The Comrade.

A Weekly Journal. Edited by - Mohamed Ali.

Stand upright, speak thy thought, declare
The truth thou hast, that all may share;
Be bold, proclaim it everywhere:
They only live who dare!

—*Morris.*

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The Week.

Epirus Revolt.

Athens, Mar. 25.

The Government has sent a circular to the Powers drawing attention to the spread of the insurrection in Epirus and the painful position of the Greek troops there. Although the Government is convinced, says the circular, that the Albanian Government's proposals to M. Zographos, the recently elected President of the autonomous Government of Epirus, correspond with the views of the Powers, the Greek Government considers it its duty to draw attention to the danger of delaying the Powers' reply to Greece concerning the guarantees.

Bagdad Railway Tragedy.

Constantinople, Mar. 26.

The Adana-Aleppo incident has been erroneously represented owing to a misreading of the Vali's telegram. The fact is that the Swiss engineer murdered the German engineer, the motive being unknown. The German Vice-Consul has proceeded to the scene.

Ægean Islands.

Constantinople, Mar. 29.

The Rumanian General Coanda, who was the chief military delegate at the Bukharest Peace Conference, has arrived here and has paid a visit to Talaat Bey, the Minister of the Interior.

The visit has aroused some comment in view of the efforts which Rumania is alleged to be making with a view to mediation between Turkey and Greece in connection with the Ægean Islands.

Albania.

London, Mar. 30.

An Albanian note to the Powers says that while Greece is withdrawing her troops, she is replacing them by bands of Komitadjis, organised and armed by the Government, and that the position is becoming daily more dangerous. Albania requests the Powers to exercise their influence with Greece to end the regrettable situation. The note adds that Albania would be reluctant to take measures which might have a deplorable effect in the Balkans.

William I. of Albania.

The *Times'* special correspondent from Durazzo telegraphed the following message :—

Prince William will publish to-morrow the following proclamation to the people:—

Albanians!

To-day the destiny af Albania fulfills itself. Albania, free and independent, enters a new phase of history. The fate of the country in the future is entrusted to the Sovereign, to the loyalty of the Government, to the virtues of patriots. The road we must traverse is long and full of obstacles, but no obstacle can exist for a people which has inherited so glorious a page of ancient history, which, like you, has a firm desire to labour for the future. Our duty and that of our heirs will always be to work for and to seek the happiness of the nation with all our efforts. With these sentiments we have accepted from your hands the Crown of Albania.

Albanians!

At the moment when we mount the Throne we expect that you, united round your Sovereign, will work with him to realise the national aspirations.

William I.

Persia.

Tehran, Mar. 25

Fighting has been resumed near Kazerun. Gendarmes assisted by Kashgai tribesmen, are attacking the rebles, who are under the command of Nasridivan.

Indian Finance.

London, Mar. 26.

In the House of Commons to-day, Mr. Roberts, in reply to Mr. Rupert Gwyne, said that of a sum of £31,200,000 now expected to be realised by the sale of Council Drafts in 1913 and 1914, £21,650,000 is the amount budgeted for towards meeting Home charges on account of revenue, capital, and miscellaneous purposes in 1913 and 1914, while £1,415,700 represents additional Home expenditure in 1913 and 1914 on capital account, including discharge of debt.

The Afghan Press.

A frontier correspondent states that the Amir now pays particular attention to articles in Turkish papers and also to those published in Arabic. Special translators are employed to deal with these press items. The *Sirajul Akhbar*, issued at Kabul, is now forbidden to publish State news.

Indians in London.

London, Mar. 29.

Lord Haldane has accepted the presidency of the unoffical Committee, which is being formed of English people who desire to show hospitality to Indian students. Sir Frederick Robertson, Judge of the Chief Court of the Punjab, is Chairman of the Committee,

which includes among its members the Lord Chief Justice, Lord Inchcape, Lord Kinnaird, Mr. Justice Vaughan Williams, Viscountess Churchill, the Vice-Chancellors of Oxford and Cambridge, Sir Frederick Pollock, Sir James Dunlop Smith, Sir William Wedderburn, Sir Henry Craik, Sir Henry Seymour King and others. The work, which will be done mainly by sub-committees, will be intended to give young Indians an opportunity of coming into more intimate touch with the better sides of English life, and will be entirely free from any idea of officious interference, or of improving or supervising Indian students.

Credit Bank Failure.

Bombay, Mar. 26.

In the liquidation proceedings of the Credit Bank of India, Justice MacLeod issued a misfeasance summons on the application of the official liquidator against Kazi Kabiruddin, Sir Bhalchandra Krishna, Tyebhai M. M. Maskatiwalla, Hon. Sirdar Syedali El Edroos, Hiralal Chhotalal Shroff, Tricumrai D. Mehta and Gulamhussein V. Patel as directors, and Jaffer Joosub, as manager to recover from them jointly and severally the sum of Rs 23,23,231, the claim against Mr. Markatiwalla being for Rs.6,06,600, a sum advanced to unsubstantial persons during the period he was a director. A misfeasance summons to recover Rs. 17,790 has also been issued against N. R. Mistry and A. C. Rice *alias* A. E. Cama, auditors of the Bank. The summons against the directors have been made returnable in June, while the summons against the auditors has been stayed, pending disposal of the criminal case against Mistry.

Multan, Mar. 27.

The misfeasance proceedings under Section 214 of Companies Act, against the Directors of the Hindustan Bank have been postponed to the 1st of April, on account of the illness of Doulat Rai, late Managing Director.

Hindus in British Columbia.

Victoria (B. C.) Mar. 28.

Hindus in British Columbia are sending a delegation to India to interview the Viceroy, and to discuss the immigration into Canada of Hindu women.

School of Oriental Studies

London, Mar. 29.

King George has consented to act as patron of the School of Oriental Studies, which is to be opened in London in 1915.

Our London Letter.

London, 13th March, 1914.

The Political Situation: Reception of Home Rule Offer.

The political situation resulting from the Government's Home Rule offer has now definitely crystallised. It is true one could not clearly acquaint himself with the trend of opinion last Monday when Mr. Asquith disclosed his concessions to Ulster in the House of Commons. But now it is possible to realise, with a fair amount of accuracy, the view taken of the actual situation by the different parties in Parliament. Everything for the present points against compromise. The Nationalist Party and a large body of opinion in the Liberal Party would revolt if the Government went one step further down the slope of compromise, for many of the Prime Minister's suppporters feel that they have certainly gone to the extremest limits of concession already. The loyalty of the Party has been indeed put to a severe test by Mr. Asquith and his colleagues and indications are not wanting to show that the Government would be ill-advised to yield any further to the demands of Sir Edward Carson and his friends, if the Liberal leader is to save his Party from ruin and disaster. On the other hand, the Unionist Party are strongly oppossed to the acceptance of the Government's offer in its present form—exclusion of Ulster for six years—and any modifications they suggest informally affect questions of principle. There is no evidence of any communication having been received by the Irish Unionists from the Government in response to Sir Edward Carson's proposal made in last Monday's debate, viz., that he would go to Belfast to advise his supporters to open negotiations with the Government, provided the time limit of six years is dispensed with. The essence of the offer which the Government have now made is that it is a temporary arrangement which shall lead up automatically to Irish unity. It will be remembered that the Premier, in his now famous speech at Ladybank last autumn, had laid it down as an essential condition to settlement that nothing should be done which would erect a permanent or an inseperable bar in the way of Irish unity. The Unionist stipulation is that exclusion should, in a Parliamentary sense, be permanent; that is, that it should continue until a fresh Act of Parliament was passed providing for the inclusion of Ulster.

Mr. A. P. Nicholson, who is now the writer of "Political Notes" to the *Daily News and Leader*, having acted as the Parliamentary representative of the *Times* before his secession from the Unionist Party, goes on to say in the former journal that it cannot be argued by any that this is a distinction without a difference; it is a distinction of principle. But those who do not realise how vital the distinction is should take note of the argument, which is advanced by the Irish Nationalists who are in favour of an arrangement, if this be possible. Supposing the Government went one step further, so runs the argument, and acceded to Sir Edward Carson's request for the exclusion of Ulster till a fresh Act be passed. Under the separate arrangements that would then be made for Ulster a custom would grow up, and a habit of local government, with vested interests and tendencies similar to those displayed now in the Belfast Corporation. Sectarian influences would be in the ascendant, and before long it would be difficult for the Imperial Parliament to resist a claim from Ulster that she should be granted institutions of local government of a strange kind. This inevitable growth, it is contended, would be fatal to the cause of Irish unity. The Irish Nationalist party cannot take this step. They would not be supported by their party in Ireland if they did. The education question, among others, has been forgotten by those who fail to see the difficulty. The main current of thought in the Liberal Party is behind the Nationalists in this. If the Government, therefore, were to take one step further they would not have the moral sanction of their supporters and, so far as can be seen, their downfall would follow. If this is the true reading of the situation, as it seems clear, then the possibility of compromise depends upon the Unionist Party, or the Irish Unionists, taking a forward step and accepting temporary exclusion. We must await, for the present, future developments.

The Churchill Touch.

Mr. Middlemore, in the House of Commons, asked the First Lord: "Is it not a fact that in the spring and summer of 1916, after providing for a 50 per cent. superiority over Germany in home waters, we shall only have two Dreadnoughts in the Mediterranean, and will not that be practically an abandonment of the Mediterranean?"

Mr. Winston Churchill: "The hon. gentleman is giving information and not asking for it."

Mr. Balfour at Tennis.

The ex-Leader of the Unionist Party is having the time of his life in Nice. He has entered for the men's handicap doubles and mixed doubles in the international lawn-tennis tournament now proceeding there with Mr. A. F. Wilding, the world's champion, and Mrs. Lambert Chambers, the lady champion, as his respective partners in the two events. He and Mr. Wilding have already beaten Prince Bahram of Persia and Mr. Craig Biddle, the American player, in the first round. Mr. Balfour, who is an ardent supporter of the game, and a frequent patron of the Queen's Club and Wimbledon meetings, plays much after the style of real or court tennis, his racket being gripped well down the handle and a pronounced "cut" applied to the majority of his strokes. He shows great keeness and thoroughly enjoys his game. Being out of the present political crisis over the Home Rule Bill, the ex-Premier, no doubt, feels his freedom to the utmost degree, though one cannot help regarding it as a cruel irony of fate that a statesman of Mr. Balfour's experience in politics, who had fought with such vigour in the former Home Rule campaigns within the walls of the House of Commons, should, by force of circumstances, have been deprived of his command of the Opposition at a time when his Party is in great need of experienced leadership. From Nice and Lawn Tennis to Westminster and Home Rule is a far cry, but it was certainly more dignified for him to have honourably retired than to have continued his leadership at the dictates of his "Die Hard" followers, the unbecoming position, which Mr. Bonar Law, the present Tory "Leader," finds himself in.

The "Times" at one Penny.

The expected reduction in the price of the *Times*, about which I had already hinted in one of my previous weekly letters, on the authority of the *Daily Chronicle*, is at last an accomplished fact. The authorised announcement was made in its issue of the 11th inst. in the following terms: "In view of the grave importance of the present political situation, it has been decided that on and after Monday next the *Times* newspaper, complete including the financial section, shall be sold at one penny per copy in Great Britian and Ireland, and at three pence per copy on the Continent."

Inspite of the "grave importance of the present political situation" —which is officially given as the main reason for this step—it is

generally understood that, owing to the obvious loss of popularity which this journal has been undoubtedly meeting with during the past few years, this course had become an absolute necessity if the paper was to hold its own against the keen competition that prevails now in the journalistic world of London. Formerly, when the *Times* was famous for its fair-mindedness, impartiality and independence, it certainly held a unique position and was indeed the national journal of England. Its exhorbitant price was then no bar to its popularity, as the thinking section of the community was prepared to pay any price, provided it could secure the genuine and unbiassed expression of public opinion in the country on various grave and important current affairs. Ever since the *Times* has changed hands, however, it has been rapidly drifting towards the detestable system of party politics, under which every other journal here is being conducted. So it has automatically dropped from the proud pedestal of a national organ to the level of a mere party newspaper. With this change, of course, it is not suprising that it has been visibly losing its influence and popularity and, at a time when there are some excellent party organs in existence at reasonable prices, it is equally evident that the reading public after a time showed its reluctance to subscribe to the *Times*, now a mere party paper, but, notwithstanding, still offered at a prohibitive price.

As I have mentioned already, the journal, however, has had a great past. The history of the *Times* begins with the history of modern Europe. The first number was produced by the first John Walter in 1785, and it was then called *The Daily Universal Register*. It was christened *The Times* in 1788, just before the outbreak of the French Revolution. Its first proprietor, it is interesting to remember, was sent to goal for severely censuring the Duke of York ; but while Mr. Walter was in prison his paper went on serenely expressing a fully democratic opinion on current topics. For a hundred years a John Walter was the chief proprietor of the *Times* ; and no reference to the really important affairs of English history, since the paper was established, would be complete unless the *Times* was somehow introduced into the matter. It has made some very serious blunders, but on the other hand it has often been the first to give publicity to matters of vast public importance. Among its famous editors were Thomas Barnes (1817-1841) and John Delane, who succeeded him. It was under Delane that the *Times* reached its apogee. Its more recent history, the acquirement of its control by Lord Northcliffe, is already well known. It is only a matter of yesterday. In February, 1911, its original price of three pence was reduced to two pence, inspite of the fact that it had added various regular supplements. As regards the Asiatic policy of the *Times*, your readers are well aware of its traditional antagonism and time-honoured opposition towards the oriental nations in general. Its recent bogey of the "Indian Peril" will, no doubt, be within general recollection. Comment is useless, as the paper is notorious in the East for its ever hostile attitude towards all that is progressive, self-respecting and sacred throughout that ancient yet newly-awakened continent.

The Proposed chiefs' College at Delhi.

Reuter's brief messages from Delhi do not enable us here to form an adequate opinion as to the scope and character of the proposed Chiefs' College in the new Capital. Neither do the brief telegraphic summaries of Lord Hardinge's and the Maharajah of Bikaneer's speeches, delivered at Delhi on the occasion of the inaugural meeting, at which the Viceroy addressed the assembled Princes and Chiefs, help us to thoroughly grasp the aims and objects of the proposed institution. We must therefore await the arrival of the full proceedings in that connection by the Indian mail a fortnight hence. As far as one can at present judge, however, it is proposed to establish a college there for the education and instruction of the sons and relatives of the Ruling Chiefs in India. That, of course, would not be the first institution of its kind, as there are already some excellent Chiefs' Colleges in various parts of the country. All the same it is a very happy idea and the scheme deserves every success. As a matter of fact, under the distinguished patronage, which has been so rightly extended to it, there will be no anxiety felt as to its future. It is, however, understood that the proposed College is likewise intended for the training of the younger members of the nobility and aristocratic families of India. If that is so, the decision is certainly regrettable, as it is bound to widen the gulf between the upper classes of the population in India and the middle classes. As it is, India is keenly suffering from the effects of the existing system, which has so rigidly divorced the overwhelming bulk of the aristocracy from the national and popular sentiments of the country. They are even to-day very remote from the spirit of the people and are hopelessly out of touch with the real needs and requirements of democracy, the backbone of the Indian nation. Recently there have certainly been visible hopeful signs of a genuine awakening amongst all classes and sections in India, and the wave of democratic ascendancy that has been overruning the vast continent of Asia with such vigour and force has not been without its effect in that country as well. The best interests of India and the Empire could only be served by mutual co-operation of the aristocratic and democratic elements. Nothing could be more suicidal and more destructive to national progress and national advancement in India than the maintenance of the "caste-system," which has been the curse of the country for generations. The aristocratic youth in India, as well as in other States, can only imbibe the true notion of good citizenship, if he is trained on democratic lines and brought up in a democratic atmosphere. Liberal education, to be effective, cannot be administered in the exclusive atmosphere of a Chiefs' College and the young scions of the nobility, to be thoroughly initiated into the fundamental principles of citizenship, which should be of substantial advantage to them in their after-life, can not be usefully brought up in the "guilded chamber" of the proposed institution. That would lead to certain failure and is sure to immensely retard the steady progress of national development. The significance of this great principle is nowhere recognised more fully than in Great Britain where, as is well-known, even His Majesty the King himself has been so closely following this undoubtedly sound doctrine. The young princes here are being brought up on the most democratic principles, and even the Prince of Wales is at this moment undergoing his course of education at Oxford as any other ordinary undergraduate. Prince Henry, who is at Eton, is, at the King's own express desire, being treated in the same way as his other college-fellows, and has even had to discharge his duties as a "fag" to a senior colleague. It is obvious that the "feather-bed" system of education is wholly unsuitable for those who are expected to take their proper share in providing for the welfare of the community in future and who are meant to subsequently serve the interests of the nation. This rule applies to India in a very real sense. The days when the country depended on the sole efforts of the landed aristocracy for lead and guidance are happily things of the past. The force of democracy and the national spirit have to-day become living factors even in India and the sooner the "upper ten" realise the change and the more closely they associate themselves with the general body of the people—the bulwark of society—in the national evolution, the more peaceful and the more honourable will be their own path of progress and improvement. Co-operation, and not seclusion, is needed for the common good of the country, and elements of fellowship and comradeship could nowhere be more fully mastered and maintained than in the class-rooms of a popular democratic educational institution. It is to such high and noble ideals that the proposed Chiefs' College at Delhi will deal a fatal blow.

Indian Girl Bard.

The interesting announcement has just been made that Miss Dorothy Bonarjee, daughter of the famous lawyer of Calcutta, has been appointed bard at the Aberystwyth University College in Wales. I believe this is the first occasion on which this honour has been awarded to an Indian lady in this country—yet another happy symptom of female progress and enlightenment, which is manifesting itself so powerfully throughout the Eastern World. Miss Bonarjee is to be heartily congratulated on this recognition of her talents in such a distinguished quarter.

The Rew. C. F. Andrews in London.

Mr. Andrews, who went from India to South Africa to investigate the Indian question, arrived here from Cape Town on the 10th instant. He was met on arrival by a large number of Indians, who congratulated him on the result of his visit. He was also garlanded by Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, the Indian poetess. During his two months' stay in South Africa Mr. Andrews has had conferences with Lord Gladstone, General Botha and General Smuts. He is returning to India by the "Caledonia" on the 3rd of April.

In conversation with a Reuter's representative Mr. Andrews said : "When I landed in South Africa two months ago things were very black indeed. But chiefly owing to Mr. Gandhi's chivalrous and patriotic action in refusing to add to the complications of the railway strike by renewing passive resistance, the atmosphere cleared, and from that time more friendly relations came about. General Smuts did all in his power to give Mr. Gandhi a full hearing, and out of this it is hoped that legislation may be carried through Parliament with regard to the £3 tax and the marriage question. These are the two main questions, and, if these are settled, the Indian trouble will be practically concluded. I cannot but confess unbounded admiration for the heroism and endurance of the Indian community in South Africa during the struggle, and especially for Mr. Gandhi, with whom I lived during the greater part of my stay. I must also express my keen sense of appreciation of the kindness and generous and fair-minded treatment I recieved at the

hands both of my own countrymen and of the Dutch leaders in South Africa. I was given every opportunity of studying the situation carefully and openly. I trust that in future friendly relations between India and South Africa might be established on a wider and more permanent basis than in the past, and I hope on my return to India to do what I can to further such a cause. I saw General Botha before leaving, and I was impressed by his sterling character and simplicity. The Premier assured me that his sincere desire was to do whatever lay in his power to act justly by the Indian community in their present difficulties. As legislation is now pending I do not feel free to discuss details, but I am convinced that the friendly spirit evinced on both sides would result in the Indian trouble being brought to an end."

Greeks and Turks : Growing bitterness.

According to the Constantinople Correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph*, it is observed in Ottoman political circles that the Ottoman population of the provinces and the capital are greatly irritated against the Greeks, as a result of the reports which come every day from the territories annexed by the Greeks, where Mosques are being destroyed and the Mussalman inhabitants subjected to various forms of cruelty, including robbery, violation and even assasination. Moslems, it is declared, are emigrating *en masse*, leaving their houses and possessions, and as soon as they reach Turkey they relate to their co-religionists the evils they have endured. Lively imaginations embroider upon facts which may be isolated, but which seem to be incontestable, and which assume the appearance of a general hostile movement against the Mussalmans. Strong feelings are thus aroused, and worse catastrophies may happen in Turkey, by which the Greeks will suffer, unless Europe immediately intervenes and advises the Hellenic Government to induce the local authorities to respect the lives and property of Mussalmans in accordance with the Treaty of Athens.

The *Tanin* has published a strong article commenting upon a letter from its Salonica Correspondent, who describes the cruelties inflicted upon Mussalmans under the tolerant eye of the Greek Government. Having given expression to its indignation, the *Tanin* adds that "the Turks might make use of the same means, but, being a civilised nation, they abstain ; but it must not be forgotten that patience has its limits."

The Turkish Navy.

In pursuance of the policy of the Ottoman Government to strengthen her Navy, the Turkish Ambassador, Tewfik Pasha, visited the Admiralty two days ago and had a long interview with Mr. Winston Churchill for the purpose of conferring with the First Lord on the question of the loan of more officers of the British Navy for service in the Turkish Navy. The necessary preliminaries between the Foreign Office and the Porte were disposed of last week. Athough the names of a number of British officers, whom the Turkish Government may desire to approach, were mentioned at the interview, no definite appointments were made. Further interviews between Mr. Churchill and His Excellency will take place, it is stated, before the selections are made. Already there are nine British naval officers on duty in the Turkish Navy, the most recent appointment being that of Commander C.R. Hamilton in June last year. The senior officer in rank at Constantinople is Rear-Admiral Limpus.

Rapid progress is being made, the *Daily Telegraph* learns, at Armstrong and Whitworth's yards on the Tyne with the battleship, "Rio de Janeiro," which Turkey recently bought from the Brazilian Government. Commander Raouf Bey, the Turkish officer who manœuvred the "Hamidieh" so skilfully during the early stages of the recent war, has been given, it is understood, the command of the ship. For several weeks now he has been at Elswick superintending the work of completion, and, incidentally, with about a score of other Turkish officers, receiving instruction in the use of the modern machinery with which she will be fitted.

The Indian Police.

To-day's *Daily News* contains a leading article on the methods of the Indian Police, as alleged by Mr. E. Norton in his defence of the young Bengali student Roy at the trial which has just ended in Calcutta concerning the murder of Inspector Ghose. "Whatever the facts in connection with the murder of Inspector Ghose may be," the journal proceeds, "the allegations made against the police by Roy's counsel are so very serious that it is scarcely possible to believe that they will be allowed to pass unnoticed. That the most important police witnesses were ex-convicts might be an unavoidable accident ; there are cases in which witnesses of repute are from the nature of the charge unobtainable. But that it should be possible to suggest that the police publicly gave rewards to witnesses of the crime for capturing the accused, and even that they put a revolver into his hands for the purpose of incriminating him, argues a state of things certainly no better than that which exists in Russia and quite conceivably worse."

TETE À TETE



The Ottoman Treasury Bonds.

We are informed by the Alliance Bank, Simla, that all the Ottoman Treasury Bonds applied for through the Bank have been duly distributed among the various subscribers. As far as the Bank is aware all the Bonds have duly reached their destinations, "except 2 Bonds, £ 0-10-0 each, which were subscribed for by one Mohamed Moosa (who gave as his address, Sub-Assistant Surgeon, Chammarayapatna, Hassan (?)." Those Bonds have been returned to the Bank through the Dead Letter Office. We hope some one amongst our readers will try to find out the exact address of the subscriber referred to above, or inform us if he happens to know it already.

Khalil Khalid Bey.

We had hardly finished welcoming him when we learnt that His Excellency Khalil Khalid Bey was shortly going to leave India, and in fact our welcome of him partook of the character of farewell. It is difficult to express the feelings of thousands of people in India like ourselves, who had been able to renew their acquaintance with Khalil Khalid the author, by meeting Khalil Khalid the man, when it was learnt that his stay among us would be so short. The circumstances surrounding his visit to Northern India with the carpets from His Imperial Majesty the Sultan were such that most people could only see him, and all looked forward to less restricted intercourse in the near future. Their grief was, therefore, great when the *Hamdard* inadvertently published an interview in which he had said something to one of the members of its staff about his impending departure. We were inundated with letters asking us to persuade His Excellency to visit other cities also besides those where he had to take a carpet, and we are certain that a good deal of the eagerness displayed was a personal tribute to the Turkish patriot and author who had suffered so much under the *régime* of Sultan Abdul Hamid Khan. Unfortunately His Excellency's itinerary was a short one, but we are assured by numerous testimonies that wherever he went he charmed those with whom he came in contact, from Her Highness the Begam Saheba of Bhopal and His Highness the Nawab Saheb of Rampur to the humblest Indian Mussalman. Whatever the reasons for his early departure, we feel sure that His Excellency carries with him the best wishes of Mussalmans in this country for his future success and hopes of his early return to India as well as his affection for them and a desire to be able to visit them again. We trust the Government of His Imperial Majesty the Sultan will not refuse to pay a certain amount of consideration to the earnest desire of Indian Mussalmans that in future the Ottoman Consul-Generals would be men of the character and attainments of Khalil Khalid Bey, who so worthily represented a great and distinguished race during his all too short tenure of office, and gave us a glimpse of the great men who now preside over the destinies of the Ottoman Empire. Khalil Khalid Bey visited some of the friends he had made in the course of his short tour in Northern India before leaving for Turkey, and was once more at Rampur and Delhi. He was fascinated by the hospitality and charm of manner of His Highness and spoke in terms of great affection of his friends in Rampur and in this great city, and regretted greatly that he could not go to any of the numerous places whence he was receiving such pressing invitations after having handed over the charge of his office. At Delhi he met some Mussalmans at our offices and spent the whole of a long and warm afternoon in free and friendly intercourse with them, after having shaken hands with thousands of Mussalmans in the Jami' Musjid who wished him *bon voyage* and parted with him with a heavy heart. We wish Khalil Khalid Bey a prosperous career full of great usefulness for Islam and the Ottoman Empire and—really we wish him back among us.

Prestige and "Paradise Lost."

It was not so long ago that the vague and undefined entity, which, according to some, can mean everything, and according to others, means nothing, but which is known to all by the name of "Prestige," was in danger because lessees of theatres were putting up bills and placards declaring that "Maud Allan is Coming!" The world awaited the result in great suspense, but eventually the defenders of Prestige proved to be more fortunate than they had anticipated and we announced some weeks ago the welcome news that Prestige was saved. Those who assail it, however, are a persistent lot of people and seem to be determined to shatter it to bits. We trust in this case we shall not be accused of being alarmists when we merely act on the maxim, "Prevention is better than Cure," and warn the defenders of Prestige of a possible night attack not altogether unlike Miss Maud Allan's which caused so much confusion. We hear a Mr. Walter Stephens is about to launch upon England a Cinema film production of "Paradise Lost." The Lord Chamberlain has been squared and his scruples have been overcome. "The Licence is granted," says Mr. Stephens, "on the guarantee that the costume of Adam and Eve before the Fall shall be such as no one can take exception to." We wonder whether the Bishop of Kensington has also been squared, for the Lord Chamberlain is a slippery official who is at times on the side of Madmoiselle Gaby Delys and the Proprietors of the "Palace" and at other times altogether "on the side of the angels." Be that as it may, we are told that Mr. Stephens readily gave the assurance as to the costume of Adam and Eve, and an English contemporary suggests that the "readiness" is obvious, because "no one can take objection to that which does not exist." Among the list of non-existences it naturally includes the costume of Adam and Eve before the Fall. Of that then happy couple it is written that they knew not they were naked. Clothes, it has been said, are a symbol of our lost innocence, and some pure-minded, art-loving souls would have us believe that their absence is a symbol of its restoration. Now we do not know to which side Mr. Stephens inclines, and whether he is a stickler for historical accuracy in the matter of costume, or is going to anticipate the discovery of the fig leaf. But we know this, that if Mr. Stephens' Adam and Eve before the Fall come out to India in the costume that tradition has assigned to them—as sooner or later everyone and everything from England comes out—Prestige would undoubtedly receive a severe blow. How would it look in the eyes of the "Natives"—we hope we are not encroaching on the copyright of the expert draftsmen of the Legislative Department in using this word—yes, how would it look in the eyes of the "Natives" if the first parents of the defenders of Prestige are seen wandering in Eden attired according to the fashion-plates of the time in their native innocence? Would not that add to the "Indian Peril" of the *Times'* creation? We trust the Police Commissioner of Bombay would expostulate with Adam and Eve about their unseemly costume, or rather absence of it, which would not only be an offence against public decency but wholly destructive of that which is higher than public decency, and even public morality, namely, Prestige. We do not ignore the fact that some people are of opinion that Adam and Eve are common to the whole human race, including coloured people. But whether the Lady Clara Vere de Vere of to-day and her suitor, presumably a Syndicalist leader, have both realized or not that

"The gardiner Adam and his wife
"Smile at the claims of long descent,"

it is certain that the removal of class distinctions cannot remove colour distinctions. If Adam and Eve had any "colour" and Eden was a tropical garden, then Prestige would rather discard them and go over from "the side of the angels" to the side of Darwin. "Common ancestors," indeed! This theory has been exploded long ago by the biological researchists of the Prestige School, and if Mr. Stephens, or, at least, the Police Commissioner of Bombay, doesn't look out and adapt "Paradise Lost" to Prestige, we shall have both Perstige and "Paradise Lost"!

Contempt of Court.

On the 18th of March last the Hon. the Home Member introduced a Bill further to amend the Indian Penal Code and the Code of Criminal Procedure designed to punish certain kinds of contempt of Court, which, according to him, were either not covered by the existing provisions of the Indian law or about which the existing law was doubtful. The Statement of Objects and Reasons declares that "when the Penal Code became law in 1860, conditions in India were "such that its framers were in a position to disregard that class of "contempt which is known to English law as scandalizing the Courts. "But subsequent developments have demonstrated the necessity of "affording greater protection to the Courts against attempts to "lower their prestige and of checking the practice, which has mani"fested itself to a serious extent in recent years, of commenting on "cases pending before the Courts in a manner which constitutes a "serious menace to the dispassionate administration of public justice." We shall deal with the proposed legislation in a subsequent issue, but would like to state here that the proposed Section 228B makes it punishable with simple imprisonment for a term which may extend to six months the publication of (*a*) a false or misleading report of a judicial proceeding during its pendency or of any stage thereof, and (*b*) any comments relating to such proceeding or regarding the presiding officer, the parties, witnesses, assessors, jurors, or pleaders concerned in such proceeding, knowing or having reason to believe that the comments may cause or tend to cause prejudice in the public mind in regard to such proceeding, or prejudice or tend to prejudice the trial thereof. We do not know whether any Indian journalist would care to publish the report of such proceedings before a *zabardast* Magistrate—a variety not rare in Northern India—even though this section is provided with an explanation to the effect that "a true, full and fair report of a judicial proceeding or any stage there"of does not constitute an offence under this section." It is just this class of judicial officer whose conduct of a judicial proceeding needs a true, full and fair report, and yet he must be a venturesome man who would undertake to publish such a report with the prospect of six month's imprisonment before him inspite of all the explanations in the world. But we wonder whether such a section, if passed into law, would be enforced against Anglo-Indian newspapers also, or would be confined in its operation to Indian newspapers only, as in the case of the Press Act, against which the *Pioneer* offended so flagrantly the other day but was allowed to go scotfree. An hon. member of the U. P. Council who had asked a question, drawing the attention of the Government to the matter, was given the laconic, stereotyped answer that "the answer to the first part of the "question is in the affirmative and the answer to the second part of "the question is in the negative." We ask this question because we know that although the provocation for the proposed Bill was admittedly supplied by an Indian contemporary, it is some of our Anglo-Indian contemporaries that are the worst sinners in the matter.

Trial by "The Times."

In our issue of the 14th March last we had quoted at some length from the *Pioneer* which had commented six weeks earlier with enthusiastic admiration upon the Police Parade at Calcutta for rewarding those who, according to our sinless contemporary, "had been instrumental in the capture of the *murderer* of Inspector Nripendra Nath Ghose." As perhaps every body knows by now, the jury returned on the 11th March a unanimous verdict of not guilty on the two charges of murder of Inspector Nripendra Nath Ghose and Ananta Teli on which a verdict of acquittal was recorded by the High Court of Calcutta. We were waiting to see what the London prototype of our Allahabad Oracle would say on the subject, and we did not wait in vain. In its issue of 9th March it published under its favourite headline, "Political Crime in India," a column letter from its well-known Bombay correspondent, himself the editor of an Anglo Indian daily, in the course of which he wrote that, "in this case Roy was arrested with "a smoking revolver in his possession and the bullets extracted "from the murdered man fit the pistol. He is reported since to "have made a full confession of the crime." How far this is a true, full and fair report of the facts of the case every one who has read the proceedings in the first trial before the High Court can judge for himself. But that is not all. The *Times* hangs on this peg a leading article on the subject of "The Anarchists of India," dealing with the political situation in the country to which we shall refer later. But writing on the subject of the capture of the accused Nirmal Kanto Roy, the *Times* says: "*The assassin of Inspector Ghose was* "*captured* after a long chase through winding streets and lanes. Our "correspondent attaches importance to the fact that the *murderer* was "eventually seized by townspeople." Again it refers to a "gathering "at which the captors of *Inspector Ghose's murderer* were rewarded." Now a verdict of not guilty on the charge of murdering Inspector Ghose was recorded by the High Court of Calcutta two days after this statement was published by the *Times*, and the *Statesman* wrote on the 13th that the acquittal "convicts the police of one of the most remarkable blunders to be found even in their records of "failures. . . . . The real assassin escaped under the eyes "of the police who were rewarded for having caught him. It is dep"lorable that such an exhibition of police incompetence should have "been rewarded as a display of valour." But the *Times* has already tried Nirmal Kanto Roy and pronounced on him the verdict of guilty of the murder of Inspector Ghose. We ask, can there be a grosser example of contempt of Court than this? Indian newspapers guilty of such conduct may possibly plead that no law exists in the country against the publication of such statements and it is well known that Sir Reginald Craddock is characteristically filling up one more gap between the law of England and of India. But can the *Times* offer the same plea of ignorance in the face of the time-honoured law of England? Well may we read to the tremendous *Times* the sermon

which was recently preached to us from the text of a distinguished Lord Chancellor, that "nothing is more incumbent upon Courts of "Justice than to preserve their proceedings from being misrepresented, "nor is there anything of more pernicious consequence than to pre-"judice the minds of the public against persons concerned in cases "before the case is finally heard." We trust the *Times* would remember these wise words and—not do it again.

Re-trial and Verdict in the Chitpore Case.

As we had announced in our issue of the 14th March, Mr. Justice Stephen had ordered a re-trial of Nirmal Kanto Roy, the accused in the case of Inspector Ghose's murder, on minor charges on which the jury had differed. Mr. Justice Stephen presided over the Session trial once more. The counsel for the accused pleaded *autrefois acquit*, but the judge had the jury empanelled and promised to pronounce judgment later. The accused then pleaded "Already acquitted, not guilty." When the jury was being empanelled, the defence challenged two Bengali and six European jurors, while the Crown challenged eight Bengali jurors. Eventually the jury that was empanelled consisted of three Europeans and six Indians. The jury in the previous trial was also similarly composed. On the last occasion the difference among jurymen on the minor charges on which a re-trial has now taken place was in the ratio of 5 : 4. It was not indicated whether 5 were for the verdict of "Guilty" or 4; but this time 7 were for "Not Guilty" and 2 for "Guilty." Evidently either 2 or 3 more jurors now believed in the innocence of the accused. Although we know the composition of the jury on both occasions, it is not possible to know how many Indians and how many Europeans were on each side; but it is clear that at least one or two Indians must have considered the accused "Guilty" in the former trial and at least one European must have considered him "Not Guilty" in the re-trial. We state these facts with a view to show that neither verdict accords with the racial proportion in the composition of the jury. Possibly the *Pioneer* and the *Times* may be impressed by the fact that at least one European is convinced of the innocence of the accused on whom they had pronounced the verdict of "Guilty." But our chief desire is to dissuade Sir J. D. Rees from condemning the jury system as he has been doing, regardless of the fact that "a man," if not also "a brother," has been fighting for life and liberty at the every moment when he has been prejudicing the case of the accused by not controlling even for a time his bureaucratic dislike of trial by jury. If the system needed any defence, Sir. J D. Rees has provided it in ample measure. If Civilians, of whom we presume he is regarded, or at least regards himself, not only a champion but also the best type, cannot respect the decencies of judicial proceedings in the interests of which the Hon. the Home Member would like to send us poor journalists to prison for six months, and must needs prejudice the case of the accused by their comments, then indeed it is extremely necessary to protect the accused from judges of the same class by retaining, and even extending, the system of trial by jury. In this connection we may reproduce with advantage the opening remarks of Mr. Norton's address to the jury in the retrial and of Mr. Justice Stephen in his summing up. The *Pioneer's* report of Mr. Norton's remarks is as follows :—"This man standing here to-day in the shadow of a great private mis-"fortune, the death of his father, has been called upon twice within "fourteen days to fight for his life before two separate juries. In the "course of these two trials he has found himself oppressed by circums-"tances which do not usually attend a trial on a charge of murder. "In the first place, he is being tried before the learned judge who "already tried him before a separate jury and who on that occasion "summed up against him. He stands before you to-day with this "further object in his pathway, that at the inception of this trial he "saw a resolute attempt made to take off every Indian juror from the "jury. He saw the Crown expend the whole of its eight challenges upon "an attempt to deprive him of that to which I submit, in law as well "as by every standard of morality, he was entitled, namely, to be tried "by a large proportion of his own fellow-countrymen. He further "found himself oppressed by the system to which the Government at "an early stage of this case had recourse. Although I do not for "one moment suggest they intended it, a very serious danger was "interposed between him and relief, by recourse to an event which, "whether intended or not, might have had, I venture to submit you "will agree with me, a very disastrous result on the opinion of those "who are called upon to perform the duties of jurors. He had "seen in the public Press even before he was first tried "a second oppression of Government, by disseminating throughout "the length and breadth of the land articles which ought never "to have been written under the circumstances. He was subjected "as soon as acquitted to interrogatories in the House of Commons "based on an imperfect knowledge of the facts. These are some "of the circumstances which he regards with dismay, which may "tell against him in his last effort to relieve himself of the charges "brought against him. Dismayed but not disheartened by all these "circumstances, he now turns to that last and ultimate tribunal "to which he can look for relief, namely, the trial by nine jurors "of his fellow-citizens. I believe and trust I may not in vain stand "before you, and that whatever the circumstances under which he "himself stands before you, you will endeavour to shake off "that attack of pure passion and pure prejudice, and endeavour "to come to a conclusion in the trial by consideration "of the facts, and merely facts which have been sworn to on oath "in the course of the case." We now turn to the remarks of Mr. Justice Stephen at the commencement of his summing up. The *Statesman's* report of them is as follows :—"I have always felt "it to be a humiliating position to sit here and see my country-"men challenged off a jury because they are my countrymen. I "should very much dislike, and I think I should have very much "the same feeling for rather different reasons, if I saw an Indian "being challenged off the jury because he is an Indian. But, Gentle-"men, I would gladly see all peremptory challenges abo-"lished. If there is an objection to a juror let it be stated. "Since I came into this court I have always thought that our "method of peremptory challenges is an unfortunate one and I should "like to see it abolished. I cannot believe that the bulk of my "countrymen are not competent to try a case fairly, and I entirely "refuse to believe that Indians are unwilling to convict when a con-"viction ought to take place. I have therefore always felt distressed "on hearing challenges on behalf of a defence when those challenges "seemed to be directed to keeping men of one nationality off the "jury. But if these challenges are made it seems to me that chal-"lenges from the Crown have this result, namely, that one set of "challenges may cancel out the other, and a jury be chosen, as, to my "mind, it should be chosen, purely and entirely by lot. But, after "all, Gentlemen, if there are to be challenges I think it is not unfair "that challenges should come from both sides. In this case, however, "if my recollection is right, the challenging of the Indians was not "confined to the prosecution. However, Gentlemen, I am sure I have "no desire to find any kind of fault with the result arrived at in this "case." Now we do not wish to say anything about the case itself, for the judge has merely directed that the accused be taken back to jail, and it is yet possible that a third trial may take place. Nor do we wish to offer any opinion about the system of peremptory challenges. But Sir Harry Stephen's observations regarding Englishmen and Indians as jurors, which are certainly entitled to more weight than the irresponsible tattle of Sir J. D. Rees, is an excellent corrective of what Mr. Norton called "that attack of pure passion and pure prejudice." Although the new Bill about Contempt of Court is not yet law, the High Courts at least can even now haul those over the coals who are guilty of contempt. We suppose an M. P. can plead "privilege," and Sir J.D. Rees talking nonsense in London is beyond the jurisdiction of the Calcutta High Court. But most people would wish that at least in this case things had been otherwise.

The "Indian Peril" Again.

Our friend the *Times* is extremely sick that its recent series of articles upon "The Indian Peril" have been, to use its own phraseology, derided even in Anglo-Indian journals. This is indeed the unkindest cut of all, and well may the *Times* exclaim: "*Et tu, Brute ?*" Its Indian prototype, the *Pioneer*, pooh-poohed the Peril in its most supercilious vein, and although the murder of Inspector Ghose on the 19th January provided an excellent opportunity for the *Times'* Bombay correspondent to justify its creation of the "Peril," that unkind gentleman ignored this obvious fact even in so belated a report, and began to squeeze some hope for the future of India out of "the pluck shown by certain townspeople and police officers "in effecting the arrest of the accused at considerable personal risk", and out of what he calls the "more significant still" and "apparently "well authenticated story that a body of Bengali ladies on their "way to the bathing ghat solemnly cursed the assassin." And last but not least is the highly disconcerting quotation from the *Statesman* which the *Times'* Bombay correspondent approvingly incorporated in his letter. It runs thus : "In reality, "however, there seems to be no connexion between the "Anarchist organization and any known form of political agitation. "At present the educated classes have no acute grievance. There "are no signs of any bitterness of feeling against the Government. " . . . . Bengal appears to be more peaceful or apathetic "at this moment than it has been for many years past. . . . . "It is hard to see how by any ingenuity the latest Anarchist outrage "can be treated as a symptom or outcome of political unrest, or even "of seditious propaganda of the type with which we have been long "familiar. The only reasonable theory by which recent political "murders and dacoities can be explained is that Anarchism has now "become a special branch of crime like Thuggee." In view of this incontrovertible interpretation of the present situation it is particularly unfortunate that the *Times* should have tried to justify its creation of the "Indian Peril" by referring to the attempt on the

life of His Excellency the Viceroy fifteen months ago. The Delhi Sedition Case is at present *sub judice*, and no one can fortell its final result. But it is clear that not one of the many accused is a person that had taken a prominent part in the public life of India or as an important newspaper or public platform critic of Government. And yet did not the *Times'* articles attempt to involve those who publicly criticise the actions of the officials and the measures of the Government, and in fact the educated classes generally, in their sinister and sweeping condemnation? We, however, admire the *Times'* tenacity when it says that it is not likely to be deterred by the derision which its "Indian Peril" has excited. Certainly Goldsmith's Schoolmaster in the *Deserted Village* was a worthy person, and no one need prevent the *Times* from imitating him.

Cambridge and a Government Grant.

On the 14th of March last the Senate of the Cambridge University was to have been called upon to decide what Professor William Ridgeway, writing to the *Times* from Cambridge calls "a vital question of principle." It seems that the Medical Department of the University, being in need of financial support, is likely to secure the annual grant of £4,600 from the Board of Education. Dealing with the letters of Professor Ridgeway and another writer published in its columns, the *Times* says: "This is no doubt a sum which few who are concerned "with the efficiency of the medical teaching at Cambridge would care, "if it could be had for the asking, to forego. Nevertheless the "proposal has aroused no small opposition among the principal "residents of the University; and the Senate, which is mainly "composed of non-residents, may well be asked to pause before it "commits itself to a resolution, beneficial no doubt to the study "of medicine, but of uncertain value, if not of positive risk, to "the University itself." It seems that Sir T. C. Allbutt took the responsibility of applying to the Education Department without consulting the University, and to the objection that "the University cannot accept Government money without Government "control," Sir T. C. Allbutt and his colleagues offer the reply that "the Board of Education have explicitly denied that they have, or "would claim, the power to decide or discuss the character of the "scientific instruction given, or interfere with any internal affair." To this Professor Ridgeway replies by reminding the readers of the *Times* that "the present authorities at the Board of Education cannot "bind their successors, and at any time a complete change of policy "with vexatious inspection and other serious encroachments on our "freedom might be made by new officials." He also quotes the opinion expressed by Professor Sir J. J. Thomson that "it was most desirable "that there should be some educational authority in this country free "from the Board of Education, and free to work out its own schemes "in its own way without interference from outside." Professor Ridgeway adds that "Government money may be purchased at too dear a "price, if it changes the whole character of the University, cramps "her intellectual freedom and alienates her sons." This then is the view of some responsible educationists at Cambridge about State aid and State control. But what is still more noteworthy is the support which the *Times* gives to this view. It says: "In our view "their objections form a substantial, if not a conclusive, argument for "the rejection of the proposal. . . . Without further consideration we "are inclined to think that the University would be unwise to com-"mit itself to the acceptance of State aid. Government money "must in the long run mean some measure of Government con-"trol: and it is by no means certain that Government control of one "or of either of our ancient Universities is as yet to be desired. Cam-"bridge, and Oxford also, occupy a peculiar position among our "Universities and in our scheme of national education. If they do "not always find it easy to command at a moment's notice the money "which they may happen to need, they have, what, we imagine, no other "universities in the world have, to draw upon the goodwill and the "voluntary liberality of a large body of influential and wealthy "graduates. Both are constantly in receipt of legacies and gifts, and, "if necessary, of subscription, from their old members and from the "friends of their old members. . . . Debt creates obligation, and "the acceptance of the State's bounty means a corresponding surren-"der of independence—a forfeiture which is none the less a forfeiture "even if no actual State interference may in practice follow. The "present proposal, if it is carried at Cambridge, will be 'the thin end "of the wedge,' and the power of the wedge, where it has once found "a purchase, is, as experience proves, nearly always irresistible." We refrain from offering any comment; but we cannot help thinking that the controversy provides sufficient food for thought for educationists much nearer home than Cambridge. It will not be possible to discover in India an exact parallel of any institution in England. Nevertheless, it cannot be denied that English experience is sought only too often to assist us in the settlement of Indian questions, and there is more than one institution in India which has much to gain by the experience of the two ancient English Universities which are only too often sought to be copied slavishly in India. We deprecate slavish imitation: but we also deprecate the absence of a desire to profit by the experience of others.

The Aligarh Cricket.

Dr. A. H. Fyzee M. R. C. S., L. R. C. P., who was the Assistant Director of the All-India Medical Mission and did such excellent work in Turkey, sends to us a letter in which he pays a well-deserved tribute to the efforts of Prince Hamidullah Khan, Captain of the Aligarh Cricket team, to revive the Aligarh cricket. Dr. Fyzee is himself a keen sportsman and athlete and a fine tennis player. He writes:—"As one who has followed "Aligarh sports with more than ordinary interest, it has been a great "joy to me to note that the Aligarh cricket is in a state of regeneration. "In the old days the names of the brothers Siddique and Mahmud, of "Shaukat and Amin, of Abdul Wahab, Mughni and Abul Hassan were "those to conjure with. With the advent of Ahsan and Ali Hassan "many of us thought that the brilliant days of Aligarh cricket "were about to return. Although these hopes were realised, Aligarh "cricket was at a very low ebb soon after. But now again our hopes are "reviving. Prince Hamidullah Khan of Bhopal is at the helm of the "affairs, and the very fact that through him the services of "Mr. Fairservice of Kent have been secured shows how earnest "he is that Aligarh should regain her old supremacy in India. "There is no doubt Aligarh has done extremely well "this year. Out of 14 matches played 12 have been won "and 2 drawn—truly a magnificient record. It augurs very well "for the future. In the quadrangular matches in Bombay, where "undoubtedly the best cricket in India is played, Aligarh has been "very poorly represented. In the first year in which the quadrangular "contest was held in 1912, only 2 Aligarhians were included *i.e.*, Said "and Salamudin. The first named was only taken after some dis-"cussion and difficulty in the final match *i.e.*, Mohamedans *v.* Parsees. "There is no doubt he thoroughly justified his selection, for he batted "and fielded extremely well, and was a very useful man for his side. "Last year no Aligarhians were included. It was the opinion of a "great many that the Committee, which selected the Mohamedan team, "was very partial to the Bombay cricketers. It is possible there "may have been some truth in the allegation. At the same time, it "must be said for the Selection Committee, that they only judge by "the form shown by the Aligarhians on the Bombay wicket before "the quadrangular contest. Here the Aligarhians rather disappointed "the members of the Selection Committee, and this accounted for their "absence in the selected team. It would not be uninteresting to re-"view what some of the Mohamedans who played last year in the quad-"rangular contest in Bombay have performed lately. Playing for the "Maharaja of Nattore's Team in Calcutta, Yusuff Beg of Poona, Abdul "Aziz and Nazir Husein of Delhi have done wonders with the bat and "the ball. Yusuff Beg is considered by many competent authorities to "be the best bat in India. Aziz in blossoming out into a first class "all-rounder, and Nazir Husein is another all-rounder very hard to "beat. These three men, together with some Aligarh boys, "and men from Bombay and Northern India *i.e.*, Cashmere, "Indore, and Patiala etc., will make an almost invincible "Mohamedan team. What I should like to impress on all "well-wishers of the game is that there should be no "feud in our own camp, and that all should work in harmony with one "object in view *i.e.*, the supremacy of the Mohamedan cricket. Now "coming to Football and Hockey, it has been very pleasing to me to see "the form shown by both the Football and Hockey teams from Aligarh "which visited Bombay about 3 years back. The Hockey Team ought "to have easily carried off the Aga Khan Cup, but on account "of some mishaps, and misfortunes they failed to attain that "object. I well remember the brilliant form shown by Asad Ali and "Nuruddin. The latter's death must have been a great loss to the "team." Writing about the lawn tennis Dr. Fyzee says:—"It has "always been a wonder to me why Aligarh has not produced any "famous players. Of course there have been some very good players, "but their fame has only existed in the Inter-collegiate world. "None has gone, to the best of my knowledge, further than that. "None has carried, say, the Championship of the Punjab, or the All-"India Lawn Tennis Championship of Allahabad or the Champion-"ship of Bengal. What I should like to suggest is that the best "and second best pairs should enter a series of first class tournaments, "like the Championship of Bengal, the Punjab, Sindh and Bombay. "They would only then get the experience which is so necessary to a "first class player. I should also much desire to see Prince "Hamidullah Khan, the popular skipper, bringing down a first rate "Aligarh team during the next cricket season of Bombay, just to "give us a taste of the palmy days of Aligarh cricket. In conclusion, "I should like to congratulate Prince Hamidullah very heartily for "the splendid result he has attained this year. I am sure, his carreer "will be watched by all sportsmen all over India with great interest. "I am certain I am echoing the sentiments of all the Mohamedans of "India when I wish him every success." We heartily echo what Dr. Fyzee says, but we hope Aligarh cricketers will not go on a strike, like the Lahore Medical College students, if we said we sometimes wish Prince Hamidullah Khan's team got a sound beating once in a way as a trial of their patience and sporting spirit, and chiefly to set a keener edge on their desire never to be overcome. Adversity is the lot of the poor and would do a Prince a lot of good! Cheer up, and never say die.

The Comrade.

Ulster and the Army.

I.

When some months ago Lord Crewe, whom Sir Edward Carson called "a somewhat inaudible Minister," drew attention to the effect which the tactics of the Unionists Party in England and the preparations made by Orangemen in Ulster were likely to have in India, his lordship was not preaching from the text that virtue is its own reward and the kindred doctrine that vice is its own retribution. Obviously the idea of consequences was then uppermost in his mind, and although such sermons are not very lofty, they are sure to appeal to minds not fully attuned to ethics but alive to the practical considerations of profit and loss. The kind of tactics which the Unionists were adopting in England were bad in themselves, and the preperations which were being made by the Orangeman in Ulster appeared to the layman at least as illegal, and were therefore deserving of Liberal condemnation. But the fear underlying the question "What would they think of it in our Indian Dependency?" was common to Unionists and Home Rulers, and therefore Lord Crewe's criticism was calculated to cause some flutter in Unionists circles. At any rate, it was not ignored, and even the *Times* attempted a clumsy rejoinder by saying that if the Bengalis vowed to die rather than permit their severance from Great Britain that would be an occasion for rejoicing rather than uneasiness. That is a kind of argument one always expected from the *Times* when in a tight corner, and may be passed over; but the fact remains that Indians receive no great access of virtue from the tactics pursued by their "Imperial" mentors. We should be really sorry if our fellow-countrymen regarded such conduct as ideal, but we are happy to be able to testify that the only effect of a close observation of "constitutionalism" as practised by the Unionists Party has been to amuse the Indians and make them regard their mentors as endowed with the usual amount of hypocrisy and human nature. More recently things began to take a more serious turn when the question of the Army *versus* Parliament became acute in the course of the Ulster controversy, but we felt sure that commonsense would come to the rescue even of the "Constitutional Party," and as things are once more settling down we have no fear of any injurious reaction in India if we elucidate the points raised last week over the attitude of the Army in Ulster.

The first disquieting news that came to India through Reuter was that the tension in Ulster was growing and the authorities were taking precautions. Large bodies of armed police had left Dublin and special magistrates for Ulster had been sworn in Dublin Castle. It was reported that a detachment of the 1st Norfolks had arrived at Carrickfergus and that sentries with fixed bayonets were posted day and night at the Castle armoury, while the guards at barracks at Enneskillen and Armagh had been doubled and civilians prevented from entering. Although the police were declared to have sent no orders to follow the movements of the leading Unionists, they were said to be watching the various Ulster battalions. Guards at the military barracks throughout Ulster where stores were kept were doubled. According to various reports from the crowd of correspondents at Belfast the Government had already taken measures such as the summoning of naval reservists to be in readiness and the issuing of orders with the object of the military occupation of Belfast. Troops were arriving in Ulster from the south, while two warships were stationed in Dublin Bay. Two destroyers had landed 150 troops at Carrickfergus. A gunboat had arrived at Bangor and a destroyer at Kingstown. It was also announced that the artillery had been ordered to proceed to Ulster, and that all reservists had been instructed to be in readiness instantly to join the colours. Instruction had also been given that the ordnance storemen in Ulster were to be searched as they left work. A detachment of 100 men of the Yorkshire Regiment had gone on board the warships in Dublin Bay and sailed for an unknown destination. Subsequently the destroyer had anchored in the Bay. One hundred and fifty men of the Royal Engineers from Curragh were reported to have arrived at Dublin and proceeded to Holywood Barracks, and other drafts were expected. Three thousand regulars and two field batteries were said to have already arrived in Ulster. Rumour went even so far as the statement, made at Aldershot, that the South Western Railway had been ordered to have trains in readiness to move 10,000 troops to Glasgow and other ports whence they could be transported to Ireland. The officials of the Railway, however, said they knew nothing about such an order. Nevertheless, the papers were full of the details of the military movements towards Ulster, which, according to the Conservative papers, indicated that the Government were in panic, but which the Liberal papers declared to be the outcome of a well considered plan on the instructions of the Army Council prepared sometime ago.

The Orangemen were no less active, and forty motor-cyclist volunteers had left Belfast under secret orders. The city was intensely excited. A picked reserve force of volunteers was called out one night when rumours were renewed that 28 warrants for arrest had been issued, though Sir Edward Carson's name was not on the list. Eight hundred volunteers had mobilised in Belfast and guarded the residences of the Unionist leaders. Not to be entirely outstripped by Orangeman, the Nationalist at Derry had also called a muster on which they insisted inspite of Mr. Redmond's deportations. A prolonged Ulsterite conference was in progress at Belfast while the military authorities were conferring at Dublin. One need not be surprised after this at learning that nervousness prevailed and caused depression on the Stock Exchange.

Then came a somewhat different announcement when it was officially declared in Belfast that the special train ordered to convey the troops from Curragh to Belfast was subsequently cancelled, no reason being given. This was followed by the news that a number of officers in the south had written to friends in Belfast that they would resign if they were ordered to Ulster. A telegram from Curragh was even more explicit and reported that the removal of the mounted troops has been cancelled owing to the resignation of the officers. The War Office denied a report that it had issued an ultimatum to the officers in Ireland to serve or resign, and further stated that it had no information of wholesale resignations. But it was also reported that the Executive of the War Office had been working day and night for some time, which was in itself somewhat ominous. The whole thing became clear, however, when it was reported that General Sir Arthur Paget, in command of the troops in Ireland, had arrived at Curragh and that "negotiations" were proceeding between the officers who had resigned and the Army authorities.

After this telegrams came down as thick as autumn leaves in Vallambrosa, all showing how "loyal"—at least in the sense in which we are required to be in India—was the Army to the Government in Great Britain. We had already heard that at various places in Ulster the troops were greeted with enthusiastic demonstrations on the part of the Unionists and that a detachment of Ulster volunteers stood at the salute as the Dorsets passed. Even then it was reported that many troops had returned the compliment; but the *Pall Mall* published a telegram from Belfast which showed that the compliment was more than returned by the troops. It stated that, when two companies of the Dorsets were paraded and notified that they were being transferred to quarters near the volunteer manœuvring ground, the men hurled their rifles on the barrack square and the sergeant saluted and exclaimed, "We will have no Home Rule here!" If this is true there is nothing surprising in the touching spectacle of detachments of the Royal Inniskilling Fusiliers and the Bedfordshire Regiment and the Ulster volunteers attending church at Armagh together, many sharing prayer books and all exchanging salutes when they marched off. Bluejackets were also reported to be fraternising with Ulster volunteers, and under the circumstances it was indeed the height of discipline that, addressing the 2nd Manchester Regiment at Curragh camp, Major-General Sir C. Fergusson said that his and the men's sympathies were with Ulster, and that he hoped that they would not be compelled to take up arms against her, though if they were ordered there they would loyally obey.

We got out of the Irish bog of vague rumours and were on the firmer ground of more precise statements, if not of facts, when the *Morning Post* declared on Saturday the 21st March that all the officers of the 3rd Cavalry Brigade resigned and that Colonel Seely's Secretary, questioned on the subject, replied that the War Office had received similar rumours. The *Daily Mail* supported this statement and stated that on the receipt of the rumours Mr. Asquith, Mr. Churchill and Colonel Seely conferred with the War Office staff on the 21st, and subsequently Mr. Churchill summoned Admiral Prince Louis of Battenberg, the First Naval Lord, to the Admiralty. Later it was reported that a number of officers at Aldershot had also resigned. The Conservative papers continued to publish alarmist reports. They asserted that the Dorsets, who were reported to have mutinied, were being kept prisoners in barracks; but, Reuter added, this was probably an exaggeration of the fact that all troops in Ulster were for the moment confined to barracks. The *Observer* was more explicit and asserted that Sir Arthur Paget had visited the Curragh on Friday, the 20th March, and had given General Gough two hours to decide whether he would take command in Ulster or resign and that General Gough resigned immediately.

Subsequently more details were received and it was learnt that on March 20th the War Office had requested all officers who were not prepared for active service in Ulster to send in their papers, and that in twelve hours seventy out of seventy-five officers, including Brigadier General Gough, had done so. As a result of a War Office conference on the night of Friday, the 20th March, General Sir Arthur Paget had conferred on the following day with the senior officers who had resigned and had intimated that the War

Office was willing to accept the resignation of Brigadier-General Gough and Major Kearsely, but not of the others, who, if they disobeyed orders, would be liable to be court-martialed. It was stated that these two officers declined the special treatment offered, and said they would stand or fall with their brother officers. General Sir Arthur Paget had then intimated that the movement of troops was at present only for the protection of the Government property and for the assistance of the police in maintaining order, and it was stated that in view of this assurance the officers eventually agreed to go to Ulster, but definitely stated that they would not participate in hostilities against the so-called Loyalists who were preparing to resist Home Rule if enacted into law by the King in Parliament. This extremely "loyal" decision was telegraphed to Whitehall, after which General Gough and two other officers were reported to have been summoned to London where they visited the War Office on Sunday, the 22nd March. It was also reported that a number of officers had left the Curragh on special leave, and that their resignations had not been accepted, because, if they had been, the officers would have been free to join the Ulster volunteers. Evidently the spirit shown by the officers of the Third Cavalry Brigade was contagious, for it was reported that many resignations had also been tendered in the Infantry and the Artillery Brigades at Dublin, the Curragh, Newbridge and Kildare, though upto that time all infantry and artillery ordered north had gone without demur. General Gough's brother Brigadier-General John Gough, of the Aldershot Command, had also resigned, and it was reported that a number of other officers at Aldershot were in readiness to resign if they were ordered to Ireland.

The *Observer*, while publishing the news of General Gough's choice, had exhorted all officers to resign, declaring that they would be supported by the Unionists. This promise was fulfilled to this extent, at least that, Sir Marcus Samuel offered £10,000 to start a fund in aid of the families of officers who were resigning. The temper of the Party of "law and order" which has so repeatedly clamoured for "Martial Law and no Damn Nonsense" in India, can be judged from the tone of its papers, which were jubilant over what they described as the Government's abject climb-down from coercive demonstration in Ireland to humiliating explanations in the House of Commons because the instrument which they had thought to use had broken in their hands. The Conservative Press acclaimed General Gough as the man of the hour and paid tribute to the band of officers who, they said, had saved the country from disaster. The *Morning Post* urged the House of Lords to amend the Army Annual Act to prevent the Army from being used in Ulster. According to Belfast papers, the Dungannon volunteers had wired to the 16th Lancers congratulating them on their firm stand, which, according to them, had prevented the "loyal" minority of their countrymen from being wiped out.

Let us now hear how the Liberals regarded the whole affair. The Liberal papers, while proclaiming the failure of the Tory attempt to split the Army, declared that the limit of patience had been reached. The *Daily News* said if the Army was to be used as a Tory institution to coerce the House of Commons, "we shall democratize it as we democratized Parliament." Military conspirators against Parliament should, in its view, be broken mercilessly and never re-admitted to the Army. The *Daily Chronicle*, commenting in a similar strain, said it would have been more agreeable to the Liberals if the officers had been sent about their business. The Government had delayed too long in dealing with indiscipline.

As regards General Gough's return to duty, while the *Daily Chronicle* averred that he had rejoined unconditionally, the *Daily News* appeared to be ignorant of this and said it was most important to know on what conditions General Gough had returned. The *Times*, however declared, that General Gough had received a written assurance from the Government that the troops would not be used to coerce Ulster. The *Daily Mail* said that General Gough had telegraphed to the 16th Lancers that all the officers would be reinstated without loss of prestige, while the *Morning Post* said that high officers in the War Office and throughout the Army had threatened to resign if General Gough and his comrades were penalized and that Staff resignations were still probable. When General Gough and Colonel MacEwen returned to the Curragh they had an enthusiastic reception, the troops escorting them to their quarters. On that occasion General Gough announced that troops would not be asked to go to Ulster or, if they were, they would not be asked to carry arms.

We have reproduced the reports cabled to this country as faithfully as possible so that our readers may get a connected account of the preparations made by Government to meet the Ulster crisis, the activity of Ulster volunteers, the commotion in the country and the sensational outburst of the officers of the Third Cavalry Brigade following on the fraternizing of the troops with the volunteers and the reported mutiny of the Dorsets. We have also given a narrative of the Gough incident as cabled to India by instalments and the opinions of the newspapers of the two Parties and their surmises as regards the terms on which General Gough rejoined. But it did not seem clear from the newspaper reports cabled to India whether General Gough had returned to duty unconditionally or on the receipt of some assurances, nor indeed was the narrative free from a certain amount of mystery as to the origin of the Gough incident. For this we have to piece together the telegrams sent by Reuter as regards the various explanations offered by the Government, and we must say it is an extremely difficult task, though we cannot say whether the difficulty is due to the summarising of Reuter or to the halting and disjointed character of the Government's explanations.

It appears that some months ago when the Government were considering the question of a possible disturbance of the peace in Ulster on the passage of the Home Rule Bill, Colonel Seely, the Secretary of State for War, had an interview on the 12th of December last with General Officers Commanding, in the course of which he made a statement to them with reference to the duty of soldiers in the event of disorders in Ulster. Attempts had been made to disuade the troops from obeying lawful orders when supporting the civil power; so Colonel Seely, while explaining the law on the subject, informed the Generals that he would hold each of them responsible for seeing that there was no conduct subversive of discipline and warned that such conduct would be dealt with forthwith under the King's Regulations. Now that the Government were making preparations in Ulster for all eventualities, it seems that General Sir Arthur Paget Commanding the troops in Ireland, had occasion to make a statement with regard to them on the 20th March, and in reference to this verbal communication from the War Office through Sir Arthur Paget, General Gough asked for a clear definition of the terms "duty as ordered" and "active operations." Mr. Bonar Law in the House of Commons is said to have read a statement from General Sir Arthur Paget to officers that active operations were to commence against Ulster and that the country would be ablaze by Saturday. Mr. Asquith in replying to Mr. Bonar Law referred to Colonel Seely's interview with the Generals last December, and added that they were assured that officers domiciled in Ulster would be exempted. He said that the War Office gave General Sir Arthur Paget no instructions concerning the conquering of Ulster, and that the only instructions sent to him were those of the previous week for the movements of troops which was purely a protective one. Under the circumstances we do not know what instructions Sir Arthur Paget gave to the officers, and it is not possible to say whether Sir Arthur Paget interpreted the Government's instructions incorrectly or that, as the Conservative papers declare, he has been made a scapegoat. It, however, appears that General Gough, while asking for a clear definition of the terms "duty as ordered" and "active operations," said that if "duty" consisted of the preservation of property and the maintenance of order, all officers in the Brigade would carry out their duty, but that if it involved initiation of active military operations against Ulster, "the following officers respectfully and under protest" preferred to be dismissed. General Gough is then said to have detailed the names of sixty officers of his Brigade. It is stated that Sir Arthur Paget reported to the War Offices at midnight on March 23rd that the Brigadier and 57 officers of the Cavalry preferred to accept dismissal if they were ordered north. Further it is stated that Colonel Seely replied immediately authorising General Paget to suspend any senior officer who resigned or otherwise disputed his authority, ordering General Gough and others to report themselves at the War Office forthwith and directing that they be relieved of their commands. He is also alleged to have stated that officers were being sent to replace them and that the resignations of all officers should be refused. This statement is in violent conflict with another, according to which General Gough wrote on the 23rd March asking the Adjutant-General on behalf of his officers whether in the event of Home Rule becoming law they could be called upon to enforce it upon Ulster, and that the reply was sent the same day authorising General Gough to inform the officers that the Army Council was satisfied that the incident connected with the resignations was due to a misunderstanding, Government having had no intention whatever of taking advantage of the right to use the troops to support the Civil power in maintaining law and order for the object of crushing political opposition to the policy and principles of Home Rule.

We do not know how to reconcile these two statements, unless we presume that the midnight report to the War Office was sent not on March 23rd, but on March 20th, specially as General Gough and other officers are reported to have visited the War Office in response to the summons on Sunday March 22nd, and the *Times* of the 23rd published that the attitude of the Government towards the resignations of officers was that they were due to honest misunderstanding and that there would be no penalisation. Thus, the question about enforcing Home Rule arose on the Friday the 20th March when Brigadier General Gough and the officers of the Third Cavalry Brigade offered to resign rather initiate active military co-operations. The War Office was informed of it the same night and was reported to have been very firm in its reply

which was despatched immediately. On Saturday, the 21st March, there was another interview between Sir Arthur Paget and the officers, who evidently stood their ground, and on the receipt of this information were summoned by the War Office to London. On Sunday the 22nd March, they visited the War Office, and it was after this that the Government discovered the "honest misunderstanding" to which the *Times* referred on Monday, the 23rd March. On that a conference was held at the War Office between Col. Seely and Sir Arthur Paget, and Brigadier General Gough and the Irish officers and several Aldershot officers were also called to the War Office. A full Cabinet meeting was held after this conference and Mr. Asquith was able to confirm in the House of Commons the same evening what the *Times* had published about the "honest misunderstanding" in the morning. Thus the crisis of the officers' resignations with reference to the question whether the Army could be forced to coerce Ulster was averted, but it was averted only at the cost of a still greater crisis with reference to the question whether the Army could ask for and obtain assurances from Government about the manner in which it would be employed by the Civil power. With this, the more important question, we shall deal in our next issue, and bring out the facts of the case and the views of the two political Parties in England.

Hindu-Muslim Entente.

It was some time ago that we noted with extreme pleasure the announcement that the Hon. Sir James Meston was willing to co-operate heartily if the Hindus and the Mussalmans of unfortunately the most disunited Province, miscalled "the United Provinces," met together in a conference for the purpose of discussing the Hindu-Muslim problem and invited His Honour to preside. Those were the days when we expected the millenium to be effectively ushered in during His Honour's quinquenium. Since then much water has flowed by the Sangam, and the millenium appears at least as distant as ever. To none has recent experience tasted more like gall and wormwood than to ourselves, but it is not always possible to shatter the world into little bits and remould it after the heart's desire. We have, therefore, refrained from grumbling, and are quite content to pursue the same policy. But in public affairs only those can sit smiling like Patience on a monument that feel public misfortunes less poignantly than their own trivial worries. If, therefore, we turn our attention to the affairs of the United Provinces, which is perhaps dearer to us than any other part of this sub-continent, it is because it would pain us at least as much as any other person in the world to see the two great communities inhabiting the province drifting away still more from each other.

We are not so wedded to the doctrine of *Laissez-faire* in government that the least inclination on the part of the Administration to participate in the affairs of the people would appear to us to be the indication of some deep-laid plot against them. But it does seem to us somewhat odd that when no responsible representatives of the Hindus and the Mohamedans have called together a conference such as His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor suggested, and no one to our knowledge has invited Sir James Meston to preside. His Honour should go out of his way and himself call together such a conference under his own chairmanship. Surely he cannot be unaware of the suspicions to which publicity has already been given by some vernacular papers which have since been punished for it under the Press Act. In the face of these circumstances it is an extremely courageous act to take the initiative in such a matter. But if Sir James Meston is determined to show to the world the utter baselessness of such suspicions, by himself doing that which he had at first suggested to others, and which they have hitherto failed to do, and is confident of bringing the Hindus and the Mussalmans closer to each other than they have been in the past, then we must say he has done the right thing, and whosoever admires courage, determination and self-reliance would feel great respect and genuine admiration for the bold policy of Sir James Meston. As this is the most favourable interpretation upon His Honour's action, we readily accept it, and it would be extremely unfair to him if by any comment of ours we prejudiced the conference which Sir James has called. In fact we pine for the result and care not who achieves it and how. The enterprise is admittedly a difficult one, and if Sir James Meston carries it to a successful issue, no one will offer him a heartier tribute of praise and gratitude than ourselves.

But we hope we may be permitted to say this much, that although His Honour has included in the list of those invited to this conference practically every true representative of the Hindu community, his selection of the Mussalmans is one that does not augur well for the success of the conference. From the very first we have suggested to His Honour that he has placed wrong values on leading Mussalmans and has sought advice only from those that are prone to receive advice and accept advice without the least demur, and we are sorry to see that even after considerable experience in recent days Sir James Meston leans heavily on the old broken reed. We have learnt, though we cannot vouch for its accuracy, that the following gentlemen will represent the Mussslmans. The Hon. the Raja Saheb of Mahmudabad, the Hon. the Raja Saheb of Jehangirabad, the Hon. the Raja Saheb of Pirpur, the Hon. Shaikh Shahid Hosain, the Hon. Mr. Abdur Raof, the Hon. Khwaja Ghulam-us-Saqlain, Nawab Mehdi Hosain of Lucknow, Nawab Abdul Majid, C. I. E., Maulana Syed Karamat Hosain, Nawab Ishaq Khan, Nawab Ismail Khan and Mr. Hamid Ali Khan. These gentlemen have to confer with Mr. Bishan Narain Dar, the Hon. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, the Hon. Pandit Sunder Lal, the Hon. Pandit Moti Lal Nehru, the Hon. Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru, the Hon. Mr. Ganga Pershad Varma and some others. Without exaggerating the ability of these Hindu gentlemen, we can say that the Mohamedan gentlemen invited to confer with them are not likely to do justice to the community to which they belong in any discussion of rights and responsibilities. Most of them belong to the class beloved of the officials and known as the "natural leaders of the people." On the other hand, the Hindu gentlemen are not the "natural," but the *real* leaders of their community.

Passing to the omissions, nobody can fail to miss the name of the Hon. Syed Riza Ali, the *only* elected Mussalman member of the Council who is not invited. Without suggesting that no other elected member truly represents his community, we may say without fear of contradiction—except from the uninformed or the perverse—that the Hon. Syed Riza Ali represents a very considerable body of Muslim opinion, and by dint of sheer ability has established for himself both in his profession and in public affairs a position second to none among the elected members of the U.P. Council. What is more, he can be trusted to be independent in the expression of his opinions, and it is difficult to assign any reason for his omission which does not support the popular belief that Sir James Meston is not an admirer of his bold advocacy of the claims of his community. No less remarkable is the omission of the name of Mr. Syed Wazir Hasan, who is the cheif executive officer of the All-India Muslim League, which, according to the recent Deputation to the Viceroy, "has ever since its establishment continued to be the true representative organisation of Indian Mussalmans." Now we fail to see what the Muslim League and its Secretary have done to merit this neglect. If it is the ideal of self-government suitable for India, then why has Sir James been so remarkably affectionate towards the National Congress Committee in Allahabad where the ideal of Colonial self-government was evolved even earlier? Does His Honour think that self-government suited to India is more inconsistent with the British connection than Colonial self-government, or that Mr. Wazir Hasan is less friendly to the English, say, than Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya or Mr. Varma? Mr. Wazir Hasan has taken a prominent part in advocating a Hindu-Muslim *entente*, and, in fact, this is his chief crime in the eyes of a certain type of officials. To leave him out of such a conference requires an explanation other than the plea of inadvertance. Again, we miss the name of Mr. Syed Nabiullah, the President of an annual session of the All-India Muslim League. We do not find the name of Sahebzada Aftab Ahmed Khan in the list, though we have since learnt that he is likely to be asked. Mr. Alay Nabi is the President of the Provincial Muslim League, and we do not understand on what grounds he has been excluded. Can it be that our latest and youngest King-Maker, the very masterful Secretary of the Provincial League, refrained from nominating him?

The Hon. the Raja Saheb of Mahmudabad is no doubt there, and he is the solitary member in whom the majority of the Muslim community could put implicit faith. But his inclusion has not even the doubtful virtue of consistency, and we wonder whether he would be able to accomplish anything in the company of such strange bed-fellows as Dame Fortune has provided for him. We do not know whether this goodly dozen of the "natural leaders" of the Mussalmans would be able to get any section of the Mussalmans to abide by their decision except that which, like them, has the great quality of abiding by the decisions of every officer of the Government. It was superfluous to invite them to this conference when the decision of the Government itself would have proved equally efficacious with the section of *Jo-hookams* in the Muslim community.

We do not know what procedure the conference would follow, but all the Hindus and the Mussalmans alike await the result of its deliberations. What we fear is that the conference would not be able to influence the attitude of any Mussalman towards the Hindus, and if it proves abortive, it may be advertised as another indication of the hopelessness of unity between the two communities and of the absolute necessity of an impartial European arbitrator with the fullest powers to prevent breaches of peace and "to hold the balance even." But this is by no means the worst of our fears. An abortive conference may possibly strain the relations of the two communities still further and may well take rank with the Ajudhiya and Agra troubles of last year. *Absit omen.*

Indians and South Africa

(By Asiaticus)

The partial truce which has been declared between the Indians in South Africa and the Union Government affords an opportunity for examining certain aspects of the Indian immigration question which are too often disregarded. In this matter the first duty of the onlooker in Great Britain, who stands outside the range of the dispute, is not to take sides. There has been too much taking of sides. The Indian leaders in Natal are men of high principles and honest purpose, but their tactics have not always been discreet. The march of the passive resisters to the Transvaal frontier was a device which can perhaps be excused, since it was peaceably conducted, and was chiefly meant to draw swift attention to a situation which to the Indians seemed intolerable. When two thousand Indians allowed themselves to be arrested by forty policemen, clearly they were not out for mischief. But the refusal of the Indian leaders to appear and give evidence before the Commission of Enquiry was a mistake, as even Mr. Gokhale seems guardedly to have acknowledged. They, be it remembered, were the accusers; and Sir Richard Solomon pointed out at the first sitting that though the Commission had asked for specific allegations, none had been received. Mr. Gandhi and his followers took exception to two members of the Commission, on the ground that they were prejudiced. They therefore declined to attend the enquiry. There was some talk of an oath to which they had subscribed; but considering how important it is for them to make a good impression upon English public opinion, they would have been wiser had they smothered their objections and given their testimony.

Another phase of the trouble which had unfortunate results was the undoubtedly exaggerated telegrams which were sent to India about the alleged treatment of Indians in Natal. There is no question now that many of the statements made could not be substantiated. Some of them have been carefully investigated by competent tribunals, whose fairness cannot be challenged. There have been cases of ill-treatment, but the inflammatory stories which roused India to burning wrath were largely without foundation. Yet the mischief has been done. The allegations telegraphed to India have obtained wide currency, and are generally credited despite official denials. They have brought into the ranks of the agitation in India large numbers of moderate men who usually keep aloof from politics, and many violent speeches have been made which had better have been left unsaid. It is not suggested here that there was no justification for the widespread indignation manifested in India. What is urged is that it was based upon exaggerations, and that it was excessive and in some respects unreasonable in expression.

There is one other point which must be noted in order to clear the ground. An outburst of feeling which found its chief —and most moderate—interpreter in the Viceroy, who was echoed by men of all classes and creeds, must necessarily be received with respect. But the great weakness of the recent agitation in India is that it is extraordinarily belated. The grievances of Indians in South Africa are no new things. Mr. Gandhi, to his credit be it said, was expounding them twenty years ago. Sir Francis Younghusband, in a letter to the *Times*, has described how in 1896 he spent an evening with Mr. Gandhi and his friends at Durban, at a time when Natal volunteers were trying to prevent the landing of Indians. The men in India who are loudest to-day in denouncing the attitude of the Union Government were in public life in 1896, and knew all about the South African problem. They were repeatedly asked to take it up, but remained practically silent. The National Congress gave no earnest aid to Mr. Gandhi in those days. The only effective help he was able to obtain in India was from the Government of India and the Anglo-Indian Press. When he wanted a spokesman to plead the cause of his followers, he had to turn, not to Mr. Gokhale and Sir Pherozeshah Mehta and the rest, but to Sir Muncherjee Bhownagree, the sworn foe of the Congress, who year in and year out laboured strenuously, but largely in vain, to awaken public opinion in England and in India to a consciousness of the disabilities of Indians in South Africa.

Why was it that Mr. Gandhi was left for so many years in the wilderness, while the Congress leaders, who are now so vehement, turned a deaf ear to his appeal? The reason was that the Congress was looking for reforms in India, which they hoped to receive from English Radicals; and the leaders had conceived a hazy and possibly quite wrong-headed idea that if they pressed the South African question too much they might embarass their own cause. Mr. Joseph Chamberlain was worrying President Kruger a good deal about the position of Indians in the Transvaal. The Congress thought it discreet not to back up too prominently so ardent an Imperialist. I have had the curiosity to search the addresses of Presidents of the Congress from the very first meeting in 1885. Not one of them made the faintest allusion to the South African question in their Presidential addresses until 1902, when Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjee referred to it. The only other occasion, until recently, when the grievances were mentioned, was in the address of Sir Henry Cotton in 1904. It is true that from 1894 onward the Congress in most years passed a perfunctory resolution on the subject. It was usually carried without discussion, and sometimes it was merely embedded in the "omnibus" resolution with which the assembly is wont to wipe out miscellaneous questions about which nobody cares.

In 1904 I ventured to make an appeal to the Congress leaders—one of many such—to take up the cause of the Indians in South Africa. Upon that occasion I wrote:

If the Congress had been really practical, if it had desired—and known how—to make its voice ring throughout the Empire, it would long ere this have held great meetings in every city in India to protest against the treatment of Indians in South Africa. Here is alive, an important, a really burning question, which affects the rights of India. What has the Congress done to make the views of the people of India heard in this connection? Practically nothing. Not a single public meeting has been specially held with regard to this controversy. And if one was called, how many would attend? The only serviceable champion the Indians in South Africa have found is Sir Muncherjee Bhownaggree.

To that and other appeals there was absolutely no response, and it was another seven or eight years before the leaders of the Congress, or any public men in India, began to take an interest in the South African issue. Yet the poll-tax of £3, of which so much is now heard, dates, I believe, from the seventies; President Kruger inflicted his registration tax in 1885; and the "Natal Act" was passed in 1897. My point is this. No one questions the sincerity and force of public feeling on this matter in India to-day; but the speakers who are now loudest in their denunciations of the Union Government must not complain if onlookers say that, however sincere, they have waited overlong. They are no doubt eager now to redress the wrongs of their compatriots, but it would also seem that they are not reluctant, at a critical stage in Indian history, to deepen the prejudice against British rule. The motives of some among them, in short, are not wholly single-minded, and the thought should serve to chasten their unbridled utterances. All that is sound in what they are now saying ought to have been said by them at least ten years ago.

I turn to the larger question, to the issue which far transcends in importance the precise grievances of Indians in South Africa, to the feeling which has brought thousands of moderate and loyal Indians into line in this agitation. Behind the South African grievances lies the whole complex problem of the future status of Indians in the British Empire. It is a problem which will tax to the utmost the resources of British statesmanship; but it must be solved some day if we are to preserve our rule in India. We have talked far too long of holding India with the sword. In the last resort we must still do so; but 75,000 white troops will not for ever control 315,000,000 of people without their full and free consent. The task which still confronts English statesmen is that of persuading the people of India to be willing citizens of the British Empire. We have to convince them that they will be better and safer and happier and more prosperous if they remain within the Empire than if they turn their energies to schemes for passing outside it. Only by arousing India to a consciousness of the advantages of the British connection, and to a realisation of the dangers which will beset the country if it drifts apart, can we hope to maintain our administration in the stormy days which assuredly lie ahead. But what does British citizenship mean for Indians? The question is being asked by many thoughtful Indians to-day, and no very satisfactory answer is forthcoming. The Englishman, the white dweller in the Dominions, can pass at will throughout the Empire, certain of protection and free movement. The Indian who leaves his own country finds almost impassable barriers erected against him in the self-governing Dominions. He is a British subject, he may be sober, industrious, loyal, a clean and honest liver; but his rights of British citizenship will not carry him into South Africa, or Canada, or Australia. Not unnaturally he asks how he can be expected to cling to the British Crown, or to fight for the British Empire, when he is treated as unworthy of admittance to many of its most favoured lands.

Lord Morley said once that if we would understand the Indian peoples aright, we must try to get into their skins. Let me quote words recently uttered by Sir Ibrahim Rahimtula, an extremely able and loyal Mohamedan who has worked for many years as an unofficial member of various administrative bodies. He is a man of calm judgment and moderate views, and in the following passage he expresses the attitude of most intelligent Indians to-day.

The wider question can no longer be postponed but must now be faced, and that question is, "What is the position of the people of India in the British Empire?" Australia is practically barred against us. Canada is contemplating legislation to prohibit Asiatic immigration. The attitude of South Africa is patent to you. The time is therefore ripe to ask whether we are common subjects of his Imperial Majesty the King, occupying identically the same position as the other subjects of his Majesty, or are we so in theory only? Under the gracious Proclamation of Queen Victoria, confirmed by the Royal pronouncements of Queen Victoria's two successors, pledges have been given to us in an unequivocable manner that we are citizens of the Empire. In practice, however, we find that in South Africa, in Canada, and in Australia we are regarded in a manner which it is difficult to express in moderate terms. We have therefore every right to ask the British

Cabinet, through the Secretary of State, for a declaration whether they will manage to secure to us the rights and privileges of British citizenship.

If the answer to the question is in the affirmative, England has got to exercise the power which legally vests in her to ensure to us such rights and privileges. If we are not, inspite of Royal pronouncements and Royal pledges, to receive the rights of British citizenship, if we are prohibited from settling in the British Colonies on equal terms with the white races, we are entitled to a clear and definite declaration on the point. It is necessary that we should clearly understand what our position actually is in the British Empire. If we are not entitled, inspite of the pledges already referred to, to equal rights of British citizenship, if that right on the declared authority of the British Cabinet is to be denied to us, then we shall be free to organise means and measures to protect ourselves against this indignity. Retaliation is a bad word, but it has been freely used in this connection, and I do not think any one would venture to assert that the use of the word is uncalled for....

We will have to consider and devise means which, while being perfectly constitutional, may prove really effective. The intellectual capacity of the Indians is not so meagre as to despair of finding such an effective remedy, but the time for such measures has yet to come. We have thankfully to remember that the Indian officials are supporting our cause and that many Englishmen in South Africa appear to be in our favour. A majority of the powerfull English Press is sufficiently outspoken. We have therefore to wait for the final result of the present contretemps before concerting and pressing effective measures in this behalf. There is no Indian who does not regret the necessity of being obliged to start a war of retaliation against component parts of the mighty British Empire, but the fault entirely lies with the British Cabinet. If the British Cabinet is absolutely powerless to secure the rights of British citizenship to the Indian subjects of the Crown, the whole responsibility of the consequences which such a policy will lead to will be on their heads. I need hardly tell them that the result of such a course from the Imperial standpoint will be deplorable.

There is the issue from the Indian point of view packed small; and when the controversy grows more acute, as it is bound to do, it is to be hoped that responsible statesmen in the Dominions will realise that the Indian point of view cannot be ignored in England. Sir Ibrahim Rahimtula's too expansive conception of the powers and responsibilities of English Ministers need not be examined. The thing to remember is that if the problem is not some day solved, our position in India may be imperilled. It is not merely the problem of settling the exact conditions upon which Indians may obtain access to the Dominions. It is far more a problem of finding some form of settlement which will make them content with their status as British citizens. At present they are not content; the grievances of their countrymen breed hostility; and we cannot afford to permit the development of further hostility to our rule if remedies exist. The retention of India, and of a contented India, is essential to the well-being of the Empire as a whole. The sea-borne trade of India is the largest within the Empire, save only that of the United Kingdom. India sends far more food and raw material to this country than any of the Dominions. She purchases far more British produce and manufactures than any of the Dominions, and her needs make her the mainstay of the cotton mills of Lancashire. The permanent estrangement of the people of India, with its consequent results upon trade, would mean the infliction of a vital blow upon our national prosperity. Moreover, it is estimated that £350,000,000 of British capital is in various ways invested in India. The problem, looked at in this way, cuts deep. It ceases to be a matter of taxes and licences in South Africa, and becomes an issue fraught with the most momentous meaning. The Dominions should not ignore these aspects of the question, for they in their turn are deeply concerned. The welfare of the Empire means the welfare of all its component and interdependent parts.

On the other hand, Indians such as Mr. Gakhale and Sir Ibrahim Rahimtula, who really speak for their countrymen, may be counselled to remember certain considerations which are not very visible in their speeches. The fact is that, not only for Indians, but for all subjects of the Crown, there is often a very great difference between the theory of British citizenship and the practice of its rights. I have said that the Englishman can pass at will throughout the Empire, but in practice that is not really the case. Canada, for instance, occasionally rejects British immigrants on various grounds, the chief ones being poverty and physical incapacity. Australia can exercise somewhat similar powers. We need not go outside India to discover that States controlling their own affairs by no means maintain an open door. The protected States of India are under the suzerainty of the British Crown, but they possess, and frequently exercise, the right to exclude not only Englishmen, but even British Indians, from their territories. The laws which prevent Englishmen from acquiring land in various protected States of India are sometimes regarded as a considerable grievance. Most great communities in the world, both within and outside the British Empire, now claim and employ the right to scrutinise strangers and if necessary to refuse entry within their borders. One meets with curious examples when travelling. In Canada, I think at Moose Jaw, I was once called upon to pay a poll-tax of many dollars before being permitted to cross into the United States. The reason was that, although a European, I happened to have entered the American Continent from the Far East.

Indians must exercise patience in regard to the larger claims they base upon their status as British citizens. They are perfectly justified in pressing, within reasonable bounds, for some amelioration of the lot of their countrymen who have been already admitted to the self-governing Dominions. Happily in South Africa there now seems some prospect of an amicable settlement of Indian grievances, the rights and wrongs of which I shall not further discuss here. The larger plea for freedom to move and to live anywhere in the Empire is another matter. The time is not ripe for its consideration; probably it will never be ripe; and it may be added that at present there seems no sufficient reason why it should ever ripen. The disabilities of Indians in South Africa and Canada are things apart, which should be dealt with in a conciliatory way. The claim for free movement for all is not now a substantial grievance, and never has been. Enormous though the population of India is, there is room enough for all, and to spare, within the confines of the Indian Empire. India is not over-populated, but the population requires redistribution in certain areas; and it is also necessary to detach a larger proportion from the land and induce them to follow industrial pursuits. If Natal planters require Indian hands, so do employers of labour in India, who are constantly complaining of the difficulty they find in getting men. Far from desiring to emigrate, the bulk of the Indian peoples still shrink with dismay from the prospect of crossing the Black Water. India has not sent of her best to South Africa and Canada. The Sikh, in particular, seems to degenerate in the atmosphere of British Columbia. For these and other reasons, it may be held that the claim of the spokesmen of India for a more ample and practical definition of their rights of citizenship—if any—in the Dominions has no conspicuous urgency. It may well await the time when India is in a more advanced state of development, and when the Dominions have grown to greater maturity.

There remains, however, one duty which is now incumbent upon the Dominions. They should make access to their territories easier for Indians of good standing who are simply travellers, and have no desire to settle overseas. Two of the greatest of Indian princes have in turn told me that they would very much like to visit Australia, but are reluctant to do so because they fear they might experience unpleasant difficulties. One prince whose name is a household word in India actually arranged to visit Australia some years ago, but refrained because he was informed from the highest quarters in the Commonwealth that he might have a disagreeable reception. In these cases I was afterwards the means of conveying an official assurance that the apprehensions expressed were unfounded, as I fully believe they were. Mr. Gokhale has testified to the friendly welcome given him in South Africa. Yet such incidents as I have noted ought never to have occurred, and accredited Indians of position should be permitted to travel in the Dominions with asmuch freedom as Englishmen. The concession of better facilities to them would go a long way to ease the present strain.— *National Review.*

Honours.

Lord Selborne's Motion.

London, Feb. 23.

The Earl of Selborne rose to move the following resolution:—

That a contribution to party funds should not be a consideration to a Minister when he recommends any name for an honour to his Majesty; that effectual measures should be taken in order to assure the nation that Governments, from whatever political party they are drawn, will act according to this rule; and that this House requests the concurrence of the House of Commons in the foregoing resolution.

Before I pass to the subject-matter of the motion (he said) I desire to make some preliminary observations. The Crown is the fount of all honour in this country, but the Crown bestows honours in two different ways. Sometimes the Sovereign acts on his own motion, and at other times he acts on the advice of his Ministers. Nothing I am going to say to-day refers to those honours which the Crown gives of its own grace. I refer only to those which it bestows on the advice of his Ministers. Again, I must make a distinction in that case. There is a certain class of honours, perhaps the most important class, in respect of the gift of which I have never heard a word of adverse criticism. I mean those honours which are conferred on the Civil Service and on the Navy and Army. Those are always given for meritorious public service or very brilliant public service, and nothing I am going to say to-day refers to that class of honours, though I must confess I fear that, unless the present tendency receives a salutary check, the day will come when someone will offer to buy a Victoria Cross. I shall only treat of those honours which are given to the public at large on the advice of Ministers, and I shall mainly refer to those which are known as political honours.

There is a prevalent belief—I do not think I should be guilty of exaggeration if I were to say a very widely prevalent belief—that persons are often recommended for these honours whom no one would dare thought of so recommending if they had not contributed largely to party funds. (Hear, hear.) That prevalent belief takes three forms. I know, not only from the Press, but from a very volumi nous correspondence on this subject, it is believed that persons who have social ambitions, or whose wives have social ambitons, who have really no claim at all to receive an honour, believe that they can purchase it if they go to the right place. Again, the belief takes this form, that there have been cases where social ambition has never entered into the soul of the individual, a rich man, but where he has been tempted and where an honour has actually been hawked to him on condition that he would make this contribution. The third case is of rather a different kind, but of a very grave kind. It is the case of men who have really done public service, whom public opinion would be very content to see honoured, and who have had pressure put—I would almost say brutal pressure—put upon them to make a contribution to party funds that they did not wish, and in some cases could not afford to make. If it were necessary I could quote sheaves of cuttings from the public Press to prove the prevalence of this belief and from newspapers covering the whole field of political opinion. And, further, every playgoer knows that this matter of the sale of honours is now openly scoffed at in the theatre, and it is even sung across the floor of the House of Commons as a taunt from one member to another.

The Evil and the Prestige of the Crown.

I may say at once that this prevalent belief applies to both political parties. Both the great political parties have held office, the evil is a growth of our party system, and both political parties are responsible for it. I think, therefore, your lordships will see at once the point of view from which I am asking the House to consider this question. I will begin with a confession. If you ask me to prove, in a Court of law, one single case, I could not do it, though I have been the recipient of many confidences. Still, though I could not prove a single case, I am not ashamed to say that I believe that there are grounds for the prevalence of this belief. Moreover, I fear the evil is growing and that it will continue to grow unless it is checked by public opinion. I will first of all ask, "Is it an evil?" Certain of the most cynical amongst my friends shrug their shoulders and say it is not an evil and that it is prudery or pedantry to make a fuss about it. But I should not have brought the matter before the House if I did not believe it was an evil.

I think it is an evil with many sides to it, but the two on which I wish to lay stress are the injurious effect of this belief on the prestige of the Crown and on the lowering of the standard of public morality. (Cheers.) This is not the occasion to talk about loyalty, but, altogether apart from that, is it not true that thinking men of all parties are feeling more and more the great value of a Constitutional Monarchy as a public institution? (Hear, hear.) As we regard the working of other forms of government, in other countries, I think we more and more congratulate ourselves that we possess a Constitutional Monarchy, and those who believe, as I do, that the Empire is a great force and an increasing power for human happiness and for the peace of the world, value the Monarchy because we know that under no other system whatever could the Empire be held together. Therefore, any influence which affects the prestige of the Monarchy, of the Crown, must be a great public evil. Is it possible that this belief that honours which proceed from the Crown can be acquired by wealth, by whomsoever sold or howsoever got, can be prevalent and the prestige of the Crown not be affected? We know that in this case, if the evil exists, as I believe it does, the Crown is wholly undefiled, and that the source of pollution is elsewhere.

The Hall-Mark of Honour.

What about public morality? Surely it does matter whether the hall-mark of honour is to be genius or noble life or position or public service, or whether the hall-mark of honour is to be simply wealth by whomsoever owned and however begotten. Therefore, I say that it does affect the standard of public morality, because if the Crown selects men of genius and noble life and of great public service and honour it must be a support to the standard of public duty throughout the nation; whereas, if the opposite is the case and honours are just as easily or more easily acquired by those who fulfill none of these qualifications, but have simply bought them—then, I say, the standard of public duty and the service which flows from a sense of duty are dangerously impaired. Consider, if you believe as I do that the system of honours properly used is a good system and a valuable institution in the State, must it not be true that the value of honours will in time be fatally impaired if they can be bought? What possible object can a man of genius have in accepting an honour which a man who is not only not a man of genius, but who has no qualifications except wealth, shares equally with himself? There are those, of course, who think there should be no honours. There are countries in which in theory there are no titular distinctions, but I notice that in practice distinctions exist, and I am prepared to argue that honours properly bestowed are a real incentive to public service, social and national, and that they are in accordance with the good sense and the reason of most men. Surley it is a good thing when the King fixes on the self-sacrifice of some miner or railwayman or seaman or soldier and marks him publicly in the eyes of the whole nation, and I think any sensible man feels satisfaction and personal gratification when the King confers an honour on such a man as the noble viscount opposite (Lord Morley) or the noble earl on the cross-benches, or when he crowns the career of a man like Mr. Burt by making him a Privy Councillor. I think it is quite reasonable that honours should be conferred on men of genius or of noble life or of position, or who have performed valuable public service, or who represented families or houses that have done so, provided always that the private lives of these men have been clean and honourable. My conception of public service is, I admit at once, a very wide one, and I think it ought to be very wide. In pulice service I include service to the State whether Imperial, Parliamentary, or municipal, and, of course, I include party service. Some people think that party service ought not to be included. But what would be the consequence? Under our system a very large number of our most valuable public servants always have been and always will be party men. Then, of course, I include eminence in commerce and manufacture, eminence in art, including, of course, the stage, in literature, including, of course, journalism, in science, and public benevolence and munificence. I do not mean for a moment that this list is exhaustive, but it is a very wide one.

The scandal, the grievous scandal, as I submit it to be, one which public opinion ought to kill, is that a man whom no one would otherwise think of recommending for an honour is able to buy it just as he would a picture.

Another Aspect of the Question.

Just as there are those who say there ought not to be honours, there are those who say there ought not to be party funds. That is a very big question, and a very serious question. I notice that the *Nation* calls this question of party funds the Achilles heel of the Liberal Party. I think the simile rather strained. I should have thought the militarism of Achillies would make him an unsuitable prototype of the Liberal Party. The simile of the *Nation* brought another one to my mind. Would it not be true to say that this greed of all political parties for money with which to run the party machinery is the clay foot of Democracy? (Cheers.) Just think how this question is mixed up with all we call popular movements. They cannot be worked by either party without money, and no party can do without money and without titles.

Look at the last instance, the Land Campaign, of which the Government have appointed Mr. George as manager. That campaign consists in speeches and organization, for both of which Mr. George is responsible. But in making his speeches a duke is just as indispensable to Mr. George as a mother-in-law is to the editor of a comic paper. (Laughter.) I hope noble dukes in this House will forgive me when I say that they and Mr. George are becoming bores. The point is, that just as ficititious proceedings attributed to dukes are the basis of Mr. George's speeches, so the actual contributions of those who want to be dukes are the basis of his organization. (Laughter.) I am very glad the noble marquess (the Marquess of Lincolnshire) has come into the House, because he is the patron saint of this organization. There was an inquiry, perfunctory and illusory, it is true, but it must have been very costly, and now this programme is being preached all over the country by means of an immense organization. Am I to be told that his organization is financed by the mites of Liberal widows, or by a kind of Peter's pence of the Liberal Party; or perhaps I should say St. Paul's pence, because a noble lord opposite told us the other day that the only person worthy of comparison with Mr. George was St. Paul? No one will believe that this very elaborate and costly organization is only financed by the mites of the Liberal widow. Why do the two parties want money? And they want more and more every year. It is because a very large proportion of the democracy take no interest in politics, know nothing about them, and would not take the trouble to vote unless a refusal to do so became more irksome than acquiescence in going to the poll. It is the necessity of endeavouring to educate this large part of the democracy, however superficially, and above all of having machinery which will bring the last man to the poll, however unwilling he may be, which has forced both parties to cry out more and more and more for money.

The Secret Influence of Wealth.

Think of the incongruity of the position. Just at the very moment when those who pay most taxes have least political power, and when there is a real danger lest certain forms of property should be the subject of unjust legislation—just at that very moment wealth, as mere wealth, and without responsibility, has the most opportunity of illicit and secret influence. (Cheers.) We are not the only

country that has had this experience. There is a noble lord, one of the most distinguished members of our House, who might be able to tell us that in other countries it has happened that those who have found the money for a party have eventually also dictated its policy. Who can say there is no danger that the same sordid fate will not befall us? Men will dispute to the crack of doom as to the respective merits of different forms of government, but I say without hesitation that the very worst fate that could befall a country is to be governed by an alliance of the caucus and the plutocrat. (Cheers.) Remember, the more the honours flowing from the Crown are depreciated the more influence you are throwing into the hand of what is known as the plutocracy. (Cheers.) There is a danger—noble lords opposite must know it as well as we do—lest the real residuary legatee of that influence of which you are trying to deprive the hereditary peerage should be not the people but the plutocracy.

The Party Whips and Chiefs.

Now the whole of this controversy centres round the Whips and the Whips' Office. Whips are not more depraved than other people. (A laugh.) That would be a complete misapprehension. How is it that they have got into this positon? They have a very weary and thankless life, and they are being subjected ever more and more to claims from sections of their party for money. Because the party machinery is ever becoming more and more elaborate, the Whip is ever being asked for more and more money, and he becomes obsessed with the idea that the only thing that matters in this world and probably in the next is that his party should remain in office. He begins to think that money is an essential condition to his party remaining in office, and in the end—well, the end justifies the means, and, however scrupulous he may be when he begins,—he ends by thinking that the party must have funds at all costs. He is very loyal to his chiefs. He tells them everything about the party except about the party funds. The party chiefs are very busy men and they are careful students of the Book of Genesis. And they avoid the tree of knowledge of good and evil. The position is really perfectly intolerable both for Whips and chiefs. I do not believe there are any men in England who would be more delighted if they could be freed from this curse of the party system than would the Whips and their chiefs. I very much doubt if they can free themselves. I doubt if this servitude imposed upon them by the party system is one that they can escape from by their own action and their own desire. I believe it is public opinion and public opinion alone that can rescue them.

A Caveat.

Now, I want to guard carefully against an interpretation of the views I put before you which might otherwise be made and which certainly does not represent my views. I wish to guard against the supposition that I think that men who are otherwise properly and reasonably qualified to receive an honour should become disqualified because they have also contributed to party funds. I think that would be most unreasonable and I give your lordsdips and instance. I have been very careful not to introduce any personal element into this discussion, and the name I am going to mention now I name with respect and as an illustration of my meaning. I will take the case of Sir John Brunner. There is a man who has done long and honourable service in the House of Commons and who is at the head of one of the greatest commercial enterprises in this country. It seems to me very reasonable that he should have been honoured by his Sovereign. If there is any party man in England it is Sir John Brunner, and although I have not the honour of being in his confidence I feel perfectly certain that he has contributed liberally to party funds. But how monstrous it would be if because he had so contributed he should have been disqualified for the honour he otherwise deserved. My meaning will be made so much plainer by that illustration that I think Sir John Brunner will pardon me for borrowing the use of his name. If you tell me that the line will be very hard to draw I quite agree, and not only so but I think many of us would differ in regard to individual cases that might be put before us. I submit that it is quite useless to attempt definitions in a case like this, and that any tendency to pedantry in the matter would defeat our object.

Rousing of Public Opinion.

Surely this is the whole truth—that if public opinion is vigilant and sound in itself, Ministers of all parties will conform to the standard demanded of them. If it is true that the evil has been growing under our party system, does no blame lie at the door of public opinion? I say public opinion has been extremely lax, and it is disquieting how little attention the Press has paid to it down till quite recent months. It is of all things in which the influence of the public, as voiced by the Press, may have a most salutary effect. We are accused sometimes by other nations of hypocrisy. We deplore the form of public corruption of which we have heard in other places. Is not the accusation a little true sometimes? Would it not have been better if we had attended to the beam in our own eye before we deplored the mote in the eye of other nations?

Let me tell you the object of my motion. I want to do what little I can to rouse public opinion to this evil of the sale of party honours which I believe to exist and to still greater evil—this greed of all parties for money, which as I have said is one of the great dangers ahead of democracy. I have proposed no remedy, and I have been very scrupulous in my determination not to propose any, because if I had offered a prescription for the disease discussion would have raged over the prescription and not over the disease. My desire has been to focus public opinion on the disease, and for another reason, because no rule, no regulation, no law will be of any effect whatever if public opinion is not sound. (Cheers.) If public opinion is sound and vigilant, then the remedy will be found quickly enough.

Before I sit down I should like to say for myself that I believe we have in our Constitution machinery which may be of great service in this matter as in so many others and that is the Privy Council. I believe the Privy Council may help us in this matter, and with that personal suggestion I ask your lordships to affirm this motion. (Cheers.)

Lord Charnwood's Amendment.

Lord Charnwood rose to move an amendment which stood in his name as follows:—To leave out all the words after "that" in the first line, and insert "in view of the persistent allegations implying that contributions to party funds have been a consideration to Ministers when recommending names to his Majesty for honours, this House would welcome an assurance from his Majesty's Government that such allegations are untrue, and that in view of the actual or possible abuses of party funds in regard to the manner in which they are employed as well as the manner in which they are said to be raised, this House urges upon His Majesty's Government the appointment of a Royal Commission to inquire by what amendments of the Corrupt Practices Act such abuses may most effectively be restrained." He hoped their lordships would not think it unfitting that on this subject a very recently created peer should come forward at once to address the House. The noble earl had described the malign influence of which he spoke not as an invention of the present Government, but as something which had a long history behind, and which almost unconsciously had been suffered to regain force in recent years. He had also made it perfectly clear that he had absolutely no personal object. The noble earl might be well assured that he had the sympathy of as many men in the party opposite to him as he had on his own side. There were, he believed, perfectly honourable gentlemen to whom this system seemed something amusing, even picturesque, something which had a fine antiquarian flavour about it reminiscent of the 18th century. He thought, however, that was not at all the way in which the man in the street regarded these things.

The prevalence and growth of the system to which the noble lord had referred, should it proceed further, would one day become so serious a thing as to hold up the governing classes to the hatred and contempt of the poorer people. He wished to point out how subtle the influence was and how likely it was to survive the remedy which he prescribed. He did not suppose for a moment that Ministers put names before the Crown for false reasons, the real reason being that they knew that party funds would benefit. That was unthinkable. A cynical Minister would take care to be always ignorant whether the man whom he recommended had contributed to the party funds or not. But a Minister could not always, could not often, be aware of how it came about that that good man's many virtues had been so prominently brought before his own notice. Therefore it seemed to him that this resolution might be passed and every Minister who ever recommended a name for honour might be able with truth to declare that he acted on the principle of it; and nevertheless it might still be going on, that cash was paid with the prospect that honours would result, or what was scarcely less offensive that honours might be bestowed and thereafter blackmail extorted with the allegation that it was a sort of customary thing. Therefore the mere assertion of the principle of the resolution did not carry them very far. As to the existence of public opinion being the sufficient and real remedy for the evil, it would be impossible in many cases for public opinion to draw the line between proceedings which were absolutely clean and proceedings which were quite scandalous.

The Use of Party Funds.

His own relations to party funds were those of a beneficiary not of a benefactor. There was nothing necessarily dishonourable in the existence of large party funds, nor in the fact that rich men on both sides gave large gifts; nor if, for other reasons, those very men had honours conferred on them. And yet so long as that was admitted there would be considerable danger that secret influence would be exercised. They could not get rid of the evil in so simple a way as the resolution suggested. They would do a little good, but no great permanent good, by renunciating in this

resolution what after all was a moral platitude. They must be prepared for drastic measures in regard to these party funds, and cut short that lavish expenditure upon elections which was the root of the evil and which put upon party managers a really terrible strain and temptation. It might be a wise policy or it might not that the present Government had bettered the example of their predecessors in conferring recognition on many varied kinds of merit and of public service which might not have been properly recognized formerly, but it was obviously not in itself a discreditable thing.

There was one general reason why he thought they might take it as certain that the practice of which the noble Earl complained was growing and likely to grow; and it was the enormous growth of election expenditure, which went far beyond the requirements of reasonable and honest propaganda. In the South Bucks election the other day he was told that a part was taken by the Tariff Reform League, the Free Trade Union, the Ulster Unionists, the Home Rule Council, the Land Union and the Land and Housing Council. Six organizations, three on each side. The salaries and expenses paid to the agents of these organizations were, he believed, required by law to be returned as part of the election expenses of the candidates, and the treasurers of these associations were liable to criminal prosecutions if these expenses were not so returned. Would those expenses be so returned? If not, would there be any criminal prosecutions? (Hear, hear.) Why had not any criminal prosecutions taken place in the past? He could only conclude that some understanding existed between the gentlemen on either side who worked these organizations. A large and flourishing political industry was in existence, and it would be endangered if these practices were curtailed. But he put it very seriously to the Government and the leaders on either side, could they not agree to some method by which the present system could to a certain extent be broken down? Was the education of the electorate really effectively promoted by gentlemen who preached political views for hire? (Hear, hear.) While he had a high regard for some of these gentlemen, yet their ranks included some who would as readily preach on the other side as on the one. (Laughter.) This lavish expenditure on elections tended to an absolutely depraved state of things, and to put our representative government permanently in the grip of the machine. So long as election expenses went on at this lavish scale so long would party managers be under dire pressure to replenish their party war-chests *per fas et nefas*. (Hear, hear.) He thought there should be an inquiry and the names of subscribers to these various political organizations, with the amount of their subscriptions or donations, should be made available for inspection. If their lordships would allow him, he would move his amendment to Lord Selborne's motion in the following form, to add at the end:—"That in view of the actual or possible abuses of party funds in regard to the manner in which they are employed as well as the manner in which they are said to be raised, this House urges upon his Majesty's Government the appointment of a Royal Commission to inquire by what amendments of the law and administration of the law such abuses may most effectively be restrained."

Lord Milner's Speech.

Suggested Remedies for a Growing Evil.

Viscount Milner.—I hope Lord Ribblesdale will forgive me if I treat the subject with a slight approach to seriousness which he may condemn as solemnity. I am very sorry to appear priggish, and I really think I enjoy the noble lord's witticisms on suitable occasions as much as anybody in this House; but I cannot resist the feeling that a rather unfortunate impression would be given to the world outside if what is, after all, a grave matter should be chaffed out of Court. (Hear, hear.) I am afraid I shall be unable to add to the gaiety of nations in the few remarks I have to make, but perhaps I may contribute to some extent to reviving the impression under which a great many of us were earlier in the evening—that we are discussing a public matter of real gravity and that we have strong opinions about it. The noble lord expressed the view that he differs both from the motion and the amendment. I am rather inclined to agree with both. I agree with almost everything which fell from Lord Selborne except his concluding passage, in which he seemed to me to be prepared to rely exclusively upon public opinion to produce a remedy for what, personally, I cannot describe as otherwise than a very great and growing evil.

The Earl of Selborne.—I meant that public opinion must be awakened before any effectual steps can be taken.

Viscount Milner.—I quite agree, and perhaps the greatest advantage to be derived from a discussion of this kind in this House, if it can be kept on right lines, is that it will stimulate public opinion on the matter. There is a great and growing and serious feeling in the country as to the enormity of the sale of honours, which it is just as well that Parliament should take some pains to attract into wise channels. But though I attribute importance to the effect of discussion of this kind upon public opinion, I do not myself think that we can stop there, and I believe if we are serious in this matter in this House or in the other there will be a very strong feeling on both sides in support of my noble friend. If we are really serious in both Houses something material might be achieved. I was looking forward with some curiosity to the line which noble lords representing the Government might take especially in view of Lord Charnwood's original amendment which called upon them to give us an assurance that the allegation that a Minister might recommend a name for an honour to his Majesty on the ground of contributions to party funds was untrue. The significant change which the noble lord subsequently made in his amendment has, I fancy, relieved his leaders from a very great difficulty. They could hardly have taken no notice of his demand for such an assurance, and I think we should have listened with some surprise If that assurance had been given. The great difficulty, of course, is that it is impossible to produce absolute proof of what is described as the sale of honours. In the literal sense of the word, of course, honours are not sold, like butter or cheese. It may even be said that there is no honour, however flagrantly bestowed, which cannot often, or in fact always, be accounted for by some plausible reason besides the true one, and care is always taken to avoid suspicious juxtaposition of cause and effect. Who is to say that a gentleman of good position and standing, who happens to have contributed liberally to the party funds, and who becomes the recipient of an honour—who is to say that the Minister who recommended him was influenced wholly or mainly by gratitude for his generosity and not by other considerations?

The Government and the Peerages Bestowed.

The only thing we know is that the tendency to bestow titles of honour on persons with no very obvious qualifications is a rapidly and alarmingly growing tendency (cheers), and that the bestowal of them has a habit of synchronizing with periods when the Government of the day is in special need of funds. As regards the number of honours, taking only the creation of peerages, we find that the present Government, in their eight years of office, have created no fewer than 63 barons, not to mention Lords of Appeal, whose case, of course, has no relevance to the matter under discussion—63 barons, or about one-sixth of the total number of barons in this House, although it has existed for more than 600 years. In the eight years preceding there were 41 creations of the same rank, which one might have thought was already a sufficiently liberal figure. It may be said that the only reason why the present Government has created the largest number of peerages and other titles of honour on record is because it is the latest comer, and that its successor may outdo it in that respect, although I sincerely hope that, owing to the efforts now being made, that will not be the case. There is another interesting point besides the number of these creations, and that is what I may call their periodicity, the cyclical movements that seem to affect them. They are rather like shooting stars. I mean to say there is a certain period in the year when we always look out for them, but a really imposing shower only occurs every two or three or four years, and only occurs in connexion with critical moments in the life of a Government. The occurrence of these great showers of honours is almost always in the year before, or the year of, or the year after a General Election; and one is almost forced to the conclusion that there is some kind of mysterious relation between the two phenomena.

The Traffic in Honours.

I could not add anything to what has been said by the noble earl about the bad effect which the traffic in honours must have upon the esteem in which honours are held, and the consequent effect in destroying a powerful and respectable incentive—though I do not say it is the highest form of incentive—to good public service, and munificence for public objects. But there is an even worse consequence of this traffic, and that is that by offering to party managers the opportunity of collecting enormous secret funds it helps to rivet the yoke of party upon our public men (cheers), to undermine independence alike in candidates and in members of Parliament, and to submit Parliament and the nation to the uncontrolled and growing despotism of party machinery. It is part and parcel of the same system which has destroyed the authority of this House and is even reducing the proceedings of the other House of Parliament to a farce. The noble lord who has just spoken said truly that party funds were an inevitable concomitant of the party system. I differ from him in that I am not an admirer of the party system. But, accepting the party system as a necessary evil. I am anxious to limit some of its very worst and most discreditable features. There is nothing which is more calculated to lead to the widespread corruption of public life than the irresponsible control of large secret funds by party managers. Is there not a certain extraordinary inconsistency in the line which we at present take about bribery and corruption? You have laws against them under which a trifling transgression— a transgression which may be committed in all innocence by a man or his agent—may invalidate his election; and yet can it be said that the power of money, which all these statutes are intended to curb, that the power of money, either in an individual or a party to influence the judgment of constituencies has in any way been diminished? We all

know that it has not been: on the contrary, it has been increased. The forms of bribery may be altered, but the essentials of it are there, and they are as strong and formidable as ever they were. Whether it is worse to buy a few votes at an election by giving illegitimate employment or to try to debauch a whole constituency by promising a vast expenditure of public money within its borders (Opposition cheers), or by flaunting before it some wealthy candidate who is expected to be a rich fount of future favours, I must leave to moralists to determine; the point is that the vast expenditure of money upon constituencies during election times and during the interval between elections, but especially during election times, is giving, and continues to give, an undue and unhealthy influence to mere wealth and to the possessors of it in the destinies of the nation, and that corrupting influence of party funds, in itself a thing that is undesirable and evil, is only rendered possible by this traffic in honours, which is likewise discreditable to public life.

Some Suggestions.

I do not know that it is for me to venture to suggest any remedies for this evil. I think it really rests with members on both front benches, for both parties have something to atone for in their past conduct in this matter, to suggest remedies. But I cannot agree that nothing can be done beyond appealing—though I am all for appealing—to public opinion and trying to arouse public opinion. I agree with the noble lord who moved the amendment that it is possible, and indeed I think it is imperative, if there is any sincerity in our professions of dislike for corruption, to try and restrict expenditure at elections, and expenditure so restricted might, I think, fairly be thrown on the public funds. But that is not alone sufficient, because the wholesale bribery of constituencies is not confined to election times, but goes on between elections. It seems to me it would be idle—merely to restrict expenditure at election times unless it could also be made illegal for members to spend large sums of money between elections upon various public purposes in their constituencies. Unless that is going to be done I think the unfortunate and evil need of large party funds—which has to be satisfied by these undesirable means we are discussing—will continue to exist.

Statement of Reasons.

In conclusion may I make one other suggestion? Would it be unreasonable that when honours are announced some brief statement of the reasons for which the honours are conferred should be given? (Cheers.) The thing is done, for instance, whenever money is granted to deserving individuals from the fund at the disposal of the Prime Minister—the civil List. I have constantly seen—and it appeared reasonable and satisfactory when such and such sums of public money were given to both men and women—a brief statement, perfectly honourable to them and satisfactory to the public, of the reasons why the grants were given. Why is there any objection to doing the same in the case of the bestowal of any honour whatsoever? I do not say it would altogether remedy the evil of which we are complaining—there is no single remedy, it has to be attacked in a number of ways—but it seems to me this would be a very considerable check on the abuse of the bestowal of honours, for no Ministry would wish to make themselves ridiculous by giving explanations of the honours they had asked the Sovereign to confer which were obviously ill-founded and calculated to excite general derision. (Cheers.) I do not say these are very valuable suggestions or that they are the best that might be made. I repeat that I think it rests more on the leaders of parties than upon independent members of this House to suggest a remedy. What I do hope is that the decision of the House to-night, the reception which the House gives to the motion, and, may I venture to add, the speeches to which I hope we may yet look forward from the leaders of both parties, will leave no false impression on the mind of the nation, as I think a false impression may have been left by some of the preceding speeches, but that it will go forth to the country that in this House at least the degradation of titles of honour is regarded with abhorrence and is looked upon not only—which is a very minor consideration—as an injury and insult to the order to which we have the honour to belong, but also as a fatal injury to the nation. (Cheers.)

Lord Crewe's Reply.

The Evil Exaggerated.

The Marquess of Crewe.—I agree with the noble earl who moved the motion that no question of party advantage or party feeling ought to be involved in this matter, and I think the fact has been recognized by those who have taken part in the debate. It is also true that none of us wish to adopt a priggish or Pharisaic attitude; at the same time we are certainly not disposed to minimize its gravity. Speaking for myself and my noble friends behind me, we take precisely the same view of the importance of the subject as was taken by the noble earl. I think, however, there has been a tendency to exaggerate the position as it now exists, and, as it were, to attempt to indicate that public life is becoming less pure and honourable than it was, and that, as the poet said, "We are worse than our grandfathers, and our children are likely to be worse than ourselves." As a matter of fact, any one who looks back at political history will recognize that the facts are otherwise. There is no need to go back very far. You can go back if you like only to years within the memory of those who are now alive. The whole position in relation to party expenditure and the dependence of party expenditure upon honours and distinctions and gains of all kinds was, as everybody with the most trifling knowledge of history recognizes, infinitely worse during the whole period before the Reform Bill of 1832 than it has been since. All through the 18th century the position of pocket boroughs and borough-mongering generally brought about abuses which were infinitely more flagrant in every respect than anything nawadays. It was not until 1782 that the Whig Government of that day brought in a series of Bills, some of which become Acts of Parliament, dealing with some of the grosser forms of corruption which then existed. Everybody knows that the owners of boroughs, representing something like two-thirds of the whole House of Commons, commanded votes, and those votes meant money and also meant honours. All the patronage, English, Irish, Indian, and Colonial, was practically in the hands of the people who owned the boroughs and commanded the votes. Government loans were issued in their interest at a price which meant an enormous loss to the country, and in one famous case the country was supposed to have lost a million sterling owing to the price of issue in favour of certain privileged persons. Boroughs were bought outright. There is the famous case of Lord North, who bought boroughs for a particular election, the price offered being £2, 500 per seat. There were dozens and hundreds of scandals of that kind. Then Lord Milner told us about the number of peerages created of late years, implying that some of those peerages had been connected with party funds. Between 1784 and 1801 Mr. Pitt made 140 creations or promotions in the peerage, mainly English. The noble viscount would not say that a great many of those titles now honourably borne by their descendants were given on account of anything which in a strict sense could be called service to the State. There is no object in raking up stories which tell hardly upon our forbears, but it is necessary to mention these facts in order to show that when an almost portentous tone is adopted in relation to what is considered to be the corruption of to-day we ought to remember that as a matter of fact we are living in an infinitely clearer atmosphere in this respect than ever existed before the Reform Bill. I do not believe that, except possibly for the period between 1845 and 1860, when parties were all in confusion and the party system was not working as it has worked since, there has been any material change for the worse in respect of these matters which are now complained of.

An Assurance from the Premier.

The noble earl says that "a contribution to party funds should not be a consideration to a Minister when he recommends any name for an honour to his Majesty." Lord Charnwood, in the original form of his amendment, stated "that in view of the persistent allegations implying that contributions to party funds have been a consideration to Ministers when recommending names to his Majesty for honours, this House would welcome an assurance from his Majesty's Government that such allegations are untrue." Lord Milner seemed to think that it was out of some consideration for the feelings of the party leaders that Lord Charnwood has altered his amendment. It was in no way known to me that he had done so, and the fact does not prevent me from giving so far as I am able to give a categorical assurance on behalf of the Prime Minister that a contribution to party funds has not been a consideration to him when recommending names to his Majesty for honours. I should not have the slightest hesitation, although I have had no communication with either, in giving precisely the same assurance on behalf of Lord Rosebery and Mr. Balfour (if he would allow me to do it), those being the only two gentlemen alive who have been placed in the same position. The noble lord has pointed out, what is quite true, that although we should all be desirous that contributions to party funds should not be made a consideration, yet it is altogether impossible to lay down a rule that a contribution to party funds should be a bar to the reception of any honour whatever. Instances could be multiplied on both sides of men who had received some distinction and who had undoubtedly contributed—being men of wealth—to the support of the party to which they belonged. Consequently it is only possible to suggest to those who have the power of recommendation that their minds should work in a particular way and that certain considerations should not be present.

That, of course, points to the difficulty of establishing a distinct canon or rule in a matter of this kind, and I find myself in general agreement with the noble earl when he says that the real safeguard to which we can look—in my opinion it is the only practical safeguard—is the force of public opinion being brought to bear on these things. (Cheers.) It is only, as the noble lord said, supposing a person receives a distinction for which he is obviously unfit that the question is asked. "Why has this particular gentleman been singled out for this distinction?" If the recipient is considered generally worthy no question is asked whether he has or has not contributed to the support of his party. The same thing may, I think, be said to apply to other forms of what is called the purchase of distinctions. It has

always been rumoured that high distinctions of various kinds have been purchased, not by contributions to either political party, but by what may be called general munificence, gifts to hospitals, colleges, and public objects of various kinds, which according to popular talk and rumour have been made by very wealthy persons with apparently the main object of achieving some form of distinction. There again these things are impossible to prove, although I suppose in an abstract way we should all desire, that in such a case distinction should be withheld. These cases are cases of extreme difficulty, and could not be covered by any general remedy such as some noble lords have suggested.

The Earl of Selborne.—There is a distinction. In that case the nation gets the benefit, not the party.

The Marquess of Crewe.—I suppose it might be argued by party men that there is some national advantage in the party in which they believe being in power, but I am not going to agrue that Lord Milner suggested that the practice which obtains in relation to the Royal bounty, by which, when donation or annuities are given to deserving people, a reason is given, might be followed. I do not know that any great service would be done by insisting on a similar rule in the conferment of honours unless you are prepared to go so far as to say that no honour should be given except for public service, independent of party, and that, I think, has not been suggested. If, on the other hand, the reason given is that the recipient has done good service to the Conservative or the Liberal Party, I do not know that public opinion would be very much more satisfied than it is at the present moment.

Reasons Against a Royal Commission.

Then I come to the suggestion made by Lord Charnwood for the appointment of a Royal Commission. His ingenious plan is to get round the difficulty not so much by inquiring into what is called the sale of honours as by having a Royal Commission to inquire into the working of the Corrupt Practices Act and into the possibility of their extension in order to bring about his object in a circuitous way; that is to say, supposing you can avoid all expenditure on elections you will not then want party funds. If you do not want party funds you will not desire people to subscribe to party funds, and therefore the power of acquiring distinctions as some form of reward will fall to the ground. The doubt in my mind is this. Although there is much to be said for some possible extension of the Corrupt Practices Act, particularly in regard to those irregular bodies or societies who seem to have taken the place to some extent of the regular party organizations in conducting the business of elections and spend a great deal of money. I should have thought it possible to achieve that object directly by legislation rather than by going through all the heavy machinery of a Royal Commission. I do not know whether there should be at the same time inquiry into the operations of these various leagues and unions, because, so far as I know, there is no suggestion or implication that subscriptions or assistance to these more or less irregular bodies have been used as a lever for the purpose of acquiring distinction of any kind. Therefore, while I have no desire to offer any opposition to the noble earl's motion, I am afraid that we could not give our concurrence to the idea of the appointment of a Royal Commission. At the same time, I am far from implying that I do not think some extension of the Corrupt Practices Act might not very properly be set on foot. (Hear, hear.)

Lord Lansdowne's Views.

The Marquess of Lansdowne said:—Before this discussion ends I desire to say in two or three sentences why I am ready to support the motion of my noble friend beside me, and why I shall not be able to recommend the amendment of the noble lord opposite. I must congratulate my noble friend Lord Selborne upon the extremely sympathetic reception his proposal has met from all parts of the House. (Cheers.) As to the actual wording of the motion, I think something might be said, but, like the noble marquess opposite, I pay a lot more attention to the substance of my noble friend's speech than to the precise words in which he has framed his motion. My noble friend was perfectly frank with the House. He told us he was not prepared to produce instances of the kind of abuse to which he desired to put an end; that he rested himself almost entirely upon the suspicions—the widely prevalent suspicions—which exist in the public mind that abuses of this kind do take place, and take place not infrequently. With my noble friend I believe the suspicion does exist and is widely prevalent, but I think with the noble marquess opposite that the suspicion probably is exaggerated, and I noted with satisfaction that my noble friend pointed out in his view, so far as a very large part of the honours which are now conferred by the Sovereign are concerned, there was no reason for any misgivings. (Hear, hear.) In regard to the honours conferred upon Civil servants, the Navy, and the Army, and upon the Sovereign's Indian subjects, I do not think there is a word to be said. (Cheers.) Anyone who looks through the lists of names of those who have received honours of any kind in the last few years will readily see that a great number of those names are the names of persons who are in every way well fitted to be rewarded in this manner.

The Public mind Requires Reassurance.

But, undoubtedly, the public mind does require to be reassured upon this subject, and I think the resolution of my noble friend Lord Selborne, received as it has been here to-night, and perhaps confirmed by a similar resolution in the other House, will have the kind of reassuring effect which we desire. There is a universal feeling of reprobation of the idea that honours of any kind conferred by the Sovereign can form the subject of a bargain between the persons who receive them and the person who is instrumental in procuring those honours. (Hear, hear.) I agree in believing that the need of precautions in this respect tends to become greater as time goes on. I am afraid that suspicions of this kind are inevitable so long as we have what is commonly called the party system in this country. The party system in a democracy like ours means a great many things. It means that you must have party organization, party machinery, party literature, and that you may have the support of party candidates. All these things inevitably mean the expenditure of large sums of party money, and that money inevitably tends to be taken out of the pockets of the wealthier members of the party. That may not be a very pleasant thing to contemplate. My noble friend used a happy phrase where he said it "revealed the clay foot of democracy." (Cheers.) I doubt very much whether any precautions you can take will altogether obviate the dangers which we all desire to guard against. The matter is complicated by the fact that these contributions to the party funds are in themselves perfectly harmless transactions. What I think my noble friend desires to insist upon is not that a man who has made a contribution of this kind to the party funds should have a black mark put against his name and be regarded as disqualified for the receipt of an honour, but that the liberality of the contribution should not be the only justification for the honour of which he may eventually be the recipient. (Hear, hear.) I cannot say it too strongly, that, while in my view contribution to the party funds is in the first place an allowable transaction, a contribution of that kind ought in no circumstances to lead a Minister to consider for an honour an individual who, but for that contribution, he would not have considered. (Hear, hear.) But then, of course, you will inevitably find yourselves face to face with very complex cases. Thers is the case of a man of wealth who has spent his wealth wisely and generously, who has acquired a dignified position in the world, who has attended to local business in his neighbourhood, and who also may have been a liberal contributor to the party funds of his party. How is the Minister, or the person who advises the Minister, to decide how much weight is to be given to the generous contribution to the party war-chest, and how much to the meritorious record in every other respect of that individual? I noted, as did the noble marquess, the expression in my noble friend's motion that he calls upon the Government to devise effectual means of guarding against these abuses. He did not specify the means that he had in his mind except at the close of his speech, when he suggested that questions of this kind might be dealt with on the advice of the Privy Council. That is a suggestion worth considering, but I should be sorry to commit myself to it this evening. Lord Milner thought that with each case there might be published with the announcement of the honour an intimation of the services in respect of which the honour was conferred. That seems to be not an unreasonable suggestion (hear, hear), but I am bound to say that I would much prefer to leave the consideration of the effectual means which my noble friend desires to see adopted to the Sovereign and those who advise him in these matters. I feel sure that the action of your lordships' House this evening will have a salutary effect in calling attention to the question.

The Suggested Royal Commission.

With the proposal to refer the whole matter to a Royal Commission I cannot say that I am much enamoured. The noble lord who makes the proposal no doubt has in his mind not that the past history of these transactions should be raked up but the question of strengthening the law with regard to them should be considered. I am afraid that his Royal Commission would find it very difficult not to consider what the alleged abuses were, and that opens up rather a long field. I doubt very much whether the noble lord would gain anything by examining Mr. Balfour or Mr. Asquith as to the circumstances under which the 200 odd peers who have been made since 1885 received their honours, or the 300 baronetcies, and the wholly innumerable knighthoods. That would open up a still more distracting field of investigation. May I interpose an observation based on Lord Milner's comment on the fact that present Government have made 63 baronies? The other evening, when a most important divison was taken on my noble friend's amendment to the Address, inspite of the 63 baronies noble lords opposite only marshalled 55 peers of all sorts and descriptions against the motion. (Laughter.) Further difficulty would be encountered when, as a result of this or any inquiry, you set to work to frame rules for the purpose of guarding against the apprehended abuses. My noble friend said very truly that it was almost impossible to define the circumstances in which an honour might or

might not properly be given, and I am very much afraid that, whatever rules you were to adopt, it would be found that a twentieth century party manager would be able to drive a coach-and-six through them. (Laughter.) For that reason, I very much prefer, at any rate in the first instance, to trust to the effect produced on the public mind by this discussion and the motion of my noble friend, and I do sincerely believe that if the two Houses of Parliament joined in expressing a decided opinion upon this important question the result would be to reassure the public mind and greatly to strengthen the hands of the Minister and, above all, perhaps, to enable him to resist the temptation which was always present in the case of an overworked man to rely upon the advice of somebody else rather than on his own instincts and judgment.

Lord Ampthill suggested that the motion should read "that it is desirable that effectual measures should be taken."

The Marquess of Crewe.—I consider that amendment a distinct improvement.

Lord Charnwood withdrew his amendment.

The motion, as amended, was agreed to.

The House rose shortly after half-past 7 o'clock.

The Times,

Persian Pensioners.

A Case for Reform.

A correspondent who was many years resident in Persia writes to us on a subject which is of considerable interest at the present time. He says:—

"There is one phase of the Persian question which I do not remember to have seen mentioned in any of the many articles that have been written on the subject of Persia and her ills, and that is, the extent to which the Persian Exchequer is drained, fairly or unfairly, each year by the numerous foreign employees, past and present, of the Persian Government.

"The Persian Treasury (often empty) is not only responsible for a host of handsome salaries, but also for the payment of many handsome pensions, some of them well-merited by long and faithful services, others paid as the 'pound of flesh,' squeezed out of the Treasury through diplomatic channels after very inadequate periods of service. The recipients belong to many nationalities—English, French, Italian, Austrian and others, to say nothing of the Persians themselves. I presume there is a list of them somewhere, and it would be interesting if we could learn their numbers and the amounts paid out to them: I think, too, that it would cause some astonishment.

"We may safely assume that the primary object of the Persian Government in employing foreigners is to secure for herself the benefit of Western advanced methods of administration—and the services of honest men to administer her affairs. This supposition is deducible from what we know of the corruption so prevalent among the Persian governing class, concerning which so much has been said and written. In fact, this aspect of the question has been so widely ventilated and the custom so highly reprobated, that special care ought to be taken to see that those who are selected to impart to the Persians pure methods of administration are above reproach.

"We know that the Persian emloyee, if paid at all, is in receipt of a mere nominal salary and has, besides, to pay heavily for his post, and it is therefore, perhaps, excusable for him to appropriate whatever may come his way in the form of pickings, seeing that he is *expected* to do so. But in the case of the enlightened foreigner it is very different. He is on a pedestal and, as a rule, in receipt of at least adequate remuneration, a remuneration which *ought* to place him beyond temptation and enable him to fulfil his mission as instructor in probity and pure administration. Does it?

"I have been told by a foreigner that 'the foreigner in the employ of the Persian Government who does not make the most of this opportunities for peculation as they arise is a fool, because *if he does not do so someone else will.*' A contemptible proposition, but, I fear, a widely accepted one!

"The importation of arms into Persia is strictly prohibited, yet I have known of officials who, although specially appointed to watch the trade in arms, have, by acting in collusion in evading the Custom dues, reaped huge profits from this illicit traffic. I have in my mind's eye the case of an official who after less than ten years' service, on a salary approaching £1,000 a year, and who lived up to his salary, left the country with a solid banking account of over £10,000, in addition to a large quantity of plunder 'in kind.' Another man, after a few months' service, claimed, and is at present, I believe, in receipt of, a pension of over £300 per annum; although he returned to his own country to a more lucrative post and will eventually succeed to a substantial pension there. These are typical of many similar cases, and in face of such palpable robbery of the Persian Treasury I would ask, how is it possible for that country to make progress, or for her own nationals to learn methods of probity and clean-handed administration?

"By all means let the officials be adequately paid and also qualify for a pension. But with the Exchequer at so low an ebb, and the country in such urgent need of honest help, let us in return, for very shame's sake, act up to our boasted rectitude and give her honest service." *The New East.*

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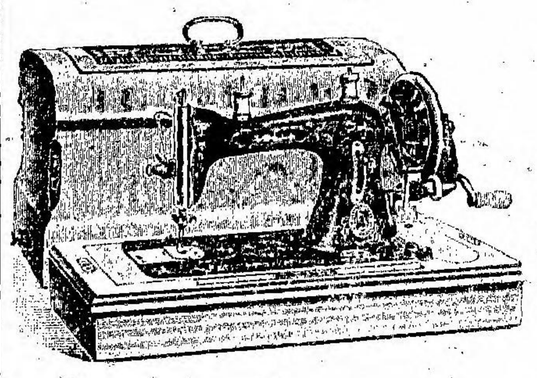
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