrical interests, was born in Hanover in 1847. He came to England in 1867, entered the Siemens' works at Woolwich and was then engaged for two years in the erection of the Indo-European Telegraph line in Persia and in laying cables in the Black Sea. As a Prussian subject he was called upon to serve in the Franco-German War of 1870, but in 1878 he renounced his Prussian nationality and became a naturalised British subject. Returning to England after that war he worked as assistant to Sir William Siemens for several years. On the death of the latter in 1883 his position in the firm became more important and finally he became its chief permanent director resident in England. He was president of the Institution of Electrical Engineers in 1894 and 1904, and of the Institution of Civil Engineers in 1910-11. He lectured at the Royal Institute and acted as its secretary in 1913-15. In 1881 he married Frances Dodwell, by whom he had three daughters.

21. **Yves Guyot**, aged 84, distinguished economist and advocate of free trade, was the son of a lawyer. He became a journalist and edited various newspapers including finally *La Lanterne* from which he resigned in 1889. His campaign in that paper against the Prefecture of Police landed him in prison, while causing the resignation of the Prefect and the Minister of the Interior. He represented Paris as Deputy from 1885 to 1893 and was Minister of Public Works in three successive Cabinets. He was President of the Société d'Economie Politique. He was well known in England and lectured before the Royal Statistical Society and the Cobden Club. At one time he wrote regularly for the economic press of Great Britain and the United States. He was President of the League for Free Trade and was from earliest times an ardent advocate of a League of Nations.

— **Basil Macdonald Hastings**, aged 46, dramatist, was educated at Stonyhurst and King's College, London. For eight years he was a clerk in the War Office and was then assistant editor of the *Bystander* for three years. In 1911 he wrote "The New Sin," a remarkable play which gained an immediate success when produced in the following year at the Criterion. Two plays followed—"Love, and What Then?" and "The Tide." At the outbreak of the Great War he enlisted in the King's Royal Rifle Corps and later obtained a commission in the Royal Air Force. In 1915 he produced another play, "Advertisement." He collaborated with Eden Phillpotts in "The Angel in the House" (1915) and "Bedrock" (1916), with Mr. Stephen Leacock in a one-act play "Q" and with Captain Bairnsfather in "The Johnson 'Ole." In 1919 he successfully dramatised Conrad's "Victory," and in 1922 adapted "If Winter Comes." In 1919 a comic play of his, "A Certain Liveliness," was produced at St. Martins by Seymour

Hicks, and in 1921 he wrote a thoroughly good farce, "Hanky Panky John." which was produced at the Playhouse. He was married and left a son and a daughter.

25. **William O'Brien**, aged 76, Irish Nationalist leader, was educated at Cloyne Diocesan College and Queen's College. He was employed early in his career as a reporter on the Cork *Daily Herald*, which he left in 1875 for the *Freeman's Journal*. In 1881 he founded *United Ireland*, a weekly organ of the combined agrarian and Nationalist movement and the most militant political publication ever produced in Ireland. The paper was soon suppressed and O'Brien imprisoned with Parnell and others. At Parnell's request, he wrote the "No Rent Manifesto," and as a consequence the Land League was proclaimed an unlawful association. Under the Kilmainham Treaty O'Brien was released and *United Ireland* revived. In 1883 he was returned to Parliament and a few years later he instituted his plan of campaign against landlords, known as "No Reduction, No Rent." In 1887 the plan was declared illegal. From 1887 to 1890 he dominated the Irish Nationalist movement and under A. J. Balfour's administration was imprisoned in 1887 for six months. In the conflict and disunion brought about by the Parnell-O'Shea divorce suit he adopted a neutral attitude which proved ineffectual. In 1900 his influence re-united the party. In 1903 he adopted a new method of regeneration known as "Conference, Conciliation, and Consent" for the settlement of differences. He adhered to this policy to the end and severing himself from Redmond's Irish Party, he founded the "All for Ireland League." He wrote two novels, "When we were Boys," and "A Queen of Men"; also "Recollections," "Evening Memories," "The Real Parnell," and "How the Irish Revolution Came About." In 1890 he married Sophie Raffalovich; they had no children.

27. **Prince Karl Marx Lichnowsky**, aged 68, German Ambassador in London at the outbreak of the Great War, entered the German Foreign Office in 1884, and served for twenty years in various European embassies and legations. In 1904 he retired from the Diplomatic Service but in 1912 was appointed Ambassador in London and worked to establish more friendly relations between England and Germany. His reports on Britain's policy and consequent advice to his Government were ignored. After Austria's ultimatum to Serbia he urgently recommended Sir Edward Grey's mediation proposal. His famous pamphlet, "Meine Londoner Mission," circulated privately after his return to Berlin, was published without his authority in 1917. He was then expelled from the Prussian Upper House and sought refuge in Swiss territory. In 1918 he addressed an appeal "To the British Nation" for a just peace, and in 1919 he joined in the campaign against acceptance of the terms. In 1904 he married Countess Mechtilde, daughter of Count Maximilian von Arco-Zinneberg, and had two sons and a daughter.

— **Sir Dawson Williams, M.D., F.R.C.P.**, aged 73, former editor of the *British Medical Journal*, was the son of the Rev. John Mack Williams. He was educated at Pocklington Grammar School, University College, London, and University College Hospital. In 1878 he was admitted a member of the Royal College of Surgeons of England, graduated M.B. and B.A. the following year, and gained the Gold Medal in medicine. In 1881 he took his M.D. and in 1897 became M.A. of the University. In 1865 he was admitted a member of the Royal College of Physicians of London and ten years later became a Fellow thereof. After serving in various capacities at University College Hospital he began to practise as a consulting physician. He was also attached to the East London Children's Hospital, Shadwell. After acting as assistant editor of the *British Medical Journal*, he succeeded to the editorship in 1898 and thereupon ceased active practise as a physician. In 1920 he was created C.B.E., and in 1921 he was knighted for services rendered to the R.A.M.C. during the war. In that year the B.M.A. presented him with the gold medal of merit for his conduct of

the *British Medical Journal* In 1898 he published a book, "On the Medical Diseases of Infancy and Childhood." In 1882 he married Catherine Kirkpatrick-Howat, who died in 1917.

29. Marshal Armando Diaz, Duca Delia Vittoria, at one time Commander-in-Chief of the Italian Army, was born in 1861. He was trained at the Italian Military Academy, and in 1881 was gazetted second lieutenant of artillery. Winning his captaincy in 1889, he was appointed to the General Staff. He served as a Colonel during the Tripoli War and planned the advance after the battle of Ain Zara. He was then promoted Major-General, and at the outbreak of the Great War he was Director of Military Operations on General Cadorna's staff. In 1916 as Lieutenant-General he commanded a division of the Duke of Aosta's Third Army, and in the following year was promoted Commander of the XXIII. Corps; the exploits of his Corps on the Corso led ultimately to his being appointed to succeed General Cadorna after the disaster of Caporetto. He made it his task to improve the lot of the Italian soldier and also to achieve real co-operation with the commanders of the Allied forces in Italy. The victory of Vittoria Veneto came in 1918 and after the Armistice he received the Collar of the Annunziata. In 1919 he relinquished the war-time post of Chief of the General Staff and became Inspector-General of the Army. Later in the same year he visited London and was presented with a sword of honour and the freedom of the city. In 1921 he was created Duca della Vittoria. He was appointed Minister of War in the Fascist Government but resigned in 1924 for reasons of health. In that year he and General Cadorna were created Marshals of Italy.

MARCH.

1. Sir Harry Poland, K.C., aged 98, famous criminal lawyer, was the son of Peter Poland, furrier. He was educated at St. Paul's School (1841-46) and was called to the Bar by the Inner Temple in 1851. His early work was largely at the Old Bailey and at the Middlesex Sessions. For twenty-five years he was Senior Counsel to the Treasury at the Central Criminal Court and during that period he appeared (with his friend Giffard, afterwards Lord Halsbury) for the defence of Governor Eyre, in the Tichborne case and in many of the Fenian trials which began in 1868. In 1888 he took silk. He was one of the counsel for the Home Office and had a large chamber practice. In 1874 he became Recorder of Dover, and held the position till 1901. In 1879 he was elected a Bencher of his Inn and was knighted on his retirement from active practice in 1895. He was an alderman of the London County Council, of which his special knowledge of rating and licensing made him an invaluable member. He was unmarried.

4. Sir Aubrey Strahan, F.R.S., aged 79, at one time Director of the Geological Survey of Great Britain, was educated at Eton and took his degree at St. John's College, Cambridge, in 1874. In 1907 he obtained the Sc.D., and entering the service of the Geological Survey of England and Wales, became Director thereof in 1913. In 1913 he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society and in the following year was President of the Geological Section of the British Association. He was Vice-President of the International Geological Congress in 1913 and President of the Geological Society and Wollaston medallist in 1913-14. He was a member of various technical Institutes and Societies and in 1915 was elected a member of the Athenaeum. He was created K.B.E. in 1919 and retired in 1920. He was the author of "British Petrography." In 1886 he married Fanny Evelyn Margaret Roscoe, who died in 1926.

5. Paul Sabatier, aged 69, Professor of Theology at Strasburg, was the younger brother of Louis August Sabatier, also a French Protestant theologian. After studying in Paris he became Protestant Vicar of St. Nicholas, Strasburg,

in 1885. In 1889 he was expelled by the Germans and was appointed pastor to a village in the Cevennes. After two years he abandoned this position owing to ill-health, and devoted himself to historical researches. In 1893 he published his famous "Life of St. Francis of Assisi," which was at once translated into the chief European languages. A few years later he produced a "Collection d'Etudes et de Documents" as a reply to certain German critics. His conclusions were widely challenged. In 1901 he discovered at the Abruzzi the hitherto unknown "Ancient Rule of the Third Order." In 1902 he founded the International Society of Franciscan Studies, and at Assisi he founded "La Refezione Scolastica" for feeding necessitous school children. Some years later he published "L'Orientation Religieuse de la France Actuelle," which appeared in England in 1913. In 1915 *The Times* published a letter of his setting forth the ideals of France in the war. In that year he lectured in London on "The New France" and in 1920 he delivered the Jowett Lecture at the Passmore Edwards Settlement on "Le Sentiment Religieux de la France Actuelle." In 1919 he was appointed professor in the faculty of Protestant Theology at Strasburg.

6. **Lord Sinha of Rai pur**, Governor of Bihar and Orissa, and the first Indian to be created a peer, was born in 1864. At fourteen years of age he entered Presidency College, Calcutta University, and in 1881 he came to England. He became a distinguished member of Lincoln's Inn and was called to the Bar in 1886. He was then enrolled at the Calcutta High Court and in due course became one of the foremost figures at the Calcutta Bar. In 1903 he was appointed Standing Counsel to the Governor-General and in 1907, having refused a High Court Judgeship, he was appointed Advocate-General of Bengal. On the occasion of a law vacancy on the Council of the Governor-General, after some opposition, Lord Morley succeeded in appointing Sinha. At the end of Lord Minto's Viceroyalty he resigned and returned to the Bar. In 1914 he was knighted and in the next year accepted the Presidency of the Indian National Congress Session at Bombay. In 1917 he became a member of the Bengal Executive Council and soon afterwards came to England to participate in Empire celebrations. He was a member of the Imperial War Cabinet and Conference and represented India at the Peace Conference in Paris, being thus the only Indian commoner to share in the Imperial allied deliberations. In 1918 he was appointed K.C. His strong support of Mr. Edwin Montagu's reform policy led to his being appointed Under-Secretary of State for India. He was then created Baron Sinha of Raipur and conducted the Reform Bill of 1919 through the House of Lords. In 1920 he left England and was made Governor of Bihar and Orissa. He was also made K.C.S.L. Owing to a nervous breakdown he resigned his Governorship in 1921. In 1925 he became associated editorially with the *Bengalee*, a Liberal journal, and wrote a series of articles on his political faith. He gave his hearty support to the Simon Commission. In 1926 he was appointed to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. He married in 1880 and had four sons and three daughters.

— Right **Hon.** Dodgson Hamilton Madden, aged 87, Judge and Shakespearean scholar, came of an old Irish family and was educated at Trinity College, Dublin. After a brilliant academic career he entered the Middle Temple in 1864, was called to the Irish Bar and acquired a practice principally in the Equity Courts. He was a leader writer on the Dublin *Daily Express* for many years. In 1880 he took silk and became a prominent equity leader. In 1887 he was made one of the three serjeants-at-law forming the Order of the Coif in Ireland, and in the same year he was returned at a by-election for Dublin University. In 1888 he became Solicitor-General for Ireland and from 1888 till 1892 he was Attorney-General for Ireland. On the fall of the Unionist Government in 1892 he accepted a puisne judgeship. He was Vice-Chancellor of Dublin University, held its honorary degrees of LL.D. and D.Litt., and was also Vice-Chairman of the Board of Intermediate Education in Ireland. In 1919 he retired from the Bench and resigned the Vice-Chancellorship. In 1907 appeared his first Shakespearean study, "The Diary of Master William Silence." In 1916 he published

" Shakespeare and His Fellows " and in 1924 " A Charter of Medieval History," a survey of the literature of field sport and horses through the Middle Ages. He married twice; first in 1869, Minnie, daughter of Mr. Lewis Moore, D.L., and secondly in 1896 Jessie, daughter of Mr. Richard Warburton, D.L. He left no children.

11. Dr. Francis John Chavasse, aged 81, Bishop of Liverpool for over twenty-three years, was the son of Mr. Thomas Chavasse, F.R.C.S., and brother of the late Sir Thomas Chavasse, surgeon. He was educated at Corpus Christi College, Oxford, took a first-class in Modern History and Law and was made an honorary fellow of his college in 1923. In 1870 he was ordained to the curacy of St. Paul, Preston, and in 1873 he was nominated to the cure of St. John, Upper Holloway. In 1878 he became Vicar of St. Peter-le-Bailey, Oxford, and his church soon grew to be the centre of work among undergraduates. In 1889 he accepted the Principalship of Wycliffe Hall, and in 1900 Lord Salisbury appointed him to succeed Dr. Ryle as Bishop of Liverpool. Here his great work was the organisation of the scheme for the erection of Liverpool Cathedral. His tact as an evangelical Bishop was recognised on all sides and his administrative ability and sound judgment won him the confidence of all parties. In 1923 he resigned. In 1881 he married the youngest daughter of Canon Maude. She died in 1927. Two sons and three daughters survived him.

11. Dr. John Howard Shakespeare, aged 70, eminent Baptist minister, came early under the influence of J. P. Mursell and James Thew at Leicester. He was educated at Regent's Park College, took his B.A. and M.A. at London University and in 1883 became minister at St. Mary's Baptist Church, Norwich. In 1898 he came to London as secretary of the Baptist Union of Great Britain and Ireland—a position in which he did much to bring a real sense of unity into the scattered churches. In 1899 he launched the Twentieth Century Fund, by which he raised £250,000 for church extension, the building of the Church House in Southampton Row and the provision of post-graduate scholarships. In 1912-14 he raised a similar sum for a sustentation scheme for Baptist ministers. In 1905 he organised the Baptist World Alliance and was for many years their European secretary. During the war, Dr. Shakespeare was appointed chairman of the United Army, Navy, and Air Force Board. He retired from the secretaryship of the Baptist Union in 1924. In 1916 he was President of the Free Church Council, but in later years he called into being the Federal Council of the Evangelical Free Churches, and in this connexion published his book " The Churches at the Cross Roads." He also published " Baptist and Congregational Pioneers," and for many years edited *The Baptist Times and Freeman*. He held the honorary degree of D.D. from Glasgow University. He married Amy, daughter of the Rev. William Goodman.

13. Hussein Pasha Rushdi, aged 63, Egyptian Prime Minister throughout the Great War, was educated in France. On his return to Egypt he became a judge in the Mixed Tribunals, then a judge in the Egyptian Court of Appeal, and later Director-General of Wakfs. In 1908 he was appointed Minister of Justice and in 1910 he accepted the portfolio of Foreign Affairs in Mohamed Said Pasha's Cabinet. In 1914 he was appointed Prime Minister, and at the outbreak of war was Regent in the absence of the Khedive in Constantinople. He took prompt measures to secure the safety of the British in Egypt and during the difficulties which followed, agreed to the proclamation of the British Protectorate and to the deposition of Abbas Hilmi in favour of Prince Hussein. In the confusion which followed on Egypt's bid for complete independence, when Rushdi's offer to come to London with Adly Pasha to confer with the British Government was refused, he resigned in 1919. He consented to resume office later, on the release of Zaghlul and his friends, but his prestige was gone and he once more retired till the arrival of the Milner Commission when he consented to serve under Adly Pasha, as Vice-President of the Council

19. Sir David Ferrier, M.D., F.R.S., aged 86, neurologist, was educated at Aberdeen, where he graduated in 1863 with distinction in classics and philosophy, being awarded the Ferguson scholarship. In 1864 he studied psychology at Heidelberg and in the following year became a medical student of Edinburgh University, where he took his M.B. degree in 1868. Accepting a post as assistant to a distinguished general practitioner in East Anglia, he continued his research work on the brain, and in 1870 gained the gold medal for his M.D. thesis, "On the Comparative Anatomy of the Corpora Quadrigemina." In that year he came to London as assistant to Professor Burdon Sanderson, and after being lecturer on physiology at Middlesex Hospital for a year, he was appointed demonstrator of physiology at King's College. In 1872 he succeeded to the Chair of Forensic Medicine and held the post till 1889 when he was nominated Professor of Neuro-pathology. Inspired by Dr. Hughling Jackson, he specialised in the physiology of the brain with a view to revealing the causes of epilepsy, and during 1873-76 he published a series of remarkable papers, for which many honours were conferred on him. In 1876 he was elected F.R.S. and received a medal from the Royal Society in 1890. In 1911 he was knighted, was made Hon. Sc.D. of Cambridge in 1914, and Hon. LL.D. of Birmingham in 1927. He practised at the West London Hospital, the King's College Hospital, and was associated with Sir Victor Horsley at the National Hospital for the Paralysed and Epileptic in Queen's Square, Bloomsbury. He was an important member of the Neurological Society, edited the Society's paper, *Brain*, and acted as President in 1894. In 1913 he was President of the Medical Society of London. His chief work, "The Functions of the Brain," appeared in 1876 and was practically rewritten in 1886. He was the first to map out, by use of the Faradic current, the motor areas and to localise certain perceptive centres in the brain. In 1874 he married Constance Waterlow, and had a son and a daughter.

21. Edward Walter Maunder, aged 76, Superintendent of the Solar Department at Greenwich Observatory, was the son of a Wesleyan minister. Educated at University College School and King's College, London, in 1873 he was appointed assistant in the solar and spectroscopic department at Greenwich. He contributed articles to the "Monthly Notices" of the British Astronomical Association, and the Association itself owes its inception to him. He founded it in 1890, acted as its President from 1894 to 1896 and edited its publication for several years. He became a Fellow of the Royal Astronomical Society in 1875, was elected to the Council in 1885, and served as secretary from 1892 till 1897. He retired from the Royal Observatory in 1913 but carried on the sunspot record during the war. From 1913 to 1918 he was secretary of the Victoria Institute. He took part in various expeditions to observe total solar eclipses, including those to the West Indies in 1886, to Lapland in 1896, and Mauritius in 1901. He edited the *Observatory Magazine* for several years and was astronomical editor of *Knowledge* from 1895 to 1900. He published four books, "The History and Work of the Royal Observatory, Greenwich" (1900), "Astronomy without a Telescope" (1902), "The Astronomy of the Bible" (1908), and with his wife, "The Heavens and their Story." He married twice; his first wife, by whom he had several sons and daughters, died in 1888, and in 1895 he married Miss A. S. D. Russell, who was on the staff of the Royal Observatory. They had no issue.

27. The Hon. Sir Charles Russell, aged 64, the eminent solicitor, was the second son of Sir Charles Russell, afterwards Lord Russell of Killowen, Lord Chief Justice of England. He was educated at Beaumont, was admitted solicitor in 1888, and founded his own firm in partnership with the son of Mr. Justice Day. He acted for the defendant in the libel case, *Oscar Wilde v. the late Lord Queensberry*, and became from that moment a distinguished consultant in complicated family affairs. In 1893 he was appointed solicitor for the British Agent in the Behring Sea Arbitration. As solicitor to the Canadian Government he was concerned in the Grand Trunk Railway Arbitration and the Labrador Boundary Dispute. On the outbreak of the Great War he acted as chairman of the Col-

lection Committee of the British Red Cross Society. He was twice unsuccessful as a Liberal candidate for Parliament, but was a member of the L.C.C., 1910-13, and served for many years on the Political Committee of the Eighty Club. He was a prominent member of numerous Roman Catholic associations and was the author of "The Catholics of London and Public Life." In 1916 he was created a baronet, and in 1921 was made K.C.V.O. and Knight of Grace of the Order of St. John. In 1889 he married Adah Walmsley Williams, granddaughter of Sir Joshua Williams, and had one daughter.

29. **John Keble Bell**, aged 52, who wrote as a journalist under the name of Keble Howard, was the third son of the Rev. G. E. Bell. Leaving Worcester College, Oxford, in 1897 he at once began his journalistic career. But he failed to secure a regular post in London, and had to content himself with being unpaid assistant editor of the *Bicester Advertiser*. In 1899 he came to London and secured a post as junior sub-editor at the Press Association. A few months later he was appointed assistant editor to the *Sketch*, and from 1902 to 1904 was its editor. Two of his successful early stories were "The Smiths of Surbiton" and "Love in a Cottage." From 1904 to 1908 he was dramatic critic of the *Daily Mail*, a post he left when he became editor of *The World* and a regular contributor to the *Pall Mall Gazette*. In 1906 he wrote a successful play, "Compromising Martha," and a few years later appeared his "Lord London," a sketch of the character of Lord Northcliffe. In 1913 he started the Croydon Repertory Theatre. His book "An Author in Wonderland," relates his experiences during the war, when he held various appointments mostly in the temporary civil service. In 1922 a dramatised version of "The Smiths of Surbiton" was produced, and he also wrote a farce, "Lord Babs." Among his other London productions were "Sweet William," "The Green Flag," "The Girl Who Could Not Lie," and "The Embarrassed Butler." In 1927 he published a volume of reminiscences, "My Motley Life." He married in 1911.

— Lord Cave, aged 72, Lord High Chancellor of England, was educated at Merchant Taylor's School and St. John's College, Oxford. After graduating he entered the Inner Temple, was called to the Bar in 1880, took silk in 1904 and became a Bencher of his Inn in 1911. From 1906 till he was raised to the peerage he represented the Kingston division of Surrey as a Unionist in the House of Commons, where he became an acknowledged authority on licensing, local government, and land values. At the outbreak of the Great War, he went to the Foreign Office, where his work in connexion with the law of contraband seizures gained him a Privy Councillorship. In Mr. Asquith's Coalition Government in 1915 he was Solicitor-General and knighted, and in Mr. Lloyd George's National Government of 1916 he was Home Secretary. In 1918 he was made a Lord of Appeal-in-Ordinary and became an expert in appeals from India. From 1919 to 1920 he was Chairman of the Southern Rhodesian Committee and was created G.C.M.G. for his services. He was also Chairman of the Munitions Inquiry Tribunal, 1921, the British Empire Cancer Campaign in 1924, and various other committees. He joined Mr. Bonar Law's Government as Lord Chancellor, retaining it under Mr. Baldwin until the Labour Government's return in 1924; on the fall of the latter he was again appointed. In 1925 he succeeded Lord Curzon as Chancellor of the University of Oxford and was elected an honorary Fellow of St. John's College. In 1885 he married Anne Estella Sarah Penfold, daughter of W. W. Mathews. There was no issue.

31. **Gustav Ador**, aged 82, who rendered splendid services to the Red Cross, entered the Swiss Parliament in 1879 as a Liberal-Conservative, and soon became a recognised authority on finance. In 1900 he was appointed Swiss Commissioner-General for the Paris Exhibition and received the decoration of Grand Officer of the Legion of Honour. From 1891 to 1917 he was a National Councillor, and in 1917 he became a member of the Federal Council, succeeding Herr Hoffmann as Minister of Foreign Affairs. In his capacity as President of the International

Committee of the Red Cross he founded the Prisoners of War Agency at Geneva, centralising therein the search for all missing in the various war areas. Through his energies the Committee worked the exchange through Switzerland of prisoners incapacitated for further service and the internment in the country of those still fit for garrison duty. M. Ador was the only person mentioned by name in the Treaty of Versailles. He was a member of the French Academy of Moral and Political Sciences and of various arbitration tribunals. He presided over the International Financial Conference held in Brussels in 1920. He was Swiss delegate at the Assembly of the League of Nations till 1924 and was elected honorary president of the Assembly in 1921. He married Mile. Perdonnet of Lausanne, who died many years ago leaving one son and four daughters.

APRIL.

1. **Richard Claude Critchett (R. C. Carton)**, aged 75, dramatist, was the son of Mr. George Critchett, F.R.C.S., and brother of Sir Anderson Critchett. He started his career as an actor in the provinces and soon made his London debut as Osric in "Hamlet" at the Lyceum. By 1877 he had secured a firm footing on the London stage and in 1888 played the principal part in "Such is the Law" at the St. James' Hall with conspicuous success. Collaborating with Cecil Raleigh, in 1885 he produced his first play, a Nihilistic melodrama, "The Great Pink Pearl," in which Miss Compton, later to become his wife, played the Russian Princess. Other successful plays of his first period of melodrama and sentiment, were "Sunlight and Shadow," produced by Sir George Alexander, "Liberty Hall," "Robin Goodfellow," and "The Fall of the Leaf"—in which the Kendals appeared. His next period of romance included "The Home Secretary" and "The White Elephant," but these were not successful and the experiment ended with "The Tree of Knowledge." His really successful plays were those with parts written for Miss Compton: "Lord and Lady Algy" (1898), "Wheels Within Wheels," and "Lady Huntsworth's Experiment." Other later successes were "Mr. Preedy and the Countess," "The Bear Leaders," and "Nurse Benson." By his marriage with Miss Compton he was the father of Fay Compton, actress, and Compton Mackenzie, novelist.

5. **Chauncey M. Depew**, aged 94, former United States Senator and well-known orator, was of Huguenot extraction. He graduated from Yale University in 1856, and was called to the Bar at New York two years later. He started practice in his native town of Peekskill, N.Y., and took an active interest in politics. At 23 he was elected a delegate to the New York State Republican Convention, and three years later became a member of the State Assembly. In 1861 he was elected Secretary of State for New York, and at the end of his term of office he refused the position of American Ambassador to Japan, accepting instead from Commodore Cornelius Vanderbilt that of attorney to the New York Central Railways. In 1882 he became vice-president of the railway, in 1885 president, and in 1898 chairman of the board of directors, a post he held till he retired at the age of 90. He was twice mentioned (in 1888 and 1892) as a possible nominee for the Presidency but did not secure nomination. In 1899 he was elected United States Senator for New York and was re-elected in 1905 but did not return in 1911. In 1922 he published "My Memories of Eighty Years." He took an active part in the formation and conduct of the Society of Pilgrims. Depew was twice married, first, in 1871, to Elsie Hegeman, who died in 1893; and secondly, in 1901, to May Palmer.

10. **Stanley John Weyman**, aged 72, writer of historical novels, was the son of Thomas Weyman, solicitor, and was educated at Shrewbury and Christ Church, Oxford. In 1881 he was called to the Bar by the Inner Temple and practised for some years before beginning his career as a novelist. His first book,

"The House of the Wolf," appeared in 1890, and three years later he established his reputation with "A Gentleman of France." A prolific period followed until 1908 when there came an interval after the appearance of "The Wild Geese," a story about Ireland. Among his best-known historical romances may be mentioned "The Man in Black," "Under the Red Robe," and "The Red Cockade" (all based on French history); "Shrewsbury," "The Great House," "Ovington's Bank," and "Queen's Folly" (all based on English history). He married Charlotte, daughter of the late Rev. Richard Panting.

13. Charles Sims, R.A., aged 54, artist, after being educated at private schools, entered a commission agent's office in Paris at the age of 14. Three years later, deciding on an artistic career, he joined the National Art Training Schools at South Kensington, and after one year there passed on to Julien's, in Paris, where he studied under J. Le Febvre and Benjamin Constant. In 1894 he exhibited his first picture at the Royal Academy, and in 1900 his painting of "Childhood," exhibited in 1896, obtained the gold medal at the Salon. He was elected A.R.A. in 1908 and R.A. in 1915. In 1912 he was awarded gold medals at Amsterdam and at the International Exhibition at Pittsburg. He was appointed a trustee of the Tate Gallery in 1920 and also Keeper of the National Gallery, but resigned the latter post in 1926 owing to a portrait-painting visit to America. Amongst his better-known works may be mentioned a panel in St. Stephen's Hall, representing "King John Confronted by his Barons," "The Sands at Dymchurch" (exhibited at the Academy in 1922), and two pictures now in the Tate Gallery, "The Fountain" and "The Wood Beyond the World." He was an unequal portrait painter; among his most characteristic are "Mrs. Hepburn" (1918), "The Hon. Esmond Harmsworth, M.P., and Mrs. Harmsworth" (1920), "The Countess of Rocksavage and Her Son" (1922), "Miss Monica Belfield" (1922), and "The Lady Patricia Ramsay and Her Son" (1926). It was intended that his portrait of H.M. the King, exhibited in 1924, should form part of the permanent collection of Royal patrons, but it did not give satisfaction and he withdrew it voluntarily. In mural decoration he scored a success with a series of panels representing "The Oceans" for the British Pavilion at the Brazilian Centenary Exhibition at Rio de Janeiro. He married a daughter of the late Mr. John MacWhirter, R.A.

14. Edward Armstrong, F.B.A., aged 82, Provost of Queen's College, Oxford (1911-22), was the son of the Rev. John Armstrong, D.D., Bishop of Grahamstown. After being educated at St. Andrew's? College there for a year or two, he returned to England in 1856 and went to Bradfield College. In 1865 he entered Exeter College, Oxford; four years later he was elected to a Fellowship at Queen's College, where he eventually became tutor. In 1878 he was senior bursar, and in 1879 he undertook the modern history work at his College, specialising in the Renaissance period. He was University Lecturer in foreign history in 1902 to 1904, besides being Curator of the Parks, the Botanical Gardens, and the Taylorian Institution. From 1911 to 1915 he was Chairman of St. Hilda's Hall. Among his writings may be mentioned "The Wars of Religion in France," "The Emperor, Charles V.," "Elizabeth Farnese," and "Lorenzo di Medici." He also contributed to numerous periodicals and to the Cambridge Modern History. In 1905 he was elected a Fellow of the British Academy and a member of the Athenaeum. He married first Mabel Watson, who died in 1920, and secondly Geraldine Prynne, daughter of the Rev. J. A. Harris.

16. Miss Jane Ellen Harrison, aged 77, archaeologist and student of Greek religion, came of a strictly evangelical family and was educated at Cheltenham Ladies' College. In 1874 she entered Newnham College, Cambridge, distinguishing herself in the classical tripos in 1879. In 1882 her "Myths of the Odyssey in Art and Literature" was published and three years later "Introductory Studies in Greek Art." Her interest was gradually shifting from Greek art and literature as such to Greek religion, and in 1890 she published an illustrated

commentary on the Attica portion of Pausanias. In 1894 appeared "Greek Vase Paintings," and in 1906 she published "Primitive Athens," an exposition and defence of Dr. Dorpfeld's topographical views. Before 1900 she returned to Newnham as a Fellow and later as a staff lecturer, and in 1903 she published her most characteristic work, "Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion." In 1912 came "Themis," in which the influence of Frazer, so apparent in the "Prolegomena," had changed for that of Bergson. In 1921 she published a small book called "Epilegomena to the Study of Greek Religion." In 1925 appeared "Reminiscences of a Student's Life." She was an honorary LL.D. of Aberdeen and honorary D.Litt. of Durham, vice-president of the Hellenic Society from 1889 to 1896, and corresponding member of the Institute of Archives, Berlin. She was also borough magistrate for Cambridge.

19. Lord Eversley (George John Shaw Lefevre), aged 96, who worked unceasingly for sixty-five years to prevent the enclosure of manorial wastes and for the extension of open spaces, was the son of Sir John Shaw-Lefevre who became clerk of the Parliaments. He was educated at Eton and Trinity College, Cambridge, and was called to the Bar by the Inner Temple. He represented Reading as Liberal M.P. in 1863 and retained the seat till 1885. He was then returned for Central Bradford, a seat he held till 1895. After being a member of the Sea Fisheries Commission and having negotiated a convention on fisheries with France, he was appointed (in 1866) a Junior Lord of the Admiralty. Two years later he was appointed Secretary to the Board of Trade in Gladstone's Government, and in the same year (1868) carried a vote in favour of settling by arbitration the American claims in connexion with the *Alabama* and other cruisers in British ports. In 1871, after being transferred for a time to the Home Office as Under-Secretary, he was made Secretary of the Admiralty. In 1880 under Gladstone he became First Commissioner of Works and two years later, as Postmaster-General, established sixpenny telegrams. From 1892 to 1895 he was again First Commissioner of Works. Later as President of the Local Government Board he carried the Equalisation of Rates (London) Act. He was connected in his public capacity with the re-arrangement of Hyde Park Corner, the removal of the archway to the north-western exit from Constitutional Hill, and with the substitution of the new equestrian statue of Lord Wellington for the old. At the end of his parliamentary career (during which he was Chairman of the Royal Commission on Agricultural Depression and on Loss of Life at Sea and of various parliamentary committees), he entered the L.C.C. in 1897. In 1905 he went to the House of Lords as Baron Eversley. He published various works on current English and Irish politics, and at the age of 83 "The Partitions of Poland," and two years later, "The Turkish Empire." At one time he was President of the Statistical Society. To him is due the preservation of such commons as Wimbledon, Hampstead Heath, and Epping Forest. In 1866 he founded the Commons Preservation Society. In 1874 he married Lady Constance Moreton, daughter of the 3rd Earl of Ducie. He left no issue.

24. The Rev. Arthur James Mason, D.D., aged 76, Canon of Canterbury Cathedral, and Master of Pembroke College, Cambridge (1903-12), was the son of Mr. George William Mason. He was educated at Repton and Trinity College, Cambridge, whence he graduated as 8th Classic in 1871. In the following year he was elected to a Fellowship, and in 1874 obtained the Hulsean Essay Prize and was made assistant tutor at Trinity. Ordained by Dr. Christopher Wordsworth at Lincoln, he became, in 1875, incumbent of St. Michael, Cambridge. Three years later he accepted a post as diocesan missionary under Dr. Benson at Truro. After some considerable experience of parochial work, he was elected to the Lady Margaret Professorship of Divinity at Cambridge (1895), at the same time being appointed to a residentiary canonry at Canterbury. Among his literary productions may be mentioned: an essay on the persecution of Diocletian (1875), contributions to Bishop Ellicott's "New Testament Commentary," the editorship of the Cambridge "Patristic Texts" series, and of five theological

orations of Gregory of Nazianzus and of Bishop Nielsen's "History of the Papacy in the Nineteenth Century." In 1920 he published a study on the authenticity of Thomas a Becket's alleged bones. He also wrote two interesting memoirs on Bishop G. H. Wilkinson and Dr. Collins, Bishop of Gibraltar, "Historic Martyrs of the Primitive Church" and "The Church of England and the Papacy." In 1899 he married Miss Margaret Blore, daughter of the former headmaster of King's School, Canterbury.

25. **Right Hon. George Henry Roberts**, aged 58, at one time Minister of Labour and Food Controller, was the son of an agricultural labourer. After being apprenticed to the printing trade, he joined the London Society of Compositors and later became foreman of Coleman & Co.'s Printing Works at Norwich. In 1898 he was elected President of the Norwich Trades Council and in the following year was the first Labour candidate returned to the Norwich School Board. He stood for Parliament in 1904 but did not obtain a seat till two years later. He was for eight years Whip of the Parliamentary Labour Party; in 1915 he joined Mr. Asquith's Coalition Government as a Lord of the Treasury; in the following year became Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Trade; and in 1917 he was appointed Minister of Labour. In 1918 the freedom of Norwich was conferred upon him. After the Armistice he was returned for Norwich as an Independent, and in 1919 succeeded Mr. Clynes as Food Controller. He resigned in 1920 and was appointed Chairman of the Ministry of Health's National Advisory Committee on the Blind. In 1923 he was adopted as Conservative candidate for Norwich but was defeated.

27. **Sir William Selby Church**, aged 91, a distinguished physician, was the son of John Church, J.P. From Harrow he proceeded in 1857 to University College, Oxford, and in 1860 was elected Dr. Lee's Reader in Anatomy, a post he held till 1869. He carried on his medical studies at St. Bartholomew's Hospital, taking the L.K.C.P. in 1864, and the F.R.C.P. in 1870. After lecturing at St. Bartholomew's on Comparative Anatomy he was elected assistant physician there; in 1874 he was promoted full physician, and on his resignation from the post in 1902 was made consulting physician. At one time he was physician to the Victoria Park Hospital for Diseases of the Chest. From 1899 to 1905 he was President of the Royal College of Physicians; in 1893-94 President of the Royal Medical and Chirurgical Society; and from 1908 to 1910 President of the Royal Society of Medicine. In 1901 he was created a baronet and in 1902 K.C.B. From 1877 to 1893 he edited the St. Bartholomew's Hospital Reports and contributed to them two papers of special interest on "Our Hospital Pharmacopoeia." He served on the Royal Commission on the Care and Treatment of the Sick and Wounded in the South African War (1901), on arsenical poisoning (1901), and on vivisection (1910). For sixteen years he was Chairman of the distribution committee for King Edward's Hospital Fund for London. He was a trustee for the Hunterian Collection at the Royal College of Surgeons, Lincoln's Inn Fields, and chairman of the executive committee of the Imperial Cancer Research Fund. He represented his University on the General Medical Council, received the honorary degree of D.Sc. in 1904, and was an Hon. Fellow of University College. In 1875 he married Sybil Constance Bigge, who died in 1913. One son and one daughter survived him.

MAY.

1. **Sir Ebenezer Howard**, aged 78, founder of the town-planning movement in England which resulted in the garden cities of Letchworth and Welwyn, after being educated at private schools was employed in different city offices before becoming private secretary to Dr. Joseph Parker. After a further period in a solicitor's office he went out to work on a farm in Nebraska where he first began to realise the value of the principle of co-operation. On returning to England,

in 1877, he joined the staff of Gurney & Sons, official reporters to the Houses of Parliament. His schemes for social reform began about 1880, and eight years later his reading of Edward Bellamy's "Looking Backward" resulted in his proposal to build by voluntary enterprise an entirely new town, industrial, residential, and agricultural. In 1898 he brought out the book "To-Morrow," formulating his scheme, and in the following year he formed the Garden City Association, which established at Letchworth "The First Garden City, Ltd." His twofold aim was the decentralisation of industry and the re-population of the countryside. In 1919 the second garden city was started at Welwyn, and Howard, in addition to being a director of both garden city schemes, was also president of the International Federation for Town and Country Planning and Garden Cities. Howard devoted his later years to the perfection of a shorthand typewriting machine. In 1924 he was made O.B.E., and in 1927 he was knighted. He was twice married; in 1879 to Miss E. A. Bills, and in 1908 to Miss E. A. Hayward, who survived him. He left a son and three daughters by his first wife.

3. **Dr. Walter Biggar Blaikie**, aged 80, scholar, historian, printer, and man of affairs, was the son of Professor William Garden Blaikie, author of "The Personal Life of Dr. Livingstone." He was educated at Edinburgh Academy and University; and also in Brussels, and in 1870 went to India under the Public Works Department. In 1878 he retired as executive engineer of military works and in the following year entered the printing firm of J. & A. Constable, of which he acted as president for over forty years. He was an authority on Scottish Jacobite history and wrote an "Itinerary of Prince Charles Edward Stuart, 1745-46," "Origins of the Forty-Five," "Edinburgh at the Time of Prince Charles Edward's Occupation," and "Jacobite Perthshire." He also founded, with Mr. Fitzroy Bell, *The Scots Observer*, which numbered among its original contributors R. L. Stevenson, J. M. Barrie, and Hugh Haliburton. To the science of astronomy he contributed an annual series of star-maps between 1898 and 1920. He was one of the founders of the Scottish Geographical Society, at one time chairman of the Chamber of Commerce, and a member of the council of the Old Edinburgh Club. He held the honorary degree of LL.D. of Edinburgh University. It is noteworthy that Alison Cunningham was his nurse before she became that of Robert Louis Stevenson. In 1873 he married Janet Marshall Macfie and had five daughters.

5. **Barry Eric Odell Pain**, aged 63, well-known novelist and humorist, was educated at Sedburgh and at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, whence he graduated in 1886. After working for a time as an army coach, he settled down to literary work in London in 1890. In the following year he established his reputation as a humorist with his first book "In a Canadian Canoe." In 1900 he published "Eliza" which was destined to form the first of a series depicting in humorous vein scenes from daily suburban life. Other books were "Mrs. Murphy" (1913), "One Kind and Another" (1914), and "The Death of Maurice" (1920) which shows his skill as a writer of detective stories. His skits on "An Englishwoman's Love Letters" and "The Autobiography of Margot Asquith" prove him a keen parodist. He also tried his hand at serious literature and at one time wrote a philosophic-religious book. He married Amelia Lehmann, daughter of the painter, Rudolf Lehmann. She died in 1920, leaving two daughters.

16. **Sir Edmund Gosse**, aged 78, eminent critic and poet, was the son of Philip Henry Gosse, F.R.S., zoologist and Plymouth Brother. In 1890 he wrote a Life of his Father; in 1907 his early life and his relations with his father were described in "Father and Son." At the age of 18 he entered the service of the British Museum and specialised in the Northern languages, leaving the Museum in 1875. That year his first prose work, "Ethical Conditions of Early Scandinavian People," appeared, followed in 1879 by his "Northern Studies," a selection of essays on Scandinavian and Dutch poets. Ibsen was his favourite theme; in 1908 he published the "Life of Ibsen." His first book of poems was dedicated to his Northern friends; in 1896 he wrote a drama, "King Erik." Later he turned

his interest to seventeenth century English writers, and from 1884 to 1890 he was Clark Lecturer at Trinity College, Cambridge, publishing his inaugural lecture in 1885, under the title of "From Shakespeare to Pope, an Inquiry into the Causes and Phenomena of the Rise of Classical Poetry in England." From 1875 to 1904 he was translator to the Board of Trade, and as such in 1881 compiled a Blue Book on the industry and trade of Germany under the new Protectionist Policy. In 1899 he published a work on "The Life and Letters of Dr. John Donne, Dean of St. Paul's," following this with the Lives of Jeremy Taylor and Sir Thomas Browne in the "English Men of Letters" series, in which he was already represented by a Life of Gray. His personal memoirs are embodied in "Critical Kitcats" (1896), which contains much on his connexion with Robert Louis Stevenson, "Early Visits to Denmark" (1911), and "French Profiles." From 1904 to 1914 he was Librarian to the House of Lords. He received his knighthood in 1925. In 1884 he joined the Committee of the London Library, doing much for its development and being elected vice-president in 1921. In 1870 his first volume of poems, "Madrigals, Songs, and Sonnets," appeared in conjunction with J. A. Blaikie. Gosse married Miss Epps, and had a son and two daughters.

16. Major-General Sir Charles Edward Callwell, aged 69, soldier and writer, born of Irish parents, was educated at Haileybury and passed into the Royal Military Academy in 1876. Two years later he was gazetted to the Royal Field Artillery and saw active service in India and during the Afghan War. In 1881 he was sent with his battery to Durban, after which he served a period at Woolwich and entered the Staff College, passing out as Captain in 1886. In that year he began to devote himself to writing. He had already won the Cold Medal of the Royal United Service Institution for an essay on British campaigns since 1865, which formed the basis of a larger book, published later under the title, "Small Wars; Their Principles and Practice." In 1887 he became staff captain in the old Intelligence Department of the War Office. Promoted D. A. A. G. four years later, in 1893 he was appointed Brigade Major, R. A. Western District, and in 1896 was promoted Major. During the Greco-Turkish War of 1897 he was attached to the Greek Army. At the outbreak of the South African War he joined Buller's staff in Natal, and during the campaign was promoted Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel. On his return home he was selected as D.A.Q.M.G. at the Intelligence Department. In 1904 he was promoted Colonel and in 1907, relinquishing his appointment, he was made C.B. He resigned his commission in 1909, and gave himself up to literature, military and otherwise. "How Grumps became an Army Councillor" and "The Disbandment of the Guava Rifles" are satires on War Office methods. At the outbreak of the Great War, he was made Director of Military Operations at the War Office, with temporary rank of Major-General, and had to prepare the plans for the Dardanelles Expedition. In 1917 he was promoted full Major-General and created K.C.B. His literary output besides the works mentioned comprised "Tactics of To-day," "Military Operations and Maritime Preponderance," "The Tactics of Home Defence," "Tiral, 1897," "Service Yarns and Memories," "The Dardanelles," "The Life of Sir Stanley Maude," "The Experiences of a Dug-out," and "Stray Recollections." In 1921 he received the Chesney Gold Medal of the Royal United Service Institution for his services to military literature. He was unmarried.

19. Felix Deutsch, Chairman of the Board of the Allgemeine Electricitäts Gesellschaft, was born of Jewish parents in 1858. Leaving school at 15, he was apprenticed to a firm manufacturing machinery for sugar refining. Nine years later he entered a Berlin banking business and thus learnt to realise the close co-operation between banking and industry which is characteristic of German industry. When Emil Rathenau formed the German Edison Company in 1882, Deutsch was his only collaborator; two years later he became a director. In 1887 when the concern became the A.E.G. he was in charge of the Sales Department and gradually built up and developed the huge selling organisation which has branches all over the world. He was firmly convinced of the necessity for Germany

to maintain trade relations with Russia, and he played a part in the conclusion of the Treaty of Rapallo. He was one of the first German industrialists to renew contact with the United States and co-operated with Emil Mayrisch in the creation of the "Committee of Understanding for furthering Franco-German *rapprochement*." After the murder of Walther Rathenau he became the head of the A. E.G.

21. Sir George Frampton, R.A., aged 68, sculptor and craftsman, after studying under W. S. Frith at Lambeth, entered the Royal Academy Schools in 1881. Winning the Gold Medal and travelling studentship (in 1887), he went to Paris to work under Mercie, and after obtaining many other honours, was awarded the Medaille d'Honneur at the Paris Exposition in 1900. Amongst his earlier works may be mentioned: "Socrates Teaching the People" (1884), "The Songster" (1887), "An Act of Mercy" (1887), "In Silence Prayeth She," and "The Angel of Death" (1889), "Caprici" (1891) and "The Children of the Wolf" (1892). His revolt from white sculpture began in 1893 with *hm* relief "Mysteriarch." In the following year he became an A.R.A. Other examples of his decorative sculpture were "Mother and Child," "Lamia," and "Dame Alice Gwen." His monumental works include statues of Queen Victoria for Calcutta, Winnipeg, and various English cities; of Queen Mary for the Victoria Memorial Hall, Calcutta, and Government House, Delhi; portrait busts of King George and Queen Mary for the Guildhall. His public decorative work includes the terracotta on the Constitutional Club, the bronze ships on the exterior of Lloyd's Register, figures on St. Mary's spire, Oxford, saints on the shrine of William of Wykeham, Winchester Cathedral, the lions at the British Museum, "Peter Pan" in Kensington Gardens, and the Edith Cavell Memorial. In 1902 he was made R.A. and in 1908 he was knighted. He was President of the Royal Society of British Sculptors, 1911-11. He married Miss Christabel Cockerell. One son survived him.

26. Professor John Burnet, aged 64, Emeritus Professor of Greek at St. Andrews, was educated at the Royal High School, Edinburgh University, and Balliol College, Oxford, where he did brilliant work in Classics, and also in French, taking his degree in 1887, and becoming assistant for one year to the Professor of Greek at St. Andrews University. After two years at Harrow as assistant master and another two years in Oxford as Fellow of Merton College, he was appointed Professor of Greek at St. Andrews in 1892, a post he held till 1926 when he became Emeritus Professor. His first great work, "Early Greek Philosophy," appeared in 1892 and was regarded as epoch-making, the history of Greek philosophy being for the first time considered in closest connexion with Greek science. In 1899 he brought out an edition of "Aristotle's Ethics," a striking book in which he defends the thesis that Aristotle was not setting forth his own views but giving a dialectical exposition of current Platonism. He then devoted his time to Plato, and his edition of the "Phaedo" in 1911 prepared the way for the first volume of a "Greek Philosophy: Thales to Plato," published in 1914. He held honorary degrees of many universities, was a Fellow of the British Academy, and an hon. Fellow of Balliol and Merton. In 1925 he was appointed Sather Professor in Classical Literature at California University. He took an active interest in Scotch education, wrote a book on the subject, "Higher Education and the War," and was made Chairman of the Scottish Universities Entrance Board. He married Mary Farmer and had one daughter.

28. Charles Edward Montague, aged 61, distinguished journalist and novelist, was a son of Mr. Francis Montague and brother of Mr. C. F. Montague, the historian. He was educated at the City of London School and Balliol College, Oxford, and on taking his degree at the age of 23, joined the staff of the *Manchester Guardian*. In 1896 he became leader-writer, and when he retired from this work in 1925 he retained the directorship of the *Manchester Guardian, Ltd.* In 1910 his first book, "A Hind Let Loose," appeared, and in the following year he published "Dramatic Values," a book which testifies to his keen interest in the

theatre. In 1913 came "The Morning's War." On the outbreak of the Great War he joined the Sportsman's Battalion of the Royal Fusiliers, at the age of 47, though the official age limit was 45. He served in France during 1915, but injuries and illness obliged him to accept a captaincy on the Intelligence Staff at G.H.Q., where he acted as censor to war correspondents' despatches. He was thrice mentioned in despatches, was made O.B.E., and received a Rumanian Order. After the war he embodied his experiences at the front in "Disenchantment" (1922), "Fiery Particles" (1923), and "Rough Justice" (1926). "The Right Place" (1924) is a book of essays, and his last book, "Right off the Map" is a political and social fantasy [see ANNUAL REGISTER, 1927, p. 33]. In 1898 he married Madeline, daughter of Mr. C. P. Scott, and had five sons and two daughters.

30. **Dr. John Home, F.R.S.**, aged 80, great Scotch geologist, who was assistant director of the Geological Survey for Scotland from 1901 to 1911, was educated at the High School and University of Glasgow. He entered the service of the Scottish Geological Survey at the age of 19 and remained in it till his retirement in 1911. His work on the geology of the Isle of Man attracted the notice of Alfred Russel Wallace in 1873, and in the following year he examined the N.E. Carpathians, his report being published by the Geological Society of London. In 1876 he undertook a serious study of the Shetlands, Orkney, and Caithness, and he and Benjamin Neeve Peach, with whom he worked until the death of the latter, published a valuable series of papers between 1879 and 1884 for which they received the award of the Wollaston Fund of the Geological Society. In 1892 the Geological Society published their classical paper on the Olenellus Zone in the Highlands, establishing the pre-Cambrian age of the Torridon sandstone. Other important works were a monograph of the Cambrian coal-field (1903), "The Silurian Rocks of Britain, Vol. I.—Scotland" (1899), and special contributions to the "Geological Structure of the North-West Highlands of Scotland" (1907). In 1923 he published his "Geology of the Lower Findhorn and Lower Strath Nairn." In 1899 the Council of the Geological Society awarded the Murehison Medal to Home and Peach for their joint work, and in 1921 conferred the Wollaston Medal upon them. Home received various honorary degrees, was made F.R.S. in 1900, President of the Geological Section of the British Association in 1901, and acted as President of the Royal Society of Edinburgh from 1915 to 1919. His wife predeceased him, and he left two sons and a daughter.

JUNE.

I. **Professor Nils Gustav Nordenskjöld**, aged 58, famous as the explorer who led the Swedish Antarctic Expedition in 1902-3, came of a family interested in Polar exploration and research. He was educated at Upsala University and later became lecturer in geology there. From 1895 to 1897 he conducted a scientific expedition to Tierra del Fuego, and in 1898 travelled in Alaska and the Yukon. In 1899, in connexion with plans for the exploration of the Antarctic discussed in London at the 1895 International Geographical Congress, he planned an expedition to the south of Cape Horn, and while these plans were maturing he joined a Danish Expedition to Greenland. In 1901 he sailed for the south polar regions in the *Antarctic*. From the base camp established near Graham Land, he took systematic scientific observations and explored the coast as far as lat. 66 degrees S. In an attempt to relieve the explorers during the summer of 1902-3 the *Antarctic* was lost and Nordenskjöld and his party were rescued in 1903. On his return to Europe he lectured at the Royal Geographical Society in London and was made Professor of Geography at Gothenburg University. The scientific results of his exploration (7 volumes) were officially published in Sweden, and an English translation of his popular account of the expedition appeared in 1905 under the title "Antarctica." In 1913 he and Admiral Palandar planned a joint Anglo-Swedish

expedition to the Antarctic regions and Cape Horn, but the scheme was abandoned at the outbreak of the Great War in 1914 and was never revived. In 1920-21 Nordenskjöld led an expedition to South America for the exploration of the Peruvian and Chilean Andes.

4. Marshal Chang Tso-Lin, Northern ruler of China, was born in 1875. He was a bandit who, after acting as auxiliary to the Japanese during the Russo-Japanese War, was enrolled in the regular Chinese Army, and at the outbreak of the Revolution in 1911-12 used his power to suppress Republicanism in Mukden. In the next few years he remained Military Governor of Southern Manchuria, and helped Tuan Chi-jui to defeat the attempted Manchu restoration in 1917. In 1919 he became Inspector-General of the three Manchurian provinces and in the following year, collaborating with Wu Pei-fu and Tsao-Kun in defeating Tuan Chi-jui and the Anfu party, rose to the rank of Marshal. By 1921 he had become so powerful that he refused to obey the Peking Government's orders to attack Mongolia; in 1922 he was badly defeated in a war with Wu Pei-fu. Wars and explosions between Chang and Wu continued till the end of 1925 when Chang advanced on Peking. Wu allied himself with Chang and together they forced Feng to retreat. In 1926 Chang fell out with the Russian Bolsheviks, seized the Chinese Eastern Railway, and imprisoned the manager. In the autumn of 1926 the Nationalist Army, under Chiang-Kai-Shek, began its advance on Peking, and Chang organised the "Country Tranquillising Army" (Ankuochun), whose declared aim was peace and unity. In 1927 he was formally installed at Peking as generalissimo of the Republic of China. He had several wives and children.

13. The Marquess of Lincolnshire (Charles Robert Wynn-Carrington), K.G., aged 85, Lord Chamberlain of England, was the grandson of Baron Carrington. He was educated at Eton and Trinity College, Cambridge, and on coming down in 1861, joined the Royal Horse Guards. At the General Election of 1865 he was returned unopposed as a Liberal for High Wycombe. Three years later he succeeded to the title on the death of his father, and in 1875-76 he accompanied the Prince of Wales to India as his A.D.C. In 1881 he joined Gladstone's second Ministry as Captain of the Corps of Gentlemen-at-Arms, being appointed Governor of New South Wales in 1885. From 1892 to 1895 he held the office of Lord Chamberlain and was then created Viscount Wendover and Earl Carrington. He was for some time a Progressive member of the L.C.C. and in 1893 he was Chairman of the Welsh Land Commission. In 1901 he travelled to France, Spain, and Portugal as Special Envoy to announce King's Edward's accession. In 1905 he was again in politics as President of the Board of Agriculture in Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman's Ministry. During his term of office were passed the Agricultural Holdings Amendment Act and the Small Holdings and Allotment Act. He became Lord Privy Seal in 1911, retiring in the following year, when he was made Marquess of Lincolnshire. He was given the Garter in 1906, was also G.C.M.G. and Privy Councillor, and from 1915 to 1923 was Lord-Lieutenant of Buckinghamshire. King George V. appointed him Lord Great Chamberlain. Lord Lincolnshire was President of the National Liberal Club for twenty-five years, retiring in 1921. In 1878 he married the Hon. Cecilia Margaret Harbord, eldest daughter of the fifth Lord Suffield. They had one son who was killed in the war and four daughters of whom three survived. The marquessate, earldom, and viscounty became extinct.

14. Emmeline Pankhurst, well known as a pioneer of woman suffrage, born in 1858, was the daughter of Mr. Robert Goulden, a Manchester reformer and calico printer. She was educated for a time in Paris and in 1879 married Dr. R. M. Pankhurst (died in 1898) who shared her political views. She served on the committee for promoting the Married Women's Property Act and was a member of the Manchester Woman Suffrage Committee. In 1889 she helped to form the Women's Franchise League. She remained a Liberal till 1892 when she joined the Independent Labour Party. In 1903 she formed the Women's Social

and Political Union and two years later the militant movement was started. In 1906 the Union began a series of pilgrimages to the House of Commons. For two years (1906-8) she joined in various militant demonstrations till her arrest while carrying a petition to the Prime Minister at the House of Commons. During subsequent imprisonment in 1909 she initiated the "hunger strike" method. On her return from a lecturing tour in America and Canada she was again imprisoned (in 1912): in the following year she was arrested on a charge of felony in connexion with blowing up Mr. Lloyd George's house at Walton. She was sentenced to three years' penal servitude, but was released at intervals under the Cat and Mouse Act, until in 1914 the remainder of her term was allowed to lapse. On the outbreak of war in 1914 she and her followers declared an immediate suffrage truce, and undertook recruiting for national service in England and America. In 1917 she visited Russia, returning with strongly anti-Bolshevist views and joined the Conservative Party.

16. Lord Hambleden (William Frederick Danvers Smith), aged 59, senior partner in the firm of W. H. Smith & Son, was the son of the Right Honourable William Henry Smith on whose death in 1891 his wife was raised to the peerage as Viscountess Hambleden. The eldest son having died in infancy, his brother succeeded to the title on his mother's death in 1913. He was educated at Eton, where he rowed in the Eton Eight, and at New College, Oxford. In due course he entered the family newspaper-distributing concern, and in 1891, contesting his deceased father's seat, he was returned to the House as a Conservative for the Strand division and held the seat till 1910. He took a keen interest in the hospitals, and when his firm acquired the site occupied by King's College Hospital in the Strand, he presented the site at Denmark Hill for the establishment of a new general hospital for Central South London of which he became Chairman. He was Treasurer for the British Hospitals Association and Chairman of the London Regional Committee of that Association, which was responsible for a plan by which great industrial societies agreed to contribute some £100,000 to the voluntary hospitals. He also successfully organised the Hospital Saving Association. He was Lieutenant-Colonel of the Royal 1st Devon Yeomanry, served in Gallipoli and Egypt in 1915 and 1916, and was mentioned in despatches. In 1894 he married Lady Esther Gore, third daughter of the fifth Earl of Arran, and had three sons and two daughters.

18. Dr. Otto Hammann, aged 76, head of the Press Bureau of the German Foreign Office for many years, was the son of a Thuringian manufacturer. After serving a year in a Guard Regiment, he entered the State Service at Weimar. In 1897 he turned to journalism and contributed various political articles from Munich to numerous German newspapers, making a name for himself as a political journalist. Caprivi, the German Chancellor, appointed him Director of the Press Bureau of the Foreign Office at a time of difficulty between the Kaiser and Bismarck. He was not in favour of the Kaiser's "new course," and his books "The New Course" and "The Misunderstood Bismarck" revealed this. The rejection of the proposed alliance with England in 1898 he regarded as a serious mistake. Prince von Bulow made Hammann his adviser and confidant. In 1916 he retired.

24. Dr. John Horace Round, aged, 74, historian, was the son of John Round, squire of Bergholt, and of the daughter of Horace Smith, author of 'Rejected Addresses.' After being educated privately he went to Balliol College, Oxford, and took a first in Modern History. In 1884-85 he published in a magazine articles on "The Origin of the House of Lords," in which he argued for "that feudal origin of the House, which, in view of the teaching of Freeman and Stubbs, it was at that time heresy to assert." In 1892 he attacked Freeman's historical method in *The Quarterly Review*, at the same time establishing his reputation as a constructive historian in "Geoffrey de Mandeville." "Feudal England," a revolutionary view of the whole feudal system, appeared in 1899, as did also his "Calendar of Documents Preserved in France Illustrative of the History of Great

Britain and Ireland, 918-1206." Other series of **studies** were collected in "**The Commune of London**" (1899), and "**Studies in Peerage and Family History.**" In 1910 he published his "**Peerage and Pedigree**" in the course of which he waged ruthless war on pedigree mongers. In 1914 a new office was created by which he became honorary historical adviser to the Crown in Peerage cases. He edited a number of the Pipe Rolls, was a regular contributor to the *English Historical Review* and wrote for and helped edit the *Ancestor*. His last collective work was "**The King's Serjeants and Officers of State**" (1911). He was an Hon. L.L.D. of Edinburgh University, Lord of the Manor of West Bergholt in Essex, and a D.L. of the County.

28. Sir John Isaac Thorneycroft, F.R.S., aged 85, pioneer in naval architecture, came of a family of sculptors and was brother to Sir Hamo Thorneycroft, R.A. Deciding on an engineering career he entered Palmer's shipbuilding yard as a draughtsman and proceeded thence to Glasgow University. In 1866 he established at Chiswick the shipyard which was to become famous for high-speed launches and torpedo craft. He attracted attention in 1871 with the vessel *Miranda*, and in 1873 he launched the first torpedo boat—for the Norwegian Government. Four years later he built "**The Lightning**"—the first torpedo boat for the British Navy. In 1906 the growth in size of the torpedo-boat destroyers led to the removal of the yard from Chiswick to Woolston, Southampton. In 1916 the Admiralty placed an order for high-speed torpedo boats designed to pass over mine-fields. These were later known as the "**Scooters**," and became famous at Zeebrugge. In 1898 he established works at Basingstoke for the manufacture of motor vehicles and later he invented improvements in sugar-making machinery. In 1893 he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society, and in 1901 was made an L.L.D. of Glasgow. He received his knighthood in 1901. In 1870 he married Frances Coules, and had two sons and five daughters.

— **Professor Henry William Carless Davis,** aged 54, Regius Professor of Modern History at Oxford, was educated at Weymouth College and Balliol College, Oxford. After obtaining a distinguished classical degree, he was elected to a Fellowship at All Souls College, in 1895. From 1896 to 1897 he taught at the University College of North Wales, and from 1897 to 1899 he was lecturer at New College, returning to Balliol College in the latter year. In 1897 he won the Lothian Prize for an essay on Benedict XIV. In 1902 he was appointed Fellow and Tutor of Modern History at Balliol College, serving also as Junior Dean, and on the Board of the History Faculty and the General Board of Faculties. From 1913 he was a Curator of the Bodleian Library, and from 1920 a Delegate of the University Press. In 1921 he became Professor of Modern History at Manchester University and remained there till 1925, when he was appointed Regius Professor at Oxford, and, among other tilings, was given the editorial direction of the Dictionary of National Biography, which had been taken over by the Oxford University Press. Of his writings before the war mention may be made of "**A History of Balliol College**," "**A Life of Charlemagne**," "**England under the Normans and Angevins**" (1905), and "**Mediaeval Europe**" (1911). In 1913 he published a new edition of Stubbs' *Select Charters* and the first volume of a calendar of Anglo-Norman Royal Charters, the completion of which was stopped by the war, at the outbreak of which he was made Deputy-Chairman of the War Trade Intelligence Department. His business there was to draft for the Cabinet a daily minute of the progress of the commercial blockade. In 1918 he was created C.B.E, for his war services. He attended the Peace Conference in Paris in 1919 as a member of the British Delegation. Amongst his later writings may be mentioned a massive exposition of Treitschke's "**Political Thought**" (1914), the editing of the **Oxford War Pamphlets**—a comprehensive statement of the Allied cause—and his contribution to the History of the Peace Conference. His inaugural lecture as Regius Professor in 1925 insisted on a systematic study of Nineteenth Century **History**. In 1926 he delivered the Raleigh lecture on "**The Great Game in Asia**." In 1925

he was elected an Hon. Fellow of Balliol and a Fellow of the British Academy. In 1912 he married Rosa Jennie Lindup, who survived him with three sons.

29. Richard Whiteing, aged 87, journalist and novelist, was educated privately and trained as a medal engraver. In 1866 he took up journalism and contributed to the *Evening Star* a series of satirical sketches, afterwards re-published as "Mr. Sprouts—His Opinions." Eventually he joined the staff of the *Manchester Guardian* and became its Paris correspondent. During his time in Paris he also contributed to the *New York World*, *The Daily News*, and Edmund Yates's *World*. In 1886 he returned to London and joined the editorial staff of the *Daily News*, which he resigned in 1899 to devote himself to fiction. His earlier novels were "The Democracy" (1876), "The Island" (1888), and "No. 5 John Street" (1899). This last work made his reputation. In 1900 he published "The Life of Paris." His later works were either fiction, essays, or a mixture of both, and included "The Yellow Van" (1903), "Ring in the New" (1906), "All Moonshine" (1907), and "Little People" (1908), in all of which he exalts the worker at the expense of the employer or landlord. In 1915 he published a volume of reminiscences entitled "My Harvest." In 1869 he married Helen Harris, who predeceased him.

JULY.

1. Professor Edgar March Crookshank, aged 69, eminent as a bacteriologist, first studied under Professor Ray Lankester at University College, London, and then proceeded to King's College to specialise in biology and anatomy. After obtaining an exhibition and a gold medal in anatomy at the University of London he took his M.B. degree with honours. He worked under the late Lord Lister, and in 1882 was selected for duties in antiseptic surgery by Sir James Hanbury, principal medical officer of the Egyptian Expedition. In 1885 he went to Berlin to undertake bacteriological research, and in 1886 published his first work, "A Manual of Bacteriology." In the same year he was appointed Professor of Bacteriology in King's College, and founded there the first laboratory in this country for research and instruction in bacteriology and comparative pathology. His next work was "Photographs of Bacteria." He also researched for the Government, his findings being published in the annual reports of the Board of Agriculture. He was elected a Fellow of King's College, was made Emeritus Professor in 1889, and became a Governor of the Royal Agricultural Society. In the same year he published "The History and Pathology of Vaccination" (2 vols.).

3. Eugene Ritter, aged 92, Emeritus Professor of French Language and Literature at Geneva University, specialised in the genealogical connexions of Rousseau, Voltaire, Alexander Binet, and other Genevan families. In 1906 with Bernard Bouvier he founded the Rousseau Society. Among his various Rousseau studies may be mentioned "Rousseau's Childhood and Family" (1906), in which he traces the influence of the German pietists in Switzerland. For his two philological-literary works, "Four French Dictionaries" (1905), and "History of the French Language" (1874-1907), he was made a corresponding member of the Paris Academy of Science. He also wrote "J. J. Rousseau and Mme. de Houedet," and edited Ludwig von Muralt's "Letters on the French and English," "Unedited Letters of Madame de Stael to Henri Meister," and a book on Charles Ritter (1911).

8. Henry Yates Thompson, art collector and at one time owner of the *Pall Mall Gazette*, was born in 1838. He was educated at Harrow whence after a distinguished career he went in 1860 to Trinity College, Cambridge. He served as an assistant master at Harrow for a short time, entered Lincoln's Inn in 1862, and was eventually called to the Bar in 1867. Meanwhile he travelled extensively, and on returning to England in 1865 made three unsuccessful attempts to enter

Parliament. After the General Election of 1868 he became private secretary to Lord Spencer, Viceroy of Ireland, and espoused the cause of Home Rule. When his father-in-law, George Smith, made over the *Pall Mall Gazette* to him, he converted it into a Liberal paper, but it was never recognised by the Liberal Party and was never a lucrative property. It finally regained its Conservative colour on being sold to Lord Astor. Thompson then began to remake the collection of rare books and manuscripts left him by his grandfather, Joseph Brooks Yates. When he offered the whole collection for sale by auction at Sotheby's, it fetched at three sales just under £150,000. He presented the St. Omer Psalter to the British Museum and Josephus' "Anciennetes des Juifs" with miniatures by Jean Fouquet to the French nation. Various public institutions benefited by his generosity, including Harrow School, receiving an Art School, and Newnham College, a Library. In 1878 he married the eldest daughter of the late George Smith, the publisher.

11. **Sir George Alfred Wills, Bt.**, aged 74, President of the Imperial Tobacco Company of Great Britain and Ireland, was the eldest son of Mr. Henry Overton Wills and was educated at Mill Hill School. In 1874 he joined the family tobacco business of W. D. & H. O. Wills, and became a managing director until it was merged in the Imperial Tobacco Company of Great Britain and Ireland, when he was made Deputy-Chairman of the new company. In 1911 he became Chairman and in 1924 he retired after having been knighted the preceding year. His munificent gifts to Bristol University included one sum of £110,000 and another of £25,000 for a residential hall for men students as a memorial to his late brother. He was pro-Chancellor of the University which made him an hon. L.L.D. He was also hon. D.C.L. of Oxford. His large benefactions to Bristol University and town were very numerous. In 1921 he was made a freeman of Bristol.

13. **Austin Frederic Harrison**, aged 55, journalist and writer, was the son of Frederic Harrison. Educated at Harrow, Lausanne, Marburg, and Berlin, he worked as a foreign correspondent in Berlin and Vienna, representing Reuter's Agency in Berlin for five years. In 1905 he became joint editor of the *Observer*, and in 1908 (when Garvin became editor) he retained the literary editorship until two years later when he became editor of the *English Review*. He introduced to the public various authors, including John Masefield, whose "Everlasting Mercy" first appeared in the *English Review*, D. H. Lawrence, and H. M. Tomlinson. In 1923 he relinquished his financial and editorial interest in the *Review* and contributed to it articles on foreign affairs. At the end of 1912 he published "The Kaiser's War," depicting the nature of the worship of force. In 1919 appeared a jeremiad called "Before and Now," and in 1925 "Pandora's Hope," a study of woman through the ages. He married an American, Mary Medora Greening, and had a son and two daughters.

16. **Sir Frank Sly, K.C.S.I.**, aged 62, first Governor of the Central Provinces after the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms, was educated at Balliol College, Oxford, and passed into the I.C.S. in 1885. First appointed to the Central Provinces, he went, in 1885, to headquarters as Under-Secretary in the Department of Revenue and Agriculture. In 1898 he returned to the Central Provinces as a deputy commissioner, and in 1901 he was made Commissioner of Settlements and Agriculture. From 1904 to 1907 he was Inspector-General of Agriculture. Under his auspices the Pusa Research Institute was established. In 1907 he was Director of Agriculture, and in the following year he officiated as Commissioner of Berar. From 1912 to 1920 he was engaged on various public inquiries, including the Islington Commission on the Public Services in India. He was on Lord Southborough's committee formed in connexion with the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms, and early in 1920 he succeeded Sir Benjamin Robertson as Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces. The Provinces became the object of special attack by the All-India Swarajist leaders, and late in 1920, and again in 1923, political riots broke out in

Nagpur. In the second Indian General Election (1924) the Swarajists wrecked the dyarchical Government, and Sly continued to administer the Central Provinces with an Executive Council on unitary lines until his retirement early in 1925. In 1911 he was created C.S.I., and in 1918 K.C.S.I.

17. Giovanni Giolitti, aged 85, veteran of Italian politics and five times Prime Minister, was educated at Turin University where he graduated in Law in 1861. After five years' legal experience in Turin, he was made substitute to the King's Procurator in that city. He was Minister of Justice and then of Finance under Vigliani. In 1882 he was made Counsellor of Stato by Oopretis, entering the Chamber of Deputies in the same year. In 1889 he became Minister of Finance in the Crispi Cabinet; and in 1892 he was appointed Prime Minister, retaining the portfolio of the Interior. He fell on the disclosures revealed in connexion with the frauds of the Banco Romano, although in no way implicated therein. He attacked Crispi's Cabinet, and the Prime Minister bringing a libel action against him, he was obliged to leave the country. On his return he re-entered the Chamber and was Minister of the Interior under Zanardetto. In 1903 he again became Prime Minister—for two years; and once more in 1906, remaining in power till 1909, when opposition to his scheme of levying a graduated tax on incomes brought about his fall. In 1911 he formed his fourth Cabinet, the main plank in his programme being a plan of electoral reform amounting almost to universal suffrage. In 1914 he resigned in favour of Salandra, and in 1915 he went to Rome to rally the "neutralists" in an attempt to keep Salandra from entering the war. Formidable demonstrations in favour of participation caused his retirement in 1917. In 1919 he made his famous election speech, known as the "Piscorso di Dronero," in which he outlined his future policy and explained his past. On the fall of the Nitti Cabinet, in 1920, he came into power, and succeeded with Count Sforza in carrying through the Treaty of Rapallo.

— **General Obregon**, former President of Mexico, who was assassinated at a banquet at San Angel, was born in 1880 of mixed Basque and Yaqui stock. As a boy he worked as a carpenter and mechanic and later he engaged in farming and stock raising. He was elected President of the Municipality of Huatabampo, under the Federal Government of Madero. On the latter's assassination, he joined Carranza against Huerta in 1913, and won general's rank by defeating the President. In 1914 he led the Constitutional forces in the West in a successful campaign and entered the Capital. He then became Minister of War under Carranza. In 1915 he defeated Pancho Villa, Carranza's revolted ally; and when, in 1920, Carranza was murdered under mysterious circumstances, Obregon began his four year term of office. His policy was nationalist, radical, and anti-clerical, and in 1923 he was able to secure recognition by the U.S.A. He was succeeded by President Calles under whom were serious Catholic revolts. In 1926 Calles co-operated with Obregon in amending the Constitution to admit of the re-election of an ex-president, and Obregon was to have assumed office at the end of 1928 for a term of six years. His assassination wrecked the possibility.

20. Mohamed Pasha Said, twice Prime Minister of Egypt, took office under Boutros Pasha Ghali in 1908 and succeeded him as Prime Minister in 1910. He dealt successfully with the wave of sedition in 1910 and effected various administrative reforms, including the extension of the system of provincial government. In 1919 he was again head of the Ministry, this time of a non-political Ministry. His attempted assassination in that year was unsuccessful. The revolutionary movement increased, and before the arrival of the Milner Commission he tendered the resignation of the Cabinet to Lord Allenby. In 1924 he joined Zaghlul's Cabinet as Minister of Education, becoming Minister of Justice shortly afterwards, and acting Prime Minister during Zaghlul's absence a few months later. He left office in 1924, and in 1925 resigned his membership of the Wafd as he did not approve of Zaghlul's policy. He stood at the General Election as an independent candidate for Alexandria, and was returned with five Zaghluliate.

21. Dame Ellen Terry, aged 80, famous as a great actress, was the second of three sisters, who, with their brother, Fred, made up a famous theatrical family. Their parents were well-known provincial actors, and Ellen was chosen at the age of 8 by Charles Kean to play Mamillius in the "Winter's Tale" at the Princess Theatre. She remained with him several years. In 1860 she joined the Chutes' Stock Company at Bristol, and in 1863 she returned to London to play Gertrude in "A Little Treasure" at the Haymarket and also Beatrice in "Much Ado." For two years she left the stage; in 1867 she played with Henry Irving in "The Taming of the Shrew." In the following year she again retired, until 1874, when she returned to the Queen's Theatre in Long Acre. In the following year she was engaged by the Bancrofts to play Portia in "The Merchant of Venice" at the Prince of Wales' Theatre. Here she also played in "Money," and "Masks and Faces." She then joined John Hare's management at the Old Court where she appeared as Olivia in "The Vicar of Wakefield." In 1878 Irving took over the Lyceum, and he and Ellen Terry remained together for over thirteen years. Here she achieved many a triumph, including "Ophelia," Viola in "Twelfth Night," and "Beatrice." Her most distinct failure was as Madame Sans Gene. In 1901 she left the Lyceum and had a short season of her own at the Imperial Theatre in 1903. In later years she played Mistress Page in the "Merry Wives," Lady Cecily Waynflete in "Captain Brassbound's Conversion" and appeared in "Alice-sit-by-the-Fire" and "Pinky and the Fairies." In 1906 she celebrated the 50th anniversary of her first appearance on the stage, at the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane. In 1922 she received the hon. degree of LL.D. at St. Andrews, and in 1925 the Grand Cross of the Order of the British Empire. Ellen Terry was married three times; first, in 1864 to G. F. Watts, the painter; secondly, to Mr. Craig, by whom she had a son and a daughter, both of whom survived her; and thirdly, to Mr. James Carew, who likewise survived her.

AUGUST.

3. The **Right Hon. Syed Ameer Ali**, C.I.E., the first Indian member of the Privy Council, was an Arab by race, and was born in 1849. After graduating at Hooghli College, Calcutta, in 1867, he studied law at the Inner Temple and was called to the Bar in 1873. At the age of 24 he published his first Islamic work, "A Critical Examination of the Life and Teachings of Mahomed." This was followed, in 1889, by his "Short History of the Saracens," and in 1893 by "The Spirit of Islam" and "The Ethics of Islam," whereby he gained for himself a recognised position as an interpreter of the Islamic code. After practising at the Calcutta Bar, he was appointed a Stipendiary Presidency magistrate, and in 1884 he was elected to the Tagore Professorship of Law at Calcutta University. He wrote several books on law which became recognised as standard works, and in 1890 he was appointed a judge of the Bengal High Court, being the first Mahomedan to receive this distinction. In 1904 he retired and settled in England. In 1909 he was sworn a Privy Councillor, and appointed to serve on the Council's judicial committee. His Moslem memorial to the Government in 1883 led eventually to the formation of the All-India Moslem League. Of keen pro-Turkish sympathies, his criticisms of the Allied policy in the Near East after the Great War led to a revision of the Turkish peace terms. In 1887 he received the C.I.E. and he was an LL.D. of Cambridge. He married Isabelle Konstarn and two sons survived him.

8. **Stephen Raditch**, leader of the Croat Peasant Party, came of a poor peasant family and was educated at Zagreb and Prague. At the age of 17 a visit to Kieff brought him into touch with Russian Social revolutionary thought, and after completing his education at the Ecole des Sciences Appliquees in Paris, he devoted himself to the emancipation of the peasants of Eastern Europe and the ultimate union of the Slav races under Russia's leadership. In 1904 he

founded the Croat Peasant Party and vigorously resisted the disintegrating policy of the Magyars. During the Great War he adopted the Hapsburg cause, refused to recognise union with Serbia and demanded a Croatian Republic. His opposition to the successive Belgrade Governments became increasingly violent and uncompromising. In 1925 he was imprisoned on a charge of high treason, and six months later he recognised the Constitution, acclaimed King Alexander, and became a Minister. He attacked his own Cabinet vigorously, and after a few months the combination of its composition broke up.

11. **Dr. Hugh Hale Leigh Bel lot**, aged 67, specialist in international law, was the son of William Henry Bellot, M.D., F.R.C.S. After being educated at Leamington and Trinity College, Oxford, he was called to the Bar by the Inner Temple in 1890. He had a general practice, but in later years devoted himself to international jurisprudence. He was secretary to the Grotius Society, honorary secretary to the International Law Association, and one of the secretaries to the Attorney-General's Committee, appointed in 1918, to deal with the breaches of the laws of war. He was the author of various legal text-books, and was for a time Acting Professor of Constitutional Law at London University. He died while attending the International Law Conference at Warsaw. He was married and left one son.

13. **Leo's Janac'ek**, Czech musical composer, was born in 1854. His work was mainly done in Brno, and it was twelve years before his first opera, "Jenufa," reached Prague, being performed also in Berlin, Vienna, and the Metropolitan Opera House of New York. This was followed by five operas, one of which, "Mr. Broucek's Excursions," was produced at the National Opera House, in 1926 he came to London, but owing to the General Strike his concert attracted little attention. His interpretation in this country is largely due to Mrs. Rosa Newmarch. Sir Henry Wood gave a performance of his "Sinfonietta." Other works of his performed in this country include a cycle of songs called "The Daybook of One Who Vanished," a suite for wind instruments called "Youth," and his last opera, "The Makropulos Affair."

16. **Sir George Otto Trevelyan, O.M.**, historian and one-time Liberal Minister, born in 1838, was the nephew of Lord Macaulay. He went to Harrow in 1851, and six years later won a scholarship to Trinity College, Cambridge. After a brilliant academic career, he joined his father's staff in India in 1862, and wrote three successful stories of India, "The Dawk Bungalow," "The Competition Wallah," and "Cawnpore"—the last a gnm picture of the Mutiny. Returning to England, he was elected Liberal M.P. for Tynemouth in 1865, and three years later represented the Hawick Burghs until 1887 when he transferred to a Glasgow division, which he represented till his retirement in 1897. In 1868 he was appointed Civil Lord of the Admiralty and in 1880 he became Secretary to the Department. In 1882 he succeeded Lord Frederick Cavendish as Chief Secretary of Ireland, and two years later he was transferred to the Chancellorship of the Duchy of Lancaster, with a seat in the Cabinet. He was mainly responsible for the Franchise Bill of 1885, extending household suffrage to the Counties. In the first Home Rule Parliament he was Secretary of State for Scotland, but resigned after a short time, resuming the post in 1891. Amongst his best-known biographies are, "Life and Letters of Lord Macaulay" (1876), "The Early History of Charles James Fox" (1880), and "The American Revolution" (six vols.). In 1869 he married Caroline Philips, who died in 1928. Three sons survived him.

19. **Viscount Haldane of Cloan (Richard Burdon Haldane)**, aged 72, statesman and philosopher, came of an old Scottish family, and was educated at Edinburgh and Gottingen Universities. After a distinguished academic career, he was called to the Bar by Lincoln's Inn, and in 1883 became assistant to Lord Da,vey in his large and varied practice as a Lord of Appeal in Ordinary. He

gradually obtained a large junior practice in the Privy Council, and in 1885 he entered the House of Commons as Liberal member for Haddingtonshire. In 1887 he took silk and specialised in the Court of Appeal, the House of Lords, and the Privy Council, his two most famous triumphs being Lord Cowley's case in 1899 and *Brandt v. Dunlop Rubber Co.* in 1905. In Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman's Ministry he became Secretary of State for War, and in 1907 succeeded in getting the Act passed whereby his scheme of Territorial and Reserve forces came into being. His method of organisation enabled an Expeditionary Force of 160,000 to be "in position" in 1914 within twelve days of the declaration of war. He thoroughly re-organised the formation of the Regular Army and created the Officers Training Corps. His schemes were accompanied by a reduction of the Army Estimates by 2,000,000l. When, in later years, the effect of his work at the War Office became visible, it was claimed by reliable authorities that he was the greatest War Minister the country had ever had. In 1911 he was created Viscount Haldane of Cloan, and in 1912 he went on a mission to Germany in connexion with which he was adversely criticised for not introducing compulsory national service on his return. In 1912 he became Lord Chancellor, and held the position till 1915, when he was excluded from the First Coalition then formed. In 1922 he joined the Labour Party, and two years later entered the Labour Cabinet as Lord Chancellor. Apart from politics and the law courts, he was an educationist and philosopher. He presided over the Royal Commission on London University which sat in 1909 and reported in 1913. In philosophy his aim was to interpret modern science in the light of the Hegelian philosophy. In 1883 he published a volume, "Essays in Philosophical Criticism," the theories of which he developed more fully in his Gifford Lectures delivered at St. Andrews University in 1902-3 and published later as "The Pathway of Reality." Under the influence of Einstein, in 1921 he published "The Reign of Relativity," and the same theme is treated in "The Philosophy of Humanism" (1922). His last book was "Human Experience: A Study of its Structure" (1926). In 1913 he was created a Knight of the Thistle, and in 1915 he received the Order of Merit. From 1905 to 1908 he was Rector of Edinburgh University; he was also Chancellor of the Universities of Bristol and St. Andrews, hon. D.C.L. of Oxford and Durham, and LL.D. of the principal British Universities and of McGill University, and hon. Ph. D. of Gottingen. He was elected F.R.S. in 1906. He was unmarried.

19. Stephen Skouloudis, one of the founders of the Banque de Constantinople, and Prime Minister of Greece during the Great War, was born in 1836. He was an Ottoman by birth, and on his retirement from business settled in Athens and became an Hellenic subject. He was several times elected to the Chamber, and in 1883 was Hellenic Minister at the Court of King Alphonso XII. In 1892 he was Minister of Marine in the sixth Trikoupis Cabinet, and in 1897 joined M. Ralli's Cabinet as Minister for Foreign Affairs; he resigned in the same year. In 1912 he was selected by M. Venizelos to head the Greek delegation to the Balkan League, which was to negotiate in London with the defeated Turks. In 1915 he accepted office as Prime Minister, resolved on a policy of benevolent neutrality towards the Entente Powers. Difficulties, however, arose with the Allies, and for six months he struggled to satisfy both the Entente and the Central Powers, resigning in June, 1916.

20. George Harvey, born in 1864 and at one time United States Ambassador at the Court of St. James, had a distinguished career as a journalist before he entered public life. He began as a reporter on the *Springfield Republican*, and at the age of 27 was selected managing editor of the *New York World*. In 1899 he purchased the *North American Review* and also became head of Harper Bros., publishers. For fifteen years he was both president and editor of *Harpers Weekly*. During the war he brought out *Harvey's Weekly*, attacking President Wilson's policies and administration. He had sponsored Wilson's presidency, but during the war drifted towards the Republican Party, and was bitterly opposed to the League of Nations. In 1920 he sponsored Harding's presidency,

and came to England in the following year to explain America's attitude with regard to the League and Allied debts, doing much to improve relations and further understanding between the two countries.

25. **A. MacCallum** Scott, at one time a member of Parliament, was born in 1874 and killed in an aeroplane accident in Canada. Educated at Falkirk High School and graduating in 1879 from Glasgow University, he took up journalistic and political work in London, and for three years served as Secretary of the League of Liberals against Aggression and Militarism, and then as Secretary of the New Reform Club. From 1910 till 1922 he sat in the House of Commons as Liberal member for a Glasgow division. During the Coalition he was a follower of Mr. Lloyd George, and in 1917 he was made Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Munitions, and afterwards followed Mr. Churchill to the War Office. In 1922 he became Coalition Liberal Whip for Scotland, but lost his seat at the General Election. In 1924 he joined the Labour Party. He travelled extensively, and his books on travel include "Through Finland to St. Petersburg," "Licensing in Scandinavia," "Beyond the Baltic,"^k "Suomi, the I. and of the Finns," and a book on Moscow entitled "Barbary." In 1910 he married the eldest daughter of Dr. Hutchison, formerly Rector of the High School of Glasgow.

30. **Franz von Stuck**, aged 65, German painter and sculptor, represented the modern Munich School. He was trained in the Munich Academy, and later became a professor there. He attracted notice by his illustrations for "Fliegende Blätter," and the success of his first picture, "The Warder of Paradise," in 1889, decided him to take up painting. Amongst other of his works are "Sin" and "War" at Munich; "The Sphinx," "The Crucifixion," "Paradise Lost," "Edipus" and "Lucifer." He also attained considerable success as a sculptor.

SEPTEMBER.

1. **Maurice Bokanowski**, French Minister of Commerce and Director of Civil Aviation, who met his death in an aeroplane disaster, was born of a Polish-Jewish family in 1879. He practised law at the Paris Court of Appeal, and in 1914 was returned to the Chamber as member for a Seine constituency in the interests of the Republican Left. During the Great War he was four times mentioned in despatches, and received the Legion of Honour and the Croix de Guerre. In 1916 he undertook various military missions in Greece and the Near East, and was later employed as organiser by the Ministry of War. In 1919 he was returned to the Chamber for his old constituency and was made rapporteur of the Budget and afterwards president of the Finance Committee of the Chamber. In 1924 he was appointed Minister of Marine and instituted important reforms in the French Navy. On the arrival into power of M. Herriot and the Cartel in 1924, he passed into Opposition. In 1925 he accompanied M. Caillaux to Washington for the debt negotiations. When the Cartel gave way to the National Union under Poincaré he became Minister of Commerce, and at the General Election of 1928 he was triumphantly returned by St. Denis (Asnières).

3. **Captain Roald Amundsen**, the Norwegian explorer, whose death must be presumed to have taken place during his relief expedition to the *Italia*, was born in 1871. Abandoning his medical studies at an early age in order to train for Polar work, he was engaged as mate of the Belgian Antarctic Expedition of 1897-99. In 1903 he started on his expedition aiming at the accomplishment of the North-West Passage and the re-location of the Magnetic North Pole; the expedition lasted three years and was successful. His second achievement was the conquest of the South Pole, and during 1911 *The Fram* landed on the Great Ice Barrier at a point where the Scott expedition almost simultaneously had established a base, and the two explorers found themselves in competition. At the end of the year, more favoured than Scott, he planted the Norwegian flag

at the South Pole and made a triumphant return. In 1918 he proceeded on an Arctic expedition in *The Maud*, and in the course of 1918-20 completed the navigation of the North-East Passage. In 1922 he planned an aeroplane flight across the North Pole, from Alaska, and two years later arrangements were made to carry through the plan; in 1925 he began the flight from King's Bay, Spitzbergen, but after 600 miles the attempt had to be abandoned. In the following year he carried out the flight in the airship *Norge I.*, which passed directly over the Pole and landed on the Alaskan coast 72 hours after leaving Spitzbergen. His days of exploration ended with this feat until the plight of the Italian airship *Italia* called him to attempt its rescue in the Latham seaplane.

8. **Count UI rich Brockdorff Rantzau**, aged 59, German Ambassador to the Soviet Republic, after studying jurisprudence and then obtaining a commission in the First Regiment of Foot Guards, entered the Diplomatic Service in 1894. In 1909 he was appointed Consul-General in Budapest, and in 1912 became Minister in Copenhagen and held this post till 1918. During the Great War he was in touch with various international peace-promoting agencies, and after the German collapse he was appointed Foreign Minister in the Revolutionary Government of December, 1918, and was confirmed in this appointment in February, 1919. He led the German Delegation to the Peace Conference at Versailles and resigned rather than sign the Peace Treaty. After the Treaty of Rapallo he resumed his political career by leading the German Peace Delegation to Moscow, and in 1922 he was appointed Ambassador to the Soviet Republic.

11. **Colonel Sir Edward Ward**, aged 74, who will be remembered as one of the greatest supply officers in the history of the British Army, was the only son of John Ward, Captain in the Royal Navy. Educated privately, he entered the Army as a departmental officer, served with the Sudan Expedition in 1885, and won promotion to the rank of Assistant-Commissary-General. After distinguished service at home, Lord Wolseley, in 1899, at the outbreak of the South African War, sent him out as chief supply officer in Natal, and it was his organisation that made it possible for Laclaysmith to hold out. On the relief of that town Lord Roberts sent him to Cape Town, and the advance on Pretoria was successful owing to his organisation of reserves. For his services he was made K.C.B. and a Colonel. After the Boer War he was appointed Permanent Under-Secretary of State at the War Office, and under him the militarisation of the clerical staff there was carried out. He took a keen interest in Haldane's reforms and the formation of the O.T.C. In 1907 he was made K.C.V.O. In 1914, as Secretary of the Army Council, he was defendant in a libel action; the decision, adverse to him, was reversed in the Court of Appeal, and the reversal upheld in the House of Lords. In 1914 he retired from the War Office and was created a baronet, afterwards joining the Boards of the Employers' Liability Assurance Corporation and the Modern Transport Company. At the outbreak of the Great War he organised the special constabulary and was appointed Director-General of Volunteer Organisations. In 1919 he was created G.B.E. He was an officer of the Legion of Honour and Knight of Grace of the Order of St. John. In 1880 he married Florence Caroline Simons, and two sons survived him.

16. **Sir Theodore Andrea Cook**, aged 61, journalist and art critic, was educated at King Alfred's School, Wantage, and Radley. Going up to Wadham College, Oxford, he distinguished himself at rowing and fencing; in 1891 he founded the Oxford University Fencing Club. His introduction to journalism came about through Sir Charles Dilke, at whose suggestion he obtained an interview in 1897 with King Oscar II. for the *New York World*. Two years later he became assistant to the editor of the *St. James's Gazette*, and in 1899 he became editor, but resigned very soon owing to differences with the proprietor. He then wrote for the *Standard*, the *Daily Express*, and the *Daily Telegraph*, chiefly on fencing and rowing, under the title of "Old Blue." As captain of the English

fencing team he visited Paris in 1903 and Athens in 1906 for the Olympic Games, and organised those for London in 1908. In 1910 he became editor of the *Field*, and owing to his point of view as regards the place of sport during war, received his knighthood in 1916. He wrote various books on French architecture, horse-racing, French history and topography, including "Old Provence," "A History of the English Turf," "The Art and Science of the Oar." His books on art include "Leonardo da Vinci, Sculptor" and "The Curves of Life."

21. **Abdel Khalek Pasha Sarwat**, a distinguished Egyptian statesman, was born in 1873, and was educated at Cairo for the legal profession. After taking his degree he became legal secretary to the Daira Sanieh Administration, and afterwards secretary to the Judicial Adviser, Sir John Scott. In 1905 he was appointed Vice-President of the Court of Kena, and in 1908 he was named Governor (Mudir) of Assiut and promoted to the grade of Pasha. A year later he was appointed Procureur-General of the Native Courts, a post which for years had been held by European officials. He prosecuted the case for the Government against the alleged murderer of Butros Pasha Ohali, Prime Minister, and at the formation of Rushdi Pasha's Cabinet in 1914 he became Minister of Justice. He was a Nationalist and resigned in 1919. In 1921 he joined Adley Pasha's Cabinet as Minister of the Interior, and acted as Prime Minister during his chief's absence in London. After the deadlock of 1921 following on Lord Curzon's Note, he succeeded in obtaining the Declaration of 1922 whereby Britain recognised the sovereignty of Egypt. He then became Prime Minister, but won the enmity of Zaghlul Pasha. He resigned at the end of 1922 over a dispute with King Fuad as to the latter's power under the New Constitution. In 1925 he was made the Government's candidate for the Presidency of the Chamber but was defeated by the Zaghlulists. In 1926 he returned to office as Minister for Foreign Affairs under Adley Pasha, and, on the latter's defeat, became Prime Minister under Zaghlul, to whom he had been reconciled. He came to England to negotiate with the Foreign Office, but resigned in 1928, his Government being unable to sign the proposed Treaty of Alliance between Britain and Egypt, as incompatible with the latter's independence and sovereignty.

— **Sir Horace Darwin**, inventor of scientific instruments, born in 1851, was the fifth son of Charles and Emma Darwin. He was educated at Trinity College, Cambridge, where he read mathematics with distinction, and on coming down, entered the engineering works of Easton & Anderson. He designed his first scientific instrument—the Klinostat—while an apprentice, and it was used for many years in the Botanical Laboratory at Cambridge. Returning to Cambridge he joined the late A. G. Dew Smith in producing instruments for Sir Francis Galton and for seismological purposes. He was a member of the Seismological Committee of the British Association. One of his most important inventions was the design for the rocking microtome. The partners also reproduced illustrations for scientific journals. After ten years Dew Smith retired, and the instrument-making side of the business was converted into a company in 1895 under the style of Cambridge Scientific Instrument Co. Ltd., with Darwin as chairman. He was Mayor of Cambridge in 1896-97 and did much to promote good relations between Town and University. He was a member of the Board of Electors to the Professorship of Engineering and furthered the growth of the Engineering School. In 1903 he was elected F.R.S. and in 1919 served on the Royal Commission to inquire into the administration of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. Before the war he was a member of the Advisory Committee on Aeronautics and designed certain of the instruments required by machines in flight. During the war he developed this side of the business, and in 1917 he became Chairman of the Air Inventions Committee. In the following year he was made K.B.E. In 1923 he helped to endow a studentship at Cambridge for the study of mental diseases. In 1880 he married the Hon Emma Cecilia Farrer, daughter of the first Lord Farrer. Two daughters survived him.

27. Sir Henry Alexander Wickham, founder of the plantation rubber industry, was born in 1845. As a planter in Brazil he experimented with rubber trees from seeds gathered in forests, but his schemes were regarded by capitalists as industrially visionary. In 1872 he published "A Journey Through the Wilderness," and in 1876, through the instrumentality of Sir Joseph Hooker, Director of Kew Gardens, he was commissioned by the India Office to collect seeds of the "Hevea Braziliensis." By duping the Brazilian Government he was able to hand over the required seeds to Kew Gardens and then to inaugurate the plantation rubber industry from the 70,000 Hevea plants there grown. He was at one time Inspector of Forests and Commissioner of Crown Lands in India; he also explored and became a pioneer planter in Central America, Australia, New Guinea, and the Pacific Isles. In 1920 he received a knighthood. In 1871 he married Violet Cave, daughter of Mr. C. Carter.

OCTOBER.

1. Sir Lawrence Jenkins, aged 69, former Chief Justice of Bombay and of Bengal, was educated at Cheltenham and University College, Oxford, whence he graduated in Jurisprudence in 1881. In 1883 he was called to the Bar by Lincoln's Inn, and after practising for some time, in 1896 he accepted a judgeship in the High Court of Calcutta. Three years later he was promoted to the Chief Justiceship of Bombay and in 1903 he was created K.C.I.E. Sir Lawrence also played an important part in the political and social development of India; in 1908 Lord Morley persuaded him to relinquish his judgeship and to join the Council of India, on which he gave keen support in shaping the Morley-Minto reforms. After six months at the India Office, Lord Minto sent him out again as Chief Justice of Calcutta. At the outbreak of the Great War he organised the Prize Court at Calcutta with conspicuous ability. In 1916 he retired and was appointed a member of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. In 1924 he served as a member of the Board under the Presidency of Lord Dunedin, concerned with the position of the Irish Boundary Commission. In 1892 he married Catherine, second daughter of Mr. Andrew Brown Kennedy, by whom he had one son.

1. Lord Strathclyde (Alexander Ure), born in 1853, at one time Lord President of the Court of Session and Lord-Justice-General in Scotland, but still better known as Lord Advocate during the Oscar Slater case, was the son of Mr. John Ure, Lord Provost of Glasgow. He was educated at Helensburgh and at the Universities of Glasgow and Edinburgh; and was called to the Scottish Bar in 1878. In the same year he was appointed Lecturer on Constitutional Law at Glasgow University, holding the post for ten years. In 1897 he became a Q.C. In 1895 he entered Parliament for West Lothian, a seat he retained for eighteen years. In 1906 he was appointed Solicitor-General for Scotland and in 1909 became Lord Advocate and energetically supported Lloyd George's Budget of that year. In 1910 he undertook the prosecution of Oscar Slater, securing a verdict of "Guilty" which was quashed in 1927 on the ground of his unjustifiable use of evidence against the accused's character. In 1913 he was made Lord President of the Court of Session and Lord-Justice-General. During the Great War he acted as Chairman of the Scottish War Savings Committee in Edinburgh and in 1917 was created G.B.E. In 1920 he retired. He married a daughter of Mr. Thomas Steven, and had one daughter who predeceased him.

14. Rt. Hon. Sir Edward Ridley, aged 85, former Judge of the High Court, was the second son of Sir Matthew White Ridley. Educated at Harrow, he went up in 1862 to Corpus Christi College, Oxford, and after a distinguished academic career was elected Fellow of All Souls College. In 1868 he was called to the Bar by the Inner Temple, and practised mainly on the N.E. circuit. In 1878 he

sat as Conservative member for South Northumberland, but lost his seat in 1880. In 1886 he was appointed Official Referee, taking silk in 1891. Five years later he was appointed to a puisne judgeship. After twenty years of service—during which his judgments were frequently impugned by political adversaries—he retired from the Bench and was sworn of the Privy Council. He established a reputation as a scholar by his blank verse translation of Lucan's "*Pharsalia*" (1896). In 1882 he married Alice, daughter of William Bromley Davenport, who survived him with two sons.

16. Benjamin Strong, Governor of the Federal Reserve Bank of New York, was born in 1872 and began his business career as a clerk in a Wall Street Bank. On the formation of the Bankers' Trust Company in 1903, he was made secretary of the organisation, later became Vice-President thereof, and again ten years later its President. On the outbreak of the Great War he resigned the presidency and all his numerous directorships to become Governor of the Reserve Bank at the inception of the Federal Reserve System. He was responsible for mobilising much of the banking strength behind the Government's Liberty Loan and after the war bore the brunt of many of the attendant financial problems. Two sons and a daughter survived him.

17. Sir Frank Dicksee, President of the Royal Academy, was born in 1853. Trained at the Royal Academy Schools, he exhibited his first picture in 1876. He was a most popular artist of the romantic, sentimental period of English art and one of its most sympathetic interpreters. An early success of his was "*Harmony*," now in the Tate Gallery. Other pictures of a similar character are "*Romeo and Juliet*," "*The Passing of Arthur*," "*The Redemption of Tannhauser*," "*The Symbol*," "*The Love Story*," and "*The Funeral of a Viking*." "*Girls Bathing*," in a different vein, is a picture of great skill. In 1922 he painted "*The Light Incarnate*," representing the Madonna and Child. Others of his pictures are: "*Daughters of Eve*," "*Kathleen Bowne*, daughter of Mrs. Carpenter Gelshenen," "*Mrs. F. M. Hartung*," and "*Italian Coast from La Mortola*." Towards the end of his career he devoted himself to portrait painting, "*A Woman in White*" being an especially notable example. In 1881 he was elected A.R.A., ten years later R.A., and in 1924 he became President. In 1926 he received the hon. D.C.L. from Oxford and in 1927 he was made K.C.V.O.

21. Rt. Hon. Andrew Fisher, aged 66, Prime Minister of Australia, was born in Scotland, and after working in the Scottish mines, emigrated to Queensland at the age of 23. Here, after earning his livelihood as miner and engine-driver, he held office under the Mining Union Executive and was elected member of the Legislature for the mining constituency of Gympie. Six years later he became Minister of Railways and Public Works in the Labour Government. In 1901 he sat in the first House of Representatives, holding the seat of Wide Bay until his retirement from politics fifteen years later. In 1904 he was chosen deputy-leader in the (Watson) Labour Ministry and three years later succeeded to the leadership of the party. In 1908 he became Prime Minister and again in 1910, when he held office till 1913. During his three years' administration he founded the Commonwealth Bank, launched the building of a section of the Trans-Continental Railway, and began the building of Canberra as the Federal capital. In 1911 he came to London to attend the Imperial Conference and the Coronation and was made a Privy Councillor. In 1914 his party again returned to power and he undertook a vigorous prosecution of the war. The strain told on his constitution and in 1915 he handed over the leadership to Mr. Hughes and came to England as High Commissioner. He retired in 1921.

— Henry Festing Jones, aged 77, biographer of Samuel Butler, was educated at Radley College and Trinity Hall, Cambridge. In 1876 he was admitted a solicitor and became acquainted with Samuel Butler, collaborating with him in various musical and literary productions. In 1887 he retired from the Law

and devoted his time to assisting Butler. After the latter's death in 1902 he became a more conspicuous figure, and in 1912 he published Butler's "Notebooks" and in 1919 his biography. In 1924 he brought out a new edition of Butler's works. He also wrote some delightful books of travel, including "Mount Eryx and Other Diversions of Travel" (1921).

23. Professor Alphonse Aulard, leading French Radical and Anti-clerical historian, was born in 1849. After being educated at the Ecole Normale Supérieure and holding various University posts in the provinces, he was called to Paris in 1887 by Clemenceau and Millerand to fill the new Chair of History of the French Revolution. He specialised in the scientific documentation of the Revolutionary period and his main works were "Political History of the French Revolution," works on Taine, "The Feudal Regime in France," "French Patriotism from the Renaissance to the Revolution," and "Parliamentary Eloquence during the Revolution." He combined political activity with his academic career, and at the time of the Dreyfus affair when the League of the Rights of Man was founded, he became its Vice-President, retaining the position till his death. On his retirement from the Chair at the age of 70, he devoted himself to journalism and was co-founder of *Quotidien*, an independent Democratic journal. He was a warm supporter of the League of Nations, and in 1927 presided at the International Congress of League of Nations Unions in Berlin.

24. Sir Charles Tomes, F.R.S., F.R.C.S., aged 82, eminent dental surgeon, was the eldest son of Sir John Tomes, dentist. Educated at Radley and Christ Church, Oxford, where he gained a First Class in Natural Science in 1866, he qualified as M.R.C.S.Eng. at Middlesex Hospital in 1869 and was admitted that year a licentiate in dental surgery. Nearly twenty years later he was made F.R.C.S. Having published a series of papers on the structure and development of the teeth in the batrachia, reptilia, ophidia, and fishes, he was elected F.R.S. in 1878. He practised with his father and was at the same time Lecturer on Anatomy and Physiology at the Dental Hospital, at which he later became Surgeon and Consulting Surgeon. He was also an Examiner in Dental Surgery at the Royal College of Surgeons of England. From 1899 to 1920 he served as Crown nominee on the General Medical Council, being for the last fifteen years of that period treasurer of that body. In 1909 he was made hon. LL.D. Birmingham University, and in 1919 he was knighted. In 1873 he married Lizzie Eno, daughter of Charles D. Cook, of Brooklyn. He had no issue.

28. Theodor Reinach, French historian and archaeologist, was born in 1860 and came of an old Jewish family of Frankfurt. After working in Paris as a lawyer, he devoted himself exclusively to historical research, his particular province being the history of Judaism. Two of his best-known works were "The History of the Israelites" and "The Second Fall of Jericho." He also interested himself in numismatics and from 1887 to 1897 the *Revue des Etudes Grecques* was under his management. He was the youngest brother of the late Joseph Reinach, politician and author, and of Solomon Reinach, philologist and archaeologist.

30. Robert Lansing, American Secretary of State under President Wilson, was born in 1864. Having graduated at Amherst College in 1886, he was called to the Bar and soon became prominent in international cases. In 1892 he was associate counsel for the U.S. at the Behring Sea Arbitration held in Paris, and in 1896-97 again represented the U.S. claims therein. In 1903 he was solicitor in the Alaskan Boundary tribunal and in 1909-10 he acted as counsel in the North Atlantic Fisheries Arbitration. In 1914 he was appointed Counsellor of the State Department under Mr. Bryan and succeeded the latter as Secretary of State in the following year. He held office during the whole period of America's participation in the War and accompanied President Wilson to the Peace Conference in Paris. Chosen merely to give effect to Wilson's views, he found himself at variance with his Chief on many grounds and was finally obliged to resign

Two years later, in 1921, he published "The Peace Negotiations," in which he sets forth the quarrel between himself and Wilson. Returning to the practice of the Law he was employed again in various international cases, acting as Counsel for China at the Washington Conference, and for Chile in a frontier dispute with Peru. He was at one time associate editor of the *American Journal of International Law* and was the author of a work entitled "The Big Four and Others of the Peace Conference." In 1895 he married Eleanor, daughter of John W. Foster.

NOVEMBER.

1. William Leonard Courtney, aged 78, editor and critic, was educated at the Somersetshire College, Bath, and University College, Oxford, being elected a Fellow of Merton College in 1871. In the following year he became Headmaster of his old school at Bath, returning to Oxford in 1878 as Fellow and Tutor of Philosophy at New College. He took an active part in Oxford social life and was especially interested in the foundation of the New Theatre and the establishment of the O.U.D.S. He took part in the first performance of the Agamemnon at Balliol College in 1881 and also in the first Greek play at Bradfield. Of the O.U.B.C. he was treasurer, and in 1884 he served as Proctor. In 1890 he joined the staff of the *Daily Telegraph*. He also edited *Murray's Magazine* and (in 1894) the *Fortnightly Review*. Amongst his writings may be mentioned "The Metaphysics of John Stuart Mill," and "Studies in Philosophy," "Kit Marlowe," and "Undine" (two plays), "The Idea of Tragedy," and "The Literary Man's Bible." He was a director of Chapman & Hall's publishing business. In 1924 he resigned from the *Daily Telegraph*, and in the following year produced a book of reminiscences, "The Passing Hour." He was twice married, first, in 1874, to Miss Cordelia Blanche Placo by whom he had seven children; and secondly, in 1911, to Miss Janet Elizabeth Hogarth.

— Sir Alexander Blackie William Kennedy, aged 81, engineer, was the son of the Rev. John Kennedy, D.D. After being educated at the City of London School and the School of Mines, he obtained practical experience of Marine Engineering by serving with a number of shipbuilding firms. In 1874 he was appointed Professor of Engineering in University College, London, and during his tenure of office he established an engineering laboratory. In 1876 he published a translation of Reuleaux's "Kinematics" and in 1886 of "The Mechanics of Machinery." In 1889 he left University College and built up a large practice as a consulting electrical engineer, being electrical adviser to various municipal undertakings, including the L.C.C. In 1900 he returned to marine engineering to sit on an Admiralty Committee investigating the use of water tube boilers in the Fleet. He also presided over the Admiralty Committee on Machinery Designs. In 1913 he served on Lord Parker's Committee on wireless telegraphy, and was Chairman of the Ministry of Transport's Committee on electrical railways in 1920. During the Great War he was on the panel of the Munitions Inventions Department. In 1921 he published "Ypres to Verdun," and at the age of 75 undertook the exploration of Petra, and produced a complete monograph, "Petra; its History and Monuments" (1925). He was elected F.R.S. in 1887, was president of the Engineering Section of the British Association in 1894, and was knighted in 1905. In 1874 he married Elizabeth Verralls, eldest daughter of Dr. William Smith, and had two sons and one daughter.

1. Sir Hugh Kerr Anderson, M.D., F.R.S., aged 63, Master of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, was educated at Harrow and Gonville and Caius. After taking his degree in the Natural Sciences Tripos, he went to Bartholomew's Hospital and in due course became M.D. and F.R.C.P. He eventually returned to Cambridge as Fellow and Lecturer at his College. In 1907 he was elected F.R.S. for his researches in the physiology of the nervous system; in 1912 he

was elected Master of his College. In 1919 he was appointed a member of the Universities Commission, and in 1922 of the University of Cambridge Statutory Commission. In 1922 he was knighted. He married Jessie, daughter of Surgeon-General F. W. Innes.

4. Lord Constable (Andrew Henderson Briggs Constable), Judge of the Court of Sessions, Edinburgh, was born in 1865. Educated at Dollar Academy, he graduated at Edinburgh University in 1884, and became an advocate in 1889. In 1908 he took silk, and was for a time University Examiner and Lecturer in Economics at Edinburgh. In 1917 he became Sheriff of Caithness and Orkney, and adjudicated on agricultural and fishing legislation until in 1920 he was transferred to the Sheriffdom of Argyll. In the same year he was appointed Dean of the Faculty of Advocates, and held the appointment till 1922, when he was made Solicitor-General for Scotland. Later in the same year he was elevated to the Bench. He was a strong Conservative, and on three occasions fought to gain a seat in Parliament, but was defeated—in 1903 by Mr. Asquith at East Fife, in 1906 by Sir Henry Dalzell at Kirkcaldy, and in 1910 by Mr. Barnes in a Glasgow division. In 1895 he married Elizabeth Simpson, who survived him with two sons.

5. Lord Carnock (Arthur Nicholson), distinguished diplomat, was the son of Sir Frederick Nicholson, tenth Baronet, and was born in 1849. Educated at Rugby and Brasenose College, Oxford, he served for a short time in the Navy before being appointed to a clerkship in the Foreign Office, where he acted as assistant private secretary to Lord Granville, Secretary of State. In 1882 he accompanied Lord Dufferin to Constantinople on his mission to Cairo. From 1885 to 1888 he was *Chargé d'Affaires* in Persia, and from 1888 to 1893 he was Consul-General at Budapest. In 1895 he became British Minister at Morocco, and was at Tangier during the negotiations leading up to the Anglo-French Agreement of 1904. As Ambassador at Madrid, he was British representative at the Algeiras Conference in 1905, supporting French policy in Morocco against German diplomacy. In 1906 he was transferred to St. Petersburg, and helped to promote a *rapprochement* between Russia and England which culminated in the Anglo-Russian Agreement of 1907. In 1910 he became Permanent Under-Secretary of State at the Foreign Office. It was he who proposed the last-minute Conference between France, Italy, Great Britain, and Germany, officially put forward by Lord Grey. He remained at the Foreign Office during 1916 and on his retirement was created Lord Carnock of Carnock. In the same year he was elected an honorary Fellow of Brasenose College. In 1882 he married Miss Mary Rowan Hamilton, who survived him with three sons and a daughter.

13. Professor Alexander William Mair, Professor of Greek at Edinburgh University, who at the age of 53, died in a fire at his house, was the son of Mr. Charles Mair. In 1887 he went to Keith Grammar School, and two years later, when only fourteen years of age, he became an undergraduate at Aberdeen, whence in 1892, after a brilliant career, he obtained an Open Classical Scholarship to Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge. After taking his M.A. degree at Aberdeen in 1893 he proceeded to Cambridge. In due course he became Lecturer and Assistant Professor of Greek at Aberdeen, till in 1899 he was offered the corresponding post at Edinburgh. In 1903 he succeeded Professor Butcher in the Chair. His Greek Scholarship is memorialised in an elaborate translation of Hesiod and a volume in the Loeb series containing the works of Callimachus and Lycophron, which came out in 1921. He married in 1906; six sons and six daughters survived him.

17. Lala Lai pat Rai, leader of the National Party in the Indian Legislative Assembly, was born in 1865. He was educated at the Government College of Lahore, where he graduated in Law in 1885. In the following year he started in practice and was one of the group which founded the Dazamand Anglo-Vedic,

College at Lahore. Identifying himself with political affairs he joined the Indian National Congress, but was opposed to any alliance with British parties. As a consequence of his political activities during the Lahore and Rawalpindi riots of 1907, he was transferred to Burma, but after six months his deportation became a dead letter. He published a book at Lahore entitled "The Story of My Deportation" and in 1909 he obtained damages against *The Englishman* (Calcutta) for a libel concerning his deportation, and in the following year against *The Daily Express*. He spent the years of the Great War in the United States, and in 1917 published a book on "Young India," prohibited in Britain and in India. On his return he was elected President of the Special Session of the Indian National Congress held at Calcutta in 1920, but his attitude towards non-co-operation proved halting. At the end of 1921 he was sentenced to eighteen months' imprisonment for contravention of the Seditious Meetings Act. After serving other sentences, he was released in 1923 and elected to the Legislative Assembly. In 1926 he represented Indian Trade Unions at the International Labour Conference at Geneva. His articles in *The People*, of Lahore, advocated the formation of a new National Congress Party to steer a middle course, but in 1928, at the head of that party in the Assembly, he moved the boycotting of the Simon Commission, and on the arrival of the latter in Lahore, he headed the boycott procession. In 1925 he was president at Calcutta of the first All-India Hindu Mahasabha and took an active part in the aggressive Hindu Sangathan. In 1928 he published "Unhappy India," a reply on the political side to "Mother India."

18. **Dr. Harold Williams**, aged 52, Director of the Foreign Department of *The Times*, was born in New Zealand, the son of a Methodist pastor, the Rev. W. J. Williams. He acquired a wide knowledge of modern languages exceptionally early, studied at Berlin and Munich Universities, obtaining his Ph.D. degree at the latter. In 1903 he came into contact with *The Times*, being chosen the special correspondent of that paper at St. Petersburg in order to obtain information from the exiled Liberals. From that time he was connected with the *Manchester Guardian*, *The Morning Post* (in Russia and Turkey), and in 1914 he became correspondent in Russia of *The Daily Chronicle* and published "Russia of the Russians." His political sympathies in Russia were with the constitutional Democrats. During the Great War he accompanied the Russian Armies and rendered valuable assistance to Sir George Buchanan. In the early part of the Russian Revolution he advised the President of the Duma and gave assistance to the British Labour delegates during their visit to Russia in 1917. In 1921 he joined *The Times* as leader-writer, and in the following year he was appointed Director of the Foreign Department. He married Mme. Ariadna Tyrkova, a well-known Russian political writer.

21. **Dr. Hermann Sudermann**, German dramatist and novelist, was born in 1857. Apprenticed to a chemist at the age of fourteen, he proceeded to Königsberg University. After working at journalism and for a short time as editor of the *Deutsches Reichsblatt*, he turned to novel writing; between 1886 and 1890 he wrote "Im Zwielticht," "Frau Sorge," "Geschwister," and "Der Katzensteg." His first play, "Die Ehre," of which "Magda," is the English version, was a striking success and was followed by "Sodoms Ende," "Heimat," "Die Schmetterlingsschlacht," "Das Glück im Winkel," "Morituri," "Stein unter Steinen," and "Johannisfeuer." During the war he wrote "Lithuanian Tales." In 1927 "Der Tolle Professor" was given a good reception. He also wrote a semi-biological work, "Bilderbuch Meiner Jugend."

26. **Admiral Reinhardt Scheer**, aged 65, who commanded the German Fleet at the Battle of Jutland, was the son of a public schoolmaster. He entered the Navy in 1882, spending the next twenty years at sea. In 1907 he was made leader of a destroyer flotilla and during this period of service published a book on the tactical use of the torpedo arm. In 1909 he was captain of the battleship *EUaas* and in 1912 Chief of Staff to the Commander-in-Chief of the High Seas

Fleet. At the outbreak of the war he was in command of the Third Battle Squadron. In 1916 he was ordered to take command of the High Seas Fleet. He had always opposed the policy of keeping the Fleet within the Horns reef-Terschelling quadrant and at once inaugurated that series of sorties and raids which culminated in the Battle of Jutland. At that battle he extricated his fleet from a perilous position with great skill and returned to Germany able to announce that he had engaged the British Fleet and inflicted greater losses than he had suffered. He then urged the renewal of unrestricted submarine warfare and in 1917 this policy was adopted. In 1918 he was appointed Chief of the Staff. After the war he kept out of political controversy. Two books of memoirs came from his pen: "The High Seas Fleet in the World War" and "From Sailing Ship to Submarine."

27. Frank Hedges Butler, aged 72, pioneer of flying, after completing his education in France, joined the firm of Hedges & Butler, wine merchants, and travelled for them in various parts of the world. In 1907 his first book, "Five Thousand Miles in a Balloon," appeared, and ten years later this was followed by "Across Lapland with Reindeer and Skis." In 1920 he published his "Fifty Years of Travel by Land, Water, and Air." In 1925 in "Round the World" he put forward an urgent plea for an Empire Tourist Bureau, and in the following year he added an instructive book on "Wine and the Wine Lands of the World." He was a pioneer of motoring, had his first car in 1897, became the first honorary treasurer of the Royal Automobile Club, and took part in the thousand miles trial of the R.A.C. In 1901 he founded the Aero Club for the encouragement of the study of aeronautics and the organisation of aerial excursions. In 1910 this became the Royal Aero Club. In 1902 he made the longest balloon ascent on record and in 1905 established a world record for the longest cross-channel sea voyage by balloon. Mr. Hedges Butler was a notable amateur musician, being an active member of the Royal Amateur Orchestral Society, the Wandering Minstrels, and the Royal Albert Hall Choral Society. He founded the Lyric Club Orchestra and the Imperial Institute Orchestral Society. He married a daughter of Mr. J. B. Tickle, who died in 1905. His daughter survived him.

30. Arthur Clavell Salter, Judge of the King's Bench, born in 1859, was the son of Dr. Hyde Salter, F.R.S. He was educated at King's College, London, and in 1885 he was called to the Bar by the Middle Temple, joining the Western Circuit. In 1904 he was made Recorder of Poole. In 1907 he won the Conservative seat for the Basingstoke division of Hampshire, which he retained till his elevation to the Bench in 1917. Amongst the famous cases he tried may be mentioned Col. Rutherford for murder of Major Seton (1919), and Horatio Bottomley in 1923. In 1928 he was appointed Chairman of the Railway and Canal Commission. He was twice married; first, in 1894, to Mary Dorothea, daughter of the late Major J. H. Lloyd, R.A.; and again, in 1920, to Nora Constance, daughter of Lieutenant-Colonel Ouchterlony, R.A. His one son was killed in the War.

— Sir John Murray, aged 76, head of the famous publishing house, was the eldest son of John Murray, the third head of that firm. Educated at Eton and Magdalen College, Oxford, he at once entered the firm as his father's assistant. In 1878 he became a partner, and in 1892, on his father's death, head of the firm. In 1902 he began to develop the educational side, and a periodical, *School*, was run from 1904 to 1909. *Murray's Review* appeared from 1887 to 1891 and the *Monthly Review* from 1900 to 1907. Under John Murray the fourth, the firm acquired the business of Smith, Elder, and thus developed its fiction side. Sir John became vice-chairman of the Hospital for Sick Children in Great Ormond Street in 1891. In 1889 he was elected a member of the Athenaeum and was a member of the Literary Society from 1899. He was on the Council of the Royal Geographical Society at one time, and was treasurer of the Roxburghe Club. In 1881 he became a life member of the Royal Literary Fund and in 1893 a member of

its Council. He was a magistrate and Deputy Lieutenant of the County of Middlesex, and in 1908 was High Sheriff for the County of London. He was a Freeman of the City of London. He held the Ph.D. degree of the University of Athens, was created C.V.O. in 1913, and promoted K.C.V.O. in 1926. He was a prominent founder of the Publishers' Association in 1895, acted as its Vice-President 1896-98 and 1900-02, its Treasurer 1902-04, and President 1898-1900. He edited a volume of Gibbon's Autobiography in 1896, and for a short time acted as editor of the *Quarterly Review*. He also edited Byron's Correspondence in 1921. In politics he was a strong Conservative, Churchman and Imperialist. In 1878 he married Evelyn Leslie. A son and a daughter survived him.

DECEMBER.

1. Gunnar Knudsen, aged 80, leader of the Democratic Party in Norway, entered public life in 1892 as a staunch Radical. Owing to his Republican convictions he left the Government in 1905, but after the dissolution of the union between Norway and Sweden, gave his allegiance to the King of Norway, and became a prominent parliamentary leader during the question of water power. In 1908 he was made Prime Minister, and retained office till 1910. In 1913 he was again Prime Minister, and remained in office throughout the Great War. He resigned in 1921, retiring from public life.

1. Lord Hal lam Tennyson, son of the Victorian Poet Laureate, and Governor of the Australian Commonwealth, was born in 1851. He was educated at Marlborough and Trinity College, Cambridge, and joined the Inner Temple. His memoirs of his father appeared in 1897; in 1899 he was appointed Governor of South Australia. He did his utmost to promote the establishment of the Commonwealth, of which in 1902 he was made Acting Governor-General, and in the following year Governor-General (1902-04). In 1913 he was made Deputy Governor of the Isle of Wight. He married first Miss Audrey Boyle, who died in 1916, and in 1918 he married Mary Emily, daughter of Charles Robert Prinsep, and widow of Andrew Hitchens. By his first wife he had three sons, one of whom, Lionel Hallam, cricketer, survived him.

4. Sir Arthur Moseley Channell, aged 89, Judge of the King's Bench, was the only son of Sir William Fry Channell, Baron of the Exchequer. He was educated at Harrow and Trinity College, Cambridge, whence he graduated in 1861. Two years later he was called to the Bar of the Inner Temple, and after acquiring a good practice on the South-Eastern Circuit, took silk in 1885. He was elected to represent his Inn on the Incorporated Council of Law Reporting; he was a member of the Council of Legal Education (1888-1897), and Vice-Chairman of the General Council of the Bar (1896-97). In 1897 he was appointed a Judge of the High Court. One of his most famous trials was that of Prince for the murder of William Terriss, actor, in 1897. Later he was appointed one of the judges to try petitions after the General Election of 1906. In 1914 he resigned from the Bench, and being sworn a member of the Privy Council, he accepted the offer of a seat at the Judicial Committee. His most signal service was the hearing of Prize Court Appeals arising out of the war—notably the German Hospital ship *Ophelia* in 1916. His last sitting on these occasions was in 1927. In 1921 he sat as an additional Judge in the King's Bench Division. He was an active director of the Legal and General Life Assurance Society. He was twice married, first in 1865 to a daughter of Mr. Alexander Wadham Wyndham, who died in 1871; and secondly, in 1877, to Constance Helena, daughter of Mr. Walter Blackett Trevelyan. He had three sons and one daughter.

7. James Whitbread Lee Glaisher, Sc.D., F.R.S., aged 80, mathematician and collector, was the son of James Glaisher, astronomer. Educated at St. Paul's

School, he became a scholar of Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1860. In 1871 he took his degree as Second Wrangler, and was elected a Fellow of his College, where he was tutor from 1883 to 1893, and lecturer till 1901. His success in research led to his election as F.R.S. in 1875. He was editor of the *Quarterly Journal of Pure and Applied Mathematics*, President of the Cambridge Philosophical Society (1882-84), of the London Mathematical Society (1884-86), and of Section A of the British Association (1890). In 1908 he received the de Morgan medal of the London Mathematical Club, and in 1913 he was awarded the Sylvester Medal of the Royal Society, on whose council he served thrice, becoming a Vice-President in 1917. He was also a leading pottery collector, and owned the largest collection in England of seventeenth and eighteenth century ware, now to be seen in the Fitzwilliam Museum. Glaisher was unmarried.

9. General Sir Arthur Paget (Arthur Henry Fitzroy Paget), aged 77, distinguished soldier, was the son of General Lord Alfred Henry Paget, C.B., and grandson of Lord Anglesey. He was educated at Wellington College, and gazetted to the Scots Guards in 1869. In 1873 he served in the Ashanti expedition, where he distinguished himself in special service under Sir Garnet Wolseley. In 1865 he was in Egypt under Sir G. Graham, in operations round Suakin. In 1895 he became Brevet-Colonel in the Army, and in 1899 received command of the First Battalion of Scots Guards, and went out to South Africa. In 1900 he was promoted Major-General, and later relinquished his command owing to differences with the General in charge of the Free State operations, returning home in 1901 to be created C.B. and C.V.O. On the reorganisation of the home forces in 1902 he was given command of the First Division at Aldershot, and retained it for four years. In 1906 he was promoted Lieutenant-General, and was later made K.C.V.O. He was next appointed G.O. C.-in-C, Eastern Command, and after four years held a similar appointment in Ireland. In 1914, after the Curragh incident, he was brought back to command the First Army of the Central Force, under Sir Ian Hamilton. His chief work in the sphere of national defence was the preparation to meet hostile air raids. In 1917 he retired. In 1910 he was appointed Special Ambassador at certain foreign courts to announce the accession of King George V. He was sworn of the Privy Council of Ireland in 1911. In 1878 he married Mary Paran Stevens, of New York, who died in 1919. Twin sons and a daughter survived him.

19. Professor Ernest Schwarz, aged 55, for many years holder of the Chair of Geology at Rhodes University College, Grahamstown, was well known for his advocacy of certain irrigation schemes for the Kalahari desert. He was educated at Westminster School and the Royal College of Science, and at 21 settled in Johannesburg. In 1896 he joined the Geological Survey of Cape Colony, and was later responsible, with Dr. A. W. Rogers, for the first scientific geological survey of South Africa. He was then appointed to the Chair of Geology at the Rhodes University College. He wrote various books on South African geology and geography and published a valuable monograph on "The Kalahari and its Native Races." His irrigation scheme for that region is expounded in "The Kalahari or Thirstland Redemption," published in 1920. He married Miss Daisy Murray Bowen, daughter of Mr. J. C. O'Halloran.

21. Marshal Count Luigi Cadorna, Commander of the Italian Forces during the Great War, was born in 1850, the son of General Count Raffaele Cadorna. He was educated at the Military College, Milan, and the Higher Military Academy, Turin, and in 1868 became a Sub-Lieutenant in the Army. He was admitted to the General Staff before passing out of the Military Academy. In 1875 he became a Captain, and in 1898 was promoted Major-General. Keenly interested in topography, he was intimately acquainted with the problems of the Italian frontier when appointed Chief of General Staff in 1914. He was unsuccessful in his Eastern offensive, but in 1916 he succeeded in checking the Austrian offensive in the Trentino and captured Gorizia. At the Conference of Rome early in 1917

he failed to convince the Allied leaders of his full requirements in men and guns, and in that year came the disaster of Caporetto when, in spite of Cadorna's courage and tenacity, the Italian Army lost 800,000 men. His retirement beyond the Piave, and his redistribution of his Armies, paved the way for ultimate victory. His command ended soon after the arrival of assisting Allied troops. The story of his strategic campaign is told in his book "La Guerra alia Fronte Italiana." He was Italian representative on the Versailles Council and after the Armistice retired from the Army. In 1924 he was created a Marshal of Italy. A wife and two daughters survived him.

23. **Sir William Maxwell**, aged 66, celebrated war correspondent, began his journalistic career with the *Standard*, and accompanied Kitchener's Army to Khartoum, obtaining the medal with clasp for Omdurman. He went through the South African War; was correspondent with King George and Queen Mary (as Duke and Duchess of York) on their first colonial tour; with Joseph Chamberlain in South Africa; and with King Edward on his Mediterranean tour. He also went through the Russo-Japanese War. In 1905 he joined the *Daily Mail* and went with King George, then Prince of Wales, to India, attending the Delhi Durbar. During the Great War he was in the service of the *Daily Telegraph*. In 1919 he was created K.B.E.; he also held the Legion of Honour and the Japanese Order of the Rising Sun.

24. **Sir William Turner Thiselton Dyer, F.R.S.**, aged 85, botanical administrator, was educated at King's College, and afterwards entered King's College Hospital as a medical student; but, altering his bent, he proceeded to Christ Church College, Oxford, and worked in the Natural Sciences School. He obtained a First Class in 1867, and in the following year was appointed to the Chair of Natural History at the Royal Agricultural College, Cirencester, and, with the Professor of Chemistry there, produced a book on "How Crops Grow." ^{1st} The *Flora of Middlesex* (with Henry Trimen) followed shortly afterwards. Graduating B.Sc. from the University of London, in 1870 he was appointed Professor of Botany at the Royal College of Science at Dublin and two years later to the Chair of Botany at the Royal Horticultural Society, South Kensington. Here he was in charge of the Botanical Section under the laboratory course organised by Huxley in 1871. In conjunction with Burnett he also produced a translation of Sachs's "Textbook of Botany." In 1875 he accepted the post of Assistant Director of the Royal Botanical Gardens, Kew, becoming Director in 1885, a post he held for twenty years. He developed the Gardens as a centre of scientific horticulture, as an Imperial institution, and as a place of enjoyment. He was Vice-President of the Royal Society, 1896-97, was created CLE. in 1892, and K.C.M.G. in 1899. He assisted Sir Joseph Hooker in preparing "The Flora of British India" and in 1877 he attempted the editorship of the *Flora Capensis*—in abeyance since 1865—and resumed the publication of the *Flora of Tropical Africa*. In 1877 he married Ann, daughter of Sir Joseph Hooker. A son and a daughter survived him.

INDEX.

The figures between [] refer to PART I.

- AARSTAD, H. J. (Norway), [216]
 ABERCORN, Duke of, [130]; 4, 5
 ADEN Protectorate, [233], [234]
 ADDINSELL, Richard (Music), 57
 ADOR, Gustav, Obit., 107
 "A. E.," "Midsummer Eve," 20
 AEROPLANE in botanical surveying, 39
 AFGHANISTAN, [223]
 Foreign Legations in, [226]
 Habibullah's rebellion, [226]
 Kiug's foreign tour, [222], [223], [224]
 Reforming activities in, [224]-[225]
 Russia, Agreement with, [224]
 Shinwaris' revolt, [225]
 Turkey, relations with, [223], [224]
 AFRICA, SOUTH, [256]
 Cabinet crisis, [258]
 Dominion status, [259]
 Flag Bill, [259]
 Franchise Bill, [256], [257]
 Germany: trade treaty with, [153], [259]
 Governor-General, [259]
 Hertzog's native policy, [256], [257]
 Labour Party dissensions, [256], [257]-[258]
 Land Act, [256]
 Mozambique agreement, [207], [262]
 Nationalist: Labour Pact, [257]
 Parliamentary, [256], [257]-[258]
 Political, [259]
 AFRICA, SOUTH-WEST PROTECTORATE, [259]
 Angola frontier line, [260]
 League of Nations Mandates Commission and, [259], [260]
 Mandate, [259]-[260]
 Rehoboths' rising, [260]
 AGA Khan, H. H. the (India), [236]
 AGLIN, Sir Francis, [247]
 AGRNEW, Messrs., exhibitions, 49
 AGRICULTURAL Credits Bill (Act), [11], [48], [81]; 74
 AGRICULTURAL Pioduce (Grading and Marking) Act, [29], [81]
 AGRICULTURAL Wages Act, [7]
 AGRICULTURE, [7], [55], [97]
 Beet sugar subsidy [22], [68]
 Estimates, [22]
 Government policy, [7], [29]; rates relief, [40], [41], [109]
 Linlithgow Commission (India), [239]-[240]
 AHMED Zogu, King (Albania), [178], [181], [185], [186]
 AIR armaments competition : Government policy, [23]
 AIR Force: accidents, [23]; airships, [23]; estimates, [22]-[23]; manoeuvres, [82]-[83]
 AIR mail services : England-India, [23]
 ALBANIA, [185]
 Constituent Assembly, [185], [186]
 Constitution, [185], [186]
 Foreign affairs, [186]
 Monarchy proclaimed, [178], [185], [186]
 United States, relations with, [186]
 ALRRECHT, Archduke (Hungary), [170]
 ALESSANDRI, Senor (Chilo), [295]
 ALEXANDER, Mr., [76]
 ALFONSO, King (Spain), [203], [205]
 ALI Jenaui Bey (Turkey), [179]
 ALI Riza Bey (Turkey), [179]
 ALLEN, Professor J. W., "History of Political Thought in the Sixteenth Century," 18
 ALLEN, Profesor S. H., 44
 ALLEN, Col. Stephen (New Zealand), [311]
 ALVAREZ, Gen. Jose" (Mexico), [301]
 AMANULLAH Khan, King of Afghanistan, [161], [180], [222], [223]-[224]
 AMERICA: AMERICAN. *See under* United States
 AMERY, Rt. Hon. L. S., [21], [34], [43], [107]; Dominions tour, [10], [277], [280]
 AMUNDSEN, Capt. Roald (Sweden), [147]; Obit., 125
 ANDERSON, Sir Hugh K., Obit., 131
 ANGLO-AMERICAN relations, [13], [23], [112]-[118], [118]
 ANGLO-CHINESE Treaty, [82], [245], [246]; Text, 89-93
 ANGLO-EGYPTIAN Treaty, [282]
 ANGLO-FRENCH Naval compromise, [91]-[96], [101]-[102], [103], [112], [121], [271]; American attitude, [93], [121], [271]; Labour Party views, [94], [99], [101]-[102]; Public opinion, [95]; Liberal motion, [103]
 ANGLO-PERSIAN Oil Company, [222]
 ANGORA Agreement, [231]
 ANGUS, Mr. (Victoria, Aust.), [309]
 ANIMAL diseases: research, 40
 ANTERIOU, M. (Fr.), [139]
 APPELLATE Jurisdiction Bill, [97]; 72
 APPONYI, Count (Hungary), [170]

ARABIA, [231]

- Aden Protectorate, [233], [234]
- Great Britain, relations with, [232]
- Ibn Saud, negotiations with, [232]
- Imam Yahya, relations with British, [233]
- Iraq, relations with, [231], [232]
- Koweit, relations with, [232]
- Railway question, [232]
- Royal Air Force in, [231], [233]
- Trans-Jordan, relations with, [231], [232]
- Wahabi raids, [281], [232]
- Yemen, the, [283]-[234]

ARBITRATION :

- British attitude, [5]
- Treaty: Great Britain and U.S.A., [11], [13]

ARGENTINA, [290]

- Argentine Society of English Culture, [292]
- Bomb outrage, [291]
- British Community, [292]
- Economic, [291]
- Grain elevators, State system, [291]
- Great Britain : Argentine interest, [292]
- League of Nations and, [120], [291]
- Monroe Doctrine, attitude to, [291]
- Pan-American Conference and, [292]
- Petroleum concessions Bill, [291]
- Presidential election, [290]-[291]
- Rcsario dockers' strike, [291]
- Southern Railway tariffs, [291]
- " United Front," the, [290], [291]
- United States, relations with, [291]-[292]

ARGYLE, Dr. (Victoria, Aust.), [309]

ARMSTRONG, Edward, Obit., 109

ARMY:

- Army and Air Force Bill, [37]
- Cavalry changes, [22]
- Death penalty, [37]
- Estimates, [22]
- Lance abolished, 1
- Mechanisation, [22]

ARNAUD, Yvonne (Drama), 53

ARNOLD, Lord, [71], [74]

ART exhibitions and sales: retrospect, 47

ASHLEY, Lt.-Col. W., [IG], [20], [72], [91], [107]

ASHRIDGE Park, 6

ASHRIDGE windows, the, 49

ASQUITH, Anthony (Cinema), 55

ATHLONE, Earl of, [258], [259]; 4

ATKIN, Lord, 72

ATMORE, H. (New Zealand), [315]

ATTERBERG, Kurt (Music), 58

AULARD, Professor Alphonse, Obit., 130

AURITI, Signor (Italy), [155]

AUSTRALASIAN Medical Congress, [316]

AUSTRALIA, [303]

- Amending Electoral Bill [304]
- Arbitration (Amendment) Bill [305]-[306], [807]
- Australian Country Party, [305]
- Bomb outrages, [306]
- Budget, [304] [305]

AUSTRALIA, *cont.*

- Cabinet changes, [307]
- Commonwealth Shipping Line sold, [303]-[304]
- Debt, [303]
- Defence policy, [307], [308]; expenditure, [30s]; Air Force, [308]
- Development expeditions, [311]
- Federal Finance Bill, [303]
- Federal Ministerial campaign, [807]
- General Election, [305], [30]
- Immigration problems, [304], [307]
- Italian immigrants, [304]
- Japanese naval visit, [311]
- Labour disputes, [305], [306]
- Labour Party programme, [307]
- National Insurance Bill, [305]
- Naval estimates, [304]
- Peace in industry movement, [306]-[307]
- Politics, [303]
- Port Philip Stevedores' Association, [306]
- Shipping trade troubles, [306]
- State Premiers' Conference, [308]
- Transport Workers' Bill [306], [307]
- NEW SOUTH WALES :
 - Budget, [80S]
 - Prohibition, [309]
 - Sydney City Council contract inquiry, [309]
- NORTHERN AUSTRALIA development scheme, [310]-[311]
- QUEENSLAND :
 - Budget, [310]
 - Cattle industry, [310]
 - Land tenure, [310]
- SOUTH AUSTRALIA :
 - Budget, [309]
 - Lo "al taxation, [310]
 - Wine Export Bounty Duty, [310]
- TASMANIA :
 - Agricultural policy, [310]
 - Cabinet, new, policy, [310]
 - Communications, [310]
 - Lyons Ministry, [310]
 - Shipping trade, [306], [310]
- VICTORIA :
 - Budget, [309]
 - Hogan Ministry defeated, [309]
 - Nationalist Ministry, [309]
 - Waterside disorders, [309]
- WESTERN AUSTRALIA :
 - Budget, [310]
 - Development scheme, [310]
- AUSTRIA, [154]
 - Anxchiss*, the, [156]-[157], [158]
 - Bela Kun arrested, [156], [169]
 - Christian Socialists, [154], [155], [15S]
 - Fascists, [154]
 - Germany, union with, [156]-[157]
 - Heimwehr*, the [157]
 - Hungary, relations with, [154]-[155], [156]
 - Internal disunion, [157]
 - Italy, relations with, [155]-[156]
 - Judiciary, the, [158]
 - Party warfare, [154]
 - Presidency, [157]-[158]

AUSTRIA, *cont.*

- Relief Credit lien, [156]
- Rent Act, [157], [158]
- St. Gotthard affair, [155]
- Schubert centenary, [156]
- Socialist Party, [157]
- South Tyrol question, [155]-[156]
- Strikes, [158]
- War material, secret traffic in; [154]

AVENOL, M. (Sec.-Gen. League of Nations), [120]

AVENUE Pavilion (Cinema), 55

AVERESCU, Gen. (Rumania), [174], [175]

AVIATION:

- Arctic flight, 4
- Atlantic flight, 4, 6
- Australia-New Zealand flight, [316]
- Australian flight, 8
- Cape Town-London flight, 5
- French flight, [136]
- Italia expedition, [147], [214]
- Non-stop flight, 7
- Twenty-fifth Anniversary, 13
- Zeppelin Atlantic flight, 10, 11

AVIATION vote, [79]; civil aviation policy, [79]

AYLESWORTH, Sir Allen (Canada), [282]

BACH Choir, 58

BACHA-I-SAQAO (Afghanistan), [226]

BACTERIOLOGY: research, 40

BAHREIN Islands, [221]

BAILEY, Sir Abe, [256]; 10

BAKER, Mr. [106]

BAKER, Professor H. B., 45

BALDWIN, Rt. Hon. Stanley:

- Address, debate on, [12], [98]
- American Thanksgiving Day celebration speech, [113]
- Anglo-French naval compromise, [95], [96], [98], [102], [103], [113]
- Bewdley address, [7]
- Birkenhead, Lord, and, [38], [96]
- British Cotton-growing Association speech, [52], [55]
- Coal industry, [38], [76], [114], [115]
- Conservative Party Conference address, [88]
- Disarmament, [55]
- Dog-racing Bill, [73]
- Election policy, [88]
- Fighting services co-ordination, [24]
- ¹¹ Francs case," [24], [25]
- Government's record: annual review, [55]
- Guildhall speech, [102]
- Haig, Lord: eulogy on, [13]
- Industrial depression, [16]
- Local Government Bill, [111]-[112]
- Parliamentary session, [81], [98]
- Prayer Book measure, [60]
- Protection, [77]
- Rating and Valuation Bill, [63]
- Rating Relief, [15], [77]
- Rubber restrictions, [34]
- Safeguarding, [58], [74], [77], [104]
- Speaker's pension, [61]-[62]
- Unemployment, [15], [75]-[76], [78], [83]

BALDWIN, Rt. Hon. Stanley, *cont.*

- Welbeck Abbey speech, [55]
- Women's franchise, [88]
- Zinoviev letter, [25]
- Otherwise mentioned, [1], [8], [28], [81], [91]; 11

BALFOUR, Lord, 7

BALLETT, Gerald, "The History of Egg Pandervill," 22

BALTIC bloc, [219]

BALTIC States, [161]-[162]

BALY, Professor E. C. C., 41

BANK of England, [h7], [89]; Discount rate, [37]; 65; Note issue, [39], [46]-[47]; 12, 66; returns, 66, 67

BANKES, Sir John Eldon, [71]; 73

BANKING, 64-65; London and provincial clearings, 64, 65; New York Clearing House, 64-65

BANKS, Monty (Cinema), 55

BANKS, nationalisation of, [89]

BANTOCK, Granville (Music), 57

BARBOUR, Sir David, Obit., 100

BARING, Maurice, "Comfortless Memory," 22, 36

BARKER, Mr. and Mrs. Granville, "Ono Hundred Years Ago," 53

BARNES, Mr., [18]

BARNES, Rt. Rev. Bishop, [88]

BARON, Bemhard, gilt, 9

BARRIE, Sir James, birthplace acquired for the nation, 12

BARTEL, M. (Poland), [164]

BARTHOUS, M. (Fr.), [139]

BARTOLOZZI, Francesco, bicentenary, 49

BARTON, Sir Sidney, [82], [246]

BASEDOW, Dr. (Australia), [311]

BASSARITCHKEK, M. (Yugoslavia), [177]

BATHO, Sir C., [114]

BATTLEFIELDS pilgrimage, 8

BAVIN, Mr. (New South Wales) [308]

BAX, Arnold (Music), 58

BEAUCHAMP, Lord, [99]

BEAVAN, Miss Margaret, 2

BEDOUIN tribes, [230]

BEDWELTY guardians, [17]

BEEBY, Judge (Australia), [306]

BEECHAM, Sir Thomas (Opera), 56, 58

BEERBOHM, Max: Leicester Gallery exhibition, 50

BEET sugar subsidy estimates, [22]

BEIRO, Sr. Francisco (Argentina), [291]

BEIT, Sir Otto, 12

BELA Kun (Hungary), [166], [169]

BELGIAN Crown Prince and Princess, [253]

BELGIUM, [191]

- Antwerp bye-election, [193]

- Antwerp strike, [191]

- Army re-organisation, [191]-[192], [194]

- Catholic Party, [194]

- Christian Democrats, [194]

- Economic, [191]

- Financial, [191]

- Flemish separatist amnesty, [191], [192], [194]

- Foreign policy, [193]

- Franco-Belgian commercial agreement, [193]

- BELGIUM, *cont*
 Holland, relations with, [193]
 Jaspar Government, [191]
 Luxemburg, relations with, [194]
 Rhineland evacuation question, [194]
 Rural leases, [192]
 Second International: congress, [193]
 Socialist Party, [192], [193], [194]
 Treaties, [164], [193], [194]
- BELL, Clive, "Civilisation," 19
- BELL, John Keble, Obit., 107
- BELLEP, Naum (Bulgaria), [190]
- BELLOC, Hilaire, "A Conversation with an Angel," 17; "Belinda," 22; "But Husli We are Observed!" 22; "History of England," 18; "James the Second," 17
- BELLOTT, Dr. H. H. L. Obit., 123
- BENARD, Seur (Nicaragua), [302]
- BKNESH, Dr. E. (Czech.), [4], [138], [166], [167]; 78, 79
- BENNETT, Arnold, "The Return Journey" (Drama), 51; "The Strange Vanguard," 22
- BENNETT, R. B. (Canada), [278], [281], [286]
- BENSON, E. F., "Alcibiades," 18
- BENSON, Miss T., "Salad Days," 21
- BERGERY, M. (Fr.), [139]
- BERGSON, M. Henri, 11
- BERRY, Sir Gomer: gifts, 5, 13
- BERRY, Sir William: gift, 13
- BESSARABIA, [163]
- BETHLEN, Count (Hungary), [167]-[171] *passim*, [181]
- BETTERTON, Mr., [7], [18], [105]
- BETTING tax, [30], [68], [72], [73], [79]
- BEVAN, Dr. E., "Sibyls and Seers," 19
- BEVERIDGE, A. Y., "Abraham Lincoln," 18
- BIGGS, H. F., 44
- BIGHAM, Hon. Trevor, 12
- BINYON, Laurence, "Idols," 20; "Tho Sirens," 20
- BIOLOGICAL SCIENCES: Retrospect, 37-41
- BIRDWOOD, Field-Marshal Sir W., [237]
- BIRKENHEAD, Lord, [96], [97], [238]; magazine article on women's suffrage, [38]; Women's Franchise Bill, [53]
- BIRTHDAY Honours List, 6
- BISHOPRICS, appointments, 4, 11, 12
- BLACKETT, Sir Basil, [236], [237]
- BLADES, Sir Rowland, 6
- BLAIKIE, Dr. W. B., Obit., 112
- BLAKELEY, A. (Australia), [305]
- BLISS, Arthur (Music), 58
- BLOCH, Ernest, "Israel" Symphony, 67
- BLONDEN, Edmund, "Leigh Hunt's Examiner Examined," 17; "Undertones of War," 16, 24
- BLYTHE, Mr. Ernest (Irish Free State), [131], [133]
- BOARD of Education estimates, [49]
- BODKIN, Sir Archibald, [50], [51]
- BOKANOWSKI, M. Maurice (Fr.), [138]; Obit., 125
- BOLIVIA, [292]
 Cabinet resignation, [292]
Financial, [292]
- BOLIVIA, *cont.*
 League of Nations, and [120], [127], [293]
 Pan-American Conference, [293]
 Paraguay frontier dispute, [127], [292]-[293]
 Revolutionary plot [292]
 Trade, state of, [292]
- BOMBAY Archbishopric, [207], [240]
- BONDPIELD, Miss, [7]
- BONDS, conversion, 63-64
- BONNEFOUS, M. (Fr.), [139]
- BORAH, Senator (U.S.A.), [268], [271]
- BORDERO, General (Italy), [176]
- BORIS, King of Bulgaria, [189], [191]
- BORMS, M. (Belgium), [193]
- BORTHWICK, Mr. A. E., 3
- BOSCAWEN, Sir A., [72]
- BOSCH, George, gift, 10
- BOTANY: retrospect, 38
- BOURASSA, Mr. (Canada), [285]
- BOUROFF, M. (Bulgaria), [188], [190]
- BOUVET Island, [218]
- BOYDELL, Mr. T. (South Africa), [258]
- BRAGG, Sir William, 41
- BRAMAH, E., "Kai Lung Unrolls his Mat," 22, 35
- BRAMSON, Mme. K., adapted "Tho Man They Buried," 53
- BRATIÄNU, Vmtila (Rumania), [172]-[175] *passim*
- BRAUN, Dr. (Germany), [150]
- BRAZIL, [293]
 Argentina, relations with, [294]
 Budget, [294]
 Coffee import, [294]
 Colombia boundary treaty, [295]
 Currency, [293]
 Export trade, [294]
 Finances, [293], [294]
 Financial scandals, [294]
 Kellogg Pact, and [295]
 Landslide, [295]
 League of Nations, and, [294]
 Paraguay, relations with, [295]
 President's message to Congress, [293]-[294]
 Seaplane accident, [295]
 War, sailor victims reinterred, [295]
- BRECHT, Dr. (Germany), [150]
- BRETT, Oliver, "Wellington," 18
- BRIAND, M. (France), [139], [167], [197]; Anglo-French naval compromise, [94], [101], [102], [103]; League of Nations: work for, [127], [187]; Peace Pact negotiations, [134], [145], [137], [269]; signs Peace Pact [137]; 77, 79; Reparations question, [138], [154]; Rhineland evacuation, [92], [154]
- BRIDGEMAN, Rt. Hon. W. C.: Naval policy, [23], [24], [96]; *Royal Oak* incident, [81]; Anglo-French naval pact, [103]-[104], [112]
- BRITISH Academy, 7
- BRITISH Acoustics, 54
- BRITISH Association, 41-42; Royal Charter, 4, 41

- BRITISH Broadcasting Corporation, [28];
41; concerts, 57
BRITISH Debt to U.S.A., gifts, 9
BRITISH Empire Service League, 8
BRITISH Humane Association, 10
BRITISH International Pictures, 54
BRITISH Legion battlefield pilgrimage, 8
BRITISH Museum, 50
BRITISH Sound Films, 54
BRITISH South Africa Company, [261]
BRITISH Talking Pictures, 54
BRITTEN, Mr. (U.S.A.), [113]
BROCKHURST, G. L., A.R.A., 4
BROOKS, G., and Lister, W., .. Spread
Eagle," 52
BROUGHTON, U. H., gift, 6
BROWN, Mr. Aruesby (Art), 47, 48
BROWN, Mr. W. Marshall, 2
BROWNIJE, Mr., [85]
BRUCE, Kt. Hon. Stanley (Australia), [303],
[305], [306], [307], [308], [310]
BRUNEL, Adrian (Cinema), 55
BRUNET, M. (Belg.), [192]
BUCHAN, Mr. J., [19]; "Montrose," 18
BUCKLE, G. E., "The Letters of Queen
Victoria," 14
BUD, Mr. (Hungary), [171]
BUDGET, [36], [38]; dobite, [41]-[43]
BUILDING decline, [49]
BUKUARIN, M. (Russia), [159], [160]
BULGARIA, [186]
Anglo-French *d-marche*, [186], [188]-
[189], [190]
Cabinet crisis, [189]
Customs duties increase, [189]
Disarmament question, [187]
Democratic Entente, [189]
Earthquake, [186-187], [190]-[191]
Great Britain, relations with, [186],
[188]
Greece, relations with, [190]
Italy, relations with, [186], [187], [189],
[190]
Komitadji raids, [187]
"League Loan," [187], [190]
League of Nations, [124], [187], [190]
Macedonian Revolutionary Organisation
feud [186], [187-190]
Military service question, [187]
Protogeroff, M., assassinated, [188]
Reparations, [191]
Stabilisation Loan, [187], [190]
Turkey, relations with, [189], [190]
Yugoslavia, relations with, [1.7], [189]
BULL, Professor E. (Norway), [215]
BUNYAN tercentenary, 5
BURDETT, Osbert, "The Brownings," 16
BURLINGTON Fine Arts Club, 50
BURLINGTON House exhibitions, 47
BURNET, Professor John, Obit., 114
BURNS, C. D., "Short History of the
World," 18
BUTLER, Frank Hedges, Obit., 134
BUTLER, Sir Harcourt, [239]
BUTLER, R. L. (S. Australia), [310]
BUXTON, Mr. Roden, [35]
BY-ELECTIONS, [35]; Ashion, [9]; 11; Bris-
tol West, 2; Carmarthen, 6; Chelten-
ham, 9; Epsom, 7; Faversham, 2; Hali-
fax, 7; Hanley, 4; Holborn, 6; Ilford, 3;
Lanoaster, 2; Linlithgow, 4; Maryle-
bone, 5; Middlesborough, 8. North
Aberdeen, 8; Northampton, 1; St.
Ives, [35]; 3; Sheffield, 7.
BYNG, Lord, [70], [284]; 73
BYRON, General (South Africa), [256]-[257]

CABINET changes, [30], [96]
CABLE and wireless services amalgamation,
[106]-[107]; 60
CABLE Services Conference, [58], [80], [98],
[107]
CABRAL, Col. Pereira (Mozambique) [262]
CACHIN, M. Marcel, (Fr.), [134]
CADORNA, Marshal Count Luigi, Obit.,
136
CAHAN, Mr. (Canada), [282]
CAILLAUX, M. (Fr.), [139]
CAINE, Sir Hall, "Rossetti," 16
CAIRD, Miss Grace, bequest, 3
CALIFORNIA Institute of Technology, 46
CALLES, President (Mexico), [274], [296]-
[301] *passim*
CALL WELL, Maj.-Gen. Sir C. E., Obit.,
113
CAMBO, Senor (Spain), [204]
CAMBRIDGE University: gifts to, 12, 13;
Economic History Professorship, 11;
Gonville and Caius College, 12; Library,
9; Magdalene College, 6; Pembroke
College, 1; Rouse Ball Professorship of
English Law, 2; Selwyn College, 2
"CAMBRIDGE Ancient History," 18, 26;
"Cambridge History of India," 18
CAMERON, J. F., elected master of Gonville
and Caius College, 12
CANADA, [277]
Alberta natural resources, [27H], [279]
Anglo-Egyptian Treaty, and, [282]
British Columbia, General Election,
[286]-[287]
Budget, [280]-[.81], [282]
Bye-elections [288]
Conservative Convention, [279]
Debt reduction, [280], [281]
Diplomatic [278], [279], [280], [286],
[287]-[288]
Empire trade, [281]
Estimates, [280]
Exports, [278], [281]
Foreign affairs, [282]
Governor-General's quarters, [284]-[285]
Harvest employment offer, [81]-82]
Hudson Bay and Straits Survey, [284]
Immigration, [278], [279], [285]-[286],
[287]
Imports, [278], [281]
Income Tax, [280]
Japanese immigrants, [286]
Kellogg Pact, [67], [285], [287]
King's illness: Government's Christmas
message, [28s]. [289]
Locarno Treaty, [283]
Mexico, relations with, [286]
Newfoundland union, and, [282]
Nova Scotia: General Election, [288]

- CANADA, *cont.*
 Opposition Leader's tour, [286]
 Ottawa improvement scheme, [284]
 Parliament, [277]-[278], [286]; Speech
 from the Throne, [278], [280]
 Political parties, [278 *note*]
 Premier's tour, [287]
 Quebec Citadel improvements, [284]
 Reciprocity Treaty with U.S., [281]
 Rideau Hall improvement, [284]-[285]
 Russia, relations with, [285]
 St. Lawrence River development, [279],
 [288]
 Sale3 Tax, [278], [280]
 Tariff, [280], [281], [282]
 Tariff Advisory Board, [281]
 Taxation reduction, [280], [282]
 Trade, [278], [279], [280], [281], [286]
 Treaty-making powers, [282]-[283]
 United States, relations with, [283],
 [287]
 Women's rights agitation, [288]
- CANCER research, 40
- CANTERBURY, Archbishop of: Kellogg pro-
 posals, [45]; Prayer Book measure, [58];
 Easter Bill, [60]
- CANTERBURY Archbishopric, 11, 13
- CAPITAL issues, 65-66
- CARMONA, General (Portugal), [207]
- CARNOCK, Lord, Obit., 132
- CARNOY, M. (Belgium), [194]
- CAROL, ex-Prince (Rumania), [48], [173]-
 [174]
- CARRANZA, Captain E. (Mexico), [298],
 [299]
- CARTHILL, AL., "Rods and Axes," 19
- CARTON, R. C. Obit., 108
- CARTWRIGHT, Sir F., Obit., 95
- CASELLA (Music), 57
- CABELLANOS, Senorita (Spain), [204]
- CAVE, Miss Angela M. bl, 6
- CAVE, Lord, [80]; 72; Obit., 107
- CAVELL, Nurse: the film "Dawn," [17]-
 [18]; 56
- CAVENDISH-BENTINCK, Lord, [62], [80]
- CECIL, Viscount: Arbitration and security,
 [6]; Disarmament, [62]; Kellogg Pact,
 [66]; Washington Hours' Convention,
 [105]; Motor-traffic Bill, [116]-[117]
- CECIL, Lord Hugh, Easter Bill, [60]
- CECIL, Lord Robert, [95]
- CEREALS, 70
- CHADWICK, Sir Burton, [6]
- CHALIAPIN (Music), 57
- CHAMBER music, 58
- CHAMBERLAIN, Rt. Hon. Sir Austen:
 Anglo-French naval compromise, [91],
 [94]
 Birmingham, Anglo-French Society
 speech, [45]
 Cavell film, [17]-[18]
 China, [12]-[13], [82]
 Egyptian affairs, [36], [44]
 Foreign affairs, statements on, [12]-[13],
 [118]
 "Francs case," [24], [25]
 German reparations, [113]
 Hungarian optants, [168]
- I CHAMBERLAIN, Rt. Hon. Sir Austen,
cont.
 Illness, [81], [118]
 Kellogg proposals, [45], [46], [66], [79]
 Prince Carol, [48]
 Rhineland evacuation, [113]
 Otherwise mentioned, [6], [101], [112]
- CHAMBERLAIN, Rt. Hon. Neville:
 Budget debate: derating scheme, [42]
 Housing: problem, [49]; subsidy, [116]
 Local Government Bill, [97], [108]-[109],
 [110], [112]
 Mining distress, [28], [114]
 Pensions Act, [20]
 Poor Law administration, [80]
 Rating and Valuation Bill, [56]-[57],
 [60], [61], [63]
 Safeguarding, [58]
 Unemployment: Government policy on,
 [14]; mining areas, [114]
- CHAMORRO, General (Nicaragua), [802]
- CHANCELLOR, Sir John [229], [261]
- CHANG Chung-chang, General (China),
 [242]
- CHANG Hsueh-liang (China), [242], [244],
 [251]
- CHANG Tso-lin, Marshal (China), [240],
 [241], [242], [251]-[252]; Obit., 116
- CHANNEL swim, 8, 9
- CHANNELL, Sir Arthur M., Obit., 135
- CHANTREY collection, 48
- CHAPLIN, Charlie (Cinema), 54, 56
- CHAPLIN, Lord, [99]
- CHAPLIN, Mr. (Canada), [284]
- CHARLES, Mr. Justice, 72
- CHARLTON, Matthew (Australia), [305]
- CHASE Securities Corporation of New
 York, [36]
- CHAUVEL, Lt.-Gen. Sir Harry (Australia),
 [307]
- CHAVASSE, Dr. F. J., Obit., 105
- CHAVEZ, Sr. Rafael (Honduras), [303]
- CHEMICAL Society, 45
- CHERON, M. (Fr.), [138], [139]
- CHESTER-LE-STREET Guardians, [17]
- CHESTERTON, G. K. (Literature), 17, 22;
 "Generally Speaking," 17
- CHIANG Kai-shek, General (China), [240]
 [241], [242], [244], [245], [250], [251]
- CHILDS, Sir Wyndham, 12
- CHILE, [295]
 Coal industry duty, [295]
 Communist plot, [295]
 Earthquake, [296]; 12
 Ibanez Government, [295]
 Peru, relations with, [296]
 Petroleum duty, [295]
 Public works, [295]-[296]
 Strike plot, [295]
 Tacna-Arica Boundary dispute, [296]
 Transandine railways, [296]
- CHINA, [240]
 Barga Mongols' revolt, [247]
 British policy in, [11], [12]-[13]
 Central Bank established, [248]
 Chang Tso-lin, killed, [242]
 Civil War, [240], [241]-[243]
 Communsism, [241], [247]

CHINA, *cont.*

- Constitution, new, [244]
 Extraterritorial rights, [12], [245]
 Financial reconstruction, [244-5], [246]
 Government, [240]; Peking, [240], [242], [243]; Nanking, [240], [243]; New Government, [244]
 Great Britain: treaty with, [82], [245], [246]; 89-93
 Japan and treaty revision, [245], [250]-[251]
 Japan, relations with, [242], [245], [249]-[252]
 Kailan coal mines, [243]
 Kuomintang, [240]-[241], [243]; policy, [241]
 Kwangsi, the, [241], [243]
 Manchuria, [244]
 Maritime Customs revenue, [247]
 Mohammedan revolt, [247]
 Nanking incident settlement, [82], [246]
 Peking, [240], [242], [243]
 Piracy, [247]
 Salt administration, [246]-[247]
 Shanghai defence force, [11], [13]
 Tariff autonomy, [145]
 Tariff schedule, [247]
 Tientsin, [242]
 Trade marks registration, [247]
 Treaties, various powers, [164], [194], [245]
 Tsinanfu incident, [242], [250]
 " Unequal treaties " denounced, [241], [244]-[245]
 Unification, [240], [244]
 United States treaty with, [82], [245], [246]
 CHORAL music, 58
 CHRISTIE, Agatha (Drama), 52
 CHRISTIE'S sales, 48, 49
 CHUARD, M. (Switz.), [198]
 CHURCH, Sir William Solby, *Obit.*, 111
 CHURCH Assembly : Prayer Book measure, [58]
 CHU Yu-pu, General (China), [242]
 CHURCHILL, Rt. Hon. Winston S. :
 Betting tax, [68]-[69], [73]
 Budget, [36], [38]-[41], [43]
 Finance Bill, [56], [67]-[68], [79]
 General Election, [11]
 German reparations, [96], [113], [138], [272]
 Health Insurance Bill, [33]-[34]
 Income tax, [30]
 Kerosene tax, [43]
 King's speech debate, [15]
 Mechanical lighters, [43], [68]
 Penny postage, [30]
 Petrol tax, [56], [67]
 Rating relief, [16], [30], [56], [57], [60] [108]
 Prayer Book measure, [60]
 Rhineland evacuation, [113]
 Safeguarding agitation, [76], [77]
 Sugar duty, [67], [68]
 Totalisator Bill, [30], [69], [72]
 Trade situation, [54]
 Unemployment, [99]-[100]
 CIARDI, Miss Emma (*Art.*), 50
 CINEMA : retrospect, 53-56; talking films, 41, 54
 CINEMATOGRAF Films Act, 55
 CITRINE, Mr. W. M. [85], [86]
 CIVIL Aviation Policy, [79]
 CIVIL Service Estimates, [22]
 CLAMANUS, M. (Fr.), [135]
 CLAPHAM, Dr. J. H., 11
 CLARENDON, Lord, [115], [116]
 CLARK, Sir Wm. (British High Commissioner to Canada), [287]
 CLAYTON, Sir Gilbert, [227], [232]
 CLIFFORD, Capt. B. E. H. (South Africa), [259]
 CLYNES, Mr. J. R., [15], [H5], [95], [99]
 COAL industry, [12], [27], [28]; unemployment, [14], [75]; South Wales coalfield, [27]-[28], [38]; Spencer union, [31], [32], [47]; and derating proposals, [76]; consolidation, 59; retrospect, 69. *See also under* Miners, Mining
 COATES, Rt. Hon. J. G. (New Zealand), [311], [312], [313], [314], [315]
 COBBE, J. G. (New Zealand), [315]
 COBHAM, Sir Alan, " Flight round Africa " (Cinema), 56
 COHEN, Mr. (Victoria, Aust.), [303]
 COINAGE, new, 3
 COLINDRAB, Dr. Vincente (Honduras), [303]
 COLLARD, Rear-Admiral, [30]-[31]
 COLLIER, Mr. (W. Australia), [310]
 COLLIERIES disaster, 2
 COLLINS, Mr. Arthur (N. Ireland), [129]
 COLUMBIA Graphophone Company, 58
 COMMERCE protection in war time: Senator Borah's proposal, [272]
 COMMERCIAL failures, 63
 COMMODITY prices, 61-62
 COMMUNISTS, [32]; Miners' Federation Annual Conference and, [73]-[74]; Trade Union Congress, and, [H6]
 COMPANIES Act, 1928, [19], [81]; 74
 CONNAUGHT, Duke of, [284]
 CONSERVATIVE Party, [7]; Conference, [87]-[88]
 CONSERVATIVES and the Government, [77]
 CONSOLIDATED Fund Bill, [24]
 CONSTABLE, John: memorial, 9
 CONSTABLE, Lord, *Obit.*, 132
 COOK, Mr. A. J., [3], [31], [64], [65], [66], [69], [74], [85], [86]
 COOK, Sir Theodore A., *Obit.*, 126
 COOLIDGE, Archibald Cary, *Obit.*, 95
 COOLIDGE, President, [268], [269], [271 n.] [272]-[273], [274], [275], [289]
 COOPER, Mr. A. Duff, [6]
 CO-OPERATIVE Congress, [55]; and Labour Party, [55]
 CO-OPERATIVE societies and taxation, [68]
 COPPARD, A. E., " Silver Circus," 21
 CORTI, Count, " Rise of the House of Rothschild," 18
 COSGRAVE, Mr. W. T. (Irish Free State): visit to U.S. and Canada, [130], [278]; signs Kellogg Pact, [138]; 78, 79
 COSTES, M. (Aviator), [186]
 COTTON industry, 70

- COTTON Spinners' Association, [52]
 COULTON, G. G., " Art and the Reformation," 18
 COURTNEY, William L., Obit., 131
 COUSINS, Mr. Ratcliffe, 72
 COVENT Garden (Opera), 56
 COWARD, Noel: " Three Plays and a Preface," 19
 CRERAR, Mr. (India), [288]
 GRESWELL, Colonel (South Africa), [257], [258]
 CRIMINAL Investigation Department, 12
 CRITCHETT, R. C., Obit., 108
 CROOKSHANK, Professor E. M., Obit., 119
 CROSBILD, Mr. J. J.: gift, 4
 CROWN Proceedings Report, 73
 CUMBERLAND, Dr. W. W. (U.S.A.), [275]
 CUMMINGS, E. E., " The Enormous Room," 16
 CUNLIFFE-LISTER, Sir Philip, unemployment, [14], [54]; trade situation, [26], [54]-[55]; safeguarding, [26], [58]; Budget debate, derating scheme, [42]; Lancashire textile industry, [51]; mining industry, [63]
 CURLE, R., "The Last Twelve Years of Conrad," 16
 CURRENCY and Bank Notes Bill, [46]
 CURRENCY note issue, [39], [46]; 12, 63, 66
 CURTIS, Senator Charles (U.S.A.), [276]
 CURTIUS, Dr. (Germany), [148]
 CUSHENDUN, Lord, [81]; Kellogg proposals, and, [45]; Geneva Disarmament Committee, [62]; Anglo-French naval compromise, [92], [93], [94], [95], [102], [103], [112]; disarmament, [62], [92]-[93], [94]; Rhmeland evacuation, [92]; reparations, [96]; signs Kellogg Pact, [137]; 78, 79
 CUTHBERTSON, Mr. (Victoria, Aust.), [309]
 CZECHOSLOVAKIA, [164]
 Budget, [165]
 Elections, [166]
 Financial, [165], [166]
 Foreign policy, [166], [167]
 Germany: Harbour Zones settlement with, [167]
 Hungary, relations with, [166], [167]
 Kellogg Pact, and, [166]
 League of Nations, and, [166]
 Little Entente, and, [166]
 Ministerial changes, [164]-[165]
 Private Officials' and Employees' Insurance Bill, [165]
 Svehla Government, [164]-[165]
 Trade, [166]
 Treaties, [166], [167]
 Workman's Insurance Act, [165]
 Yugoslavia, relations with, [166]
 DANIEL, Augustus M., 11
 DANISH Labour Union, [219]
 DARWIN, Sir Horace, Obit., 127
 DAS, S. R. (India), [237]
 DASZYNSKI, M. (Poland), [164]
 D'AURIA, Senhor F. (Brazil), [294]
 DAVIDOVITCH, M. (Yugoslavia), [175]
 DAVIDSON, H. E. S., " The Truth Game," 52
 DAVIDSON, Sir Leybourne: gift, 11
 DAVIDSON of Lambeth, Lord, 11
 DAVIES, W. H., " Collected Poems," 20, 30
 DAVIS, Professor H. W. Carless, 8; Obit., 118
 DAWES plan, [96], [138], [151]; 61
 DE ALVEAR, President (Argentina), [290], [291], [292]
 DE ESTELLA, Marques (Spain), [203]-[206], *passim*
 DE FREITAS, Col. J. V. (Portugal), [208]
 DE GEER, Jhr. (Holland), [195]
 DE GRAEFF, Jhr. (Holland), [253], [254]
 DE LA PERELLE, P. A. (New Zealand), [315]
 DE MADARIAGA, Professor S., "Englishmen, Frenchmen and Spaniards," 19
 DE MONTMORENCY, Sir Geoffrey, [237]
 DE RIVERA, General Primo (Spain), [203], [204]
 DE ROEBECK, Sir John Michael, Obit., 97
 DE SELINCOURT, Dr. E., 12
 DE VALERA, Mr., [130], [131], [132]
 DEAN, Basil (Cmcma), 55
 DEARDEN, Harold, " Two White Arms," 52
 DEBT redemption, [37]
 DEBT reduction, [39]
 DELAFIELD, Miss E. M., " The Surburban Young Man," 22; " What is Love," 22
 DEL PRÉTE, Major (Aviation), 7
 DENIS, J. J. (Canada) [288]
 DENMARK, [208]
 Economic, [208]
 Finland, relations with, [219]-[220]
 Foreign politics, [209]-[210]
 Government, [208]-[209]
 Iceland, [210]
 .. Minority Parliamentarism," [208]
 Monetary union, the, [210]
 National Defence question, [209]
 North Sleswig, [209]-[210]
 Norway, relations with, [217-218]
 Political, [208]
 Social Democratic Party, [209]
 Tariff question, [208]
 DEPEW, Chauncey M., Obit, 103
 DEPUTATIONS to the Prime minister, [38], [58]
 DERATING Bill. See Rating and Valuation Bill.
 DERATING proposals, [40]-[41]
 DERBY, Lord, [52]
 DERBY winner, 6
 DESBOROUGH, Lord, K.G., 4
 DESCH, Professor, 42
 DESTINN, Emmy, (Music), 57
 DESTREE, M. (Belg.), [192]
 DETALA, Hr. (Finland), [219]
 DEUTSCH, Fehx, Obit., 113
 DEVEZE, M. (Belg.), [192], [194]

Daily Chronicle, 7

Daily Mail, [34]; and Zinoviev letter, [25]

Daily News, 2

Daily Telegraph: Art exhibition, 50

DALADIER, M. (Fr.), [139]

DANE, Miss Clemence, " Adam's Opera,"

- DEVON, Mr. Joseph, [127]
 DIAZ, Marshal Armando, Obit., 103
 DIAZ, President (Nicaragua), [275], [301], [302]
 DICK, W. Reid, R.A., 13
 DICKINSON, G. L., and Stawell, Miss F. M., "Goethe's Faust," 17
 DICKINSON, T. R., bequest, 4
 DICKSEE, Sir Frank, 47; Obit., 129
 DIETRICH, Herr (Germany), [148]
 DISARMAMENT: British Government attitude, [23]-[24], [55], [62], [92]-[93], [98], [118]; Soviet proposals, [121]
 DIVORCE petitions, 72, 74
 DOBBS, Sir Henry, [227]
 DOBELL, Oswald: gift, 9
 DOG-RACING Bill, [49], [73]
 DOGS: distemper research, 40
 DONALD, J. B. (Now Zealand), [315]
 DORIOT, M. (Fr.), [135]
 Douglas, Norman, "In the Beginning," 22, 35
 DOUMERGUE, President, [139], [205]
 DOVGAEVSKI, M. (Russian Ambassador), [134]
 DOWNEY, Most Rev. R., 8
 DRAMA of the year retrospect, 51; literature, 19
 DRAYTON, Sir Henry (Canada), [288]
 DRINKWATER, John: "Charles James Fox," 18; "Bird in Hand" (Drama), 51
 DRURY, Alfred (Art), 47, 48
 DU MAURIER, Gerald (Drama), 51
 DUCKHAM, Sir Arthur, [307]
 DUCKWORTH, Sir Dyce, Obit., 96
 DUFFY, Mr. (Irish Free State), [132]
 DUKES, Ashley (Drama), "The Fountain Head," 51; "Such Men are Dangerous," 53
 DUMONT, M. Santos (Brazil), [295]
 DUNDEE Town Council, Bequest to, 3
 DUNSTERVILLE, Major-Gen. L. V. (Literature), 17
 DUPONT, A. E. (Cinema), 55
 DURAND, Marguerite, [201]
 DUVEEN, Sir Joseph, [292]; 48, 50
 DYER, Sir W. T. Thiseiton, Obit., 137
- EARHARDT, Miss A. (Aviation), 6
 EARTHQUAKES, [184], [186]-[187], [190]-[191], [295]; 12
 EAST AFRICA: Self-government Commission, [18]
 EASTER Act, [60], [81]; 74
 EASTERN Telegraph Company, [53]; 60
 EBBISHAM of Cobham, Baron, 6
 ECONOMICS: Ministry of Labour Annual Report, [54]
Economist, The, [35]; 7
 ECONOMY Act, 1926, [33]
 ECONOMY Campaign, [9]
 ECUADOR, [303]; Revolutionary movement, [303]
 EDDINGTON, Professor A. S., "The Nature of the Physical World," 19
 EDINBURGH University, 2, 11; Professorship of Greek, 13
- EDUCATION estimates, [49]-[50]
 EDWARDS, Miss D., "Winter Sonata," 21; "Rhapsody," 21
 EGGS, marking of, [30]
 EGYPT, [263]
 British warning [264]-[266]; Egyptian Government attitude, [44], [265]; ultimatum, [265]-[266]
 Cabinet, [264], [266]
 Foreign affairs, [267]
 Four Points, the, [265]
 Great Britain, relations with, [35]-[36], [263, *et seq.*]
 Kellogg Pact, [267]; British attitude, [267]
 Khartoum-Omdurman communications, [208]
 Mecca Pilgrimage, [267]
 Parliament dissolved, [266]-[267]
 Prince Seif ed Dm, [-66]
 Proposed treaty with Great Britain, [263-264]
 Public Assemblies Bill, [44], [265]
 Strike of lawyers, [266]
 Sudan, [267]-[268]
 Wafd Party, [266]-[267]
- EIGHT Hous Act, [28]
 ELECTION expenses, [37]
 ELECTRICITY supply Act, [100]
 ELIO, Dr. Tomas M. (Bolivia), [292]
 ELIOT, T. S., "For Lancelot Andrewes, Essays on Stylo and Order," 17
 ELLIOT, Major Walter Elliot, [80]
 ELLIOTT, Mr. (Canada), [284]
 ELTON, Professor O., "Survey of English Literature," 17
 EMPIRE Industries Association, [74]
 EMPIRE Marketing Board, 39
 EMPIRE migration, [100]
 EMPIRE Parliamentary Association, [287]
 EMPIRE Settlement Act extension, [21]
 EMPLOYMENT returns, [54]
 ENDERLINE, E., "Skin Deep," 52
 ENGINEERING trade workers, [119]
 ENGLISH countryside preservation, [91]
 ENGLISH, Dr. (Czech.), [165]
 ENTOMOLOGY: retrospect, 38
 "EPHESIAN," "This Side Idolatry," 17
 ERVINE, St. John, "Four One Act Plays," 19; "The Mountain," 21
 ESTATE duties, [37]
 ESTONIA, [161], [163]
 EVANS, Sir Arthur, "The Palace of Minos," 18
 EVANS, Joseph, "Theistic Monism," 19
 EVANS, Wainwright (Literature), 27
 EVERSLEY, Lord, Obit., 110
 EVJENTH, H. M. (Norway), [217]
 EVOLUTION and Genetics: retrospect, 37
 EXCHEQUER, benefactions to, [8]
 EXETER: University College, 7
 EXPORTS Credit Guarantee scheme, [97], [100]
 EYNAC, M. Laurent (Fr.), [138], [139]
- FABER, Leslie (Drama), 53
 FACTORY Bill, [12], [98]
 FAIRBANKS, Douglas (Cinema), 55

- FAISAL al Dawish (Arabia), [232]
 FALLON, Bishop (Canada), [286]
 FARADAY Society, 42
 FARMERS' attitude to Government policy, [7]
 FEDERATION of British Industries, [30]
 FENG Yu-hsiang, Gen. (China), [241], [242], [244], [247]
 FENYES, L. (Hungary), [171]
 FERENS, Mr. T. R., gift, 1
 FERGUSSON, Captain (Sudan), [267]
 FERGUSSON, Sir Charles (New Zealand), [313]
 FERLAND, C. E. (Canada), [288]
 FERRARIN, Capt. A. (Aviation), 7
 FERRIER, Sir David, Obit., 106
 FIBIGER, Dr. Johannes, Obit., 99
 FIGHTING services co-ordination, [24]
 FIKRET Bey, Dr. (Turkey), [179]
 FILM industry, 54-56, 70
 FILM Society, 55
 FILMS censorship, [18]
 FINANCE and Commerce, 59
 FINANCE Bill (Act), [56]-[57], [60], [67]-[68], [73], [79], [81]; 74
 FINANCE Company of Great Britain and America, Limited, [36]
 FINANCE: national and local, [109]
 FINE Art Society's Gallery, 50
 FINLAND, [219]
 Agrarian Cabinet, [219]
 Communist plot, [220]
 Constitutional Amendment Bill, [219]
 Denmark, relations with, [219]-[220]
 Foreign policy, [219]
 Prohibition Law Amendment, [220]
 Stevedores' strike, [219]
 Sweden, relations with, [214]
 FIRE insurance, 71
 FIRES, 8, 13
 FISHER, Rt. Hon. Andrew, Obit., 129
 FISHER, Rt. Hon. H. A. L., 7
 FISHERIES investigation, 38
 FISHING Fleets, [10]; 2
 FITZMAURICE, Commandant (Av.), 4
 FITZROY, Captain, [61]
 FLEG, Edmond, "The Life of Moses," 19
 FLINT, Mr. Russell, 48
 FLOATING debt, [37]; 63
 FLONZALEY quattet, 58
 FLOODS, [1]; 1
 FOOD Council, [55]
 FOOTBALL Association Cup, 4
 FOOTBALL Betting Act, 75
 FORAN, Mr. (Irish Free State), [132]
 FORBES, G. W. (New Zealand), [315]
 FORD, Helen (Drama), 53
 FORD, Ford Madox, "Last Post," 22
 FOREIGN Commerce, 70-71
 FOREIGN debt payments, [39]
 FOREIGN Exchanges, 67
 FOREIGN Visitors to England Association, 13
 FOREST holdings schemes, [75]
 FORESTER, C. S., "Louis XIV.," 18
 FORGEOT, M. (Fr.), [139]
 FORSTER, E. M., "The Eternal Moment," 21
 FORTESCUE, Sir John, "Correspondence of King George the Third," 18
 FRAMPTON, Sir George, Obit., 114
 FRANCE, [184]
 Action Française, [136]
 Alsace unrest, [185], [136]
 Anti-clericalism, [139]
 Arbitration Treaty with U.S., [135]
 Aviation [136]; accidents, [138]
 Belgium, commercial agreement, [198]
 Budget [139], [140]
 Capital, exportation of, [134]
 Combes, M., Statue unveiling, [139]
 Communist propaganda: suppression of, [134]
 Debts question, [138]
 Financial, [134], [135], [137]; 61, 67
 Financial scandal, [140]
 General Elections, [135]-[136]
 Gold standard, [137]; 61, 67
 Hungary, relations with, [167]
 Loan, [136]-[137]
 Loucheur Housing Law, [137]
 Peace Pact: negotiations with United States, [134], [135], [137], [269]-[270]
 Poincaré Ministry, [134], [139]; new Cabinet, [139]
 Political, [139]
 Radical Party, [139]
 Reparations problem, [135], [138], [154]
 Rhineland evacuation question, [135], [138], [154]
 Royalist Party, [136], [139]
 Russia, relations with, [184]
 Stabilisation Bill [137]
 FRANCHISE:
 Pauper disqualification, [32]-[33]
 Plural voting, [33]
 University representation, [33]
 FRANCHISE Bill, [11]
 FRANCK, Cesar (Music), 58
 "FRANCK case," [24]-[25], [30]
 FRASER, Ronald, "The Vista," 21
 FREE Trade: Labour discussions, [117]
 FREE Trade memorial, [78]
 FREEMASONRY, 8
 FREKE, Hussey (China: Salt Administration), [247]
 FRENCH war debt repayment, [42]
 FRUMKIN, M. (Russia), [160]
 FUAD, King of Egypt, [35], [266]
 FUEL, International Conference, 42
 GAINSBOROUGH bi-centenary, 49
 GALES, 2, 12
 GALLARDA, Dr. Angel (Argentina), [291]
 GALSWORTHY, John, [114]; "Swan Song," 20, 31; "Justice," "Loyalties" (Drama), 53
 GANDHI, M. K. (India), [236]
 GARAMI, M. (Hungary), [169]
 GARCA, General C. (Mexico), [299]
 GARIJA, M. (Yugoslavia), [177]
 GARNETT, E., "Letters from Conrad," 16
 GAS explosions in London, 13
 GENERAL Election: Government attitude, [11], [111]
 GENERAL Strike aftermath, [40]

GENETICS : retrospect, 37

GENEVA : Disarmament Committee, [62]

GENEVA Naval Conference, [28], [93], [102], [112]

GENEVA Opium Convention, [125], [282]

GEOGRAPHY, International Conference, 42

GEORGE, Rt. Hon. D. Lloyd:

Address, debate on, [11]

Anglo-French naval compromise, [103]

Budget debate, [41], [43]

Credit and development suggestion, [100]-[101]

Egyptian crisis, [44]

Fighting services co-ordination, [24]

Finance Bill, [79]

Illness, [110]

Industrial situation, [15]; policy, [8]

Kellogg pact, [45]

Land Tax scheme, [41]

Liberal industrial policy, [8]

Liberal-Labour co-operation, [90]

Liberal Party leadership, and, [90]

Miners' representatives, and, [28]

Rating relief scheme, [41], [56], [GO]

Trade situation, [54]

Otherwise mentioned, [10], [35]

GEPP, Mr. (W. Australia), [310]

GERHARDI, W., "Jazz and Jasper," 20;
"The Polyglots," 20

GERMANY, [147]

Administrative reforms, [149], [150],
[151]; South German Opposition [150]

Agriculture, [152]

Bavaria [150]

Budget, [147], [151]

Cabinet divisions, [147]; changes, [147]-
[148]

Cruiser question, [149]

Disarmament, [154]

Dock strike, [153]

Election, [148]

Financial [151]

Foreign capital, [151], [152], [153]; 61,
68

Foreign policy, [154]

Hamburg, [149]

Housing deficiency, [152]

Iron industry, [153]

Kellogg Pact, [154]

League of Nations, [121], [153], [154]

Marx Cabinet resigns, [148]

Muller-Franken Cabinet, [148]-[149]

Nationalist Party, [148], [154]

Political parties, position of, [148]

Prussia, [149], [150]

Railway Board of Directors, [150]-[151]

Reichsbank, [152], [153]

Reparations, [96], [98], [138], [151],
[154]; 61

Rhineland evacuation, [92], [98], [118],
[138], [151], [154]

Savings-banks deposits, [152]

Schools Bill, [147], [148]

Social welfare expenditure, [152]

South Africa: trade agreement with,
[153], [259]

Thuringia, [149]

GERMANY, *cont.*

Trade Agreements, [153]

Trade prohibitions, [153]

Trade situation [152], [153]

Unemployment Insurance Fund, [151]

Unification, [149]-[150]

Wages [152]; disputes, [153]

Waldeck, [149]

War liquidating expenditure, [150]

Wurtemberg, [150]

GESSLER, Herr (Germany), [148]

GHEORGHIEFF, M. (Bulgaria), [190]

GIBBS, Lt.-Col. the Rt. Hon. G. A., 1

GIFTS to the Nation, [8]; 2, 3, 7, 9, 10, 12

GIL, Señor E. P. (Mexico), [300]

GILBERT, Mr. Parker, [96], [138], [151],
[272]

GILMOUR, Sir J., [20], [53], [107], [111]; 80

GIOLITTI, Giovanni, Obit., 121

GLADSTONE, Lord, "In Memory of my
Father," 14

GLAISHER, James W. L., Obit., 135

GLASGOW Royal Infirmary, 11

GLASPELL, Susan, "Brook Evans," 23, 36

GLENAVY, Lord, [182]

GLOUCESTER, Duke of, [119]; 9

GOETHALS, Maj.-Gen. G. W., Obit., 97

GOLDSMITHS' Company, 12

GOMBOS, Gy. (Hungary), [169]

GOMEZ, General (Mexico), [298]

GOOCH, G. P., and Temporloy, Harold,
"British Documents on the Origins of
the War," 15

GORDON, C. S. (Magdalen College), 12

GOSSE, Sir Edmund, Obit., 112

GOTO, Viscount (Japan), [252]

GOUPIL Gallery, 50

GRAHAM, Mr., [110]

GRAHAM, Harry, "By Caudle Light," 53

GRAMOPHONE shares, 69

GRANDI, Sgr. (Italy), [180], [181]

GRANT, Sir Alex.: gift, 7

GREECE, [181]

Bank of Greece, [184]

Brigandage in Epirus, [185]

Bulgaria, convention with, [185]

Cabinet dissensions, [181]; new Coali-
tion, [181]

Corinth riots, [184]

Cretans demonstration, [181]

Dengue fever outbreak, [183], [184]

Dodecannese question, [188]

Earthquakes, [184]

Elections, [183]

Electoral changes, [183]

Fiscal, [183]

Foreign policy, [183], [184]

Italo-Greek Pact, [182], [183]-[184]

Pangahst plot, [182]

Pangalos examination, [181]-[182]

Political Offences amnesty, [185]

Political situation, [181], [182]

Refugees settlement, [183]

Stabilisation, [184]; 68

Strike of tobacco workers, [184]

Venizolos, M.: returns to public life,
[181], [182], [1.3], [184]; forms
Government, [183]

- GREECE, *cont.*
 Yugoslavia, relations with, [184]
 Zaimis Coalition Government, [181], [182]
 GREENLAND, [217]-[218]
 GREENWOOD, Mr., [110], [116]
 GREGORY, Mr., "Francis case," [24], [25]
 GREY, Lord, [10], [95]-[9G], [102]; 6
 GRIFFITHS, Dr. E. H., 42
 GROENBR, Lt.-Gen. (Germany), [148]
 GROVES, Brig.-Gen., [82]
 GROVES, Mr. (Victoria, Aust.), [309]
 GRUNE, Carl (Cinema), 55
 GUEDALLA, P. "Gladstone and Palmerston" 15
 GUGGIARI, Dr. Josof (Paraguay), [295], [303]
 GUINNESS, Hon. Walter, [7], [29], [30], [48]
 GULLETT, H. S. (Australia), [307]
 GUNDOLP, Professor, "Shakespeare, Soin Wessen und Werk," 17
 GUTHRIE Lecture, 44
 GUYOT, Ives, Obit., 101
 GYORKY, Mr. (Hungary), [170]
 HAAB, M. (Switz.), [199]
 HACKETT, Walter, "Other Men's Wives," 52; "77 Park Lane" (Drama), 52
 HACKING, Captain W., [105]
 HAGUE Permanent Court: "Optional Clause," British attitude, [5], [6]
 HAIG, Earl, death, [13]; Obit., 98
 HAIG memorial home, 5
 HAILEY, Sir M., [237], [240]
 HAILSHAM, Lord, [30], [81], [116]
 HAINISCH, President (Austria), [157], [158]
 HALDANE, Lord, [12], [99]; 72; Obit., 123
 HALL, Mr., [62]
 HALL, Oliver (Art), 48
 HALL, Miss Radclyffe, "Adam's Breed," 21; "The Well of Loneliness," 21
 HALLEY Lecture, 45
 HAMBLEDEN, Lord, Obit., 117
 HAMMANN, Dr. Obto, Obit., 117
 HANNEN, Nicholas (Drama), 51
 HARDINGE, Sir A., "A Diplomat in the East," 15
 HARDY, Thomas, Obit., 19, 94; "Winter Words in Various Moods and Metres," 19, 29
 HARDY, Mrs. "Early Life of Thomas Hardy," 16
 HARKNESS, Edward: gift, 13
 HARLAND and Wolff, Messrs., [129]
 HARMSWORTH, Mr. Cecil, 3
 HARMSWORTH, Mr., [168]
 HARNEY, Mr. [110]
 HARRISON, Austen Frederic, Obit., 120
 HARRISON, G. B., "An Elizabethan Journal," 18
 HARRISON, Miss Jane E., Obit., 109
 HARROP, A. J., "The Amazing Career of Edward Gibbon Wakefield," 18
 HARTING, James E., Obit., 95
 HARTOG, Sir Philip, [235]
 HARTSHORN, Mr. [62]
 HARVARD University: gift to, 11; Law School, 10
 HARVEY, George, Obit., 124
 HARVEY, William, tercentenary, 5
 HASTINGS, Basil M., Obit, 101
 HASUND, S. M. (Norway), [216]
 HATVANY, Baron L. (Hungary), [171]
 HAWKE, Mr. Justice, 72
 HAY, Ian, and Wodehouse, P. G., "A Damsel in Distress," 52
 HAYES, Manning (Cinema), 55
 HEALTH, Ministry of: estimates, [22], [80]
 HEALTH, Insurance Bill, [33]
 HEALY, T. M., "Leaders and Letters of my Day," 15
 HEATH, Lady (Aviation), 5
 HEDJAZ, Ab, ex-King of, [227]
 HELEN, Princess (Kumania), [173]
 HEMINGWAY, E., "Men without Women," 22-23
 HENDERSON, Mr. Arthur, [14], [89]
 HENDERSON, Mr. J. M., 3
 HENDRICK, B. J., "The Earlier Life and Letters of Walter H. Page," 15
 HENNESSY, M. Jean (Fr.), [140]
 HENRY, Mr. G. (Art), 48
 HERBERT, A. P., "The Trials of Topsy," 21
 HERBERT, Mr. Dennis, [61]
 HERGESHEIMER, Joseph, "Quiet Cities," 23
 HERRIOT, M. (Fr.), [139]
 HERTZOG, General, [258], [259], [262]
 HEYMAN, M. (Belg.), [194]
 HICKS, Mr. George, [6V], [85]
 HILDEBRAND, Professor, 45
 HILFERDING, Dr. (Germany), [148]
 HILLS, Major, [73]
 HTNDENBURG, President, [147]
 HINKLER, Mr. Bert (Aviation), 3
 HIROHITO, Emperor (Japan), [252]
 HIRST, Sir Hugo, [307]
 HOARE, Sir Samuel: Air Force estimates, [22]-[23]; Civil Aviation policy, [79]
 HODGES, Horace (Drama), 53
 HOPPE, Monckton, "Many Waters" (Drama), 51
 HOGAN, Mr. (Victoria, Aust.), [309]
 HOGARTH, Dr. D. G., "The Life of Charles M. Doughty," 17
 "HOGARTH Lectures," 17
 HOGG, Sir Douglas, [30], 71. See Hailsham, Lord
 HOLPORD collection (Art), 48
 HOLLAND, Mr. (New Zealand), [315]
 HOLMES, Sir C. J., 11
 HOLST, Gustav, "Egdon Hoath," 57
 HOME railways, 69
 HONDURAS, [303]
 HOOVER, Horbert E., President-elect (U.S.A.): nomination, [276]; tour to S. American countries, [273]-[274], [275], [292], [295], [296], [302]
 HOPE, Mr., [61]
 HORNE, Dr. John, Obit., 115
 HORNSRUD, C. (Norway), [215], [216]
 HORWOOD, Sir William, [70]
 HOUGHTON, Mr. (American Ambassador), [112], [113]
 HOULT, Miss Norah, "Poor Women," 21

- HOUSE of Lords: Commons encroachments on, [26]-[27]; Franchise Bill debate, [53]
HOUSE of Lords' Reform, [87], [99], [115]-[116]; Lord Clarendon's scheme, [115]-[116]
HOUSES, reconditioning of, [49]
HOUSING question, [55]
HOUSING subsidy, [49], [116]
HOUSTON, Lady: Gift, 10
HOWARD, Sir Ebenezer, Obit., 111
HOWES, Sir Neville (Australia), [304], [311]
HUANG-PU, General (China), [240], [246]
HUBER, Max (Netherlands, E. Indies), [255]
HUENEFELD, Baron (Av.), 4
HUGENRERG, Herr (Germany), [154]
HUGHES, Charles Evans (U.S.A.), [125], [272], [273], [230]
HUGHES, ex-Premier, Australia, [304]
HUGHES, Mr. Kent (Victoria, Aust.), [309]
Hu Han-min (China), [244]
HULL: University College, 1, 5
HUMPHREYS, Mr. Justice, 72
HUNGARY, [167]
 Agreements, international, [168]
 Anti-Jewish excesses, [169]-[170]
 Bank of Hungary, [171]
 Bela Kun's arrest, [156], [169]
 Bethlen, Count: Government of, [169], [170]-[171]
 Budget, [170]
 Catholics and Protestants, friction, [170]
 Economic, [171]
 Fascist strike threat, [169]
 Foreign policy, [166], [167]-[168]
 France, relations with, [167], [168]
 Italy, relations with, [168]
 League of Nations, and, [167], [168]
 Little Entente, and, [167], [168]
 Monarchist movement, [170]
 "Numerus Clausus" Law, [169]-[170]
 Parliamentary, [169]-[170]
 Poland, treaty with, [168]
 Political trials, [171]-[172]
 Rothermere, Lord, and, [168]-[169]
 Rumania, relations with, [168], [175]
 St. Gothard affair, [155], [166], [167]
 Swedish-American loan, [170]
 Trade balance deficit, [171]
 Trade stimulation, [171]
 Trianon Peace Treaty, [166], [168]
 War material discoveries, [166], [167]
HURRICANE, 9
HUTCHINSON, Professor Arthur, 1
HUTCHINSON, Maj.-Gen. Sir Robert, [24]
HUXLEY, Aldous, "Point Counter Point," 20, 32
HYDE Park incident, [50]
HYMANS, M. (Belg.), [137], [193], [196]; 77, 79
IBANEZ, Colonel (Chile), [295], [296]
IBANEZ, Vicente Blasco, Obit., 98
IBSEN centenary, 53
ICELAND, [210]
IHSAN Bey (Turkey), [179]
IMPERIAL Cable and Wireless Conference, [53], [80], [98], [107]
IMPERIAL Cancer Conference, 40
IMPERIAL Chemical Industries, Ltd., [36]
IMPERIAL Conference, [106]; Resolutions, [283], [285], [287]
IMPERIAL Defence Committee, [24]
IMPERIAL Telegraphs Bill, [106], [107]
Im Thurn, Mr., [45], [26]
INCHCAPE, Lord, [8]; 7
INCOME tax, [38], [40]; 74
INDEPENDENT Labour Party, [117]; Annual Conference, [35]
INDIA, [234]
 Administrative changes, [237]
 Agriculture: Linlithgow Commission, [239]-[240]
 All-India Congress Committee, [236]
 All-India Moslem Conference, [236]
 Bomb explosion, [235]
 Bombay archbishopric, [207], [240]
 Boycott agitation, [236]
 Budget, [237]
 Calcutta new dock, [240]
 Cinematograph Committee, [240]
 Hindu-Moslem riots, [238]
 Indian Central Committee [235]
 Indian Reserve Bank Bill, [236]
 Indian Sandhurst Committee, [237]
 Indian States Inquiry Committee, [239]
 Irrigation works, [240]
 Labour unrest, [234], [238]
 Land assessment agitation, [238]-[239]
 Legislative Assembly, [234], [236], [237]-[238]; secretariat, [238]
 Naval Discipline Bill, [236]
 Nehru report, [235]-[236]
 Public Safety Bill, [237]
 Punjab Legislative Council, [234]
 Road Committee, [240]
 Royal Indian Marine, [237]
 Statutory Commission, [234]-[235]; co-operation plan, [234]
 Strikes, [238]
 Tariff Board reports, [240]
INDUSTRIAL amalgamation, 60
INDUSTRIAL development schemes, [36]
INDUSTRIAL peace, [55], [118]-[119]; Ministry of Labour Return, [2]. See also Mond Conference
INDUSTRIAL Peace Union, [306]
INDUSTRIAL profits, 63
INDUSTRIAL Transference Board, [14], [28], [48], [76], [114], [115]; report, [75], [76], [83]
INDUSTRY, rates relief measure, [40]-[42], [109]
INFANTS' Hospital, Vincent Square, 5
INSKIP, Sir Thomas, [30]; 72
INSURANCE, 71
INTERNATIONAL Astronomical Union, 42
INTERNATIONAL Chamber of Commerce, [123]
INTERNATIONAL Economic Conference, [78]
INTERNATIONAL Education Board, 39, 46
INTERNATIONAL Federation of Trade Unions, [86]-[87]
INTERNATIONAL Institute of Statistics, [123]

- INTERNATIONAL Labour Office, [105], [123]
 INTERNATIONAL Law Scholarships, 10
 INTERNATIONAL Research Council, 42
 INTERNATIONAL Wireless and Cable Conference, [53], [98], [107]; 80
 IRAQ, [226]
 Anglo-Iraqi Treaty, [226]
 Cabinet changes, [226]
 Conscription question, [226]
 Elections, [226]
 Financial, [227]
 Income Tax Act, [226]
 Nejd, relations with, [227], [231], [232]
 Persia, relations with, [226]-[227]
 IRELAND, NORTHERN, [127]
 Agriculture, [130]
 Belfast municipal difficulties, [129]
 Belfast transport problem, [129]
 Budget, [128]
 Economic, [129]-[130]
 Education Act, [128]
 Franchise, [128]
 Governorship, [130]
 Labour Party, [127]
 Liberal Party revival, [127]
 Linen trade, [129]-[130]
 Local option measure, [127]-[128]
 National League, [127]
 Parliament Buildings, [130]; 5
 Political, [127]-[129]
 Rating and Valuation Bill, [129]
 Representation of the People Bill, [128]
 Shipbuilding, [129]
 IRIGOYEN, Dr. Hipolito (Argentina), [273], [290], [291]
 IRISH FREE STATE, [130]
 Agriculture, [133]
 American visit of Mr. Cosgrave, [130]
 Anti-treatyites, the, [130]
 Birth control propaganda, [132]
 Budget, [133]
 Censorship of Publications Bill, [132]
 Congested districts, [133]
 Constitution Bills, [131]
 Cork City Management Bill, [132]
 Currency issues, [133]; 9
 Debt, [133]
 Diplomatic, [133]
 Economic situation, [133]
 Fianna Fail, [130], [131], [132]
 Gaeltacht, the, [133]
 Initiative, the [131]
 Internal order, [133]
 Kellogg treaty, [67], [133]
 Labour Party, [181]
 Oath of allegiance, [131]
 Parliamentary, [131]-[132]
 Public Safety Act, [133]
 Referendum, the, [131]
 Senate elections, [132]
 Stepping-stone policy, [130]
 Trade balance, [133]
 Treaty question, [130]
 IRISH loyalists' compensation, [22]
 IRON and Steel industry, 69-70
 IRON and Steel Trades Confederation, [117]
 IRWIN, Miss M., "Fire Down Below," 21
 ISANHOFF, Professor (Bulgaria), [189]
 ISMET Pasha, General (Turkey), [180]
Italia expedition, [147]; relief, [214]
 ITALY, [140]
 Agricultural policy, [143]-[144]
 Armistice demonstration, [144]
 Balkan policy, [176], [182], [184], [186], [189], [190]
 Birth rate, [144]
 Bomb explosion, [147]
 Fascist General Council, constitutionalisation of, [140]-[142]
 Financial [144]-[146]; programme, [146]
 Foreign loans, [145], [146]
 France, relations with, [146]
 Grand Council, powers of, [141], [142]
 Industrial rationalisation, [145]
 Italia expedition, [147]
 Kellogg Pact, [146]
 Labour Charter Law, [142]-[143]
 Land improvement schemes, [143]
 Naval disarmament, [146]
 Newspaper editors' conference, [144]
 Parliamentary reform, [142]
 Provincial Organisations reform, [142]-[143]
 Public works, [146]
 Rossi case, [201]
 Rural exodus, [144]
 Switzerland, relations with, [201]
 Treaties, [146]
 Unemployment problem, [146]
 Volcanic eruption, [147]
 Wheat campaign, [143]; duty, [143]
 Yugoslavia, relations with, [146], [178]
 IVEAGH, Lord: collection of pictures, 47
 IYANGAR, Srinivasa (India), [236]
 JABAVU, Dr. (South Africa), [256]
 JACKSON, Sir Barry (Drama), 53
 JAFFER Pasha, General (Iraq), [222]
 JAGGER, Mr. C. J., 48
 JAMESON, Miss Storm, "Farewell to Youth," 22
 JANACEK, Leos, Obit, 123; "Sinfonietta" (Music), 57; "Taras Bulba," 57
 JANNINGB, Emil (Cinema), 56
 JANSon, M. (Belg.), [193]
 JAPAN, [247]
 Budget estimates, [248]
 Cabinet changes, [248]
 China, relations with, [249]-[252]; Tsinanfu incident, [250]; treaty abrogation, [250]-[251]
 Communism, [252]-[253]
 Election campaign, [247]-[248]
 Enthronement of the Emperor, [252]
 Financial, [249], [253]
 Financial scandal, [253]
 Foreign relations, [252]
 Government, [247], [248]
 Imperial Diet, [247]-[248]; strength of parties, [247], [248]; opposition split, [248]
 Kellogg Pact, [252]
 Manchuria interests, [251]-[252]
 Rationalisation in banking and industry, [253]

JAPAN, *cont*

Shantung, protection of interests in, [249]-[250]

Tokyo, Municipal Council, [253]

Treaties, [252]

Tsinanfu incident, [250]

JASPAR, M. Henri (Belg.), [191],

JEANS, Sir James, 45

JENKINS, Sir Lawrence, Obit., 128

J-RSSE, Miss Tennvson, "Many Latitudes," 22

JOCKEY Club, [30]

JOHN, Augustus, R.A., 13

JOHNSON, Mr. T. (Irish Free State), [132]

JOHNSTON, Mr. T., M.P., [50]-[51], [82]

JOLSON, Al (Cinema), 54

JONES, Henry Festing, Obit., 129

JONES, lit. Kev. W. S., Bishop of Sodor and Man, 4

JORGA, Professor (Rumania), [175]

JOYCE, Rt. Rev. Gilbert, 12

JOYNSON-HTCKS, Rt. Hon. Sir W.:

Dog-racmg Bill, [49]

Films censorship, [18]

Franchise, [33], [37], [38]; pauper disqualification, [33]

Lord Byng's appointment, [70]

Major Murray, case of, [51]

Police Commission, [82]

Prayer Book measure, [59], [88]

Prince Carol, [48]

Public meetings rowdyism, [17]

Russian Banks and Communists, [57]-[58]

Safeguarding policy, [7G], [77]

Savidge case, [50]-[51], [70J]-[71]

Shops Closing Act, [29]

Totalisator Bill, [73]

Women's Franchise Bill, [33], [37], [38]

Otherwise mentioned, [81], [91]

JUVENILE Unemployment, [48]

KALININ, M. (Russia), [160]

KALLAY, T. (Hungary), [169]

KALTCHIEFF, M. (Bulgaria), [188]

KAMENEV, M. (Russia), [158]

KAPHANDAIUS, M. (Greece), [182], [183]

KAROLYI, Count (Hungary), [172]

KAYE-SMITH, MISS Sheila, "Iron and Smoke," 22

KEATON, Buster (Cinema), 56

KEESOM, Professor, 45

KELLENBERGER, Dr. E. D., [222]

KELLOGG, Mr. Frank B., [112], [133], [289], [296]; signs Peace Pact, [137]; 77, 79

KELLOGG proposals for outlawry of war, [122], [123], [268]-[271]; negotiations with France, [45], [46], [134], [135], [137], [269]-[270]; French reservations, [45], [46]; British attitude, [44], [45], [46], [66], [67], [79], [267], [270]; and Latin-American countries, [122]; Peace Pact signed at Quai d'Orsay, [187]-[183]; Text, 77-79

KEMAL Pasha, Ghazi Mustapha, [178],

[179], [180], [223], [224], [231]

KENNEDY, Sir Alex. B. W., Obit., 131

KENYA: natives question, [18], [69]

KER, W. P., "Form and Style in Poetry," 17

KEROSENE tax, [39], [42]-[43], [79]

KING, Commodore H. D., [6], [53], [62]

KING Edward Hospital Fund, 4, 12

KING George, [10], [61]; 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 10; illness, [119], [288]; 12, 13; Councillors of State nominated, 13

KING'S Speech, [11], [81], [97]; Labour Amendment, [14]

KING, Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie (Canada), [138], [279], [281], [282], [283], [284], [285], [286], [287], [288], 78, 79

KINGSFORD-SMITH, Capt. (Aviator), [316]

KIRKWOOD, Mr., [106]

KLEBELSBERG, Count (Hungary), [169], [170]

KNIGHT, M. Jean (Canada), [288]

KNIGHTHOODS, 4, 10

KNOEDLER'S gallery: sporting pictures, 50

KNOX, Senator (U.S.A.), [268]

KNUDSEN, Gunnar, Obit., 135

KOBAYASHI, Vice-Admiral (Japan), [311]

KOCH, Dr. (Germany), [148]

KOEHL, Capt. (Av.), 4

KOLB, Dr. (Austria), [155]

KONDURIOTIS, Admiral (Greece), [183]

KOROSSETS, Fr. (Yugoslavia), [176], [177]

KOWEIT, [232]

KREGLINGER, M. (Belg.), [173]

KUHARA, Mr. (Japan), [248]

KYLSANT, Lord, [303], [804]

LABOUR, Ministry of: estimates, [48]; annual report, [54]

LABOUR Party: and Co-operative Party alliance, [55]; disarmament, [23]; coal industry proposals, [27]; Shop Hours Act amendment, [64]; pamphlet, "Labour and the Nation," [69]-[70], [89], [90]; election programme, [87]; report on banking and currency policy, [87], [89]; Annual Conference, [88]-[90], [94], [117]; and Communists, [88], [89]; financial position, [89]; manifesto on Government's foreign policy, [94]; Albert Hall meeting, [97]; unemployment debate amendment, [99]; dissensions, [106], [117]; new headquarters opened, 5

LABOUR superannuation schemes, [75]

LABRADOR, [282]

LAMBETH conference, [88]

LAMPSON, Sir Miles, [245], [246]

LANCASHIRE, Mr. H. F.: gift, 2

LANCASHIRE Cotton Industry Conference, [21]

LANCASHIRE Cotton trade, [3]-[4], [26], [51]-[52], [118]; local dispute, [119]; amalgamation in, 60, 70

LANCASHIRE Textile Corporation, 70

LAND Mortgage Corporation, [48]

LANE-FOX, Colonel, [6]

LANG, Fritz (Cinema), 56

LANG, Matheson (Drama), 53

LANSBURY, George, [88], [89], [90]; "My Life," 15

- LANSING, Robert, Obit., 130
 LAPOINTE, Mr. (Canada), [283], [287]
 LARDNER, Ring, "The Love Nest," 23
 LASCELLES, Lord, [133]
 LATVIA, [161], [163]
 LAUDER, Major P. D., 12
 LAUGHTON, Charles (Drama), 52
 LAW, W., Retrospect, 72-76
 LAWRENCE, D. H., "Lady Chatterley's Lover," 21; "The Woman who Rode Away," 21
 LAWRENCE, Miss Susan, [110]
 LAWSON, Mr. Earl (Canada), [288]
 LAWTON, Frank (Drama), 51
 LAYTON, W. T., [235]
 LEAGUE OF NATIONS, [118], [120]
 Arbitration and Security, [4]; Covenant, the, [5]-[6], [122]; General Act, [122]; Hungary, St. Gothard affair, [167]; Kellogg Pact and the Covenant, [122]-[123]; Optional clause, [121]; "Outlawry" of War, [122]
 Disarmament, [98], [120]; Litvinov proposals, [160]; Preparatory Commission, [121]
 Economic work, [123]; Coal industry, [124]; Customs nomenclature uniformity, [124]; Economic Consultative Committee, [123]; International cartels, [124]; Sugar industry, [124]; Tariff reduction, [124]; Veterinary convention, [124]; War, economic causes of, [124]; World Economic Conference, [123]
 Financial Committee, [124]; Bulgarian Loan, [190]; Purchasing power of gold, [124]; Refugee settlement schemes, [124]
 Health Organisation, [125], [282]; Tuberculosis: Calmette-Guorin bacilli and, [125]
 International Justice Permanent Court, [125]
 International Law Codification, [126]
 Mandates Commission, [260]
 Opium and Dangerous Drugs, [125], [282]
 Political disputes, [126]
 Transit and Communications, [125]
 Transit Organisation, [125], [126]
 Universalisation, [120]
 And see under names of countries
 LEAGUE of Nations Union, [6], [66], [94]-[95]
 LE Brix, M. (Aviator), [136]
 LEE, Viscount, of Fareham, [82], [112], [113]
 LEES-SMITH, Mr., [70]
 LEFEVRE Gallery, 50
 LEGAL Aid, Committee report, 73
 LEICESTER Gallery, 50
 LEIDER, Frida (Music), 56
 LENER Quartet, 58
 LEVINSON, Salmon Oliver (U.S.A.), [268], [269]
 LEVY, Ben, "Mud and Treacle," 51; "Mrs. Moonlight," 52
 LEWIS, Sinclair, "The Man who knew Coolidge," 23
 LEWIS, Wyndham, "The Childermass," 22
 LEYGUES, M. (Fr.), [139]
 LIMTCHEFF, M. (Bulgaria), [189], [190]
 LIBERAL Council, [9]
 LIBERAL Industrial Committee Report, [8]-[9], [35]
 LIBERAL-LABOUR co-operation, [90]
 LIBERAL Party, [8]-[9]; policy, aim in, [9], [10]; revival, [35]; "Yellow Book," [15]
 LI Chai-sum, Gen. (China), [241], [246]
 LICHNOSKY, Prince K. M., Obit., 102; "Heading for the Abyss," 15
 LIMA, Mgr., Archbishop of Bombay, [240]
 LINCOLN'S Inn: Old Hall, 12
 LINCOLNSHIRE, Marquess of, Obit., 116
 LINDBERGH, Col. Charles, [274], [298]
 LINDENBLATT, Dr., [222]
 LINDMAN, Admiral (Sweden), [212]
 LINDSAY, Judge B. B., and Evan^s, W., "The Revolt of Modern Youth," 19, 27; "The Companionate Marriage," 19
 LINEN trade, 70
 LINLITHGOW, Marquis of: Royal Commission on Agriculture, [239]-[240]
 LION, Leon M. (Drama), 51, 53
 LITHUANIA, [161]
 Germany, commercial agreement, [162]
 Poland, relations with, [126], [161]-[163]
 Vilna, claim to, [126], [127], [161], [162]
 LITTLE Entente States, [167]; Conference of Foreign Ministers, [166]
 LITVINOV, M. (Russia), [160]
 LIVERPOOL Cathedral, 10
 LIVERPOOL University, 5, 41
 LLEWELYN, Sir William, 13
 LLOYD, Lord, [36], [44], [265]
 LLOYD, Harold (Cinema), 56
 LLOYD, Rt. Rev. Thomas, 12
 LLOYD'S new building opened by the King, 3
 LLOYD-JONES, C., "The Matriarch," 21
 LOCAL administration and Socialist practices [16]-[17]
 LOCAL Authorities Act extension, [29]
 LOCAL Government Bill, [40], [41], [63], [97], [108]-[112]; General Exchequer Contribution, [110]
 LOCAL Government Bill (Scotland), [111], [112]
 LOCAL rating, [11], [15], [16]
 LOCARNO, Treaty, [5], [67], [95], [102], [154], [283]
 LODGE, Sir Oliver, 42
 LOFGREN, Mr. (Sweden), [212]
 LONDON, Bishop of, visit to New Zealand, [316]
 LONDON Choral Society, 58
 LONDON County Council, [17], [18]; 56
 LONDON: King's College, 6
 LONDON, Lord Mayor: Sir Kynaston Studd elected, 9
 LONDON, Midland and Scottish Railway, [19]
 LONDON rates of exchange, 68

- LONDON Symphony Orchestra, 58
 LONDON, University of, 13
 LONDON, University College, endowment, 3
 LONDON Van Horse Parade Society, 4
 LONDONDERRY, Lord, [96], [105]
 LONSDALE, Earl of, K.G., 10
 LORD Mayor's Fund (mining distress), [114], [115]
 LORD, Mrs. Elyse (Art), 50
 LORDS Mayor, 7
 LORENTZ, Professor H. A., Obit., 99
 LOUCHEUR, M. (Fr.), [189]
 LOURENQO Marques Railway, [207]
 LOVAT, Cord, [69], [287]
 LUBECK, Mr. (Sweden), [213]
 LUBITSCH, Ernst (Cinema), 56
 LUCAS, E. V., "The Colvins and Their Friends," 17
 LUCAS, F. L., "Tragedy," 17
 LUGARD, Lord, 1
 Luis, Dr. W. (Brazil), [293], [294]
 LUKE, Mr. H. C. (Chief Secretary, Palestine), [229]
 LUMB, Charles P., [292]
 LUND, Per (Norway), [216]
 LUPU, Dr. (Rumania), [175]
 LUTHER, Dr. (Germany), [150]
 LUTYENS, Sir E. L., 47, 48
 LUXEMBURG, Grand Duchy, [193], [194]
 LYKKE, Ivar (Norway), [215]
 LYNGSIE, Hr. (Denmark), [219], [220]
 LYNN, Ralph (Drama), 52
 LYRIC Theatre, Hammersmith, 53
 LYTTON, Lord [105]
- MACAULAY, Rose, "Keeping up Appearances," 21, 34
 MCCORMACK, W. (Queensland), [310]
 MCCOY, General (U.S.), [301], [302]
 MACDONAGH, M., "The Life of William O'Brien, the Irish Nationalist," 15
 MACDONALD, Rt. Hon. J. H.:
 Address, debate on, [11], [15], [98]
 Anglo-French naval compromise, [98], [103]
 Canadian visit, [287]
 Coal areas distress, [28], [115]
 Egyptian crisis, [44]
 General election, [97]
 Government foreign policy, [94], [98]
 Government adoption of Labour policy, [101]
 Haig memorial, [13]
 Imperial Telegraphs Bill, [106]
 Kellogg Pact, [45], [98]
 "Labour and the Nation" pamphlet, [69], [89]
 Labour Party dissensions, [106], [317];
 Independent Labour Party, and, [117]
 Liberal-Labour co-operation, [90]
 Notts mining industry, [47]
 Rubber market panic, [34]
 Totalisator Bill, [72]
 Unemployment problem, [75], [115]
 Zinoviev letter, [25]
 Otherwise mentioned, [91]; 5
- MACFARLAN, Mr. (Victoria, Aust.), [309]
 MCGILLIGAN, Mr. (Irish Free State), [138]
 MCKAY, Claude, "Home to Harlem," 22
 MACKAY, Hon. Elsie, [8]; 7
 MACKENZIE, Compton, "Extremes Meet," 21;
 "Extraordinary Women," 21
 MACKINNON, Dr. J., "Luther and the Reformation," 18
 MCLACHLAN, Hon. A. J., [138]; 78, 79
 MACLEAN, Dr. J. D. (Canada), [286], [287], [288]
 MCMURRAY, Mr. (United States), [246]
 MACNAGHTEN, Mr. Justice, 72
 MCPHEE, Mr. (Tasmania), [310]
 MCPHERSON, Sir W. (Victoria, Aust.), [309]
 MACHADO, Dr. B. (Portugal), [206]
 MADDEN, Rt. Hon. D. H., Obit., 104
 MADELEY, Mr. (South Africa), [258]
 MADZSAR, Dr. (Hungary), [171]
 MAGINOT, M. (Fr.), [139]
 MAHMUD, Mohamed Pasha (Egypt), [266]
 MAILLOL, M. Anside (Art), 50
 MATU, Professor Alex. W., Obit., 132
 MALAN, Dr. C. W. (South Africa), [207], [262]
 MALINOFF, M. (Bulgaria), [189]
 MALLESON, Miles, "Four People," (Drama), 51
 MALMGREEN, Dr. (Sweden), [147]
 MALONE, Col., M.P., 1
 MANCHESTER City Council, [99]
Manchester (Guardian), [60]
 MANCHESTER poor relief, [17]
 MANCHESTER University, 12
 MANCHURIA, [251], [252]
 MANIU, Dr. (Rumania), [172]-[175] *passim*
 MANN, Miss J. D. L., 5
 MANN, Mr. Tom, [85]
 MANNERS, J. Hartley, "The Queen's Messenger," [277]
 MANZONI, Count (Italy), [138]; 78, 79
 MARCIL, C. (Canada), [286]
 MARCONI, Senatore, 41
 MARCONI'S Wireless Telegraph Company, [53], [107]; 60
 MARETT, Dr. R. R., 10
 MARINE Insurance, 71
 MARINKOVITCH, Dr. (Yugoslavia), [175], [176], [187]
 MARLOWE, Mr., [25]
 MARMONT, Percy (Cinema), 55
 MARRAUD, M. (Fr.), [139]
 MARRIS, Sir William, [237]
 MARSHALL, Bruce, "The Little Friend," 21
 MARTIN-JOHNSON, "Simba" (Cinema), 56
 MARTINEZ, Sr. (Argentina), [291]
 MARTY, M. (Fr.), [135]
 MABFIELD, John, "The Coming of Christ," 20; "Midsummer Night," 20
 MASON, A. E. W., "No Other Tiger," 52;
 "The House of the Arrow" (Drama), 52
 MASON, Rev. A. J., D.D., Obit., 110
 MATCH industry, British, [38]
 MATHEMATICS, International Conference, 42
 MATHIEU, G. A. (Wireless telegraphy), 41

- MATSCHEK, Dr. (Yugoslavia), [178]
 MAUGHAM, Mr. Justice, 72
 MAUGHAM, Somerset, "Ashenden," 21
 MAUNDER, Edward W., Obit., 106
 MAURA, Don A. (Spain), [204]
 "M A X, Prince of Baden, The Memories of," 15
 MAXIMOVITCH, Col. (Yugoslavia), [178]
 MAXTON, Mr. J., [25], [35], [64], [65], [69], [85], [88], [89], [117]
 MAXWELL, W. B., "We Forget Because We Must," 22
 MAXWELL, Sir W., Obit., 137
 MAZARAKIS, General (Greece), [181]
 MEDICINE and surgery, gift to, 10, 11
 MEDTNER (Music), 57
 MEGROZ, R. L., "Dante Gabriel Rossetti," 16
 MEHMED Emin Bey (Turkey), [179]
 MELLBYE, J. (Norway), [215], [217]
 MELCHETT, Lord, [G5]; 6; Palestine visit, [228]. *See also under* Mond, Sir A.
 MELO, Dr. Leopoldo (Argentina), [290]
 MENZIES, Mr. (Victoria, Aust.), [309]
 MERCHANT Navy, [10]; 2
 MERLOT, M. (Belg.), [192]
 MERRIMAN, Sir F. B., [30], [59]; 72
 MERTON, Professor T. R., 44
 METCALFE, Mr. Percy, [133]
 METROPOLITAN Police Force, [50], [51], [70]
 MEXICO, [296]
 Agrarians and Labour Party, [298]-[299]
 Alvarez, General, dismissed, [301]
 American oil companies, [297]
 Calles, President, Congress speech, [300]
 Carranza, Captain, aeroplane death, [298-299]
 Catholics, position of, [297], [298], [299], [300], [801]
 Central provinces disturbances, [297]
 Claims Commission, [301]
 Crom, the, [298], [299]
 Finances, [297]
 Jalisco disturbances, [297]
 Obregon, General, assassinated, [298], [299], [300]
 Oil concessions, [274], [301]
 Petroleum laws, [297]
 Presidency question, [299]-[300]
 Presidential election, [298]
 Regional Confederation of Mexican Workers, [298], [299]
 Toral trial, [300]
 United States, relations with, [274], [289], [296]
 MICHAEL, King (Rumania), [173]
 MICROBIOLOGY and Disease: retrospect, 39
 MIDDLESEX Hospital, 10
 MIHAILOFF, Ivanche, (Bulgaria), [188], [189], [190]
 MIKLAS, Herr W. (Austria), [158]
 MILLAR, Robins, "Thunder in the Air," 52
 MILLAY, Miss E. St. V., "The Buck in the Snow," 20
 MILUN, Mrs. S. G., "The Coming of the Lord," 22; "An Artist in the Family," 23
 MILLSPAUGH, Dr., [222]
 MILTSE, A. A., "The Fourth Wall" (Drama), 52
 MINERS' Federation: coal industry proposals, [27]; and the Spencer union, [32]; and communists, [32]; Annual Conference, [73]-[74]; condemnation of Communism, [74]; mining distress appeal, [114]
 MINES Department: estimates, [62]
 MINING areas distress, [27]-[28], [53], [119]; relief appeals, [114]; Mansion House Conference, [114]; Government attitude, [114], [115]; Scotland, 115
 MINING industry situation, [27], [62]-[63]; victimisation in, [73]; Government attitude, [53], [55], [62]-[63], [100]; unemployment, [100]. *See also under* Coal
 MINISTERIAL changes, [6], [80], [96]
 MITCHELL-THOMSON, Sir W., [71], [107]
 MITCHISON, Mrs. Naomi, "Black Sparta," 21
 MITRA, Sir B. N. (India), [237]
 MITSUCHI, Mr. (Japan), [249]
 MITTER, Sir Bijendra Lai (India), [287]
 MIZUNO, Mr. (Japan), [248]
 MJELDE, O. M. (Norway), [216]
 MOCHIZUKI, Mr. (Japan), [248]
 MOFFAT, Mr. (S. Rhodesia), [260], [261]
 MOLOFF, M. (Bulgaria), [189]
 MONCADO, General Jose (Nioaragua), [275], [302]
 MOND, Sir Alfred, [2], [36]; Budget debate: derating scheme, [42]; Currency and Bank Notes Bill, [47]; peerage, 6. *See also under* Melchett, Lord
 MOND Conference, [2], [3], [31], [65]-[66], [73], [74], [84], [119], [307]; Sub-Committee's Report, [65]
 MOND, Ludwig, bequest (Art), 50
 MONEDA, Senor E. (Mexico), [299]
 MONEY, Sir Leo, [50], [51]
 MONEY Bills, [87]
 MONEY Market, 66-67
 MONEYLENDERS' Act, 74-75
 MONROE Doctrine, [122], [273], [289], [290], [291]
 MONTAGUE, Charles E., Obit., 114; "Action," 21
 MONTIGNY, M. (Fr.), [139]
Montreal Gazette, 6
 MOORE, Judge, [126]
 MOREAU, M. (Fr.), [138]
 MORGAN, G. Vaughan: gift, 10
 MORLEY, Christopher, "Thunder on the Left," 53
 MORLEY, Lord, "Memorandum on Resignation, August 1914," 15
 MORLEY, Mr. (Victoria, Aust.), [809]
 MOROCCO, [262]
 Ait Wadrim tribe surrenders, [262]
 Brigandage in French zone, [262]
 Gunpowder explosion, [262]
 Rifi insurrection, [262]
 Tangier, status of, £263; Italian demands, [263]
 MORONES, Senor L. (Mexico), [298], [299]

- MORRIS, W. R: gift, 8
 MORROW, Dwight (U.S. Ambassador to Mexico), [296], [297]
 MORTBRA, Count (Spain), [204]
 MORTON, Michael, "Alibi" (Drama), 52
 Moscow Art Theatre, 53
 Moss, Mrs.: gift, 10
 MOTOR coach service: sleeping accommodation, 8
 MOTOR traffic problem, [16], [19], [72], [116]-[117]; noise abatement, [91]; Royal Commission, [117]
 MOTOR transport competition with railways, [78]
 MOTTRAM, R. H., "The English Miss," 20, 33
 MOUNT Wilson Observatory, 46
 MOVIEZONE, the, 54
 MOWINCKEL, J. L. (Norway), [216], [217], [218]
 MOZAMBIQUE, [262]
 Agreement with Government of the Union of South Africa, [207], [262]
 MUDDIMAN, Sir Alexander, [237]
 MUIR, Edwin, "The Structure of the Novel," 17
 MUIRHBAD, David, A.R.A., 4
 MULLER-FRANKEN, Herr (Germany) [92], [148]
 MUNICIPAL elections, [9]
 MURNAU, F. W. (Cinema), 56
 MURRAY, Major, [51]; 73
 MURRAY, Sir John, Obit., 134
 MUSIC, retrospect, 56
 MUSSOLINI, Signor: [140], [141], [142], [143], [144], [146], [155], [168], [180], [201], [202]
 NAGY, E. (Hungary), [169]
 NAHAS Pasha (Egypt), [36], [44], [264], [266]
 NAIR, Sir Sankaran (India), [235]
 NANKING outrages, [13], [82], [246]
 NARDINI, Signor (Italy), [146]
 NATIONAL Art Collections Fund, 49
 NATIONAL Council for Prevention of War, [55], [66]
 NATIONAL Debt, [42], [68]; 63; gifts towards reduction of, 2, 3, 7, 9, 10, 12
 NATIONAL Farmers' Union, [7]
 NATIONAL Federation of Employers Organisations, [105]
 NATIONAL Gallery acquisitions, 50; directorship, 11
 NATIONAL Health Insurance: Fund, [33]; panel doctors, [20], [21]
 NATIONAL Hunt Committee, [30]
 NATIONAL Institute: Industrial Psychology, 2
 NATIONAL Liberal Federation Conference, [90]
 NATIONAL Minority Movement, [85]
 NATIONAL Physical Laboratory, 45
 NATIONAL Playing Fields Association, 6
 NATIONAL Portrait Gallery, 50
 NATIONAL Seamen's Union, [31], [86]
 NATIONAL Trust, [91]; 5, 9, 12
 NATIONAL Union of Manufacturers, [58]
 NATIONAL Union of Railwaymen, [78]
 NATIONALISTIC ideals, growth of, [4]
 NAVAL: Estimates, [23]; *Royal Oak* sensation, [30]-[31]; submarine L55 recovery, [86]
 NAVAL disarmament. *See* Anglo-French Naval Compromise
 NAVAL Prizes Bill, [77]
 NAZIM Hikmet Bey (Turkey), [179]
 NECESSITOUS areas, [42]; relief, [56], [57], [60]
 NECHITCH, M. (Yugoslavia), [187]
 NEHRU, Pandit Motilal (India), [235], [236]
 NETHERLANDS, THE, [194]
 Belgium, relations with, [195]-[197]
 Budget, [197]-[198]
 Communists, [195]
 Debt, [198]
 de Geer Cabinet, [195]
 Electoral law, [195]
 Financial, [197]
 France, relations with, [197]
 League of Nations, [196]
 Legislative, [195]
 Loan, [198]
 National Defence Bill, [195]
 Parliamentary, [194]-[195]
 Spirits excise, [198]
 Taxation, [197]
 Treaties, [197]
 NETHERLANDS EAST INDIES, [253]
 Air service with Holland, [253]
 American capital in, [255]
 Budget, [254], [256]
 Communitistic disturbances, [253]
 Economic, [254]
 Financial, [256]
 Native movement, [254]
 Oil concessions, [255]
 Palmas island, [255]
 Political, [253]-[254]
 Sarekat Islam Party, [253]
 Separatist movement, [254]
 Socialist motions rejected, [255]
 Taxation, [254]
 Volksraad composition, [195], [255]
 Wireless, [253]
 NEUILLY, Treaty of, [187]
 NEVINBON, H. W.: "Last Changes, Last Chances," 15
 NEWDIGATE Prize, 6
 NEWFOUNDLAND, [282]
 NEWSOM, Canon, G. E., 2
 NEWSPAPER PRESS, consolidation, [34]-[35]; 2, 7
 NEW Year's Honours, 1
 NEW YORK Stock Exchange, 61
 NEW ZEALAND, [311]
 Aviation, [316]
 Budget, [818]
 Coates ministry debacle, [315]
 Conciliation and arbitration, [312]
 Debt, [313]
 Feminine franchise, [315]
 General Election, [311], [314], [315]
 Hydro-electric schemes, [313]
 Immigration, [312], [315]
 Industrial Conference, [311]-[312]

NEW ZEALAND, *cont.*

Insurance, [313]
 Japanese naval visit, [316]
 League of Nations, [311]
 Licensing reform referendum, [316]
 Mental Defectives Bill, [313]-[314]
 Naval contribution, [23]
 Pensions, [313]
 Political parties, [314], [315]
 Railway: control system, [312]; de-
 velopment, [313]; finance, [313]
 Reform Party programme, [314]
 Religious Exercises in Schools Bill, [312]
 Samoa, Western, [311], [313]
 State railways, [313]
 Trade returns, [313]
 Unemployment, [312], [314], [315]
 United Party programme, [314], [316]
 Ward Government, [315], [316]
 Workers' compensation, [312]

NQATA, Sir Apirana (New Zealand), [315]
 NICARAGUA, [301]

Administration, [301], [302]
 Cabinet changes, [302]
 Guerilla warfare in, [274], [301]-[302]
 Nicaraguan Canal, [302]
 Presidential Election, [275], [301], [302]
 United States intervention in, [274],
 [275], [289], [292], [301], [302]
 NICHOLLS, R., .. Under the Yew," 22

NOBEL Prize: Chemistry, 11; Literature,
 11

NOBILE, Gen.: *Italia* expedition, [147],
 [214]

NORDENSKJOLD, Professor Nils G., Obit.,
 115

NORTHCLIPFE, Lord : memorial, 3

NORWAY, [215]

Bouvet Island, [218]
 Budget, [217]
 Denmark, relations with, [217]-[218]
 Gold parity, return to, [217]; 68
 Grain Monopoly Act, [217]
 Greenland, [217]
 Income tax, [217]
 Industrial disputes, [218]
 Labour Government, [215]; policy,
 [215], [216]
 Land Act, [217]
 League of Nations, [218]
 Local option, [218]
 Mowinkel Government, [216]
 Municipal elections, [218]
 Political situation, [215]

NOTTINGHAM, University College, 2, 7

NOTTS Industrial Union, [47]

NOTTS Miners' Association, [31]-[32], [47],
 [86]

NOTTS mining industry, [32], [47]

NOVAK, M. (Czech.), [165]

NURSING Schools, [49]

OBREGON, General (Mexico): assassina-
 tion, [298], [299], [300]; Obit., 121

O'BRIEN, William, Obit., 102

Observer, The, [25], [97]

O'DONNELL, Mr., " Islanders," 21

O'FLAHERTY, Liam, " The Assassin," 22

OFTEDAL, L. (Norway), [216]

OGDEN, Thomas: gift, 5

O'HIGGINS, Mr. Kevin, [131], [133]

OLD Ago Pensions: Act, [20]; estimates,
 [22]

OLD Vic, the (Opera), 57

O'LEARY, Con., " This Delicate Creature,"
 21, 34

OLIVIER, Lord, [69], [105]

OLYMPIC Games, 8

O'MALLEY, Mr., [24]

O'NEILL, Eugene, " Strange Interlude,"
 19, 29

OPERA, retrospect, 56-57

ORDSHONIKIDSE, S. K. (Bussia), [161]

O'RIORDAN, C., " Soldier of Waterloo," 22

ORMSBY-GORE, Hon. W., [18], [253]

ORPEN, Sir William, 48

OTTLEY, Robert, bequest, 12

OVERSEA trade, 70

OVERSEAS Trade Act, [105]

OXFORD, Lady, "Octavia," 21

OXFORD, Lord, death, [17]; 72; Obit, 100;
 " Memories and Reflections," 14

" OXFORD English Dictionary," 4

OXFORD : Radcliffe Infirmary, 8

OXFORD University: Chancellorship, 6;

Exeter College, 10; Lady Margaret Hall,

6; Lincoln College, 9, 13; Magdalen

College, 12; Poetry Professorship, 12 ;

Regius Professorship, Modern History,

8; St. Hilda's College, 5

PACE case, 73

PAGE, Dr. Earle (Australia), [303], [304],
 [305]

PAGE-CROFT, Mr., [101i]

PAGET, General Sir A., Obit., 136

PAI, Tsung-hsi, Gen. (China), [243]

PAIN, Barry E. O., Obit., 112

PAINLEVE, M. (Fr.), [139]

PAKOTS, M. (Hungary), [170]

PALESTINE, [227]

Arab demands, [228]

Arabs and Jews, relations between, [228]

Bedouin demands, [230]

Chief Secretaryship, [229]

Electoral law, [230]

Financial depression, [227], [228]

Government relief works, [228]

High-Commissionership, [229]

International Missionary Conference,
 [229]

Jewish Agency proposals, [228]

Locust plague, [229]

Moslem riots, [229]

Non-Zionist Jews, [228]

Trans-Jordan, [229]-[230]; Bedouin de-
 mands, [230]; treaty, [229]

Wailing Wall incident, [228]-[229]

Zionist Organisation, [228]

PAMPANINI, Rosetta (Music), 57

PAN-AMERICAN Conference, [127], [272]-
 [273], [289]

Arbitration and conciliation, [273], [290]

Monroe Doctrine, and, [273], [289], [290]

Tariffs question, [290]

United States foreign policy, and, [289]

- PAN-AMERICAN Union, [120], [289], [290];
 Convention of (text), 79-84
 PANEL doctors, [20], [21]
 PANGALOS, General (Greece), [181]
 PANKHURST, Emmeline, Obit., 116
 PAO, General (China), [242]
 PAPANASTASSIOU, M. (Greece), [181], [182]
 PARAGUAY, [803]
 PARLIAMENTARY Labour Party, [64]-[65]
 PARLIAMENTARY Session, [11], [81], [97];
 King's Speech, [11], [97]; prorogation,
 [12], [80]
 PARMENTIER, M. (Fr.), [138]
 PARMOOR, Lord, [45], [99]
 PARR, Hon. Sir James [138]; 78, 79
 PASTEUR Institute, [125]
 PATEL, V. J. (India), [236], [237], [238]
 PATEL, Mr. Vallabhai (India), [239]
 PEACE in industry, [2]-[3]
 PEEL, Lord, [74], [96], [238], [287]
 PEERAGES conferred, 6
 PENNINGTON, Mr. (Victoria, Aust.), [309]
 PENNY postage, [30]
 PENSIONS Act, [20]
 PENSO, Major (Italy), [147]
 PENSON, Lilian M. (Literature), 15
 PERCY, Lord Eustace, [49]
 PERITCH, M. Nmku (Yugoslavia), [175]
 PERLEY, Sir George (Canada), [286]
 PERNAR, Dr. (Yugoslavia), [177]
 PERRIER, M. (Fr.), [139]
 PERSIA, [220]
 Capitulations abrogated, [220]
 Financial Adviser, [222]
 Foreigners, judicial safeguards, [220]-
 [221]
 Great Britain: relations with, [220]-[221]
 Imperial Airways route, [221]
 Insurrections, [221]
 Iraq, relations with, [222], [226], [227]
 League of Nations, and, [222], [227]
 Railway contract, [222]
 Shah, the, [221], [222]
 Tariff autonomy, [220]-[221]
 Treaties, [81], [220]-[221]
 Turkey, relations with, [222]
 PETERSEN, Dr. (Germany), [150]
 PETHICK Lawrence, Mr., [68], [89]
 PETO, Sir Basil, [77]-[78]
 PETROL tax, [39], [41], [56], [67]
 PHILHARMONIC Concert, 57
 PHILIPSON, Mrs. Hilton, 73
 PHILLIPS, Wm. (U.S.A.), [278]
 PHOTOTONE (Cinema), 54
 PHYSICAL Sciences: retrospect, 41-46
 PHYSICAL Society, 44
 PHYSIOLOGY, General: retrospect, 38;
 Plant, 39
 PICKARD-CAMBRIDGE, A. W., 13
 PICKPORD, Mary (Cinema), 54
 PILET-GOLAZ, M. (Switz.), [198]
 PILSUDSKI, Marshal (Poland), [162], [164]
 PIRELLI, Signor, [96]
 PLANT disease : research, 40
 PLANT physiology: research, 39
 PLUMER, Lord, [228], [229]
 PLUMMER, John Humphrey : bequest, 13
 PLUNKETT, D. B. (Canada), [288]
 PLURAL voting, [37]
 POINCARE, M. Raymond, [96], [135], [136],
 [137], [138], [139], [272]
 POIRIER, Leon (Cinema), 56
 POLAND, [162]
 Coal exports, [164]
 Diplomatic activity, [162]
 Economic, [164]
 Election, [164]
 Finances, [164]
 Foreign relations, [163]-[164], [168]
 Gdynia port, [164]
 Germany, commercial agreements with,
 [163]
 Government position, [161]
 League of Nations, and, [126], [162],
 [163]
 Lithuania, relations with, [126], [161],
 [162]-[163]
 Parliamentary, [164]
 Soviet, relations with, [163]
 Treaties, [163]-[164]
 POLAND, Sir Harry, Obit., 103
 POLICE methods: Royal Commission on,
 73
 POLLOCK, Channing, "The Enomv," 52
 POLLOCK, Mr. (N. Ireland), [12-7]
 POOR Law administration, [80], [109].
See also Local Government Bill
 POPCHRISTOPF, M. (Bulgaria), [188]
 POPE, His Holiness the, [156]
 POPE, Senator (Canada), [282]
 POPOVICS, Mr. (Hungary), [171]
 PORTER, Professor A. W., 41
 PORTO RICO, [274]
 PORTUGAL, [206]
 Amnesty, [208]
 Finances, [208]
 League of Nations loan conditions re-
 jected, [206]-[207]
 Military dictatorship, [206]-[207]
 Ministerial changes, [208]
 Mozambique agreement, [207], [262]
 Political conspiracies, [206], [207]-[208]
 Presidential Election, [207]
 Vatican, agreement with, [207]
 Vintners Company's visit, [207]
 POST Office Estimates, [38], [71]
 POULTON, Mabel (Cinema), 55
 POULTON, Mr. [7]
 POWER of attorney: legal, 75
 POWICKE, Professor F. M., 8; "Stephen
 Langton," 18-19
 POWYS, T. F., "House with the Echo,"
 22, 35
 PRATTEN, Mr. (Australia), [307]
 PRAYER Book measure, [30], [58]-[60], [88]
 PRESLAND, John (Mrs. Gladys Skelton),
 "Escape We Never," 21
 PRESS fusion [34]-[35]; 2, 7
 PRIBITCHEVITCH, M. (Yugoslavia), [176],
 [177], [178]
 PRINCE of Wales, [10], [115], [119]; 2, 9
 PRINCE Henry, 4
 PRINCESS Alice, Countess of Athlone, [259]
 PRINCESS Mary, [133]
 PRO-ARTE quartet, 58
 PROCOPE, M. (Finland), [219]

- PROMENADE Concerts, 58
 PROTECTIONIST movement, [76]-[78]
 PROTOGEROFF, General (Bulgaria), [186], [187]-[188]
 PRYCE, Richard (Drama), 58
 PUBLIC Documents, 77-93 ; Anglo-Chinese Treaty, Text, 89-93; General Pact for the Renunciation of War, Text, 77-79; Pan-American Union, Convention on, Text, 79-84; Trans-Jordan Agreement, Text, 84-89
 PUBLIC economy, [16]
 PUBLIC meetings, maintenance of order, [17]
 PUEYREDON, Dr. (Argentina), [290]
 PUGSLEY, Chester D., presentation, 10
 PURCELL, Mr., [86]
 QUEEN Mary, H.M., [288]; 3, 4, 7, 10, 12
 QUENILLE, M. (Fr.), 189
 RACECOURSE Betting Act, [30], [81]; 74
 RACECOURSE Betting Control Board, [72]
 RADIATION, 42-43
 RADIOLOGY, International Congress, 42
 RADITCH, Mme. (Yugoslavia), [178]
 RADITCH, M. Paul (Yugoslavia), [177]
 RADITCH, M. Stephen (Yugoslavia), [175], [176], [177], [178]; Obit., 122
 RAI, Lala Lajpat (India), [235]; Obit., [132]
 RAILWAY Companies (Road Transport) Bill, [19]-[20], [71]-[72], [81]
 RAILWAYS: accidents, 6, 10, 11; non-stop service, 5; third-class sleepers, 9
 RAILWAYS, depression, [78]
 RAILWAYS, rates relief, [41], [100], [107]-[108]
 RAILWAYS, wages reduction agreement, [78]
 RAKOWSKI, M. (Russian Ambassador), [134]
 RAMAN, Professor C. V., 43
 RAMSAY, MISS A. A. W., "Sir Robert Peel," 15, 23
 RANSOM, E. A. (New Zealand), [315]
 RANTZAU, Count U. B., Obit., 126
 RASSAY, M. P. (Hungary), [168]
 RATCHITCH, Pumcha (Yugoslavia), [177]
 RATING and Valuation Bill, [40]-[42], [53], [56]-[57], [60]-[61], [63], [67], [81], [83], [100], [108], [109]; Government White Paper, [63]-[64]; preliminary draft lists, [83]
 READ, H., "English Prose Style," 17
 READING, Lord, [45], [71]
 RECKITT, Sir Harold, 75
 "REGAL" The (Cinema), 54
 REINACH, Theodor, Obit., 130
 RELANDER, President (Finland), [214], [219]
 REMNANT, Sir James, peerage, 6
 RENT Acts: Legal decisions, 76
 REPERTORY Players, 51
 REPRESENTATION of the People (Equal Franchise) Act, 74
 RESPIGHI (Music), 57
 REVENUE cases: Legal, 75
 RHODES, Mr. (Nova Scotia), [288]
 RHODES Trustees: Gift, 13
 RHODESIA, Northern, [260]; Amalgamation question, [260], [261]; British South Africa Company, [261]; Railway construction, [261]
 RHODESIA, Southern, [260]; Amalgamation question, [260], [261]; Elections, [261]; Governorship, [261]; Land Settlement policy, [261]; Legislative Assembly, [261]
 RICE, Elmer, "The Adding Machine," 58
 RICHARDSON, Professor O. W., 44
 RICHARDSON, Sir George (New Zealand), [311]
 RICKETTS, Mr. Charles, R.A., 3
 RICKLIN, Dr. (Fr.), [136]
 RIDLEY, Rt. Hon. Sir E., Obit., 128
 RISTOVITCH, M. (Yugoslavia), [177]
 RITTELI, Eugene, Obit., 119
 ROAD Fund, [38]
 ROAD maintenance, [109]
 ROAD traffic problems; Royal Commission, [72]
 ROAD Transport Bills, [71]-[72]
 ROAD Transport contrl, [16], [19]
 ROADS Beautifying Association, 7
 ROBB, Mr. (Canada), [280], [281]
 ROBERTS, Rt. Hon. G. H., Obit., 111
 ROBERTS, Sir S., [59]
 ROBERTSON, Sir Malcolm, [292]
 ROBINSON, E. A., "Tristram," 20
 ROBINSON, Edward Kay, Obit., 96
 ROBINSON, Percy, "To What Red Hell," 52
 Rocco, Signor (Italy), [140]
 ROCKEFELLER Foundation, 9
 ROCKEFELLER, Laura Spelman, memorial, 8
 RODWELL, Sir Cecil H. (S. Rhodesia), [261]
 ROMAN Catholic Church, 8
 RONALDSHAY, Lord, "Life of Lord Curzon," 14, 23
 Roos, Mr. Tillman (South Africa), [257]
 ROOTH, Mr. (Law), 72
 ROSSE, Joseph (Fr.), [136]
 ROSSI, Cesare (Italy), case of, [201]-[202]
 ROTHERMERE, Lord, [168]; 3
 ROUND, Dr. John H., Obit., 117
 ROY, Philippe (Canada), [288]
 ROYAL Academy, President, 13; summer exhibition, 47-48
 ROYAL Choral Society, 58
 ROYAL Colonial Institute, 5
 ROYAL Empire Society, 5
 ROYAL Institute of International Affairs, 10
 ROYAL Institution, 42, 44
 ROYAL National Lifeboat Institution, 13
 Royal Oak incident, [30]-[31]; enquiry, 78
 ROYAL Philharmonic Society, 58
 ROYAL Scottish Academy, 2, 3
 ROYAL Society, 42
 ROYAL Society of British Artists, 3
 RUBBER export restrictions, [34]
 RUBBER market panic, [84]
 RUMANIA, [172]
 Alba Julia demonstration, [172], [173]-[174]
 Bratianu, M., resignation of, [174]
 Council of Regency, [173], [174]

- RUMANIA, *cont.*
 Elections, [174]-[175]
 Ex-Prince Carol, [48], [173]-[174]
 King Michael, [173]
 League of Nations, and, [173]
 Hungarian optants dispute, [126], [127], [168], [175]
 Liberal dictatorship, [172], [173], [174], [175]
 Loan question, [172], [173], [174], [175]
 Maniu Cabinet, [174]
 Martial Law abolished, [174]
 National Tsaranist (Peasant) Party, [172], [173], [174], [175]
 Press censorship abolished, [174]
 BUNCIMAN, Mr., [42], [43], [63]
 RUNCIMAN, Mrs., [35]; 3
 RURAL Workers' Housing Act, [49]
 RUKHDI, Hussein Pasha, Obit., 105
 RUSSELL, Bertrand, "Sceptical Essays," 19, 28
 RUSSELL, Earl, [71]
 RUSSELL, Hon. Sir Charles, Obit., 106
 RUSSELL, Mr. Justice, 72
 RUSSIAN Ballet, 58
 RUSSIAN Banks and Communist Funds, [57]-[58]
 RUSSIAN Trade Unions, [86], [87]
 RUTHERFORD, Sir Ernest, 42, 43
 RUTTMAN, Walter (Cinema), 55
 RYE lifeboat disaster, 12
 RYKOV, M. (Russia), [159], [160]
 RYLAND, G. H. W., .. Words and Poetry," 17
 RYSST, T. A. (Norway), [216]
 SABATIER, Paul, Obit., 103
 SACKVILLE-WEST, Edward, "Mandrake over the Water-Carrier," 22
 SAFEGUARDING policy, [26], [38], [74], [100]; and employment, [14], [15], [74]; attack on, [74]; extension agitation, [74], [76]-[77], [87]-[88], [99], [104], [117]; buttons, [38], [68]; chemicals, [74]; hollow ware, [58], [68]; imported dress pieces, [117]; iron and steel, [74], [76], [88], [99], [104], [117]; leather gloves, [74]; mechanical lighters, [38], [43], [68]; motors, [74]; scientific instruments, [74]; silks, [74]
 SAID, Mohamed Pasha, Obit., 122
 ST. HELEN'S inquiry, 73
 SAKLATVALA, Mr., [32], [61], [62]
 SALAS, Dr. Santos (Chile), [295]
 SALAZAR, Dr. Oliveira (Portugal), [208]
 SALISBURY, Lord, [26]-[27], [99], [116], [282]
 SALMOND, Air-Marshal Sir John, [308], [316]
 SALT, Miss Sarah, "A Tiny Seed of Love," 21
 SALTER, Arthur Clavell, 72; Obit., 134
 SALTER, Dr., [117]
 SAMOA, Western [311]
 SAMPSON, Mr. H. W. (South Africa), [258]
 SAMUEL, Mr. A. M., [16], [43], [46]
 SAMUEL, Sir Herbert, [8], [127]
 SANDERSON, James: bequest, 2
 SANDINO, General (Nicaragua), [274], [301], [302]
 SANKEY, Mr. Justice, 72
 SARRAUT, M. (Fr.), [139]
 SARWAT, Abdel Khalek Pasha (Egypt), [36], [263], [264]; Obit., 127
 SASSOON, Sir Philip, [23]
 SASSOON, Siegfried, "The Memoirs of a Fox-Hunting Man," 16; "The Heart's Journey," 16, 19-20
 SAUNDERS, Mr. J. P., [235]
 SAUNDERS, Thomas Bailey, Obit., 99
 SAVIDGE case, [50]-[51], [70]-[71], [82]; 73
 SCHACHT, Dr. (Germany), [152]
 SCHATZEL, Dr. (Germany), [148]
 SCHEER, Admiral R., Obit., 133
 SCHÖBER, Police Pres. (Austria), [158]
 School-leaving age, [49], [75]
 SCHOOLS, elementary, [49]
 SCHUBERT centenary, 58
 SCHUSTKR, Sir Arthur, 42
 SCHUSTER, Sir George, [237]
 SCHWARZ, Professor E., Obit., 136
 SCIENTIFIC Institute of Agriculture, [123]
 SCOTLAND:
 Board of Health Report, [80]
 Housing question, [20], [80]
 Local Government Bill, [111]-[112]
 National Health Insurance Act, [20]
 SCOTT, A. MacCallum, Obit., 125
 SCOTT, Miss Eleanor, "War among Ladies," 21
 SCOTT, Miss Elizabeth, 1
 SCOTT, Sir Leslie, [239]
 SCOTTISH Independent Labour Party, [46]
 SCOTTISH National Library, 7
 SCULLIN, James (Australia), [305], [306], [307]
 SECURITY, British Government views, [5]-[6]
 SEIF ED DIN, Prince (Egypt), [266]
 SEIPEL, Dr. (Austria), [155], [156], [157], [167]
 SERRANO, General (Mexico), [298]
 SEVERING, Herr (Germany), [148], [153]
 SEYMOUR, Beatrice K., "Youth Rides Out," 22
 SEYMOUR, C., "The Intimate Papers of Colonel House," 15
 SHAKESPEARE Memorial Theatre, 1
 SHAKESPEARE, Dr. J. H., Obit., 105
 SHANGHAI defence force, [11], [13]
 SHAPLEY, Dr. H., 45
 SHARE-hawking, [19]; 74
 SHAW, G. B., "The Intelligent Woman's Guide to Socialism," 19, 28; (Cinema), 55
 SHAW, Professor P. E., 45
 SHAW, Mr. T., [18], [51]
 SHEFFIELD University, bequest to, 4
 SHERWOOD, R. E., "The Road to Rome," 53
 SHIPBUILDING industry, 71
 SHIPBUILDING trade workers, [119]
 SHIPPING, 71; Legal, 74; losses, 11
 SHODA, Mr. (Japan), [248]
 SHOPS Acts Committee report, 73
 SHOPS (Hours of Closing) Act, 1928, [29], [64], [81]; 73

- SHORT, Sir Frank (Art), 47, 48
 SICKERT, Mr. Richard, 3
 SIDBY, T. K. (New Zealand), [315]
 SIEMENS, Alexander, Obit., 101
 SIGNORI, Signor (Italy), [202]
 SILK, artificial, industry, 70
 SIMON, Sir John: army death penalty amendment, [37]; rating relief scheme, [56]; Indian Commission, [96], [234], [235]; 72
 SIMONS, Dr. (Germany), [151]
 SIMS, Charles (Art), 48; Obit., 109
 SINEL DE CORDES, General (Portugal), [206]
 SINGAPORE Dock, [23]
 SINGER, Washington: gift, 7
 SINGH, Charan (India), [235]
 SINHA of Raipur, Lord, Obit., 104
 SINKING Fund, [38], [39], [41], [43], [68]
 SKOULODIS, Stephen, Obit., 124
 SLADE, Admiral Sir E., Obit., 96
 SLESSER, Sir H., [60]
 SLUM clearance, [49]
 SLY, Sir Frank, Obit., 120
 SMIDDY, Mr. Timothy (Irish Free State), [133]
 SMIT, Hon. J. S., [138]; 78, 79
 SMITH, Governor Alfred E. (U.S.A.), [276]
 SMITH, Mr. Herbert, [73], [74], [85]
 SMITH, Miss N. Royde, "Children in the Wood," 22; "The Lover," 22
 SMUTS, General, [262]
 SMYTH, Dame Ethel, "Mass in D," 58
 SNOWDEN, Mr. Philip: safeguarding, [26], [104], [105], [117]; women's franchise, [33]; and the Independent Labour Party, [35]; Budget debate: derating scheme, [41]; Currency and Bank Notes Bill, [47]; Finance Bill, [56]; rating reform, [56], [57], [67]; petrol tax, [56], [67]; sugar duty, [67]-[68]; Lord Byng's appointment, [70]; public corporations and banks, [89]; Liberal-Labour co-operation, [90]; debate on Address, [98], [100]; unemployment measures, [100]; Local Government Bill, [111]
 SOLOMON, Sir William (South Africa), [258]
 SOMERS, Lord, [309]
 SOONG, Mr. T. V. (China), [241], [243], [244], [246], [251]
 SOTO Y GAMA, Sr. (Mexico), [299]
 SOUTH African Luncheon Club, [259]
 SOUTH Wales mining distress, [27]-[28], [114]
 SOVIET courtesy: submarine L55, [86]
 SOVIET-RUSSIA, [158]
 Agrarian policy, [100]
 Agricultural life, socialisation of, [159], [160]
 Budget, [159], [160]
 Capitalistic tendencies in, [159]-[160]
 Disarmament: Litvinov proposals, [121], [160]-[161]
 Foreign relations, [318], [1611], [163]
 Germany, relations with, [161]
 Gt. Britain: relations with, [99], [118]
 Industrialisation policy, [159]-[160]
 Kulaki, the, [159], [160]
 SOVIET-RUSSIA, *cont.*
 Opposition, the, [158]-[159]
 Peasants, concessions to, [159]
 Political, [159]
 Right wing, [159]-[160]
 Schachty trial, [161]
 Scientific research, 87, 39
 SPAIN, [203]
 Accidents, [206]
 Budget, [203], [206]
 Cabinet reorganisation, [206]
 Canfranc Tunnel opened, [205]
 Catalan regionalism, [203], [204]
 Church and State, [204]
 Dictatorship, [203], [205]; fifth anniversary celebrations, [205]-[206]
 Economic, [204], [206]
 Education, [204]
 Exchange stabilisation, [205]; 68
 Foreign culture in, [204]
 Foreign policy, [194], [205]
 Government, [201]-[205], [206]
 League of Nations and, [120], [121], [203]-[204]
 Loan successes, [203], [204]
 National Consultative Assembly, [203], [204], [205]
 Political plot, [205]
 Powder magazine explosion, [206]
 Public Works, [203], [204]
 Socialist Party, [205]
 Tariff, [206]
 Theatre fire, [206]
 Union Patnotica, [205]-[206]; Prime Minister's address to, [205]
 SPKAKER, the: retirement of Mr. Whitley, [61]
Spectator, The, [35]
 SPENCER, Mr. George: gift, 2
 SPENCER, Mr., coal-miners' union, [31], [32], [47]
 SPIERS Memorial Lecture, 42
 SPITALFIELD, new market opened, 12
 SQUIRE, Ronald (Drama), 53
 SBAMEK, Monsignor (Czech.), [165]
 STALIN, M. (Russia), [159], [160]
 "STALKY'S Reminiscences," 17
 STALLWORTHY, A. J. (New Zealand), [315]
 STAMP, Sir Josiah, 42
 STANTON, Sir H. Hughes, 47-48
Statist jubilee number, 6
 STEAD, Francis H., Obit., 95
 STEEL-MAITLAND, Sir A., [19], [48]
 STEIDLK, Dr. (Austria), [157]
 STEPHENS, James, "Etched in Moonlight," 22, 36
 STERLING, H. H. (New Zealand), [312]
 STERN, Miss G. B., "Debonair," 22
 STEWART, Mr. Downie (New Zealand), [813]
 STIMSON, Mr. (U.S.A.), [301]
 STOCK Exchange, 69
 STRACHEY, Lytton, "Elizabeth and Essex," 18, 26
 STRAHAN, Sir Aubrey, Obit., 103
 STRATHCLYDE, Lord, Obit., 128
 STRATHMORE and Kinghorne, Earl of, 10
 STRAUS, Ralph, "Dickens," 17

- STRAVINSKY, " Apollo Musagetes," 58
 STREET Offences Committee, [51], [1151]; 78
 STREET noise abatement, [91]
 STRESEMANN, Dr. Gustav/[135], [137], [138], [148], [1541]; 77, 79
 STRICKLAND, Sir G. (Baron Strickland), 1
 STRONG, Benjamin, Obit., 129
 STUDD, Sir Kynaston, 9
 STULTZ, Wihner (Aviation), 6
 SUDAN, [267]-[268]
 SUDERMANN, Dr. Hermann, Obit., 133
 SUGAR-BEET subsidy, [22], [68]
 SUGAR duties, [39], [67]
 SUMMER Time, 4, 10
 SUMMERS, Waiter (Cinema), 55
 SUN Chuau-fang, General (China), [241]
 SUN Fo, Mr. (China), [241], [244]
 SUNILA, M. (Finland), [219]
 SUNSHINE, 13
 SUN Yat-sen, Dr. (China), [241], [242],
 SUZUKI, K. (Japan), [248]
 SVEHLA, M. (CZECH.), [104], [165]
 SWALES, Mr., [85]
 SWEDEN, [210]
 Budget, [215]
 Cancer campaign, [214]
 Conciliation treaties, [214]
 Economic, [215]
 Ekman-Lofgren ministry, [210], [211]-[212]
 Financial, [215]
 Finland, relations with, [214]
 Foreign relations, [214]
 General Election, [210], [211]
 Industrial peace, safeguarding measures, [210]-[211], [212]-[213], [215]
 Italia expedition relief, [214]
 King's birthday, [213]-[214]
 Labour conflicts, [212]
 Lindman Ministry, [212]; programme, [212], [213]
 Socialist *bloc*, [212]
 Taxation problem, [211], [215]
 Telephone development, [214]
 Trade balance, [215]
 Treaties, [214], [215]
 SWEDEN, King Gustav, [213], [214]
 SWINNERTON, Frank, " A Brood oi Duck-
 lings," 22
 SWITZERLAND, [198]
 Administration Court, [199]
 Alcoholic liquors laws revision, [199]
 Agrarian, crisis, [199]-[200]; policy, [200]
 Cantonal Council, [198]
 Currency, [199]
 Economic, [199], [201]
 Elections, [198]
 Fascist organisations in, [201]
 Federal Council, [198]-[199]
 Federal Criminal Code, [199]
 Foreign decorations question, [199]
 France, relations with, [200]-[201]
 Gaming halls, [199]
 Haute Savoie, [200]
 Italy, relations with, [201]-[202]
 National Council, [198], [200]
 SWITZERLAND, *cont.*
 Naturalisation in, [199]
 Old Age and Dependants' Insurance, [199]
 Political refugees in, [201]
 Rossi case, [201]-[202]
 Soviet, relations with, [203]
 Ticino, Canton of, [201]
 Treaties, [200]-[201], [203]
 Uri " Landsgememde " dissolved, [199]
 Women's political rights, [203]
 Women's work exhibition, [203]
 " Zone " dispute, [200]
 SYDNEY, University of, 10
 SYED Ameer Ah, Rt. Hon., Obit., 122
 SYKES, Maj.-Gen. Sir F., [237]
 SYMES, Sir Stewart, [234]
 SYRIA, [230]
 Elections, [230]
 Kurdish " brigands," [231]
 Lebanese Ministry, [230]
 Ministerial, [230]
 Nationalist Party, [230]
 Syrian Constituent Assembly, [280]-[231]
 Syrian Ministry, [230]
 Turkish Frontier difficulties, [231]
 TAIMUR Tash (Persia), [221]
 TAKAMATSU, Prince (Japan), [311]
 TALKING Pictures, 53-54, 55
 TANAKA, Baron (Japan), [247], [248], [249], [251], [252]
 TANGIER problem, [146], [263]
 TANNER, Senator (Canada), [282]
 TAPPER, Mr. Walter, 48
 TARDIEU, M. (Fr.), [139]
 TATE Gallery, 50
 TATTON collection (Art), 48
 TAVERNER, W. B. (New Zealand), [315]
 TAYLOR, G. R. Stirling, " Oliver Cromwell," 18
 TAZI Mahmed Bey (Turkey), [179]
 TEACHER, WILLIAM C.: Gift, 11
 TELEGRAPH service deficit, [71]
 TELEPHONE, automatic, 3
 TELEPHONE : development, Sweden, [214]; services, Anglo-Spanish, [204]; Hun-
 garian, [171]; Berlin, Spain, Portugal, 8
 TELESZKY, J. (Hungary), [169]
 TELEVISION, [277]; 41
 TEMPERATURE, 7
 TEMPERLEY, Harold (Literature), 15
 TEMPLE, Sir A. G., Obit., 94
 TENNYSON, Lord Hallam, Obit., 135
 TERRINGTON, Lord, 75
 TERRITORIAL Force, training bounty, [22]
 TERRY, Dame Ellen, Obit., 121
 TEWFIK Rushdi Bey (Turkey), [180], [181], [222]
 TEXTILE trade unions and safeguarding, [117]
 TEXTILES : retrospect, 70
 THAMES floods in London, [1]; 1; Lord
 Mayor's Fund, 1
 THEODORE, E. G. (Australia), [305]
 THOIRY conversations, [154]
 THOMAS, Mr. J. H., [14], [25], [26], [78], [106]

- THOMAS, Sir W. Beech, "The Story of the Spectator," 18
- THOMPSON, Henry Yates, Obit., 119
- THOMSON, Lord, [101], [102]
- THOMSON, Professor G. P., 43
- THOMSON, Sir J. J., 43, 44, 45
- THORNDIKE, Sybil (Cinema), 56
- THORNEYCROFT, Sir J. I., Obit., [118]
- THORNTON, Sir Henry (Canada), [28b]
- THRIFT, Professor (Irish Free State), [131] *Times*, *TJie*, [35], [97]
- TODOR Alexandrott (Bulgaria), [188], [190]
- TOKNISSON, M. (Estonia), [101]
- TOKONAMI, Mr. (Japan), [248]
- TOLMIE, Dr. S. F. (British Columbia), [286], [288]
- TOMES, Sir Charles, Obit., 130
- TOMSKY, Mr. (Soviet), [86]
- TORAL, J. (Mexico), [298], [299], [300]
- TOTALISATOR Bill, [30], [69], [72]-[73]
- TOTALISATOR, legal, 75
- TOUT, Professor, "Chapters in the Administrative History of Media val England," 18
- TOWNER, Governor Horace (U.S.A.), [274]
- TRADE balance: 71
- TRADE protection associations: legal, 75
- TRADE returns, [2]
- TRADE situation, [26], [54], [55], [100]
- TRADE Union Act, [31]
- TRADE Union Congress, [84]-[86], [87]; industrial policy, [84]-[85]; and Mond Conferences, [31], [84], [85]; and rationalisation of industry, [85]; disciplinary measures by, [86]; and Communists, [86]; new headquarters, 5
- TRADE Union Council: and peace in industry movement, [2], [65], [73]; and Mond Conferences, [2], [31], [65], [73], [84], [85]; coal industry proposals, [27]; and the Spencer union, [31]-[32], [47], [86]; left wing movement, [64]
- TRADE Union movement policy, [84]
- TRADE Unions and Communists, [32], [86]
- TRANS-JORDAN, [229]-[230]
- TRANS-JORDAN Agreement, [229]; Text, 84-89
- TRAVERS, Ben, "riunder," 52
- TREASURY Bills, 63
- TREVELYAN, Mr., [23]-[24]
- TREVELYAN, Sir G. O., Obit., 123
- TRIANON Peace Treaty, [166], [168]
- TRIPOLITANIA: Italy, [146]
- TROTSKY, M. (Russia), [158], [160]
- TRUMBITCH, M. (Yugoslavia), [178]
- TRYGOER, Mr. (Sweden), [212]
- TSIURUPA, M. (Russia), [161]
- TUNISIA: Italy, [146]
- TURKEY, [178]
Afghanistan, Pact with, [180]-[181]
Alphabet, new, [180]
Communists, [179]
Conspiracies, [179]
Earthquakes, [179]
Financial scandals, [179]
Foreign debt, [181]
Greece, relations with, [181]
Hungary, relations with, [181]
- TURKEY, *cont.*
Italy, relations with, [180], [181], [189]
Moslem religion, reforms in, [180]
Persia, Pact with, [181]
Syrian frontier questions, [180]
"Westernising" of, [178], [180]
- TURNER, Mr. Ben, [2], [*GGI*] [84], [119]
- TURNER, Eva (Music), 56
- TURNER, J. Hastings, "Lord of the Manor," 52
- TUSSAUD'S new building, 4
- TYNE Bridge opened, 10
- UCHIDA, Count (Japan), [138], [252]; 79
- ULM, Mr. (Aviator), [316]
- ULTRA-VIOLET light, 41
- UNDERGROUND railways: Piccadilly Circus station, 13
- UNDSET, Mme. Sigrid, 11
- UNEMPLOYMENT Insurance Fund, [97], [104]-[105]
- UNEMPLOYMENT problem, [12], [14], [15], [48]; Government attitude, [55], [75]-[76]; [99]-[100]; Industrial Transference Board Report, suggestions, [75], [83]; Canadian oilier, [81]; dobate, [99]-[101]
- UNEMPLOYMENT relief estimates, [22]
- UNEMPLOYMENT statistics, 59, 70
- UNITED STATES, [268]
Arbitration Treaty with France, [135]
Briand-Kellogg Pact, [269]-[271]. See *also under Kellogg*
China, tariff treaty, [82], [272]
Fundamentalism, [277]
Gorman reparations, [272]
Ku Klux Klan, [276]-[277]
League of Nations, [120], [123], [135], [272]
Lovinson, Mr. S. O. and the pact to outlaw war, [268]-[269]
Mexico, relations with, [274]
Naval disarmament question, [271]-[272]
Naval programme, [121]
Pan-American Conference, [272], [289]-[290]
Porto Rico agitation, [274]
Presidential campaign, [275]-[276]
Prohibition question, [276]-[277]
Prosperity in, 61
War debts, [272]
World Court, [272]
- UNIVERSITY Boat Race, 4
- VAILLANT-COUTURIER, M. (Fr.), [134]
- VAERLAND, T. (Norway), [216]
- VALDEMARAS, M. (Lithuania), [162], [163]
- VALESCO, Juan (Ecuador), [303]
- VALKOFF, General (Bulgaria), [189], [190]
- VALUATION Ascertainment Bill, [40]
- VAN BLOKLAND, Dr. Beelaerts (Holland), [195], [196], [197]
- VAN DE VYVERE, M. (Belg.), [192]
- VAN DRUTEN, John, "Young Woodley," 19; (Drama), 51
- VAN VECHTEN, "Spider Boy," 23
- VANDERVELDE, M. (Belg.), [192], [193], [194]
- VANNE, Marda (Drama), 51

- VAUGHAN, Miss H., "The Invader," 22
 VBILLBR, Bayard, "The Trial of Mary Dugan," 52
 VEITCH, W. A. (New Zealand), [315]
 VENEZUELA, [303]
 VENIZKLOS, M. (Greece), [146], [181], [182], [183], [184]
 VERSAILLES Treaty, [113], [118], [167], [200], [209]
 VICTORIA and Albert Museum, 40
 VIDOR, King (Cinema), 50
 VIENNESE Quartet, 58
 VILNA dispute, [126], [161], [162], [163]
 VINTNERS, Worshipful Company of, [207]
 VIRKKUNEN, M. (Finland), [219]
 VISSER, Dr. (Holland), [195]
 VITAMINS research, 38
 VITAPHONE, the, 54
 VITTORIA, Duca dell a, Obit., 103
 VLASAK, Dr. (Czech.), [165]
 VOLCANIC eruptions, 11
 VOLPI, Signor (Italy), [145]
 VON GUERARD, Herr (Germany), [148]
 VON GUNDOLF, F., "Shakespeare, Sein Wesen und Werk," 25
 VON STERNBERG, Joseph (Cinema), 56
 VON STUCK, Franz, Obit., 125
 VUKITCHEVITCH, M. (Yugoslavia), [175], [177]
 WALDMAN, M., "Sir Walter Raleigh," 18
 WALES, H.H. The Prince of, [10], [115], [119]; 2, 9
 WALKER, Norman (Cinema), 55
 WALKO, Dr. (Hungary), [181]
 WALLACE, Edgar, "The Squeaker" (Drama), 52
 WALLS, Tom (Drama), 52
 WALPOLE, Hugh, "The Silver Thorn," 21; "Wintersmoon," 21, 33
 WALSH, Thomas (Seamen's Union), [306]
 WALTER, Bruno (Music), 56
 WALTON, William (Music), 58
 WANG, Dr. C. T. (China), [82], [244], [246], [250], [251]
 WAR abolition movement, [83]; *See also* Kellogg proposals
 WAR Loan cancellation, [8]
 WAR Loan conversion, [39]
 WAR Debts, [39]; Great Britain-U.S.A., [39]; French debt, [42]
 WAR pensions, [22]
 WARD, Col. Sir E., Obit., 126
 WARD, Sir Joseph (New Zealand), [314], [315], [316]
 WARD, Dr. Keith (S. Australia), [311]
 WAKNER Brothers (Cinema), 54
 WASHINGTON Conference, 1921-22, [13], [93], [102]
 WASHINGTON Convention: Hours of Labour, [7]-[8], [12], [18]-[19], [105]-[106]
 WAUGH, Alec, "Nor many Waters," 20
 WAUGH, Evelyn, "Decline and Fall," 20; "Rossetti," 16, 20
 WEATHER conditions, 1, 2, 7, 8, 12, 13
 WEBB, Mr. Sydney, [110]
 WEKERLE, Mr. (Hungary), [171]
 WELLS, H. G., "Mr. Blettsworthy on Kampolo Island," 20, 31; "The Way the World is Going," 17
 WERTH, Mr. A. J. (S.W. Africa), [260]
 WESLEY'S Chapel celebrations, 11
 WESLEY memorial gift, 9
 WEST, Miss It., "The Strange Necessity," 17
 WEST HAM guardians, [17]
 WESTARF, Count (Germany), [154]
 WESTMINSTER Bank, 8
Westminster Gazette, 2
 WESTROPP-BENNETT, Mr. (Irish Free State), [132]
 WEYMAN, Stanley J., Obit., 108
 WHARTON, Edith, "The Children," 23
 WHEATLEY, Mr., [65], [89]
 WHITE Star Line, [303], [304]
 WHITEING, Richard, Obit., 119
 WHITLEY, William T., "Artists and their Friends in England," 17, 25
 WHITLEY, Mr., retirement as Speaker, [61]
 WTKHAM, Sir H. A., Obit., 128
 WIELAND, Professor H., 11
 WILCOX, Herbert (Cinema), 5G
 WILDER, Thornton, "The Angel that Troubled the Waters," 19, 29
 WILPORD, T. M. (New Zealand), [315]
 WILKINS, Capt. G. H. (Aviation), 4
 WRLTAM-ELLIS, Mrs. A., "The Tragedy of John Iuskin," 13
 WILLIAMS, Sir Dawson, Obit., 102
 WILLIAMS, Dr. Harold, Obit., 133
 WILLIAMS, Mr. H. G., [G], [2G], [54], [100]
 WILLIAMSON, Henry, "The Pathway," 20; "Tarka the Otter," 20
 WILLINODON, Viscount, [277], [284], [28G]
 WILLS, Sir G. A., Bt., Obit., 120
 WILLS, Henry, Memorial Lecture, 45
 WILSON, Havelock, [8G], [30G]
 WILSON, H. W., "The War Guilt," 15
 WILSON, Sir Leslie, [237], [239]
 WINDAUS, Professor A., 11
 WINDSOR: King Edward VII. Hospital, 13; St. George's Chapel, 10
 WINFIELD, Dr. P. H., 2
 WINOFIELD-STRATFORD, E., "The History of British Civilisation," 18, 27
 WIRKLESS communication within the Empire, [53]
 WIRELESS telegraphy development, 41; Beam system, GO
 WISSEL, Herr (Germany), [148], [153]
 WOLFE, Humbert, "Dialogues and Monologues," 17; "This Blind Rose," 20
 WolMEit, Lord, 71
 WOMEN'S Franchise Bill, [33], [87]-[88], [53]; 74; House of Lord's debate, [53]
 WOMEN Mayors' visit to Liverpool, 2
 WONG, Anna May (Cinema), 55
 WOOD, Sir Henry, 57, 58
 WOOD, Sir Kingsley, [29]; Rating and Valuation Bill, [61]; Local Government Bill, [110]
 WOODSWORTH, Mr. (Canada), [284]
 WOODWARD, W. E., "George Washington," 18
 WOOLAVINGTON, Lord: gift, 10

- WOOLF, Mrs. Virginia, "Orlando," 20, 32
 WORKMAN, Clark, Messrs., [129]
 WORLD Co-operative Alliance, [123]
 WORTHINGTON-EVANS, Sir L.: Army estimates, [22]; Budget debate, [48]; Currency and Bank Notes Bill, [47]; righting services co-ordination, [24]; national credit, [101]; safeguarding, [101]
 WKAXALL of Clyst St. George, Lord, 1
 Wu, Mr. C. C. (China), [241]
 Wu PEI-FU, General (China), [244]
 WYLIE, Elinor, "Black Armour," 20
- YADA, Mr. (Japan), [251]
 YEATS, W. B., "The Tower," 19, 30
 YEN HSI-SHAN (China), [212], [244]
 YORK, Duke of, 5
 YOUNG, Francis Brett, "My Brother Jonathan," 22
 YOUNG, Mr. J. A. (New Zealand), [313], [314]
 YOVANOVITCH, Liula, Obit., 99
 YUGOSLAVIA, [175]
 Anti-Italian riots, [176]
 Anti-Serbian riots, [176], [177], [178]
 Bulgaria: relations with, [187], [189]
 Cabinet, new, [175]
- YUGOSLAVIA, *cont.*
 Croat leaders assassinated, [177]-[178]
 Croat Peasant Party, [175], [176], [177]
 [178]
 Italy, relations with, [176], [178]
 Loan negotiations, [176], [178], [188]
 National crisis, [175]-[178]
 Nettuno Conventions, [176], [177], [178]
 Parliamentary obstruction, [177]
 Poland: pact with, [163]
 Political crisis, [175]
 Queen Marie, [178]
 Serb Coalition Government, [177]
- ZAIMIS, M. (Greece), [181], [182], [183]
 ZALESKI, M. (Poland), [138], [162], [163]; 78, 79
 ZERMANT, Dr. F. R., "Philosophical Theology: The Soul and its Faculties," 19
 ZEHTUCHE, General D. R. (Mexico), [299]
 ZIMMEUN, Alfred, "Learning and Leadership," 19
 ZINOVIEV, M. (Russia), [158]
 ZINOVIEV letter, [24], [25]-[26]
 ZIONIST Organisation, [228]
 ZOOLOGY: retrospect, 38
 ZWEIO, Arnold, "The Case of Sergeant Grischa," 20

